Diversity Management and the

Political Economy of Policing

Kerstin Maier Barcroft

BA (Hons); MSc

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Management and Organisation, University of Stirling

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Abstract

Diversity management and diversity training have been part of the standard management repertoire for several decades, and have recently received fresh impetus in the UK through the Equality Act 2010. The Police Services in England and Wales and in Scotland have further reasons to ensure the fair treatment of their own workforces and equality in their dealings with the public since the Macpherson Inquiry and the subsequent revelations relating to the Stephen Lawrence case. For the Police Service, diversity is particularly crucial as it forms a key element of public legitimacy and therefore impacts upon the very principle of 'policing by consent', the foundation of British policing (Jackson *et al.* 2012). However, diversity policies and diversity training tend to be viewed narrowly and used as a decontextualised medium to reduce racism (and other 'isms'), seen as fulfilling their purpose regardless of the political and occupational context. This thesis, in contrast, suggests that there is a need to examine diversity management and diversity training, not only within an organisational context, but also within the broader political economy into which it is introduced and in which it is implemented.

Tracing the various aspects that make up the political economy of policing, the thesis outlines social, economic, legal and political influences, as well as the occupational culture of the police and its emotional ecology. Given the longitudinal design of the research, and the profound changes that have occurred to the political economy of policing over a relatively short time, the thesis is able to examine the impact of these changes on diversity practices within the Police Service of Scotland. Longitudinal data collected at two points in time, 2008/9 and 2013 – straddling not only the introduction of the Equality Act 2010, but also the creation of a single Police Service in Scotland, amongst other changes – suggests that significant changes have occurred to diversity training and diversity professionals, as well as to the ways in which diversity is managed. Using

the notion of emotional spaces, diversity training in particular reveals complex interactions in the context of the changes, exposing the tensions police officers and police staff are currently experiencing. Drawing on the analytical framework of emotional ecology, it is argued that in addition to other changes to the political economy of policing, diversity training courses reflect demands for the police to be more open, sensitive and collaborative, by challenging and 'opening up' the emotional ecology of the police during training. Interviews and longitudinal observational data suggest that this process has intensified greatly since the creation of Police Scotland, thereby placing competing demands on officers to consolidate the new with the conventional emotional ecology of the police.

For my parents, Werner and Zita

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

2014 continues to be a challenging year for the British Police Service. Following the twentieth

anniversary of the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 2013 – a case that left a lasting legacy for the

Police Service and for British society at large in the way it highlights the underlying racism within

private and public life – revelations emerged that the Metropolitan Police Force had planted a spy

with the Lawrence family (Evans 2013). Several months later, news broke of the corrupt

relationship between a detective and the father of one of the suspects (Harper 2014), resulting in

further police reforms and, more recently, an inquiry into undercover policing (Dodd and Evans

2014) and police corruption (Dodd 2014b). Despite a number of attempts to silence the Stephen

Lawrence case (Evans 2013, The Guardian 2013), it has remained on the news agenda for over

two decades, with new revelations emerging on a regular basis (Dodd 2014a, The Guardian 2014).

Across the UK, the Police Service has undergone dramatic change since the Macpherson Inquiry

into Stephen Lawrence's death, which the BBC describes as 'one of the most important moments

in the modern history of criminal justice in Britain' (BBC News 2004). Seventy recommendations

emerged from the Inquiry, impacting on the training of police officers and staff in relation to

diversity. However, accusations of racism against the British Police Service continue (Adepitan 2014). For instance, Stephen's brother Stuart Lawrence made a complaint to the police in January 2013 about the excessive number of times he had been stopped and searched (Laville and Malik 2013). Only a few weeks later, Sir Peter Fahy Chief Constable of Greater Manchester Police and an ACPO member, called for legislative changes to allow affirmative action in the Police Service in order to increase the number of BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) officers, prompting *The Guardian* to describe the situation as a 'diversity crisis' (Laville 2013a). According to Fahy, more BME officers are necessary for operational and practical reasons. However, while the number of minority officers entering the Police Service has risen slowly from 2.9 per cent to 5 per cent over a ten-year period up to 2012 (Sedghi 2013), the large number of BME officers deciding to leave the profession points not only towards the difficulties of entering the Police Service, but also towards the challenges of remaining within it (Bennett 2011, Lawrence 2013). During the same week as Fahy's call for legislative changes, one of the small number of senior BME police officers retired as a result of being refused a promotion to chief officer in London (Laville 2013b) and, several months later, a legacy Police Service (previously Lothian and Borders Police in Scotland) was involved in a scandal involving the sending of racist and sexist emails via their internal email system (BBC News 2013). Overall, it appears that when racism is reported, complaints are rarely upheld, suggesting that racism is still rife within the police (Evans 2014).

In addition, police forces in England, Wales and Scotland have recently witnessed the most radical changes to the profession, that is often considered 'the last unreformed public service' (Rawnsley 2012), in decades. In Scotland, Police reforms through the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill brought about the dissolution of eight distinct Police Services, and the creation of a single Scotland-wide Police Service of Scotland, also known as Police Scotland. The Act further establishes the Police Investigation and Review Commissioner (PIRC) which is afforded new

powers. In doing so, a plurality of accountability is introduced, in particular with regards to complaints against individual officers or the Service at large (Scott, 2013a).

South of the border, Home Secretary Theresa May is undertaking the task of reforming the Police Service in England and Wales, a task that many Home Secretaries have attempted, and, according to news reporter Martin Kettle, have failed to complete (Kettle 2013). The changes May has lined up include tackling police pay structures, making changes to police probationer vetting, recruitment and promotion, expanding the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC), electing police and crime commissioners, abolishing performance targets (Greenwood 2010), and introducing a new code of ethics (Jacobs 2013, Kettle 2013, Travis 2013), among others.

Modernisation reforms of public sector organisations, North or South of the border, as well as an increasing awareness of racism and its expression and impact within British society and its institutions are two major influences on the policing landscape which tend to be viewed as separate strands and working in isolation from each other, with very little crossover between disciplines such as criminology, political sciences and sociology. Diversity management is a particularly interesting focus of examination, since it forms part of the political economy of policing, but also illuminates the changing landscape of policing. Occasionally, writers acknowledge the potential impact of austerity measures on diversity, especially in terms of the number or percentage of BME and other minority individuals in the Police Service, for instance. However, overall, few academic scholars acknowledge the impact of political, social and legal forces, such as new public management reforms, which have been imposed more or less intensely on the Police Service over the past several decades, as well as cultural forces such as occupational cultures, on diversity initiatives and interventions such as diversity training (for exceptions see Coussey 1997, Cunningham 2000). In essence, diversity training tends to be seen as operating within a decontextualised medium to reduce racism (among other '-isms'), which fulfils its purpose,

regardless of the political and occupational context. A handful of publications highlight the fact that each adaptation of diversity management to a new context is shaped and negotiated by those affected and involved (Omanovic 2006, p.online), and restrained by the occupational culture (Rowe and Garland 2007) and the changing decision-making processes (Coussey 1997, Cunningham 2000).

This thesis is interested in the ways in which changes to the political economy of policing, such as, for example, the ongoing modernisation reforms of the public services, the introduction of performance measurements, and the police merger in Scotland, impact on the Police Service, examined through the lens of diversity training. Diversity training is of particular interest since it is a key element to change, or to attempt to change, the occupational culture of the police and therefore the broader political economy of policing. Diversity is also crucial as it forms a key element of public legitimacy, and therefore impacts upon the very principle of 'policing by consent', the foundation of British policing (Jackson *et al.* 2012). Thus, focusing on Scotland, the thesis examines how the political economy of policing impacts on diversity management and diversity training in the Scottish Police Service. More specifically, the thesis asks how changes to the political economy of policing impact on the way diversity management and diversity training are approached, and, on the 'receiving' end, how we can understand the impact of these changes upon police officers and police staff. To this end, data was collected on two occasions, in 2008/9 and in 2013, a period spanning some of the most significant political and police reforms ever experienced by Scotland's current police officers and staff. Using the analytical concept of emotional ecology/ies of a profession, a concept denoting a broader and more contextually embedded approach compared to 'culture' in the sense proposed by many writers on organisations, the thesis shows that professions have strong emotional ecologies, guiding members with regards to accepted feeling and display rules in various occupational spaces (physical and interactional), and points towards various socialisation processes in transmitting these. The longitudinal data

suggests that the tensions observed in interactions between trainers and trainees during diversity courses can be understood as conflicting demands from two opposing emotional ecologies. This will aid an understanding of diversity training courses and their limitations, and the necessity to understand diversity training courses not only in themselves, but within an organisational and professional context, as well as against the wider shifting political background of reforms (Coussey 1997, Cunningham 2000).

The thesis is divided into two parts. The first part aims to contextualise current diversity management practices. It examines the extent of the impact of modernisation reforms on the UK public sector in general, and outlines their uptake within the Police Service and in Scotland. The increasingly conflicting demands and tensions that arise from introducing a market rationality into the public sector, and into the Police Service in particular, are examined in detail, highlighting the conflicting demands placed on police officers by requiring a strong service ethos while at the same time imposing ambitious targets. It is suggested that these changes introduced diversity management in the Police Service, but more crucially, a case is made for understanding and examining diversity management and training in the context of the changes.

The second part of the thesis comprises empirical explorations of the key themes. First, it examines to what extent there is support for changes to the political economy of policing, by outlining the impact of modernisation reforms. Providing crucial background information to subsequent chapters, it further tracks how changes to the political economy of policing have impacted on the management of diversity and on diversity training. The changes are compared to the prevalent practices and preoccupations from 2008/9, and reveal a significant intensification of data use through setting outcomes, measuring equality and diversity, and tracking its progress (or the lack thereof). Moreover, the extent to which diversity training is imagined to have changed is explored, based on the view of diversity practitioners. The following further two data chapters (of which

the latter is an empirical exploration) are drawn from the author's extended observations of diversity training courses as well as the voices of diversity practitioners in order to examine the changes to police emotional ecology. These investigations attempt to understand the professional emotional ecology of the police in a time of turmoil, and thereby aid an understanding of the impact of different, potentially conflicting ideologies on police officers. In essence, this part of the thesis outlines the impact of the political economy of policing on diversity training and diversity management, and as a result, the impact of newly-designed diversity training courses on the professional emotional ecology of the police.

Background

An interest in diversity and the importance of context was highlighted by two related experiences. The first is an interest in Scotland, in the public sector in general and in diversity, originating from an ESRC placement in the Scottish Government in the summer of 2008. This three-month experience in Edinburgh alerted me to the fact that little research is carried out in Scotland in general, and to the differences between Scotland on one hand and England and Wales on the other.

The placement took place in the Equality Unit of the Scottish Government in one of their Edinburgh offices near the water of Leith. The purpose of the placement was explained in the documentation received prior to starting as supporting the 'development, implementation and evaluation of the Scottish Government's policies', with core functions including the interpretation of evidence, the provision of research-based advice, and liaising with relevant research communities in order to bring expert knowledge into the policy-making process, among others (Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) 2009). I was asked to carry out an initial assessment to evaluate evidence on Islamophobia in Scotland by means of a literature review, followed by a scoping study on perceptions of Islamophobia by Scottish Muslims. In undertaking the literature review, it became apparent that very little research in the UK focuses on Scotland.

These experiences also highlighted the fact that the findings of research carried out in England only (and occasionally also in Wales) are often generalised across 'the UK' or 'Great Britain', with researchers seemingly assuming their findings' applicability across all countries within the UK or Great Britain. In many cases, writers do not even discuss Scotland and England separately due to their presumed similarities (see for instance Open Society Institute 2002, Ameli and Merali 2004), while a minority is determined that there are significant differences between Scotland and England/Wales (Hussain and Miller 2006).

After learning about the specificities of the policy context of Scotland through a training course designed to familiarise Scottish Government staff, the complexity of Scottish devolution became apparent. Devolved matters are not defined explicitly, but only indirectly, through the definition of reserved matters; to add to these complications, the course outlined that some aspects of public life can involve both devolved and reserved matters. Since that time, Scotland has moved further away from policy-making in Westminster, and with further powers promised as a result of the referendum from September 2014, the disparity between Westminster and the Scottish Government's ideas about policy-making is likely to widen still further. In addition, these differences have become more crystallised over the past two years, as austerity measures have placed more pressure on governments to prioritise their spending.

The debates, about whether and to what extent Scotland differs from the rest of the UK, also play out with regard to diversity. For instance, Hussain and Miller (2006) have put forward a persuasive argument for the differences in the ethnic and cultural make-up of the population of Scotland, and the conception of what it means to be 'Scottish' or 'English'. On the other hand, the now-disassembled Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) previously argued in their guidance manual for the Scottish Police Service that there are enough similarities between England/Wales and Scotland with regard to ethnic minority experiences to warrant the adoption

of 'English' (and often Welsh) policies, such as the Macpherson recommendations (ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2000). After the London bombings in 2005, the general attitude encountered north of the border was that 'this sort of thing wouldn't happen in Scotland'. Nonetheless, the Glasgow airport bombing did happen in 2007, and hit the Scottish consciousness particularly hard. Until then, Scotland did not think that it was vulnerable to attacks, due to its belief of less antagonistic race relations compared to England, and a more inclusive notion of citizenship (Hussain and Miller 2006).

An interest in diversity, and subsequently diversity training within Scotland, intensified further as a result of attending a diversity training course at the Scottish Government during the placement. A landscape of complex emotional responses to the training surfaced, and the interactions between the training content, the trainees and the trainers were in stark contrast to the largely negative emotions captured by writers exploring diversity training (see for examples in Southgate 1982, Southgate 1984, Rowe and Garland 2007, Kowal *et al.* 2013). It struck me that the motivations attributed to these negative emotions in diversity training interactions are seen solely in terms of individual personalities. The underlying message that emerges from the academic literature is that if police officers and police staff are hesitant, aggressive or resistant to diversity training, the reasons lie solely within the characteristics of the individual (i.e. the trainee is racist, sexist and so on). While this may well be the case in some instances, an analysis along these lines neither does justice to the majority of police officers, nor does it even attempt to view emotional responses in the light of their context, such as conventional police culture (an exception is Rowe and Garland 2007), or the political and economic context. This issue becomes even more pressing when considering the 'shifting organizational context' (Cunningham 2000, p.701) due to public sector reforms, modernisation and other changes. These political and professional reforms necessarily impact on the management of diversity, as well as on experiences of diversity training. Scotland's selective approach to new public management, with an enthusiastic uptake of aspects such as

accountability and transparency combined with a concomitant rejection of other aspects such as internal markets, in addition to the potential for more divergence over the coming years, render Scotland an interesting context for further research.

However, the research process was not linear. Access proved particularly difficult, with many doors closed before one, and subsequently many more, opened. During this time, the UK experienced a financial crisis, plunged into a recession, and experienced the worst citizen unrest in almost two decades. Thirteen years of Labour government ended in Westminster in 2010, only to result in a hung parliament, and eventually a Coalition Government consisting of the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. In Scotland, the left-leaning Scottish National Party (SNP) won the majority of seats in the 2011 elections, becoming increasingly politically divergent from Westminster. In addition, from the start of the research process, there had been suggestions of police reform in Scotland. The rumours of what this could mean for individual diversity practitioners preoccupied almost everyone encountered during the initial research period, but little was known until a public decision was made by the Scottish Government in September 2011 on the nature and scope of police reforms in Scotland. Towards the end of the writing process, news of what these changes would eventually mean rapidly emerged. The object under investigation moved continuously, making it very difficult to 'fix' it for the purpose of the thesis. Nevertheless, all the changes turned the focus of the thesis towards questions that had been of concern from the start:

- How have changes to the political economy of policing impacted on the way diversity management and diversity training are approached? And:

- How do we understand the impact of these changes upon police officers and police staff?

Chapter outline

Following this introduction, eight separate chapters address the aims of the thesis.

Chapter One provides the reader with background to the research context. It contextualises current diversity management practices in the public sector by outlining the political economy of policing. First, a general outline of new public management (NPM) is provided, differentiating between recent developments in Scotland compared to England and Wales, followed by an introduction to the police service (English/Welsh and Scottish) and the main features of and debates around conventional police culture. In Scotland, the Police Service has recently undergone radical restructuring with the creation of a single service, consolidating eight separate forces into the Police Service of Scotland; and Chapter One will show that the professionalisation of the police developed hand-in-hand with the modernisation agenda. Finally, Chapter One examines social impetuses for change, such as the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, the two Chhokar Inquiries in Scotland, and the murder of Simon San in Edinburgh.

Chapter Two proceeds to provide a short overview of how diversity is planned and recommended to be managed in the public sector, followed by a short appraisal of the literature outlining the impact of recent legislation and recommendations on diversity policies and practices within the public sector. More specifically, the review considers two major pieces of Westminster legislation and three influential policy recommendations since 2006. These suggest that diversity has been 'bureaucratised' (Mirza 2006), demanding that diversity practitioners focus on defining diversity, and measuring and tracking progress along policy lines. The orthodox management literature on diversity mirrors this trend and takes it further by attempting to measure the impact of diversity on various aspects of organisational performance. Overall, Chapter Two demonstrates that some aspects of the reforms, as discussed in Chapter One, have affected the way diversity management is thought of and hoped to be managed, requiring that diversity management and diversity training

be approached in a functional manner, with clear outcomes and markers against which progress can be measured.

Chapter Three begins by questioning the premise of such a 'rational' approach to diversity management, revealing the normality of a plethora of emotions in organisational life in general, and therefore necessarily in diversity training courses. However, the thesis is not concerned about emotions per se, but rather how observed emotional reactions represent people's involvement with and attachment to their work. In the case of an occupation such as the police, this represents a strong professional ethos guided by a particular emotional ecology and its feeling and display rules that become internalised (and normalised) through a period of initial training and then continually endorsed through immersion in the day-to-day life of 'being' a police (wo)man. Thus it explores the emotional ecologies of various professional groups, arguing that these are an important component of occupational cultures. The term 'emotional ecology' is used to denote a broader and more contextually embedded concept compared to 'emotional culture' in the sense proposed by many writers on organisation.

The chapter subsequently suggests the possibility that the culture changes discussed in Chapter One and Two might express themselves as tensions and/or conflicts in interactions during diversity training. The chapter suggests that one way of examining the emotions that occur at such training courses is to closely examine the feeling and display rules that make up the emotional ecology of the police, as well as examining more closely the places and the interactions in which they take place. Particular attention is also paid to the shaping of feeling and display rules, and to this end, Becker and his colleague's writing (Becker *et al.* 1977/2007) on professional socialisation and the shaping of values and behaviour, as well as Strauss' writing on identity (1959/2008) is drawn upon. Using Bolton (1999, 2005a), Goffman (1961, 1969/1990) and Fineman's (1993b, 2003) writing on emotions, zones and organisations, it is argued that feeling and display rules are

important insofar as they shape the emotions and the professional demeanour that police officers are expected, and expect themselves, to display in police spaces, as well as in their interactions with the public and with each other. In short, the chapter argues that an exploration of such emotions in police spaces is an opportunity to aid an understanding of the impact of political and professional changes on police staff and officers, as well as the impact of diversity training, through an exploration of the notion of professional emotional ecologies.

The fourth chapter builds on the analytical tools outlined in Chapter Three, and makes a case for presenting extended narratives based on the author's observations of diversity training courses, in order to tap into the potential tensions and contradictions expressed by police officers during these courses. The chapter further suggests that such narratives are best accessed through an interpretative approach. Whilst maintaining the contextual focus, the concept of professional emotional ecology allows for an exploration of the micro-world that police inhabit on a day-to-day basis. In so doing, the thesis offers an analytical bridge between the shifting political background of reforms and the experience of police officers and staff and their interactions within diversity training courses. Chapter Four also discusses the difficulties encountered in the research, the ways in which they were overcome or addressed, and the precise ways in which the longitudinal research was carried out over the six-year period.

Chapter Five is the first of three data chapters, and its purpose is to provide background to Chapter Six and Seven by tracing the impact of changes to the political economy of policing on equality and diversity practices at Police Scotland. It begins to address the research questions by providing an insightful view of the ways in which diversity professionals working in the police in Scotland contextualise their practices and identities within broader structural changes. The longitudinal design of the research, taking place several years before and a few months after significant modernisation reforms to the Police Service, allows for a unique snapshot of changes in motion.

Interviews with significant diversity practitioners within Police Scotland confirm Mirza's (2006) and Ahmed's (2007a) views of the trends towards the bureaucratisation of diversity, and the intensification of the professionalisation of policing. The evidence collected suggests that the nature of the experiences of diversity professionals became more varied across the six-year period during which data collection took place, providing a point for comparison as well as a means to consolidate the impact of modernisation reforms on diversity practitioners. Furthermore, diversity practitioners report significant changes to diversity training across the six-year period. Diversity is now incorporated into mainstream police training in addition to being taught as a stand-alone subject, and has become more operationally relevant. Crucially, rather than teaching diversity, diversity practitioners attempt to 'open up' police culture and to allow outsiders to challenge it.

Chapter Six aims to examine the changes to police culture through the concept of emotional ecology by considering the voices of diversity practitioners as well as the observations of the author of diversity training courses. Drawing on data from 2008/9 and 2013 provides a rich, immersive and unique insight into diversity training and the emotional ecology of the police. The findings suggest that many characteristics of orthodox police culture and its emotional ecology are evident in Scotland and outlines the effects of changes to the political economy of policing on the emotional ecology of the police, such as subtle changes to the expression of masculinity. Diversity training appears to have undergone dramatic changes too, affecting its content and its delivery. For instance, training courses are moving away from an information-based approach to one that attempts to erode and change certain aspects of the emotional ecology of the police. More specifically, interviews and extended observations show that current feeling and display rules as well as the professional emotional demeanour are challenged through new professional socialisation practices, training courses pushing senior officers to rethink practices and act out a new emotional ecology, as well as diversity practitioners finding a stronger voice. The chapter concludes that a number of emotional demands are placed on officers, police emotional ecology as

it currently is and police emotional ecology as is hoped to be, with visible impact upon the professional identities of officers and staff.

Finally, Chapter Seven brings together threads from the previous two chapters, and argues that the emotional ecology of the police is changing gradually. Using the analytical framework of emotional ecology, it begins by examining how diversity practitioners attempt to change the professional emotional ecology of the police through offering a different set of categorisations (Strauss 1959/2008). Following on, it describes how and where conflict is expressed and played out within various police (training) spaces, and drawing on Goffman (1961, 1969/1990), Bolton (1999, 2005a) and Fineman (1993b, 2003), suggests that spaces are a crucial conceptual tool in that they reveal the emotional ecology of policing. Training spaces are where the emotional ecology is supported, reinforced, undermined and challenged reveal as much about what the emotional ecology is, as what it is not. Overall, the analysis indicates that diversity training appears to be attempting to change the emotional ecology of the police through a number of processes. Moreover, the chapter reveals a significant intensification of these processes over the research period between 2008/9 and 2013, and suggests that at the second point of data collection in particular, a collision of two emotional ecologies in diversity training courses was evident, due to an intensification of challenges to the orthodox police culture. Finally, it suggests that these two emotional ecologies are at opposite ends of the spectrum, placing significant tensions on officers who struggle to reconcile them.

Following a short summary of the thesis, the concluding chapter ends by restating the limited value of diversity management and diversity training as a decontextualised, off-the-shelf managerial tool. The Conclusion argues that in order to understand diversity management and diversity training, one must place it within the context of a specific occupation and its emotional ecology, examining the impact of changes to diversity management and diversity training, and, in

turn, examining the impact of such profession- and emotional ecology-specific training on trainees, which forms the main theoretical contribution of this thesis. Secondly, the thesis not only provides a unique insight into the impact of the sweeping political, social and economic changes of recent years on police officers, but the study's longitudinal design over a six-year period enables the research to capture diversity management and diversity training as a moving object that finds itself subject to many changes.

Chapter One

The Political Economy of Policing

This chapter aims to contextualise current diversity management practices in the public sector. In order to do so, a close examination of context-specific factors such as the professional background and ethos of the Police Service, as well as the political context in which it operates are provided. The chapter proceeds in chronological order. It first provides a general outline of new public management (NPM), and shows that the professionalisation of the police has developed hand-in-hand with the modernisation agenda, particularly in Scotland, where the Police Service has recently undergone radical restructuring with the creation of the single Police Service, Police Scotland. At this point the thesis turns to the context of Scotland, following the widespread claim that Scotland's policy-making differs significantly from Westminster's. The chapter concludes

with a discussion of the cataclysmic events in Britain in general and Scotland in particular that have changed and shaped the diversity landscape within the criminal justice system.

Overall, this and the following chapter introduce context and history to diversity management in the Police Service in Scotland, and makes a case for examining diversity management and training in the context of these changes. This is particularly important since the majority of studies on diversity management/training are ahistorical, acontextual and aprocessual in nature, and are aspects this thesis wishes to address by providing context, history and process.

New Public Management

New public management (NPM) can be broadly described as a set of practices or a 'style of management' (Carter 2000, p.62) and a particular way of thinking about managing the public sector. More specifically, NPM describes changes to the way public services have been run and 'managed' in the UK, but also in many other countries in Europe and in the US, since the 1980s (Pollitt 1990). Pollitt summarises the main features of these reforms, including: an emphasis on outcomes and outputs, away from inputs and processes; a strong focus on accountability and therefore the quantification of outcomes or outputs through the use of new procedures and auditing processes, such as 'performance indicators'; and a move away from 'large, multi-purpose, hierarchical ministries and departments' to more 'specialized, 'lean', 'flat' and autonomous organizational forms' (Pollitt 2003, p.27). Further characteristics emphasise the introduction and preference of contractual relationships and market-type mechanisms through, for instance, the use of 'competitive tendering' (Ascher 1987, cited in Pollitt, 2003), as well as an 'emphasis on service quality and a consumer orientation', a 'broadening and blurring of the frontiers between the public sector, the market sector and the voluntary sector' through partnerships, the employment of consultants or the outsourcing of contracts, and a shift in values 'towards efficiency and individualism' (p. 28). In essence, these NPM components are private sector management

techniques and ideologies that have superseded the traditional public administration ethos and approach in the quest for more efficiency, cost-effectiveness and transparency. While the emphasis given to particular key components of NPM may vary slightly across the literature on NPM in the UK, there is remarkable overlap and consensus in the literature regarding the characteristics and components of NPM (Pollitt, 2003, p. 27).

New Labour's ambitions for the public sector

While NPM is often associated with the conservative governments in the UK and US in the late 1970s and 1980s, Butterfield, et al. (Butterfield, Edwards, and Woodall, 2004) point out that NPM is more recently 'held to denote a second wave of reforms in the 1990s that has promoted management, consumerism and competition alongside the previous concern with efficiency' (p. 396). Aside from the terminological change from NPM to 'modernisation', there are debates as to whether New Labour's terms in office after 1997 and their 'modernisation' agenda signalled a more substantive change from what Janet Newman calls 'the neo-liberal approach of the 1980s and 1990s' (2001, p. 1).

Newman, in her detailed account of New Labour's political ambitions and policy-making, presents a complex picture and analysis of New Labour's 'modernisation' programme for the public sector. In essence, Newman argues that New Labour's policies can be 'understood as an attempt to retain the economic gains of Thatcherism, while invoking a set of moral and civic values through which Labour sought to reshape civil society' (Newman 2001, p.2). More specifically, Newman shows that a continuation and intensification of auditing and inspection regimes built upon and extended new public management ideas through target-setting and the quantification of services in general, such as through 'league tables'. Nevertheless, Cunningham points out that New Labour refocused on social aspects of society such as education, health, poverty, and matters of diversity and

equality, breaking from previous 'New Right funding cuts and hostility towards equal opportunities' (Cunningham 2000, p.704).

The police

It is within the context of an ongoing modernisation agenda, that the British Police Service, a social institution, is charged with the mandate to maintain social order and enforce the law through the process of policing (Reiner 2010). In September 2013, there were 128,351 full-time equivalent police officers employed in the 43 police forces in England and Wales in (Home Office 2014), and in March 2014 there were 17,244 full-time equivalent police officers employed in Scotland (The Scottish Government 2014). In order to maintain public order, police officers are sanctioned to 'wield legal sanction' and, to this end, use 'legitimate force' (Reiner 2010, p.7), with the support of police community support officers (England and Wales only), special constables and police staff.

Police training differs slightly between the countries within the UK. Training is extensive, lasting on average two years, and combines a variety of formal training environments and supervised on-the-job training in the community. Although not mandatory, the highest level of training can culminate in the Diploma in Police Service Leadership and Management in Scotland (Scottish Police College 2013), and the Level 3 Diploma in Policing in England and Wales. Training provides formal socialisation through the Police Colleges, and more informal socialisation within the trainee's home Police Service (Kappeler *et al.* 1998, in Paoline III 2003). Both means of socialisation provide 'the new member with a set of rules, perspectives, techniques, and/or tools for him[1] to continue as a participant in the organization' (van Maanen 1974, p.86). Group cohesion and loyalty are emphasised during training, and this message is conveyed through strict adherence to rules (van Maanen 1974, Reiner 2010), a military-style approach to teaching and learning (Reiss

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[1] The constant reference to the masculine in that era of writing is the norm.

1921), and uniformity with regard to 'appearance, attitude, and behavior' (Paoline III 2003, p.203). Training based on the military-bureaucratic model encourages rules and hierarchy, maintains a large distance from the population it serves, and focuses on 'protection, repression and control of massive public disorder' (Ponsaers 2001, p.474). Rowe and Garland claim that the emphasis on conformity and rote learning as a training method addresses the 'cognitive' domain to the detriment of 'affective domain' (p. 399). On the whole, police occupational culture is 'short-termist', reflecting 'its function as an emergency service' (Holland 2007, p.169). This equips the Police Service to deal with crises and emergencies by responding to incidents quickly and then moving on to the next incident, although it is argued that it does not encourage effective strategies to deal with incidents or aspects of policing that require long-term solutions and a long-term approach, due to what Holland calls 'organisational memory loss' (p.169).

The work of the police and the challenges they face in their day-to-day working lives have been described by a number of authors who have conducted large-scale ethnographies, such as Banton's famous 'policeman in the community' (1964), Reiner's 'blue coated workers' (1978) and Holdaway's 'force at work' (1983), and more recently Loftus (2010). Common to these descriptions of police culture is the anticipation and actual experience of danger and unpredictability (Skolnick 1994), which are consistent features of the environment police officers find themselves in. It is argued across the literature on police culture that these conditions and pressures 'shape a distinctive and characteristic culture [...] albeit with differing emphases across time and space and with internal variations' (Loftus 2010, p. 116), related to rank, individual differences, departments, policing philosophies, and so on. It is argued that even philosophical changes, such as the 'broad shift towards community policing' (Loftus 2010, p.2), and radical changes in the make-up of police forces have not affected the 'core characteristics' of 'cop culture' (Reiner 2010, p.118) among contemporary police forces. This does not mean that police culture is 'all-powerful, homogenous and deterministic' (Chan 1996, p.112), leaving little scope for the

actions and interpretations of individual officers. This conception of police culture would pose serious problems, since complete detachment from 'the external environment leaves little scope for a cultural change' (Chan 1996, p.112), such as attempted changes in policing philosophy or changes resulting from diversity training courses. Instead environmental conditions are said to largely shape the experiences and occupational cultures of police forces in any democratic country (van Maanen 1974): not because police culture does not change, but because 'its themes and tropes are constantly reinvented and reproduced as they are rooted in constant problems that officers face in carrying out the role they are mandated to perform' (Reiner 2010, p.118).

According to Loftus (2010), ethnographies on the Police Service over the past six decades describe 'recurring features within police culture' (p. 1) that underpin police identity:

> 'Police, it is said, have an exaggerated sense of mission towards their role and crave work that is crime oriented and promises excitement. They celebrate masculine exploits, show willingness to use force and engage in informal working practices. Officers are continually suspicious, lead socially isolated lives and display defensive solidarity with colleagues. They are mainly conservative in politics and morality, and their culture is marked by cynicism and pessimism' (p. 1-2)

A persistent feature of the literature are descriptions of police cultures as strongly masculine, with an emphasis on 'crime-fighting' and 'physical toughness' (Dick and Cassell 2002, p.956). This 'macho' culture is commonly linked with the 'ugly side' of policing, such as racist language and racism, sexism, stereotyping, bullying, sexual harassment and sexual banter (Martin 1990, Brown 1998), and 'the abuse of police powers' (Chan 1996, p.119). This part of police culture was described by Lord Macpherson (1999), who located racism at the institutional level of the police by using the concept of 'institutional racism'. Nevertheless, police culture is also thought to be

conducive to dealing with negative emotions experienced on the job, such as stress, and helps to manage the 'strains created by the nature of police work and the punitive practices of police management and supervision' (Paoline III 2003, p.204). Many authors therefore argue that police culture is 'functional to the survival of police officers' (Chan 1996, p.111), and acts as a coping mechanism to help with role ambiguity (Paoline III 2003), as well as with the stress and anxiety associated with police work (described by Manning 1994, Paoline III 2003).

These features of police culture(s) underpin the identity of police officers, regardless of the broader philosophical shifts towards community or community-oriented policing that became popular in the mid-1980s and early 1990s. Features of this approach to policing emphasise 'multifunctionality, community, co-production, partnership, decentralisation, flat hierarchy, service, despecialisation, making grass roots police responsible and proactivity' (Ponsaers 2001, p.479), many of which values are in direct contrast with the values propagated during training and previous models of policing. Ethnographic research shows that these 'key cultural features' have endured, since political and social changes and reforms have increased social inequality and thus the pressures on the Police Service (Loftus 2010). The detailed study on community policing carried out by Ramshaw (2012) demonstrates that 'macho forms of interaction' (p. 219) and a focus on crime control above all else are still at the forefront of community police officers' work and are valued most highly. Officers who embrace the full array of tasks associated with community policing, such as truancy patrol and maintaining a friendly and a supportive role within a community, are reported to find themselves at the periphery of their team, as their work is seen as outside the remit of what 'constitutes 'real' and 'proper' police work' (p. 227). Resistance towards 'softer policing' and what Westmarland (2001) calls the 'feminizing' of police work is, according to Bolton and Muzio (2008), part of being a professional police officer. They claim that 'to be (or to aspire to be) a professional is 'to do' gender; to comply with behavioural and interactional norms that celebrate and sustain a masculine vision of what it is to be a professional' (p. 283). Therefore,

conceptions of masculinity are inherent in professionalism and male and female police officers both play a part in perpetuating barriers for women in the Police Service (Dick and Cassell 2002, Chan *et al.* 2010).

Police professionalisation: from 'pleb' to 'professional'

Overall, police officers have displayed significant resilience in the face of change, maintaining their devotion to public service and the ability to use their own discretion since the establishment of the 'new police' through an 'institution of a bureaucratic organization of professionals' between 1829 and 1956 (Reiner 2010, p.43). Nevertheless, there have been concerns about the professional status of the police for quite some time. Heslop (2011a) points out that the Police Service lacks a professional body, a professional registration system, a code of ethics and a body of specialist knowledge. This, Heslop argues, stems from the way that the 'British Police Service has always been far closer to Weber's (1921) ideal type of bureaucracy than any model of a profession' (p. 314). Over the past decade, however, strong aspirations for the Police Service to become a recognised profession developed. Suggestions for how to achieve this have included a degree requirement for new entrants and more emphasis on encouraging 'reflective professional practice' during training (Foster 1999, p.382), preferably at higher education institutions (Savage and Wright 1999). The IPLDP (Initial Police Learning and Development Programme) in England and Wales, and the Diploma in Policing in Scotland have emerged to address these perceived shortcomings. Moreover, a new professional police body has been set up in England and Wales, the College of Policing, which opened its doors in December 2012. This, Neyroud (2012) argues, will not only act as a police college, but also as a professional body overseeing standards, providing evidence-based training with the involvement of the higher education sector, and equipping officers with well-understood codes of ethics.

The need for professionalisation is argued as being rooted in two perceived issues. First, Savage and Wright (1999) argue that police training is outdated, and police colleges need to adapt and train to be able to provide 'appropriate policing into the next millennium'. Second, Foster (1999) and Heslop (2010, Heslop 2011a) place the push towards professionalisation within a broader context of reforms to modernise the police force, and suggest that professionalisation has been imposed 'from above' by government-led reforms. Regardless of the motives, professionalisation and the concurrent focus on education rather than training, Foster hopes, will help officers deal with the complexity of technology and the new managerial focus, increasing their creativity and therefore their ability to cope with increased uncertainty. Moreover, Neyroud (2012), who helped to set up the new police professional body, argues that establishing an evidence base for policing will move the police from 'old professionalism' to 'new professionalism', and from a highly prescribed and disciplinary approach towards a discretionary approach based on research and craft. The higher professional abilities of the police officer as a result of these reforms will, Neyroud argues, elevate the social status of the officer from 'pleb' to 'professional'.[2]

NPM and the police: how it has worked in England and Wales

A number of authors have carried out specific research into the modernisation of individual parts of the public sector such as the NHS (Carter 2000, Johns 2005), the criminal justice system in general (McLaughlin, Muncie, and Hughes, 2001; McLaughlin, Muncie, Clarke, and Gewirtz, 2000) and the Police Service in particular (McLaughlin and Murji 1993, Butterfield *et al*. 2004, McLaughlin 2005). The criminal justice sector in England and Wales is an important field for reform, as New Labour's election campaign, 'tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime', was deemed to be crucial in their 1997 victory (McLaughlin *et al*. 2001, p.301), and in their

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[2] Neyroud refers to 'plebgate', which occurred in October 2012, and concerns the allegation that Chief Whip MP Andrew Mitchell called a police officer a 'pleb'. This turned out to be untrue.

'ideological rebirth' as 'New Labour' (McLaughlin and Muncie 2000, p.169). However, NPM reforms in the Police Service were distinctively different from those in other sectors, and both the calls for reforms and their implementation were marked by fierce opposition from and negotiations with a number of police associations, making the police 'almost unique in the extent to which they have remained resistant to reform as witnessed in other policy sectors' (Leishman *et al.* 1996a, p.19), at least until the mid 1990s.

With its victory in the 1997 elections, New Labour's 'modernisation' reforms did not move away from NPM principles, but built upon NPM reforms and to some extent extended them further. McLaughlin (2005) suggests that New Labour 'refined the centralising logics of the existing legislative framework to ensure that police force and police authority efforts were directed to realising both what Whitehall defined as 'best value' and crime reduction targets' (p. 475). By this, McLaughlin means that police officers were now accountable to the Home Office through various auditing procedures such as the new Policing Performance Assessment Framework, which hopes to identify 'strong and weak performance and identify good practice across a range of indicators' (p. 477).

Another aspect that was introduced into the Police Service in both England/Wales and Scotland is performance monitoring. Again, this was based on the conviction that the Police Service 'required a much clearer steer in its objectives' (Waters 2000, p.274). According to Leishman and his colleagues (1996a), this resulted in both centralisation and decentralisation: the latter since Police Services became responsible for deciding how objectives were met, and the former since the Home Office was to set the objectives. Essentially, this division segregated the 'steering from rowing' (Osborne and Gaebler 1992, p.34). There is an ongoing debate about whether performance indicators can ever reflect the complexity of police work, as one ACPO member pondered on the development of new performance indicators in 1998, stating that 'they cannot

encapsulate the totality of policing in the sense of its contribution to the social fabric of this country' (Waters 2000, p.279). As a result, Theresa May, current Home Secretary, axed performance targets for the police in England and Wales in 2010, partly to refocus on fighting crime, but also to ameliorate the impact of recent budget cuts on service delivery (Greenwood 2010).

The Coalition Government and the police

The Coalition Government, comprising the Conservative party and the Liberal Democrats, followed in Labour's footsteps after the election in May 2010, inheriting the aftermath of the Western financial crisis in 2008 and its ongoing repercussions. Their time in power has thus far been marked by smaller and larger crises in policing, such as the unlicensed Taser use on Raoul Moat, the Mark Duggan incident and the subsequent riots in London and other large English cities in the summer of 2011, the handling of Ian Tomlinson's death, and the never-ending phone hacking scandal revealing the 'cosy relationship' between Rupert Murdoch and senior police officers from Scotland Yard (Brogden and Ellison 2013, p.12). These crises and scandals marked the beginning of further, widespread reforms, and in particular 'the advent of the criminal justice guillotine cuts', i.e. a 20 per cent cut in state policing over the course of four years (Brogden and Ellison 2013, p.12). Brogden and Ellison believe that 'an ideological subtext permeates the Coalition Government's response' (p. 7) to these upheavals, and that the Coalition Government has used these as an opportunity to expand the privatisation of the public sector (p. 13). Brogden and Ellison provide two major points to support their claim, which will be discussed below.

PCCs & the Big Society

The recent election of local police and crime commissioners (PCCs) followed the ideas of the last Labour Government, but was branded as part of the Conservatives' flagship 'Big Society' policy manifesto. The basis of 'Big Society' is the idea that decision-making needs to be returned to the

local level, empowering local people to change their environment and determine the priorities of their local Police Service. According to Brogden and Ellison (2013), the idea of PCCs aspires to do just that: to increase police accountability on a local level by responding to the demands of local people, hoping that their concerns would reflect 'local crime and 'quality' of life matters' (p. 53). Their role is defined by the Home Office as to listen

> '…to the public and then respond to their needs, bringing more of a public voice to policing and giving the public a name and a face to complain to if they aren't satisfied' (Home Office online).

The publication of crime statistics is argued as a means of informing citizens of important areas on which their local force should focus. According to local demands, PCCs set the agenda and allocate resources accordingly, but also appoint, dismiss and hold chief constables accountable for their actions (Morgan 2011). However, while listening to the community's concerns and responding to them can only be a positive development, relying entirely on popular opinion in setting priorities for local Police Services can be detrimental to national and international (covert) operations, and slowly undermine the professional judgement and identity of police officers. At the same time, Morgan (2011) argues that along with promoting 'Big Society', the Conservative government aims to reduce 'Big Government', and this is being achieved largely by 'outsourcing' responses to community concerns to the private and third sectors (Morgan 2011, Brogden and Ellison 2013).

Outsourcing of police work

The Coalition Government imposed dramatic budget cuts of 20 per cent on the Police Services of England and Wales, to be implemented between 2010/11 and 2014/5. Brogden and Ellison argue, however, that these cuts do not reflect a coherent modernisation plan by ensuring a 'clearer vision of the police role' and ways to maintain 'coordination with other criminal justice agencies'

(Brogden and Ellison 2013, p.23). For instance, many local magistrates' courts have been shut in England and Wales, the building of police buildings and prisons has been put on hold despite overpopulated prisons, the funding of the CPS (Crown Prosecution Service) has been reduced by 25 per cent, with similar trends being observed in victim support and social services. Brogden and Ellison insightfully argue that these cuts have an incremental effect, each exacerbating the others and increasing workloads for police officers as they adjust to cuts elsewhere. In addition, funding cuts have been carried out across the criminal justice sector as a whole, but depending on the level of local government funding, some Police Services have been more severely affected than others.

It is important to point out that Scotland is not introducing PCCs, but is going through reforms of its own: in April 2013, a single Police Service, the Police Service of Scotland, more commonly known as Police Scotland, replaced the eight previous individual services. The appointed Chief Constable Stephen House, previously Chief Constable of Strathclyde Police, has begun to cut 'many, many hundreds' (BBC News 2012) of civilian staff in order to reduce costs, in addition to streamlining support services across the eight legacy forces. The idiosyncrasies of Scotland and its policy context in comparison to England and Wales will be discussed in the next section.

A brief overview of the 'Scottish' approach to policy-making and policing

Within Scotland, many prominent Scottish politicians and writers argue that Scotland requires 'Scottish solutions to Scottish problems' (Mooney and Williams, 2006, p. 609), and would like to take a 'Scottish approach' (Croall 2006, p.598). This debate had culminated in the quest for independence by the current party in government, the Scottish National Party (SNP), which was narrowly rejected by the Scottish people in September 2014. A number of authors (Hassan and Warhurst 2002, McGarvey and Shephard 2002) echo these sentiments by purporting that Scottish attitudes to social policy matters have always differed substantially from their English and Welsh counterparts, and that there was hope that these could translate into very different policies

following devolution. Similarly, Mooney, Scott and Williams (2006) argue that social policy could be and has been shaped according to Scottish needs and values, leading to greater policy divergence from England and Wales since the start of devolution through the 1998 Scotland Act. The manifesto for Scotland's independence further outlines the SNP's vision to shape Scotland's policies in a way that is, in many cases, diametrically opposed to the Coalition Government's approach (The Scottish Government 2013), and despite a 'No vote', some could still be pursued with the prospect of further devolved powers over the coming years.

The 'Scottish approach' is often said to be more strongly rooted in 'welfarist principles' (Croall, 2006, p. 587), collectivism and social democratic values (Mooney and Williams, 2006, p. 617), compared to England and to some extent Wales. Overall, the argument that is usually presented suggests that due to the small size of Scotland, its more collectivist-oriented attitudes and the relatively intense involvement of interest groups through consultations, a fertile ground has been created for potentially unique 'Scottish' policy solutions.[3] However, the extent to which policy divergence can and does occur between England/Wales and Scotland, and also pre- and post-devolution[4], is heavily contested within the academic literature (see for example Croall, 2006 and Keating, 2001). Two constraining factors are the broader legislative and contextual framework in which Scottish policy-making sits, and the adoption of new public management practices and ideas which have been similarly, but not uniformly, welcomed north as well as south of the border – both of which shall be explored in more detail below.

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[3] It is important to note at this point that the idea of a uniform Scotland with uniform 'Scottish problems' is heavily contested, as is the suggestion that devolution occurred immediately and evenly across all affected policy areas. Mooney, et al. (2006), for instance, point out that 'devolution has been asymmetrical, fluctuating over time, across the different nations and regions – and across different policy areas, particularly in relation to social and welfare policies' (p. 486).

[4] Most comparisons are carried out in opposition to England and Wales, or pre- and post- devolution.

Regarding the former point, Keating (2001) argues that the idea of a uniquely Scottish approach is severely limited by the fact that Scottish policies and legislation have to answer to the European Union and to Westminster for reserved aspects. Even if the Scottish people had voted in favour of independence in the recent referendum, Scotland remains bound by EU legislation. Croall (2006) furthermore argues that any policy-making in Scotland will be 'affected by global influences' (p. 587) such as globalisation, as well as more local influences, such as the 'welfare state settlement', which emphasises universal entitlements across the entire United Kingdom[5] (Keating, 2001, p. 95). Similarly, the legal framework limits the extent to which Scottish policy-making can deviate (Williams and De Lima 2006).

However, the picture becomes more complex with regard to equality and diversity policies. There is extended scope for Scotland to shape the equalities agenda through Schedule 5 of the Scotland Act following devolution, according to Maxwell and colleagues (Maxwell *et al.* 2004). This clause allows the Scottish Parliament 'to encourage equal opportunities and place duties on Scottish and cross-border public bodies to have due regard to existing equal opportunities legislation (principally on gender, race and disability) in their work in devolved areas' (Scottish Executive 2000, p.5), despite the fact that equality and employment legislation is reserved to Whitehall. This example demonstrates the sheer complexity of policy-making in a devolved nation. Thus, it might be apt to quote Keating (2001) at this point, who suggests that 'policy divergence might be a matter of degree rather than nature, but [...] its scope should be greater under devolution' (p. 95),

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[5] This has, of course, been challenged by Scotland's provision of free care for the elderly and the different financing of higher education for Scottish students in Scotland, which were introduced in 2002 and 2000 respectively (Mooney & Scott, 2005).

highlighting the limited scope to influence and shape policy-making within Scotland, compared to England/Wales.

The second major constraint on divergent Scottish policy-making is often referred to as 'political factors'. Many predicted that Scotland would not necessarily follow England's, or rather New Labour's, 'neo-liberalist policies' (see also Hassan and Warhurst 2002, Croall 2006, p.590), based on the assumption that Scotland would maintain its welfarist stance towards social policy (Garland 1999), and despite the fact that devolution itself was part of New Labour's modernisation agenda (Mooney and Williams 2006). In fact, however, Poole and Mooney argue that the 'modernisation agenda' was also taken on by the Scottish Executive, despite the possibility of a 'distinctively Scottish social policy agenda' (Poole and Mooney 2006, p.562), enabled by the Scotland Act since 1998[6]. Keating's analysis leads to the same conclusion, stating that 'the public-service reform programme in Whitehall is closely linked to its Scottish equivalent, based on business practice, managerial efficiency and satisfying 'customers'' (Keating 2005, p.170). Similarly, Poole and Mooney also dispute the 'often taken for granted view that Scottish social policy making is necessarily informed by a more 'public service' and collectivist ethos' (2006, p.563), which forms the underlying assumption of the purported differences in policy-making between Scotland and England/Wales. There has evidently been some debate as to whether the social democratic outlook adopted by Scotland has affected the extent to which modernisation reforms have been implemented and adopted, and overall, there appear to be some differences in 'policy substance and [...] policy style' (Keating, 2005, p. 170).

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[6] It should be noted that this Act does not clarify the powers granted to the Scottish Executive, but rather specifies the policy and legislative areas reserved to the UK Government.

A major limitation of this discussion is that the majority of the papers discussed above were published soon after devolution occurred and while Scotland was governed by New Labour. As such, some of the publications, particularly the earlier ones, might more accurately reflect hopeful desires or expectations for a different Scotland, rather than a reflection of the social policy-making process in Scotland (Mooney, Scott and Williams, 2006, p. 487/488). On a similar note, Keating (2010) suggests that the pressure for policy conformity with Whitehall has lessened with the change of Scotland's government to the SNP in 2007, since 'opportunities for this pressure have been less available' (p. 209). This, evidently, poses the question as to whether the focus on new public management or 'Third Way' practices in the public sector in Scotland have decreased or even disappeared as a result, or become more 'Scottish' and decoupled from New Labour's or the Coalition Government's policy directions.

Research from 2005-2006 indicates that new public management discourses and practices in the criminal justice system in Scotland have in fact intensified since devolution. Croall (2006), writing on youth justice in Scotland and the Children's Hearing System in particular, states that 'more managerial and punitive approaches are evident in the setting of targets for persistent offenders' (p. 594), but that in general, she could still identify 'elements more typical of the Scottish approach' (p. 598) across a number of aspects of the criminal justice system. This feeling seems to be reflected by a number of authors who have presented clear evidence that 'more business-type approaches' are being developed in Scotland (Fyfe *et al.* 2006, p.634), as, after all, 'devolution is a New Labour project. As such it is [...] interlinked with other areas of New Labour's social and political project' (Mooney *et al.* 2006, p.494). Similarly, having examined social policy-making in a devolved Scotland in general, Mooney and Williams (2006) have come to the conclusion that: 'neo-liberalism and market driven policies do not halt at the borders between England and Scotland or Wales (despite the presence of enduring myths that Scottish and Welsh 'collectiveness' will 'protect' those nations from neo-liberalism – or its worst effects)' (p. 617).

Recent research by (Fyfe 2010) similarly claims that this 'neoliberal logic' (p. 180) now thoroughly underpins policing in Scotland. This could be attributed in some part to the political changes in Scotland in 2007, with the change from a New Labour/Liberal Democrat coalition to the Scottish National Party (SNP), and their introduction of a national policy framework called 'Scotland Performs'. On the official government website, 'Scotland Performs' is described as offering 'accountability based on national priorities set out in the National Performance Framework' (The Scottish Government online-c). This policy outlook has a strong grounding in evidence-based policy-making, and a strong focus on the measurement of change and accountability.

The National Performance Framework is presented as a pyramid, featuring a purpose at the top, followed by purpose targets, strategic objectives, national outcomes and national indicators and targets. An arrow pointing up the pyramid indicates that the purpose is achieved from the bottom-up, starting on the basis of 45 national indicators and targets, which are subsumed by 15 national outcomes, which are subsumed by five strategic objectives. These, in turn, are designed to meet the 'purpose targets', which are described as 'improving our productivity and competitiveness; increasing our labour market participation; and stimulating population growth' (The Scottish Government online-a). Citizens can track the government's progress against these 'purpose targets' on the government website, which provides an instant insight through the means of arrows next to each target (upward-facing arrows indicating improvement, downward-facing arrows indicating decline, and sideways-facing arrows indicating a lack of change). A closer look at the framework reveals certain (although not all) key characteristics of a modernisation or NPM agenda such as accountability, target-setting, a focus on outcomes rather than processes, and auditing (Pollitt 2003).

Scotland Performs is now on its second cycle. The first round of results were published in 2011, and two indicators came to an end at that point (The Scottish Government online-b). Other, new

indicators were added, and the NHS became the first 'partner' organisation to report its performance through this national framework (The Scottish Government online-d), reflecting the fact that, as in England and Wales, the NHS in Scotland is considered at the forefront of managerial reforms and as providing the 'blueprint for police reform' (Leishman *et al.* 1996b, p.3).

Within policing, unlike in England, Scotland has retained target-setting. The Scottish Policing Performance Framework, which has been in use since 2007, is designed to meet the overall targets of the government, and to follow the priorities and objectives of a number of sources: the National Outcomes and Strategic Police Priorities set by the Scottish Government, the Strategic Objectives set out by the Scottish Police Authority, the Equality Act 2010 (Specific Duties) (Scotland) Regulations 2012, and four areas of concern for the Scottish public, which emerged out of extensive consultations, and which inform operational policing priorities. In addition, each of the 32 Local Authority areas focuses on local concerns (Police Scotland 2013b). The end result is a complex web of targets, outcomes and processes designed to track performance against these targets by means of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs). Monitoring is similarly complex. KPIs are monitored over a 12-month period through the measuring of targets, although weekly updates are also available for each area. Targets focus not only on detection rates, but also on the number of times a crime occurs, concentrating therefore not only on crime-fighting but also on crime prevention. Within the force, a 'Performance Sergeant' is appointed for each area and is responsible for collating statistics, while Inspectors (and ranks above) attend weekly meetings to discuss progress (or lack thereof). A weekly 'beat tracker' document is published per area, while the statistics on stop-and-search numbers are recorded daily. The public has access to quarterly reports published by Police Scotland, while progress on the National Equality and Diversity Outcomes will be reported in the Chief Constable's Annual Report (Police Scotland 2013b). The police's performance against the Scottish Government's National Outcomes is displayed on the Scottish Government's website.

The use of such a complex and extensive performance framework demonstrates that Scotland and its unified Police Service have subscribed to a 'performance culture', at least within managerial circles, and thus have gone through the 'substantial shift in attitude and organisation' (Waters 2000, p.282) required to do so. Overall, the discussion has become technical rather than political in nature, concerning the type of targets and indicators that should be used, rather than whether they should be used in the first place (Scottish Police Authority 2013c).

Police Scotland

The greatest reform project in the Scottish public sector for many decades has been the creation of a single Police Service of Scotland, more commonly known as Police Scotland, consolidating the previous eight territorial forces into one (The Scottish Government 2012). The now-disbanded ACPOS, the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland, announced the reforms as 'the most significant change to the Scottish Policing Service in its history' (ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2011), and *The Economist* even heralded the reforms as 'the most radical reform to policing anywhere in mainland Britain for many years', and remarks that 'while England argues about police reform, Scotland does it' (The Economist 2013, p.online).

Arguments in favour of a unified Police Service have been around for some time. As Donnelly and Scott (2006) point out, 'the idea of a national service is not new' (p. 1), tracing the history of this idea back to the Royal Commission in 1962. In fact, Donnelly and Scott question 'not how much in Scottish policing is local, as how much is *not* national' (p. 3, original emphasis), referring to three previously-existing developments or infrastructures: national policy and strategy initiatives; national organisations such as the Scottish Intelligence Database; and shared services such as the training college in Tulliallan, amongst many others. Moreover, Donnelly and Scott

claim that the mantra 'Scottish solutions to Scottish problems' had already exerted a centralising pull over policing before the creation of a single force.

According to the initial independent review of policing in Scotland (Tomkins 2009), the main drivers to reform the Scottish Police Service are broadly related to policing in 'a changing world': national and cross-border threats such as terrorism, money laundering, trafficking and cyber-crime, and more intense public demands to monitor sex offenders, amongst others. All these, the report argues, require a national and a united response, specialist policing and risk assessment on a national level, and clear lines of responsibility and accountability. According to the review, these concerns first emerged in 2005, but had not been addressed adequately in the intervening years. In addition, the independent review identifies political drivers for police reform. The change of administration in 2005 saw the introduction of the SNP's five Strategic Objectives and 15 National Outcomes under their 'Scotland Performs' framework. The police, being a public service, is expected to play a key role in achieving these, alongside other public services and the government. It is important to note that this report does not suggest a single police force for Scotland, but rather a national Policing in Scotland steering group chaired by the Cabinet Secretary for Justice, Kenny MacAskill.

Two years later, in September 2011, a report on the Police Reform Programme (The Scottish Government 2011) was published by the Scottish Government. The focus of this report is to outline the business case of six different reform models, including an enhanced eight force model, a regional police force model, a single service, a blue light service model, and a 32 unit model based on Local Authority (LA) boundaries (The Scottish Government 2011, p.para 4.1). The report argues that reforms have become necessary to bring down police budgets to 2009/2010 levels over the coming years. The argument pursued is that the low crime rates at the time can only be maintained through structural changes that allow service delivery (and therefore low

crime rates) to remain stable, which is argued as not being possible under the existing eight-force structure. Further reasons for police reform are listed as devolution and the changes in government in Scotland, arguing that the police structure ought to reflect these. Moreover, substantial weaknesses in police accountability and governance (which had been known since the early 1960s) could be addressed through reforms. Having weighed up the financial impact of three reform models (an enhanced eight-force model, a regional model and a single service), the report argues for a single service model to deliver improved financial benefits, in addition to better

> 'service delivery and policing outcomes […] quicker and easier access to appropriately resourced, experienced specialists to support local policing, greater interoperability across the service and with law enforcement partners to deal with national and international crime and its impact on local communities; [and] common policy, frameworks and reporting, providing greater transparency of cost and performance and enabling the drive of enhanced performance and value' (The Scottish Government 2011, p.8).

The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill received Royal Assent in August 2012, which reorganised eight separate territorial police forces into a single force, and dissolved the Scottish Police Services Authority and the Scottish Crime and Drugs Enforcement Agency. It further established the Police Investigation and Review Commissioner (PIRC), which was afforded new powers. The single force Police Service Scotland (PSS), also known as Police Scotland (PS), began operating under the leadership of Chief Constable Stephen House on 1st April 2013.

In his two-part review of the legislation, Scott (2013b, Scott 2013a) dissects the main changes the legislation brought about. In addition to the structural and institutional changes outlined above, Scott points out that the legislation introduces a plurality of accountability, with the Police Service

being governed by the Scottish Police Authority (SPA) and overseen by Audit Scotland to ensure 'Best Value'. In addition, Scott states that the HM Inspectorate of Constabulary for Scotland continues to develop the Scottish Policing Performance Framework, and is now able to develop standardised indicators across Scotland, allowing for comparison, consistency and fairness. The new legislation significantly improves the processes and institutions involved in complaints against the Police Service. Rather than having a complaint dealt with by the service itself, the new Police Investigations and Review Commissioner (PIRC) is now imbued with an 'investigative capacity', and is given the power to investigate matters that are in the public interest (Scott 2013a, p.140).

Perhaps one of the most interesting developments has been the establishment of policing values. The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill 2012 asks officers and staff to take on a preventative role by improving 'the safety and well-being of persons, localities and communities in Scotland' and to 'promote measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder' (p. 32). Moreover, in a public consultation event on diversity and equality at the training college in Tulliallan in June 2013, the new values were proclaimed as the following:

> 'I do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of constable with **fairness**, **integrity**, diligence and impartiality, and that I will uphold fundamental **human rights** and accord equal **respect** to all people, according to law' (Adams 2013 original emphasis).

It is hoped that these new values will guide officers' actions without being prescriptive, and provide the basis for policing by consent. A significant amount of work is currently channelled into spreading awareness of the new values amongst established officers and civilian staff, while new probationers are instructed on these values during their initial probationer training.

In addition, the pooling of resources through the creation of the single service and the ambition to establish a more professional force has led to the widespread development of Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), outlining the precise processes and procedures to be followed by officers. However, as SOPs do not necessarily cover all aspects of policing, officers are required to 'exercise professional judgment or discretion' (Police Scotland 2014a, p.online), informed by the new values, in situations not covered by SOPs. Interestingly, SOPs not only provide guidance on work-related aspects, but also shape professional standards. Moreover, memorandums supplement SOPs by highlighting topical issues, providing direction with regard to expected behaviour, such as the use of Facebook and Neknominations inside and outside work.

The creation of the single service has not been entirely smooth, and initial ICT difficulties bear witness to these 'teething problems': while resources are now pooled and each area can draw on specialist knowledge and teams, each 'legacy' force still has its own, largely outdated ICT system, which are all currently incompatible with each other. Nevertheless, Vic Emery, Chair of the Scottish Police Authority, argues that the reforms that began on 1 April 2013 signal the beginning of the process, and that '[t]ransforming police technology systems to unlock efficiencies and improve the effectiveness of policing is a longer-term project' (Scottish Police Authority 2013d, p.online). Moreover, the relationship between the Scottish Policing Authority and Stephen House has been tense at times as a result of gaps in the legislation, which did not clarify who would be in charge of a large number of support staff working in HR and finance until several months into the creation of Police Scotland (The Scotsman 2012, Howarth 2013). Overall, this indicates that 'legislation only provides a starting point for police reform in Scotland', and in order for this structural change to become a 'meaningful reform rather than just merger' (Scott 2013b, p.142), a significant amount of changes will need to occur over the coming years. A further concern among the public and many police officers in areas outwith Strathclyde is the emergence of what is

perceived as a 'Strathclyde style' of policing that appears to be being pushed and rewarded across Scotland since the creation of the single service. This mode of policing is associated with more aggressive tactics, such as a sharp increase in the number of stop-and-searches (Reynolds 2013), and is deeply rooted in the particular socio-economic policing challenges in the Strathclyde area.

Further devolution

Independence had always been part of the SNP's vision and came within reach with their majority win in the 2011 elections in Scotland, and remains a central aspect even after a 55% rejection of Independence in the referendum in September 2014. The booklet 'Scotland forward' (Scotlandforward 2013) detailed the SNP's vision for independence, and appears to emphasise the importance of the public sector and, to some degree, the public sector ethos. For instance, the booklet highlights the fact that NHS Scotland has 'no competition or internal market' (p. 7) compared to the NHS in England, and elaborates on ways in which the SNP intends to extend the welfare system in Scotland through improving and building new social housing, and offering free university education and free childcare, amongst other things. Thus, it appears that the SNP fully endorses some aspects of new public management such as the tracking and measuring of progress and auditing regimes, but clearly rejects others such as the creation of internal markets and internal competition. Despite a 'No' vote, further devolved powers are promised which may allow Scotland to pursue some of the above through 'devo max' (BBC News 2014b).

'Force is part of the service'[7]: the police service and modernisation reforms

It has become apparent that the Police Service within the UK has a distinct culture, which has been fairly resistant to change. Despite the police initially rejecting the introduction of new management techniques in the 1980s, a rational market ideology has slowly seeped in, to the point

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[7] Taken from Reiner (2010), who borrowed this phrase from the title of an episode from television series *The Bill*.

where its discourse and associated technologies such as target-setting and performance reviews are now not only common, but broadly accepted as necessary. An increasing use of public resources, a decline in public confidence in the police and high-profile cases of professional misconduct and related crises have called into question the 'old accountability' and its effectiveness in dealing with these challenges, thereby legitimising a 'new accountability' (Metcalfe 2004, p.73). As discussed, this further consisted of a shift in control structures (Metcalfe 2004), and a strong focus on 'the customer' and his/her satisfaction in the 'service' s/he receives from the police. Underlying the variety of such reforms is a strong belief that they are a route to increased efficiency. This claim, as well as the ways in which the introduction of managerial rationality plays out in the Police Service in England/Wales and Scotland, is the topic of the next part of this chapter.

Performance measurement and management has been extensive within the police, in England and Wales as well as in Scotland, although the way performance is managed and monitored differs in Scotland. While legislation provides the basis and impetus for England and Wales, performance management in Scotland is facilitated through its own 'Scottish Policing Performance Framework', driven by the Scottish Government (Donnelly and Scott 2010). Control has intensified by means of measuring outcomes and behaviours. The police have responded with 'hard', quantitative performance measures, often based on SMART (specific, measurable, attainable, relevant and timely) objectives, such as the time it takes to respond to an emergency phone call and the percentage of cases that are solved (Lockyer *et al*. 2007).

The implementation of such measures in a service-based organisation, that aims to not only fight crime but also prevent it through community-based policing, causes some difficulties in measuring performance (Rogerson 1995, Metcalfe 2001, Metcalfe 2004, Fielding and Innes 2006, Lockyer *et al*. 2007). The services the police provide are notoriously difficult to measure, and reinforce the

message that traditional (action-based) crime-fighting is what is really valued, as already reflected in the police's occupational culture. At the same time, policing principles centre around 'the customer', making extra demands on the police officer. For instance, the policing principles of the new, single service Police Scotland are improving

> '…the safety and well-being of persons, localities and communities in Scotland', and seeking '…to achieve that main purpose by policing in a way which […] is accessible to, and engaged with, local communities, and […] promotes measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder' (The Scottish Government 2012, p.online).

Interestingly, crime prevention is mentioned third and last; the focus is on the prevention of crime, rather than fighting crime. The traditional crime-fighting image of the police is substituted with a customer-facing police officer serving the community. Public sector reform in Scotland is being implemented alongside a strong push towards evidence-based policing and performance measurement, imposing two sets of opposing values and aims.

Police officers display an acute awareness of the fact that due to the complexity of policing work and their professional autonomy, the majority of their activities remain unseen and unnoticed by performance measures (Metcalfe 2004, Fielding and Innes 2006). The nature of police work, community-based policing in particular, aims to prevent crime and focuses on the processes of policing rather than its outcomes. Thus, performance indicators and performance measurements focus on visible aspects of policing, show a preference for police work that displays outcomes rather than processes, and emphasise certain crime types over others. In addition, this method of performance evaluation is applied at force and individual level, emphasising individual contributions within team-based work, thus slowly undermining team performance. As a result,

police officers at operational level are particularly sceptical of performance measures (Fleming and Scott 2008).

Nevertheless, some 'social service' duties become visible through two measurements: level of fear of and level of trust in the police (Fielding and Innes 2006, Donnelly and Scott 2010). These measurements address the demands made on policing by the public. Thus, community-oriented policing is as much a result of market rational ideology in the Police Service as is performance measurement, leaving the Police Service in a difficult position to consolidate opposing demands. It is to be expected that the resultant tension and contradictions impact on police officers and policing as a profession, in particular since the ethos and the values of the Police Service, such as 'political independence, professionalism and neutrality' (Guilfoyle 2012, p.251), are significantly at odds with forms of interference that jeopardise these values, such as allowing 'the customer' to set (part of) the agenda. The separation between 'rowing' and 'steering' (Osborne and Gaebler 1992, p.34) further widens the gap between what is expected of the Police Service, and what individual officers and forces are rewarded for.

A unitary set of ideas?

Market-based public sector management, whether applied to education, health or policing, does not consist of a set of coherent or unitary ideas; the extent to which it is implemented and the techniques used differ according to sector. Painter (1988, p.1) argues that 'most areas of public service and administration have distinct political, ethical, constitutional and social dimensions', which render them not only different from each other, but also from the private sector. Hence, the application of a rational market ideology has had different effects in different countries, sectors and contexts. In fact, NPM discourse in itself is contradictory. According to Dahl (2009), NPM discourse consists of two opposing 'logics', which she describes as the 'logic of details' and the 'logic of self-governance', with the former focusing on standardisation, codification and details,

while the latter is based on Human Resource Management, focusing on 'good leadership, self-governance and co-operation' (p. 637). In Dahl's research, the uptake of NPM is selective in that local municipalities actively select and 'translate' certain aspects into practice. Dahl's findings further reveal that the ambiguity inherent in NPM discourse allows for different emphases in practice across institutional contexts.

Furthermore, Newman finds that the impact of market rationality on the public sector is neither uniform nor necessarily deterministic. Hence, in addition to NPM being contradictory, the uptake of NPM is inconsistent, and coexists with pre-existing discourses and practices. Professionals retain some degree of scope and professional autonomy, in particular with regard to the 'translation' of NPM policies into local organisational policies and practices. Newman (2005a) further examines whether and how professionals decide to interpret the two discourses that make up NPM, and thus the modes of governance present in the 'Third Way', by examining the impact of a set of NPM practices upon senior public servants. Senior public servants are important insofar as they are the agents at the heart of interpreting new policy positions and discourses, while being at the centre of these changes themselves. Newman argues that these 'transformational leaders' draw on a range of different (and often opposing and conflictual) discourses 'within but also beyond the lexicon of New Labour' (p. 730). She assigns significance to this insofar as it is these

> 'small, everyday acts of generating meanings, appropriating and
> reworking governmental discourses and selectively coupling them
> [with] other frameworks of meaning that illuminate the micro-politics
> of modernization' (p. 730).

In other words, senior public servants play a major role in how government policies get interpreted and enacted, and Newman's research highlights the fact that their interpretations of central

government policies are an important intermediary between central government policies and local practices.

Lastly, there have been doubts about the effectiveness of some aspects of market rationality within the Police Service, particularly those that aim to improve police performance. Fielding and Innes (2006) as well as Reiner (2010) question to what extent the police can reduce crime rates, for instance, when social inequality is widening. In essence, Reiner (2010) comments on the role of the police, and therefore also on the limits of policing, as follows:

> 'The police function more or less adequately as managers of crime and keepers of the peace, but they are not realistically a vehicle for reducing crime substantially. Crime is the product of deeper social forces, largely beyond the ambit of any policing tactics, and the clear-up rate is a function of crime levels and other aspects of workload rather than police efficiency.' (p. 254)

It is thought that economic factors largely determine variations in crime and clear-up rates (the percentage of crimes of a certain category that gets solved), rather than performance improvements in the Police Service. The burden imposed on the police through targets, therefore, is not only 'excessive' (Reiner, 2010, p. 256) but also 'cruel', since governments are usually aware that these targets cannot be achieved unless the broader social and economic context changes to address the inequalities that are the 'primary drivers' for crime (Fielding and Innes 2006, p.137). Thus, according to this view, modernisation reforms of the police are severely limited in their endeavour to reduce crime rates without other measures attempting to ameliorate economic and social disadvantage.

Cataclysmic events in the police diversity landscape

It is within this particular political, professional and economic context that a number of incidents occurred, shaping the ways in which diversity policies and practices are thought of and enacted within the British and Scottish public sector. For instance, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry prescribes diversity training for every police officer and police staff member, and has brought home the realities of the experiences of ethnic minority groups in Britain. The Chhokar Inquiry has had a similar effect in Scotland, which previously thought it was a more inclusive, 'multinational' society where many (visible) minorities felt accepted and integrated (Hussain and Miller 2006). Both these inquiries are thought of as 'cataclysmic' events for the Police Service, since they significantly changed attitudes and policies towards diversity and its management.

In what Michael Rowe calls 'media-driven exposés of police deviance and malpractice' (2009, p. 49), diversity has been kept on the agenda within Police Services (Holland 2007); increased scrutiny and accountability has led to new legislation, and has driven intra-organisational diversity initiatives. While the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry has had a significant impact within the UK as a whole, the Ckhokar Inquiries have been important drivers within Scotland, as will be discussed shortly. A number of other 'incidents' or 'mini-crises' (Holland, 2007, p. 183) have kept the focus on diversity, or have reignited organisational interest in diversity. Holland's insider account of diversity practices within Greater Manchester Police (GMP) and his analysis of their development in light of a 'short-termist' (p. 166) culture suggest that these 'mini-crises' are important, since the Police Service, being an emergency function, is better equipped to respond to emergencies rather than paying attention to and directing sustainable resources towards long-term changes. Events that have caused such 'mini-crises' within the Police Service with regard to race and diversity include the Oldham riots in May 2001, the accidental shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes at Stockwell underground station in 2005, the police response to the Damilola Taylor case in 2000,

the Dizaei investigation from 2001 leading to the Morris Report in 2004, the Calvert-Smith Report from 2004, and the undercover television documentary *Secret Policeman*, to name a few.

The latter in particular has remained at the forefront of the public's and the police's consciousness. A Panorama documentary, *The Secret Policeman* was filmed by undercover reporter Mark Daly during probationer training at the police training college and subsequently while he was in service at Greater Manchester Police (GMP). The BBC documentary, aired in October 2003, exposed racism in particular among new police recruits and sent shockwaves across the UK. Despite the controversy regarding the ethical implications of making an undercover documentary about the police, it was argued that it was in the public interest to ascertain whether the recommendations from the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry had been acted upon. The GMP was of particular interest, since its Chief Constable David Wilmot had conceded that institutional racism existed in his force in the wake of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. A further undercover programme entitled *Undercover Copper* from 2006, part of Channel 4's Dispatches series, however, did not find overt racism in the Police Service. Undercover journalist Nina Hobson joined the Police Service in Leicester in order to make the documentary, and encountered a force rife with sexism, although not racism. Rowe suggests that this indicates that 'a more widespread understanding of diversity has not been embedded within the service' (2007, p. xvii), and that other aspects of diversity require further attention.

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry

The murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993, the ensuing Macpherson Inquiry from 1999, and subsequent court cases have had a significant impact upon diversity management within the police across the UK. This Inquiry changed the way the Police Service 'manages' diversity like no other event, and was the key contributor to the way diversity training is carried out in the criminal justice sector even today. A number of books with titles such as *After Macpherson: Policing after the*

Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Marlow and Loveday 2000) or *Policing beyond Macpherson* (Rowe 2007b) indicate the significance the Inquiry had for policing in the UK. On a societal level, some commentators claim that the Inquiry finally made it possible for race, and as a result racially-motivated crimes, to be acknowledged. Within the police, the case triggered a complete rethink of race as a motivating factor in a crime and as a factor that plays a role in policing. In short, it brought race to the fore within the police and society at large. John Grieve, formerly a Deputy Assistant Commissioner at Scotland Yard, summarises the impact of the Inquiry on policing in a *Guardian* article:

> 'It influenced the governance of policing, the way police are supervised, the way complaints are investigated. It influenced investigations, family liaison officers, the first hour at a murder scene, the independent advisers. It influenced the leadership of policing; we changed a whole layer of how leadership was trained to think as a direct result of some of the evidence Mr and Mrs Lawrence gave [...] A lot of people copied the family liaison system. It also changed the law on racially aggravated offences: hate crime is still a big agenda item – this government is still driving that. It affected double jeopardy – the way people are tried in court.' (Muir 2012, p.online)

The Inquiry concluded that institutional racism, which it defined as the 'collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin' (Macpherson 1999, p.para. 6.34), was at the heart of the Stephen Lawrence case. As one part of several recommendations, racial awareness training was made compulsory for all police officers (amongst other measures outlined in the quote above). Over the years, the training has come to include all protected diversity strands: race, age, gender, sexual orientation, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, and religion/belief.

In essence, the Stephen Lawrence case has had a lasting legacy for policing but also for Britain as a whole, although the case is far from being closed and concluded. Changes to the double jeopardy law allowed a retrial in 2011 resulting in two convictions for Stephen Lawrence's murderers, and there are currently demands for a second public inquiry to look into police corruption and the withholding of vital information during the first inquiry (Dodd 2012).

The Chhokar Inquiries: Scotland

Scotland's criminal justice system was similarly challenged by the Chhokar case in 1998. The murder of Surjit Singh Chhokar in 1998 occurred several years after the murder of Stephen Lawrence, and as both cases involved the murder of a member of an ethnic minority, parallels were drawn (Croall and Frondigoun 2010). However, while the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry questioned the conduct of the police, the focus of the two Chhokar inquiries were on the decision-making processes of the Crown Prosecution Service (Campbell 2001) and the way various agencies work together and liaise with victims' families (Jandoo 2001). Jandoo highlights further differences by stating that the murder of Chhokar did not have a racial motive, and that police officers provided first aid upon arrival at the scene (ibid, para. 2.27). Nevertheless, Jandoo identifies institutional racism within Strathclyde Police and the Procurator Fiscal Service (ibid.), and within a number of their procedures. Burnett and Harrigan further state that 'While the Chhokar case was not Scotland's 'Stephen Lawrence', its timing in the shadow of that watershed case meant that it inevitably did lead to significant change based on the criticisms shared between the criminal justice partners involved' (Burnett and Harrigan 2010, p.275). Similar to the Stephen Lawrence case, reforms to the double jeopardy law in Scotland triggered a request to reopen the Chhokar case in January 2012 (Carrell 2012).

Simon San

The most recent incident with a significant impact upon police training in Scotland is Simon San's murder in August 2010. The Chinese takeaway driver was assaulted by a group of youths outside his family's restaurant, and subsequently died from severe head injuries. Two individuals were subsequently convicted, although the police did not acknowledge the racial element of the crime. Following an internal inquiry, Deputy Chief Constable Steve Allen admitted to 'significant failings' of Lothian and Borders Police's handling of the case, and suggested that the case should have been investigated as a racist incident. He further admitted that the police dealt with the family insensitively, that a senior officer failed to identify the case as a 'critical incident', and that officers working on the case were not adequately trained (Carrell 2011).

The Lawrence, Chhokar and Simon San inquiries highlight race as an important element in policing, which gave impetus to the development of diversity and equality policies, procedures and to some extent awareness within police forces. The Chhokar Inquiry has also imposed procedures that apply solely to Scotland, such as the 'assessment of language needs and cultural sensitivities' and the 'investigation and reporting of racist crime' processes (Crown Office and Procurator Fiscal Service 2002). Following the Simon San Inquiry, critical incident training for senior officers was introduced in April 2013, which addresses not only the importance of identifying and naming a critical incident, but also the consistent recording of information throughout an inquiry.

An interesting common ground amongst all these evaluations and inquiries is the identification of police culture as the reason for the persistent racism within the British Police Service. In describing the effect of these new measures on changing police culture, and therefore on tackling institutional racism, McLaughlin (2007) quotes the Calvert-Smith Report by stating that the Police Service is 'like a perma frost – thawing on the top, but still frozen at the core' (p. 35). Similarly, Trevor

Phillips is quoted as saying that 'in the ethos of uniformed services, a few people may do wrong, but the pressure not to 'grass' is so strong that they are protected by a vow of silence; and all too often, their success at getting 'collars' can lead others, who start with no racial bias to emulate their ways' (McLaughlin 2007, p.32). Overall, the reviews and inquiries discussed in this chapter conclude that racism was and is part and parcel of police culture, and while diversity training is thought to be an important factor in transforming this culture (as part of other measures, see CRE, 2004, quoted in McLaughlin, 2007), the extent to which training is effective in doing so (i.e. defrosting the ice rather than just thawing the top) is seriously questioned. Each review comes with more recommendations, often 'reinventing the wheel', since previous recommendations did not achieve their intended aims; this leaves McLaughlin wondering whether the Police Service is currently experiencing the 'post-Macpherson blues' (p. 18). Nevertheless, it is hoped that training will change the occupational culture of the Police Service, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter aims to contextualise the research context and presents the reader with an understanding of the political economy of policing in Great Britain. In essence, it provides an overview of the context of policing, outlining its political, legal, economic, professional and social aspects. Thus, it tracks modernisation and police reforms over recent decades, providing detailed accounts of their trajectories in England/Wales and Scotland. The chapter makes an initial attempt to examine the impact of the changes brought about by police and modernisation reforms on the Police Service and on individual officers. Drawing on research into the Police Service, it introduces the reader to a number of potential conflicts and contradictions that have arisen as a result of altering the political economy of policing through reforms, as experienced by police officers. This is particularly relevant for Scotland's newly formed police service, since Scotland's

public policy and policing outlook are heading towards further performance quantification, as part of the Policing Performance Framework but also as part of the overall 'Scotland Performs'.

Moreover, the chapter introduces the reader to the main aspects of contemporary police culture, including the current state of research on police training and socialisation. It further outlines incidents that have placed pressure on the police to change their policies and behaviours towards citizens as a response to the public's reaction to these incidents. Crucially, it explains why diversity management has occurred in the Police Service and the influences that have given it its shape. This is particularly relevant for understanding changes to the ways in which diversity management and diversity training are understood and carried out over the two points of data collection in this thesis: 2008/9 and 2013. Diversity management sits within this complex web of political, legal, economic, professional and social changes that make up the political economy of policing.

Chapter Two

Managing Diversity in the Public Sector

As the introduction and chapter one argues, diversity is likely to keep its high priority and status for some time to come. It is important insofar as diversity management is used to adjust and bring police values in line with current, more inclusive societal values, thereby maintaining and restoring the public legitimacy of the police. The expectations of the public have changed significantly following legal, social and political changes to the political economy of policing and, in addition to high profile cases such as Stephen Lawrence, Chhokar and Simon San, these have further led to pressures to raise awareness and change the police's behaviour towards the public, and especially to particular social groups. As Chapter One argues, the police are told to be leaner, 'meaner', more effective and consumer-focused, within a framework of heightened scrutiny and accountability.

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The police are not only an important economic unit of analysis, but also a political one, as every election campaign demonstrates. Thus, diversity management is not only part of the political economy of policing, but also illuminates the changing landscape of policing.

It is for these reasons that this chapter examines diversity management and diversity training in more detail, outlining its current shape and influence in the British public sector over recent years. Before doing so, this chapter will first introduce the concept of diversity management in general. Evidence suggests that without pressure from the European Union, there would be little in the way of a legal framework to safeguard people with the now nine (previously six) protected characteristics (Dickens 2007): age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation. Thus, this chapter will first examine what diversity management is, followed by how diversity is planned to be managed through legislation and policy recommendations. Overall, it is demonstrated how some aspects of new public management thinking have infiltrated the way diversity management is thought of and hoped to be managed.

What is diversity management?

Over the last decade, diversity management programmes, according to Lorbiecki and Jack (2000, p.S 17),

> 'have been introduced into a wide range of public and private organizations both in the UK and elsewhere; with a range of ostensible aims, including: increasing the rates of participation of women and ethnic minorities, improving career prospects for these people, incorporating wider perspectives into decision-making processes and helping organizations reach new, and formerly untapped, markets' (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000, p. S17).

It is this latter aspect that is particularly emphasised by business consultants and occupational psychologists, such as Kandola and Fullerton, two of the early proponents of diversity management in the UK, as their definition demonstrates:

> 'The basic concept of managing diversity accepts that the workforce consists of a diverse population of people. The diversity consists of visible and non-visible differences which will include factors such as sex, age, background, race, disability, personality and work style. It is founded on the premise that harnessing these differences will create a productive environment in which everyone feels valued, where their talents are being fully utilised and in which organisational goals are met' (Kandola and Fullerton 1998, p.1).

Within popular writing on management, diversity management is commonly portrayed in opposition to equal opportunities, and is often seen as its (improved) successor; this will be discussed further later. Diversity has become a core value of contemporary organisations, many displaying placards highlighting awards and schemes that show their commitment to a diverse workforce on their letterheads and mission statements and in their offices. The focus on the individual, and the celebration of individuality, is not only held in high esteem by organisations, but also more widely within many contemporary Western societies, making it easier to understand its sudden appeal as part of the rise of individualism, deregulation and liberalisation since the 1980s (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000).

The majority of DM publications, old and new, name the publication of the Workforce 2000 report in 1987 as the origin of DM. This report by Johnson and Packer (1987) argued that by the year 2000, the population in the US would be increasingly diverse, and as a result, more women and minorities would enter the workforce. Diversity management became popular at the same time as

management consultants and populist management publications were arguing that the global economic challenges and concurrent demographic and cultural changes of the 1980s made it inevitable for organisations to need to focus on their 'human resource' in order to be successful (Deal and Kennedy 1982, Barley and Kunda 1992). The focus on the benefits to be reaped by the organisation, as the quote above by Kandola and Fullerton demonstrates, has helped the appeal of DM. DM was not only imagined to be beneficial to organisations, therefore motivating organisations to act by themselves rather than according to legislation imposed upon them, but was also seen as eliminating the antagonism and stigma associated with Equal Opportunities/ the Equal Opportunities Agenda (EO/EOA). As a result, DM quickly spread across industrialised nations – throughout the US, then to the UK, Australia and New Zealand in the 1990s, followed by mainland Europe in the following years (Greene and Kirton 2009). This spread occurred primarily through business consultants, who claimed that DM was a convenient 'one size fits all' approach to managing difference in the workplace, with great benefits to the organisation as well as to its members.

While consultants continue to promote a universal approach to managing diversity, academics writing within a critical management tradition have focused on how DM has been adapted and appropriated in different contexts, discovering that DM is 'a social-historical creation, interrelated and embedded in the larger social-historical context' (Omanovic 2006, p.14), and that local 'translations' of DM are made 'to fit into this local discourse' (Heres and Benschop 2010, p.437). Janssens and Zanoni (2005) furthermore demonstrate in their research on service companies that the understanding of employees' diversity is affected by its impact on the organisation of work, which in turn has implications on how diversity is managed. More recently, Tatli, et al. (2012) show that the concept of diversity is adjusted according to context, whereby the 'meaning of diversity is shrunk, bent and stretched' (p.293), depending on the context (country) in which it is used, adjusting to each country's cultural, economic, historic and legislative peculiarities. Such

observations highlight the importance of a contextualised approach, fine-tuned to the idiosyncrasies of the local and organisational context: an approach that is represented in this thesis.

This does not mean that academic approaches are uniform and in agreement. In fact, academic approaches to and perspectives on DM are abundant and varied. DM can be approached as an Human Resource Management (HRM) tool, analysed from a feminist or Marxist perspective, or looked at from a psychological, orthodox, or critical management angle. Others are interested in the chronological development of DM (Lorbiecki and Jack 2000), or in its origins (Litvin 1997). Each of these perspectives examines a different aspect of DM, and approaches it with different expectations and a different philosophical standpoint. On the whole, there appears to be a polarisation between mainstream and critical approaches, with the former viewing DM as a positive alternative to EO, able to address all its weaknesses, while the latter are critical of its promises to deliver equality based on a business case, amongst many other concerns (Dick and Cassell 2002). It is therefore important to establish what the main tenets of DM are, and how its proponents propose DM to function.

Key aspects of DM

Diversity management is often presented as the successor to equal opportunities (or affirmative action, depending on location), although opinions are divided on whether this is for the better or the worse. Further debates centre around the claim that DM is closely linked with the equalities agenda, i.e. a more contemporary (and, often implied, improved) version of equal opportunities (for an interesting discussion, see Liff 1996), whilst others highlight the insurmountable and divisive differences between them (Spencer 2004). For instance, some writers consider diversity management as an 'outgrowth' of the equal opportunities agenda, while others view it as a subversion and dilution of the original aims of the equalities agenda, according to Litvin (2000, p.94). No doubt, certain variants of diversity management are rebranded EO policies, while others

have significantly changed the approach to reflect a change in content and rationale. Overall, while the terms may change according to fashion, the different approaches (EO, diversity and as of late, inclusion) can not only 'coexist and operate in parallel with each other' (Oswick and Noon 2014, p.36), but according to Oswick and Noon, ought to be used syncronically in order to maintain the most important arguments and practices from each approach. In fact, moving away from publications, in practice, the terms equality/EO and diversity management are used loosely, often interchangeably and/or in combination with each other.

Nevertheless, DM is seen to be currently more popular, easier to 'digest' and more 'palatable'. Moreover, the term DM has more persuasive power compared to EO (Swan and Hunter, 2007), and has even become a buzzword that organisations find hard to ignore (Prasad *et al.* 2011). To add to confusion, the term DM is often coupled with the term 'equality', such as in 'equality and diversity legislation' or 'diversity and equality training' (Gatrell and Swan 2008, Greene and Kirton 2009). In many of these cases, the social justice rationale of EO sits side-by-side with the 'business imperative' of DM.

Yet, even though the two terms are often used in combination, in practice there are a number of differences between the two, at least in theory. Whilst it is acknowledged that too much is at stake to ignore the main arguments and practices of each approach (Oswick and Noon 2014), for the purpose of defining the concept as outlined in the literature, the key components of DM will now be explained. Firstly, the majority of consultancy and popular management literature highlights the focus on the individual and individual differences as an important qualifier for DM. While EO focuses on legally protected characteristics and traditionally disadvantaged groups, DM expands its reach to include

'family background; age; ethnic origin; gender; physical abilities; qualities and appearance; nationality; sexual orientation; educational background; marital status; parental status; religious beliefs; life and work experience; and all the other experiences that have touched our lives or influenced our thinking' (Spencer, 2004, p. 14).

Other writers add their own definitions of diversity, grouping them into neat categories such as 'PDT – personality, demographics, traits; VBA – values, beliefs, attitudes; and KSA –knowledge, skills and abilities' (McGrath *et al.* 1995, p.23). Traditionally disadvantaged groups that are covered by EO cease to feature exclusively among these enumerations, and have become instead merely part of a long list of what managerial writing claims distinguishes one human being from another. This has made DM more palatable, easing fears of white male backlash, while at the same time removing DM from the struggles for emancipation that are associated with the EO agenda.

DM also distinguishes itself from EO in being voluntary, and not decreed by law, easing fears of quota systems and positive action – both measures that became deeply unpopular among management and many employees alike (Greene and Kirton 2009). Greene and Kirton furthermore suggest that DM uses positive language, 'imagery and celebratory rhetoric' (p. 33), while EO, being steeped in legislation, highlights the (negative) legal consequences of non-compliance. Lastly, the business imperative of DM has made it particularly attractive to contemporary organisations, and is arguably its most defining feature.

The 'business case'

The 'business imperative' or 'business case' includes a number of related aspects. First, it is based on the premise that ignoring a large part of the population has negative consequences for organisations. By recruiting from a narrow pool of white, middle-class males only, organisations overlook a large pool of talent, knowledge and experience. This is often coupled with and driven

by the perceived threat of the declining white male (Johnson and Packer 1987), a fear that the traditional *Organization Man,* as described by Whyte (1956), is slowly being replaced by a multi-ethnic and/or female workforce. Moreover, a popular claim of DM is that an organisation will not successfully understand and sell to a part of the population that is not represented within the organisation. As the literature on diversity management took off, positive correlations between a diversity marker and business performance were proclaimed (and sometimes established), such as increased productivity, performance, innovativeness, adaptability and creativity, to name a few (see Cox and Blake 1991, Thomas 1992, Moran 2006).

The 'Business Case' and the rational view of diversity management are based on a number of assumptions. Primarily, it assumes that there is a positive causation between certain human differences and business performance (or individual aspects of it, such as innovation, creativity, efficiency, group effectiveness etcetera), and by extension, it assumes that there is a scientific basis to such a connection. Thus, turning to the scholarly writing on diversity management within the fields of psychology and orthodox management, researchers have been busy trying to establish a relationship between individual differences and work group performance (for an overview see for example Williams and O'Reilly 1998). For instance, in a widely-cited paper, Richard (2000) measures the 'level of racial diversity' (i.e. white, black, Hispanic, Asian and American Indian) (Richard 2000, p. 168) and its impact upon the financial performance of US banks. Financial performance is measured by means of two objective measures and one subjective measure. The two objective measures include 'productivity per employee', calculated by means of a 'logarithm of net income per employee' (p. 169), as well as 'bottom-line measures', calculated by means of 'return on equity'. The subjective measure records Likert-type responses to a questionnaire requesting information on the organisation's performance against the four criteria of marketing, growth in sales, profitability and market share (p. 169). Richard finds that racial diversity has a positive effect on all three measures of organisational performance, but only in organisations that

pursue 'a growth strategy'. Richard concludes that 'some differences do make a difference', and that 'this relationship intensifies as strategic growth increases' (2000, p.171).

Somewhat frustrated by the lack of clear-cut positive associations between diversity markers and organisational outcomes (Williams and O'Reilly 1998), more recent research has moved away from attempting to establish direct relationships between individual differences and some measure of organisational performance, to examining complex models containing contextual or mediating factors that enable or restrain this effect. In their broad review of the evidence, Knippenberg and Schnippers (2007) suggest that researchers ought to abandon the idea of a simplistic relationship between a particular type of diversity and task/group performance, as context and 'processes that may be engendered by diversity and the contingencies of these processes' (2007, p. 521) are more important in determining the impact upon performance. For instance, Olsen and Martins (2012) examine the role of the organisation's attitude towards diversity. Through the construction of a complex model, they propose that 'an organization's DM approach is an important determinant of whether the effects of diversity on performance are positive, negative, or marginal' (p. 1183). Ely and his colleagues furthermore propose that racial diversity and team learning is only positive when minority members evaluate their learning environment as supportive (Ely *et al.* 2012). The proximity of the offices of top management teams has also been shown to moderate the association between a team's diversity and firm performance, as does the degree of environmental certainty (Cannella *et al.* 2008). This means that the closer together the offices of a functionally diverse team are, the better their performance. Likewise, the same holds true for diverse teams functioning in a business environment with low uncertainty (Cannella *et al.* 2008). Similarly, Pieterse, van Knippenberg and van Dierendonck (2013) find that goal orientation moderates the relationship between cultural diversity and team performance, meaning that if team members are similarly ambitious, cultural diversity leads to better team performance. This recent body of research suggests that the relationship between individual differences and organisational or work group

performance is indeed more complex than initially anticipated, and that a great number of variables affect the strength and direction of the relationship. Thus, researchers have started paying attention to context and to mediating and moderating factors, which will either hinder or enable a positive relationship between diversity and organisational/group-level performance.

Turning to diversity practitioners, it becomes apparent that many have adopted a functionalist view of diversity management. DM has become heavily commercialised, with a number of consultants offering 'quick fixes' through training or other diversity merchandise, which ought to help provide a more diverse but also a more productive workforce (Pearn Kandola, for instance). More recently, this functionalist take on diversity has started borrowing heavily from business and engineering language. For instance, Cramer's idea of 'Total Diversity Management' (Cramer 2012) draws extensively on engineering and managerial ideas. The choice of words, moreover, unmistakeably links Total Diversity Management with the conceptual sphere of Total Quality Management, and thus the language of business processes, control, accountability, statistics, continuous performance/process improvement, visibility, excellence, control and measurement, organisational strategy, and so on.

The focus on measuring the impact of diversity is similarly reflected in practice. For example, the UK-based, practitioner-aimed journal *Equal Opportunities Review* recently called for organisation-specific 'diversity metrics' to be developed. These, they argue, should match the organisations' 'business goals', which will enable the organisation to maintain 'a competitive advantage' (Hayfield 2012, p.25). The mention of league tables, scales, meeting or exceeding standards, performance and benchmarking yet again borrows extensively from managerial language and techniques. While the authors draw heavily from a functionalist discourse of diversity management, they offer little in the way of 'diversity technologies' or methods that would allow readers to develop such 'diversity metrics'. In fact, the few suggestions made largely resemble

equal opportunities practices, for example 'counting heads' within a diversity category such as gender.

This functionalist take on diversity is similarly reflected in the many definitions populist writers on diversity put forward. For instance, a recent popular management book defines diversity 'in terms of people – measurable human capital, specifically, groups of people who have not traditionally been part of the workplace majority' (Moran 2006, p.5). There is a strong emphasis on the 'business case', which needs to be substantiated by 'hard' evidence. Hence, if difference is measurable, which Moran claims it is, it is then possible to 'provide hard, irrefutable proof of the business benefits of diversity' (p. 3). Overall, the purported benefits discussed above, and the ability to integrate DM into mainstream business practices, have made DM attractive to organisations, and have contributed to DM (in some shape or another) being increasingly popular amongst organisations in many industrialised countries. Above all, one can observe the trend in the mainstream management and practitioner literature towards a 'rational' conception of diversity and highly functionalist diversity practices, forever pushing the boundaries of what is measurable.

Interestingly, the majority of research attempting to establish a link between organisational outcomes and diversity '[has] typically used dimensions of diversity at the personality/style level, or task/functional differences' (Herriot and Pemberton 1995) rather than 'identity differences, such as gender and race/ethnicity, usually of interest in diversity research' (Wilson and Iles 1996, pp.6.70 - 6.71). In addition, research steeped in psychological and orthodox management traditions relies on a simplistic and essentialist view of diversity. Richard (2000) himself states that his 'research relies on demographic conceptions of organizational members, with racio-ethnicity serving as a proxy for their perspectives, belief systems, networks, and affiliations' (p. 164). It is assumed that categories such as race are meaningful, 'fixed, unchanging and unchangeable', as they are presumed to be based on natural boundaries (Litvin 1997, p.202) and to exist independent

of context (see the two articles 'doing gender' and 'doing difference' by West and Zimmerman 1987, West and Fenstermaker 1995, West and Zimmerman 2002) which challenge this conception of gender/difference). Nevertheless, it is this rational and decontextualised conceptualisation of diversity that has allowed DM to become a universal managerial tool abstracted from the social, historical, cultural and economic context. Lastly, the inconsistent nature of results highlights the fragile argument for basing equality on business imperatives, as other business needs, contradictory to diversity, might come to be prioritised under increasing market pressures (Dickens 1994).

These critiques are pervasive within the community of critical management scholars, who have been more sceptical of the shift from EO to DM (although the extent of such a shift is heavily debated, see for instance Tatli (2011), who argues that the shift is largely discursive, with little evidence in practice). Nevertheless, Barmes and Ashtiany (2003), amongst many others, highlight the problematic of focusing on individual-based rather than group-based equality, taking the focus away from entrenched and embedded inequality.

The introduction of diversity management into the public sector has thrown up its own difficulties, particularly in a time of modernising reforms. As the previous chapter argues, the introduction of a managerial rationality into the public sector has led to the erosion of the public sector ethos, to conflicting demands on public sector workers, and to 'gaming' and other strategies in order to meet imposed targets. Echoing the view offered by Barmes and Ashtiany (2003), Newman claims that equality approached from an NPM perspective 'remains an individualised concept, constrained by the consensual ethos of the new managerialism' (2003, p. 20).

The combination of a managerial logic with equality and diversity has brought similar questions to the surface, owing to the 'tensions and contradictions between the values of New Public

Management (NPM) and those that have traditionally underpinned equal opportunities policy and practice in public sector organizations' (Cunningham 2000, p.699). Cunningham (2000) and Corby (2000) both argue that diversity and equality initiatives are most effective in highly bureaucratic organisations, since these structures enable the consistent and reliable monitoring of equality and the assessment of whether progress is being made, through co-ordination within but also across public sector organisations. Flatter organisational structures, decentralisation and generally 'looser structures' (Corby 2000, p.41) with a more powerful middle management, as have been advocated by modernisation reforms, 'significantly [dilute] policy pushed down from now remote central units' (p.707), argues Cunningham. Unless decreed by legislation, equality and diversity work in a NPM environment can easily be 'put on hold' or subjugated to the new values of productivity and efficiency (and their related targets), especially if the prioritisation of diversity and equality policies and practices depends largely on the mind-sets and inclination of individual middle managers. In fact, Coussey (1997) finds that the pressure to cut costs and meet targets makes it easy for all matters related to equality and diversity to 'be threatened where the business interest becomes the primary concern' (Coussey 1997, p.34). Corby (2000) further believes that this 'delegation of responsibility' (p. 42) often occurs in combination with cost cutting, further reducing equality awareness and training for middle managers, reductions in staff and fewer promotion opportunities for women and other minorities. These observations lead Cunningham to the conclusion that the values of NPM and equality work are inherently contradictory (p. 699).

Newman agrees, albeit for different reasons, arguing that public service modernisation has 'implications for issues of equality and diversity' (2002, p. 7). She states that the increasing importance of and emphasis on professional and personal networks as a result of New Labour's opening up of the policy process are problematic and potentially harmful for equality. Newman notes that

'much decision-making now takes place not in council chambers and
representative assemblies, but in various forms of policy networks that
transcend national, regional and supra-national tiers of governance'
(Newman, 2002, p. 8)

These changes to decision-making pose serious questions about the representativeness of those
that are part of the decision-making process, 'our understandings of 'the people' who are to be
consulted' (p. 10) as well as the transparency of their selection and the decision-making processes.
Newman (2003b) is further concerned about the focus on new diversity technologies such as
target-setting and performance indicators, and laments the neglect of 'policies and procedures' (p.
19). Lastly, she claims that the expansion of privatisation and subcontracting narrows the reach of
existing diversity and equality policies and practices (2002), and the focus on partnerships, public
participation and networks leaves Newman uneasy with regard to the reach of equality and
diversity initiatives. Thus, the main issues identified thus far are suggested as arising between
policies that are designed in and for a public administration context and are now applied and used
in an environment marked by NPM features and values, as well as the potential 'side effects' of
this new paradigm.

Another cause for concern is the way diversity and equality are understood within a public sector
modernisation framework. Newman's (2003b) analysis of New Labour's 'Third Way' suggests
that New Labour draws on two different and contradictory approaches to diversity and equality
policy-making (see also Newman 2001). First of all, New Labour acknowledges issues of diversity
and equality (when compared to previous Conservative governments) such as social and economic
divisions across social groups, and attempts to 'celebrate' such differences. On the other hand,
New Labour's policies and discourses attempt to install 'a homogeneous, consensual
representation of the people' (p. 23), thus taking a contradictory approach to diversity. Similar
concerns are voiced by Bhavnani (2001), who suggests that since 1997, 'contradictory social policy

on race' (p. 4) was developed by New Labour – one approach is based on 'colour blindness' (p. 4), while another places race at the heart of policy-making, in particular after the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. The latter approach, Bhavnani argues, primarily employs a 'performance management framework' (p. 4), which places sole emphasis on outcomes to the detriment of processes. Similar to Newman, Bhavnani's concern rests on whether these managerially informed outcomes will actually challenge racism, leading to better race relations and less institutional discrimination. Newman also notes that despite New Labour's emphasis on social inclusion and exclusion, traditional notions of difference are excluded with potentially serious consequences, arguing that this notion of difference is 'not conducive to social change and can have a dulling effect on political agency' (Franklin 2000, p.18).

In another publication, Newman (2005b) examines how the modernisation agenda impacts on the way gender is conceptualised, and what 'new forms of identity and agency' (p. 94) it produces. She argues that the 'government shifts' (p. 94) brought about by the modernisation agenda[8] have not only had dramatic implications on how gender is talked about in relation to social policy, but have also had concrete effects on individuals and communities. She argues that the generally-held assumption that gender equality has been achieved results in a 'shift from dependence on the state to greater autonomy, with the associated responsibilities of self-governance' (p. 95). The concept of 'self-governance', Newman (2005b) argues, is one of the key ideas of the modernisation agenda which impacts not only on people in public sector organisations, but also individuals. For instance, Newman suggests that the change in discourse 'leaves the question of the role of men in care and domestic labour unproblematised' (p. 85), and that the new organisation of care work through

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[8] These are highlighted in Chapter One more generally, although Newman focuses on the following aspects in her analysis: the 'fragmentation of state power, the increasing importance of markets, shifting patterns of work, family and community and the changing social formations that produce new forms of identity and agency' (2005b, p. 94).

'managerialisation and marketisation' (p. 91), for example, produces gaps in the provision of services that are picked up by women undertaking unpaid and informal care.

Nevertheless, a few authors have recently reported some positive outcomes of modernisation reforms on the equality and diversity agenda. While reproducing many of the concerns expressed in numerous publications by Newman and Cunningham, more recent research carried out by Colgan and Wright (2011) has also identified opportunities for lesbian, gay and bisexual equality in public sector organisations. They list these opportunities as an 'increased emphasis on measurement and performance through the Equalities Standard and Comprehensive Performance Assessment, the introduction of monitoring sexual orientation, and a more consistent, mainstream approach to all strands of equality' (p. 565). Similarly, Breitenbach, et al. (2002) describe 'the different political opportunity structures that exist for feminists and other equality activists to make effective interventions within the state and at different levels of governance' (p. 1-2).

Since the change of UK government to the Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition in 2010, the Coalition Government's policy orientation has heralded major shifts with regard to diversity and equality. The idea of the 'Big Society', as discussed in the previous chapter, relegating large parts of public sector work to the third sector, means that funding and attention relies and depends on the 'formal community organization and political capital' (Ryder *et al.* 2012, p.27) of minority or disadvantaged groups. In addition, severe budget cuts are argued as eroding mechanisms through which communication between the government and minority groups occurs. Equality, to some extent, thus depends on the popularity of a group and the success of their efforts with regard to funding and political attention. Another defining feature of the Coalition Government's policy approach, localism, can be similarly problematic, insofar as it leaves 'services for such [minority] groups at the mercy of the vagaries of local politics' (CLG (Communities and Local Government Committee) 2011). This is a particularly frightening prospect for some groups, given the recent

popularity of right-leaning, anti-immigration parties as witnessed in the European Parliament elections in May 2014 (BBC News 2014a). Lastly, Ryder, et al. (2012) suggest that the Coalition Government's broad conceptualisation of equality is assimilatory in nature, throwing up problems associated with not acknowledging and accepting difference, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Overall, the research stream analysing the impact of modernisation reforms on various aspects of diversity and equality in the public sector relies heavily on the periods during which New Labour and/or the Conservatives headed by Margaret Thatcher were in power. Modernisation reforms, however, continue unabated, as the previous chapter shows. It is therefore important that research continues to examine the changes that have occurred in the diversity and equality field. This is especially the case given the amount of changes made to the political economy of policing, such as the unification of the eight Police Services in Scotland, the Coalition Government's continuing reforms, recent equality legislation and the Scottish Government's divergent political path alongside its continuing commitment to modernisation.

Before doing so, however, it is pertinent to examine changes to the diversity and equality legislation. Thus, the following section will highlight major pieces of national and EU-wide legislation, and a small number of significant reviews and recommendations that are deemed to have had a lasting impact. These are important, since 'diversity management as a discourse draws strength from, and is partly shaped by, EU legislation' (Tatli *et al.* 2012, p.294). Interestingly, despite the popularity of DM in Britain, the purported appeal of it voluntary nature and the drive towards deregulation, equality legislation has not become dispensable, but rather, its numbers have increased dramatically (see table 2.1). In fact, the majority of equality and diversity legislation has been imposed by the European Union, often only reluctantly implemented by Britain (and as Linda Dickens points out, frequently only 'with the thread of enforcement action

by the European Commission' (p. 468)), and even then, in a piecemeal fashion. It is these 'external' factors (Dickens 2007) to which this chapter will now turn.

Diversity management and the public sector

How diversity is planned to be managed: legislation and policy recommendations

While many mainstream diversity writers attempt to describe DM as a tool able to fit into any organisation in any country, different legal (as well as cultural, social and political) contexts frame how diversity is conceptualised and 'managed'. Hence, in this part of the chapter, recent legislative changes are examined: the Equality Acts 2006 and 2010, as well as two reviews that have impacted upon the way diversity is planned to be managed: the Equality Measurement Framework (EMF) from 2009, and the Equalities Review from 2007. These will be discussed in chronological order. Despite the fact that one of the main purported advantages of diversity management is its voluntary nature, there has been a great push towards more equality and diversity legislation over the past 30 years, with new legislation relating to religion, gender, sexual orientation, age, race and disability. Furthermore, Bagilhole (2009) suggests that a range of 'family-friendly arrangements' (p. 112) can also be counted towards equality legislation, providing better provision for parents and carers in the UK.

Table 2.1 shows legislative equality and diversity provisions as well as EU-wide legislation in chronological order, and demonstrates the influence of EU directives upon national equality law and regulations. Overall, the table demonstrates the proliferation of equality legislation and its increasing scope over the past six decades. This has led to what Malik (2007) calls 'a complex, and often chaotic, body of statutory provisions and case law' (p. 73), which is 'widely criticised for being outdated, fragmented, inconsistent, inadequate, inaccessible, and at times incomprehensible' (Hepple, 2010, p. 13). Following the election of New Labour in 1997, a number of human rights specialists and the Runnymede Trust proposed an overhaul to the UK's equality legislation

(Hepple, 2010). Reforms occurred first through the Equality Act 2006, and then four years later through the Equality Act 2010. Hepple (2010), who has categorised equality legislation into five generations with substantive differences between them, considers the Equality Acts as part of the fifth generation of equality legislation. This type of approach to equality is primarily characterised as 'comprehensive equality' (p.13), i.e. a single general public duty with an expanded protective reach in terms of the spheres in which legislation applies, the characteristics it includes and the definition of discrimination. As these two Acts are the most important ones in recent history, having a significant impact upon organisational diversity and equality policies and practices, each will be examined in turn.

Table 2.1: Summary of the law: UK acts of parliament in chronological order

Early legislation	1918	Representation of the People Act
	1944	Disabled Persons Act
	1948	British Nationality Act
	1958	Disabled Persons (Employment) Act
1960s and 1970s	1962	Commonwealth Immigration Act
	1965	Race Relations Act
	1968	Race Relations Act
	1968	Commonwealth Immigration Act
	1970	Equal Pay Act
	1970	Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act
	1971	Immigration Act
	1975	Sex Discrimination Act
	1975	Employment Protection Act
	1975	Equal Pay Directive (EU)
	1976	Race Relations Act
	1976	Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons (Amendment) Act
	1976	Equal Treatment Directive (EU)
1980s and 1990s	1981	Immigration Act
	1981	British Nationality Act
	1981	Disabled Persons Act
	1984	Equal Pay (Amendment) Act
	1986	Sex Discrimination Act

	1986	Wages Act
	1988	Local Government Act (Section 28)
	1988	Immigration Act
	1989	Employment Act
	1990	British Nationality (Hong Kong) Act
	1993	Asylum and Immigration Act
	1995	Disability Discrimination Act
	1996	Disability Discrimination (Meaning of Disability) Regulations
	1996	Employment Rights Act
	1999	Human Rights Act
	1999	Sex Discrimination (Gender Reassignment) Regulations
	1999	Immigration and Asylum Act
2000 to today	2000	Race Relations (Amendment) Act
	2000	Employment Framework Directive
	2000	Race Directive (EU)
	2001	Race Relations Act (Amendment)
	2002	Employment Act 2002
	2003	Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (Amendment) Regulations
	2003	Race Relations Act 1976 (Amendment) Regulations
	2003	Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations
	2003	Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations
	2004	Employment Act 2002 (Dispute Resolution) Regulations 2004 (the Dispute Resolution Regulations)
	2004	Civil Partnership Act
	2004	Gender Recognition Act
	2005	Disability Discrimination Act
	2006	The Employment Equality (Age) Regulations
	2006	Equality Act
	2006	Racial and Religious Hatred Act
	2007	Gender Equality Duty
	2010	Equality Act

Equality Act 2006

As part of the Equality Act 2006, three separate Commissions on gender, race and disability were consolidated, and a single Commission for Equality and Human Rights (EHRC) was established. This Commission is in charge of all nine protected strands, and describes its remit as follows: 'to promote and monitor human rights; and to protect, enforce and promote equality across the nine 'protected' grounds – age, disability, gender, race, religion and belief, pregnancy and maternity, marriage and civil partnership, sexual orientation and gender reassignment' (EHRC website). The 2006 Act demonstrates what McLaughlin (2007) calls the 'single equality approach', and Hepple considers it part of the 'fifth generation' of equality legislation in Britain' (2010, p. 11).

Between the publication of the Equality Act 2006 and the Equality Act 2010, two important publications were released: the Equalities Review in 2007 and the Equalities Measurement Framework in 2009. Both reports are strongly interlink with the two Acts: the Equalities Review's aim is to make 'practical recommendations on key policy priorities', and to 'inform both the modernisation of equality legislation, towards the Single Equality Act; and the development of the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights' (The Equalities Review 2007, p.13). The Equalities Measurement Framework builds on the Equalities Review and seeks to provide a framework that enables the evaluation of progress on achieving equality. As such, they have contributed to shaping the way equality is hoped to be achieved across the nine protected characteristics, and their ideas can be found in the Equality Act 2010, and in particular in the specific Scottish duties.

Equalities Review

The Equalities Review was published in 2007, and is entitled 'Fairness and Freedom: The Final Report of the Equalities Review'. The purpose of the review is described by then Ministerial sponsor David Miliband as 'the strategic understanding we need in order to understand the barriers

that still unjustly stop people achieving their potential' (Cabinet Office 2007). In essence, The Equalities Review provides up-to-date evidence on the current state of inequality in Britain, and suggests a ten-step framework with which to tackle it. Amongst the ten suggestions are calls for a simpler legal framework through a single Equality Act, better enforcement of equality legislation, and the measurement of inequalities. The latter, the Review suggests, allows for the measurement of improvements, which would focus policy makers, leaders and organisations on outcomes rather than processes.

The Equality Measurement Framework (EMR)

The second policy document is the *Equality Measurement Framework* (EMF) developed by the EHRC, and published in the summer of 2009. The purpose of the *Equality Measurement Framework*, the EHRC suggests, is to 'develop a measurement framework that can be used to assess equality and human rights across a range of domains relevant to 21st century life' (ibid.). They point out, however, that it is '**not** a performance measurement framework' (original emphasis), but 'rather provides a baseline of evidence for evaluating progress and deciding priorities'. Nevertheless, they also suggest that it can be used 'as a tool to measure inequality' (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2009, p. 6), and as a system for 'monitoring' (ibid. p. 9). The EMF is presented as a legal duty under the Equality Act 2006, which imposes the requirement to 'monitor social outcomes' and help 'Government and other public bodies prioritise their activities to meet the public sector duties on equality' (Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) 2009).

GEO's 'Towards Measures of Equality'

In the very same year, the Government's Equalities Office (GEO) published a report entitled 'Towards Measures of Equality' (James *et al.* 2009), the intention of which is to explore 'the feasibility of developing an equality standard to promote good equality practices in the private sector' (p. 2). This was explored by means of laying out 'baseline information about equality and

diversity awards, standards, benchmarks, indexes, toolkits, schemes, and networks produced by commercial and public organisations operating in GB (England, Scotland and Wales)', as well as European and international equivalents (p. 3). The report provides a fairly comprehensive overview of the range of equality and diversity initiatives then in force across the UK.

Equality Act 2010

Subsequently, in 2010, the single Equality Act 2010 came into force. Its key contribution is the fact that it 'harmonises the earlier duties and extends its coverage to include other protected characteristics' (Fredman, 2011, p. 405). In other words, the Equality Act's aim is to 'achieve harmonisation, simplification and modernisation of equality law' (Hepple, 2010, p. 14). It does so in three ways. First, the Act 'replaces nine major pieces of legislation and seeks to implement fully four main EU Directives' (Hepple, p. 15). Second, it clarifies what is meant by discrimination and, except in the case of disability, applies definitions across all protected characteristics. Third, it expands the general duty imposed on the public sector.

The public sector duty

One of the means used to translate the new vision for equality into reality is through the new duties imposed on public authorities (central and local government, health, schools and Police Service) through the new and expanded public sector duty. The public sector duty under the Equality Act 2010 covers age, gender reassignment, pregnancy and maternity, religion or belief and sexual orientation, in addition to race, sex and disability, which were previously covered by public sector duties imposed by different Acts such as the Race Relations Act in 2000. The duty places demands on the public sector to pay 'due regard' to three aspects that make up the duty: to eliminate discrimination, to advance and promote equality of opportunity, and to 'foster good relations' (Hepple, 2010, p. 18). According to Hepple, this public sector duty also requires public authorities to impose these demands on their contractors, whether these are from the public or private sector.

The general duties are complemented by specific duties. The specific duties require public organisations to publish two pieces of information: 'information to demonstrate its compliance with the duty and to prepare and publish one or more objects it thinks it should achieve' (Fredman 2011, p.415). Public bodies have to publish their objectives at four-yearly intervals, while information relating to the ways in which they comply with the general duty have to be published yearly (Hepple 2011). Nevertheless, public authorities do not need to set and meet a timeframe for achieving their objectives, and, moreover, are not required to demonstrate any outcomes (Fredman 2011).

Equality Act 2010: Scotland

The specific duties outlined above do not apply in Scotland or any of the other devolved countries. Scotland did, however, pass the Equality Act 2010 (Specific Duties) (Scotland) Regulations 2012, which came into effect on 27 May 2012. The specific duties that apply to Scotland are more extensive and include the following aspects: 'report on mainstreaming the equality duty, publish equality outcomes and report progress, assess and review policies and practices, gather and use employee information, publish gender pay gap information, publish statements on equal pay, consider award criteria and conditions in relation to public procurement, publish in a manner that is accessible' (EHRC (Equality and Human Rights Commission) 2012). This quote from the EHRC demonstrates the strong emphasis on involvement and evidence in the Scottish specific duties, which are thought to focus and direct the efforts of public authorities towards meeting the general duties.

Towards the measurement of diversity?

Aspects such as transparency and accountability through measurement and auditing, and a focus on outcomes and 'what works', appear to have been used more intensively in the equality and

diversity policy field in recent years and in particular since the publication of the UK Equalities Review in 2007. For instance, there is a growing emphasis on 'measuring progress towards equality', the need for more transparency through 'publishing […] data and analysis' (p. 111) and individual organisation's 'performance on equality' (p. 111), in order to achieve a more equal society that is also 'more productive' (The Equalities Review, 2007, p.2). This reflects the allure of the 'business imperative' discussed earlier in the chapter, despite the focus on social justice. Similar developments have occurred in the ways in which public policy-making is currently being carried out in Scotland, with specified targets and outcomes, a number of measures to track progress against these, and the public availability of this information through *Scotland Performs*, as discussed in Chapter One.

Nevertheless, numbers have always been part and parcel of equality work, from providing statistical evidence of relative disadvantage between groups, to aspiring towards the representational inclusion of members of disadvantaged groups in the political process or in work organisations. These have included, for instance, the calculation of differences in income between men and women, and the number of members of ethnic groups or women in government in proportion to their numbers in the population at large. Evidence on organisational responses to the legislation above is limited.

Ahmed (2007b) argues that a significant amount of emphasis has been placed on policy documentation in attaining these aims. For instance, with the requirement of public sector organisations to have and distribute relevant policy documentation, Ahmed argues, 'diversity and equality [have] become 'things' that can be measured along with other performance outcomes' (p. 596). Legislative changes from as far back as the Race Relations Amendment Act from 2000

'encouraged the shift towards seeing diversity and equality work as itself auditable',[9] since they require a proactive approach towards race equality, and impose the requirement of the publication of a race equality policy. Ahmed's research, however, points towards the fact that documents themselves (and the process of writing them) are seen as the measure of institutional performance, rather than actually measuring diversity in an organisation. In fact, Ahmed suggests that the prevalent view is that of the 'document as a performance'. By this she means that the very act of writing and having a policy document can be seen as an act of performance management through 'performing an image of themselves' (p. 594) and, according to Ahmed, 'in the sense of 'doing well' through having 'ticked, measured, distributed and shared' (p. 595) the document.

Hunter (2008), citing Ball (1998), similarly argues that this focus on policy documentation advocated by legislation described above has encouraged 'cultures of performance rather than cultures of action' (p. 507). In her examples, the publications themselves turn into a measure of how well racism is being tackled at an institution. This research shows that an interesting shift can also be observed about what it means to 'do diversity' and to do it well, and the different ways the 'performance' of diversity can be carried out.

Overall, the trend towards some sort of measurement of diversity among academics, diversity practitioners and policy-makers can be viewed as a 'bureaucratic approach to diversity which monitors our progress and tracks our differences' (Mirza 2006, p.150). Mirza's main concern in such a 'bureaucratic approach' is the essentialist construction of race. By this she means that with the use of statistics, race requires 'new signifiers' – aspects that stand in for race, since race is not observable or cannot be categorised. Thus, she states that diversity markers such as ethnicity and cultural differences as 'signifiers for 'race'' (p. 151), and that by using these as substitutes for 'race',

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[9] Page numbers are unknown as this was published in an online journal.

these signifiers in themselves are seen as natural, 'innate', 'fixed and immutable'. This suggests the persistence of an essentialist construction of diversity, which Litvin emphasises is present right from the beginning in very early conceptions of diversity management in management textbooks (Litvin 1997). In addition, Mirza expresses concern over the fact that all complexity is stripped from the debate through a bureaucratic approach to diversity, ignoring aspects such as class, gender or regional differences (p. 151). This concern is shared by Zanoni and colleagues, who lament the disregard for context in 'shaping the meaning of diversity' (Zanoni *et al.* 2010).

Overall, there has been an attempt in recent equality and diversity policies to enlist, or to plan to enlist numbers, percentages and figures about difference more extensively than before. One can observe a broader cultural shift towards the introduction of an outcome-based and evidence-informed framework for evaluation, perhaps signalling an intensification of the values of NPM through their incorporation into the very process of policy-making in the public services. This intensification, it will be argued, manifests itself not only in the number of aspects that are measured, but also in the language that is used in the description of these processes. Lastly, it is important to examine to what extent these processes have infiltrated diversity practices, such as diversity training.

Diversity training

Over the past decades, Rowe and Garland acknowledge that diversity training has 'oscillate(d) between strategies intended to impact upon behaviour and those that focus upon individual attitudes, values and beliefs' (p. 46). It is the latter approach, one that aims to not only impact but also change individual attitudes, values and beliefs, that is associated with strong emotions. This approach is rooted in Judy Katz's (1978) ideas of 'racism awareness training' (or 'race awareness training'), which sought to re-educate participants by encouraging them to take 'personal ownership of racism' because it was defined 'as a white problem' (Bhavnani 2001, p.81). This

training approach is described as confrontational and rife with emotions, as evident from one of the earliest evaluations of what was then called 'Racism Awareness Training', carried out by Southgate. He reports 'conflict', 'mixed feelings', resistance and a 'degree of hostility' exhibited and experienced by participants during the training, and comments that training courses 'can release a range of emotions of both depth and complexity' (Southgate 1984, p.7;9;10;11;13). The more recent diversity training approach, on the other hand, Bhavnani (2001) suggests, is a combination of different preceding approaches such as cultural awareness training, race equality training and race information training, amongst others, and as such is 'piecemeal' and 'fragmented', but most importantly thought to be 'rationally based' (p. 83). As such, it should not be confrontational and should not involve emotions.

As previously discussed, one of the purported advantages of diversity and therefore also of diversity training (as opposed to equal opportunities) is that it bypasses 'some major objections to 'traditional' equal opportunity and affirmative action programs' (Heres and Benschop 2010, p.436), and that it 'supplants emotional affirmative action rhetoric with cooler, business-friendly rationales for valuing workforce diversity' (Lynch 2005, p.xiv). With regard to practice, diversity training offers a rational approach that attempts to 'encourage officers and staff to be reflexive practitioners, able to consider how their own values, attitudes and beliefs affect their professional behaviour and how this collectively impacts upon the wider public' (Rowe and Garland 2007, p.45). Effectively, this approach focuses upon behaviour, and while it may ask trainees to consider their own values, this approach does not, at least in theory, require them to change their values, attitudes or beliefs.

Overall, there is a clear tendency to follow the recent trend of adopting a rational approach to diversity training, and therefore to disregard the existence of emotions (and thus also their potential impact upon organisational processes (Vince 2001)). This is reflected in Dick and

Cassell's (2002) claim that those who display resistance to diversity management policies and other initiatives are often seen as 'wrong' within the diversity management literature, whilst the views of those in favour tend to be seen as 'correct' (p. 972). In essence, diversity training, just like any other training, is largely seen as a managerial tool, and it is thought that the emotional element has been eliminated by focusing on providing information rather than on confrontation. Thus, one of the advantages proposed by writers on diversity management is its inclusive, rational nature, by which it is hoped to avoid the white male backlash (Arnold 1997), 'white rage' (Prasad and Mills 1997, p.14) and 'guilt, confrontation and anger' (Brown and Lawton 1991, p.26) that are often associated with affirmative action-based programmes in the US and equal opportunities-based training courses in the UK. Nevertheless, the compulsory nature of diversity training within the Police Service does not make it the 'soft' approach, as Wrench suggests (2005, p.75).

Conclusion

Having examined the political economy of policing and the context that gave shape and *raison d'être* to diversity management and training in the Police Service in the previous chapter, Chapter Two provides a closer look at diversity management and training. The chapter provides a broad overview of recent developments in diversity management, focusing on diversity management's uptake in the public sector, and various reviews and legislation that determine the way diversity is managed and conceptualised. A tendency to approach diversity in a functional manner and discuss it through managerial language, with a focus on monitoring and reporting inequalities as well as a 'rational' orientation to diversity training, appears to dominate current practices and policies. In short, DM and diversity training have been viewed by practitioners and legislators as a largely rational, procedure-led set of approaches and tools; indeed, as a functional approach, provided that outcomes are defined and progress is measured. In essence, this chapter attempts to understand the implementation of a certain strand of managerialism that has entered the police: diversity management.

The next chapter, Chapter Three, introduces the conceptual framework of the thesis. It begins by questioning the premise of a 'rational' approach to diversity management, and introduces the idea of occupational cultures and their associated emotional ecologies, which prescribe a certain set of occupational 'feeling' and 'display rules' – the emotions and professional demeanour police officers are expected and expect themselves to display in interactions with the public and with each other. Changes to the political economy of policing introduce demands on officers that contradict police culture, such as through NPM ideas/practices, police reforms and/or diversity management and training courses. Emotions observed during interactions in diversity training courses, therefore, are argued to be a fertile ground for analysing the disruption of an established occupational culture and its emotional ecology.

Chapter Three

Space matters: The Emotional Ecology of the Police

The previous chapter examines the various factors that shape diversity management and diversity training in the public sector in the UK, and suggests that diversity training is often used as a means to address problems of racism and sexism within the Police Service. Moreover, it suggests that diversity training is viewed as a functional model, in line with many other management practices. Given the ongoing narrative around racism, sexism and diversity in the media, politics and, in particular, the Police Service in the UK, diversity training has established itself as the go-to practice in any attempt to remedy these problems. More importantly, however, addressing these

problems and getting diversity 'right' is important insofar as it affects public confidence, and therefore the wider legitimacy of the police.

Nevertheless, criticism of this 'input, process, output' model of diversity training is growing. It is accused of neglecting the context into which it is introduced, of being counter-productive, and of glossing over the emotional upheavals it triggers in participants and trainers. This chapter serves to introduce a conceptual framework within which the often contradictory nature of diversity training and its impact upon established occupational cultures can be better understood. The framework relies on the concepts of *emotional ecologies* and *spaces* in order to strongly situate the delivery and impact of diversity training programmes; highlighting their non-rational nature.

The chapter argues that a core weakness of many diversity training courses is the fact that they generalise across different professional and occupational groups in different contexts. Pursuing a contextualised approach, the chapter argues that it is important to consider the emotional ecology of the setting in which diversity training is situated, since emotional reactions at training courses are strongly related to people's involvement with and attachment to their work. The chapter proposes that the emotional ecology of a professional group is an important component of occupational cultures, internalised and normalised through a period of initial learning and continuously enforced through immersion in the day-to-day life of 'being' a police officer. To support this argument, the notion of emotional (organisational) spaces is introduced, where a distinct set of feeling and display rules are acted out, contested and/or reinforced in the face of an existing professional emotional ecology.

Diversity training and emotions

The previous chapter asserts that diversity training has transformed into a rational, managerial tool focused on facilitating learning by providing information rather than confrontation. This is

indeed the impression one gets when reading accounts of diversity training (and some of its predecessors), since descriptions of emotions are few and far between, an observation also made by Prasad and Mills (1997). However, this view is cast into doubt upon reading reports on training courses in great detail, whether these are early accounts (see for instance Southgate 1982, Southgate 1984, Southgate 1988) or more recent ones (Tatum 1992, Nile and Straton 2003, Nicoll 2004, O'Brien 2009). These reports demonstrate that emotional responses to training do occur, but as in most other organisational contexts, are not paid much attention. This concurs with the literature on emotions in organisations, which contends that most organisational writing regards emotions as extraneous, unnecessary and personal, a threat to the rational organisation and the rational individual, rather than integral to the training itself (Albrow 1992, Fineman 1993b, Putnam and Mumby 1993, Albrow 1997, Fineman 2000). There seems to be one exception, however. The emotion of resistance appears to be more likely to be acknowledged, although Dick and Cassell argue that value judgments in the diversity literature about resistance are implicit, with resistance to training being judged as inherently 'wrong', while those supporting the training are viewed as 'correct' (Dick and Cassell 2002, p.972).

In an evaluation of police diversity training over a duration of three years in two Police Service areas (one small and rural, the second large and metropolitan), Rowe and Garland (2003) report on the emotional and physical strain experienced by the trainers, and even on extreme stress levels, leading to 'trainer burnout' (p. 406). The trainers interviewed by the authors attribute this mostly to hostility from trainees, but also to having very little recuperation time between training courses. Trainers found the courses emotionally draining, and reported to Rowe and Garland that they were often tempted to avoid difficult issues such as institutional racism, and considered taking a more 'information focused approach' (Hall 1988). Rowe and Garland's research suggests two things. First, that a rational, information-focused approach is not seen as the optimum approach but rather as an 'easy option' that avoids emotionally draining confrontations and hostility towards

fatigued and exhausted trainers; and second, that confrontation and hostility tends to be the norm, leading to the physical and emotional exhaustion of trainers in the first place.

Turning to trainees, Rowe and Garland (2003) report that trainees are frequently 'anxious about what they are to be 'subjected'' to (p. 403), and often fear being labelled as racists. In other publications, trainee responses are described as being 'wary' of the course content (Garland *et al.* 2002), and resistance to training is reportedly caused by it being seen a 'tick-box exercise' (Rowe and Garland 2007, p.59). These negative emotions cannot be ignored, in particular since Kowal and colleagues (2013) suggest that diversity training elicits negative emotions, and more importantly, that these negative emotions are counterproductive, in that they can cause an increase in racist sentiments in participants as a direct result of the training. Moreover, an extensive evaluation of 32 diversity training courses by Trenerry, et al. (2010) finds that approximately one-fifth of diversity training participants display an increase in racial prejudice following diversity training (see for instance McGregor and Ungerleider 1993, Plant and Devine 1998, Plant and Devine 2001). As a result, Kowal and colleagues suggest a more reflexive approach to diversity training, since 'affective reactions (primarily guilt and anxiety) [...] can result from diversity training and lead to backlash effects such as increased prejudice' (p. 5). Nevertheless, not all emotions reported in diversity training are negative, and many trainees also report feeling 'stimulated' by the training, in Garland and colleagues' evaluation (2002, p.23/34). Swan (2008, p.209), moreover, argues that showing or re-enacting the blue eye/brown eye video[10] is envisaged as bringing about a 'cathartic empathy' as a result of 'pain and suffering', which is meant to purge trainees of their undesired prejudices. Overall, the display of emotions in trainees remains a persistent occurrence, whether in racism awareness courses or diversity training courses,

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[10] The brown eyes/blue eyes exercise is described on Jane Elliott on her webpage as an exercise which '...labels participants as inferior or superior based solely upon the color of their eyes and exposes them to the experience of being a minority.' (http://www.janeelliott.com/)

expressed by diversity training participants or diversity professionals, and recent research by Kowal, Paradies and colleagues (Kowal *et al*. 2013) suggests that these ought not to be ignored.

Recently, a number of research publications have emerged, preoccupied with explaining the occurrence of emotions in diversity training courses. They broadly differ in the level of analysis on which they base their explanations. For instance, on an individual level of analysis, Kowal, et al. (2013) attribute the cause of these emotions to essentialising. They purport that '[t]here are emotional consequences of the essentialism of white and minority identities and the associated 'we- them' perspective towards difference…' (p. 7). Moreover, they claim that guilt and anxiety are often the result of 'cognitive dissonance': when participants believe they are antiracist, but realise they hold stereotypes and prejudices in complete contradiction to this belief. They further list the emotions of hopelessness and resignation, which are particularly triggered and experienced when watching or enacting the blue eye-brown eye experiment in a training course (Stewart *et al*. 2003, Swan 2008). Kowal and colleagues suggest that if the anger at one's privileged position that this exercise often creates is not managed properly, participants 'are at risk of falling back into an even stronger identification with and defence of their privileged position' (p. 8). Overall, Kowal, et al. trace the root of the emotions observed in diversity training courses to individual, and in part unconscious responses to the training, and to coming to terms with one's position in the world in relation to others.

Another interpretation is offered by Tran, Garcia-Prieto and Schneider (2011), who suggest that some employees will always resist an 'aspect of diversity management' (p. 161). They take a social psychological angle, drawing on Social Identity Theory (SIT), as well as on Intergroup Emotion Theory. They purport that 'emotional responses are elicited by individuals' subjective evaluation of an event that is relevant to their needs or goals' (p. 165). In other words, depending on the particular social identity that is made salient by a diversity management initiative (e.g. gender),

and the relative strength of that identity, the appraisal of the initiative will be evaluated in light of this identity, which subsequently determines the experienced emotion. Hence, Tran, et al. argue, all emotional responses to diversity management are inevitable and rational, as they are a valid response to either a perceived opportunity or a threat to one's identity.

Similarly, Dick and Cassell's (2002) research examines resistance towards diversity initiatives within a UK constabulary. Their research suggests that resistance is not only expressed by majority groups during training sessions, but rather by both 'dominant' and 'subordinated' groups. Dick and Cassell's participants draw on the discourse of 'promotion practices as fair and above board' in ways that match their success (or failure) in the Police Service. For instance, they suggest that those whose careers have been stalling blame unfair or unequal promotion practices to account for their position, whereas participants who feel they have progressed and are doing well in their policing careers display resistance to diversity initiatives, which the authors claim is 'simply one way of accounting for one's own success within a hierarchical organization where those who are successful are aware that the reasons for this success could be constructed very differently' (p. 967). Overall, the authors conclude that 'positions of resistance are constructed through organizational discourses that are in circulation about the nature of promotion practices', and that 'such positions can resist the idea that discriminatory practices exist, or can resist the idea that they do not' (p. 970). Dick and Cassell's research adds an interesting angle to understanding resistance to diversity initiatives, and complements Tran, et al.'s (2011) research by showing how positions of resistance are constructed discursively. Police officers' positioning on diversity practices (e.g. on the discourses of 'promotion practices as fair and above board' and 'banter is healthy and normal') depends to some extent on whether 'this facilitates their self constitution in discourses of individual attainment and integrity' (p. 972). Drawing on postmodern theory, Dick and Cassell point out that their interpretation may not be the only one, let alone a 'correct' one. Their research, nevertheless, demonstrates that resistance to diversity initiatives will always occur, and will

inevitably affect the successful implementation and management of diversity initiatives in the Police Service and elsewhere, and, according to Dick and Cassell, that unfortunately means that 'the credibility of the initiative will always be called into question' (p. 972).

Overall, this small set of literature suggests that emotions have always been part of training courses that aim to address stereotyping, prejudices, bullying and other professionally and ethically unacceptable behaviour in the police, regardless of what these courses are called, and regardless of the pedagogical approach taken. This is the case even with recent approaches to diversity management that aim to be 'rational' and, therefore, without emotion. Nevertheless, the literature is unable to explain the wide variety of emotions displayed. More importantly, it provide explanations of emotions in diversity training courses in a variety of professional settings and does not differentiate between these, despite widely differing professional cultures and their emotional ecologies. Thus, the remainder of this chapter will examine a number of aspects that make up an emotional ecology of a profession: emotional spaces or zones within an organisation, and feeling and display rules regarding the appropriate emotional demeanour with colleagues and members of the public. The complexity of such feeling rules and their determinants and rootedness in local contexts leads to a discussion of the distinct emotional ecologies of various professional/occupational work groups, including the occupational emotional ecology of the Police Service. These suggest that the acceptance of diversity training interventions necessarily differs depending on the profession, and the relative agreement of the local occupational culture and emotional ecology with the values and emotional ecologies imparted in diversity training courses.

Why emotions?

Many (critical) organisational scholars argue that the reason emotions are present in diversity training courses is because emotions are intimately connected with the subject matter and with

organisational life in general. They further argue that the reason emotions are generally omitted from functionalist management writing and theorising is due to the tendency of such authors to disregard the existence of emotions and their impact upon organisational processes (Vince 2001). These organisational scholars also refute the idea that what is considered rational can be kept separate from the emotional, a preconception frequently encountered even in academic research until recently (Albrow 1992, Albrow 1997, Fineman 2000). Fineman therefore calls for the 'collapse' of the 'rational/emotional distinction' (2000, p.11), an idea exemplified by Sturdy, who shows that what is perceived to be a very rational activity, consulting, is in fact permeated by emotions, and who state that while in theory rationality and emotion are conceptually distinct, they are observed to be continuously interwoven in the workplace (Sturdy 2002, p.135). By this they mean that no action, motivation or decision is either purely emotional or rational, but always and necessarily both. O'Mahoney (2007) further demonstrates this entwinement by demonstrating the inherently emotional nature of consulting work. O'Mahoney argues that the supposedly rational nature of consulting work often causes major emotional trauma and 'trust and angst' issues (p. 281) in consultants, as this 'rational' approach undermines consultants' identities.

The rational/emotional divide therefore does not hold, as 'they both interpenetrate/they flow together in the same mould' (Fineman 2000, p. 11), and every activity or relationship that is traditionally considered rational in nature has an 'emotional texture' (Sturdy *et al* 2008, p. 147). Thus, all spaces where humans interact, whether work spaces or otherwise, are characterised by emotions, regardless of whether a particular space is claimed to be rational in character or not (Fineman 2000). Following this line of reasoning, emotions cannot be thought of as superfluous and as 'getting in the way' of work, but rather form an 'integral and productive element' (Smith and Jenkins 2012, p.75) of any workplace, work relationship and work process. Overall, since the early 1990s, and especially in recent years, the recognition of emotions, their role in organisational processes and their unavoidable presence in organisational spaces have become a relatively

accepted and acknowledged part of the academic literature on critical management (see for instance Fineman 2003, Bolton 2005a, Fineman 2005, Bryant and Cox 2006, Vince 2006, Bolton 2007, Bolton 2008, Hareli and Rafaeli 2008, Sturdy *et al*. 2008, Tran *et al*. 2011).

The conceptualisation of emotions in organisations

The thesis takes the view of emotions as both permeating and saturating human activity, within and outside workplaces. By implication, emotions are constructed within a social context through organisational norms or socialisation practices, meaning that emotions 'cannot fully be understood outside of their social context' (Fineman 1993b, p.10). It is to these contextual factors the chapter now turns by examining two concepts that enable us to think about how emotions are shaped within organisations: feeling/display rules, and emotional spaces and zones.

Feeling/display rules and emotional spaces/zones

Emotions (within a professional context or otherwise) are governed by context. The context conveys particular rules and guidelines about the emotions to be expressed or withheld. A context can be a workspace, an interactional space, such as a professional interaction, or an informal space, such as a car park. According to Fineman (1993c), these spaces determine interactions through feeling rules, which in turn shape the expression of emotions. Thus, we can conceptualise the transference of these rules and guidelines about emotions in a particular context through the idea of 'feeling rules'. Arlie Hochschild argues that these 'rules seem to govern how people try or try not to feel in ways 'appropriate to the situation'' (Hochschild 1979, p.552), suggesting that human beings are profoundly social and adjust their emotions to the social context. Hence, within organisations, the emotions we experience are not only prescribed (either implicitly or explicitly) by the organisation, but also by our wider social environment, as 'the organization is also a product of a wider social constituency, a nation where various ideologies prevail, ideologies which shape

norms or scripts on the dos and don'ts of particular feelings' (Fineman 1993c, p.15). Lane West-Newman sums up the above points succinctly by stating that:

> '[c]ollectively adopted guidelines for performing this work of emotional management are created in normative styles within specific cultural, social, and political regimes. So, even if the physiological and psychological processes of affect are generic to humans in general, the sociologically significant part of the process – determinations of value and appropriately managed expression for named emotions – will be culturally specific' (Lane West-Newman 2004, p.194).

While this explanation is illuminative of how emotions are shaped at work, a closer look at front/back stages as spaces, as well as occupational/emotional ecologies can provide further insight into the processes of emotion production and display.

Front/backstage

A number of authors have explored how social environments shape the expression of emotions. One of the earliest writings on the importance of space within organisations is Goffman's work on asylums (Goffman 1961). In this book, Goffman introduces the idea of 'free places' (p. 205): places where asylum inmates have some degree of autonomy and can escape or circumvent the 'total institution' and its official rules and regulations. In other words, he describes the 'underlife' of an institution. Goffman claims that these 'secondary adjustments', strategies and methods (such as the establishment and maintenance of 'free places'), which are not in accordance with the organisation's expectations and/or rules and regulations, are, in McCorkel's words, means to 'subvert institutional control mechanisms' (1998, p.227). In addition to a number of other secondary adjustments, these 'free places' are essential, and serve the development and creation of an identity that is not determined by the organisation. Crucial to the notion of 'free places' is the

idea that they exist autonomously of the organisation and are not directed by the organisation, regardless of whether they coexist harmoniously with officially sanctioned organisational spaces or in opposition to them. More recently, Bolton suggests the idea of 'unmanaged spaces' (Bolton 2005a, p.134). Similar to 'back stages' or 'free places', unmanaged spaces are spaces where normal organisational rules do not necessarily apply, although Bolton suggests that they may merely be 'significantly relaxed' (p. 134). Using a dramaturgical metaphor, Goffman (1969/1990) introduces the idea of 'back stage' and 'front stage' areas that shape behaviour and social interactions, as introduced in his seminal book 'The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life' (1959/1990). This idea suggests that we have different ways of behaving when we are out of view 'to members of the audience' (p. 124), and that we work hard at maintaining a certain impression of ourselves when we are in view of an audience. Similar to the idea of 'free places' or 'unmanaged spaces', what differentiates a 'front' and 'back stage' area is the idea that spaces within the same organisation can convey different expectations, goals and social norms, and therefore shape the interactions within them. Context and audience therefore matter in determining our behaviour and impression management through providing clues vis-a-vis other people within it through self-monitoring and an understanding of the clues in the environment, and given by other people who we interact with face-to-face.

Stephen Fineman (1993b) further develops Goffman's notion of a front and back stage by introducing the idea of 'emotional arenas' within organisations. He suggests that spaces mould interactions through feeling rules, for instance, and these feeling rules also shape the expression of emotions. Fineman claims that all areas within an organisation are 'emotional arenas', and all work processes are infused with emotions, although some spaces may dictate feeling rules that determine that organisational actors suppress their emotions or express them in particular ways. Fineman's ideas are relevant insofar as they have a number of important implications. First, Fineman's account distinguishes itself not only from Hochschild's but also from many occupational

psychologists' accounts in that Fineman pays attention to the more varied array of emotions displayed and 'felt' by actors within organisations, rather than solely on those emotions 'secured for the company or its customers' benefit' (Bolton 1999, p.20), such as emotional labour or job satisfaction. Fineman refines this idea of organisations as 'emotional arenas' further in his 2008 book *The Emotional Organization*, in which edited chapters are compiled under the subheading of 'Emotional Arenas' – indicating that each broader professional context, such as a hospital, a prison or a job centre, is considered an arena with distinct feeling rules, whether these feeling rules are prescribed or voluntary, as well as common understandings and expectations of the emotions to be displayed in the particular work space.

Secondly, drawing on Goffman's dramaturgical ideas of 'front', 'back' and 'off' stage, Fineman distinguishes between different emotional zones within emotional arenas, such as rest areas and other 'offstage' settings, such as the car park. He assigns a particular role to these 'back stage' areas, as he claims that these are the organisational spaces in which hierarchies are contested and negotiated, professional identities are maintained through, for example, holding back stress in front of colleagues, and subcultures are created through the sharing of 'normally hidden feelings' outside the 'performance expectations of those who supervise them and those they serve' (Fineman 2003, p.21). Fineman proposes that these areas are similarly shaped by feeling rules, albeit not necessarily in the same way as in 'front stage' areas such as the office, and these feeling rules prescribe and 'determine just how much, and what, colleagues can reveal to one another to keep the organizational order intact' (Fineman 1993c, p.21). In Fineman's view, spaces within organisations are separate (e.g. the area around the water cooler, the car park, the work space or the meeting room), each with distinct feeling rules. However, his conceptualisation of emotions within particular spaces does not specify what areas or situations qualify as 'back stage' areas. There is a lack of clarity regarding the relationship between spaces and feeling rules, and the ways in which boundaries between front and back stages are defined.

Lewis's research (2007) demonstrates that whether an area is considered back or front stage is not necessarily obvious; nor is it only dependent on spatial boundaries, but it may vary across teams/employees or over time. In Lewis's study, she shows that the type of emotion management prevalent in a hospital ward depends on the time of day nurses carry out their shifts, with philanthropic emotional management being associated with back stage behaviour, and prescriptive emotional management being associated with front stage behaviour. Using Bolton's typology of emotions, which distinguishes between prescriptive, pecuniary, presentational and philanthropic emotion management (Bolton 1999, Bolton and Boyd 2003, Bolton 2005a), more on which later, Lewis finds that day nurses predominantly display prescriptive and more 'masculine' emotional management, while night nurses engage in philanthropic or 'feminine' emotional management, with the former given more esteem (p. S131). Furthermore, Lewis's findings show that night nurses' differential emotional management both challenges and resists the focus on prescriptive emotional management by publicly performing philanthropic emotional management behaviour, such as making tea for each other, sharing the workload and supporting each other on the ward. Lewis argues that spaces do not have inherent emotional feeling rules attached to them, such as the performance of prescriptive feeling rules on wards, or philanthropic feeling rules in back stage areas such as the tearoom. Her research challenges Fineman's simplistic distinction of emotion rules according to space by arguing that 'space is neither passive nor neutral but is shaped by human activities and is dependent on the practices of the individuals who colonize those spaces' (p. 77).

Overall, Lewis's research shows that different groups of individuals and the time of the day shape the predominant feeling rules of the two different shifts. However, while Lewis demonstrates that different sets of people create different feeling rules within the same space, she also demonstrates that these are relatively enduring and fixed for the two shifts. There is no change from one type of

prevalent emotional management to another within the same shift, and therefore the focus on the processes of such different conceptions of space, and the sudden change between the two, is left unexplained. On the whole, Lewis's findings suggest that the emotional dynamics of spaces are more complex than simple dichotomies between 'on' and 'off' or 'back' and 'front' stage spaces would imply, and that feeling rules are not entirely static as organisational actors respond to them in different ways. Fineman's notion that spaces are tied to particular feeling rules and that these are separate from each other, however, still holds, even if these rules vary across teams.

More recent research is concerned with the one-dimensional view of feeling rules to which employees supposedly adhere. For instance, Bolton's nurses perform emotional labour according to four distinct feeling rules: pecuniary, prescriptive, presentational and philanthropic, thereby introducing a number of feeling rules involving both instrumental and social motivations (2005a), thereby extending on Hochschild's emotional labour/work distinction. According to Bolton, nurses' motivations to provide emotional labour are not only based on organisational prescriptions, and to the sole aid of the labour process, providing a conceptually more nuanced account of emotional labour. Her research shows that employees draw on a number of feeling rules, and demonstrates that these are frequently interwoven rather than separate, with nurses drawing on a number of available discourses. Thus, Bolton argues that organisational actors respond to feeling rules determined by their professional memberships, organisational memberships and by broader social feeling rules. Most crucially, her contribution demonstrates that nurses are not only providing emotional labour at the demand of management, but also according to professional memberships and at their own discretion.

Moreover, Bolton argues that Goffman and Fineman's relatively clearly defined spaces ('back', 'front', 'at the water fountain' etc), are too restricted to physical spaces. Spaces, she argues, can also be viewed as interactional spaces, with actors drawing on cues from other people as well as

the environment they find themselves in. Interactional spaces can be brief, fleeting moments during interactions between professionals, or for instance between a police officer and a member of the general public. Interactions can be emotional exchanges, involving, for example, keeping a distance, or displaying bravado amongst officers. Bolton claims that

> 'though some informal spaces in organisations are both spatially and temporally dominant, as with certain occupational cultures, others may only be fleeting moments, an exchanged smile or a small nudge, which indicate how actors are able to be both present and not be present on certain occasions' (Bolton 2005a, p.134).

The uniformed nature of the Police Service or nursing, for instance, can serve as a marker of such an interaction, emphasising a person's current engagement in a particular interactional space. These interactions, wherever they may take place, are shaped by organisational and occupational codes of conduct and therefore feeling rules, dictating the body language, verbal language and emotions to be expressed or withheld in a particular encounter. Harrison and Dourish further elucidate this relationship between interactional spaces and feeling rules. They note that the relationship between a space and the interactions that occur within it is not deterministic (1996). They distinguish between the concepts of 'space' and 'place', and propose that 'we are *located* in 'space', but we *act* in 'place'' (p.3 ,original emphasis). Thus, it is 'place, not space, [which] frames appropriate behaviour' (p. 3). In essence, a space always remains the same, while a place is characterised by the 'social meaning, convention, cultural understandings about role, function and nature' (p. 3) that are attributed to it through its use. Nevertheless, this distinction has not caught on across academic disciplines/writers, and many academic writers use the terms interchangeably.

Overall, despite the complexities that have emerged regarding the ways in which spaces are associated with and shape feeling rules, it is clear that 'space matters' (Tickamyer 2000, p.805), and

that spaces are intrinsically linked with a number of feeling rules associated with professional and social norms. Spaces have a significant impact on shaping social interactions, since 'different settings create and reproduce social hierarchies, and enable and promote some practices over others' (Tickamyer, 2000, p. 806). In addition, spaces can be interactional and therefore not bound by physical limits; they can be shaped by organisational and social norms; and they can be fluid depending on those who inhabit them at particular times. It has also become clear that professional codes of conduct and norms exert considerable influence over feeling rules, which the following section will explore further.

Emotional ecologies

Particular spaces and feeling rules are attached to different professions. The service interactions of a flight attendant, a call-centre worker and a fire-fighter are marked by distinctly different feeling rules. Different workplaces are associated with different emotional cultures, as some of the examples above demonstrate. However, instead of the term 'emotional culture', it is suggested that 'emotional ecology' is a more appropriate term to use in this thesis. In using the term 'emotional ecology', importance is given to the idea that 'emotional reactions, feelings and expressions arise and develop out of a complex interaction between an individual human being and their environment' (Milton 2005, p.37). Milton shows that the emotional ecology of a particular profession is not only confined to the immediate work environment, but is influenced by and interacts with much broader environmental values. Thus, the semantic change alludes to the fact that an emotional ecology is emergent rather than placed, it is fluid, rather than fixed, it relies on its wider habitat and yet also influences it, and it is enduring yet also subject to disruption and change.

The following sections will further explore specific occupational cultures and their emotional ecologies, by means of looking at specific professions in more detail, starting with nurses.

Professional Spaces

Nurses

Sharon Bolton observed nurses on an orthopaedic ward for a duration of nine days. Her interest was triggered when her observations as a patient did not match up with the fatalistic literature on the 'death of the social' (Bolton 2008, p.15). Her perspective as a patient and a researcher gave her unique insights into the emotional community of the nurses on Ward 8, and allowed her to demonstrate the ways in which feeling rules provide a framework for professional interactions, while at the same time allowing for idiosyncrasies based on locality (Ward 8 being in the North of England) and medical speciality (orthopaedics). She claims that these aspects provide a 'framework of action and moral order' (p. 21), which give clues with regard to the interactions, demeanour and emotion work of a wide range of people. Bolton achieved this by paying close attention to 'the processes of interaction that are of interest to an understanding of emotion, the minutiae of everyday life, and the norms that inform its conduct' (Bolton 2008, p.17).

Her findings are striking. Bolton finds a distinctive occupational culture, defined by a strong interaction order that not only shapes the emotional ecology experienced by nurses, but also provides invaluable job satisfaction. One strong characteristic of Bolton's nurses is their professional demeanour. Interestingly, rather than this being imposed upon them, a professional demeanour is expected of and by the nurses themselves. The emotional ecology of these nurses proves similarly interesting: their 'professional face' does not lead to vacuous or false emotional performances, but instead enables the nurses to have emotional interactions within certain limits, protecting themselves in the process, while at the same time enabling complex and, for the nurses, very rewarding human interactions. Bolton demonstrates, by means of several vignettes, how such a unique interaction order is upheld: not only through relatively 'routine' interactions, but also through 'everyday incivilities'. By this she means that even when unacceptable behaviour occurs, such as a patient swearing at staff, these are subjected to the same interaction rules as routine and

civilised interactions, and are reciprocated by the nurses so that the 'ritual was complete and the order of interaction surprisingly maintained' (p. 22).

Overall, Bolton finds that the interactions on the ward are not empty, vacuous and 'put on', but rather that 'humanity is expressed, shared and supported in myriad ways as part of the 'interaction order'' (p. 25). In two further studies on gynaecological nurses, Bolton (Bolton 2005b, 2006) similarly observes distinct interaction rules within this close-knit group of nurses. She argues that the nature of the work creates a very distinctive occupational community, which encourages the use of 'applied' and 'pure' humour, the latter is used to help new recruits cope with the emotional demands of the job, but also to deal with the re-imagination of patients as customers, to challenge the doctor/nurse hierarchy while maintaining the 'ceremonial order' (Goffman 1967), and to resist and deal with the tensions of management-imposed demands and changes. In essence, Bolton suggests that 'nurses create an open, caring culture whilst being assertive, 'confrontational' or 'stroppy' with those who threaten to cause disruption to their world' (Bolton 2005b, p.183).

Moreover, despite the clues provided by such an interaction order, a number of competing interpretations of these clues are always available, rendering the interaction order 'fragile' and something of a 'collective triumph' (p. 24). It is through the 'interconnectedness' (p. 24) of actors that such an 'interaction order' is upheld and achieved. Bolton's research not only provides an insight into the processes involved in maintaining such interaction orders, but also highlights the fact that each emotional community has distinct interaction orders, even within the same profession. In essence, Bolton's research shows that '[d]ifferent emotional communities offer generalized modes of conduct that guide participants' actions' (p. 22), but that these are not deterministic, as situations and events can be interpreted in multiple ways. Nevertheless, for the majority of the time, interaction orders provide strong enough clues to facilitate a coherent occupational and emotional ecology. Moreover, Bolton's research demonstrates that the emotional

ecology of these nurses encompasses not only organisationally prescribed feeling rules, but are also locally specific, and are flexible enough to cope with interruptions to the organisation order, such as through 'incivilities'.

Newspaper employees

While not strictly speaking a professional group, O'Donohoe and Turley's (2006) small study into newspaper employees working for the 'In Memoriam' section reveals the intricate ways in which a subsection of newspaper employees have created a distinctive emotional ecology. The authors argue that the grief-stricken encounters between the newspaper employees and bereaved customers 'is experienced and managed, individually and collectively, by service providers' (p. 1430). For instance, employees create a 'holding space for pain' (Frost *et al.* 2005, cited by O'Donohoe and Turley 2006) for each other after difficult and particularly emotional encounters, helping each other cope and grieve. What is particularly interesting about this study is the fact that a distinctive emotional ecology exists, emerging from within the journalistic community.

Slaughtermen

A particularly engaging account of an occupational group is given by Ackroyd and Crowdy (1990), who observed a group of slaughtermen in an English abattoir for several months. Questioning the idea that culture can be managed by means of human resource management interventions, they analyse the intricate ways in which the nature of their work impacts upon the social interactions and experiences of the slaughtermen studied, and argue that the slaughtermen's occupational culture is too dominant and complex to be controlled by management. Indeed, their descriptions reveal an emotional ecology that has been shaped by the nature of the slaughtermen's hard and physical work, as well as its meaning to the wider population. In other words, Ackroyd and Crowdy state that the slaughtermen's beliefs and behaviour '[emerge] from collective sense-making by members; that is, their distinctive occupational culture' (p. 4). For instance, the men

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tread the difficult line between life and death in the face of highly ambivalent attitudes towards meat consumption from the general public, who fail to see the contradiction in holding sentiments towards animals as dear and innocent, while at the same time maintaining or even increasing their meat consumption. The men deal with this difficult 'moral ambiguity' (p. 11) by emphasising their realism, masculinity, strength and toughness as 'heroic qualities' (p. 8).

Similarly, hard work is expected of and by the slaughtermen, and harassment and degradation of various types characterises their work. The informal hierarchy of the group determines the recipients of this harassment and degradation, with those lower down the hierarchy (new members of the group, or less experienced junior workers) more likely to be subjected to such 'symbolic subordination' (p. 7). Ackroyd and Crowdy moreover observe that such behaviour is frequently accompanied by homophobic and misogynistic attitudes. Most interesting, however, is not the fact that such a wide variety of bullying and outright harassment occurs, but rather that it was viewed with indifference as part and parcel of the job. Manliness and masculinity are core values of this emotional ecology, and aggression and hard work are simply seen as part of that.

Moreover, Ackroyd and Crowdy demonstrate through their observations that the emotional ecology is 'embedded in quite distinctive class, regional and national cultures' (p. 3), or, in other words, 'is connected in unique ways to external meaning systems' (p. 3).

Teachers

Bolton's study of teachers (2007) offers a profound insight into the complexity of emotion scripts drawn on by teachers of primary school children with emotional and behavioural difficulties. First, Bolton outlines the general emotional alignment of the teaching profession with the feminine values of caring, cooperation and community. However, she points out that, ironically, teachers' alignment with the feminine and the maternal relegates their work to the sphere of the semi-

professional. It is for these reasons that the teaching profession has recently embarked on a 'professionalisation project' (p. 19) by introducing 'masculine emotion codes' (p. 19) emphasising rationality, objectivity, performativity and control. These values are reinforced through Ofsted inspections, with their sole focus on and recognition of professional, and therefore masculine, emotion codes.

Two main findings emerge from Bolton's research into staff (teachers and teaching assistants) at a pupil referral unit over a period of two years. First, staff experience and 'feel' the contradictory pressures placed upon them, and respond to them by drawing on a combination of gendered codes. This is particularly the case for the teachers in the pupil referral unit, as they deal not only with academic progress, but, more importantly, also need to deal with the behavioural, communication and learning difficulties of their pupils. This means that they have to address these needs and difficulties first and foremost, before any academic progress can be achieved. Bolton eloquently describes the teachers' complex response when she writes that teachers

> 'weave their way through the demands placed upon them by the masculine cultural project of professionalisation and implement management systems of control and external accountability […]. Yet at times they firmly hold on to the central tenet of human connection and offer a relational bond to the children they are asked to educate that no performance management system or professionalisation project could ever hope to capture' (Bolton 2007, p.31).

Thus, in doing so, female and male teachers enact both masculine and feminine emotion codes in a complex manner.

Secondly, Bolton's detailed account of her observations shows that, despite the need to focus on masculine emotion codes in order for the professionalisation project to advance, Bolton's teachers would not achieve the targets and aims imposed upon them without drawing on the feminine emotion code of 'human connectedness' (p. 32). She concludes that teaching practice is not only informed by the discourses of femininity used by teachers (both male and female), but also by 'structural relations and personal histories that involve not only experiences such as nurturing and caring, but also control and rational objectives' (p. 32).

In essence, the teachers studied demonstrate the complexity of emotion codes, and the importance of taking into account changes, such as the professionalisation project, and their possible impact upon professional emotion codes. Bolton shows that such changes can in fact alter the emotional ecology of a profession. However, Bolton's account also shows the limitation of such reforms: despite the intention to move away from feminine values entirely, the nature of the work greatly impacts the extent to which this is possible.

The police as a particular emotional community

It has become clear that organisations can be thought of as 'emotional zones' with distinct 'emotional arenas' (Fineman 2000), whether these are defined by space, time, inhabitants and/or other situational clues. Similarly, men and women within organisations are recognised as skilled managers of emotions, who can control and manage their own and others' emotions in service encounters and with colleagues according to a complex array of 'professional, organisational and commercial codes of conduct and social feeling rules' (Bolton 1999, Bolton 2005a, p.5). Lastly, professional groups and subgroups have been established as strong communities, with their own distinct emotional ecologies rooted in a professional ethos and the nature of the work, amongst other factors, as the examples of slaughtermen, teachers and nurses have demonstrated.

The Police Service is no exception. Police work is made up of complex human interactions, competing demands, and, as outlined in Chapter One, is characterised by the threat of danger and violence. Chapter One argues that this persistent threat and the police organisation and socialisation that is comparable to the military lead to persistent features in its emotional ecology, despite the often mundane reality of policing. The occupational community of the Police Service is distinctive and strong, and is proving difficult to change, partly because its spaces with very particular feeling rules provide relief from the tensions and emotion work associated with police work. Crucially, this chapter will argue that the characteristics of the occupational culture of policing impact on the way emotions are displayed and handled. Two aspects in particular are argued as contributing to a distinct emotional ecology that characterises (British) policing: masculinity and the public service ethos.

Masculinity

Police culture, as described in detail in Chapter One, is infused with an 'idealised sense of masculinity' (Conti 2010, p.9). Policing is traditionally viewed as 'men's work' (McElhinny 1994, p.160), as 'one of the most masculine professions' (Prokos and Padavic 2002, p.454) and is typically associated with such concepts as 'hegemonic masculinity' (Conti 2010), a 'pattern of practice […] that allowed men's dominance over women to continue' (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p.832) or 'hypermasculinity' (Cooper 2009), the 'exaggeration of traditionally masculine traits or behaviours' (Collins Dictionary 2015). The entrance of women into the police force, equality legislation and other attempts to 'feminise' police work and culture (i.e. through the ethos and practices of community policing as well as ongoing public sector reforms (Brown 2007, Brogden and Ellison 2013)) have not achieved a move away from masculinity, but have rather achieved a transformation 'from one masculinity (with an emphasis on physical displays of force) to another (with an emphasis on objectivity and rationality)' (McElhinny 1994, p.162), thereby maintaining a 'cult of masculinity' (Brown 2007, p.206).

The emphasis on objectivity, rationality and other masculine values translates into an occupational culture valuing masculine characteristics such as the desire for authority, competitiveness, strength, and a propensity for aggression and violence (Hunt 1990, Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, Morash and Haarr 2012). These male qualities are valued and contrasted with little-desired 'feminine qualities' such as 'expressiveness, communal orientation, and submissiveness' (Morash and Haarr 2012, p.4), or 'femocratic' practices (Brown 2007, p.208). Morash and Haarr assert that the belief that masculine characteristics are the basis for successfully fulfilling police duties underpins police occupational culture, despite the fact that both masculine and feminine skills are essential in fulfilling the wide range of policing tasks. Through the alignment of masculinity with 'professionalism', femininity and the skills associated with femininity are further devalued (Rabe-Hemp 2009). Nevertheless, some authors have suggested that the introduction of community policing has placed more positive value on the 'feminine' characteristics of policing work (Rabe-Hemp 2009), although recent empirical research on community policing has not found this to be the case (see for example Ramshaw 2012).

This focus on masculinity means that officers are recognised and rewarded by their colleagues and the public for their detachment and 'masculine' behaviours, emphasising the importance of 'mask(ing) and displace(ing) expression of emotion' (Martin 1999, p.124). McElhinny makes an important distinction and argues that this does not indicate a 'lack of compassion' (p. 165), but is instead a 'non-projection of emotion' (p. 160). This type of emotional management is valued as 'emotional competence', and viewed as a key component of 'masculine prowess' (Thurnell-Read and Parker 2008, p.130). In essence, police officers experience emotions, but act in line with the rules prescribed by their occupational community by not showing them, emphasising the importance and relevance of 'display rules' in addition to 'feeling rules'. Similar to Ackroyd and Crowdy's slaughtermen (1990), the strong in-group identity of police officers contributes to

officers forming a strong group loyalty, a 'them and us' mentality (Loftus 2010, Reiner 2010), and ensures that an emotional distance from the public is maintained.

Professional and service ethos

Moreover, policing is characterised by a strong professional and service ethos, the intensification of which is sought through efforts to formalise the professionalisation process by means of modernising training (Heslop 2011b), a code of ethics in Scotland and other modernisation reforms as part of the formation of Police Scotland, and through the setting up of a national body in England and Wales (Neyroud 2012). These reforms are expected to consolidate the professional demeanour and therefore the emotion work expected by the public in 'service' interactions, but also the professional standards implicit in increasing professionalisation. The emotional component of this service ethos can be described as caring but reserved, and this ethos of professionalism and emotional detachment is not only part of the police's professional ethos, but also applies to many other professions, such as lawyers and doctors.

McElhinny (1994) describes the relationship between police officers and the display of emotions as 'an economy of affect' (p. 164), indicating that officers think of emotions in limited terms: the more they spend on encounters with the public, the less there is available for themselves. The limited emotions that are displayed are reserved for the deserving, such as children, and this further acts as a self-protective measure, particularly as officers frequently deal with the 'dirty work' of society. Martin (1999) claims that emotional detachment also signals authority and a sense of control in emotion-laden encounters with the public, and concludes that the 'professional image' of the police is therefore also an 'unemotional image'. This image projects a strongly service-focused professional ethos, firmly rooted in a masculine professional culture. This, however, does not mean that the police are emotionally incompetent. In fact, the suppression of emotions, which they undoubtedly experience in many encounters and situations, requires the skilful management

of emotions in order to maintain an emotionless and authoritative facade (McElhinny 1994, Martin 1999). Martin attributes significant importance to the occupational culture in transmitting the feeling and display rules required to manage police officers' emotions, but suggests that in addition socialisation processes such as 'selection, training, supervision, and rituals' (p. 114) further shape the occupational feeling and display rules.

The role of police socialisation for police identity and emotional community

Probationers are exposed to the occupational community of the police and its associated emotional ecology right from their first day at the station or the Police College. Early police socialisation and continuing training at the Police College are therefore important arenas for shaping feeling rules for police officers, teaching police recruits early on about the types of emotions that are valued, those that are not, and the situations in which the display of emotions is appropriate. Police colleges and academies therefore place great emphasis on socialising police recruits into the professional ethos of the police – or as Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce phrase it, 'to strip individuals of their personal characteristics so that they can embrace the 'esprit de corps' of the organization' (2010, p.189).

The literature on police socialisation discusses a number of ways through which probationers and officers are familiarised with police values or 'normative orders' (Herbert 1998), which determine the type of professional behaviour demanded by the home force. Herbert summarises these 'normative orders' as law, bureaucratic control, adventure/machismo, safety, competence and morality, of which morality and machismo appear to be the most frequently discussed in terms of their significance in shaping probationers' feeling rules (Conti 2009). New recruits are socialised into accepting that policing equals masculine (regardless of the gender of the officer), perpetuating a 'culture of masculinity' (Prokos and Padavic 2002, p.443). Prokos and Padavic (2002), whose

research is based in the US, highlight that these messages are continuously created and reinforced through a number of means, despite a gender-neutral curriculum.

Furthermore, descriptions of 'stress-academies' (Lundman 1980) abound, and their role in developing loyalty and in-group cohesiveness. More crucially for this research, however, it is suggested that early police socialisation teaches probationers to maintain a professional demeanour in tense and potentially dangerous situations (Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce 2010). This means that officers must remain 'emotionally detached from the populace but yet still connect morally enough to police with a nuanced touch' (Muir 1977 cited in Herbert, 1998). Probationer training also teaches about emotional transgressions, both transgressions into 'feminine' emotions such as compassion and sadness, which are considered to render officers 'weak and inadequate' (Martin, 1999, p. 116) due to the loss of authority such emotions invoke, but also transgressions into violence and brutality (see Cooper 2009 for a detailed example). This is generally viewed as unacceptable, although when it does occur, officers are advised to present a 'modified' and more acceptable version (Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce 2010, p.202). Thus, police training not only provides familiarisation with technical knowledge, physical training and professional routines and ethos, but also teaches probationers to be emotionally competent as professional police officers, able to deal with emotional eruptions from the populace and to contain and control their own fears in the face of danger. In addition, strategies on how to cope with transgressions are taught. In essence, according to Conti, police officers are asked to have a 'warrior heart' (Conti 2010, p.411).

Conceptualising professional socialisation

The mechanisms through which professional feeling and display rules are conveyed to newcomers into a profession, in addition to the technical knowledge and physical training required, as well as the importance of professional socialisation are explored in a number of classic studies. A 'bedrock of occupational socialization research' (Delamont 2007, p.158), Becker, et al.'s *Boys in White*

(Becker *et al*. 1977/2007) is illuminating with regard to how occupational feeling and display rules are institutionally shaped. While Becker, et al. focus on the professional training of medical students in Kansas, USA, the institutional training contexts of medical and police probationers share many important features. Both police probationers and medical students tend to be drawn to their respective professions not necessarily by status or money, but by idealism (Becker *et al*. 1977/2007), and despite being of very different lengths, the training processes of police and medical students is similarly intense and isolated from outside influences.

The author's main argument in the book centres around the importance of context in shaping short-range values in a training context, as well as transforming long-range values that will be more apt for a professional context. More specifically, Becker and his colleagues argue that student culture emerges collectively in response to contextual constraints imposed by the institution and its faculty. Thus, while it may appear that the values with which the students entered medical school have been replaced, Becker argues that students' values emerge and are selected depending on the most pressing issues faced in a particular situation. Students' long-range values (such as the idealism the majority of medical students start off with) remain dormant, as they may not be immediately appropriate in the context of training, which requires the learning of anatomy and other facts. While at medical school, students' short-range values are directed towards such immediate concerns. Becker, et al. nevertheless argue that students' initial 'long range perspective […] has remained and been transformed by the school experience, being made more professional and specific' (p. 432). However, they caution that the values learned during this professional socialisation 'persist only when the immediate situation makes their use appropriate' (p. 433).

Boys in White points towards two important factors in the professional socialisation process: first, the role of interaction in professional training, and second, the role of context in whether values are seen as appropriate (or not). Becker, et al. propose that 'situations influence values' (p. 430),

and that the 'immediate situational pressures constrain behaviour in the present and play an important part in shaping the values participants make use of' (p. 431). In essence, their research suggests that immersion in an institutional setting for the purposes of professional training changes trainees/students, albeit not in the ways often purported (i.e. through the acquisition of professional norms and attitudes during training). Rather, Becker, et al.'s research suggests that the professional role is acquired only upon entering the field as a medical professional (rather than as a student), as a result of the interactions between the individuals (or group of individuals) and the professional situations in which they find themselves. Thus, since behaviour is the result of the interaction between the new professional and his or her professional environment, feeling and display rules that are attempted to be conveyed during training are not necessarily at the foreground upon entering professional practice.

Another conceptual resource on which this thesis draws is Strauss's *Mirrors and Masks*. While Strauss's discussion centres around the concept of identity, he provides a particularly useful framework for conceptualising the 'linking of individual (also aggregate) and collective identities' (Strauss 1959/2008, p.7). In other words, he attempts to explain individual action and identity in relation to collective identity, thus providing the conceptual link between the individual and his/her environment on which this thesis builds. In fact, for Strauss, understanding individual action without understanding the groups of which the individual is a member, and the people with whom the individual interacts is not possible, since 'individuals also represent – sociologically speaking – different and often multiple collectivities who are expressing themselves through the interaction' (p.7).

Strauss suggests that two aspects are at the heart of this process. First, he suggests that categorisation of the world (and the objects and people within it) shapes action. This means that people's understandings, and therefore their actions, differ depending on their categorisations of

the world and, in cruder ways, the vocabulary available to them. This implies that if one encounters an unfamiliar situation or act, new terms will need to be sought to make sense of it. In addition, others around us have to share these new terms in order to 'participate together in shared activity' (p. 37). By implication, the more similar people are, the more likely they are to categorise the world in similar ways, and thus act similarly.

If, however, others' responses differ from one's expectations, Strauss suggests that a re-evaluation of one's own actions takes place. This is because others' anticipated judgments of our actions determine our actions, the second process at the heart of how individual identities are linked with collective identities. In other words, Strauss elegantly argues that 'you will see your future act in a kind of complicated mirror' (p. 36). It is for these reasons, Strauss states, that unless we choose well-travelled paths, 'human action necessarily must be rather tentative and exploratory' (p. 38). By extension, any interaction taking place between two individuals also takes into account the groups they belong to, their values and ways of categorisation.

Strauss's writing, while focused on identity, can be extended to understand a professional community, how an emotional ecology emerges and the norms and expectations that sustain it. The categorisations Strauss speaks of have implications for feeling rules, in the ways members of the same group have a shared understanding, and thus shared actions with regard to a situation or object. Moreover, Strauss provides an insight into the processes involved in changing the way members of a group categorise situations or, in other words, the feeling rules in particular situations, and the importance of such changes organisation-wide in order to still be able to understand the world in the same or similar ways, and thus 'participate together in shared activity'. Thus, when conceptualising emotional ecologies, it becomes apparent why they are never fixed, but nonetheless remain relatively stable over time.

Drawing on Strauss and Becker, et al. in order to understand a particular professional culture and its emotional ecology currently undergoing disruptions adds richness, depth and insight. Moreover, while these writers have developed their theories in relatively settled eras for the professions involved, one contribution of this thesis is the application of these concepts to an emotional ecology that is under pressure to change.

Conclusion

In sum, police spaces, like any other organisational spaces, whether physical or interactional, are not the rational, emotionally void spaces they are often thought to be. They feature established emotional ecologies, which shape the feeling and display rules with regard to the experience and display of emotions. While each profession and organisation has a different emotional ecology, police spaces can be described as overarchingly masculine, with probationers being socialised into a dominant occupational culture from the first day of probationer training, in which they are taught that emotions are to be controlled and contained (Martin 1999).

Nevertheless, as Chan (2004) argues, occupational cultures are not deterministic, and 'the field' changes along with the cultural, social, economic and legislative environment. The ways in which the micro is linked with the macro are conceptualised through the interactions and categorisations put forward by Strauss (1959/2008). For the Police, change is being attempted through modernisation and reform, pulling officers in two opposing directions: the demand for engagement and sensitivity, while at the same time being distanced, professional and masculine. The reforms attempt to change the existing occupational culture and its associated emotional ecology, and introduce, and to some extent prescribe, different feeling and display rules to those prevailing.

Analysing such reforms, and in particular diversity training from the perspective of organisations and professions with distinct emotional ecologies, it becomes clear that these training courses and reforms often have a simplistic view of organisations and of training courses alike. Diversity training, as described in the literature, does not take into consideration a potential occupational closure around emotion, which goes beyond what it means to be a professional based on practice and knowledge alone. This clearly limits the possibility and extent of changes to profession-specific feeling rules, as is attempted by processes such as diversity training. Such training asks officers to loosen their occupational closure around emotion and to be sensitive to the public's demands and needs. In addition, diversity training demands an occupational culture that is open to and accepting of values outside the white, strong, masculine norms currently characterising the emotional ecology of the police. It is for these reasons that it is important to understand occupational cultures and their emotional ecologies, and to show their relevance with regard to the potential difficulties of introducing functional management initiatives, as Chapters Five to Seven will empirically examine.

Chapter Four

Researching Diversity

'For not only do emotions, in a quite obvious way, belong to stories; they also build on, allude to, and echo other emotions and events; they refer to interwoven lives. As such, their significances are not easily contained within an illustrative and generalizing format. In two senses, then, emotions possess a narrative aspect: they make sense within a narrative sequence, and they 'tell a story'. (Beatty 2010, p.430)

Since the thesis is interested in situating micro-observations of diversity training within a broader political economy of change, Chapter Four takes a two-pronged approach in order to further the

investigation of the questions asked. First, it addresses what kind of conceptualisation of emotions is required in order to understand the changes imposed upon the Police Service and officers by means of examining narratives in diversity training courses. The chapter argues that in line with the contextualised approach taken in the thesis, emotions require to be conceptualised as arising out of their social context rather than triggered by an individual's background, fears or defences. Secondly, the chapter addresses the methodology that is used in order to understand the changes to the political economy of policing and its impact on officers and the Police Service. The combined use of methods, as well as the longitudinal nature of data collection at two points in time over a six year period, enables the thesis to capture the richness and depth of diversity training, and allows for interview and observational data to be situated within changes to police work. These aspects, the chapter argues, allow the thesis to illustrate how changes to the political economy of policing have affected diversity work within the police, providing a historicised and contextualised account.

Furthermore, the purpose of this chapter is to explain carefully and in detail how the research has been designed and carried out in order to answer the research questions outlined in the introduction, and to elaborate on the research setting. As the previous chapter shows, research attempting to understand the impact of modernisation reforms on the Police Service and on the way diversity management is approached, and indeed research into diversity training courses in general, has been few and far between. In particular, research examining diversity management against a rich backdrop of contextual information is lacking. The thesis is one step towards addressing such shortcomings, and this chapter explains why the methods used are the most appropriate to enable the thesis to do so.

Researching Emotions

In Chapter Three, it is suggested that the common interpretations of emotions displayed in diversity training courses are not usually situated and viewed from within an organisational, occupational, and wider social, economic and legal context, but rather as residing in and arising from the individual participant. In so doing, a particular view of what emotions are and how they occur is adopted. Broadly speaking, there are three approaches to examining emotions within organisation studies: the psychoanalytic approach, the interpretivist approach, as well as the positivistic approach popular and championed by many psychologists. The first two are discussed in the following paragraphs, since they are most applicable to the thesis. The approaches can be distinguished by the ways that they conceptualise how emotions arise. Psychoanalytic approaches view emotions 'as driving forces in human affairs' (Gabriel 1998, p.296), and therefore as arising from within the individual, for example through 'unconscious defences about anxiety, fear, envy and hate' or 'repressed thoughts, fantasies and desires' (Fineman 2000, p.2). Psychoanalytic interpretations of emotions, therefore, are always viewed with the individual's background and life experiences in mind, the organisation's history, and the dynamics between the individual/s and the organisation (Gabriel 1998).

In contrast, the interpretivist paradigm is a particular 'view of society' (Burrell and Morgan 1979, p.25), marked by a 'subjectivist approach to the analysis of the social world' (p. 28) and a focus on 'the constructed nature of people and reality, emphasizing language as a system of distinctions which are central to the construction process ...' (Alvesson and Deetz 1996, p.186). Alvesson and Deetz further assert that research informed by this approach tends to stress 'narrative/fiction/rhetoric as central to the research process' (p. 187). Therefore, research into emotion informed by an interpretivist perspective, such as that carried out by Fineman, Hearn or Lutz and colleagues (Lutz and Abu-Lughod 1990), asserts that 'while emotions are ubiquitous, what is called emotions are socially constructed' (Hearn 1993, p.149), highlighting the point that

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emotions, from a social constructionist point of view, are always situated, relational and, necessarily, context-dependent. By this, the authors imply that the types of emotions felt and displayed are culturally mediated, and arise always in response to others or to specific events (Briner 1999). In essence, emotions are constructed within a social context through organisational norms or socialisation practices, and organisational emotions 'cannot fully be understood outside of their social context' (Fineman 1993b, p.10).

Taking an interpretivist approach to emotions also implies a fluid and dynamic view of emotions, conceptualising emotions as an interactive achievement, incorporating the 'researchers' understanding of their own feelings and emotions, their own phenomenological realities' (Fineman 2004, p.724). The interactions, feelings and responses of the researcher to the research process and the participants are not considered 'researcher bias', as is the case in positivistic-oriented research, but rather an intrinsic, accepted and welcome part of the process; incorporating the 'fine texture, the tensions, the heat, the contradictory sensations, the subtle postures, the negotiations, the interconnections between researcher and researched' (Fineman 2004, p.724).

Following Lutz and Abu-Lughod, Sturdy, et al. and Fineman's conceptualisation of emotions as socially constructed implies that 'texts of fear, anger, distrust, boredom, joy and excitement are interactively produced, reshaped and mixed as relationships at work unfold, as audiences shift, as tales are told and retold, and as power, status and gender are tested and deployed' (Fineman 2005, p. 10). Thus, rather than viewing texts as camouflaging emotions that need to be extracted and 'decoded', the thesis takes Fineman's stance that narratives are awash with 'ever-evident emotions, always expressed, always on the move, always socially produced and contextualised' (2005, p. 10).

Methodological Implications

Since the thesis is interested in role of diversity trainers and the response of police participants to diversity training and, hence, its impact on the emotional ecology of the police, conceptualising emotions as a response to social, organisational or professional changes rather than an internal or hidden process opens up opportunities for observational research in work organisations. If, as Lutz and Abu-Lughod argue, 'emotions are phenomena that can be seen in social interaction, much of which is verbal' (p. 10-11), then this 'emotion talk must be interpreted as *in* and *about* social life rather than as veridically referential to some internal state' (p. 11, original emphasis). Following Lutz and Abu-Lughod's premises, it follows that feelings and emotions are accessible through observation and analysis of what they call 'emotion talk': a focus on the 'structural and related discursive, or language-based, aspects of emotion' (Sturdy *et al.* 2008, p.136) as well as other non-verbal cues such as body language and the context in which emotions are observed.

According to Fineman, in following this theoretical orientation, interpretive 'means of knowing' are achieved through ''in situ' accounts, narratives, and discourses', which are 'embedded in 'natural', or everyday, occurrences and events, expressed through participants' interactions, words, recollections, writings, body language, or other symbols of feeling or emotion' (Fineman 2005, p.8). As the following section will demonstrate, narratives can capture interactions and pay attention to the context in which these occur, as well as to subtle changes of emotions. The words 'interactions', 'events' and 'occurrences' indicate processes that occur over a period of time, and therefore require a narrative account in order to avoid the 'snapshot' approach of other, mostly positivistic, methodological approaches, such as questionnaires. Moreover, in using narratives it is necessary to pay attention to contextual and temporal aspects in which they occur, and in attempting to extend the micro with the macro, the thesis suggests a longitudinal approach, observing how such emotions unfold in these particular professional contexts at two points in time 2008/9 and 2013. Such a longitudinal approach (longitudinal not only at one point in time, but at

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two points in time) is particularly important since the thesis attempts to understand the impact of changes to the political economy of policing on police officers in Scotland.

Why extended narratives?

The majority of research on emotions presents data in a traditional manner, interweaving descriptions, observations and quotes with analysis. Rarely is a reader provided with detailed context for the quotes, and rarely can readers contemplate the events and conversations themselves before an analysis is offered. The following section will argue that while this is a suitable approach for some research, the questions asked in this thesis are more appropriately presented by means of extended sections of narrative – long narratives detailing events, conversations, debates, and the author's personal observations on her own interactions as well as those witnessed. This allows the reader to gain a unique insight into the goings-on of a diversity training course. The thesis focuses on emotions over time, as a dynamic process that affects the researcher, the researched and the interactions between them. Thus, Fineman's call for 'methodological ingenuity' (1993a, p.222) is followed by laying out a rationale for examining emotions through extended narratives. It will do so by presenting three examples of published research that use extended narratives. While these examples do not focus on diversity management or diversity training in particular, they will explore the possibilities of extended narratives as a powerful means to empirically shed light on some of the thesis's objects of examination, and in addition allow the reader to follow the conclusions drawn. These studies, ranging from examining the emotion of control (Fineman and Sturdy 1999) to the construction of Japanese identities (Kondo 1990), will each outline an aspect that will illuminate diversity training like no other methodological means.

1. Fineman and Sturdy's (1999) research examines encounters between environmental regulatory inspectors and industrial managers. Fineman and Sturdy are interested in the emotional aspects of control, both as a 'social product and condition of control' (p. 632),

an aspect, according to them, that had been ignored in the literature to date. To support their argument, they contextualise their research, and then present three 'ethnographic cases of encounters' (p. 632) focusing on 'emotionalized discourses of encounters' (p. 640). Each presents the encounter between the regulator and the regulated within a specific organisation, followed by an 'emotion reading'. The emotional encounters discuss four aspects in particular: the emotions expressed and observed by the researchers, the dynamics of the change in emotions, the interactions between the regulators and regulated that affect the changes in emotions, and finally, the architecture of emotions, detailing their locations and noting that emotions are displayed differently according to location. Each 'ethnographic encounter' begins with a detailed description of the organisation and the negotiations and the decision of the regulator. These descriptions are complemented with short quotes, but more importantly contain 'thick descriptions' (Geertz 1973) of 'emotions and the emotionalized' (Fineman & Sturdy, 1999, p. 640). The authors focus on 'signs and clues include(ing) tone of voice, facial expression, overt displays/verbal statements of emotion (e.g., anger, frustration, anxiety) as well as private statements about publicly disguised feelings' as well as 'feelings and emotions [...] inferred from the natural flow of data: the words people used, the manner of their expressions, and how they appeared to the observer' (p. 640).

Fineman and Sturdy observe that regulations are not 'black and white' due to a number of uncertainties and ambiguities, opening up space for negotiation. These negotiations can potentially take many directions, leading to different outcomes for the organisation in question. Fineman and Sturdy further observe that these interactions are very emotional in nature, and the emotions they observe shape the direction of the negotiations, and therefore also potentially the outcome, above and beyond other factors such as 'functional roles and expectations, authority arrangements and forms of expertise and identity' (p.

658). In other words, the encounters the authors describe and their outcomes are both 'socially and emotionally produced' (p. 658). The intricate emotional dynamics in the negotiation processes are easy to follow through the observations, descriptions and quotes provided by the authors. Interviews alone would not be able to convey the dynamic process, let alone the complex emotions experienced by the authors, the regulators and the regulated. Over and above, this study and its findings highlight the importance of emotions in such a complex, often thought to be 'rational', process of control. In doing so, Fineman and Sturdy call into question the commonly understood conceptualisation of 'rational'. This conceptualisation of organisational life as neither emotional nor rational but always and necessarily both informs the view of organisational life taken in this thesis, and will inform the interpretation of all aspects of diversity management discussed.

2. Amanda Wise's (2005) research is based in Ashfield, a suburb of Sydney, Australia, and examines the interactions of the inhabitants in a multicultural suburb, which has undergone radical change in terms of its ethnic make-up since the end of the Second World War. In particular, she is interested in the way in which the 'elderly working-class Anglo-Celtic Australians' in her study come to terms with the 'culturally different residents in their home neighbourhood' (p. 173), in particular the Chinese-born Australians who arrived in the 1990s. To this end, Wise lived and was actively engaged in community activities in Ashfield for one year, conducting interviews, and holding group discussions with 'local seniors' groups' (p. 173). Her analysis is in two parts. The first part, using interview extracts, exposes the elderly residents' fears and dislike regarding the changes that have occurred, particularly in the shopping street, attributing largely negative feelings towards the mainly Chinese new arrivals, who are perceived as interrupting the social encounters that used to take place with the previous shopkeepers, and have become associated with loneliness and social isolation. The second part of her

analysis juxtaposes these negative emotions with 'hopeful intercultural moments' (p. 178) of interaction. In order to reveal these, Wise had to dig 'down into the ethnographic depths' and present these 'hopeful intercultural moments' by means of five 'stories' (p. 178) or 'ethnographic vignettes' (p. 172). Each story is approximately half a page long, and describes the encounter and background information of those involved in the encounter. Some stories contain quotes, and others recollections of conversations. Some are stories told by her participants, and others are the author's observations and include her perceptions and interpretations of what was going on. Thus, some of these 'stories' are autoethnographic, while others are ethnographic, or a combination of the two. All five 'stories' describe the moment or moments when elderly Anglo-Celtic Australians approach the Chinese 'other' (or vice versa), and the subsequent changes in their perception of the Chinese 'other'. Since Wise is concerned with very subtle changes in mood, feelings and perceptions, glimpses of hope rather than radical and obvious changes, a narrative approach is essential in capturing the changes, as well as the subtlety of the changes. This, furthermore, requires contextual information about the participants' initial perceptions of the alien 'other', a crucial ingredient in order to provide 'a convincing account of emotions', since 'a proper appraisal of their significance – depends on an attention to narrative context' (Beatty 2010, p.433). Thus, the narrative approach works well for Wise, by allowing her to draw out what is important to her elderly participants through the changes in the emotions she observes. This study highlights the usefulness of a narrative approach in capturing subtle changes in emotions by paying attention to utterances in the contexts in which they appear, as well as to slight changes in mood and body language. Amanda Wise's research highlights the importance of capturing such subtle changes during fieldwork in order to enable the detection of a change in emotions, but also highlights the difficulties of capturing such subtle and often fleeting moments.

Furthermore, her combination of autoethnographic and ethnographic narratives, which enable the portrayal of these subtle changes, will be carried forward in this thesis.

3. Lastly, Kondo's *Crafting Selves* (1990) enlists extensive narratives, in particular in the chapter on 'Disciplined Selves'. Based on a theoretical approach that examines kinship in 'abstract, organizational, structural-functionalist terms', and an 'emphasis on cultural meanings' (p. 9), Kondo's book is interested in 'basic cultural assumptions: how selfhood is constructed in the arenas of company and family' (p.9) in Japan. Initially interested in the relationship between Japanese kinship and economics, Kondo's attention was subsequently drawn to the construction of identities – as workers, women, part-time workers and artisans – and their rootedness in human relations. Overall, Kondo finds that the Japanese conception of the self is inseparable from its context; in other words, there is no such thing as a 'unitary 'I'', but rather a self that is gendered, multiple and constructed within existing power relations. To this end, Kondo follows ethnographic 'footsteps' but eschews the methodological convention of collecting a variety of 'objective' empirical data such as organisational charts. Instead, she uses an approach described as 'textually experimental',[11] aiming to 'recapture dialogue and events as they occurred on the shop floor and elsewhere; words uttered by 'real people'' (p. 46) by means of presenting a variety of narratives from co-workers, artisans, neighbours, friends and relatives, as well as a number of her own observations, reflections and experiences. These 'utterances' are presented in the form of interviews, vignettes, field observations, anecdotes and personal conversations with the people she meets during her time in Japan. The chapter entitled 'Disciplined Selves' is a prime example of how conceptions of the good self are intrinsically linked to the wider social matrix, which readers are able to deduce for

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[11] http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/1990-97632-000

themselves through extensive narrative descriptions of an ethics retreat, its daily routines, and Kondo's and her fellow participants' reactions to them. Kondo aims to 'convey to the reader a sense of the deep and often contradictory emotional responses my fellow participants and I had to this extraordinary set of experiences: profound feelings of warmth, anger, indignation, guilt, sadness, delight, frustration, and contentment' (p. 81).

The emotional aspects of her experiences at the retreat are brought across convincingly through the narrative style of her writing and her astute observations of her own and others' emotions. One of Kondo's main claims in this particular chapter is that the contrast between the strict disciplined routine of the retreat and the strong emotional responses it provokes provide the key to interpreting how 'disciplined selves' (p. 81) are created. Moreover, she proposes that the complex emotional responses of her fellow participants manifest an unequivocal response to the regime of the ethics retreat. These insights are unique to the approach taken by Kondo, and her honest and sensitive reporting of her own and others' emotions during the training. The way she presents the information in this particular chapter – a separation between an uninterrupted narrative describing the ethics retreat, followed by a separate, theoretical analysis – allows the reader to get a 'feel' for the experience.

There are a number of aspects of Kondo's book that will be taken forward in this thesis. First, the separation between narrative and analysis will be utilised, dedicating extended space to larger sections of narrative of diversity training course. Second, Kondo's inspirational account of the ethics retreat is largely autoethnographic, combining her perspectives of the retreat as a participant and incorporating descriptions of the context, short quotes and explanations. Above all, she demonstrates that narratives are an ideal means of getting to the heart of things, and a method that enables the understanding of

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the tensions and contradictions of the participants of the retreat. Kondo's research method allows for the exposition of training courses as dynamic interactions between trainers and trainees, assigning great significance to the emotional reactions of trainees to the training message. Kondo achieves this through the creation of a vivid 'emotional landscape' (Beatty 2010, p.434), which is highly persuasive, and which this thesis endeavours to capture. Moreover, the ability of the narrative method to understand and tap into the tensions and contradictions of the trainees as well as the trainers is ideal for the nature of the questions asked in this thesis, and will be employed in the data chapters (Chapters Five, Six and Seven).

Overall, the three examples of empirical research utilising extended narrative sections demonstrate value in elucidating the phenomena of interest, particularly those aspects that require contextualisation through deep personal experiences. In fact, while each study provides some general background information to vignettes, they are highly personal and specific. Beatty argues that it is exactly this personal detail that achieves 'an emotional conviction and realism' (p. 438). He states that

> 'a narrative approach allows us to grasp the humane significances that define the experience of emotion. An awareness of emotion in narrative context brings to light the contradictions and conflicts that people experience in their social life, their not fitting, their resistance or unwilling capitulation to social pressures, their abrasions with reality, their struggles for meaning' (p. 438).

Thus, Beatty suggests that no approach but a narrative approach is able to capture emotions. He claims that this is due to the fact that emotions 'possess a narrative aspect: they make sense within a narrative sequence, and they 'tell a story' ' (Beatty 2010, p.432).

Moreover, each example highlights at least one important aspect of the researcher's approach to utilising narratives that will be carried forward in this research. For instance, Fineman and Sturdy's research highlights the contested nature of rationality in organisational life, demonstrating to readers that emotions underpin every aspect of organisational life. In doing so, they are able to show that emotions serve a purpose and are functional. This research, moreover, shows that emotions observed between individuals can serve to elucidate an abstract notion such as the emotions of control, which is particularly relevant for this thesis in its attempt to understand the impact of reforms upon the Police Service. Amanda Wise's research, on the other hand, demonstrates that attention to detail is important in order to detect minor changes in emotions. This attention to subtle changes, either observed or retold by participants, is important insofar as it can indicate the beginning of a more significant social change, another important aspect when examining diversity training courses. Thus, due attention has been paid to such subtle changes (of moods, attitudes, emotions, discussions, body language and so on) when observing the diversity training course that will be described in Chapter Six.

Thirdly, Kondo's inspirational account of an ethics retreat is characterised by a number of aspects that will be utilised in this thesis. First, her autoethnographic insight into the workings of a Japanese ethics retreat compels the reader with its emotional force, particularly by contrasting narrations of strict routines and procedures with the strong emotional responses of participants. Lastly, in Kondo's research, the role of the researcher is not only acknowledged but utilised. The idea that the researcher is part of the narrative, either by experiencing or observing, and that the researcher's observations, emotions and effect on the research process and findings are fully acknowledged and incorporated will be taken forward in this thesis. In fact, using one's own emotions, as exemplified by Kondo, make these emotions much more accessible to readers, allowing them to draw parallels through Kondo's vivid and colourful descriptive memories. While

readers may interpret findings in different lights, one should view this as an opportunity to draw inferences beyond those that are laid out.

Overall, Fineman notes that the 'territory is marked by intensive ethnographies, diaries, clinical interviews, and story telling', and that regardless of the methods chosen, there is a shared concern for "thickly' textured, culturally sensitive, data' (p. 8). In order to achieve validity and to avoid losing partiality, Fineman emphasises that the researcher must offer a "faithful testimony' on how people report, reconstruct, or negotiate their emotionalities, as well as on the social contexts that regulate such events' (Fineman 2005, p.8). That this can be done successfully through narratives is demonstrated in the three exemplar studies described above. What these studies show is that a focus on a micro-practice such as diversity management requires an account in view of the immediate social context, a thick description of the event, its immediate surroundings and the training context, attention to subtle changes in emotions, and a conceptualisation of emotions as intrinsically linked to all aspects of (organisational) life.

Thus, the extended narratives presented grant a rare glimpse into the 'emotional, political and symbolic lives of organizations' (Gabriel 2000, p.2), and in the case of this thesis, a rare engagement with the particular space of police diversity training. Moreover, extended vignettes convey the drama, complexity and intricacies of being a witness to and a participant on a diversity training course. Nevertheless, while the thesis recognises the strengths of such an approach, it also acknowledges the severe limitations of using it in isolation. While extended narratives are able to bring to life micro-practices, they are unable to situate the vignettes within an understanding of the political economy at large. In other words, the use of a solely interpretative approach limits the scope of understanding and explanation. It is for these reasons that engagement with the diversity training is offered as an extended narrative to elucidate the micro (Chapters Six and Seven), supplemented by accounts of changes to the political economy of policing (Chapter Five).

Researching emotions through autoethnography

The aim of traditional ethnographic or ethnographically-informed approaches is that of theory development, of 'revealing sociological processes that might apply to other settings' (Ellis 2004, p.10) and thus, such approaches are primarily concerned with generalisations rather than with the particular, the personal, situated experiences and events. As a result, the reporting of these accounts 'leads away from personal experience and emotions in action to discussions of political economy and 'emotional landscapes'' (Beatty 2010, p.434). Since the thesis is interested in the emotions occurring during interactions in diversity training courses, an autoethnographically-informed approach detailing the researcher's observations is unrivalled in terms of providing an authentic, richly textured, complex and vivid account of emotions. While the definition of autoethnographic research varies according to different authors (Ellis 1999, Ellis 2004, Anderson 2006, Denzin 2006, Chang 2007, Doloriert and Sambrook 2011), a particularly popular definition is Ellis's description of autoethnography as '…research, writing and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social and political' (Ellis, 2004, p. xix), a focus of this thesis.

However, there appears to be some consensus that '[d]ifferent exemplars of autoethnography fall at different places along the continuum' of what Ellis and Bochner describe as 'research process (graphy), on culture (ethno), and on self (auto)' (2000, p.740), depending on the researcher's preferences, ideological convictions and/or research questions. The autoethnographic approach taken in this thesis is firmly led by the research questions, demanding an autoethnographic and narrative style for the presentation of the experiences and emotions placed within a more 'conventional social science prose' (Doloriert and Sambrook 2011, p.586), rather than a full narrative style throughout (see for instance Ellis 1999, Ellis 2004, Doloriert and Sambrook 2011), which has been accused of verging on the self-indulgent and neglecting analysis in favour of narration (Chang 2007). More importantly, a full narrative approach would not be able to answer

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the questions set out in this thesis. Thus, the use of autoethnography would more aptly be described as a partial 'autoethnographic impulse' (Anderson 2006, p.378).

Attributing an important role to reporting one's own emotions and those of others has its limitations. I can clearly only report on my own emotions related to the training and those displayed by other participants on the training courses. Unfortunately, clarifications from participants on what they feel or think are lacking in the majority of instances, but my own immersion in the field allowed the provision of more contextual information. Moreover, Sturdy, et al. acknowledge that it is important to recognise that there is always the possibility of multiple interpretations and feelings, and warn against the fallacy of assuming unity of emotions in participants, as even the communal expression of emotion through laughter, for instance, 'neither reflects an underlying unity in the group nor necessarily conflict' (Sturdy *et al.* 2008, p.147). In addition, Fineman points out the problematic involved in 'narrative knowing', of knowing how to identify emotion in the narratives, and linked to Sturdy, et al.'s concern, how to identify this emotion correctly (Fineman 2005). Moreover, as Williams and Bendelow (1996) have noted, body language in itself is insufficient from which to deduce emotions, as it 'convey[s] a subtle variety of feeling and shades of meaning'. Hence, a smile could be a sign of happiness, pride, hesitancy or insincerity (Williams and Bendelow 1996, p.148).

Thus, the vignettes presented in Chapters Six and Seven offer my interpretation and recollection of events, the way I perceive and interpret these events at the time, reflecting my preoccupations, interests, elaborations, embellishments but also omissions (Gabriel 2000). They are subjective and emotional, and mirror my particular involvement in the diversity training courses at particular times. At the same time, they provide a critical consideration of this involvement. Readers will read the narratives in different ways, evoking their own personal emotions related to the same

material, reflecting their experiences and sensitivities. The necessarily subjective readings of emotions that can be 'found' in any text is summarised by Gabriel (2000, p. 149):

> '…the same story may evoke different emotions in different listeners, and the narrator may have ambiguous or confused feelings about his or her material. The emotional content of a story comprises the emotions recollected by the narrator, the emotions that the story seeks to communicate to the listener, the emotions that the listener experiences while hearing the story, and the emotions that he or she later feels on recollecting it' (p. 149).

The stories and short narratives presented in the thesis are emotional. This does not mean that they do not have a material basis; rather, as Gabriel (2000) suggests, a material basis may be 'opaque and inaccessible' (p. 6) to readers. Readers will, by necessity, read them differently, but this is not necessarily a disadvantage. The reader can form an opinion and carry out his or her own analysis before my own is offered.

The research setting

Access

Based on my interest in diversity, I initially searched for organisations with interesting, new or positively recognised diversity initiatives in Scotland in which to carry out my research. During my search I came across a number of initiatives that fitted into this category. For instance, I attempted to look at an NHS hospital that ran 'medical diversity'[12] courses, but unfortunately many

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[12] The cardiology department of this Scottish NHS hospital looked at links between certain diversity markers such as ethnicity or gender (with a particular focus on transgender) and their links to heart disease. The initiatives I heard about involved the training of consultant cardiologists to inform them of these links. This area of research has in

attempts by letter and telephone to gain access remained unfruitful. I proceeded with the help of a personal contact who kept me up-to-date with diversity-related developments in a number of organisations in Scotland, both public and private, and who gave me the contact details of individuals to whom I could turn for access. Knowing very little about actual 'diversity practices' and desiring to root my research within these, I approached the recommended individuals and their organisations, asking whether it was 'possible to observe any diversity related activity at your organisation (this may be training, or observing the Equality Impact Assessment meetings for example) in the near future'.[13]

Many letters were sent to no avail, although I eventually received the proverbial 'foot in the door' in a Police Service in winter 2008, which granted me almost unlimited access to their diversity course, its participants, trainers and policy advisors. Further access followed using a snowballing method, asking each participant for advice on further individuals and organisations that might be interested in my research and that would in turn provide access. Building up trust and a network of key gatekeepers in the field was crucial to remaining within it, and depended on what Rowe succinctly describes as 'a process of continuing negotiation and explanation' (Rowe 2007c, p.38). Indeed, as my project and therefore my contacts, interviews and observations grew, I was asked to obtain official support from the Association of Chief Police Officers of Scotland (ACPOS). This involved in-depth vetting for non-police personnel, as well as the submission of a research proposal. I was granted clearance, enabling access to the SPSA (Scottish Police Services Authority) and ACPOS premises and personnel, as well as to information on diversity.

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recent years become particularly popular but also contentious, as the example of 'BiDil' shows, a drug that is marketed explicitly to Black patients with heart disease (FDA, 2005).

[13] This was the sentence used in my emails and letters asking for access. The emails/letters also outlined how I had come to contact them, as well as my background and research interests.

Maintaining good relations when carrying out research in a close-knit sector in a relatively small country such as Scotland is important, as one could potentially be excluded from the entire field rather than just from an organisation. As the research unfolded, it became clear that every diversity practitioner I spoke to knew, to a certain degree and on either a professional or a personal basis, the majority of other diversity practitioners in Scotland. As discussed in Chapter One, devolution has intensified the relationship between government officials and the police (EHRC (Equality and Human Rights Commission) 2012), although, according to Scott, mainly on an 'informal level' (Scott 2013b, p.2). It comes as no surprise that this rings true with the diversity practitioners who took part in this research, even across different (public) sectors. Practitioners mentioned initiatives established by colleagues, and conferences were welcome get-togethers and exchanges of best practice with colleagues. Moreover, within the Police Service, the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR), which describes itself as 'a strategic collaboration between 12 of Scotland's universities and the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland'[14] with the aim of driving research on policing, in particular in Scotland, offers an occasional platform for knowledge exchange and collaboration between diversity researchers and practitioners. What became clear, however, is that while relationships within Scotland are very intimate, connections to practitioners in the same sector in England are almost non-existent, much to the disappointment of Scottish practitioners. Scottish diversity practitioners often lament the lack of communication and exchange, and the resulting 're-invention of the wheel' regarding policies. Scottish diversity practitioners would like to have contact with their English counterparts in order to avoid duplication of work and to build on each other's learning experiences.

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[14] www.sipr.ac.uk

With regard to the access that was eventually granted, research opportunities were taken as they arose and unfolded over the course of approximately 18 months for the first round of data collection in 2008/2009 (see Table 4.1 for details). They comprised two Police Services, a city council, the Scottish Police College, Police Scotland's Training and Recruitment Centre, a Young Offenders Institution, the Scottish Government and the Crown Prosecution Service. The type of activities observed included three full diversity courses, one consultation, one equality advisory group meeting, one board members' equality and diversity seminar, one equality and diversity group discussion, one 'train the trainers' session, two probationer diversity training sessions, and several interviews with a number of key people involved in these activities. As these examples show, visits to the field were characterised by short and intense bursts of contact, the shortest lasting one hour and the longest lasting twenty-four consecutive hours, although the diversity courses lasted between two and three days. Not all contacts are explicitly discussed in the following data chapters (Chapters Five, Six and Seven), as focus is given to data from the police. Nevertheless, they are mentioned in this section since each experience, document or observation informed my understanding of diversity training, police culture in general and the issues and preoccupations of the criminal justice system, and by implication the questions raised in the thesis.

I returned to the field for a second time in autumn/winter 2013, after the most significant reform to the Police Service of Scotland '[…] in its history' (ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2011, p.online), as well as significant changes to the political governance of Scotland and Whitehall. Many changes had occurred to the field in the intervening years, and with attempts to mainstream diversity training, probationers now only spend two days on diversity as a stand-alone unit as opposed to the previous three and a half, with the remaining lessons integrated throughout their training. A new course, entitled *CIMplexity*, was introduced mid-2013 in response to the Simon San case in Edinburgh, and aims to widen officers' awareness and responses to various aspects of diversity as they are encountered during operational policing. This

course is described as a 'critical incident management' course, and is compulsory for Superintendents and Chief Superintendents. It is based on immersion or 'hydra' learning which mimics real-life police work as closely as possible. It was carried out in purpose-built 'hydra' facilities.

Comparable to observations carried out in 2008/9, the second set of observations in 2013 were carried out at the Police College at Tulliallan, which comprised the observation of a two-day diversity training for probationers, and two days of the CIMplexity course (one day of two separate courses). A third, two-day observation was carried out at Police Scotland's training and recruitment centre in Jackton. The diversity training course was attended by police staff, and at the time of writing is the only one occurring in Scotland, as police staff recruitment has been heavily impacted by budget cuts, and few legacy divisions are still running training of this nature.

Observations mirrored those of 2008-2009 as closely as possible, although the initial observations in Edinburgh could not be repeated as all existing police officers had been trained by the time I returned to the field in 2013, and all new officers were receiving diversity training during their probationer period. The new CIMplexity course, however, can be viewed as a follow-on, operationally-focused diversity course. In addition, second interviews were conducted with the same diversity practitioners where possible, or with their replacements or equivalents. The same questions and interview framework were used as during the first round of data collection. While I was much more aware of issues that emerged as part of the research during the first round of data collection in 2008-2009, I decided to remain open-minded in my questions in order to pick up on any significant changes that had occurred as a result of the various changes to the political economy of policing. Once again, I requested formal permission to conduct the research through the Scottish Police Authority, as ACPOS had been dissolved, and undertook a thorough vetting

process for non-police personnel. In addition, a formal ethics application was submitted to Stirling

University's ethics committee. Both applications were granted before fieldwork commenced.

Table 4.1: Summary of Observations and Interviews

Time 1	2008-2009			
Interviews	**Identifiers**			
	DP1	DP11		
	DP2	DP12		
	DP4	DP13		
	DP6	DP14		
	DP7	DP15		
	DP10			
Observations	**Title**	**Aimed at**	**Duration of Observation**	**Where**
	Diversity training course	Police Officers and staff	3 Days	Police Service 1
	Diversity and Equality seminar	Significant people	1 Day	Police Service 2
	Diversity and Equality consultation	Members of the Public	2-3 hours	City Council
	Diversity Training Course	Staff	2 Days	Crown Prosecution Service
	Train-the-Trainers	Diversity Trainers to-be	½ Day	Police College
	Equality and Diversity Group Discussion	Members of staff	1 hour	Young Offender Institution
	Probationer Training	Probationers	2 Days	Police College
	Diversity Training Course	Members of staff	2 Days	Scottish Government
Time 2	2013			
Interviews	**Identifiers**			
	DP1	DP6		
	DP2	DP7		
	DP3	DP8		
	DP4	DP9		
Observations	**Title**	**Aimed at**	**Duration of Observation**	**Where**
	Cimplexity Training	Senior Police Officers	2 days, one day of two separate courses respectively	Police College
	Probationer Training	Probationers	2 Days	Police College
	Diversity Training Course	Police Staff	2 Days	Training and Recruitment Centre

Research in the criminal justice sector

I initially intended to immerse myself in the field for prolonged periods of time, observing and shadowing trainers and diversity practitioners for several days, weeks or even months. These early requests, however, were initially met with hesitation, and later with rejection or a non-response. Reiner and Newburn point out that access to police research has been a salient issue since the beginning of research in the area of diversity in the 1950s, and suggests that this could be due to the fact that research in the police:

> 'may uncover information which the subjects studied wish to keep secret. The police studied will inevitably be anxious about how they are going to be represented to other audiences, such as the managers or agencies to whom they are accountable. The resulting problems of access and trust are shared with much other social research that has the potential to uncover dangerous knowledge, but the extent of the difficulty is particularly severe in studying policing because of the highly charged nature of its secrets.' (2008, pp.353-354)

Since the Macpherson report, there has been increased attention to instances of discrimination and racism in the Police Service, and covert research such as the BBC documentary The Secret Policeman has impacted upon the reputation of the service (see for example Rowe 2007b for a number of extensive discussions on the documentary). Such cases have made police officers and staff aware of the possible negative consequences of research (covert or overt), particularly on a topic as charged as diversity. On the other hand, Reiner and Newman also suggest that the Police

Service has opened up in recent years, mainly as a means to improve police accountability,[15] which is thought to be achievable through external and independent research (Morgan and Weatheritt 1989). My personal experiences are more in line with Reiner and Newman's account, since once access was granted, my welcome was particularly warm and open with all assistance given, often far beyond what I had expected. Moreover, my impressions during my visits and practitioners' responses in interviews suggest that the large workload and great time pressure experienced by the majority of diversity practitioners was a determining factor in the type of access I was granted, and the reason why prolonged observational work was not offered.

There is, however, another possible explanation. As pointed out above, the topic of equality and diversity is a sensitive research topic (Greene and Kirton 2009), particularly in the Police Service, and may be broadly described by some as 'litigious'. This does not relate to any potential contentious findings or observations, but rather to the Police Service's own internal organisational processes. For example, diversity units may be dealing with diversity-related court cases within their own organisation, and my presence could be in conflict with organisational interests and assurances of confidentiality. Over the past year, a few of these cases have made it into the headlines from various parts of the public sector such as the NHS and the Fire Service (see for example Alderson 2009, BBC News 2009). In both cases, the organisation had struggled to accommodate two equality laws: the right to religious beliefs and the right to express one's sexual identity (for more information on this dilemma see Wintemute 2002). Evidently, these are sensitive issues that could compromise both my freedom to write about the events witnessed as well as the police's successful handling of the case. While none of these reasons were given to me

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[15] This was also part of the recommendation on diversity training in the Macpherson report, Recommendation 53, which asks for 'independent and regular monitoring of training within all Police Services to test both implementation and achievement of such training' (Macpherson 1999).

to explain not offering prolonged observational work, the sensitivity of the context became clear in two interviews. Hence, whether access is granted to particular activities is not only dependent on whether secrets could potentially be revealed, as Reiner and Newman suggest, but also because emerging issues within the public sector can cause an organisational vulnerability, requiring sensitivity and confidentiality, and therefore researchers may be denied access to certain functions to protect the organisation. When I became aware of these issues, I decided not to pursue the idea of using more immersive and longer-term observational research to explore the questions of this thesis.

Data collection

The three methods

Wanting to first gain an understanding of the field, I spent several months interviewing a number of key people in the field of diversity management in Scotland, and observed a variety of diversity and equality-related activities, which will be presented in more detail at a later stage in this chapter. The focus slowly narrowed down from the public sector in Scotland in general, to the criminal justice system, and eventually to the Police Service. The questions posed to the interviewees and the focus of the observational work similarly followed this path of changing and narrowing interest. The research process did not start off with set questions, but emerged as political and economic events unfolded and my insight into diversity management in the Scottish public sector increased. In other words, the choice of methods was opportunistic and emerged alongside the research and the research questions. Thus, the final focus on the impact of changes to the political economy of the Police Service emerged after many observations, interviews and experiences during diversity training, as well as documents that were passed on to me. In essence, the methods used in this thesis consist of interviews with diversity practitioners, archival research and autoethnographic research or participant observation, providing both ''internal' data generated from researchers' memory with 'external' data from outside sources…' (Chang 2007, p.217). The

combination of these methods enables the examination of the micro (diversity training) within an understanding of the macro (the political economy of policing, and the changes that have occurred and are still occurring).

The following sections will examine the methods used in some detail, explaining who was involved, where the research was carried out, how it was carried out, and what was being asked, using a three-part structure for the three methods used.

Interviews

In order to obtain an overview of the current preoccupations and foci of diversity practitioner,[16] I conducted nine interviews with 11 diversity practitioners over the course of three months in 2009, lasting between 30 and 90 minutes in duration. Of these nine interviewees, the majority were with individuals from the Police Service, the police training college or associated organisations such as ACPOS, as well as diversity policy advisors from Edinburgh City Council, the Scottish Government and a young offenders' institution.

Six interviews took place with a single interviewee, and three interviews with two interviewees. All participants were white and of British background, encompassing English, Irish and Scottish origins; and six interviewees were female. While some interviews were formally scheduled and recordings could therefore be made, others were opportunistic and relied on note-taking. All the interviewees play important roles in the Scottish diversity 'scene', and came to my attention

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[16] Occupational titles inevitably vary across organisations, and ranged from 'Diversity Advisor' to 'Diversity and Equality Officer' to 'Equalities Co-ordinator', among others, but all will be referred to as diversity practitioners. In two instances, the interviewees' primary role was not in diversity or equality, but they had a strong focus on these issues related to another function, such as health or recruitment.

through personal recommendations or networking. Their influences range from national-level to force-level to council-level, and most of them knew each other, not only on a professional but also on a personal basis. It was my intention to speak to diversity practitioners who had a reputation of being 'cutting-edge' in their approach to diversity management, particularly with regard to policies and their implementation and to diversity training. During the second stage of data collection in 2013, interviews were carried out with six members of staff within the field of diversity, ranging in length from relatively short 50-minute interviews to two hours.

The purpose of the interviews was threefold. First, I aimed to gain an overview of the diversity-related practices and work engaged in at that particular organisation. In other words, I was aiming to obtain and uncover a factual record (Smith, 1995, in Krzyanowski and Oberhuber (2007)) of the interviewee's current role and of organisational policies. For example, the questions inquired about the 'main initiatives that you and your team have initiated over the years', how long they had been in their jobs, and what the 'main preoccupations/tasks' had been during their time in the position. Further prepared questions tapped into the specificity of the Scottish context,[17] and the interviewees' opinions regarding future challenges. What was interesting is that the participants had different reference groups in mind, and did not necessarily compare Scotland with England and Wales, as many research studies do. Instead, they drew from Northern Irish experiences of policing, or from private sector experiences. If the interviewee opened up interesting terrain, this was pursued and follow-up questions were tailored, maintaining a certain degree of flexibility. Each interview ended by asking whether the interviewee thought anything important had been

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[17] This section included three general questions asking about any policies/initiatives that are specifically moulded to the Scottish context, what the interviewees perceive as different from England with regard to their policies/initiatives, and lastly, whether there are any specific 'Scottish challenges' with regards to the recommendations of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry.

missed. While some questions were asked in the majority of interviews, each interview was different due to varying time restrictions and job roles. Most importantly, however, new insights were fed back into the research questions, continuously changing them, and subsequent interview questions were adjusted accordingly. Hence, the research moved from less to more focused over the course of the fieldwork, in line with most other ethnographic(-ally informed) practice (Delamont 2007).

Second, the interviews provided a platform for clarification, particularly following my attendance at equality and diversity meetings, which picked up on discussions from previous meetings or on internal issues unknown to me. Moreover, in each meeting, organisation-specific acronyms and language were used, which could not easily be decoded by an outsider. Hence, clarifying interviews helped to illuminate the nature of the discussions I had observed in the meetings. Finally, interviewee's interactions and responses to the setting were recorded (Krzyanowski and Oberhuber 2007). Notes were made of all three types of information either during the interview itself, or within 24 hours following the interview in order to avoid any loss of detail (Yin 2008).

Participant observation turned autoethnography

The purpose of participant observation was initially to allow me to understand the practices discussed by diversity practitioners in more depth and detail, to experience them first-hand, and to add to the material gathered from interviews and archives. As the project developed, I focused on interactions during diversity training courses. What stood out was the emotional involvement of participants in some diversity courses, although not necessarily the negative emotional involvement the literature often describes (as for instance described by Lynch 2005). Instead, I found that the majority of participants engaged with the issues raised during training. Therefore, it was my endeavour to provide a more nuanced and detailed account of how diversity agents and

training participants engage with practices such as diversity training or equality and diversity meetings by means of participant observation.

The term 'participant observation', as commonly used, is a broad label which encompasses a number of activities such as field studies, ethnographies or conversation analyses (Wolcott 2009, p.83). In this research, the term is used to denote the activity of short-term observations of groups. In addition, considering that the majority of observations also included participation on my part, my research activities may be better described as the activities of 'observing and participating', a phrase used by Neyland (2008) in his book *Organizational Ethnography*. In fact, as the research progressed, it became clear that the focus on emotions, and the attempts to link these to broader economic and political changes, were better matched with an autoethnographically-inspired approach, combined with the more traditional methods of interviews and an examination of archival data and publicly available documentation.

Participant observation/autoethnographically-inspired research took place on seven different occasions during the first round of data collection, each occasion lasting between two hours and three days, in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Polmont, Kinkardine and Stirling. Overall, I estimate to have spent approximately 80 hours in the field in formal as well as informal contexts, excluding interview time. The type of observations varied greatly, encompassing two diversity awareness training courses (one three-day course and one two-day course), one equality advisory group meeting, one board members' equality and diversity seminar, one equality and diversity group discussion, one public consultation and a variety of observations at the Scottish Police College. The latter included time spent in the management and leadership division and the probationer training offices, and the observations included one session of a 'train the trainers' course, one diversity session with new probationer students, and informal time with probationers and management staff over meals and in the bar. During the second round of data collection in 2013, I

spent approximately six days in the field, at the Police College in Tulliallan and Jackton. These observations involved a variety of training courses: one of police probationers, one of established police officers and one of new police staff.

As the research questions developed with the progression of fieldwork, everything was initially treated as potentially relevant and meaningful (Krzyanowski and Oberhuber 2007, p.47) and was therefore recorded. It is clear, however, that notes cannot reflect the simultaneous nature of events, as well as the multitude of aspects present at each moment. Many potentially interesting issues, interactions and conversations must have evaded attention. Nevertheless, I have attempted to record as many features as possible, based on descriptive aspects as well as the content and nature of discussions or conversations (Jorgensen 1989). The former includes the type of room or building and its layout, decoration, how people are organised in the room, the number of people present and their gender, job roles (if mentioned), the organisations they represent, and anything else that I noticed during the course of my observation. Techniques of data collection in line with autoethnographic research that were used included 'inventorying people, artefacts, […]', 'using visual tools such as free drawings of significant places…' and 'collecting other field texts such as stories of others, […] field notes, letters, conversations […]' (Chang 2007, p.210). During the observations, I also noted the content of the discussion, the responses of participants, and any noteworthy behaviour or responses mentioned outside the formal setting, for example over meals, at tea breaks and so on.

In line with Atkinson and Hammersley's (1994) range of definitions of research observers, my own role depended on the context, and ranged from a complete observer during meetings, to a 'participant as observer' and an 'observer as participant' in diversity awareness training courses, depending on a variety of factors, including the trainers' expectations. This also changed as my role and *raison d'être* for being there became clearer to the other participants as the course

progressed. During one diversity training course, a number of factors, such as the location of the diversity course off the premises and the duration of the course, led to a more intense experience of the course. In line with the research questions, in this instance, an autoethnographically inspired approach was adopted. While I was a fully accepted member of the group for the duration of the course, there were nevertheless limits to my membership. Even though a full participant in the course, I was neither a police officer nor a diversity trainer, and due to my preoccupation with remembering conversations, debates and events as well as sketching key points during the training, membership of the group was limited. This enabled me to participate fully while at the same time viewing the training from a distance, although it also caused significant limitations to an 'embodied phenomenological experience' (Anderson 2006, p.380) in all but one instances, as will be discussed shortly.

All the course participants were briefed about my attendance by means of a general introduction at the beginning of each event, which will be discussed more extensively in the ethics section. At the diversity awareness courses, everybody was asked to agree not to repeat what was said during the course if it was possible to attribute it to an individual. The senior officer training involved an agreement to not give away sufficient detail to render the training exercise futile for future trainees, and to adequately protect participants' identities.

Archival data and publicly-available documentation

The third method employed was archival research. The rationale for using documents in this thesis was twofold. First, the majority of the research and evaluative work that exists has been carried out and published by Police Services or other government institutions (Reiner and Newburn 2008). In fact, the earliest and one of very few evaluations of diversity training in England at the time (outside the domain of consultancy) was carried out by Southgate, a researcher employed by the Home Office (Southgate 1984). Secondly, social practices in institutions, such as diversity

training, are often closely connected with the institution's documentation, such as its policy or mission statement. Prior argues that some aspects of organisational reality are 'created and sustained almost entirely in and through the documentation' (2003, p.60). For instance, each diversity training course at one of the legacy forces was based on a curriculum, the contents and broader strategic aims of which were prescribed in an overarching organisational diversity strategy, which in turn was linked to a Scotland-wide diversity strategy. As of 2013, the diversity strategy of Police Scotland is laid out in their 'Equality and Diversity in Police Scotland 2013' document (Police Scotland 2013a)

The use of organisational documents, particularly in the field of equality and diversity, is described by Ahmed as the 'new politics of documentation' (Ahmed 2007b, p.590). In her publication on organisational race policies and action plans, Ahmed argues that these documents are used for a number of political means beyond their intended purposes. She puts the uses of these documents forward as a means to demonstrate 'signs of good performance', 'expressions of commitment', 'descriptions of organizations as 'being' diverse', but also as a means of strategically pointing out the gap between the document and the organisation's actual deeds (Ahmed 2007b, p.590). With regard to diversity training in the legacy forces and Police Scotland, it can be argued that the particular conditions of its existence are closely linked with the decisions and the subsequent publication of '*The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: An Action Plan for Scotland*' (Scottish Executive 1999) and consequent publications by the Scottish Executive (Scottish Executive 2001a, Scottish Executive 2001b), ACPOS (2000, ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2004, ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2007, ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2009a, ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2009b), individual services (see for example Simon 2001, Grampian Police 2008) and more recently by Police Scotland and the Scottish Police Authority (Police Scotland 2013a, Scottish Police Authority 2013a, Scottish Police Authority 2013b). The *Action Plan for Scotland*

argues for the adoption of the recommendations made in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, which is applicable to England and Wales only. Moreover, specifically within the Police Service documents are an important tool of accountability and transparency, which are demonstrated through plans, strategies, assessments, audits and evaluations (Loveday 2000).

It is for these reasons that I collected a wide variety of documents through different means. For instance, documents outlining draft policies were provided in the two equality meetings attended and formed the main part of the agenda; a number of slide shows and various organisational documents were handed out during the board meeting; learning notes were handed out to probationers and trainees at diversity training courses; and a number of other leaflets, organisational evaluations on training, and ACPOS and Police Scotland policy documents were collected along the way. During the first diversity training course a participant handed me various documents about a lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) initiative in which she was involved. Various governmental reports such as the Macpherson Report, Home Office Reports and various versions of ACPO and ACPOS diversity schemes within the English/Welsh and Scottish Police Services were taken from the Internet. The majority of these were easily accessible, and interviewees often pointed me towards them. In turn, many of these documents referred to other significant publications that I requested from relevant sources, such as the Lothian and Borders Police Equality Audit (see Simon 2001), which assesses all diversity policies at legacy Lothian and Borders Police from a legal perspective.

Reflections and ethical considerations

The need to obtain informed consent from research participants is part of many professional bodies' codes of ethics or conduct[18], and is often a precondition for obtaining research approval from institutional ethics committees. The British Psychological Society, of which I am a member, has clear guidelines outlining the procedures necessary in obtaining consent, but also lists factors influencing what it calls 'valid consent', such as the age of the participants or the issue of power between the researcher and the researched (The British Psychological Society 2008, p.5). The latter is a prime concern in the research literature at large, questioning whether the particular dynamics created in research situations jeopardise the ability of participants to 'make their own choice, independent of persuasive others', and therefore threaten the 'voluntary nature of valid consent' (The British Psychological Society 2008, p.5). The rules set out in the British Psychological Society Code of Conduct, however, cannot take into account the complexity of ethical considerations in the field rather than in the laboratory. A more appropriate set of guidelines for ethnographic or ethnographically-inspired research, such as the Code of Ethics set out by the American Anthropological Association (AAA), Neyland suggests (2008, pp.139-140), is more appropriate for dealing with the complexity of issues that can arise during field research. Regarding the issue of 'informed consent', the guidelines suggest that

> 'it is understood that the informed consent process is dynamic and continuous; the process should be initiated in the project design and continue through implementation by way of dialogue and negotiation with those studied' (American Anthropological Association (AAA) 2009, p.3).

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[18] See for example the American Psychological Association, the British Psychological Society or the American Sociological Association.

The quote highlights two of the main difficulties encountered in this project: firstly, ensuring informed consent from all participants on occasions that involved larger groups such as diversity training courses or meetings, and secondly, ensuring informed consent in an emerging project, which will be discussed in the following sections.

In addition to vetting by ACPOS, the Scottish Police Authority or the Scottish Police College and approval from the university ethics committee, permission to attend training courses and diversity meetings was sought either from a gatekeeper such as the head of a diversity unit or from the chair or trainer. Participants were subsequently informed of my attendance and reasons for doing so at the start of the meeting or training course. Nevertheless, participants (or in fact trainers) had no choice to opt out of the training, or of the research, for that matter, since diversity training is obligatory (Thorne 1980, Wax 1980). Moreover, despite informing all participants at the beginning of the training course or meeting of reasons for being there, it soon became clear that few knew what a PhD entailed, or even that it was a university degree. Thus, participants may or may not have understood the implications of their possibly involuntary and unwitting participation in the research. In these instances I ensured through public group agreements at the beginning of each course that I would not divulge any information that could identify or damage individuals. This is a particular concern for an autoethnographically-inspired accounts of diversity, which describe the actions, interactions, emotions and concerns of participants, which, as a result of the promises made during training courses, must not be identifiable. Short narratives might nevertheless include 'identifiable individuals with names' (Ellis 1999, p.681), who did not have a say in whether they would want to be featured. As suggested by Ellis (1999) and Doloriert and Sambrook (2011), their identities can be protected through using composite characters, pseudonyms, or the 'fictionalisation' of participants or 'actors' (Doloriert and Sambrook, p. 585). The line between protecting participants' identities and maintaining authenticity is a fine one, and given the length of time that has passed since the diversity training courses attended, and the

number of training courses that occur in that particular Police Service each month, pseudonyms were deemed a sufficient measure of protection for the observations conducted in 2008/2009.

The second round of data collection, however, threw up two rather unexpected ethical dilemmas. The nature of one of the courses meant that its content and 'story' had to be protected due to the high level of preparation and work involved in setting up the course, and therefore the need to ensure that further training courses could be carried out without being compromised due to prior knowledge among the participants of what the course entails. Similarly, the seniority of the participants and their subsequent ease of identification meant that measures had to be taken in order to protect everyone involved. It is for these reasons that this particular training course is given fewer and more obscured descriptions, and a slightly altered 'storyline'. I have nevertheless attempted to recount my experiences as authentically as possible. The second dilemma relates to my unexpectedly intense involvement in this course. Having rather quickly built up a rapport with the training organisers and conveners, I was asked to get involved in the course on its second day. My position on that day therefore moved from being an observer, entirely unnoticed by the participants, to being an active participant, rendering my role as a researcher invisible to many of the people observed on that particular day. This, of course, comes with the problematic issue of obtaining informed consent, since it was neither possible to inform these participants of my status, nor provide them with the option to opt out. Norris (BBC News 2014b), who experienced similar ethical dilemmas during his doctoral research on the police, points out that these instances highlight the 'complexity of the construction of a research role' (p. 136), and the necessity to be pragmatic about data collection. Moreover, he suggests that it is these instances in particular which demonstrate a certain amount of trust and acceptance into the 'police world' as well as the existence of personal friendships which do 'not fit easily into the general notions of professional ethics' (p. 133). Nevertheless, the insights that came from being so closely involved with the course had many advantages, as a much closer view of the course proceedings was allowed, but at the same time

these insights could be seen as compromising my distanced observations of the course. However, I was never fully immersed in the courses, as my status as a police outsider surfaced regularly during the data collection process; this will become clear in the following chapters.

Overall, in terms of their participation in the courses, it is of course possible that some participants did not speak out or held back their views due to my presence, but on all occasions, the trainers confirmed that the participants' behaviour had not been outside the ordinary, or substantially different from other training courses. However, I also made attempts to interview a number of training participants but encountered barriers with regard to their willingness to be interviewed by me. There are many possible reasons why the interviews with these initially enthusiastic individuals did not take place, and it could be argued that they were exercising their 'consent to (not) take part' in my research through their non-participation in the interviews. The sensitive nature of diversity, the potential consequences of 'getting it wrong' and a number of undercover documentaries on racism in the Police Service could have caused participants' concerns or suspicions. Restrictions on their time due to commitments outside of work are also thought to be a likely culprit.

Finally, given that the project emerged as a result of observations and participation, consent, like access, had to be negotiated on a continuous basis. Emerging questions were continuously discussed with interviewees, who could then decide what information to divulge based on their understanding of the research. In addition, interviews threw up yet another ethical challenge. At the start, every interviewee was informed that confidentiality would be maintained, i.e. that the names of interviewees would be anonymised. As Neyland (2008) points out, 'anonymity can prove difficult where there are few organizations which match the description offered' (p. 145). In my case, I soon realised that anonymising interviewees was a difficult if not impossible endeavour due to the size of the field (both Scotland and the criminal justice sector (CJS)), and the small number

of diversity workers within it. Each interviewed diversity practitioner had particular interests and opinions and was engaged in initiatives that would mark them out compared to others. Barbara Townley (2008), who similarly carried out research on the CJS in Scotland, used only very general identifiers for her informants (e.g. 'policy'), or alternatively referred to them as 'anonymous' when she believed that the general identifier would enable organisations or readers to identify the interviewee (p. 221). This level of protection of interviewees was deemed appropriate, particularly since my research context is the same. I have therefore decided to adopt a similar approach, altering Townley's method slightly by referring to interviewees as 'diversity practitioners', or 'DPs' for short – regardless of whether they are in training, policy development or elsewhere. In addition, some broad descriptive characteristics (senior/junior, policy/training and, on occasion, male/female) are given if I feel that the protection of the identity of participants is not compromised by doing so, and that it adds valuable information for readers. In cases where this information increases the likelihood of identification, such descriptive characteristics are omitted.

Conclusion

This chapter explains the process of the research and the various difficulties that were encountered and overcome, as well as the ethical challenges – in particular, the maintenance of participants' anonymity and consent. Since this research was carried out in a relatively under-researched country and sector, some attention is paid to its idiosyncrasies. The close-knit community of diversity practitioners in the public sector in Scotland, and the initiatives, policies and key organisations and practitioners involved render Scotland a unique research locale. Focusing on the Police Service within Scotland certainly limits the scope of the project, but in doing so provides a rich, contextualised, in-depth analysis of how diversity is managed in one particular sector and country (Janssens and Zanoni 2005, Omanovic 2006, Greene and Kirton 2009)

Moreover, this chapter set out to explain the approach and philosophical angle taken in the way the research was carried out. It suggests that an interpretivist view of emotion and the use of extended narratives can capture the nuanced, complex and dynamic nature of emotions. The adoption of an autoethnographically-inspired approach to examining and presenting narratives is explained and justified as a means of investigating and reporting such micro-observations.

In addition, the chapter also outlines ways to examine and understand the impact of reforms upon the Police Service by means of more 'traditional' methods such as interviews, document research and participant observation. In doing so, the chapter outlines the limitations of using an interpretivist micro-approach on its own. It is only by bringing together the macro (the political economy of policing) and the micro (observations of diversity training) that the thesis is able to situate these micro-observations of diversity training within the changes to the political economy of policing. Thus, following an outline of the impact of changes to the political economy of policing on diversity practitioners and practices, Chapter Six and Seven will use both sets of methods to examine the emotional ecology of Scotland's police officers within the context of a rapidly changing political economy of policing.

Chapter Five

'Nothing will ever go back to how it used to be':

Changes to Equality and Diversity in the new single service Police Scotland (PS) and its predecessor forces between 2008/9 and 2013

Drawing on extensive interview data and rich observations across a six-year time period within Police Scotland and its legacy forces, this chapter reveals how recent changes to the political economy of policing have affected diversity professionals and their practices, thereby providing essential background to Chapter Six and Seven.

Qualitative data from a wide range of diversity practitioners at two points in time unveil that many changes have occurred, including the increasing professionalisation of the police in Scotland and recent reforms that have seen the creation of a single national Police Service, along with legislative changes. The changes to the political economy of policing have also impacted on the way diversity management and diversity training are approached.

Moreover, interviews with diversity practitioners over the six-year period reveal a significant change to diversity training, from a stand-alone teaching unit to the incorporation of diversity and equality into the 12-week probationer training course, as well as a substantially different approach to integrating diversity into more advanced training courses. It appears that rather than teaching diversity, diversity practitioners attempt to 'open up' police culture, indicating a significant change of approach to diversity training. Overall, this chapter serves to provide context to Chapter Five and Six by means of establishing the changes that occurred to the political economy of policing between 2008 and 2013, the impact of these changes on the new service Police Scotland, and on diversity practitioners and their practices.

Changing world, changing Scotland

There appears to be little doubt that, as Chapter One argues, changes to the political economy of policing have been considerable in recent years and Scotland has been no exception to this trend. Nevertheless, there is a feeling amongst many Scots and also among diversity practitioners that Scotland has been somewhat protected from a number of outside influences by the mechanism of devolution (e.g. from new public management or from terrorism). The different conception of what it means to be 'Scottish' is what marks out the experience of Scottish Muslims (in comparison to English Muslims) post-9/11, according to Hussain and Miller, who claim that 'Scottish Muslims felt that Scotland was a relatively (not absolutely) safe haven for Muslims in an increasingly dangerous world – safer than England as well as much safer than places outside Britain' (Hussain

and Miller 2006, p.33). A comment by one diversity practitioner confirms that this thinking is prevalent amongst Scottish police officers and diversity practitioners in 2008:

> 'I think there was always a belief that, you know, there would never be a terrorist attack in Scotland. I don't think people thought well, no, that's just, that would be England, that would never be in Scotland. So it's a bit like, well, yes it is, and why wouldn't it be, so it's those kind of things, it's kind of like, you know, believing the unbelievable for some people. And sometimes a desire nearly that, you know, well it'll all go back to how it used to be, but it won't, nothing will ever go back to how it used to be.' (DP1; 2008)

This female diversity practitioner, however, also notes a shift in perception, stating that while many Scots feel that Scotland is different and unaffected by many world events, police officers and police staff are beginning to come to terms with the fact that Scotland is less insular than they had originally thought:

> DP2: And as crime becomes much more sophisticated and international, so does policing, so you've got people trafficking and internet crime, child pornography...
> DP1: There are no borders, yeah. (2008)

> DP1: […] I spoke to a police officer, like, fairly long in service, and he was saying that whenever he was on training he was taught that you treat everybody like your granny. So it's about, so you know, everybody was kind of, you know…

> DP2: Respect.

DP1: You respect, you make them a cup of tea, so basically if they've been burgled, so you make them a cup of tea, you deal with the person and then you deal with the crime. So it was very much that kind of a focus, whereas nowadays it's obviously, because of the rate of it it's just, it's crime crime crime, so there's, it's crime then person, or crime, doesn't matter about, yeah. […]

DP 2: […] And I think as well, I think the job of a police officer has just become more and more complex, asked to do more and more things with less and less resource, so it becomes more difficult, and that thing, you know, gone are the days probably when somebody could have treated everybody like your granny, as opposed to now it's just back-to-back kind of hard-end stuff. (2008)

These comments confirm the significant changes that have taken place to the policing environment and the impact that these changes have had on policing. The Police Service now operate in a different environment from only a decade ago due to political reforms, globalisation and technological advancements (Brogden and Ellison 2013), and the complexity of crime has increased accordingly. What is interesting in the above quotes is the surprise expressed that these changes have occurred in Scotland. The perception that Scotland is a fairly safe haven, largely unaffected by international terrorism and organised crime, despite its long history of sectarianism, appears to have been shattered. This is reflected in survey results reported by the BBC (Brocklehurst 2014) that different attitudes towards immigration north and south of the border are becoming closer to each other. Moreover, descriptions of significant upheaval are a strong feature of interviews carried out 2008/9, as the quotes above reflect; this is less so in 2013. It appears that diversity practitioners and many police officers have come to accept the significantly altered policing environment. In addition, preoccupations had changed in the intervening six years, and operating the same service with less money has become a major challenge by 2013.

'More bang for your buck'

Another issue that has not escaped Scotland is that of increasingly tight financial constraints since the global financial crisis. None of the diversity practitioners initially interviewed are too concerned about budget constraints in 2008, but in 2013, it is a theme that informs almost all their activities.

> 'Yeah. And it was so inappropriate, on so many levels. And so we had a wee tiny bit of money left at the end of the year, and wanted to use it, lest we not get it next year – I know it's a horrible thing to say...' (DP2, 2008)

> 'You want to find ways of, you know, ways of working that are smarter so that you get, you get more, more bang for your buck really, for the effort that you put in.' (DP3, 2013)

> 'So, and then we are, one of the things you will know about Police Scotland is that it faces enormous resource constraints, enormous budget cuts, this year and the year after that and the year after that. So, so a big challenge is to find ways of adding value that help and improve the quality of what's happening divisionally, without creating work that will keep police officers at their desks basically, without tasking them, as far as you can avoid it, without delegating or tasking work onto operational police divisions, that will abstract people from their bread and butter, their core function, which is the prevention and detection of violence and crime. So yeah, that's going to, that is and will remain the big preoccupation for the next as I say two years, because it's year-on-year savings that we're expected to find.' (DP3, 2013)

Diversity practitioners are hugely aware of the funding limitations they face, and the precarious nature of the resources available. Moreover, job security, especially for civilians, is particularly low (Rose 2012). Indeed, resource constraints have been the main driver of police reform, as discussed in Chapter One, and the reason for selecting a single service for Scotland. Nevertheless, the SNP's promise of extra police officers (Carrell 2007), in addition to savings over (at least) four consecutive years have placed pressure on diversity practitioners to make available resources last longer, and this is a prevalent concern amongst all practitioners interviewed.

Police reform

When asked about their main concerns, diversity practitioners in 2008 allude to aspects that are largely out of their control and, at that point, somewhat abstract, such as the global financial crisis and expected budget constraints, international terrorism and, to a lesser extent, rumours of forthcoming police reforms. During the interviews held at the end of 2013, concerns shifted towards the concrete consequences and implications of the creation of Police Scotland, which had occurred only a few months prior to the interviews, and the increasing professionalisation of the police.

While the reforms officially created a new Police Service rather than merging the existing eight services, diversity practitioners, the press and many officers are concerned about what some perceive as a 'hostile takeover' at worst, or a 'culture-clash' between different styles of policing:

> 'This is definitely not a merger, OK, so those kind of terminology, definitely not, OK. So this is about the creation, because who would, because this is about, because the danger about merging is who are we merging to, because it assumes that somebody's like a dominant, do you understand what I mean, whereas we're all equal in these eight forces. So this is basically about the creation of a new national service. As

opposed to that we're all going to follow the way that one force does it.'
(DP1; 2013)

'I think the culture thing is a big thing, you know, bringing together eight very different cultures, and then there's always been that east-west split in terms of everything, and particularly policing, you know, that's been a huge thing for people.' (DP4; 2013)

'So policing in, I don't know, Orkney and Shetland will reflect the fact that the local authority there has particular policies and priorities that influence policing, and it's right and proper that it should, and so the police there have to operate both within national guidance and still, at the same time still reflect local priorities.' (DP3; 2013)

The practitioners' comments confirm the uneasiness about a number of aspects associated with police reform. While the recent Annual Policing Plan for 2013/2014 outlines five distinct 'golden threads' that are adjusted according to the needs and requirements of Scotland's 32 local authorities and 353 multi-member ward areas (Police Scotland 2013b), diversity practitioners remain concerned. Several practitioners voice concerns about the disregard of traditional or local styles of policing which have adapted to local needs, in favour of a national one-size-fits-all system, and the challenges associated with meeting the needs of local communities with a single service.

A further concern can be summarised as the perceived 'takeover' from Strathclyde Police, in terms of policing styles and culture (Reynolds 2013), as mentioned in Chapter One. For instance, the particular issue of targets or Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) frequently come up in interviews and informal conversations with officers and diversity practitioners. It appears that officers in the legacy-Strathclyde force are used to a specific performance regime, while police officers and staff

from other legacy forces were, and often still are, largely unaware of its details and how it affects their work, despite its recent Scotland-wide implementation:

'It's interesting because in Strathclyde, one of my colleagues there referred to reds and greens as the most visible manifestation of this adherence to achieving targets, whether they're set from within the organisation or externally set. And you know, some people have a, perhaps a negative disposition towards the pursuit of targets. For some, they might feel like in actual fact it's more important to concentrate on other areas, and that may often indeed be the case when these targets are imposed from without, outwith the organisation, there may be a degree of concern that they're not realistically achievable, and obviously that can have a negative effect.' (DP7; 2013)

'We now have across the country a far more, I need to be careful how I say this. We have a far more developed performance framework than most forces have ever previously had. So we are measuring much more about what we do, and we are, targets is probably the wrong word although I'm sure there are people who would disagree with me, but we are being challenged to meet certain key areas of business that is recorded, which never was done before, certainly in legacy, in Lothian and Borders we had very little in the way of target and measurement and performance.' (DP4; 2013)

'I wouldn't say they were dismissive, I think they're frustrated perhaps because they feel…some feel it's, you know, it's deviating from the core function of the job, is, it's, to lock up the baddies basically [laughs].' (DP 7; 2013)

There is still a significant amount of scepticism around KPIs, and, in particular, the effects of an ever-increasing performance regime with fewer resources to support it, as outlined in detail in Chapter One (Fielding and Innes 2006, Barton and Barton 2011, Guilfoyle 2012). Nevertheless, targets are becoming more and more intricate and extensive, covering broad and force-wide objectives such as serious and organised crime, as well as area-specific targets related to problems in certain localities (Police Scotland 2013b). The quotes here further attest to the fact that legacy forces had (and perhaps still have) distinct occupational subcultures, and place different values on aspects such as KPIs. Nevertheless, many practitioners perceive the occupational culture of the single service as being based on that of Strathclyde Police Service, rather than a new, unique culture, demonstrating a further challenge ahead for Police Scotland: the creation of a new occupational culture across all legacy areas.

Professionalisation of the police service

As part of the creation of Police Scotland, the opportunity arose for further professionalisation. As alluded to in Chapter One, police education in England and Wales has moved towards professionalisation by involving higher education institutions, as highlighted in the literature review (Savage and Wright 1999, Hallenberg 2012, Neyroud 2012), and it appears that this is currently being explored as a possibility for Police Scotland:

> 'You know, they're looking just now at the potential of people training
> before they join the police, so it's very similar to nursing or teaching,
> now, there you go and get your qualification and then you join the
> police. Which is the, I think, it's the way things are going down south.'
> (DP5, 2013)

Moreover, a new professional code of ethics has been developed, incorporating the key values of fairness, integrity and respect. These three values, according to diversity practitioners, are one

step towards weaving the values of diversity and equality into the Police Service by incorporating them into day-to-day considerations and addressing police discretion. It is hoped that a more professional but also more diversity-aware and diversity-considerate workforce will emerge as a result. Each new probationer has to swear to an oath during their first week of probationer training, and in doing so, will be held accountable to these values:

'I do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of constable with fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, and that I will uphold fundamental human rights and accord equal respect to all people, according to law' (The Scottish Government 2012, p.online)

The three key values of the code of ethics (fairness, integrity and respect) are also used in a poster campaign across all police stations and offices, appear on every police computer screen across Scotland, and are incorporated into training courses. It appears that Police Scotland is attempting to relate and indeed perhaps reframe all the service's actions in terms of these values. According to one diversity practitioner:

'I think that we're not there yet, not everybody has had that imprint, not everybody has got that message, but we're on a, we're in a process of making sure that as many people as possible get that message, if not face-to-face then via email, a presentation by the person who actually wrote the code of ethics in the first place, that everybody gets the message that we're all here and we all must operate and behave within a code of ethics and according to our values.' (DP6, 2013)

An equality and diversity stakeholder event held shortly after the creation of the single service explained that the reason for the introduction of the values is the uncertain nature of policing. According to the speakers, senior police officers and staff working in the field of equality and

diversity, police officers enjoy a great amount of discretion, making it difficult to prescribe work processes in much detail. Instead, the aim of the values is to provide a clear 'ethical compass' to guide behaviour by shaping the ways in which officers use their professional discretion. One senior diversity practitioner who has worked within the service for many years explains that:

> 'There are posters everywhere, it's largely an internal campaign aimed at staff to try and condition their attitudes. So I don't know if you noticed it coming in but you'll notice them coming out, you've got respect, integrity, fairness, so we don't really have to integrate or anything, it's there staring you in the face on a big poster with a royal blue background and the face of a member of the police, police officer or member of police staff, and respect, integrity, fairness, respect, integrity, fairness. So it's an internally-focused campaign.' (DP3)

While the focus of the force-wide campaign may well be only internal, its importance must not be underestimated. A very common 'story' told when the new service's values are brought up in interviews and informal conversations revolves around the new Chief Constable arriving at various police stations on his motorbike in full leathers, quizzing the many officers and members of police staff he encounters about the three values. This story is always told with great trepidation, since the new Chief Constable is known not to shy away from disciplining or even dismissing officers or staff.

The impact of police reforms and the Equality Act 2010

The main focus of diversity practitioners' work has changed in concert with the changes to policing. In 2008, the main priorities of diversity practitioners within the Police Services across Scotland were the development of policies, community engagement, liaising with different forces and lobbying for the dissemination and adoption of their policies across Scotland. These processes have been extensively observed and documented in the literature (Ball 1998, Ahmed 2007b, Hunter

2008), describing them as 'cultures of performance rather than cultures of action' (Hunter 2008, p.507), as further discussed in Chapter Two. Interviews with diversity practitioners in similar positions, and often the same interviewees six years on, reveal a very different set of priorities. With the establishment of a single force, the focus shifts towards the development of Scotland-wide policies, reports and outcomes, training, consolidating existing work and standardising policies, and conducting EIAs (Equality Impact Assessments) on all newly-established policies. This shift in focus is clearly noticeable in the following quotes:

'Um, and what happens is that, you know, a small group will get together, they will write it, they will do the equality impact assessment, and then they send this out to the group, and then people comment on that and then that's effectively signed off by ACPOS, and then it's accepted then as being practice within forces. So that's saying, you know, within an equality impact assessment with up-to-date guidance, and then it's, but OK, how do we actually train for this in forces? And how do forces actually know about it?' (DP1; 2008)

'So in some ways we're really building, you know, joining up and creating a single organisation now, the priority is really, for the first of April this year were to get the absolute basics, you know, legal authority, IT, the absolute basics that make the whole system work as a single system, but in terms of getting single ways of doing things, single sets of guidance, single procedures, you know, to replace the eight or nine different, sometimes not very different but nevertheless different legacy force ways of doing things, it's still ongoing work and will take a while yet.' (DP3; 2013)

'We rewrote every policy in Scotland, we took all 2024 of them or whatever it was, and morphed them into one record set for Police Scotland, and we're down to something like 600 policies.' (DP4; 2013)

Practitioners are driven by a need for consistency, and are bound by legal obligations. Consolidating the eight different ways of doing things from the legacy forces, moreover, has also served as preparation for the requirements imposed by the Equality Act 2010. The establishment of the single Police Service and the required equality progress report imposed by the Scottish Specific Duties of the Equality Act occurred during the same month, April 2013, and according to all diversity practitioners interviewed, this poses a significant challenge at a time when teams are being rearranged, a number of support staff are leaving, and there is data from many different IT systems from which to extrapolate. It requires efforts to be combined nationally, and supporting structures to be established to aid these efforts (Scottish Police Authority 2013d).

Changing practices: the intensification of data use

One of the main challenges since the creation of the single service is the monitoring and measurement of equality and diversity by means of equality outcomes, and the reporting of its progress across Scotland:

> '[…] As part of the preparation for that work was about the mainstreaming report, and looking at the mainstreaming report, the equality outcomes, employment monitoring […]. The equality outcomes are the, the big pieces of work that Police Scotland has agreed to focus on for the next three years. So this is part of the Equality Act, and these are part of the specific duties for Scotland that we need to publish a mainstreaming report. And within that mainstreaming report is the equality outcomes […] so it's very much looking at the kind of, what we need to do on a legal basis. Yeah.' (DP1; 2013)

At the time of the first interviews, however, the picture looked very different. While many of the official policy documents published at the time state that the police would 'continually monitor and review what we do and ensure that our performance, in terms of Equality and Diversity, delivers in line with relevant frameworks' (ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) 2009b, p.7), very few were indeed outcome-focused and/or had consistent measures to capture and report progress. In essence, much of diversity and equality work prior to the Equality Act was focused on community engagement and writing documents, 'rather than doing the doing' (Ahmed 2007b, p.7), but a growing discomfort with this approach to diversity work meant that practitioners were on the lookout for alternatives. One reason mentioned by several practitioners is the political struggle for resources and thus the ensuing conflict between different equality groups, as the following quote demonstrates:

> 'But in terms of the conflict between different equalities groups, yeah,
> it's something that we probably will see lots of. It's something that we,
> that we, I manage a relationship with our police lay advisers, and we've
> separated them based on their equalities groups for not wanting to have
> a conflict basically [laughs].' (DP2, 2008)

Many diversity practitioners were hopeful that the impending introduction of the Equality Act would ameliorate some of the disadvantages of consultations by diminishing their impact upon the policy-making process. One diversity practitioner suggests that the reason for these conflicts is that 'people argue for their little niche and try to use all this legislation to do that', although this will become less feasible with 'dwindling resources' and a 'holistic equality approach' through the single Equality Act and police reform. The main change this practitioner sees in such a holistic approach is that it focuses on 'equality of service to the individual', rather than group-based equality, which has thrown up conflicts between groups (see for instance Alderson 2009, BBC News 2009).

While the Equalities Measurement Framework (EMF) and the Equalities Review do not advocate disregarding consultations altogether, the diversity practitioners interviewed feel that implementing their recommendations is a means to resolving political struggles for resources between equalities groups. There is a general consensus in interviews with diversity managers in 2008/2009 that utilising 'objective' data could address the negative 'side-effects' of public consultations, such as the struggle for resources between groups. The use of data is imagined to identify specific areas for improvement, as well as to track whether improvements are made over the years. However, the use of data is also seen as helping public sector institutions be more objective in identifying where resources need to be directed.

Despite strong convictions that an 'objective' approach is the right approach, only one diversity practitioner interviewed in 2008/2009 used a 'business-like' approach to diversity and equality, as he felt it enhanced the acceptability of his work among people outside the equality and diversity domain. Thus, rather than using systems imposed by legislation, the practitioner drew on his previous experience in the private sector:

> 'So I, we use a template that I developed and maybe a few years ago with Price Waterhouse Coopers, that, to monitor and track everything, there's just a big action plan, but we rank report, do the traffic light reporting system and do updates and assess the risk in relation to the progress of the action, and translating equality and diversity which is waffy, untenable, nebulous and often quite, it's not a sexy issue, it's not terrorism, it's not kind of business change and business – and then translating that into a language of business has been one of the major, erm, sort of the…it's a critical success factor for the way that we've done it so far.' (DP2, 2008)

In comparison, by 2013 an outcome-focused approach to diversity and equality is in full swing and common practice, and all practitioners reported that their efforts are mainly directed towards standardising practices across all legacy forces, setting outcomes, and extending and standardising monitoring and reporting procedures. This is the result not of the efforts of individual practitioners, but of the requirements of the Equality Act 2010, and the specific duties imposed on the Scottish public sector. It also means that the variety of the extent to which individual forces subscribe to diversity and equality has been made more uniform over the research period, and that the legacy forces previously 'less interested' in diversity (DP4; 2013) are being brought up to the new national standard.

The diversity practitioners interviewed are uniformly in favour of an outcome-based approach to diversity, and perhaps somewhat frustrated by the previous process-focused approach. One practitioner argues that

> 'my own feeling is that, that the intention behind equality outcomes was to try and tie organisations, public sector organisations down to, you know, to being clear about what difference they'd made, you know, what actions have you chosen and what difference did they make, and did you, can we get you to choose actions that make a specific difference to the quality of life or ordinary people, either within your organisation or as service users.' (DP3; 2013)

Another diversity practitioner states:

> 'So actually for us it's actually a positive thing, to see well, I'd like to see a downward trajectory in some of these things and an upwards trajectory in the others, so I think for us it's a positive thing and hopefully, from the perspective of our unit and our department to chip

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away at it, to almost put a number on mainstreaming, and if we can do
that and say well actually we've done it, we've influenced x y or z, it'd
be a very positive thing for us because it's very difficult to capture that
at the moment. So I'm sure it'll give somebody somewhere a headache
but [laughter] I think it's not a bad idea.' (DP4; 2013)

These two diversity practitioners feel that outcome-based diversity and equality work has not only

made a difference to the service that Police Scotland provides and the reputation of Police Scotland

in general, but also to them as a professional group. The ability to demonstrate that their work has

made a significant impact upon the lives of many citizens is not only perceived as rewarding, but

also inevitably improves the standing of diversity practitioners within the organisation, as they are

able to demonstrate that their work has been worthwhile.

Perhaps not surprisingly, this approach to diversity and equality work, whilst controversial within

the academic literature and requiring additional resources, is almost unequivocally accepted

amongst the practitioners interviewed. There are no doubts with regard to whether an outcome-

focused approach should be used; rather, the perceived challenges are largely centred on

overcoming technological limitations on a severely tightened budget. Diversity Practitioner 4

(DP4) briefly questioned the feasibility of measuring equality and diversity outcomes, but still

locates the main concern as technological in nature:

'And E and D is a difficult one, I still think that a lot of it is qualitative,
a lot of it's about engagement and it's about talking to people and
smoothing a path, and how do you record that and how do you measure
that, I'm not sure that you can.' (DP4; 2013)

'The difficulty I think that we have is that a lot of the outcomes feature
measurables. The difficulty we have is that we're very much still

working off the eight or nine disparate systems in terms of IT, so pulling

together figures is a difficult challenge for us, because obviously they

just, they're not recorded in the same way, we record different things in

different forces, and that IT challenge is I think a five-year or a ten-year

plan.' (DP4; 2013)

'[…] and some of the information is encrypted, so it's about trying to

get them to release that information […]' (DP1; 2013)

Overcoming technological challenges in order to facilitate this approach, according to one

practitioner, is particularly important, since Police Scotland is a large organisation serving every

citizen in Scotland. This diversity practitioner points out that unlike private sector organisations,

which can be selective in their focus and priorities, the public sector has to be comprehensive in

order to reflect the entirety of the population it serves. The practitioners' comments indicate that

Newman (2003b) and Bhavnani's (2001) fears with regard to a 'colour blind' approach and a

limiting conceptualisation of diversity do not appear to be a major concern within this particular

policing context. Instead, the sheer volume of outcomes has been increased, necessitating a solid

support system for capturing and processing data.

Overall, the interviews across the research period demonstrate that the focus of diversity

practitioners has changed significantly, with a broad shift in orientation towards an outcome-based

approach, away from a process-focused approach to diversity. Moreover, the above quotes show

an interesting change regarding what it means to 'do diversity' and to do it well. Ahmed (2007b)

comments that importance is placed on writing and disseminating policies as the prime marker of

what it means to do diversity well; however, at the time of the first interviews in 2008/2009, the

diversity and equality practices described by a variety of diversity practitioners in Scotland show

a profession in a state of flux. As one diversity practitioner states:

> 'And I think a lot of equalities work was about discourse before, rather than the harder-edge look at where the evidence says targets and outcomes need to be set.' (DP 10; 2009)

For this practitioner, change has already occurred: he places diversity 'discourse' in the past, and firmly positions target-setting, evidence and outcomes in the present and future. Moreover, the quote also reveals a dissatisfaction with 'mere' diversity discourse, and its position as inferior to diversity management based on data. There appears to be a trend towards envisaging data as a means of measuring progress with regard to equality, and transparency through the publication of this data. Porter (1995) argues that the introduction of quantification occurs in response to the arbitrariness and discretion so often characteristic of the political process. Numbers, or the introduction or expansion of quantification practices within a field, on the other hand, are 'designed to drive out corruption, prejudice, and the arbitrary power of elites' (Porter, 1995, p. 86), a concern of many diversity practitioners. Numbers do this through three mechanisms: they give the impression of being fair and impersonal; mathematical procedures are 'almost synonymous with rigor and universality' (p. ix); and numbers imply 'the subordination of personal interests and prejudices to public standards' (p. 74).

This intensification of data use has multiple converging origins. As already alluded to, practitioners at times feel vulnerable with regard to the lobbying of various interest groups. Some express the view that most attention is paid to those minority groups that 'shout the loudest', rather than those that are most in need; a concern shared by Newman (2003a), as discussed in Chapter Two. Such vigorous lobbying and the perceived unfairness, as well as the lack of any other means to identify the 'neediest', has made practitioners receptive to methods that can assess need more objectively. In addition, police reforms, changes to the economy and legislative changes in the

form of the Equality Act 2010 and two reviews in the preceding years have all pushed an intensification of data use within the diversity and equality landscape. The UK Equalities Review, in particular, was paramount in establishing the use of data in order to improve equality. The review states that:

> '[i]n addition to better collection of data, government, public bodies and the private sector all need to make better use of that data, with appropriate analysis and evaluation used to plan effective action. The public sector as a whole also needs to be more transparent: publishing that data and analysis, in such a way they can be readily understood and give clear answers to questions about whether greater equality is being achieved, and how quickly – or slowly.' (The Equalities Review 2007, p.111)

Moreover, the Equality Measurement Framework (Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) 2009), which was developed in response to the UK Equalities Review, took the idea of using data to advance equality one step further and provided indicators for each of the ten domains put forward in the Review. Similarly, auditing bodies such as Audit Scotland, a government body set up to audit and give recommendations in Scotland in a number of areas, including adherence to existing public sector equality duties, also started to advocate a policy approach focused on outcome and impact in its report from 2008.[19]

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[19] Audit Scotland defines their desired outcomes as a 'tangible impact on service delivery' and the imperative 'that the experience of service users from ethnic minority groups is continually improved' (Black 2007, p. 2). While the project is focused on the statutory race equality duties on councils in Scotland, they expect the observed lack of consideration of outcomes and impact to be generalisable to 'other aspects of equality' (Audit Scotland 2008, p. 3).

Evidently, the scale of changing to an outcome and impact-based approach to diversity and equality across the entirety of Scotland is significant, and diversity practitioners have described their recent work as particularly 'resource hungry' (DP1). Another diversity practitioner contemplated the cost of all the combined efforts in order to produce the required reports and numbers by saying that

> '…as with all statutory organisations, the, the time and effort put in by numerous members of staff and numerous meetings in order to generate the material that would eventually become the mainstreaming report and the outcomes, equal pay statement, that sort of thing, I mean would be huge. There would be, I mean it would be interesting, I don't know if the EHRC has any plans or Audit Scotland or whoever to put a price-tag on that, but it'll be massive, the cost of doing that.' (DP3; 2013)

Nevertheless, in addition to improving their own status and the relevance of their work, diversity practitioners also believe that the intensification of data use is a powerful means to drive improvement, as the police can now be held accountable for any lack of improvement and action, as Chapter One outlines (see for instance Pollitt 2003, Metcalfe 2004):

> 'But the Westminster argument was make it light touch, so that the essence will be that it's up to stakeholder organisations to hold the police to account, and partner organisations to hold the police to account for doing its bit in the partnership. And, cause local authorities in particular are major partners and, and also have, under the umbrella of community planning partnerships a whole spectrum of key interest groups who are, who expect a certain level of service from the police. So the major accountability for them then, so let's see if that accountability has happened and that's produced the results. If it has, then the Westminster argument would be that if that holding to account drives improvement

in internal management and in quality of service delivery, then all that money and time that you didn't spend on producing bureaucratic outputs will be taxpayers' money that you spent on, you know, reducing violence and preventing and detecting crime.' (DP3; 2013)

Overall, it appears that despite budget cuts and subsequent cuts in staff numbers, diversity practitioners are expected to deliver the required reports, to select outcomes and to establish how to measure progress, or the lack thereof. Despite these challenges, practitioners are optimistic and positive about this intensification of data use, and believe that it will deliver the desired outcomes through increased transparency and accountability, as the above quote demonstrates.

Changing diversity training

Significant changes have occurred not only in the political economy of policing and the diversity and equality landscape in general, but also with regard to diversity training. The training courses attended in 2008/2009 varied in name, but few varied in content – not only across Police Services, but also across other public sector organisations. While the general structure may be similar due to the number of protected characteristics, the reasons for the similarity in training materials are more elusive. Upon returning to the field in 2013, training had become more specific in many ways. It had moved away from a 'packaged' and standardised training course, by means of making training more operationally relevant, more 'tartanised', and mainstreamed, as the following sections will explain further.

The elephant in the room: Tartanising diversity training

One particular aspect of diversity training pre-2013, the lack of consideration of the context in which the training takes place, often lead to friction between trainers and trainees. The approach to diversity training taken by public sector organisations at that point can be described as abstract and a-contextual. The consideration of race, gender and religious intolerance without discussing

the Scottish 'elephant in the room', sectarianism, is deemed inappropriate, if not disrespectful, by many trainees. One diversity practitioner with over a decade of training experience recalls the reason sectarianism was introduced as an additional aspect of diversity training in Scotland:

'[…] Some of the early feedback to equal opportunities training was no reference to, very disappointed that there was no reference to, you talked about different types of discrimination but no reference to sectarianism, you know, the elephant in the room. Bearing in mind that this is a room where, and you've just trained them, people may come from families that are or have in the past been affiliated to either Catholic or Protestant worship, and even if families are no longer religiously observant, there's a kind of cultural affiliation, you know, that can run on empty if you like, they've still got an allegiance.' (DP3; 2013)

This quote captures the importance of sectarianism to many trainees, and how keeping training a-contextual and abstract can potentially affect the perceived legitimacy of the training, and thus also potentially learning transfer.

Another aspect that is frequently discussed amongst trainees at both points of data collection, is relevance. In 2008, while trainers clearly understand the importance of discussing the mechanisms of discrimination as well as the various shapes discrimination takes, it becomes evident that the relevance of diversity training is still elusive for many officers and staff. Few question the importance of the course in general, but it appears that many cannot establish a clear link between the course and their day-to-day jobs. Upon returning to the field in 2013, a noticeable shift towards drawing out the operational relevancy of the training is witnessed. Police Scotland address the issue by making three changes: making diversity training more operationally relevant, by mainstreaming diversity, and by addressing the emotional ecology of the police.

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Interviews in 2013 reveal how drawing out the operational relevancy of diversity and equality training has become a priority for the new Police Service. The quotes demonstrate the change in focus from teaching diversity in terms of 'soft skills', such as communication and awareness, to operationally-relevant 'hard' diversity skills:

> 'When I first started [eight years ago] we had set inputs that we could deliver, and most of those were concentrated round about diversity awareness, the kind of communication aspect of policing, some of the kind of softer skills that they needed, and things like at the time kind of racially aggravated behaviour which again kind of brought in the diversity side of it, albeit maybe a bit more legislation, so it was a very much concentrated on their kind of soft skills as opposed to police teaches.' (DP5; 2013)

> 'I think it's fair to say that in terms of the training, Mr Allen's vision was, cause he was leading us in that reform team has moved on to other things now, his vision was that everything to do with equality and diversity should go operationally-focused, so people understood, you know, no matter whether you were a police officer or not, the way that we deal with equality and diversity matters, it has an impact on the community that we serve, the people, the public, and also internally as well.' (DP6; 2013)

Moreover, as a result of the Simon San Inquiry (see Chapter One for more details), a new training course was introduced in spring 2013. The course is only given to senior police officers at Superintendent and Chief Superintendent level, and aims to introduce aspects of diversity and equality at a strategic level (Police Scotland 2013a). Much of this stems from the realisation that once an officer has undergone an equality and diversity course either during probation, or as a

catch-up course if they had joined prior to the introduction of diversity training courses, they will

not be required to bring themselves up-to-date on diversity and equality, even in light of crucial

changes such as the introduction of the Equality Act. As one practitioner pointed out,

> 'I've said to you in the past, Kerstin, that I have concerns that the
> absence of any sort of follow-up training, you know, it's…not lost on
> me the extent to which someone attends a three-day diversity training
> course once in their time potentially in the Police Service and then they
> never go back to it.' (DP7; 2013)

This state of affairs is described by one diversity practitioner as a 'massive challenge and a massive

risk for us as an organisation' (DP6; 2013). While individual officers have the potential to alienate

individual members of the public while on duty, this risk becomes aggravated if such officers are

promoted into a leadership positions, with increased media exposure. The potential to alienate

entire communities through a lack of awareness or a lack of 'current thinking' (DP6, 2013) can be

disastrous, in addition to the risk of opening Police Scotland up to accusations of lacking public

legitimacy, or to costly lawsuits. The senior officer training course addresses such concerns. The

course moves away from abstract concepts and theory, and is as close to being 'in operation' as

possible by utilising 'immersion training'. It focuses precisely on the type of 'soft skills' diversity

training at probationer-level attempts to avoid. Immersion training is interspersed by group

discussions aiming to dissect the training as it proceeds, requiring participants to reflect on their

actions, words and body language. One practitioner who was involved in the creation and

execution of the training describes it as follows:

> 'But this is much more subtle and focused on what people do day in, day
> out, especially at that strategic level. And I think that they wouldn't,
> they wouldn't benefit so much from the lower level of diversity training

as they do from this, you know, because they see this training course as

about the nuts and bolts of what they're expected to do, whatever their

role is, whether they're a Detective or a Divisional Commander or

whatever they're called now.' (DP6; 2013)

The fact that this training course does not follow a conventional format but rather engages with

the complexity of diversity as it is encountered in the workplace is held in high esteem by trainers

and participants. The learning that occurs is deemed relevant and profession-specific. Participants

report not only understanding why diversity is important *per se*, but also how it impacts on their

day-to-day actions.

Mainstreaming

Another means of improving the operational relevancy of diversity training is through

mainstreaming diversity. For instance, the requirement to demonstrate knowledge of diversity as

a competence on applying for promotion is removed and, instead, probationers, officers and police

staff are required to show awareness of diversity throughout the application process, and

ultimately, throughout their career:

'But now they're going to actually remove diversity as a competence in

the same way they've removed communication as a competence,

because it should be something that is ongoing in everything we do…'

(DP8; 2013)

Similar changes have been made to probationer training. This has been done by reducing 'stand-

alone' diversity training, and instead weaving diversity throughout probationer training, as and

when relevant. Thus, the initial three and a half days of diversity training have been reduced,

although, crucially, 'compressed instead of diluted' (DP8), with the remaining material interspersed in the other 'police teaches', as this diversity practitioner explains:

> '…at various sections in the notes there are various key messages in relation to equality and diversity, so that when they're talking about anything, it could be in relation to things that people would not have previously associated with having an equalities issue, so for example talking about searching prisoners, at that point we'll speak about transgender and things like that, to reinforce the message as it goes forward.' (DP8; 2013)

> 'It's kind of woven throughout the course as opposed to it just being here's a load of information about diversity, and we'll talk about it again, tick the box and move on.' (DP5; 2013)

This means that even issues that were previously not thought of as relevant to diversity are now given a 'diversity angle', demonstrating the importance and relevance of diversity to operational policing. The revised curriculum also capitalises on greater receptiveness towards profession-specific diversity training, which mirrors the 'police teaches' (DP 5; 2013) as closely as possible.

'Opening up' police culture

Since 2008/2009, there has been another radical change to diversity training, making it yet more specific to the policing context. One diversity practitioner, who has been involved in training probationers for eight years, explains that they have recently realised a further limitation of their diversity training, which triggered this change:

> 'What we've done since then is that they get two days, the first day is still this, content-wise very much about the theory, you know,

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stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination, responses to dominant culture, they still get that as it always was the first day in the previous course. The second day is about what we call now unacceptable behaviour, so we look at the protected characteristics that relate particularly to them, we look at challenging methods, you know, not so much, not so much from an operational policing point of view cause their challenging methods will come with their legislation and their police powers, but more about, you know, from a, from the point of view of having to deal with that with colleagues and things like that, that's an aspect of it that we didn't examine in a huge amount of detail before.' (DP5; 2013)

The acknowledgement that the professional culture can limit the transfer of learning by the Police Service itself is very recent. While the academic literature has long pointed towards police culture as a barrier to change (see for instance Rowe 2002), the Police Service (or Police Services, pre-reform) itself has been slow to adapt. Interestingly, the trigger for change is not grounded in literature or research, but appears to have come from informal feedback from officers who have recently undergone probationer training and found it difficult to apply what they had learned in a professional environment.

The attempt to address the emotional ecology of the police is not restricted to probationer training. Challenging the professional emotional ecology at senior police officer level, however, has required more creative measures. The new training course for Superintendents and Chief Superintendents demonstrates two radical changes.

First of all, the new course allows members of the general public to observe, comment on and question the actions and words of senior officers:

'And I genuinely think that the big element of this, and when this was first floated I thought ooh, which was about bringing in external people to criticise you, essentially, not always criticise, but you know, to challenge you. And you can see the uncomfortableness in the room from the minute the officers walk in, and we're talking fairly senior people, and as soon as they realise that facing them across the room are six or seven people who have nothing to do with the police, they're incredibly uncomfortable with that, it's just not the done thing, what happened there? So actually for me almost that instantaneous thing, wow, it's hugely powerful…' (DP4; 2013)

Many of the officers, often high in rank as well as in seniority, have rarely been challenged by those junior to them, let alone by members of the general public. The hierarchical and very insular nature of the police generally prevents such interactions (Rowe 2013). However, opening up the police to be questioned by those they serve is part of the 'new accountability' (Metcalfe 2004), and aims to meet the needs of the public more closely. It further establishes clear lines of accountability, as set out in the initial Independent Review of Policing in Scotland (Tomkins 2009), and demonstrates that the plurality of accountability outlined by Scott (2013b, Scott 2013a) is even more extensive.

Secondly, this new training course does not mention the words 'diversity' or 'equality'. It discusses diversity and equality by means of a 'critical incident' case study, as one of the developers of the training explains:

'it's almost equality and diversity training hidden within that, as soon as you tell people it's a diversity course they go ohhh [noises of boredom] [general laughter], so it's almost by any other means, or we also use it as a vehicle to train around about the vision and the values and the ethics

of the force […] it's almost equality and diversity training by the back door, and they don't necessarily realise that's what's happening, and at the end of it they're like, you can see a light bulb coming on, usually somewhere at the end of day one, the beginning of day two, they'll go, oh, so I just understood what this was all about.' (DP4; 2013)

In addition to attempting top-down change by means of targeting senior police officers, there is also a recognition that as society changes, and therefore the socialisation, education and attitudes of new probationers, the emotional ecology of the police will adjust accordingly, effecting a bottom-up approach to change:

> DP8: I think there's the recognition as we move forward the demographics of our organisation change. So the people that we recruit, like, for example when I said that I've got a 17-year-old son, the values that my son has, that he's learned through his education process, and socially and culturally, those are still, those are the same people that we're now recruiting from. So therefore that's moving on and that is changing police culture. A very practical example of that would be that when I joined the police, basically you were allocated a tutor constable and you were basically told to be quiet and keep your ears open…
> DP4: And your mouth shut.
> DP8: And your mouth shut [laughter] and just listen. And you would just do what you were told, and the last thing you would do is challenge, you know. I mean down to very basic things like attending briefings and somebody senior in service would come in and say you're sitting in my seat, you know, just things…
> DP4: Is the tea not made yet? [laughter]
> DP8: However now, now probationary constables will challenge. And I mean I saw it even as an instructor in probationer training, I mean they

> will challenge things that they just don't think are correct. And that is
> having an effect on the organisation.
> DP6: Society changes.
> DP8: Yes.
> DP6: And therefore we follow. (2013)

These practitioners have observed some changes to the police emotional ecology as a result of social changes. However, the fact that top-down approaches are still required demonstrates the limitation of a bottom-up approach, and suggests that the occupational culture of the police lags behind the changes that have occurred in society. The three practitioners in particular point towards 'seniority' as a major barrier to change, and one particularly resilient to it: seniority in terms of hierarchy, but also in terms of the length of service of officers, regardless of rank, an aspect not often identified in the literature. The officers interviewed are less confident that such senior officers would change in line with changes in social values.

Changing status

Lastly, the changes to the political economy of policing through police reform and legislative changes have a significant impact upon diversity and equality management and diversity training, but also on the status of diversity practitioners, a group of people largely made up of police staff, with some seconded police officers of various ranks. Many diversity practitioners feel they are in an ambivalent state, in particular since changes to the Police Service are affecting their job security. However, mainstreaming, the standardisation of policies and the introduction of a quantitative element to evaluate the direction of progress against diversity and equality markers have positively changed the work and status of diversity practitioners in the service. Many diversity practitioners report that their status within the organisation has improved, as has their job satisfaction:

'I think from my perspective, I've been involved right from the very beginning, and I mean right from 2000 when I wasn't even a practitioner, still doing a procurement job, albeit here at the College, I'd say that at the moment, probably equality and diversity's never had a higher profile, culture-wise and in terms of the organisational structure. Which is very heartening. You just hope that that continues to be the case. Certainly it's something that more people think about rather than saying that's for the professional people to sort out.' (DP6; 2013)

'I think at the risk of being, you know [laughter], it's like a dream come true for me, being involved in this right from the very beginning, I could see a way to mainstream equality and diversity and to get everybody to take it as seriously as it needs to be taken, and to understand it a bit better was to have the work done nationally. And I think it's one of the pieces of work that does sit very well on a national context and works well, rather than everybody doing their own thing. Which wasn't, you know, wasn't a bad thing, but this way we get to influence I think more people with the same message consistently, and hopefully we'll keep doing that as we go forward, which will improve things for everybody.' (DP6; 2013)

'Whereas now the organisational learning is there but it's for the whole country, and what it takes is some brave people to say do you know what, we were absolutely wrong, we really got that badly wrong, but this is what we've learned, and to share that nationally. So I think for us that's a really positive thing.' (DP4; 2013)

The changes in the political economy of policing have triggered a major reorganisation of diversity work and practices in Scotland. Consolidating work across the entire country, mainstreaming practices and using data-focused outcomes to track the direction and scale of

progress made stand diversity practitioners in good stead. Moreover, the negative effects of these changes, such as a significantly uncertain future and low job security, seem to be partly neutralised by increased job satisfaction. Practitioners feel that they, and their work, can and are making a difference to people working within the service, and the communities the police serve.

Conclusion

Chapter Five tracks changes to the political economy of policing, changes to diversity management and changes to diversity training, thereby providing the reader with crucial background information. In comparing interview data from two points in time, 2008/2009 and 2013, a number of trends emerge, and significant changes have occurred. First, the context in which interviews were carried out has shifted. Attitudes in Scotland appear to have converged with England/Wales', as, for instance, terrorism and budget cuts are now a reality for Scots and are perceived similarly north and south of the border. Moreover, police reforms have significantly shifted the focus of practitioners. Consolidating hundreds of policies, assessing their equality impact and standardising them to create single policies, all with dwindling resources, have been a primary preoccupation. The coming into force of the Equality Act 2010 has similarly placed a heavy workload on practitioners. Setting equality outcomes and findings ways to accurately track performance against these has been another major challenge. Previously, practitioners have been mostly concerned with writing and disseminating policies. The intensification of data use in recent years has multiple roots. In addition to changing legislation and police reforms, dissatisfaction with a policy- and process-focused approach to diversity has grown. Lastly, diversity training has similarly undergone significant changes. The diversity aspect has been incorporated into mainstream police training and become more operationally relevant. Instead of merely teaching diversity, trainers now attempt to 'open up' police culture and allow outsiders to challenge it. Overall, while these changes pose significant challenges to diversity practitioners as well as a threat to their job security, they appear to have simultaneously elevated their status.

Chapter Six

'Stepping Outside Your Comfort Zone': Police Occupational Culture in Flux

Chapter Six draws on the author's extended observations of diversity training courses as well as the voices of diversity practitioners in order to examine the impact of changes to the political economy of policing on police officers and police staff, through the analytical framework of emotional ecology. This combination allows for a rich and immersive picture of diversity training, and provides evidence of the actual training of police officers and police staff at various levels (probationer, existing staff/officers and senior officers in 2008/9 and 2013) and their interactions

within the context of these changes. Emphasis is placed on recent data, due to the novel ways in which diversity work is now carried out, compared to the more routine, information-based approach from 2008/2009, which has been documented, commented on and analysed elsewhere (Home Office 2002, Rowe 2002, Rowe and Garland 2003, Rowe and Garland 2007, Swan 2009, Inspector Gadget 2011).

Overall, evidence from the chapter's longitudinal data suggests that despite reforms and two decades of diversity training, the emotional ecology of the police is still broadly characterised by insularity, masculinity, is keen to maintain in-group solidarity and is marked by strong hierarchies and divisions (as described in Chapter One and Three). Drawing on the notion of spaces (Bolton 2005a, 2008; Fineman, 1993b, 2008), the rich empirical observations of training courses show how boundaries of the orthodox emotional ecology of the police are maintained through the marking off of physical spaces, interactional spaces, and through language. Utilising Strauss (1959/2008), the chapter demonstrates the importance of the emotional ecology to officers, with officers displaying noticeable discomfort out of their own spaces.

Drawing on Fineman (1993b, 2008) and Bolton (2005a, 2008), the second part of the chapter provides subtle indications that changes are occurring to the emotional ecology of the police, mostly due to pressure to change from the political economy of policing. Moreover, the newly-gained confidence of diversity practitioners as discussed in the previous chapter has aided them to deliberately unsettle the status quo by introducing a new emotional ecology of policing. Drawing on Becker's notion of professional socialisation (Becker et al. 1977/2007), it becomes apparent not only why the emotional ecology is so slow and resistant to change, but also why diversity practitioners are able to challenge it by introducing a different set of feeling and display rules. As a result, this chapter argues that hierarchies are gradually shifting, expectations of officers are changing and police identities are being redefined and shaken to the core, albeit slowly.

Authority and hierarchy

The first aspect of the emotional ecology of policing examined in this chapter is authority and hierarchy. The nature of policing work, operating as an emergency service and the 'quasi-military nature of police-command relations' (Bordua and Reiss 1966, p.68), is often cited as the basis for its emphasis on authority, and its reliance on hierarchical organisation to convey and exert this authority (Herbert 1998). Observations and quotes collected in 2008/9 and 2013 expose a complex set of implicit rules governing the structure of police hierarchies. The author's extensive observations of diversity training during fieldwork at the Police College reveal glimpses into the myriad ways in which deference to authority is instilled in young probationers during training:

> 'I arrive at the Police College for my first day of observation of the diversity training. I was told beforehand that the probationers had only just started that week, and had spent the first few days getting their uniforms and other administrative aspects done. I report to reception and trainer John picks me up and takes me to the office. He introduces everyone in the office, all of whom are involved in training probationers, and explains that they have already started on the diversity training as the morning's trainer rather unexpectedly fell ill. A few minutes later, a young and timid looking probationer knocks loudly, enters and addresses and greets everyone in the office before heading over to us and telling John that the class is ready for him. We slowly head off towards the classroom, a room in a large two-storey Portakabin between buildings. The trainer knocks, enters and rather loudly exclaims 'course'. All the students get up quickly, greet him and me, and only sit after John invites them to do so. There are four tables in the room with six students at each table – four male and two female. They are uniformly dressed in black shirts, trousers and shoes, with 'Police' written on their sleeves (t-shirt or fleece). The trainer

introduces me and shows me towards a chair and desk to the side of the classroom. During the following few days at the College, this ritual is repeated several times a day, each time someone of a higher rank, which is practically everyone apart from the probationers' peers, enters.'
(Author's Observations, Probationer Training, December 2013)

This observation holds true at both points of data collection, with practically no difference between 2008/9 and 2013. At both points in time, probationers are exposed to a tightly structured environment, socialising probationers into the emotional ecology of the police through its display and feeling rules, conveying values of diligence, uniformity, order and obedience (Paoline III 2003). The 12-week training course is intense, with probationers staying on site during the week, leaving only at weekends. The locales (shops, pubs and so on) they are allowed to visit and frequent in the nearest town are strictly regulated. The days are long, physically demanding, and require many probationers to push themselves intellectually, with a large amount of material to understand and memorise. Their accommodation is small and might be described as sparse, equipped with a simple bed, chair and table, with no luxuries or home comforts. Trainers ensure that probationers conform to a strict dress code through inspections, highlighting the dress code at several points during the day, drawing attention to things like a few escaped strands of hair, some 'fluff' on probationers' clothing, or shoes that are not 'bulled' well enough. Even as a visitor, observing rules (dressing formally to allow easy identification as a visitor, always walking on the left-hand side in corridors) is paramount in helping probationers navigate the rules associated with the hierarchy at the Police College. Deference is expected and displayed through various means (greetings, dress code, etcetera). This system places probationers at the very bottom of the police hierarchy.

Such markers of authority may not only facilitate a fast response in an emergency situation, but are also crucial in placing oneself and others within the hierarchy. Even when prompted to do so,

very senior police officers are reluctant to remove such markers which locate them and their position in police space:

'At the start of training, the participants are sitting around the horseshoe-shaped table and chatting until the trainer starts with his introduction. Everyone but one participant is wearing suits or equivalents, and within the control room, Archie remarks that not only are all male participants wearing light blue shirts and dark suits, but also that despite having been told to appear in formal dress, one officer has appeared in uniform. In fact, almost everyone who enters the control room to observe the goings-on comments on the officer wearing a uniform, and speculations go on for quite some time about whether the officer would get changed, or at least remove the badges.' (Author's Observations, Critical Incident Training for Senior Police Officers, 2013)

The example above is taken from a critical incident training programme involving senior police officers of the ranks of Superintendent and Chief. Participants on the training course are contacted by course conveners in advance of the training and asks that they attend in formal dress (i.e. a suit) rather than in uniform, rendering the wearing of a uniform a strong statement to the course conveners and other participants. Badges and collar numbers are also significant, in that they give an instant gauge of an officer's length of service, and police officers admit that upon meeting a new colleague, shoulders are slyly checked for 'total service', i.e. the total length of time served. As such, non-observance of requests for formal dress can be used strategically by training participants, in order to demonstrate disapproval, and to assert their place within the hierarchy. The course was monitored through a video-link in another room, the 'control room', where observations took place:

'As the trainer begins to explain his background and the course outline, my attention turns to the mobile phone one trainee is secretly using under the table, in full view of the cameras. Amelia, one of the course creators and facilitators, remarks that despite the fact that participants are asked to switch off their phones and provide their workplaces with the Police College phone number in case of emergencies, many still use their mobile phones during the discussions, most notably in the plenary sessions. It is further remarked on in the control room that this is not because they are responding to important messages, but rather participants use their phones strategically, i.e. to show their importance, and also to demonstrate their disapproval of what is being said. Other ways to show disapproval of the trainer are pointed out: turning away, or leaning back in their chairs. This is not only clearly visible on the cameras, but also to the trainer, who remains very calm throughout, continuing with the plenary session until the participants return their attention to the training. When I ask the training coordinators what they think participants disapprove of, I am told in the control room that the participants question the relevance of the trainer's experience from 'down south'.

Following on from the introductory session, participants are told to go to their respective syndicate rooms and 'act as one' – making decisions together. I am asked to look at the screens and to comment on the proceedings. The first thing I notice is that in each group, one person takes charge of the discussion and places themselves strategically at the table – either right in the centre with three participants facing them and one person placed on either side, or at the head of the table. In both groups, these two people took charge, spoke, coordinated and controlled the situation. In one group, three of the participants remain silent the entire time. In another, the discussion eventually includes all participants, when I spotted the officer in charge walking over to the

loggist, (the group member logging all information, discussion points and facts on the computer system), speaking to her while the loggist is busy typing. The group in the control room notices this immediately, and suspects the officer of bypassing the discussion. They point out that the domineering characters in both groups are of superior rank. However, as the day goes on, the discussions equalise across the trainees, and those of relatively lower ranks are included and asked to take on roles and tasks.' (Author's Observations, Critical Incident Training, Senior Police Officers, 2013)

The extended excerpt provides a fascinating view into the police emotional ecology through the interactions observed at training courses, and highlights the intricate ways in which this particular aspect of orthodox police culture is produced and reproduced through these interactions. Despite attempts to strip away the emotional ecology of the police out of this particular diversity course, and to change the feeling and display rules associated with this particular professional and training space, participants go to great efforts to revert back to known cultural territory. In other words, participants stick to known and familiar professional display rules and rules of interaction by asserting their professional status, and through rigidly adhering to hierarchical interactions. The extended observations above further show that in addition to authority markers, police officers use non-compliance with the rules associated with this training course to assert their place within this police space. Nevertheless, this is still done within a hierarchical arrangement due to bureaucratic control (Herbert 1998); that is, the reason these officers can assert their places is because they are of a superior rank to those facilitating the training. In addition, the second paragraph of the observations above highlights that even with many hierarchy markers absent, hierarchy is conveyed through the officers' demeanour and behaviour, as well as other participants' knowledge of each other's rank, and thus clear deference to the most senior officer is maintained.

Upon the completion of probationer training, constables at the beginning of their careers find themselves at the bottom end of this hierarchy, as one diversity trainer states:

> '…from an operational side of things, I think it's far more challenging because roles are very defined on a shift, you know, and so…what, what's acceptable or who is acceptable to challenge can be very defined, so if you've got, one of my students who's leaving, left on Friday and they're starting on their shift on Monday, they're the bottom of the barrel, the absolute bottom of the rung.' (DP5; 2013)

The impact of such a strong occupational hierarchy on individual officers' behaviour and decision-making is significant, according to one interviewed Inspector:

> '…and that happens so often in day-to-day policing, and that is where somebody can operationally take their eye off the ball and say well, that's just a missing person. And there's somebody's telling me, for example Inspector telling me that's OK, then it's probably OK.' (DP8; 2013)

This quote highlights the expected difficulties in challenging decisions from 'above', but also the unwavering belief that decisions made by officers of senior rank with more experience are correct. Moreover, a number of diversity practitioners, both seconded officers and police staff, highlight another source of authority: seniority in terms of length of service. Barely acknowledged in the academic literature as a source of authority (King 2005), length of service is emphasised by officers at both points of data collection, a feature that emerges repeatedly, often used as an introductory statement alongside a person's name and position, as the observational data from the Critical Incident Training for senior officers outlines:

'During the introduction, everybody is asked to introduce themselves, with the only specification given that they ought to state their names and what they want to get out of the course. Everyone states their name, some state how many children they have and their names, and other information varies (such as hobbies or where they've worked). Interestingly, all police participants state their number of years in service, many with astonishing precision ('26 and a half years service'). Behind the scenes in the control room, this is thought to be 'typical', but it is remarked that unfortunately this has no bearing on experience or skills, and is instead another way to assert their place in the hierarchy.' (Author's Observations, Critical Incident Training, Senior Police Officers, 2013)

This observation is even more telling in light of the fact that all the participants in this observed training are of very senior rank, Superintendents and Chief Superintendents, and should not need to assert any particular authority through length of service. Nevertheless, out of habit (the icebreaker at the start of most courses in Police Scotland is usually name, length of service and place of work, in addition to an item at the discretion of the trainer, such as favourite film) or perhaps to distinguish themselves from the other participants, it remains an important self-defining feature of the emotional ecology of the police. Its significance is further highlighted by the following two quotes from diversity practitioners:

'And that hierarchical structure is not just from the senior officer element, but from the people who have got a lot of service who are still working operationally.' (DP8; 2013)

'We still have a very hierarchical structure. And what we tend to have, I'm making this generalisation here, but those people in that service bracket of 25-plus years, are still very much, and again I will say again,

very general…nah, that, I don't like that, and that's not happening, and I'm the Inspector, I'm the Sergeant and that is how it will be. […] And I'm sure every organisation has that, but I think in an organisation with such a strict hierarchy that still presents a problem to us. And that's something that only I think time will change, I'm not sure I could ever influence the dyed-in-the-wool, you know…' (DP4; 2013)

The second quote in particular emphasises the rigidity of the occupational culture of the police as a result of authority through seniority, and the power seniority holds in the police. It particularly highlights the difficulties and challenges of changing the emotional ecology of the police (and in particular professional police display rules) through the socialisation of new probationers, demonstrating that the immediate situation strongly influences values (Becker *et al.* 1977/2007), as well as professional feeling and display rules. This means that once probationers finish training and start working as officers, they are exposed to the prevalent emotional ecology of the police and work within it.

The strong service ethos and vocational dedication, which particularly characterise more senior officers, pose a particular challenge, since turnover of staff is very low. This is highlighted by several diversity practitioners, many of whom conceptualise police culture through various metaphors that signify its resistance to change, and often pinpoint such 'dinosaurs' as one reason for slow rates of change. For instance, one practitioner describes police culture as a 'huge wheel' that 'turns very, very slowly', and a conversation between two other diversity practitioners highlights the potential reasons for such slow cultural change, despite diversity training:

> DP1: […] So it's about changing a culture whenever those that are really responsible for changing it have been very much, you know…
> DP2: Indoctrinated into it.

DP1: Indoctrinated and accepting of the culture that got them to where they are. (2013)

The practitioners interviewed at both points of data collection all believed that the particular occupational outlook of the police, the vocational dedication of the majority of officers and the subsequent long lengths of service of many officers render many aspects of police emotional ecology almost impermeable to change, as explained by Becker's notion of the immediate situation's influence on values and behaviour. The aspect mentioned most often was authority through rank and seniority.

In addition to hierarchically ordering officers, clear divisions are drawn between police officers and police staff. The difference between 'cops' and 'civvies' holds regardless of rank, and those diversity trainers who are police staff rather than police officers frequently report being taken less seriously due to their status:

'...there have been occasions where culturally people think, wait a minute, you're not a police officer, you're just a civvie is an example, that kind of mind-set which has been potentially a barrier to learning in the past is less, much less of an issue now but it has been, historically been a feature as a kind of challenge if you like, someone suggesting what right have you got to talk to me about this, that and the next thing when you're not a cop.' (DP7; 2013)

While this particular diversity practitioner feels that things have moved on, other police staff frequently bring up the lack of respect towards police staff, which the quote above demonstrates. More poignantly, the division is maintained with regards to budget cuts, since only police staff are in line for redundancies in order to meet the cuts imposed on the newly-created single service, while officer numbers are protected (Rose 2012).

Masculinity

A further distinguishing aspect of the emotional ecology of the police commonly highlighted in the literature (and outlined in Chapter Three), but also commonly represented in the media, is masculinity, or a 'macho' culture (Prokos and Padavic 2002, Cooper 2009, Conti 2010, Loftus 2010). Diversity trainers highlight that it is entrenched in police culture, as for example the residential training makes things very difficult for those with caring responsibilities, as well as the overtime culture and shift-working (Edwards and Robinson 1999). More overt displays of a macho culture are rare, although they are probably more commonly visible to female officers. Nevertheless, a rare glimpse is granted during the diversity input for probationers in 2008/9. The topic of discussion is gender imbalances and sexism in the Police Service, when a young probationer surprises the trainer with her revelations of an interaction with an officer earlier in the week:

'The female trainer focuses the discussion on the historical shaping of gender imbalances in general, and explains why there are still fewer women in the police force. She explains that women used to have a separate rank structure that was capped at Inspector level, and the roles generally given to them were gendered: cases involving children, looking after children at the station, admin, any other paperwork, tea-making, cleaning, etcetera. Moreover, female officers were only allowed to work between the hours of 9am and 10pm, as it was thought that they might come across unscrupulous characters at night, which could compromise their sensitivity. Positive action was then brought in to address these imbalances, but some officers still think that women should only be assigned to certain roles.

The trainer then asks to what extent probationers think these gender imbalances still hold, or that sexism still occurs, and a very young female probationer puts her hand up. The young probationer proceeds to tell

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the group that she was greeted with 'afternoon, girlie' in the corridors earlier in the week, which sparks discussion and outrage from both trainers. They proceed to attempt to identify the individual by asking the probationer for further details, and by approaching her after the training.' (Author's Observations, Probationer Training, Diversity Input, 2008/9)

Whilst I observed no other incident of sexism, various examples given by diversity trainers during probationer training demonstrate that a certain macho culture is rife. Moreover, this example places the emotional ecology of the police and its values and display rules attempted to be transmitted during probationer training in stark contrast with the prevalent police emotional ecology, and highlights the difficulties probationers might face upon entering the service as officers.

Inaccessibility and insularity of the emotional ecology of the police
While the various police forces and, later, the single service opened up their training courses and offices for the purposes of this research, defying the often-cited descriptions of police culture as inaccessible and insular (Reiner and Newburn 2008), other aspects of policing remain firmly inaccessible, as the following observation from probationer training demonstrates:

'I arrive back at the College on one of the worst days in the year weather-wise for the second day of the probationer diversity input. Windswept and slightly dishevelled, I make my way to reception, where the trainer from the previous day picks me up and takes me through the maze of corridors, past many uniformed officers, to the classroom. On the way, he informs me that unfortunately I will not be able to attend the probationers' oath ceremony that will take place in the early afternoon, on the grounds that Mr House prefers to 'mingle amongst his

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own'. I had been told about the ceremony the previous day and hoped that getting my request in early might facilitate my attendance. The ceremony involves all probationers being sworn into the job of police constable by declaring the police constables' oath and receiving their warrant card, and, as such, is hugely significant. The Chief Constable of Police Scotland, Sir Stephen House, is to lead the ceremony himself, and the mingling event afterwards would involve tea and coffee and some pastries with senior police officers from across Scotland.' (Author's Observations, Probationer Training, 2013)

The excerpt from research observations demonstrates the intricate ways in which the police mark their own spaces, and make them inaccessible to outsiders. In addition to closing the door to 'outsiders' for such significant events, inaccessibility is further constructed by the use of many organisation-specific abbreviations and other rules for navigating the world of the organisation. Informal conversations with police constables reveal subtle differences between areas, such as referring to their police station as the 'office' on the west coast, amongst others. These examples suggest that spaces have strong associations with professional cultures and their idiosyncratic ways of doing, feeling and displaying behaviour (Fineman 1993b, Bolton 2005a, Bolton 2008), providing a 'framework of action and moral order' (Bolton 2008, p. 21).

In addition to marking off area-specific police spaces amongst each other, inaccessibility is further aided by closing off spaces to police staff. Police staff are not trained police officers, but fulfil roles supporting officers and police work such as HR managers, diversity trainers, solicitors, mechanics or programmers (Police Scotland 2014b). The majority of diversity trainers and diversity practitioners were police staff in 2008/9, while the balance shifted and the majority of trainers and practitioners in 2013 are seconded police officers. One diversity practitioner, a police staff whose background is in the private sector, expresses her feelings of exclusion despite having worked for the police in Scotland for many years:

'And, and it's hard, obviously I don't come from a police culture, I'm not a police officer, and I don't come from a police background, I know very little about the police, in relation to the culture apart from, so, it's not something you really kind of understand until you've been in it for a while.' (DP 1, 2008/9)

The inaccessibility of police culture is linked with a high degree of in-group solidarity, which is one reason for many to join the service. Many officers feel that their work is more than just a job, and consider their colleagues to be a substitute family. Officers feel that only fellow police officers understand the work they do, and as a result, marriages tend to occur within the profession. It appears that officers' professional categorisations of the world is all encompassing (Strauss 1959/2008), covering not only their professional but their personal lives. Thus, for many, being a police officer is their primary identity (Thomas 2011), and officers are strongly supportive of each other. In-group solidarity is often reported in the media, although usually only its negative aspects, such as cases where in-group solidarity has facilitated the covering up of information (see for example Johnston 1988, Halliday 2014, Harper 2014). However, as discussed in Chapter One, it can also act as a means of tackling stress and supporting one another, in particular with regard to the emotional aspects of the job, such as the loss of a colleague (Chan 1996, Paoline III 2003). During probationer training, a rare glimpse into the strength of this in-group solidarity is granted during a one-minute silence to honour three colleagues who had died a week before in a national catastrophe:

'It all seems like a well-oiled machine in which everybody knows his or her place. A few uniformed male officers are waiting right beside me, watching officers, probationers and police staff line up on the parade square in the centre of the College and making their way out to the very front a minute later. They are the last ones to go onto the parade square, leaving only me and the Starbucks and canteen staff inside. I feel rather out of place. In the end, I decide to put my bag and coffee down and

stand behind the catering staff, from where I observe the goings-on. Every single police officer, probationer and police staff member is out on the parade square, standing still with their hands folded behind their backs. A loud voice on a tannoy announces the sad passing of all nine people who died in this tragic incident, naming them individually. The last three were colleagues. It is a short speech, but small details such as the number of children the victims had and their names turns it into a very emotional affair. The one-minute silence that follows only emphasises this further.

On our return to the classroom, students comment on how emotional they found the affair and how difficult it is for them to hold back their tears, especially at the point when the children's names were mentioned. Some of the probationers have children themselves, and others tell me that they are very close to their little nieces, nephews and godchildren. The discussion at this point turns to the fact that few officers die during service, but when it happens it hits everyone very hard, as they are such a 'close-knit family'. In some way, I also feel that this event has forged a strong bond amongst the group of probationers.' (Probationer training, Diversity input, 2013)

This particular episode reveals the personal stake of the young probationers who have only begun the same week, and their strong identification with the role of the police officer. In addition, it demonstrates the high emotional investment and involvement of probationers and officers in their roles.

Thus far, the emotions emerging during interactions observed at diversity training courses have brought out how the emotional ecology of the police is maintained, how officers mark their spaces in material ways as well as in interactional spaces (Bolton 2005a), and the ways in which the

emotional ecology of the police provides an all-encompassing, slow-to-change world view and values, rendering it difficult to change through socialisation (Strauss 1959/2008, Becker *et al.* 1977/2007).

Nevertheless, empirical observations and interview data show glimpses of change in both front and back stages of police spaces. Looking out for emotions as 'audiences shift, as tales are told and retold, and as power, status and gender are tested and deployed' (Fineman 2005, p.10) reveals a police emotional ecology in flux. Thus, the remainder of this chapter will examine evidence from diversity training that demonstrates the ways in which the emotional ecology and the identities of officers are showing some signs of change. While these changes may be subtle, they nevertheless demonstrate that the police emotional ecology is far from stagnant and stable, and that change is affecting key cultural aspects such as machismo and the way hierarchies are constructed and delineated, and thus the emotional ecology of the police. The following section will show that changes are attributed to changes to the political economy of policing; internal pressures, such as diversity training, as well as to external changes, such as the changing mind-set of young probationers. Following on, the remainder of the chapter will provide extended excerpts from interactions observed at training courses and interviews, in order to demonstrate the challenge to the emotional ecology of the police, and its state of flux.

Redefining masculinity

The first part of this chapter confirms that many aspects of the emotional ecology of the police discussed in the literature are evident in the new Police Scotland. Others, however, appear to be less solid, as the following section will discuss. Part of being a police officer, closely related to the concept of machismo, is the idea of being 'in control' at all times (Martin 1999), which is not only instilled in officers, but is strongly expected from police leaders. It comes as a surprise to

probationers and trainers when the Chief Constable does not play the role as expected during the swearing-in ceremony:

> 'A further myth keeps cropping up when talking to practitioners, probationers and officers: that of the warrant card. Probationers are told that Mr House is notorious for telling probationers that he can take away their warrant card as fast as he can hand them out, while giving them their warrant cards. Trainers further perpetuate this myth. The story is mentioned to probationers twice, the day before the ceremony and the day of the ceremony, by the two trainers, and is mentioned to me a third time over lunch. Upon returning to the classroom 15 minutes early, the majority of students are already chatting and waiting for the instructor to return, and I take the opportunity to ask about the ceremony. Their tales do not match what I, and clearly many others, expect. According to the probationers, there is no mention of revoking warrant cards, but instead, a humble Chief Constable who has not yet recovered from the shock of the previous Friday (a national catastrophe involving a number of fatalities from Police Scotland). I am told that he 'welled up' and is 'very emotional'.' (Author's Observations, Probationer Training, 2013)

The surprise is twofold: that the Chief Constable deviates from the much-anticipated script, but also that he is so highly emotional. Indeed, the Chief Constable makes a similarly emotionally-charged speech that is broadcast nationally shortly after the national catastrophe, and this speech similarly catches the attention of officers and staff in the following weeks, leading to many debates, not only about whether his emotions are genuine, but also whether they were appropriate for a police chief. Making himself vulnerable by displaying his emotions publicly within a machismo culture, some officers question whether the Chief Constable gives the right impression and is 'in control'. This episode further confirms the emotional ecology of the police, clarifying that displaying vulnerability and emotion in public is neither expected nor seen as acceptable (Pogrebin

and Poole 1991) except in cases relating to children (McElhinny 1994), as the announcement of the discovery of Mikaeel Kular's body by Assistant Chief Constable Malcolm Graham demonstrates (The World in Your Hands 2014).

Shifting hierarchies

The Chief Constable has also brought about changes to the way internal hierarchies are upheld. Previously, probationers would socialise with their future division after the swearing-in ceremony; however, Mr House is keen to remove internal division in order to facilitate a unified Scottish Police Service, rather than a conglomerate of separate legacy forces. During fieldwork at the Police College, the following conversation takes place, demonstrating the use of space to signal unity:

> 'During lunch the previous day, I am told that while traditionally probationers will not receive any refreshments and are asked to mingle with their respective (legacy) forces afterwards, Mr House is unhappy about this and is said to have demanded refreshments for all, and, in the spirit of a united Police Service, no separation into legacy forces after the ceremony.' (Author's Observations, Probationer Training, 2013)

While internal hierarchies appear to be shifting and are more inclusive, Scotland-wide in-group solidarity is actively being fostered; boundaries between the Police Service and outsiders are being upheld, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. However, despite there being no set qualifications or skill requirements for diversity practitioners in general (Tatli 2011), the particular circumstances of and changes to the political economy of policing in Scotland have improved the standing and status of diversity practitioners. The police staff who work within the area of diversity management or diversity training are taken more seriously as their expertise, specialisation and professionalisation increases. Some diversity practitioners are thus able to

overcome traditional divisions between police officers and staff, and are increasingly providing a challenging environment for police officers:

> 'And I suppose one of the good things that police staff in terms of equality and diversity bring is that they will challenge the status quo. So if there's things that are actually happening that they think that's, that doesn't sound right or this, you can't do it that way, again, you need somebody to be brave enough to say that in a rank organisation. So that's one of the big benefits that actually comes sometimes from people who are professionally qualified being able to say that, because that's what their professional ethics are based on. So yeah, so it's the whole thing about management of risk.' (DP1, 2013)

Thus, with increasing specialisation and complexity of the subject matter, as well as the potential consequences of getting diversity wrong are providing diversity practitioners with an opportunity to sidestep and thus alter the emotional ecology of the police through their expert knowledge. The values of diversity practitioners are not transformed into profession specific values of the police, as Becker (1977/2007) suggests, but remain outside this dynamic, thus allowing the entry and co-existence of values, display and feeling rules which challenge the orthodox emotional ecology of the police.

The critical incident training course for senior officers uses this method strategically by utilising a group of 'outsiders' made up of individuals from various third sector groups or government organisations. This group has the aim of challenging the decisions taken by senior officers during the training session, based on their expertise and experience. In addition to responding to suggestions by the Macpherson Inquiry (Macpherson 1999), training conveners also find that the surprise element of opening up police training to outsiders appears to be very effective, as this diversity practitioner notes:

'We also play with a team of external practitioners who come along, so maybe government or political service or diversity practitioners, we've had all sorts, who come along and just sort of challenge the decisions being made by the police officers around about, well did you think about what the LGBT community might think about that decision, or they'll be oh no, never thought about that. Well why not, because that will affect...' (DP4; 2013)

While older data show that previously external practitioners and individuals were invited to offer their experiences during police training courses, they are now encouraged to challenge and question actions based on these experiences. This practice encourages officers to think about the impact of their actions on various groups in society, and provides a very visual demonstration of the police's, and therefore each senior officer's accountability towards members of these groups. It further provides a demonstration of the impact of the police's actions and words on communities and individuals and, in turn, the potential consequences this could have for the police in terms of lack of cooperation. Training conveners and creators express the hope that this practice would 'open up police culture' and make it more 'human'. Practitioners point out that successful training outcomes increase officers' competencies, albeit not competencies usually associated with policing. Practitioners particularly highlight the lack of control and the focus on processes rather than merely on outcomes, to which officers are not only unaccustomed, but which violates the ideas of emotional detachment and a maintenance of control (Martin 1999).

Unsettled identities

'Being in control' was juxtaposed by trainers with 'being human', indicating that 'being in control' is perceived as a negative aspect of the emotional ecology of the police that needs to be forcefully 'opened up'. The main strategy to do so is by 'unsettling officers'. The following, rather extended

excerpt from observations indicates how this is being done with senior officers, but also provides further insight into the emotional ecology of the police, by showing attempts to intervene in and alter it:

'I return a week later to observe the second day of the next immersion-based, or *hydra*, training course, taking place in purpose-built *hydra* rooms. I am running a few minutes late, and when I enter the control room, the course has clearly already started. I ask one of the *hydra* staff who is watching the proceedings on the screen what is happening, and he reports that the two officers on the screen are 'being kebabbed' by the person playing the role of the Chief Constable. The two officers are asked to report to him, since a complaint has been made in the *hydra* the previous evening, accusing the force of institutional racism.

Two hours into the training, I am asked to be part of the community meeting. As an outsider that the participants have never seen, my appearance is argued to unsettle them and thus be of value. The course convener asks role-players to 'turn up the heat' with their performances. The team has set-up a mock community meeting, complete with various members of the community, press representatives, MSPs, family members etcetera, all questioning the police's actions (or lack thereof). My role is to query the impact of their actions on ordinary people – and those that they haven't considered, given all the other demands they have to juggle and anticipate. This takes place in the media room, with microphones, a table at the front for the two officers and a facilitator, and a 'community' of around 25-30 people facing them. Most of the community members sit on chairs, but some are standing at the back. I can only presume that the other trainees are watching from the safety of the media control room next door, where video and audio access is available. I sit in the first row and can see the impact the meeting has on the two officers in question: while they certainly superficially appear

very much in control, one officer's hands is shaking throughout the meeting. Even if this is just an exercise, the pressure certainly appears to be felt by the officers. There is some rather impressive acting: racist slurs, media questions from two people who are journalists in real life, lay advisors asking genuine questions from their perspectives, and questionable motives from the missing person's family members. Some are fully role-played, others partially, with people acting out their genuine roles (journalists, lay advisor from a women's rights group, etcetera). Others are concerned about another case that has made the headlines and isn't addressed, and the local MSP queries whether these cases are the consequence of recent police reforms. Of particular importance is the media's question about whether the officers would apologise for the shortcomings in their performance. The apology that comes forward is prompt, and appears genuine yet professional. In the apology, the officers use the new values of the Police Service, stating that officers will be measured against them and disciplined if they are found to fall short of them.

My question, however, is ignored and disappears in the general questions that follow, although overall, officers stand up well to the questions asked. In the subsequent feedback plenary session, during which I am placed in the plenary room with the trainees, all role-players are asked to explain the purpose of their role and how the police response affected them. The feedback is very good; in fact, this group is repeatedly complimented on being empathetic, sincere and professional, and their apology in particular is widely praised for these qualities, as well as for its distinct lack of 'management speak'. The course convener comments that the officers were empathetic but professional, and are not entirely in control the whole time, but manage the conflicting demands very well. I am invited to join the plenary session and provide my feedback.

A discussion around the apology ensues and the general consensus is that this is a 'new development' and something the new Police Service should take forward, admitting when mistakes are made, while at the same time trying to improve Police Scotland. 'Driving forwards, but not forgetting to check the rear-view mirror on a regular basis' is suggested as a suitable analogy. It is further argued that there have been many opportunities to learn from mistakes, especially the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, but also many subsequent inquiries and incidents that are more local (Scottish). Nevertheless, learning and organisational change has not necessarily always occurred. These incidents, the trainer argues, need to be kept in mind and should inform officers' behaviour. When prompted to explain further, Archie states that police culture is very inward-facing, the feeling that 'we can do it on our own' used to prevail, and that if mistakes happen, the 'culture of blame' is too overwhelming and thus mistakes get swept under the proverbial carpet. The discussion in the plenary then turns to how one can learn from other sectors (such as the nuclear industry) where mistakes (to some extent) can be admitted and are used for organisation-wide learning. It is felt that the consequences in the police are too severe in terms of career progression and discipline; therefore mistakes are rarely admitted and thus no apologies given.

A number of times, it is mentioned that these changes mean 'stepping outside your comfort zone' for officers, as they are at odds with existing police culture. One defining characteristic of police culture that is mentioned several times is the idea of 'being in control', and the course convener and hydra members explain that it is not always about being in control, but about 'doing the right thing'. At the plenary session at the end, when participants are asked about their major learning points, it emerges that many participants and lay advisors think that the creation

of the new Police Service provides the perfect opportunity for retaining the best aspects of each individual legacy force, and can be seen as a lever of change. A number of participants comment that the reforms of the Police Service are an ideal opportunity for change, and the lay advisors in particular believe that this training course is a good way to initiate such changes in a positive direction.' (Author's Observations, Critical Incident Training, Senior Police Officers, 2013)

Imperative for training conveners and creators is the focus on 'being human', 'letting emotions in' by means of 'kebabbing' officers, or in other words, 'unsettling them' in order for officers to show emotions they are unaccustomed to showing (McElhinny 1994). The emotions in this example are clearly evident through the interactions of the officers engaged in the training, and reveals that emotions are governed by the context in which they occur and in this instance, the orthodox emotional ecology of the police. Officers have had years of exposure to professional feeling and display rules, since officers have spent many years being socialised into the emotional ecology of the police by the very nature as senior officers, and having had to (successfully) pass through the ranks. The request to move outside of familiar emotional feeling and display rules leaves officers not only visibly uncomfortable but also uncertain as to what behaviours and rules of interactions are appropriate and desired. With many central aspects of the emotional ecology of the police temporary put 'on hold', they struggle to be 'in control'. The term 'kebabbing' officers demonstrates the impact of pushing officers into adopting, displaying and engaging with a different emotional demeanour – precisely what is intended by the course conveners and course creators, who think this is the best method to 'change police culture'. Indeed, they do so by changing the emotional ecology of the police, demonstrating how useful the analytical framework of an emotional ecology is, by capturing the subtle emotional orientation of an occupation and how it responds to environmental changes.

'Being in control' emerges as a key target of the emotional ecology of the police that diversity practitioners wish to change through various courses and socialisation. The attempt to actively change the emotional ecology, however, is only observed during the second round of data collection. During the first round of data collection, diversity training could be described as a means of informing officers, staff and probationers of what is acceptable behaviour, what they could and could not do in terms of practice from a legal perspective, and providing a theoretical grounding in theories of stereotyping. On rare occasions, a police officer or police staff member will misjudge the situation during training, providing an opportunity to 'correct' the behaviour and outline the inappropriateness of their actions, as the following example from a police officer and staff diversity training from 2008 exemplifies:

> 'The afternoon is dedicated to LGBT issues, and for this purpose, a representative from LGBT Youth Scotland has been invited to attend. When we return to the training room upstairs, the LGBT Scotland Youth representative, a young female, explains that she will spend the next two hours of the training course with us. In order to explain the long, painful and often socially ostracising process of gender reassignment, she puts on a video that explains the process trans-people go through in terms of physical changes and the challenges this process entails. The young participant sitting directly to my left starts laughing at the point when the individual who is transitioning to female is shown. His is an embarrassed laughter, the sort that you see teenagers display, slightly muffled and flustered at the same time. Nobody in the room laughs with him. At this point, I cannot focus on the movie anymore and feel paralysed by the situation, staring at the screen in embarrassment and shame on behalf of the giggling young man. The video continues, the external trainer from LGBT Youth Scotland looks at the participant in shock and from my perspective, it feels as if the entire room, including all the training participants, stands very still, waiting for someone to step

in and relieve them of this awkwardness. It seems like it goes on forever, but can only be a minute at most until he decides to leave the room. The external trainer follows him out, leaving the rest of the participants with the video. The trainer returns on his own to speak about the incident and how responses like the one just encountered are very difficult for people undergoing the gender reassignment process. Shortly afterwards, the young participant returns with the second trainer. His body language is noticeably different from the previous two days and that morning: his now timid posture is in opposition to his confident and rather opinionated previous self. He apologises to the group, explaining that he is very embarrassed and ashamed by his reaction and that he somehow feels he has no control over it. Trainer G states that this is unacceptable behaviour, but that he prefers that he show this reaction within the training session as this is a space where reactions like this can be discussed, rather than out on the streets where his response would be unacceptable. It is difficult to concentrate on the session, and the trainer is clearly not in the best mood.' (Author's Observations, Diversity training for police staff and officers, 2008)

The student clearly misjudges the situation and the appropriate emotional response for the context, although his behaviour during this incident is in keeping with his behaviour throughout the course, albeit mostly outside the training room. While a small number of other participants appear to agree with him, he is the only one to voice his opinions so openly, much to the surprise of others. In a back-stage area, two female participants express their personal views and concerns about this trainee's low level of awareness of professional display rules and appropriate emotional demeanour of police officers and staff:

'After this session, I nip to the loos where two other females are already chatting. One of them, who is usually quiet during the discussions, voices her opinion that the young participant 'has a long way to go. We

wouldn't want to let him loose on the general public'.' (Author's Observations, Diversity training for police staff and officers, 2008)

It is unclear whether the trainee's behaviour reflects attitudes held in his workplace, and whether he displayed this behaviour at work. What is crucial, however, is how trainers deal with behaviour that is unacceptable, demonstrating the desired social and therefore occupational norms, and profession-specific feeling and display rules. Thus, training spaces confer the emotional aspect of the profession and are used as a vehicle to 'correct' and re-align the emotional ecology. Overall, a notable change between 2008 and 2013 occurred in the ways in which training is carried out, demonstrating a shift from informing and educating participants to an active intervention in the emotional ecology of the police.

Probationer training faces different challenges. Diversity practitioners report that the training itself has become easier compared to the first point of data collection due to the changing mind-set of probationers. Diversity practitioners attributed changes to the fact that many probationers have been in employment before they join the police, and to changes in attitudes in society at large:

> 'And so maybe before we would have had periods of time where, you know, classes could get quite, people could get quite hostile because you were asking them to examine things in themselves and in other people that they'd never had to examine before and maybe not in that form either, and they were being challenged on things and they'd never been put in that position. And that's completely different now I think, I know with people who have been in employment for a fair bit of time they've had those experiences, and for the younger students that we have who have pretty much come here from education, the way that the education system's set up now, they've been exposed to that, it's just not new for them now and there's so many of the inputs and probably the sexual

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orientation one's the best example, because you'll struggle to have a class now where there's not somebody who knows somebody who's, you know, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender's slightly different, but you know, it's a non-issue, you know, […] the challenge isn't there the same as it was, the mind-set's completely different.' (DP5; 2013)

Since probationers have not experienced extended exposure to the emotional ecology of the police, training at this level aims to familiarise probationers with desired behaviours and attitudes, as highlighted in reviews of police socialisation (Herbert 1998, Conti 2009, Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce 2010). The significant change of emotions that surface during probationer training, as suggested by a number of diversity trainers, is reflective of broader changes in society from which probationers are drawn. Nevertheless, probationers will eventually join their more senior colleagues on shifts, and trainers are aware of the difficulties involved in transferring this acquired knowledge, professional feeling and display rules as well as professional demeanour (which is part of the emotional ecology) into the workplace, as the following observations outlines:

'Later, I witness some of these discussions. John (the trainer) starts discussing Allport's scale, a visual graphic demonstrating the increasing levels of prejudice in society, and asks students for real-life examples from their own experiences for each individual step. Students are engaged, and draw on their previous work and school experiences. For each step, he provides an example from a policing context. On reaching the top of the pyramid, extermination, John draws on a real-life example of sexism that occurred in one of the legacy forces as recently as five years ago. He engagingly asks the students what they would do if faced with such a dilemma and describes the case of a very bright young officer who had just completed probationer training. This student was on the receiving end of inappropriate behaviour and sought advice from the trainer who had conducted her probationer training. The trainer

suggested challenging the behaviour, which was unfortunately not a one-off occurrence, but ongoing. John remarks that she was subsequently sidelined in her station as a result of the senior colleague's influence on other colleagues, and she left the police not long after.'

(Author's Observations, Probationer training, 2013)

The trainer attempts to set out the expected attitudes and behaviours and the consequences if these are not followed. Probationers are told in no uncertain terms that inappropriate behaviour has severe consequences, as does the non-reporting of colleagues' inappropriate behaviour. However, without further ado, the trainer describes not only the difficulties these young constables face if they follow the guidelines laid out, but also provides an insight into the emotional ecology of the police as it stands. A tremendous amount of responsibility for changing this emotional ecology is placed upon young probationers, and the consequences of these are highlighted throughout the training at the second point of data collection:

'The trainer gives the example of another young constable who had just finished probationer training. This constable encountered very offensive comments and jokes as part of the station banter. John makes the point that while this is a concrete example that happened to a former probationer he has kept in touch with, such examples are unfortunately still common amongst 'the dinosaurs' – officers of senior rank either in status or years of service. He again asks the probationers what they would do, and again, the class is silent. John advises two options. First, he suggests, if they are affected they can let their superiors know that they are not comfortable with the behaviour and with what was said. Alternatively, they can go to the colleague directly, point out to them that their behaviour/jokes are inappropriate and ask them to stop, at least in their presence. Nevertheless, he pauses to say, the seniority of the colleague means he has probably been in the habit of expressing such

attitudes unfettered for years, and might not take well to being challenged – particularly by a junior colleague. Yet again, this had an ending I did not expect. John recalls that the young constable did not feel very comfortable in the station after directly voicing his concerns to the 'offender'. With the atmosphere in the station becoming very tense, he was eventually moved elsewhere.' (Author's Observations, Probationer Training, 2013)

As Becker (1977/2007) suggests, interactions reveal the values of the current emotional ecology and their incompatibility with the values transmitted during professional socialisation. Thus, while it is easy to hold values, feeling and display rules in line with those propagated during socialisation, it is much harder to hold on to them once they enter professional practice since 'situations influence values' (p. 430) and the 'immediate situational pressures' (p. 431) during professional practice differ substantially. In essence, probationers are given 'mixed messages' in which two worlds, or rather identities, collide: the emotional ecology as it currently is and the emotional ecology of the police as it is hoped to be.

Moreover, the trainers' expectations of the probationers appear to be far-reaching. While police officers have always been expected to be of superior moral character, these expectations are now explicitly spelled out to probationers:

> 'John explains that the probationers need to be aware of the professional persona required of each and every police officer, and asserts that the uniform not only comes with power but also great responsibility. The public's perception is not about them as individuals, but as representatives of the Police Service – thus it will never be a 'nine to five' job. The professional ethos is to be maintained even off-duty, as family and friends are still aware of the probationer's choice of

profession and expectations remain that police officers are of the highest integrity at all times. The trainer highlights a few aspects from an outdated ACPOS racial diversity policy, emphasising the aims of Police Scotland to '…increase (public) confidence…' in the police. Compared to the first round of observations from five years ago, the focus is firmly on what it means to be a professional police officer, what behaviour is expected of them, and what behaviour they ought to expect of each other. In fact, John repeatedly tells them that 'you are only as good as the worst of you', highlighting the damage one lone individual can do to an entire profession through the spread of social media, the media in general and word-of-mouth within communities.' (Author's Observations, Probationer Training, 2013)

The increased professionalisation of the Police Service, alongside the development of police values, as discussed in the previous chapters, is accompanied with the expectation that officers take on a professional persona even outside of work through an ever-greater number of SOPs (standard operating procedures), covering not only work processes but also professional standards (Police Scotland 2014a). While SOPs existed at the first point of data collection, their pervasiveness as well as their far reach are mentioned by many interviewees only at the second point of data collection. To some extent, these changes are already expected of officers by the general public, as well as by each other. In addition, the quote provided by the trainer highlights the awareness that officers' behaviours impacts upon public legitimacy of the police and ultimately on the success (or lack of success) of policing by consent.

Nevertheless, the police have not yet adapted to these expectations, as this senior diversity practitioner reflects, for a number of reasons:

'And I think it is, it's about a very different mind-set about, um, working in a different, very different way. And I think that's especially hard for police officers in relation to if anything happens and there's a police officer, they have to be seen to hold authority and know what they're doing, etcetera, etcetera.' (DP1; 2008)

The diversity practitioner believes that being 'seen to hold authority' and 'being in control' are characteristics of the emotional ecology of the police due to the nature of police work, and, relatedly, are grounded in the expectations of the general public. Expanding Becker's (Becker *et al.* 1977/2007) idea that situations shape values, it becomes clear that just like probationers, professional practice is also subject to situational pressures. Police work, therefore, is not only subject to pressures from different groups and individuals in society, but also by the nature of police work itself, which, as Chapter Three discusses, fulfils important functions such as stress-relief, amongst others. Therefore, professional practice is subject to change itself, and many aspects of police work, including their professional and emotional demeanour, feeling and display rules are rooted in practice.

Thus, competing demands are placed not only on probationers, but also on officers who are asked to remain in control and hold authority at all times, yet at the same time, officers are now expected to be emotionally sensitive to the different needs of groups and individuals, and to 'be human'. These opposing expectations are reflected in the observational and interview data. The data discussed suggest that officers are being pushed to change their approach to policing, or being asked to point out prejudicial behaviour and attitudes, while police hierarchies remain relatively stable and in place. Overall, the changes that the observed diversity training courses are attempting to trigger do not exist on a rational or superficial level. Instead, they attempt to affect the emotional ecology. As argued in Chapter Three, the term *emotional ecology* reflects the importance of environmental pressures on shaping profession-specific feeling and display rules, or in other

words, a profession's emotional ecology. As Milton (2005) argues, this is not solely restricted to interactions between people, but also between professionals and their environment, or more broadly speaking, the emotional ecology of a profession with its environment.

Conclusion

The chapter examines to what extent the political economy of policing has impacted on the police and its officers and staff through the analytical framework of emotional ecology. Longitudinal data from 2008/9 and 2013 suggests that many features of the emotional ecology of the police described in the academic literature are present within Police Scotland, as well as in its previously separate forces. Insights from Fineman (1993b) and the notion of spaces reveal how the orthodox emotional ecology of the police is maintained, but also challenged. This is important since lengthy excerpts from observations reveal that some of the aspects of the emotional ecology are starting to shift the lines along which hierarchies are drawn, and affect subtle changes to the expression of masculinity. The data suggest that these changes are triggered by changes in the political economy of policing, adding weight to the decision to use the term emotional ecology rather than emotional culture as argued in Chapter Three.

The presented data further suggest that significant changes have been made to diversity training. First, training is now tailored towards the audience, taking into account the trainees' place in the occupational hierarchy. Second, the content of diversity training has changed significantly, taking into account the particular characteristics of the emotional ecology of the police. More significantly, however, the emotions displayed during interactions at diversity training courses reveal that diversity training is moving away from an information-based approach to one that attempts to erode certain aspects of the emotional ecology of the police. More specifically, interviews and extended observations show that current feeling and display rules as well as the professional emotional demeanour are challenged through new professional socialisation

practices, training courses pushing senior officers to rethink practices and act out a new emotional ecology, as well as diversity practitioners finding a stronger voice. Insights from Becker's (1977/2007) writing on professional socialisation, however, provide an explanation for the limiting impact of changing the emotional ecology of the police through introducing a new emotional ecology during professional socialisation, and illuminates the struggles probationers face when they enter professional workplaces. Indeed, officers appear to be experiencing tensions and conflict from facing competing emotional ecologies. It is these tensions and conflicts, and how they express themselves and play out within various police spaces, that the next chapter will examine.

Chapter Seven

Collisions of Emotional Ecologies: Exploring Police Emotional

Ecologies within Diversity Spaces

'Policing is about humanity, not a process.' (DP9, 2013)

The previous two chapters present two aspects of diversity management in the Scottish Police

Service: the ways in which recent changes to the political economy of policing have affected

diversity professionals and their practices in Chapter Five, contrasted with an examination of changes to the emotional ecology of the police in Chapter Six.

Chapter Seven is third in the trilogy. It is an empirical exploration of the key themes from previous chapters, and attempts to explain how the changing landscape described in Chapter One impacts on the emotional ecology of policing, drawing on further empirical evidence. Overall, it suggests that diversity training increasingly mirrors demands on police officers to be more open, sensitive and collaborative, by challenging and 'opening up' the emotional ecology of the police during training, and moreover, suggests that this process has been intensifying over the research period.

In order to explain and explore how the emotional ecology of the police is changing (if ever so gradually), the chapter draws on the analytical framework of emotional ecology and purports that tensions occur as a result of the introduction of competing emotional ecologies. To help explain how diversity practitioners attempt to introduce a new emotional ecology, the thesis will draw from Strauss' idea of categorisations (1959/2008) and Becker's (1977/2007) professional socialisation. Secondly, the chapter turns to the resulting tensions and conflict observed in interactions during training sessions. Since one cannot understand emotional ecology without understanding 'space', the chapter draws on the idea of organisational spaces (Goffman 1961, Goffman 1969/1990, Fineman 1993c, Bolton 1999, Fineman 2003, Bolton 2005a), and pays particular attention to how and where tensions and conflicts occur during training, their situatedness within police culture and their associated emotional ecologies. This section of the chapter suggests that what happens in the spaces in which tensions occur either supports or undermines, causes discomfort or reinforces the emotional ecology of the police. Thus, observing interactions within professional spaces reveals as much about what an emotional ecology is about as what it is not. It finishes by discussing whether there are signs that the new emotional ecology

of the police has been taken on, and provides some pointers regarding the impact on officers at this point of transition.

Connecting the collective with the individual

It is important to examine the ways in which the emotional dimension of policing is conveyed, and therefore also potentially altered. The following sections will show how changes to the political economy of policing in general, as well as diversity training in particular have changed certain elements of policing, such as the main focus of policing and the language to be used with each other and with members of the public, introducing a different set of display and feeling rules and thus a different emotional ecology of policing.

Strauss's concept of 'categorisation' (Strauss 1959/2008) of the world provides a conceptual link between collective professional feeling and display rules and individual feeling display, or the lack thereof. As discussed in Chapter Three, Strauss suggests that categorisation of the world (and the objects and people within it) shapes action. This means that people's understandings, and therefore their actions, differ depending on their categorisations of the world, and more crudely, on the vocabulary available to them. Thus, it is essential that officers and staff alike have the same understanding and interpretation of situations, and as a result act in similar ways. If, Strauss argues, others around us do not share the same terms, it is not possible to 'participate together in shared activity' (p. 37).

Following Strauss's logic, in order to bring about changes in the behaviours and attitudes of the police, it is necessary to change the ways in which the world is categorised by all those who inhabit this particular professional world. Diversity training courses, analysed in light of Strauss's ideas, can be viewed as courses offering a different set of categorisations within which police officers ought to understand their professional work and themselves. They can be seen as providing a set

of categories to help officers and staff to understand and interpret situations, thereby ensuring that officers act in similar ways. One interesting way through which this is done, and which emerged in a number of courses, is the focus on language. Indeed, endeavours are continuously made to eliminate and replace words, particularly those of racist nature, and this reflects a concern shared by the literature on diversity training.

Much of the diversity in policing literature reports on the state of racism in terms of the use of racist language. The Channel 4 documentary 'Undercover Copper' remarks on the lack of racist language in the police (Rowe 2007a), and Foster, et al. suggest that 'there have been significant improvements in […] the general excision of racist language from the Police Service' (Foster *et al.* 2005). According to Foster, et al. (2005), language has been one of the main foci of police forces in England and Wales post-Macpherson, despite the intention of the Inquiry to steer attention 'away from a pre-occupation with the language and behaviour of individual staff' and towards 'intangible, covert dynamics of institutional discrimination' (Souhami 2012, p.3).

Extensive longitudinal fieldwork at two points in time (2008/9 and 2013) confirms the focus and concern with regard to appropriate words used in professional contexts. Questions on this subject surface regularly in training, and demonstrate participants' persistent uncertainty over appropriate terminology, as this observation demonstrates:

> 'Following the movie, the discussion turns to the complexity of sectarianism, and Amelia mentions that the political nature of the problem is often omitted. She thinks that today's sectarianism is rooted historically, and provides examples of the pervasiveness of discrimination against Catholics in Scotland. The trainer agrees, and believes that discrimination in the workplace often occurs on the basis of names, as employers recognise Catholic names and consequently turn

down their job applications. As if on cue, the discussion returns to the earlier debate on defamatory names such as 'chinky' or 'darkie', as many feel that 'paddy' clearly belongs in the same category. While acknowledging that sectarianism is still prevalent and a problem in Scotland, the trainers argue with conviction that 'paddy' cannot be equated with words such as 'chinky' or 'darkie'. While some participants believe that sectarianism is not a problem anymore and therefore 'paddy' is not offensive *per se*, many participants feel that the same principles ought to be applied.' (Author's Observations, Police Officer/Staff diversity training, 2008/9)

This extended excerpt from a diversity course provides a glimpse into the contentious nature of many of these debates, and the discussions around where the line should be drawn between acceptable and unacceptable words. At the other end of the spectrum, lists of sanctioned words are often requested, but while such lists or suggestions are generally controversial (see for instance the delayed press coverage by Whitehead (2010) on the *Appropriate Language Guide* published by Lothian and Border Police), not having them proves equally unsatisfactory from the perspective of many trainees. As Strauss points out, 'any classification is open to challenge and re-evaluation by another or oneself' (p. 37), and many 'classifications cross and crisscross' (p. 37). While such tensions occur 'naturally' between people, particularly if their membership of social groups and their backgrounds vary, evidence from the extensive fieldwork in diversity training courses appears to reveal that diversity training courses offer a different way of categorising the policing world from the categorisations already available to them through the existing emotional ecology. In addition, the excerpt from the first point of data collection further demonstrates the lack of 'tartanisation' with regard to diversity training, as discussed in Chapter Five, and the focus on legally protected groups ignores the peculiarities and sensitivities of the Scottish context. No similar discussions of this nature are witnessed during the second point of data collection in 2013, possibly due to the fact these shortcomings are more or less addressed.

As alluded to in Chapter One, language is not the only aspect of behaviour that has changed over the period of data collection. The changes described extensively in Chapter One provide different categories and frames of references for police staff and officers. For instance, the policing principles of the Police Scotland list its intentions as 'collaborating with others', engaging with local communities, and promoting 'measures to prevent crime, harm and disorder' (The Scottish Government 2012). The main aims of policing are framed around the prevention of crime rather than fighting crime, and as argued in Chapter One, the traditional crime-fighting image is being replaced with an image of a customer-facing police officer serving and working with the community. Similarly, the new policing values of integrity, fairness, respect and human rights focus officers' attention towards the softer skills of policing, interpersonal skills, and greater involvement with the general public. Given the extraordinary amount of discretion police officers exercise in their jobs, the provision of these organisational values is hoped to provide guidance and direct officers towards the desired professional demeanour, in line with these values.

The ways in which policing is framed signifies a shift away from the image (and self-understanding) of the crime-fighting, masculine (and male) police officer, thereby offering different ways to categorise policing and different ways of being for police officers. In other words, a different set of categories (Strauss 1959/2008), and thus values of policing, is offered to the public and to police officers. The new formulation of how the police see themselves, their main purpose, and their new code of ethics, points towards the intention to write these into the emotional ecology of the police. The introduction of a code of ethics, the managerialisation of the public sector including the police, and police reforms have introduced new values, and thus offer a different emotional ecology from that traditionally described in the literature, and observed and described by participants in this thesis. The argument in this chapter contends that these changes are the

source of the tensions and conflicts observed and described in the previous chapter. It will examine first their occurrence within various police spaces.

Emotional Ecology and 'Spaces'

Unmanaged spaces

Tension and conflict is expressed and observed in a myriad of interactions observed as part of this research, ranging from physical tension to indirect signs of tension expressed through body language, for instance. The ways in which tension and conflict plays out varies according to where it occurs. The following observation takes place within the waiting area of a diversity training course, an un-managed space or back-stage area, while participants await the onset of the course:

> 'Two participants, Struan and Isla, who are both in their fifties, dominate the conversation in the break out room that morning. A number of other participants are slowly waking up and warming up with coffee or tea which is provided for us in the entrance hall just outside the room while waiting for the course to start, and do not participate much. Struan and Isla, however, are heavily involved in a discussion about the acceptability of 'paddy' but not 'chinky', the previous day's debate, at which point the youngest participant's phone goes off a couple of times. He pulls it out of his pocket and as he reads the message laughs out loud and giggles to himself. The conversations stop, and he passes his phone to Struan, who is sitting next to him and who, after reading the message himself, passes it on to Isla. There is some hesitation in Isla after she reads it, and I fully expect her to pass the mobile phone back to Struan. Isla, however, passes the phone to the person next to her, and in going full-circle around the group, it eventually reaches me. Nobody explains what the text contains or why it is funny, and as it is passed around I can sense awkwardness from some of the participants' embarrassed acknowledgement. When it reaches me, I read a spoof

chain letter, which states that this message needs to be passed on in order
to kill enough 'Pakis' to ensure a 'white' Christmas.' (Author's
Observations, December 2008, Police Officer/Staff diversity training)

 The above observation from a staff and officer training course occurred in a separate room from
the training room, without the presence of trainers, and shows how tensions and conflict play out
in an 'unmanaged space' (Bolton 2005a). The observation also demonstrates the importance of
different spaces in the ways in which tensions and conflicts play out. In line with Goffman's notion
of a front and back stage, spaces in the same organisation convey different expectations, goals and
social norms, and shape interactions (Goffman 1969/1990). Training spaces are thus not only
'managed spaces' where prescriptive organisational rules apply, but often also comprise
'unmanaged spaces' where the emotional ecology of an occupational group is revealed. As
discussed in Chapter Three, 'managed' training spaces are a means for professional socialisation
(Becker *et al.* 1977/2007), and thus are spaces in which knowledge, professional feeling rules and
the emotional ecology of a profession are transmitted and acquired, in the case of probationer
training (Prokos and Padavic 2002), or reinforced or altered, in the case of existing officers. It
should therefore come as no surprise that strong 'push backs' to a newly-introduced emotional
ecology occur in such unmanaged spaces.

Emotional Ecology and Training Spaces

Training spaces are particularly interesting spaces in which professional socialisation and
secondary socialisation occurs, where profession-specific knowledge is delivered, and occupation-
specific feeling and display rules are conveyed. As argued in Chapter Three, training and other
organisational spaces make up the emotional ecology of a profession. Moreover, based on the
premise that emotions 'have an architecture divided by physical settings or emotionalized zones'
(Fineman and Sturdy 1999, p.648) and that spaces can expose the feeling rules and the emotional

ecology of those inhabiting them, the following examples will illustrate the importance of spaces in the context of professional emotional ecologies.

The training spaces observed comprise a set of spatial arrangements consisting of a number of rooms, and contain a complexity of interactions within them. Indeed, the three observed training spaces differed widely in the ways that spaces are used. Only one course is situated off police premises, while the other two spaces take place in the Police College. One of these trainings is held in a lecture-based training room. The other training course also takes place at the training college, but is immersion-based or 'hydra' learning, and thus attempted to create the impression that the participants are at work, in a television studio, and so on. Overall, all the training spaces are located away from the organisations to which individuals belong, or to which they would ultimately belong upon the successful completion of their training units.

Depending on the desired outcome of the training, training spaces are set up differently. At probationer training courses, course coordinators attempt to recreate and mimic some aspects of police culture as closely as possible. This is to provide probationers with as much exposure to the occupational culture and its emotional ecology of the police as possible. This exposure is strengthened by the length and depth of immersion through residential training at the Police College. On the other hand, at staff and senior/officer training courses, trainers go to great lengths to convey the feeling that the training space is different from their usual workspace. Ordinary organisational life is temporarily suspended: uniforms are not and should not be worn, civilians and officers mingle together on a par, and traditional hierarchies are (more or less successfully) suspended for the duration of the training, as described in detail in the previous chapter. Organisational hierarchies, as outlined in Chapter Five, are temporarily transcended by encouraging participants to challenge each other's points of view, and meals are taken together by all participants, regardless of rank and status, as are breaks. Phones have to be switched off for the

duration of the course (although this is not always adhered to), and if part of the course is missed, it is made clear that it has to be retaken within a certain period of time. Diversity training for senior officers, while mimicking working conditions, routines and procedures as closely as possible through hydra or immersion training, temporarily suspends other aspects of orthodox police culture, such as organisational hierarchies.

In all training contexts, trainers remain separate during breaks, apart from scheduled meals. Trainees, however, stay together for the majority of the time, with the exception of the odd phone call. This is in stark contrast to a number of diversity courses observed in the same sector but in different organisations, where groups dispersed during breaks and lunch, the courses took part on work premises, and the majority of participants went back to their desks to catch up with work or to have lunch with work colleagues.

Viewing the narrative in terms of Goffman's analytical lens of back and front stages, a number of distinct spaces emerge. Following Goffmann, the training area could be considered the 'back stage' area, compared to the usual 'front stage' work area. Nevertheless, the use of multiple spaces in the three training courses suggests a more complex arrangement. Training courses in themselves have 'front' and 'back' stages, with the main training area as the front stage, while breakout rooms and rest rooms can be considered 'back' stages where organisational training display rules are suspended. This is particularly well illustrated by the observation of the inappropriate joke, which took place in a breakout room where the participant felt at ease in sharing the joke. Moreover, these back stage areas in training courses also accommodate spaces for participants to discuss and reflect with other participants, as they are also a space away from the trainers. The provision of food and drink, a comfortable seating space, and distance from day-to-day work create 'space' for discussion. Senior officer training differs insofar as all spaces are monitored via video links and mimic police workspaces as closely as possible, thus attempting to recreate a 'front' stage of work.

Nevertheless, the removal of markers of status and hierarchy also render the training course a 'space away' from certain aspects of the orthodox emotional ecology of the police. In essence, while staff/officer and probationer training can be considered more traditional training environments, involving chairs, learning materials, PowerPoint presentations and whiteboards, senior officer training attempts to create a 'transformative space' (Wainwright *et al.* 2010, p.82). Training spaces are thus neither work spaces nor home spaces, but something in between, an 'intermediate space' (Buckingham *et al.* 2006, p.896), often containing 'managed' and 'unmanaged' spaces (Bolton 2005a).

Exposing the emotional ecology of the police

The example of the 'transgender giggle' introduced in Chapter Six demonstrates an uncertainty around police feeling and display rules. The violation of these rules often emphasises the emotional ecology of the Police Service. For instance, the 'somatic norms' of the training space (Puwar 2004) or, in other words, who is and who is not expected to belong to a certain space, came to the fore through the emotions of the young trainee and also the reactions of the other trainees and the trainers to his emotional response. When the young trainee could not contain his laughter on watching an educational video on transgender, his nervousness as well as the silence and staring of those surrounding him made the prevalent emotional ecology even more obvious. Drawing on Puwar, the trainee's response can be seen as indicating his surprise at the entrance of transgender into the space of the police, a traditionally masculine space (Prokos and Padavic 2002, Conti 2010, Morash and Haarr 2012). The introduction of transgender into the police space, even through the medium of a video, is a 'presence that disturbs and interrupts a certain white, usually male, sense of public institutional place' (Puwar, 2004, p. 42). Nevertheless, as highlighted in the discussions in Chapters One and Three, the emotional ecology of the police with its strong focus on masculinity and 'machismo', is instilled into young probationers and police staff right from the

first day at Police College and at the station, impacting on the behaviours and demeanour between officers/police staff and the general public.

However, police officers are, at the very same time, socialised into the professional emotional demeanour of a police officer, as described in the discussion of the emotional ecology of the police. The professional behaviours of a police officer entail 'the repression of emotional displays' and 'viewing the public in a detached manner and the belief that both hard and soft emotions are an occupational weakness in performing their duties' (Martin 1999, p.121). Thus, despite the fact that the transgender person in the video is 'invading' police space, the other participants' reactions made it obvious that the expectation is for the giggling trainee to act like a professional, to 'severely limit the expression of emotions' (Martin 1999, p.116) and to 'look serious, understanding, controlled, cool, empathetic and so forth […]' (Fineman 1993b, p.19). According to Puwar, these 'somatic norms' are shaped by tradition and professional culture. Thus, they are not intrinsic to the space itself, but are instead determined by those who inhabit and have inhabited that space, as Puwar (2004) so beautifully describes by stating that '[b]odies do not simply move through spaces but constitute and are constituted by them' (p. 32). A 'violation' of somatic norms, in this instance, brought out the somatic norms and therefore the expected feeling and display rules of the emotional ecology of the police.

Changing feeling/display rules

Such 'violations', whether unintended or deliberately elicited through the training itself, provide not only an opportunity to render open the existing emotional ecology with its particular set of display and feeling rules, but also an opportunity to 'correct' or demonstrate desired display and feeling rules. One diversity trainer explains that these 'violations' are not always as obvious as the 'transgender giggle', as the following quote demonstrates:

'I think, well, for a variety of reasons, I think there can be people who
will not…the response that you get is a kind of sanitised response, it
might not be their true feelings, so they might not perhaps argue a
particular point with the trainer, for fear of…creating the impression in
terms of their underlying attitudes. What they might do however is have
a conversation or a nudging remark with a colleague when the trainer's
then speaking to somebody else, so having a second trainer, you have
the opportunity to catch and identify those examples. And I would,
normally what I would do is go back and say are there any other further
comments that you would like to make, are we happy to move on? So
it's an extra, apart from the obvious, it's an extra pair of eyes and ears to
observe what's going on, sometimes the non-verbal communication can
be quite illuminating.' (DP7; 2013)

This quote from a diversity practitioner primarily argues the case for having two diversity trainers at all times, but also demonstrates the more subtle learning processes in diversity training courses. In other words, the diversity practitioner describes the small gestures or comments through which trainees express their disagreement with the learning content. As the practitioner elaborates, trainers use this opportunity to pick up on these, and attempt to clarify the desired display and feeling rules (as is the case in the example of the community meeting described in detail in the previous chapter). Moreover, 'violations' of display and feeling rules are not necessarily as blatant and obvious as in the transgender example, but also occur in less obtrusive ways, such as in comments amongst trainees, or through checking one's phone during the training or leaning back in one's chair, as the section above on expressions of tension and conflict outlines. Overall, these 'violations' can be viewed as showing various degrees of disagreement with the 'intruding' new emotional ecology introduced through diversity training, and trainees' attempts to resist it. However, in considering tensions, conflicts and violations as resistance to the introduction of a new emotional ecology, participants' reactions are rational from their point of view, as Bolton

points out (2005a), even if their attitudes, actions or behaviours are deemed unacceptable from an outsider's point of view.

The examples provided thus far demonstrate the strong presence of display rules in this training space, illuminate the flexibility of front and back stages, and suggest that the relationship between organisational spaces and feeling and display rules is more complex than Fineman and Lewis's research suggests. Lewis (2007) is able to demonstrate that the norms regarding the display of emotions can vary across shifts, and the observation above extends her research by showing that the notion of back and front stage can change abruptly through the display of strong and, moreover, unexpected conflict and tensions. These tensions open up the 'space' for trainers to intervene, who in turn open up the space for discussion by turning the front stage of the diversity training course into the back stage of day-to-day working life. Tensions and conflicts and responses to them serve the purpose of negotiating the learning content and thus also the feeling and display rules with regard to diversity. In essence, diversity training is used to convey the emotional dimensions that policing is hoped to gain, through the shaping of feeling and display rules with regard to diversity.

Disrupting the professional emotional ecology

The importance of spaces in the context of the emotional ecology of the police is particularly significant in the following extended excerpt from a senior diversity training course. Based on the premise that spaces can expose feeling rules, the deliberate disruption of the existing police emotional ecology brings out a number of the aspects of the orthodox emotional ecology of the police discussed in Chapter Three, and highlights the changes this particular training course aims to bring about in officers:

'The course convener, Marcus, thinks that participants should 'feel the heat', that policing is 'about people and humanity, not a process'. Throughout the day, I am reminded that participants should feel 'agitated, challenged and uncomfortable', that it is about getting emotional responses from them, and that these reactions should teach participants how to engage with communities. The interview in the afternoon is a prime example of how the trainers attempt to convey this. Both groups are told to select spokespeople for the meeting. Officers in the control room who have been listening in to the conversations advise the course convener on the groups with the least and most learning so far. The course convener, on this occasion, selects the group. About seven minutes before having to head to the interview, they receive information that a dead body has been found – that of a woman with long dark hair. While this description matches that of the missing girl, the body has not yet been identified, and the police officers have to make a decision if and how to disclose this information during the interview. After a few technological glitches, the interview starts on the second attempt with the remainder of the course participants watching from the media room next to the 'TV room' – a room for TV interviews, etc. The role-players pretend to be the sister of the missing girl and her legal advisor. The interviewers decide to disclose the discovery of a female body with long brown hair and explain that they have not yet identified it, but can make no further comments. When pressed about further characteristics, such as age, they say they can make no further comments, which leads to distress in the role-player with the part of the sister – can they not give any further indication if there is even a possibility that the body is her sister? If the dead body is of a 60-year-old woman it would rule out her sister, but the mention of a dead body, indicating that it *could* be the sister, without giving further information or being empathetic towards the sister, and a further discussion about

the sister not using her mobile phone, only lead to a further distancing between the two parties.

While the two interviewers are very polite and very factual, they come away with no information from the role-players, and with no follow-up meeting arranged. In the role-playing interviewers' analysis, they conclude that the participants have not managed to develop a relationship with the role-players, who are potential witnesses, and did not handle the situation sensitively, which is the reason the role-players are non-responsive. I have been told that on occasions when the interview is handled badly by participants, e.g. if the participants interviewing the missing girl's sister do not show empathy, the role-players will play to this. For instance, the role-playing woman will not respond to questions, will leave the interview without disclosing information, and/or will return to a follow-up meeting in a headscarf, symbolising her alienation from the police and Western society. Had this been a real case, I am reminded, this polite and very processual way of obtaining information would 'exterminate witnesses', alienating them and their wider communities from the police with significant long-term implications for the police. The two role-players emphasise the importance of soft skills and emotional intelligence for police effectiveness, but that the conventional way of doing police work does not take that into consideration. The overall message trainers want these Superintendents and Chief Superintendents to take away from the training course is that 'if they push their police agenda, they will alienate communities'.' (Author's observations, Senior Officers' Diversity Training, 2013)

The excerpt reveals two significant points. First, it shows a noteworthy and serious change to the intent and impact of diversity training between 2008/9 and 2013. While examples from 2008/9 show that diversity training attempted to introduce a different emotional ecology, examples from

diversity training observed in 2013 indicate that trainers have not only gained in confidence, as Chapter Five suggests, but are also asking trainees to experience policing within this new emotional ecology through role-play and immersion training. Officers are asked to exhibit a different professional demeanour.

Secondly, the excerpt reveals information about the existing emotional ecology of the police, such as its value on being distanced, professional and reserved, focusing on the overall aim of following processes in order to achieve 'good arrests' (Brown 2007, p.205). The extended excerpt further demonstrates that contemporary policing, if carried out in line with the mantra of policing by consent, requires officers to keep people at the forefront of all their actions, requiring a different style of policing. Indeed, the values that contemporary police emotional ecology considers secondary in importance to 'real policing', such as softer skills (Morash and Haarr 2012) or 'femocratic practices' (Brown 2007) are shown to be crucial in obtaining information from the public, but also in maintaining support from all communities, including encouraging and supporting witnesses. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether the masculine orientation of the police's emotional ecology will remain in the face of these changes, or whether the disruptions are evident outside training spaces.

A new emotional ecology?

A recent high-profile apology appears to signify the changes described throughout this thesis. The apology by DCC Steve Allan to the San family after the Simon San case consisted of the following three components:

> 'I am sorry we did not listen to you when you told us you thought the
> attack was racially motivated.'

'I am sorry we did not treat you in a way that made you feel like you

mattered to us.'

'I am sorry we did not record and investigate the attack on Simon as a

racist incident when we should have done so.' (Lawsedge 2011,

p.online)

With Police Services generally reluctant to apologise, this apology is extraordinary. The focus is

not on the outcome, since the murderers had been identified within days, but on the process. Mr

Allan, the Detective Chief Constable for Lothian and Borders Police at the time, put himself and

his Police Service in a vulnerable position, and one that is perceived by many officers as

'humiliating'. His apology exemplifies the attribute highlighted by the senior officers diversity

course outlined in the previous chapter of 'not being in control'. In fact, as the previous chapter

points out through the example of the 'community meeting', being 'in control' at all times is part

of the emotional ecology of the Police Service, and is closely connected to commonly-held values

of masculinity, detachment and a them-and-us mentality with regard to the public. By being

vulnerable, admitting to mistakes and focusing on the process, on victims and on an emotion-filled

encounter with them, officers are asked to adopt different display rules, and as such a different

emotional demeanour to what they are used to. It appears that, broadly speaking, Police Scotland

has acquired 'new terminology', which means that officers 'inevitably reassess certain of [their]

past acts – and [themselves] – in the new terms' (Strauss 1959/2008, p.35).

In addition, the examples provided with regard to probationer training in the previous chapter

reveal similar tensions. While the trainers are keen to emphasise the importance of being diversity-

sensitive and more importantly to ensure that transgressions are acted on, this places probationers

in a difficult position. First, they are placed in a difficult position with regard to challenging

colleagues further up the hierarchy – whether they are senior in terms of length of service or in

rank, as illustrated in the discussion of police hierarchy in Chapter Five. Second, while

probationers' values largely appear to be in-line with those promulgated by the diversity course, which are suggested by diversity trainers to have been greatly shaped by their increasingly prolonged experiences in other sectors before training to be police officers, probationers are placed in the position of enacting a new, in the face of the old, emotional ecology. As Becker and his colleagues explain, student culture and values emerge in response to the contextual restraints imposed by the institution, but they also caution that these values only persist 'when the immediate situation makes their use appropriate' (Becker *et al*. 1977/2007, p.433).

The examples provided by the trainers of young officers in their first weeks and months at local police stations demonstrate the clash of values and the resulting tensions – tensions that led one particular young and very promising officer, according to the trainer, to leave the service. The values, feeling and display rules transmitted during probationer training appear to be at odds with those prevalent in the police stations where they will be based. In other words, the emotional ecology conveyed during professional socialisation, and in particular during the diversity input to probationers' training, reflects the sweeping changes to state and public services as well as the different views of diversity outlined in Chapter One. The emotional ecology of the police, as outlined in Chapters Three and Six, however, reveals very few changes, potentially presenting probationers, police officers and staff with conflicting emotional ecologies.

Indeed, consolidating the two opposing emotional ecologies is a tightrope for officers to walk. While political and social changes have put pressure on the police to be more customer-focused and emotionally sensitive to the various demands of the public, the public also expect officers to hold authority. As one diversity practitioner insightfully states, regarding the demands placed on officers by diversity training:

'And I think it is, it's about a very different mind-set about, um, working, in a different, very different way. And I think that's especially hard for police officers in relation to if anything happens and there's a police officer, they have to be seen to hold authority and know what they're doing, etcetera, etcetera.' (DP1; 2009)

In this instance, to be seen to hold authority requires emotional detachment from a situation and the people involved, and decisive action. The quote also demonstrates that expectations placed on officers by diversity training are not merely minor adjustments to the way they carry out their work, but a significant deviation from their usual approach, requiring a 'very different mind-set'. It appears that young officers are very much aware that in determining their actions, 'the responses of others must be taken into account' (Strauss, 1959/2008, p. 37). Indeed, the majority of young probationers, police staff and officers are implicitly aware of these competing emotional ecologies, and potentially negative responses from colleagues and the public ultimately determine their responses. Indeed, using Strauss's own words, '[i]n anticipating what your act is going to look like to those others who will in turn respond to it, you see your future act as in a kind of complicated mirror' (p. 36).

This may go some way to explaining the limited transference of diversity training learning to a policing context (see for instance Rowe and Garland 2007), assuming officers and staff do not expect the emotional ecology of the police to change. It also calls into question the transfer of skills and professional ethical values transmitted during probationer training and diversity training. If, however, competing emotional ecologies increasingly operate outside the training sphere, this makes it difficult for officers to determine their own actions. While Strauss writes of the consequences of 'status-forcing' (p. 79), the social convention of forcing group members to accept the prevalent group's norms, feeling and display rules and ultimately its emotional ecology, he assumes a relatively stable professional culture and emotional ecology, reflecting the stable

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environment about which Strauss wrote and from which he gained his insights. The evidence from training courses across the six-year period covered in this thesis, however, suggests that within these clearly-defined spaces, the impact of the existence of two competing emotional ecologies is creating significant tensions and conflicts for officers. It has yet to be seen whether the new emotional ecology promoted by the various aspects that make up the new political economy of policing will take hold in mainstream police emotional ecology, and what its impact upon police culture at large and ultimately police officers' identities will be.

Conclusion

The role of this chapter is the empirical exploration of key themes from the previous two data chapters, drawing on new empirical data in order to do so. It aims to show how the changing landscape impacts upon the political economy of policing through diversity training. Thus, the chapter begins with the tensions and conflict witnessed in interactions at diversity training courses at all levels, described in detail in the previous chapter, and aims to provide an explanation for these. In order to do so, the chapter outlines how the expression of tension and conflict in these interactions is interlinked with the hierarchical ordering of police emotional ecology (as outlined in Chapter Six), and depends on whether the particular training space is managed or unmanaged. These instances not only reveal the complexity of training spaces, but also their role as spaces of thinking and doing, as spaces where the emotional ecology of the police is being challenged, undermined, supported and reinforced. Indeed, many of the examples reveal an underlying emotional ecology of the police, including characteristics such as machismo and professionalism.

Drawing on Goffman (1961, Goffman 1969/1990), Bolton (1999, Bolton 2005a), Fineman (Fineman 1993c, 2003) and Strauss (1959/2008), the chapter shows how the emotional ecology is disrupted through the use of spaces and active change of categorisations. More specifically, it shows how diversity training attempts to change the emotional ecology of the police through two

different processes. The first is a top-down reshaping of the emotional ecology, through setting new policing principles, placing collaboration, engagement with communities and crime prevention at the heart of policing. In addition, the new code of ethics aims to reconfigure the ways in which officers react in line with these new principles. The second process is a bottom-up reshaping of the emotional ecology, through providing new categorisations, mainly of language for conventional diversity training for police officers and staff, and through providing new emotional ecologies for senior police officers to draw from. The chapter further reveals a significant intensification of the changes to the emotional ecology of the police that is being achieved though diversity training. While observations in 2008/9 reveal a more superficial impact observations from 2013 show that immersion training forces officers to experience policing within a new emotional ecology.

The chapter concludes that the collision between the conventional and the new emotional ecology of policing introduced through diversity training, existing at either end of a spectrum, is placing significant tensions on officers, who struggle to consolidate the competing emotional ecologies. Overall, the chapter provides an insight into the impact of sweeping political, social and economic changes on police officers, and identifies the emotional ecology of a profession as a means to analyse and understand these tensions.

Conclusion

The thesis set out to examine the impact of contextual factors on diversity management and diversity training. More specifically, a key objective has been to examine the impact of the new political economy of policing, entailing political, legal, economic and social aspects, on diversity management and training in the Police Service of Scotland, also known as Police Scotland. Police Scotland (and its eight predecessor forces across Scotland until April 2013) has undergone once-in-a-lifetime reforms, and is operating in a context of significant political and social turmoil, warranting a close examination of how this turmoil affects diversity management and training. In response to existing gaps in the literature on diversity management, in particular to what extent its use is altered in response to changes in its environment, two questions are posed in the introduction of this thesis:

- How have changes to the political economy of policing impacted on the way diversity management and diversity training are approached? And secondly,

- How do we understand the impact of these changes upon police officers and police staff?

The following sections will present the key arguments of this research as well as a summary of the findings and key contributions. The limitations of this thesis and potential avenues for further research emerging from this thesis will follow.

Summary of chapters and findings

The starting point for the thesis is the observation that much of the academic literature treats the United Kingdom as a homogeneous entity, while in fact data are rarely collected in Scotland, and the concurrent observation of Scotland as a country that is fast diverging politically from the rest of the UK. A short review of the literature on diversity management further observes a management technique that is increasingly legislated at the European level, but, aside from a few exceptions, is rarely examined in context. Indeed, the general trend, as with many other aspects of contemporary life, is to further its quantification. As the Introduction and Chapter One explain, the Police Service is an interesting context insofar as diversity has remained high on its agenda for several decades, while at the same time undergoing significant changes. This thesis argues that in order to examine diversity management or any of its practices such as diversity training, this must be done within the context of the political economy in which it is carried out. Thus, diversity management cannot be divorced from its political economy because it is part of the political, social and economic landscape, but also because the reason why diversity management is high on the police's agenda is precisely because discriminatory practices are embedded in socio-economic conditions.

Chapter Two turns its attention to the object of analysis, diversity management, in more detail, outlining its current shape and influences in the British public sector over recent years. In particular, it examines a range of factors that determine the shape and form diversity management takes in the context of policing, highlighting the particular role of the Equality Act and the number of reports and recommendations preceding it. Most importantly, however, it notes a tendency to approach diversity in a functional manner and discuss it using managerial language, with a focus on the monitoring and reporting of inequalities and a 'rational' orientation to diversity training. This intensification of data use appears to dominate current policies.

Nevertheless, criticisms of this 'input, process, output' model of diversity training are growing. It is accused of neglecting the context into which it is introduced, of being counterproductive, and of glossing over the upheavals it triggers in participants and trainers during and after training interactions. Chapter Three introduces a small but recent selection of studies attempting to explain the apparent frequency of emotions during training courses. The chapter proceeds by addressing the strengths, but also necessarily the shortcomings of these studies: they generalise across diversity training courses offered to different professional and occupational groups in different contexts. Chapter Three argues that it is important to consider the emotional ecology of the setting in which diversity training is situated. To support this argument, a number of research studies are reviewed that present the particular and distinct emotional ecologies of various professional groups, including slaughtermen, nurses and teachers, before discussing the intricate emotional ecology of police officers. The thesis argues that every professional group has a distinct professional emotional ecology with a distinct set of feeling and display rules which can be observed (and reinforced or undermined) in a variety of spaces, such as a slaughterhouse or a hospital ward. These studies strongly support the case for examining diversity training within the context of specific occupational and emotional ecologies, and for exploring any far-reaching reforms within these in mind, which is one key contribution of the thesis. Moreover, while

historically many writers on professional cultures have written in relatively settled eras for the professions involved, one contribution of the thesis is the application of concepts such as Strauss's (Strauss 1959/2008) concept of categorisation and Becker's (Becker *et al.* 1977/2007) notion that contextual (institutional) factors restrain culture, to an emotional ecology that is under enormous pressure to change.

Addressing the lack of research examining diversity management against a rich backdrop of contextual information, Chapter Four outlines how the longitudinal research was carried out and provides further details on the research settings. The chapter argues that the use of interviews and observations at two points in time over a six-year period captures richness, depth and insights into diversity training, allowing for these to be situated within the context of changes to police work, and is the second key contribution of the thesis. Indeed, no other academic publication to date, to my knowledge, has examined diversity training across time, let alone across a stretch of time during which significant reforms were carried out to a profession. Moreover, gaining access to the police is difficult, rendering the insight of the presented data rather unique.

Chapter Five capitalises on this rich longitudinal data, and presents interview data from diversity practitioners, detailing changes to the political economy of policing, changes to diversity management and changes to diversity training over the six-year period. This chapter provides background to the remaining empirical chapters, and shows that the context in which the interviews were carried out has shifted. Attitudes in Scotland appear to have converged with those south of the border, as terrorism and budget cuts are now a reality in Scotland and perceived similarly by Scots and those in England and Wales. Moreover, police reform has shifted practitioners' focus significantly. Asking practitioners about their current preoccupations reveals a more varied picture of their day-to-day tasks and challenges during data collection in 2013, compared to 2008/9. Practitioners are preoccupied with consolidating hundreds of policies,

assessing them for their equality impact and standardising them to create single policies, all with dwindling resources. The coming into force of the Equality Act has similarly placed a heavy workload on practitioners. Setting equality outcomes and findings ways to accurately track performance against these has been another major challenge. Referring back to the literature introduced in Chapter Two, this presents a major shift away from writing and disseminating policies (Ahmed 2007b). The intensification of data use in recent years is revealed to have multiple roots. In addition to changing legislation and police reforms, as discussed in Chapters One and Two, the interviews reveal that dissatisfaction with a policy- and process-focused approach to diversity has been growing. Finally, diversity training has similarly undergone significant changes. Practitioners report that diversity has been incorporated into mainstream police training, and has become more operationally relevant. Moreover, instead of merely teaching diversity, practitioners now attempt to 'open up' police emotional ecology, and allow outsiders to challenge participants – a particularly interesting insight into contemporary diversity training practices in this particular context., and key finding of the thesis. Overall, while these changes pose significant challenges for diversity practitioners as well as a threat to their job security, they nevertheless appear to have elevated the status and confidence of diversity practitioners over the six-year period.

Chapter Six examines to what extent the emotional ecology of the police, as described in Chapters One and Three, exists within the newly-formed Police Scotland. Longitudinal data from 2008/9 and 2013 suggest that many features of police culture (and its emotional ecology) described in the academic literature are present within Police Scotland, as well as in its previously separate forces, adding to a recent body of claims that police culture is enduring despite cultural, social and political changes (Loftus 2010) and periods of upheaval. Drawing on the notion of spaces and places, the chapter reveals the complex ways in which hierarchy and authority are conveyed, exploring the occupational intricacies of this 'little world' (Banton, 1964, p. xii) of policing.

Nevertheless, the thesis reveals that surfacing emotions during interactions at diversity training reveal that some of the characteristics of police emotional ecology are starting to shift the lines along which hierarchies are drawn, and subtle changes to the expression of masculinity are beginning to affect the emotional ecology of the police. The data suggest that these changes are triggered by changes in the political economy of policing, as illustrated in Chapter One, and presents a particular strength of the thesis. Moreover, the data also suggest that significant changes have been made to diversity training, providing insights into such changes. First, training is now tailored towards the audience, taking into account the trainees' place within the occupational hierarchy. Second, comparing the two data-sets, the content of diversity training has changed significantly, taking into account the particular characteristics of the occupational culture. More significantly, however, the delivery of some diversity training is moving away from an information-based approach to one that attempts to erode certain aspects of the emotional ecology of the police. Interviews and extended observations show that this has had an impact on the professional identities of officers. In addition, in comparing the findings from Chapters Five and Six, it is startling to observe an intensifying trend towards more 'objective' means of capturing and manipulating diversity within organisations, whereas diversity trainers and course creators seem convinced that the problems their courses address, such as racism and sexism, 'cannot simply be countered by appeals to the rational' (Gunaratnam and Lewis 2001, p.131). However, rather than appealing to an 'irrational and unconscious aspect of racial dynamics' (p. 131), as Gunaratnam and Lewis would argue, the findings from this thesis indicate that the training aims to change the emotional ecology of the police. Indeed, the thesis argues that the concept of *emotional ecology* is more insightful than the more common term *occupational culture* since it is able to capture the connections and complex interactions between the emotional aspects of a profession within its environment (as laid out in Chapter One).

Lastly, Chapter Seven is an empirical exploration of key themes from Chapter Five and Six, and aims to provide an explanation for the emotions witnessed in interactions in diversity training courses at all levels through the analytical framework of emotional ecology. Drawing on writings by Goffman (1961, Goffman 1969/1990), Fineman (Fineman 1993c, 2003) and Bolton (1999, Bolton 2005a), the spaces in which these tensions are expressed are placed under scrutiny, revealing training spaces to be complex and important places where emotional ecologies are contested, reinforced, undermined, negotiated and/or altered through the interactions that occur within them. Indeed, many of the examples reveal the underlying emotional ecology of the police, including elements such as machismo and professionalism. Observations further reveal that the ways in which these interactions occur depend not only on the type of space (managed/unmanaged), but also on the place in the organisational hierarchy of the participants and trainers. More importantly, a key finding of the thesis is the observation that diversity training appears to be attempting to change the emotional ecology of the police in a number of ways, and observes a number of ways in which this is being done. First, it provides different ways for officers to 'categorise' their professional world (Strauss 1959/2008). A top-down reshaping of the emotional ecology is occurring through setting new policing principles, placing collaboration, engagement with communities and crime prevention at the heart of policing. In addition, the new code of ethics aims to reconfigure the ways in which officers react in line with these principles. Second, a bottom-up reshaping of the emotional ecology is occurring through providing new categorisations, mainly of language for conventional diversity training for police officers and staff, and through asking senior police officers to simulate and act out a new emotional ecology during immersion training. Thus, observational data from 2008/9 and 2013 indicate that an intensification has occurred on two levels. First, the number of challenges to orthodox police emotional ecology have increased, and the ways in which the existing emotional ecology is interrupted and challenged have also intensified.

The thesis concludes that the collision of these two emotional ecologies in diversity training courses, from either end of the emotional spectrum, is placing significant tensions on officers, who are struggling to reconcile them. Overall, the main contributions of the thesis are as follows: an examination of the impact of sweeping political, social and economic changes on police officers and the identification of the emotional ecology of a profession as a means to analyse and understand these tensions; a unique and contextualised insight into contemporary diversity training courses and the police in general; and an understanding and significance of the emotional ecology of a profession and its role in facilitating and inhibiting change.

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In essence, the contextual and longitudinal approach to examining diversity management taken in this thesis reveals that within the particular context of Police Scotland the emotional ecology of the police remains almost unaffected by political reforms, social pressures, professionalisation and police reforms. Diversity training, on the other hand, reflects changing expectations as a result of these changes to the political economy of policing. Training is increasingly tailored towards its audience, taking into account the trainees' place in the occupational hierarchy. The content of diversity training is similarly changing, taking into account the particular characteristics of the occupational culture. Thus, this thesis provides a unique in-sight into contemporary diversity training practices, hitherto unrecorded and unknown by the academic community. Observations from these rare insights show that the pressures in the environment have resulted in an increasing focus on the quantification and measurement of diversity management, while diversity training is moving away from a relatively standardised and information-based approach to one that attempts to erode certain aspects of the emotional ecology of the police.

These findings run contrary to the notion that diversity management and training are a step-by-step, simple and prescriptive panacea to the organisational woes of racism and sexism (amongst others). Occupational cultures differ, as do their emotional ecologies and the contexts in which they are placed. On a managerial level, the conclusions from this research are clear. While diversity training can be 'packaged' and 'off the shelf', the ways in which diversity training enters an organisation and is received and 'digested' can differ significantly.

Most importantly, the evidence presented in this thesis suggests that diversity training can have a substantial impact on officers' identities by attempting to convince officers to respond to situations and engage with colleagues and members of the public differently from the ways that are prescribed by their professional emotional ecology. In essence, during diversity training, officers, police staff and probationers are given 'mixed messages' and 'mixed expectations' in which two worlds, or rather two identities, collide: the police emotional ecology as it currently is, and the police emotional ecology as it is hoped to be. The examples provided by diversity trainers demonstrate the incommensurability of emotional ecologies, with far-reaching consequences for some young officers. With the emotional ecology of conventional police culture still largely prevalent, colliding with an emotional ecology brought about, or 'pushed through' by diversity training, feeling and display rules are pulling in opposite directions. During the training sessions observed at the second point of data collection (2013), it became clear that the police emotional ecology is being disturbed, with a significant impact upon the professional identity of officers. These tensions may well be limited to training rooms; however, the Simon San apology and the emotional response of Mr House in the face of a national catastrophe, amongst other examples, suggest that the emotional ecology of the police is beginning to change – if slowly. How officers will consolidate these competing sets of categorisations and emotional ecologies, and the impact upon their professional identities in their workplaces in the long run is unclear, and should be examined in further research.

Another significant finding emerging from the thesis is an intensification in the drive to change the existing emotional ecology of the police in Scotland. The longitudinal data suggest that in diversity training delivered in 2008/9, officers are primarily presented mainly with a set of acceptable and unacceptable terms, while by 2013, training had changed to actively encouraging participants to use and engage with a different professional demeanour. As we see in Chapters One and Five, this intensification can be traced back to dramatic changes in the political economy of policing. Moreover, Chapter Five suggests that this intensification can also partly be attributed to increasingly confident diversity professionals. While diversity practitioners appeared timid and like visitors to an alien world during the first point of data collection in 2008/9, they appear confident and assertive during observations in 2013. Moreover, sweeping changes to the political economy support the transformations diversity management attempts to bring about in the police (and its officers), thus aiding diversity practitioners' efforts and confidence as they intensify their endeavours to disrupt the emotional ecology of the police. Indeed, some of the frustrations observed in Chapters Five and Six undoubtedly stem from the fact that practitioners are enjoying more status due to their increasing professionalisation as well as support for their ideas amongst the general public, and are increasingly willing to confront police professionals. Thus, the thesis not only provides glimpses of conflicts of culture, but also conflicts between two professions, which provides yet another avenue for further research.

The starting point for this thesis, however, was not an examination of police occupational culture, but rather diversity management. It soon became apparent that the notion of diversity management and the relevant literature is too restrictive to capture the demands currently placed on the police. While superficially this appears to 'merely' be a demand to be more sensitive to other cultures and other people's needs, it became clear that the demands on the police are indeed far greater. The changing attitudes of new probationers to diversity training captured in the thesis signify that change has occurred on a wider scale, and the changes to the political economy show

just how far reaching these are. As such, the concept of diversity management is not able to capture the vast array and extent of pressure to change, limiting the usefulness of the term diversity management in explaining the demands currently placed on Police Scotland's officers.

In fact, while the rhetoric is 'wrapped up' in diversity, the police are being asked to fundamentally change their attitudes towards the people they police, to engage with communities, and overall, to be reflective in their practices and interactions with the public and each other in a way they have never been asked to do before. With similar demands and pressures currently exerted on and experienced by other professions, such as banking professionals, this enables the transference of the framework of emotional ecologies of professions onto these professionals, and allows for an examination of the impact of these changes by means of examining their occupational culture and its associated emotional ecology. Nevertheless, the professional group selected for the thesis, the police, is a particularly interesting case insofar as it has such a long-established and, until recently, untouched occupational culture.

Lastly, the finding that the political economy of policing is altering the emotional ecology of the police provides an illuminating insight into the processes through which occupational cultures and their emotional ecologies are challenged, and potentially changed. But herein lies the difficulty. Responding to political, legal and social pressures, police culture and its emotional ecology are attempted to be 'opened up'. Expectations are such that we, the public, want the police to be sensitive to our needs and requirements, and to take into consideration our differences. This is also important in maintaining the public legitimacy of the police, and therefore essential to the success of policing by consent. However, we also want the police to respond to emergencies and to maintain a professional demeanour in the face of the significant emotional demands placed upon them. In the words of *Guardian* writer Oliver Burkeman, this is because '[t]he facades they maintain are crucial to their authority, and thus to their legitimacy and continued survival. We

need them to appear ultra-competent, too, because we derive much psychological security from the belief that somewhere […], there are some near-infallible adults in charge' (Burkeman 2014, p.online). Consolidating these competing demands may prove to be difficult, as the evidence provided in the thesis suggests.

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The findings from this research into the importance of occupational contexts draw attention to some of the limitations of this research. The knowledge and insight gained is necessarily situated, and therefore limited to the time, place and people with whom the research is carried out (Gobo and Belton 2008). It is, more crucially, limited to the occupational group of the police within Scotland. While it appears that the emotional ecology of the police is relatively enduring over time and across contexts, evidence within this thesis makes it clear that contextual factors impact strongly on the ways in which diversity training is carried out, at least in this particular instance.

Moreover, the organisational context is shifting very quickly in Scotland. The combination and magnitude of changes to the political economy of policing over the six-year research period appear to have triggered significant changes to the management and training around diversity. It is impossible to predict the speed and direction of change over the coming months and years, as negotiations over further devolved powers take shape following the outcome of the Scottish referendum from September 2014. The discussion on policy-making in Scotland suggests that policy divergence has been limited due to Scotland's belonging to the United Kingdom (and also to the EU), although further devolved powers could indicate a shift in policy direction, and change the expectations of the public sector in general, including Police Scotland.

Lastly, there will always remain the question of interpretation. As alluded to in the discussion on the interpretation of others' emotions (and often our own, as Schachter and Singer's (1962) experiments beautifully demonstrate) , there will always be uncertainty and discrepancies depending on perspective, backgrounds, and so on. As Wetherell argues, it is indeed impossible to know what is 'really' going on, regardless of whether one is a researcher or 'merely' a member of the public (Wetherell 2012), as one can never claim an objective view of a reality of which one is necessarily part. Thus, I do not claim to provide unique access to emotion-laden tensions and conflicts in interactions between participants and/or trainers, but rather report on my own observations of interactions, and their emotional aspects as seen from my perspective. Extended quotes and observational excerpts, however, hopefully provide enough background and detail for each reader to make up their own mind on what occurred in the field. Moreover, a major limitation is my lack of belonging to the police culture, which necessarily limits my understanding, as the quote from a diversity practitioner so clearly illustrates in Chapter Seven. Nevertheless, given the rarity of insights into police culture in combination with a rare account into contemporary police diversity training courses counter these limitations. Moreover, the insights gained into the impact of shifting contexts on the emotional ecology of the police, police officers' identities and diversity management and its practices (Hallsworth 2006, Newman 2012), provide a unique view into the professional struggles of the police and its officers in adapting to new and conflicting demands brought about by the numerous changes to the political economy of policing.

Appendix

Sample Interview: Diversity Practitioners 4, 6 and 8

October 2013

Right. So I think we'll start by just a broad overview of what your current job is, and maybe you could tell me a little about how long you've been doing it, and just a brief description of what it is you do.

DP 6: With me personally? Not us as a group? that's probably one of the changes that's happened, I'm not any longer working in isolation, I'm working within an END team, under the direction of one of the DCCs of Police Scotland, a new organisation. So it's not just me, we're a team…

All right.

DP 6: …of people carrying out for example governance, not just training, as well, it falls under that banner if you like, with DP 4 in charge of us.

DP 4: So when DCC Richardson was appointed as the Deputy Chief Constable, his portfolio has all the kind of disparate pieces, so things like complaints and discipline and equality and diversity and lots of kind of, corporate services, all the kind of bits that, different pieces, equality and diversity is one of his strands, so born out of that was the idea of having a unit that would look after the sort of strategic governance about what was happening across the country, so we kind of, we are called the Coordination Unit, I'm not sure that's quite the right title, it may change, but the reason being we kind of pull together the work that's going on in HR, in training and service delivery, and filter that in so that anything that needs to reach the strategic team does so in the best manner, and equally anything coming in at their level that needs to come down and filter out to the organisation will come through us. We also have responsibility for making sure that the legislative requirements around about equality, outcomes setting and reporting and mainstreaming are fulfilled within the requisite Timescale. So that also sits with us, and obviously training is within that as part of that remit as well. So…

DP 8: I think taking a step back from that, when I was given the staff, I was an instructor in probationer training, and I was also an equality and diversity instructor, and in 2010, DP 6, was it? 2010 we, DP 6, I was seconded onto a project team with a superintendent who was head of leadership and professional development, and I, DP 6 and I worked closely together, and we were asked to look at a national training plan for Scotland for equality and diversity training for the police, and that had several iterations of this, so DP 6 and I were asked to have a look at it, and it appeared that the reason that there had been several attempts at it were that when we actually looked at what was in place, that the reason, it was quite unusual because normally working groups

of that type really try to reinvent the tool and start from scratch, but the reason why it hadn't really come to any fruition was because there really wasn't, in our opinion, there wasn't any requirement for anything additional, but there was requirement for governments round about what was happening, so that morphed into, they set up a board and chair of that board was DCC Steve Allen, then the Deputy Chief Constable of Lothian and Borders, and he took a real interest because he was head of diversity for the Metropolitan Police, so that morphed into that. I then returned, DP 4 then came to join us, I then returned to force and it's continued on from there, and I've just managed to get back into the lifeboat.

DP 6: And then we all worked together for reform, before Police Scotland became an organisation, and we've been plodding away ever since. That all happened on the first of April as you know. So we're still…

DP 4: And I think the important thing to probably mention with reform was that there was a kind of plan, best laid plan, which said you know, what do we think are the important bits to take forward into Police Scotland. So we were kind of chopped up and various people went away and worked on what they thought, you know, diversity would look like in the new world, or what training would look like or what, you know, traffic would look like, so one of the strands was equality and diversity reform, and part of that was about best practice around the country, who did what, what the training could then take forward and learning from the project, just to make sure it was absolutely on the agenda and on the radar for Police Scotland.

And that's what's happened since the first of April?

DP 4: It kind of happened before the first of April, because we were kind of pulled off, you know the [???: 9:00] job to kind of start looking at that from the legacy force position, so that on day one

there would be a kind of, not a plan, that would be way too, far too beyond where we got to, but just making clear the important elements which we felt needed to be incorporated within the Police Scotland design somewhere. But that happened 100 times over, because everyone thinks that what they're working on is the most important bit. I think the thing for equality and diversity is that it goes through everything we do, so a huge bit of work not only deciding what was important for the new force, but how would we try and spread that out amongst changes in at every other area of policing happening on an almost daily and weekly basis, and how do you become the constant, so, you know, the plan is there and it's still unfolding

DP 6: I think it's fair to say that in terms of the training, Mr Allen's vision was, cause he was leading us in that reform team has moved on to other things now, his vision was that everything to do with equality and diversity should go operationally focussed, so people understood, you know, no matter whether you were a police officer or not, the way that we deal with equality and diversity matters, it has an impact on the community that we serve, the people, the public, and also internally as well. And that is very much linked with our values, if you see the posters all around, I don't know if you know about that, the values, so we're still very much trying to make that a strong message of what we do, in terms of equality and diversity must sit within our values, and any training that's helped should reflect that. So it'll be interesting to see what happens when you go to probationer training.

So there's been a drive to mainstream diversity, not to have it as a stand-alone element?

[General agreement]

DP 8: Because even when you go and see the probationer training, see even the time when I was on the staff, there was a change, a physical change to the notes, what happened was that there's

still the, there was still the frontloading diversity, but it's become compressed instead of diluted, so it's now over a shorter period, I think it's two and a half days, but if you read the notes now, at various sections in the notes there are various key messages in relation to equality and diversity, so that when they're talking about anything, it could be in relation to things that people would not have previously associated with having an equalities issue, so for example talking about searching prisoners, at that point we'll speak about transgender and things like that, to reinforce the message as it goes forward.

Yeah, that's very interesting. And you mentioned monitoring and reporting, and what exactly is it that you have to do, what are the requirements?

DP 4: So there was a legislative requirement in terms of the public sector equality duty for us to have produced a set of equality outcomes in April of 2013 which was pretty lousy timing for us as an organisation. We did that, we have a set of equality outcomes which were first laid in the policing plan and then followed up in our mainstreaming report, which basically set out how we as an organisation, bearing in mind that we didn't quite know what the organisation would look like, but how we as an organisation would endeavour to mainstream both the outcomes and the kind of themes of equality and diversity. So that happened in time, and now we have a governance group which has kind of divided up those outcomes into owners, you know, who will need to report on these various bits, and obviously that's quite a challenge in so much as not only are we going to one person but we're in some cases going to 14 people, we have 14 territorial divisions, each will do quite a big bit of this work. In terms of reporting schedules, we have a legislative requirement to report in April next year, it's all very complicated, we'd hoped to use the chief constable's annual plan but the timescales are just wrong in terms of the first time, so we'll due an interim report in 2014, April, and then I think it'll be two-yearly after that, because we can slot into the reporting schedule, it'll fit a bit better. So next year it's the first time that we as an organisation

have to stand up and say this is what we said we would do and this is what we've done towards that. And it's really about progress and showing a journey. In fact I met with the Equality and Human Rights Commission yesterday, and I will quote him, he said that Police Scotland is the most robust organisation out of all 286 public sector organisations in terms of outcome setting and the progress that's been made. And I think we were probably quite surprised by that, just because of the state of flux that we were in. So that was very heartening to hear, so I'm hoping that when we actually pull together physical data to update them that that will still be the case. The difficulty I think that we have is that a lot of the outcomes feature measurables. The difficulty we have is that we're very much still working off the eight or nine disparate systems in terms of IT, so pulling together figures is a difficult challenge for us, because obviously they just, they're not recorded in the same way, we record different things in different forces, and that IT challenge is I think a five year or a ten year plan. So the actual figures, in some ways the qualitative data for us is easier than the quantitative stuff. So it will be a challenge, but we will get there and I think having that updated conversation with them, I'm still quite confident that we will still be in fairly good shape as far as they're concerned.

So would you say this has intensified over the past five, six years, the measurement and recording and maybe tracking progress?

DP 8: I think it depends, I think generally if we look at specific aspects of equality and diversity, the example of hate crime, because hate crime was a priority for the force and remains a priority for the force, we had, within the legacy force of Strathclyde, we had a vulnerable persons database, did you have...

DP 6: Similar, yeah.

DP 8: And this is the difficulty, that we had a vulnerable persons database but other forces would have called it something else, so what we could do is that we could, we could say right OK, if we want to record this we can put it one, crime reports, we can put in our crime recording, kind of, in the witness sections we'll put in what we'd refer to as ghost witnesses, and the ghost witness would be domestic, homophobic, transphobic, any of these things so that we would have a way of recording that within our own organisation. The difficulty, as DP 4 was saying just now, is that we have difficulty in sharing that information.

DP 6: I think it's fair to say that all the legacy forces did have an equality outcome plan [general agreement] and where we're at now is that we have one big one, and I suppose it's fair to say that some forces would have been maybe slightly more enthusiastic than others, but I think in terms of the ECHR, when it became one organisation, they've always looked at us as quite a strong contender in terms of having a good handle on this.

DP 4: I don't think recording or measurement has intensified, I think it's just that we now have a bigger challenge in streamlining that, and it is true that certain forces are far more centred on equality and diversity, and had far more streamlined processes for making sure that things were happening in terms of their own local outcomes. So those forces tend to have developed IT systems to reflect that, and they would want that information. Others were less interested, maybe that's unfair but had less of a developed system, so the challenge will be very much for us, for example, one that I'm taking off the top of my head, if Northern didn't have something that gave us aggregated information by ethnic classification or whatever, that we want to do that now and for forces to provide that, how would we get that, do we just have a gap or do we, you know, so that's really where the sort of scrutiny will lie.

DP 6: [17:41: I6?] will attend to most or all of these things.

DP 4: Yeah, there's a big, going to be a big all singing all dancing IT system which has been given the go ahead for Police Scotland, but it's, I think the timescale is, I was going to say I think it's something like 2017 before the first seeds of that begin to show. But it is absolutely a Rolls Royce model of what we would all love to see, which is, we all work off systems that talk to each other and it will record and it will extrapolate information. Marvellous, but we're probably ten years away from seeing that in its actual best format. At which point I'd like to say that I'll actually be retiring [laughter] but you know, so everyone absolutely understands where we would like to be, but it's just that process of filling in the gap in the short term that's the challenge I think.

DP 8: I think it's fair to say that I think all the legacy forces, so with the, with the evolution of freedom of information requests as well, I think the forces really kind of upped their game, for want of a better expression, as far as they were getting freedom of information requests asking for specific information. And I know that because Mr House was the Chief Constable of Strathclyde and then started to look at what other forces were doing, and looked at, and it was take domestic incidents and domestic violence as an example, we'd look and there would be some of the legacy forces who said we really don't have an issue with that. But when they drilled down into that, perhaps they had more of an issue than they thought, it was just the manner in which they were recording it. And the knock-on for that for some forces, it now looks as though [???: 19:32] is getting far, far more but it's just the way that they're recording it, and it's just to bring it all in line with Mr House's vision for recording.

Has he got a specific mission for recording these things?

DP 8: Mm.

DP 4: We now have across the country a far more, I need to be careful how I say this. We have a far more developed performance framework than most forces have ever previously had. So we are measuring much more about what we do, and we are, targets is probably the wrong word although I'm sure there are people who would disagree with me, but we are being challenged to meet certain key areas of business that is recorded, which never was done before, certainly in legacy in Lothian and Borders we had very little in the way of target and measurement and performance, so these KPIs that have been developed are right across the board and there are some in there for equality and diversity that probably need to be addressed in the future, because I don't think they particularly marry across to what we would like to see if we're going to be measuring it, we might as well measure something important. So you know, I think the vision for him is that it's quite straightforward to see how we perform across these various areas so it's still a bit of a thorny subject and as I say there's still some resistance to that in some areas of the country who just haven't been used to it before. And I think some of that's about communication of that message, that it's not simply about just ticking boxes and reaching, you must do ten a shift or whatever it might be, it's related to, there is a purpose behind it. And E and D is a difficult one, I still think that a lot of it is qualitative, a lot of it's about engagement and it's about talking to people and smoothing a path, and how do you record that and how do you measure that, I'm not sure that you can. So I think in some respects we sit on the periphery of that a little bit, so it'll be interesting to see when we first look at things, presumably April next year, we'll have been in a year.

DP 6: The proposed database might record that sort of information a bit better than has been done before.

DP 4: Yeah, but there's a piece of work ongoing, we're going off on a tangent here so apologies but…

It's very interesting.

DP 4: We might answer some of your other questions at the same time, but part of the project that DP 6 and DP 8 were looking at was about a community engagement database which was really to provide an essential database for external partners and internal partners actually, you had a specific knowledge about maybe a specific protected characteristic or simply where a diversity practitioner and you were writing, and one of our tasks as a unit was taking that nationally. However we've subsequently discovered that Grampian Police had a really quite advanced system, not specifically about community engagement but that could absolutely capture that as well, so there's actually a big bit of work ongoing to see how we take that bit of IT which is restricted to Grampian at the moment, legacy Grampian, and make that available across the country. And it would do exactly that, it would be a list of key people who have a specialism and it might not, it won't be just for equality and diversity but equality and diversity will be in there, and it will allow you to make contact or make contact with the officer who has that relationship, but you can also record, you know, this person was great and had good information about x y and z and it was really useful, or it was rubbish, so that we can build up a sort of database, and it would also record as you say the number of interactions, to allow us to maybe...

To get some evidence.

DP 4: If we need some evidence about qualitative information then that will help, by being, that's an IT challenge.

So a lot of technological problems, the technology lags behind a lot of...?

[General agreement]

DP 6: And we're very much a new organisation still, and not everything is as it will be on the first of April 2014. So...

It's a big change.

DP 6: There's a lot of change, you know, still.

Yeah. So what would you say are your main tasks and preoccupations at the moment?

DP 6: Well, one of the force priorities is to meet the equality and diversity outcomes...

How many are there?

DP 6: There are seven. So that's our high level aim, and then underneath that we have all the other things that we're working on.

DP 4: Yeah, I mean seven outcomes, have you seen the outcomes?

No.

DP 4: They're on public records so we can share that with you and our mainstreaming report, which would give you a direction of travel I suppose. Seven outcomes, five of which are slightly broader sort of service delivery, engagement, things that affect everybody really and six and seven are much more about employment, monitoring and recruitment and retention, things like that, so they very much are in DP 1's world, or under HR. There are, you know, there's training in there

and there's other bits and pieces but they very much are the focus of HR, whereas the other five, you know, are much broader in terms of where we as an organisation would like to go and how we plan to mainstream. But as I say they're a matter of public record so we'll make sure you get those, because I think that'd be useful for you to see. They're fairly simplistic, there's nothing particularly earthshattering within them, partly because as I say because of the time that they were written, but also, they needed to be realistic, they needed to be measurable to a certain extent, so there was a reasons for the way they were developed, but they were developed after a huge amount of consultation, internally and externally, the commission were involved, the government were involved, just to make sure we were there on the right lines, so yeah, so a lot of our work is about making sure that we are fulfilling our bits of those, or that other people are aware that they have a commitment to meet them. So a lot of our work is around about making that happen. We also have a big element of our time is involved in training, we have a specific task at the moment which is about critical incident management, which was born out of Simon San, the death of a gentleman in Edinburgh a couple of years ago, and on the surface of it it was fairly successful because the perpetrators of the murder were caught very quickly. However at the back of that was a whole raft of complaints about how badly we had handled information around his ethnicity, around previous calls, around race hate incidents among the family. I think there were something like 13 complaints in total. So anyway, long story short, critical incident management policy was born in Edinburgh, then became national. It's almost, as you described it, it's almost equality and diversity training hidden within that, as soon as you tell people it's a diversity course they go ohhh [noises of boredom] [general laughter] so it's almost by any other means, or we also use it as a vehicle to train around about the vision and the values and the ethics of the force. So that's a massive programme, it's been ratified by Mr House as compulsory for all superintendents, chief superintendents. So there's a massive rolling programme of running that, it's a two-day course. So a lot of our time as a department is taken up in delivering and developing that. So [???: 27:07]

And is that, what exactly would you cover on the course?

DP 4: The learning outcomes? [laughter] I mean it is, it is an interesting one because we play with the police officers but will also have police staff, sort of that senior level equivalent. we also play with a team of external practitioners who come along, so maybe government or political service or diversity practitioners, we've had all sorts, who come along and just sort of challenge the decisions being made by the police officers around about, well did you think about what the LGBT community might think about that decision, or they'll be oh no, never thought about that. Well why not, because that will affect...so just to get a bit of a debate going around about these subjects, and as I say it's almost equality and diversity training by the back door, and they don't necessarily realise that's what's happening, and at the end of it they're like, you can see a light bulb coming on, usually somewhere at the end of day one, the beginning of day two, they'll go, oh, so I just understood what this was all about. You know, they feed back and they kind of do an anonymous learning tool that we use to capture feedback at the end, so it's incredibly interesting, the amount of information we can get them to take away in two days. So...

So it's about encouraging reflexivity?

DP 4: Yes.

And maybe just contemplating the potential consequences?

DP 4: Absolutely. And a lot of it's around about independent advice and bringing people and learning, and having relationships there in advance that you can call upon somebody and say I think this might be going the wrong way for us, can you give me some, you know, and if it gets

to that point where it has gone horribly wrong, how, who do we bring in to help us mitigate the impact and the consequence on the community and things like that.

DP 6: I think it's about learning lessons as well, because DP 4 mentioned Simon San and the learning that came out of that, and we're encouraging people within this training then to learn lessons from things that have happened to them already, that it's not wrong to get things wrong, but what do you do about it thereafter to make sure it doesn't happen again.

DP 4: And obviously a lot of research on Stephen Lawrence and the enquiry, and Damilola Taylor and we have a lot of these big headline cases, you know, we're kind of examining in quite a bit of detail in a court, a Scottish context almost. So it's been really successful as I say but it's a huge, it's a huge undertaking. And will continue to be so for the foreseeable future [laughter].

DP 8: Just another thing for, and I think the reason the kind of subtlety of, the subtlety of the exercise, DP 4 and I sat down and spent many hours drawing circles and of course writing the actual story line to this, and it is essentially a very, essentially very simple but there are so many layers of complexity within this thing, and that happens so often in day to day policing, and that is where somebody can operationally take their eye off the ball and say well that's just a missing person. And there's somebody's telling me, for example inspector telling me that's OK, then it's probably OK, but there are so many different layers to it, and it's, and even having had spent 18 months back in the kind of operational arena, I've seen, I've seen things where from my perspective and having been so steeped in the world of equality and diversity, if you look at things and think well why, in relation to that enquiry, why have you not done this this this and this, but more importantly, knowing that you had me as a resource within the division, when you found out about this, why didn't you come and ask me? And it is just taking down the barriers and making people

aware of, and know not to be, not to have any fears of quality and diversity, for want of a better word. Because a lot of people do think oh, this is just, this is difficult. But it's not difficult.

But would you say perhaps that it tends to challenge conventional police culture?

DP 8: Well that is the big one.

DP 6: 110%.

DP 8: That is the big one. The problem, what police culture is, I mean police culture is like a huge wheel and it turns very, very slowly, and is effecting a change in police culture, operationally, but you can see…

DP 4: [???: 31:44] has changed, since we started the process in 2000…

DP 8: There is, it's huge, the culture has changed tremendously since then, but to make sure that people actually, without sounding melodramatic about it, to make sure our officers have it in their heart, I suppose, rather than just having it in their head, and that they're doing it because it's the right thing to do, not because as so often has been the case in many organisations, not just the police, that if you don't do this, you're going to get into trouble. And that's the fear attached behind not getting things right, and it's all right for I mean, in very simplistic terms, we would, if we saw somebody, if an officer saw somebody in full highland dress or something they would have no difficulty [???: 32:41] and saying that's absolutely lovely to us, and people would be delighted. But if they saw somebody in, from an ethnic background in national dress, they would, they wouldn't say that's lovely, is this something that you wear every day and that, but the information is that people will be equally as delighted to tell. So it's actually breaking these barriers down, and making sure our officers are actually equipped, and that's a lot of what you'll hopefully see in that training, probationer training.

DP 6: I think from my perspective, I've been involved right from the very beginning, and I mean right from 2000 when I wasn't even a practitioner, still doing a procurement job, albeit here at the college, I'd say that at the moment, probably equality and diversity's never had a higher profile, culture wise and in terms of the organisational structure. Which is very heartening. You just hope that that continues to be the case. Certainly it's something that more people think about rather than saying that's for the professional people to sort out. And they realise that it does impact on their everyday work, and they must, you know, address these issues that come up themselves, instead of being always bypassing, passing it over to, you know, they think we're experts, when really they are too.

Why do you think it's so high on the agenda?

DP 6: Because we have a legislative requirement to meet, and I think there's been a lot of work done in reform, to make sure that we have an organisation that reflects, you know, the values that you see in the posters there. And [???: 34:31].

DP 8: And it's also because it's the right thing to do [general agreement]. That having a very senior officer like DCC Allen, it's, I mean, Mr Allen has said that from his time down south that he would speak and he's a very charismatic speaker, but people would say to him afterwards, say, you know, Steve, that was wonderful, you sounded as though you really meant that [laughter]. And he said that's because there was [???: 34:58] [laughter]. And it is, it's just that...

DP 4: The other thing in more practical terms that has helped, and I'm sure if you go up and down the country they hate it, but is equality impact assessment. Because we rewrote every policy in Scotland, we took all 2024 of them or whatever it was, and morphed them into one record set for Police Scotland, and we're down to something like 600 policies. Every single one of them was EIA'd. It's slightly different now with ECHR and service delivery, but every one of them was

EIA'd. So what that meant is it gave us access to 700 other people who had never been in most cases exposed to that before. Now for them it was probably the last thing on the planet they wanted to do, given [???: 35:43] of having to write the sort of form for removing abandoned cars or whatever it was, but everyone was exposed to that EIA process, and in many cases particularly, you know, obviously in some subject areas, their eyes were opened to the fact that actually this just wasn't another form-filling exercise, but actually we could influence the policy or the document for the better, and they got some real, they were spoon-fed along the way a lot of them, but actually it gave us a platform to reach a whole new audience of people. Usually at that kind of tactical level of maybe sergeants, inspectors who have an opportunity to influence how we do things operationally, and you know, hit them between the eyes with that and say no, this isn't just a nice to do, this is a you will do it, but hopefully what we will show you by the end of the process, it's quite a good thing to have done. So I'd like to think that we've certainly managed that, clearly in the service delivery area where EIAs were a bit haphazard before, HR was much better, just by virtue of what we do. So I think that, I'd like to think that that, albeit a technical bit of work, has actually exposed us to a new audience of people. I'm sure they still cringe when they see us coming, but it's been a good vehicle in many cases. So that's helped as well.

DP 8: I think there's the recognition as we move forward the demographics of our organisation change. So the people that we recruit, like, for example when I said that I've got a 17 year old son, the values that my son has, that he's learned through his education process, and socially and culturally, those are still, those are the same people that we're now recruiting from. So therefore that's moving on and that is changing police culture. A very practical example of that would be that when I joined the police, basically you were allocated a tutor constable and you were basically told to be quiet and keep your ears open…

DP 4: And your mouth shut.

DP 8: And your mouth shut [laughter] and just listen. And you would just do what you were told, and the last thing you would do is challenge, you know. I mean down to very basic things like attending [???: 38:08] things and somebody senior in service would come in and say you're sitting in my seat, you know, just things…

DP 4: Is the tea not made yet? [laughter]

DP 8: However now, now probationary constables will challenge. And I mean I saw it even as an instructor in probationer training, I mean they will challenge things that they just don't think are correct. And that is having an effect on the organisation.

DP 6: Society changes.

DP 8: Yes.

DP 6: And therefore we follow.

DP 8: And we have a far, far broader, I mean kind of the LGBT community as well, we often ask the question would it be, if you were an openly gay officer, would it be a safe place to be openly gay in the organisation? Now ten, 15 years ago, 20 years ago the answer would have been no, people would not have been comfortable. But now, it wouldn't, it's often no issue. And in PTD, students would like on day one sort of come out to their classmates and things like that, whereas before they wouldn't have done so.

So do you think there are any particular challenges of doing diversity work within a police context, or do you think it's like any other context, given that, or assuming that as you said that police culture has changed?

DP 4: I still think that the challenge is actually, it's a positive thing, we have a new breed of people. We still have a very hierarchical structure. and what we tend to have, I'm making this generalisation here, but those people in that service bracket of 25 plus years, are still very much, and again I will say again, very general...nah, that, I don't like that, and that's not happening, and I'm the inspector, I'm the sergeant and that is how it will be. So we have almost this kind of butting of heads of kind of the new wave of people who absolutely are embracing and inclusive, but we still have an element of oh, no, no, no, that's not, that's not happening on my watch kind of thing. And there still are the sort of homophobic, and I'm sure every organisation has that, but I think in an organisation with such a strict hierarchy that still presents a problem to us. And that's something that only I think time will change, I'm not sure I could ever influence the dyed in the wool, you know...

DP 8: No. And that hierarchical structure is not just from the senior officer element, but from the people who have got a lot of service who are still working operationally, and are exposed to new recruits. But there's also, and it's actually strange that there's actually a very, I mean it's different, when I joined the police and you were interviewed and they said why'd, if you didn't say it's the job I have always wanted to do, I can't imagine ever doing anything else, people would have thought that there was something missing from that interview. Whereas now you have students who start who are very open about the fact well, what I'll do is I'll do this for, I've got a five year plan, but if after two years or that I decide this is not for me, then, it's a very brave thing for them to do. It's difficult for us as an organisation having invested so much time and effort in training

them, but that's culturally it's a totally different organisation culturally from when I joined 20 years ago, that's for sure.

DP 4: I think [???: 42:00] in diversity in particular is that element of training. Cause you come in and you get a lovely package as a probationer, you might get something on your, they still do a confirmation course at the end of two years, do they not do that any more?

DP 8: They do.

DP 4: Or maybe, anyway. But you kind of get frontloaded with lots of training as a probationer. If you get promoted you probably come back and do your first line manager's course at some point, and you might get a little bit more, similarly if you come to inspector. If however you don't, or if you get promoted very quickly and then lag, you get nothing else. There's nothing else happens unless, you know, we've kind of done that week of everybody will do a diversity course, but that was a long time ago, so we have this massive organisation and I know that there are plans afoot to try and address it but there'll be people I guarantee who have 15 years of service who have not heard about diversity in a training context since they joined. And I think that's a massive risk, if you think about the changes in diversity kind of practice and legislation and everything in 15 years, they're huge. These people will know nothing about them, they will have had no exposure to that and that's a massive challenge and a massive risk for us as an organisation, particularly when people go into acting sergeant roles, or inspector roles who simply haven't had any current thinking, and yet they're being asked to make decisions around about these things. So that's a huge, an element of risk for us as an organisation.

DP 6: Then again, the organisation has to make a commitment to resource that, which is hugely expensive.

DP 4: Absolutely.

DP 6: And that's why the mainstreaming aspect, in some ways I think it's a, it isn't as powerful because it won't address everybody's requirements and it won't, you know, unless you get someone in a room and on a seat to listen, some people will bypass that information. I think that now more than at any time we're trying to make sure that people understand that equality and diversity matters are part of their job, no matter what it is they do, and how they behave is important, whether the training course gets an update or not. But I think you're right, it's a risk and something that we need to address how we do it is a bit more challenging and I don't think we'll maybe get the money to get people all through again like that.

DP 4: No.

DP 6: But maybe we need to be a bit clever about how we do it.

DP 4: I think the plan is to look at role specific training, so people will be [???: 44:23] things like family liaison officers or CID officers who actually physically will be out there working in communities and making decisions, you know, so think the way forward is probably to, kind of start it again and reform kind of skewed things a bit. But you know, this sort of idea of role specific training, to make sure that if we can't give everybody in the country a course, we target key people.

DP 8: I mean it's, one part of the work that we did during reform time is that police are very good at saying right, OK, if we want to, let's say we want to do something, the example we can use is say gypsy and traveller. Let's say that we want, somebody said your unitary authority have allocated this piece of land and it's going to become a sort of transit site for gypsies and travellers.

What we now need is we need, you need to come up with some role specific training for your officers, so that they can engage with the gypsy and traveller community, without offending and without fear, so therefore so what do we want to do. So we say OK, what we'll do it'll be headed up by Inspector McAdam, he'll get a sergeant and four constables and three members of support staff, and we'll put a working party together and we'll come up with a training programme and all this kind of stuff. When all in fact you need to do is pick up the phone to Tayside who already have let's say it can be a behaviour training programme for gypsies and travellers. But there's no point training everybody in the country in relation to specific things, but I mean CID's a good, and this is where Mr Allen has also spoken about equality and diversity, the reference, the policing reference to equality and diversity being about locking up bad people, because if you had any people who worked in say the sex industry, and there were three people seriously assaulted over the course of two weeks, you would get every single resource that was required to engage with sex workers and use outside partners to help with that engagement process, because we need to engage people as witnesses to solve this very serious crime. So therefore when there is a pressing operational need, we can do it [general agreement] but it's getting the balance that we actually need to have that established relationship already, so that when we do have that, we've got the values, we've got the trust of the community etcetera because there, historically as a force we've been quite good at eliminating or exterminating people's witnesses by, by the way that we've treated them unwittingly. But once you've done that once and you know, I don't think you can use the defence of unwittingly doing something again when they've already known. So it's just changing that whole culture of it.

Mm. Maybe more of a focus on preventing.

DP 8: Yeah, absolutely, absolutely. Because we do it and it's another step forward that I've seen which is a huge change is that I don't know if you've got any information about this but I was told

the other day that the police have specific competency based, at interviews for various specific posts and competency based interviews for promoted posts, so panels are all competency based, forms are all competency based and the first competency is always equality and diversity. And people would put down what they thought equality and diversity examples were, and they were completely and utterly nonsensical, some of them, and I mean DP 6 and I would have visitations from people who'd say I've got this and I want to do this, what could I put in, and people would come in and say well my leadership examples is such and such, say well that leadership example is actually a fabulous equality and diversity example. But now they're going to actually remove diversity as a competence in the same way they've removed communication as a competence, because it should be something that is ongoing in everything we do…

DP 6: In all the examples.

DP 8: Is mainstreamed in everything that we do. And is that golden thread, OK, that is woven through everything. So they're actually going to remove that.

So that's going to happen in the near future?

DP 8: Have you heard that?

DP 4: Yeah, well again, we're working on the policy for both the promotion and appraisal and all these sorts of things, so that's all happening just now, so there'll be a consultation done around that. But certainly that's what I've heard.

DP 8: But I mean there are [???: 49:23], it is heartening to hear that the police are robust in relation to this, because my experience of other organisations, like the health service and the sort of, the

health service, the fire service, is that we are streets ahead as far as E and D, and the way that we view E and D in our organisation as opposed to other organisations. And I suppose it's reflected in the general public. I actually [???: 49:52] an application for the police from a recruit and it wasn't, it wasn't from an 18 year old that was applying, it was somebody in their mid-20s who was applying, and it was, they actually had to change the wording of giving diversity or equality examples, and they changed it to respect for lifestyles, because people weren't getting it, and asked somebody to give an example of it, and this person, bearing in mind this was an adult who wanted to join the police, had said that they were, they said respect for lifestyle, my, one of my friends is a vegetarian, and I've invited them over for dinner [laughter]. I am not a vegetarian so I had to adapt, for starters we had, and he listed this, and then he said and for pudding, banana split, yum yum [laughter]. OK, this is what an adult wrote on an application to the police. And that was their diversity example. But again we have police officers, I've seen police officers that have said well, I'm a community police officer and while I'm on my beat I visited the local mosque, the local synagogue, the Church of Scotland and the local roman catholic church. I'm all right with diversity [laughter]. It's like no, you're kind of missing the mark, you know.

Well to be fair I am usually called the dodgy veggie [laughter], there's not a lot of respect for my lifestyle among my friends. All right. do you think there have been, have you observed changes to policing as a result of for example the merger or the maybe increased professionalisation, you mentioned the performance framework, but was that political changes in Scotland, or professionalisation of the police?

DP 4: That's a big question.

It is [laughter] essentially these ones here.

DP 4: I think what we observe, and we're in a bubble, or certainly DP 6 and I, I know that you've just returned, but we're very much protected and I think it would depend on where you are in the organisation, where you feel that impact most. I think probably and you'll be maybe better, the information that's feeding back to us from teams on the ground doing the shift work, doing the 9 till 5 or the 24/7 out on the street, is probably that they haven't noticed an incredible difference in terms of structure. Maybe their divisional letter's changed and their line manger's changed but essentially the day to day work of policing has not altered, and yes they might need to do some things slightly differently or the process may have changed, but in a sweeping way, not so much probably. What you probably find is that people in that headquarters function where a lot of the things have been streamlined and lots of people are being stripped out into operational jobs, they probably feel it most because they are physically affected either by the fact they personally have had to move or somebody they work with and did half the work has gone, so they probably feel it. And again then those closest to the executive will feel it most. So I think in terms of the merger, absolutely, processes, IT systems, that's all unimportant really at the end of the day. I think the culture thing is a big thing, you know, bringing together eight very different cultures, and then there's always been that east west split in terms of everything, and particularly policing, you know, that's been a huge thing for people. But again probably not on the ground, your PCs and sergeants probably couldn't care less, you know.

DP 8: It's been, I mean I've just come back, was an operational inspector, and on the ground it's just like, it's just exactly the same, but the police, the police cars don't say Strathclyde Police on them any more. The uniform just says police, it doesn't say, the badges say Police Scotland. but as far as actually doing the job was concerned, but it's the performance culture that DP 4 spoke on, it's the, at the kind of chief inspector, inspector level, it's the translation of that performance culture to operational effectiveness. But essentially to turn that on its head, if you have officers who are very capable police officers, which the vast majority of them are, they know within the

areas and take pride within the areas in which they work, so they know when they come out of the police office in their car and they get to the traffic lights, if they're not going to call, they know whether they're turning right or turning left, because they know where their default patrol areas are going to be and where are going to be the areas of greater concern. So therefore the stop and search activity you will achieve that anyway because you will be stopping the right people in the right places at the right time because of their experience as a police officer. So it's kind of business as usual for that, and that's, my former divisional commander said that in his latest newsletter, he said we're six months down the road in Police Scotland, it's business as usual and on the street you wouldn't have noticed any difference, and the public wouldn't have noticed particularly, except it's a different number that maybe they phone to get the police.

DP 4: And I think that's the same with the political changes, for the vast majority of people it makes no odds whatsoever, because, and I know the exec have a different relationship and the Scottish Government got very involved and we have lots of involvement with them because they're very interested in what's happening. But beyond that, it doesn't make any difference, no impact.

So it's more further up the hierarchy you get the more, you feel the impact?

DP 4: Definitely. I think in terms of the professionalisation of the police, I've just written down another document to let you see, it's our code of ethics which very much sits within the work that was done in division of values at the new service, complete with the values of integrity, fairness and respect. I think that we're not there yet, not everybody has had that imprint, not everybody has got that message, but we're on a, we're in a process of making sure that as many people as possible get that message, if not face to face then via email, a presentation by the person who actually wrote the code of ethics in the first place, that everybody gets the message that we're all

here and we all must operate and behave within a code of ethics and according to our values. And I think that's not something that's going to happen six months down the line just get, but I do think it will happen eventually, if people take it seriously and in the way that it's meant, it will change the professionalism of the police. Well we hope so anyway, that's an aim, rather than something that's already happened.

Yeah, I find the stakeholder, the equality and diversity stakeholder conference quite interesting in that respect.

DP 4: Yeah. And I mean Richie who spoke there, it's quite a big, an uphill challenge to kind of spread that word to everybody and yeah, I suppose it's that horrible phrase which again is used far too often at the moment, it's that polity to pavement idea, you know, he's written a really nice document about ethics and a lovely code of conduct and stuff, but actually we need to make sure that that extrapolates down to what happens on the ground, and that's the challenge.

DP 8: And Mr House is absolutely committed to that, that effectively if it's not when you're out on a cold December night at 3.00 in the morning and get a call to go and deal with something, if the policy's not going to help that officer at 3.00 in the morning, it's not worth looking at. And it's really, he's very very keen on all kind of, like almost all promotions now, people will return to an operational role, as opposed to, he's very up on operational...

Mm. And have these changes affected your work in terms of diversity and equality in any way?

DP 4: I think only because we've been given a mandate by the new service to do this work. You know, this idea of a central, national team never existed before, so for us, form, our point of view,

in the past there would have been safer communities departments and each of the legacy forces and they would have worked away in silos doing their own thing, so for us as an organisation to have a sort of central team working alongside Gavin again who spoke that day and to have this kind of overarching governance piece that actually says we should be doing this as well in Orkney as we do it in Selkirk or wherever it might be, that's refreshing and it's not easy and we're not there yet, but to have that kind of guiding light that says absolutely we should be doing this as a country, it is brand new, and so for us...

DP 6: I think at the risk of being, you know [laughter], it's like a dream come true for me, being involved in this right from the very beginning, I could see a way to mainstream equality and diversity and to get everybody to take it as seriously as it needs to be taken, and to understand it a bit better was to have the work done nationally. And I think it's one of the pieces of work that does sit very well on a national context and works well, rather than everybody doing their own thing. Which wasn't, you know, wasn't a bad thing, but this way we get to influence I think more people with the same message consistently, and hopefully we'll keep doing that as we go forward, which will improve things for everybody.

DP 4: And there is still that local delivery, you know, people in Edinburgh still speak to [???: 59:54] and still speak to the interface and the same will be happening in Glasgow and Aberdeen, however there's just that, you know, central point of, at a strategic level that we should be doing that, so it's now we've almost added in this extra layer of protection to make sure that it's happening. So for us it's brand new but it is heartening I think that it's been given that impetus behind it from the executive.

And how is, in what ways has the Equality Act impacted on your work, you mentioned that earlier, just having more measures and tracking [???: 60:40].

DP 4: Yeah. I mean I think a lot of it we probably did anyway, you know, a lot of the commitments in there were happening in one way shape or form previously, so in fact what it's done is it's simply made sure that we had a framework to kind of pull that together, so again when we wrote the mainstreaming report which had equality outcomes and talked about how we treat people and all the things that the act requires, actually it became clear quite quickly that a lot of this was happening and we just needed to get a handle on how we did it nationally and bringing together that best practice. So yes, there is obviously an impact in that it's a lot more formalised now and there's a reporting structure and all the rest of it, but actually I think in the cold light of day we probably did a lot of it anyway.

DP 8: That's probably why it's so robust.

DP 4: Possibly.

DP 8: Because it was part of our practices anyway.

DP 4: Yeah. And…

Do you think that goes back to the Stephen Lawrence enquiry, the reason why all the legacy forces had such…?

DP 8: So many, I think Stephen Lawrence was the starting point for it but we're a long way from Stephen Lawrence, and I think that that's something that we have to remember, that we've moved on from, we've moved on from Stephen Lawrence, there's been a huge amount of learning from Stephen Lawrence, but there have been so many other things that happened along the way, and

it's just to make sure that, we went from Stephen Lawrence to Simon San [general agreement] and that was a huge gap and then you suddenly think well why are we not so much better now, but it's just that we, we continue, we continue to improve. But we're not satisfied, we're not satisfied and we also cannot move, and I'm not suggesting for a moment, Stephen Lawrence was a totally tragic case and the way that it was handled, I mean it beggars belief when you look at it, and I like to think that that would never happen now, but yeah. I mean we continue to learn.

DP 4: Yeah. And I think the critical incident management exercise is part of that, it's showing the journey, we're also moving from. Because I think that Simon San and Waymark [???: 61:59], is that something you've seen, operation Waymark? That was the report, the executive report about the findings of the complaints about Simon San and again I think it's a matter of public record so I could certainly get you the, the executive summary's probably more than enough to be getting on with because it runs to a great number of pages, but it would give you the flavour of a) what the complaints were and b) which ones were upheld and what we've done about it since. So in some respects I think that Simon San and Waymark was a real slap in the face, because I think we thought we were further on than that, but they still continue to creep out of the woodwork locally, things happen and I think the other thing that the national arena give us the opportunity to do is that if something happens in Glasgow that is really awful or goes horribly wrong, that people in Aberdeen hear about it and learn from it, whereas before it probably would have been quite tight, and somebody else probably would have investigated from another force, but actually you're probably not going to admit that too loudly. Whereas now the organisational learning is there but it's for the whole country, and what it takes is some brave people to say do you know what, we were absolutely wrong, we really got that badly wrong, but this is what we've learned and to share that nationally. So I think for us that's a really positive thing.

That's good to hear. Yeah, the last question again is within the policing context whether there have been any problems with introducing those bureaucratic processes like the monitoring or the reporting and the tracking within the policing context?

[64:30: all talking at once]

DP 4: We've always done it, this is just a new set of measurements that just need to be extrapolated to, so I don't think that in itself is, [???: 64:41]. And it won't affect really how we go about daily business., you know, some poor analyst somewhere will have a hell of a job pulling it, but the information will be there and it won't change how we do business.

DP 8: And there's been progressing the IT.

DP 4: Yeah.

DP 8: And we have systems that can actually speak to each other, although we have some that don't, systems that universally speak to each other, it's progressing that. The information's there, it's just how we extrapolate that information.

DP 4: And actually I think for us it's actually quite a positive thing, because I have a real thing about being able to show the direction of travel and the improvement, we have a debate ongoing at the moment about a staff survey. We know it's going to be horrible, we know that there's great unrest out there. But if we don't know where we're at, how do we know where we are in five years' time, you know. So it's the same sort of thing. So I mean for example we've got a bit of work going on at the moment about underrepresentation in the workplace, particularly females and ethnic minority staff and things like that. We can show, vastly speaking across the country, we can show

real progress in that area, and it's brilliant, it's great to see. So actually for us it's actually a positive thing, to see well, I'd like to see a downward trajectory in some of these things and an upwards trajectory in the others, so I think for us it's a positive thing and hopefully, from the perspective of our unit and our department to chip away at it, to almost put a number on mainstreaming, and if we can do that and say well actually we've done it, we've influenced x y or z, it'd be a very positive thing for us because it's very difficult to capture that at the moment. So I'm sure it'll give somebody somewhere a headache but [laughter] I think it's not a bad idea.

I just wanted to ask a few more questions about the critical incident course. Would you say that this is almost like a new type of diversity training course without it being called diversity training?

DP 6: I wouldn't say it's that exactly, I think it has elements of equality and diversity threaded through it but not in the way that we traditionally did it. It has modernised and it is a different way of looking at it, because of the code of ethics and the vision and values work that's been done. So I wouldn't…

DP 4: See I think it possibly is but I think what it does, it pulls it together that area of equality and diversity as an operational necessity, and ethics and values based decision-making as an operational necessity. So whilst it's not badged up as such, I actually think that it probably is and I think probably if we did more quality and diversity training like this we would get on a hell of a lot better. Because they don't necessarily realise as I say until the light bulb goes on that actually that's what's happened, we've introduced them to some fairly unusual concepts about having somebody come in at the start of a horrible investigation and criticise you.

DP 6: I think it's much more focused on the impact on the community and the victim and the family than previously, and the way that we delivered divisional training in the beginning and possibly still do in some regards is speak about things like prejudice and discrimination and how that manifests itself and each of the different protected characteristics. But this is much more subtle and focused on what people do day in day out, especially at that strategic level. And I think that they wouldn't, they wouldn't benefit so much from the lower level of diversity training as they do from this, you know, because they see this training course as about the nuts and bolts of what they're expected to do, whatever their role is whether they're a detective or a divisional commander or whatever they're called now. And it's not until as DP 4 says on Day Two they realise this is more about diversity than I thought it was going to be but I've liked it anyway, and it's given it a good, a positive spin I think rather than a negative spin which it's had in the past, because people think that maybe know all there is to know about it, but actually they find that on these two days maybe they didn't.

Makes it a bit more operationally relevant [general agreement], more concrete rather than abstract.

DP 8: That's right.

DP 4: And I genuinely think that the big element of this, and when this was first floated I thought ooh, which was about bringing in external people to criticise you, essentially, not always criticise, but you know, to challenge you. And you can see the uncomfortableness in the room from the minute the officers walk in, and we're talking fairly senior people, and as soon as they realise that facing them across the room are six or seven people who have nothing to do with the police, they're incredibly uncomfortable with that, it's just not the done thing, what happened there? So actually for me almost that instantaneous thing, wow, it's hugely powerful, and then as the days unfold and

there's maybe an LEA advisor or an independent advisory group person there or we've had a member of the National Trans Police Association, we've had all sorts of people there, and the minute they start to challenge, but then they realise it's in a safe environment, all this sort of stuff, they get such a lot out of that, and I like to think would maybe go away with the notion that actually maybe having one of these people on speed dial would not be a bad idea, so...

DP 6: I'll send you some background to how we got to delivery if you like.

That would be great.

DP 6: Which was started in April and we're just about to deliver number eight of this year, I'll send you some background about how we got to that point and how actually it's played out, how the police scenario has played out and the vehicle that we use which is a [???: 70:32] immersive tool so I'll send you some information on that.

That would be very interesting, yeah. I can see that there's kind of a natural evolution of diversity training.

DP 4: Yeah. I mean it might be interesting, one of the times we've run the event and we run it here, even if you want to come up and spend an hour with us, because it's all electronically based and we can spy on everybody as they play and we sit in the control room [laughter] so it would maybe be interesting to come up and watch from that vantage point. and what you can do is you can look in on the syndicates as they play individually, but we can also listen into the plenary session and the discussion that goes on there, and it means that we can do it without having to kind of introduce you and this is why you're here, but you can come and maybe watch from afar for a little while, it might be interesting for you to see how that goes.

When is the next course?

DP 4: We've got two running very quickly back to back in December, the beginning of December, second and third, ninth and tenth. And then we're into next year, we've got one a month.

DP 6: And you wouldn't need to be there at 8.00 Kerstin! [laughter]

DP 4: It wouldn't matter what time of day you came at. But I'll include that with all the information I send you.

That'd be fantastic.

DP 4: And if you want to do that we'll make arrangements to scoop you up at the [???: 71:46] end and bring you up and have a watch. I think it'll put what we've been trying to describe to you into context for you.

Yeah, yeah, it's a bit difficult for me to envisage exactly what you do.

DP 4: Yeah, I think that'll help.

DP 8: It's fabulous.

It sounds like good fun [laughter]. Well thank you so much for your time.

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