

Discrimination, relating to length of service, within the contemporary police service

By Rosie Lambert¹

Abstract

The research aimed to investigate the presence, extent and effects of discrimination related to length of service within the police service. This is an under-researched area so literature relating to other areas of discrimination within the police service was considered. This aided comprehension of any common effects of discrimination, which may be similar to those experienced by officers if discrimination related to length of service is present.

Primary research was conducted by issuing a questionnaire which gathered the opinions of officers in relation to several areas. The areas investigated include; recruitment, treatment by, and relationships with, other officers. Snowball sampling enabled a positive response rate of almost forty officers of varying ranks. However, this method did not allow the researcher to have control over the sample. All participants described their ethnicity as White British, so other ethnicities were unrepresented.

Secondary findings suggested that length of service related discrimination is a problem in many organisations. Research showed that discrimination can have many negative effects on officers, such as reduced life and job satisfaction, stress and social withdrawal. This highlighted the need to investigate whether this discrimination is present in the contemporary police service, as officers may be significantly affected.

Primary research findings revealed several areas, such a promotion and recruitment, in which officers' believed discrimination to exist. Whilst the research focus was on length of service, it was important to consider these areas.

Findings showed that significant numbers of officers believed there was inequality in treatment of officers with different lengths of service, and that longer serving officers receive more positive treatment from senior officers. Statistics suggested that length of service discrimination is a real problem within the police service, greatly affecting happiness and experiences, requiring further researched in order to be addressed.

Some longer serving officers were found to act negatively toward newer officers both verbally and physically. Whilst theories provided possible explanations for this, further research would be necessary to gain full comprehension. A minority of officers had conflicting beliefs and suggested that no discrimination exists within the police service.

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Introduction

Discrimination within the police service has been a much investigated area. However, research has tended to focus on aspects such as race and gender, with almost no attention given to length of service.

This research aimed to investigate whether length of service related discrimination exists within the police service, and its extent and effects. Research objectives were met through conducting primary and secondary research.

Primary research consisted of a questionnaire and was completed by almost forty officers from three forces and of varying ranks. The quantitative and qualitative data gained enabled a thorough analysis to be conducted into the specified area of interest.

Secondary research was conducted through exploration of research publications. Although little published research has specifically related to length of service, research into other areas provided an insight into the presence, extent and effects of discrimination in other aspects of the police service. The findings of such research increased understanding of the effects that discrimination can have, and ways in which it can be exerted. This assisted greatly when conducting the original research.

Chapter one considers secondary research findings, and explores the presence and effects of different forms of discrimination within the police service. This aided understanding of the consequences of discrimination, in general terms.

Chapter two examines the methodological approaches used during the research. As official access to the police service was denied, snowball sampling was used to generate a reasonable sample of participants for the questionnaire. The questionnaire aimed to investigate the presence of length of service related discrimination through exploration of officers' opinions and experiences. Explanations for the use of the chosen methods are given, along with their strengths and limitations. The questionnaire generated qualitative and quantitative data. The chosen analysis methods are discussed and alternatives considered.

The chapter considers the suitability of using secondary research, together with associated strengths and limitations. The availability and variety of resources that were used are discussed, along with the potential for publication bias to occur.

Chapter three uses text, charts and tables to explore the results from the final questionnaire. Thirty nine officers completed and returned the questionnaire, giving a positive response rate. Results are broken down into key areas such as relationships, recruitment, treatment and respect. Gender separations are made for results that showed significant gender differences.

The fourth chapter discusses key trends identified from the results. Qualitative and quantitative results were used alongside one another to consider and explore contrasting opinions. Theoretical explanations for the presence of discrimination are considered, and the strengths and weaknesses of such explanations are explored. Policies and initiatives are examined, identifying ways in which results suggested they diverge from practice.

The final chapter summarises key findings. The positive aspects of this research are discussed and problems encountered are acknowledged. Recommendations are made about ways in which the research could be further developed. Possible amendments that could be made within the police service to reduce length of service related discrimination are also considered.

Word count: 491

Literature Review

Whilst there is an abundance of research centring upon discrimination in the police service (Banton, 1996; Silvestri 2003; Garner, 2005) this tends to focus on factors such as age, gender and race. There appears to be a gap in research specifically relating to discrimination regarding length of service. Therefore, it was important to consider other areas in which discrimination has been found to exist. This was relevant as it can aid comprehension of the effects of discrimination, which are likely to be similar to any effects of length of service related discrimination. Consideration was given to ways in which discrimination may have been created or encouraged, thus helping to explore potential means of reduction.

Before reviewing literature, it is necessary to understand what is meant by the term 'discrimination'. Banyard and Grayson (2000:145) define it as "the behavioural expression of prejudice" either towards an individual or a group. Banton (1996:52) argued that discrimination can have the "effect of nullifying or impairing equalityt." Discrimination within the police service is a broad area, and it must be remembered that length of service is just one of many areas that could be researched.

i. Length of service related discrimination

Whilst conducting this research, only three pieces of research were found which specifically related to length of service discrimination in the police service. Alder (1990, cited in Brown, 1998) discovered that length of service can be indirectly discriminatory toward employees. He explained that, because of this, New York police departments disregard seniority as a criterion for promotion.

This supported the work of Abraham and Medoff (1985), who considered the importance of length of service in promotional decisions in union and non-union work groups. They examined personnel records from two companies along with almost four hundred surveys from employers. They found that "senior employees are offered substantial preference in advancement" (p.11). Seventy six percent of union employees and fifty six percent of non-union employees received substantial preference during promotion.

The methodology can be criticised, as participants may not have fully understood promotional processes, or may have given the answers that they believed were desired. Despite this, findings suggest that length of service related discrimination is present in multiple organisations. It is suggested that that length of service can lead to individuals being discriminated against, and unfair promotion. It is therefore important to investigate whether this type of discrimination is present within the contemporary police service.

Deschamps et al (2003) conducted a study which found that officers of five years or more service, aged over thirty and had no hobbies, were more likely to report suffering from occupational stress and discrimination. This suggests that length of service may lead to discrimination. However, the types of discrimination reported by such officers remains unknown, and explanations are not considered. There did not appear to be any research

relating to 'rookies' or probationers, and the gap in literature appeared to stretch to other organisations.

ii. Age discrimination

In wider criminological literature, research has suggested that age discrimination has been present in the police service. Redman and Snape (2006) defined age discrimination as;

“a form of unequal treatment involving decisions that directly affect the employment status...or their treatment in relation to their terms and conditions of employment” (p.167-8).

Like length of service, this remains an under-researched area. It is important to consider the circumstances and effects of this discrimination, as they may be similar to any effects of length of service related discrimination.

Redman and Snape investigated the consequences of perceived age discrimination, alongside the effects of social support. They issued a questionnaire to over one thousand officers, aged nineteen to fifty seven, from which fewer than four hundred responded. Most participants were constables (seventy three percent) and the rest sergeants, inspectors or chief inspectors. The longest serving officer had served for thirty three years and the shortest six months. The researchers measured dependent variables including job satisfaction, life satisfaction and prestige of the job. Perceived age discrimination was “measured as the extent to which respondents had experienced discrimination generally” (p.172).

Findings suggested that age discrimination had negative consequences regarding the stated dependent variables, and individuals were found to withdraw themselves from their job and social life. Although no direct job involvements were apparent, perceived age discrimination was found to act as a stressor and have psychological consequences. Work based social support was found to positively affect satisfaction and prevent the individual from socially withdrawing. It was important to consider this research when conducting primary research, as the findings highlight the importance of officers being able to access support to help them with any negative emotions and experiences. If officers suffer from length of service related discrimination, support networks may positively help and improve the reporting of such discrimination.

Whilst the sample was representative of the force from which it was taken, the studies validity can be questioned. Results cannot instantly be applied to officers of other ranks and areas, as external factors may have contributed to the findings. The individuals who did not respond may have experienced more discrimination than those who participated, thus creating sample bias.

The findings offer support for Hassell and Perrewe (1993:168, cited in Redman and Snape, 2006), who believed that age discrimination can have negative effects on job

satisfaction, life satisfaction, perceived power and job involvement. They concluded that discrimination can cause individuals to withdraw themselves from society.

Whilst the above researchers drew conclusions regarding perceived age discrimination, they did not offer any information about who the discrimination tends to be directed toward. Individual differences and the different effects of discrimination were not accounted for.

In recent years age discrimination has been made unlawful by the Employment Equality (Age) Regulations of 2006. The regulations made it unlawful for employees to be discriminated against on the basis of age. Unlike in the United States of America, the UK regulations apply to all age groups (Directgov, 2008). Whilst the legislation aims to reduce discrimination, it needs to be considered that unfair treatment may be conducted covertly following its implementation. In some circumstances it may be unclear whether discrimination occurred because of age or length of service, as newer officers are likely to be younger than longer serving officers.

iii. Police culture

When investigating discrimination within the police service it is necessary to consider the police culture, and ways in which the culture could serve to discriminate against an individual or group of people. Aspects within the police culture may 'encourage' or create discriminatory practices. It was important to know of any such factors before conducting this primary research.

Prokos and Padavic (2002) used an observational method to investigate how a 'hidden curriculum' in the police service encourages and promotes masculinity amongst new recruits in a law enforcement academy. They argued that;

“male students developed a form of masculinity that (1) excluded women students and exaggerated differences between them and men; and (2) denigrated women in general (p.439).”

Prokos and Padavic argued that this was the result of watching, learning from, and interacting with other members of the group. They argued that masculinity is a social construction that could be avoided if officers were not encouraged to adopt masculine personalities. Hunt (1990, cited in Prokos and Padavic, 2002) argued that stereotypical and mythological images relating to the police culture increased the levels of masculinity within the organisation. He explained that some individuals view policing as a dangerous, action filled, and crime fighting occupation. These factors are generally associated with males whereas, in reality, police work encompasses 'feminine' labeled work such as paperwork. Silvestri (2003:33) offered support for Hunt, and explained that the construction of gendered symbols and meanings leads to males being associated with "action and danger" and females with "administration and emotion". Silvestri argued that this has serious implications for promotions, with male and female officers deemed suitable for different roles. For example, females with domestic violence and males with firearms.

Hunt found that officers who adopted high levels of typical masculine behaviours were likely to act negatively towards those who did not adopt such attributes. This suggests the presence of an in-group, which may feel superior to an out-group of less typically masculine officers. Police culture may also encourage or create other traits, which could result in discrimination against officers with shorter service.

Garner (2005) believed that initial training can affect police culture by shaping officers' attitudes. He argued that police agencies and training departments should create positive attitudes and associations through positive training experiences. He believed this would lead to officers holding positive attitudes, thus lowering levels of officer-officer discrimination.

When investigating length of service related discrimination, it is important to consider whether police culture has played a role. If so, then changes within police culture may lead to changes in levels of discrimination within the police service. Silvestri (2003:22) suggested that the police culture significantly influences behaviour in the service, and argued that current efforts "at police reform have therefore been directed at breaking up, or at least attempting to dilute, elements of police culture."

iv. Gender discrimination

Research suggests that gender discrimination has been evident in the police service. The Global Development Research Centre (2008) defines gender as "the social construction of female and male identity" and explained that it;

"includes the ways in which those differences...have been valued, used and relied upon to classify women and men and to assign roles and expectations to them".

It explains that gender is different from sex, which refers to biological differences. Holdaway and Parker (1998) found that direct gender discrimination resulted in disproportionate numbers of women in lower ranked or specialist positions. They found that women received different treatment because of their gender. Acker (1990, cited in Prokos and Padavic, 2002), offered support and explained that gendered symbols could create and reinforce organisational divisions. It was also argued that group interactions could produce gendered social constructions, thus adding to the gendered division.

Silvestri (2003) recognised the increased focus that research has placed on gender in recent years, specifically regarding the role played by gendered meanings within police culture. She believes that gender plays a key role in the experience of officers and argued that police culture "is hostile to women and continues to have a strong influence in defining and structuring police and police work" (p.22). This offers support for Acker (1992:255, cited in Silvestri, 2003) who argued that "organizational designs and established norms are far closer to men's lives and assumptions about men than to women's lives and the assumptions made about women." In his theory of gendered organisations, Acker proposed that organisations such as the police service should be

made more democratic as both males and females encounter relationships, identities and gendered meanings that are embedded in social settings.

The Equal Opportunities Commission (1990, cited in Silvestri 2003), reviewed the practices of the Metropolitan police service. They found that women were excluded from several specialisms, and were more likely to be promoted to positions dealing with vulnerable people, rather than public order duties. This may link to police culture, which Silvestri argued promotes the idea of gender-specific roles. No promotional statistics seem to be available for women into specialist units. Therefore, it is not clear whether these claims are backed by official statistics.

This suggests that discrimination can affect career prospects as well as personal feelings. It is therefore incredibly important to consider the implications of police culture, and the above research, whilst conducting primary research into any aspect of the police service.

v. Race discrimination

Extensive research has been conducted into racial discrimination within the police service. Banton (1996:52) defined this as any “distinction, exclusion of preference made on the basis of race”.

Researchers have found that racial discrimination can lead to chronic stress, social withdrawal, high blood pressure, chemical changes in the brain and suppressed immunity (Drexler, 2007). This suggests that discrimination can affect individuals both physically and emotionally.

These findings mirror effects noted by other researchers, as discussed above, suggesting that effects may be universal to all types of discrimination. These need to be acknowledged when conducting primary research.

vi. Summary note

The research into discrimination has covered several areas, but it needs to be noted that people can be discriminated against on other grounds, such as sexual orientation, ethnicity and disability. Whilst there has been little research specifically relating to length of service, research into other forms of discrimination has aided comprehension of the effects of discrimination.

The investigation into secondary research has shown discrimination can have many serious physical and emotional consequences. It is important to further the research into length of service discrimination, in order to investigate the extent and effects of this discrimination. Access to support has been found to reduce the effects of discrimination, and help individuals to remain positive. The police service should consider the support facilities available to officers.

Discrimination is not exclusive to the police service. It is a potential problem in all organisations and affects a large number of people, despite some legislation being in place to try and prevent it.

Methodology

Research was of a primary and secondary nature. The primary research consisted of a self complete questionnaire containing both open and closed questions. The open questions aimed to gather qualitative data, and the closed questions quantitative data.

There were advantages and disadvantages in using open and closed questions. Vinten (1995) explained that closed questions help to reduce researcher interpretation bias because the answers are fixed. They are easily answered and create quantitative data that is easily codified and compared (Punch, 2005). However, closed questions did not allow officers to expand on answers and the available options may not have coincided with their exact opinions.

Vinten explained that open questions are less likely to bias responses, and more likely to gain true opinions, because answers are not fixed. Officers' answers were not directed and they could expand and explain their answers. Open questions demanded more time and effort from participants so may not have been thoroughly answered. Punch explained that coding was harder for qualitative data as answers could be extensive and open to misinterpretation. The researcher could not have gained officers' perspectives, solely using quantitative data.

The questionnaire was piloted on Police Community Support Officers before being issued to the police (appendix i). De Vaus (1993) explained that piloting helps to identify potential problems prior to conducting final research. This allowed for necessary amendments to be made. Participant information was simplified to erase unnecessary information and the questions were re-structured, with the most important questions appearing first in case officers became tired or short of time and answered later questions less thoroughly (appendix ii). From the pilot questionnaire, it was evident that officers were happy to share their opinions and experiences.

Self complete questionnaires were used for several reasons. They allowed data to be collected in a short space of time, enabling rigid deadlines to be met. Ethnographies, and other longitudinal studies, would not have been suitable for the timeframe. They also enabled participants to express their opinions. Observational techniques would not have gained personal opinions, and information may have been gained through the questionnaires that the researcher could have been unaware of in an observation. Blaxter et al (1996) believed that self completion questionnaires are advantageous as they allow respondents to think about questions before they answer. However, the questionnaire design had to be of a high standard to ensure that the questions were interpreted by the officers as intended.

Response rate was a potential problem as there was no guarantee that participants would complete or return the questionnaire. However, thirty questionnaires were issued, physically and electronically, in attempt to gain a significant sample. Snowball sampling

enabled participants to pass on copies of questionnaires, so the exact number of distributed questionnaires was unknown. The target sample size seemed realistic as participants were known to the researcher so could be chased-up, helping to increase the response rate. Stanley (1997) argued that response rates are affected by the personal interest of participants, rather than the length or nature of the questions. He offered support for Miller and Wicker (1999) who explained that participants are more likely to respond if the questionnaire is easy to follow and simple to read. Therefore, a clear questionnaire design was crucial.

Whilst snowball sampling was the most appropriate method, enabling unofficial access, other methods were considered. Probability methods, including random and stratified sampling, would not have been possible as official access was denied. A letter was sent to the Nottinghamshire police force in attempt to gain official access. Three responses were received; one acknowledged the request, another said no, and the final requested further research details (see appendix iii). Further details were provided but no response was received.

Had official access been granted, stratified sampling would have allowed officers to be divided into strata for characteristics such as rank, gender and length of service. Participants could have been randomly selected from each stratum (Kapoor, 2004). As this was not possible, non-probability methods were considered.

Quota sampling would have enabled a proportionate number of officers of each ethnicity, rank and length of service to complete the questionnaires. As official access was denied, the researcher relied on their own contacts. In this circumstance, snowball sampling seemed more appropriate than convenience sampling as a bigger sample size could be gained (Kapoor, 2004).

All participants were known to the researcher, or to an officer who knew the researcher. It needs to be considered that officers who 'get along' may have similar personality traits and attitudes. Snowball sampling is potentially myopic; officers who did not complete a questionnaire may have held contradicting attitudes and opinions, leading to different results (Babbie et al, 2004).

The use of self completion questionnaires helped to eliminate experimenter effects that could have occurred through interviews or observations. The researcher could not project unconscious indications regarding a desired response by adding emphasis to certain words, or through non-verbal communication, such as body language. The potential for participants to feel uncomfortable, with face-to-face questioning or voice recording, was eliminated as participants answered the questionnaire in their chosen environment. This helped to achieve ecological validity. Participants may have shared less information and opinions if they had felt uncomfortable (Hickson and Stacks, 1985).

Quality control was ensured through consistency, replication and reliability. The study could be replicated using the same questionnaire. The quality of the questionnaire design

ensured that participants interpreted questions correctly, enabling the researcher to focus participants' responses consistently.

Several options were considered for the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was considered to analyse quantitative data. Bryman and Cramer (1990) explained that it analyses and calculates data quickly, eliminating mistakes that may have been made if the process had been done manually. However, the package was not used due to that time that would be needed to learn how to use it.

Mujis (2004) argued that Excel, like other spreadsheet software, also enables quantitative data analysis. He explained that these are less user friendly than specialised packages such as SPSS and are more limited in scope. Due to the researcher's experience of using Excel, this package was chosen for quantitative analysis.

Packages, such as Atlas/ti and Nudist, were considered to analyse qualitative data. Barry (1998) explained that these packages enable the quick analysis of qualitative data, and eradicate the monotony of manual analysis. However, she argued that some researchers get 'caught up' in learning how to codify and lose sight of the data. Due to the time needed to learn how to use software, qualitative data was used to support, or conflict with, quantitative results. Gerrish and Lacey (2006) explained that many researchers have done this.

Miles and Huberman (1994) considered three methods for manual qualitative analysis; interpretivism, social anthropology and collaborative social research. They explained that interpretivism requires researchers to consider the meanings of participants' answers. However, different researchers may interpret meanings differently. Social anthropology requires researchers to read and condense data. Different researchers may select different data, thus affecting findings. Collaborative research could not be used for this research as data collection must have been done in a social setting. The researcher chose to use social anthropology whilst investigating whether qualitative data supported, or conflicted with, quantitative results.

The ethical guidelines specified by the British Psychological Society were considered (Banyard and Grayson, 2000). These were used instead of others, such as the British Sociological Association guidelines, as they were most familiar to the researcher. All participants were issued with research details and a consent form (appendix ii) which was signed prior to participation. This confirmed that participants were aware of the research details and had agreed to participate. They were told of their withdrawal rights and assured of confidentiality. This extinguished worries relating to identification. Names were not requested. Instead, officers were referred to by numbers. Numbers were assigned to participants in the order that the completed questionnaires were received.

Primary research had many advantages. The reliability, credibility and accuracy of the research were known to the author, along with methodologies, problems encountered and outcomes. The research focused on the exact area of interest. Secondary data relating to

this topic could not be found (Ghauri and Gronhaug, 2005). However, the researcher was left with raw data. Analysis can be time consuming but, as a suitable sample size was used for the scale and depth of this research, it was not disproportionate.

Secondary research was also conducted. Previous research, journals, books and other publications were investigated to gain an insight into previous findings. Information regarding the extent and effects of discrimination was discovered. As only a small amount of research is published, there may be research into this area that is not available (Bryman, 2004). Banyard and Grayson (2000) labelled this 'publication bias' and argued that research was more likely to be published if it had positive, or significant, results. Publishers appear unaware that research finding neutral results could be just as significant.

Secondary research was suitable because it was cheap, quick and widely accessible through facilities such as the library, journals and internet. A wide range of data sources were examined without primary research having to be conducted. It was recognised that there is a lack of consistency of perspective between data from different researchers. Not all findings were instantly explainable, thus raising additional questions, for example; why is discrimination present in certain areas but not in others (Boslaugh, 2007)? Researcher biases or data inaccuracies may not have been detected through secondary research. Researchers may have focused on results that supported their argument rather than factors that may have weakened the strength of their research.

Boslaugh argued that research methods must be considered. For example, some research automatically excludes certain people; the British Crime Survey excludes people aged under sixteen, and homeless persons. Methodologies must be considered before secondary data can be generalised to other contexts. Boslaugh explained that methodological glitches and problems encountered during research, such as low response rates, are not included in publications. Therefore, when conducting secondary research, the strength and validity of previous research must be considered.

Whilst this research may provide an insight into length of service related discrimination in the police service, its limitations were recognised. As this is undergraduate research, no funding was available. The researcher had to adhere to a rigid time frame. The scale of the research was constricted and findings could not be explored as extensively as an extended timeframe would have allowed. Ideally, more police forces would have been included in the sample. However, official gate-keepers may have posed similar problems.

With additional time, this research could have been expanded to investigate **why** discrimination occurs, instead of just **if** it occurs. A longitudinal design could gather officers' experiences at different points of their service. This would help to investigate the relationship between discrimination and length of service. However, once the research was finished, it may be out of date as policy, practice and training is continuously changing.

Results

1. Participants

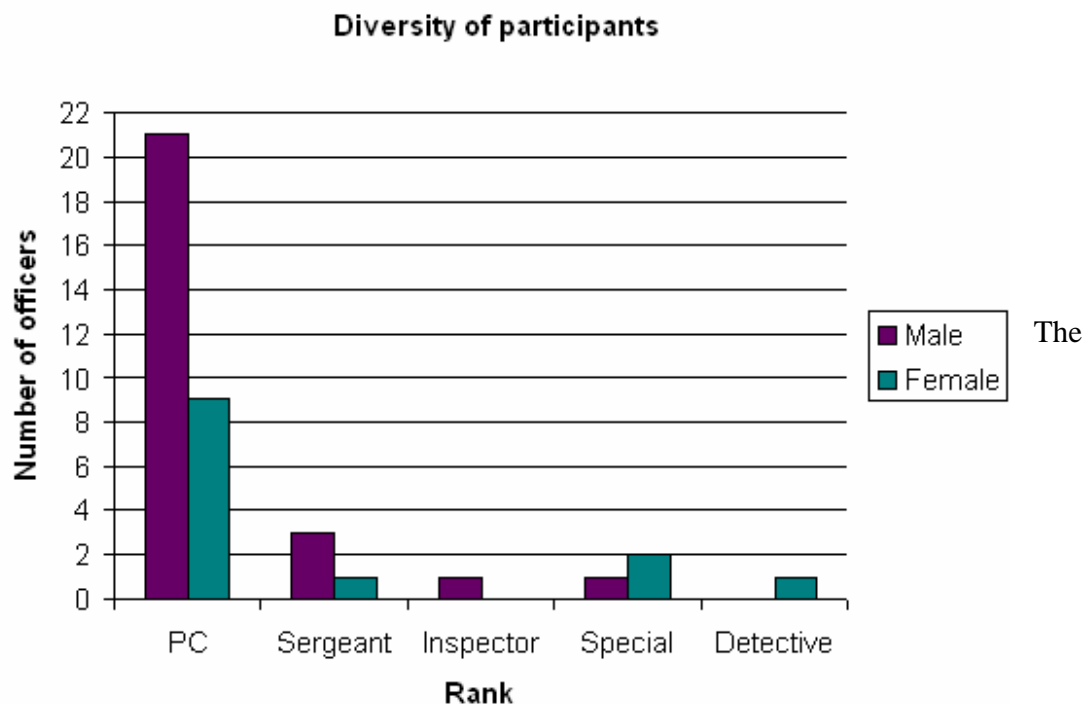
i. Sample

Snowball sampling generated a positive response rate. Twelve Police Community Support Officers responded to the pilot questionnaire and thirty nine people completed the final questionnaire. Six contacts failed to respond. The final sample comprised twenty six males (66% of participants) and thirteen females (33% of participants). Results from the pilot questionnaire will not be discussed as its aim was to highlight any necessary changes.

ii. Ranks

The bar chart below shows the diverse range of participants, through rank and gender.

Figure 1.



majority of participants were at the rank of police constable (PC). The only detective was a female constable. The only participant at inspector level was male. All participants described their ethnicity as White British and were aged between eighteen and fifty five.

iii. Stations

Participants came from thirteen police stations located in Nottinghamshire, Lancashire and Leicestershire. The following table shows the number and gender of participants from each station, and the percentage of participants from each force.

Table 1.

	Male	Female	Total
Nottinghamshire			(82.1%)
Carlton	1	-	1 (2.6%)
Selston	2	-	2 (5.1%)
Arnold	2	-	2 (5.1%)
Radford Road	3	2	5 (12.8%)
Broxtowe	4	1	5 (12.8%)
Beeston	2	2	4 (10.3%)
Carlton	4	-	4 (10.3%)
Oxclose Lane	2	1	3 (7.7%)
Canning Circus	1	1	2 (5.1%)
Mansfield	3	-	3 (7.7%)
Eastwood	-	1	1 (2.6%)
Leicestershire			(7.7%)
Beaumont Leys	1	2	3 (7.7%)
Lancashire			(10.3%)
Lea	1	3	4 (10.3%)
Total	26 (66.6%)	13 (33.3%)	39 (100%)

82% of participants were based in Nottinghamshire, 8% in Leicestershire and 10% in Lancashire. As the sample of participants from Leicestershire and Lancashire is small, responses from different forces will not be compared.

Gender differences will only be mentioned where results have shown a significant difference.

2. Happiness and Commitment

i. Happiness and commitment

The table below illustrates participants' happiness and whether or not they intend to stay in the police service for the foreseeable future.

Table 2. (see next page)

Participant Feelings	Number of Participants					
	Males - Happiness	Females - Happiness	Happiness Totals	Males Intention To Stay	Females Intention To Stay	Intention To Stay Totals
Very Happy / Definitely Staying	5 (19.2%)	6 (46.2%)	11 (28.2%)	15 (57.6%)	7 (53.8%)	22 (56.4%)
Happy / Staying	14 (53.8%)	3 (23.1%)	17 (43.5%)	9 (34.6%)	3 (23%)	13 (30.8%)
Neutral / Not sure	6 (23.1%)	3 (23.1%)	9 (23%)	1 (3.8%)	2 (15.4%)	3 (7.7%)
Unhappy / Not Staying	-	1 (7.7%)	1 (2.5%)	-	-	0 (0%)
Very Unhappy / Definitely Not Staying	1 (3.8%)	-	1 (2.5%)	1 (3.8%)	1 (7.7%)	2 (5.1%)

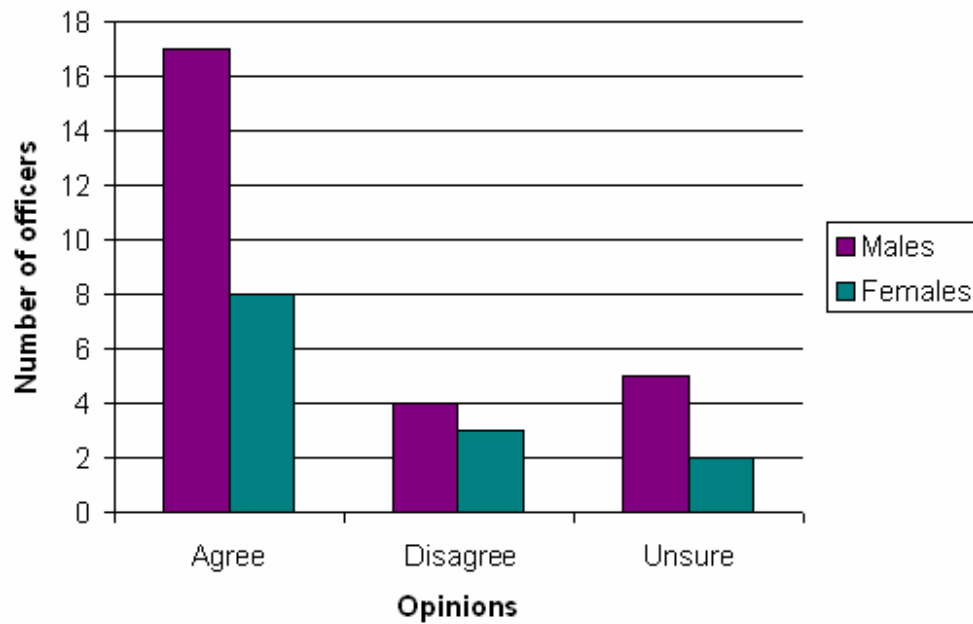
Overall, 74% of participants described themselves as being happy or very happy with their current role and 87% believe that they will remain in the police service. This suggests that most officers are satisfied with their role. However, it was noticeable that twenty seven percent more females, than males, described themselves as ‘very happy’. There is no clear explanation for this difference.

ii. Effects of length of service on happiness

The following bar chart shows officers’ opinion as to whether length of service has great effects on officers’ happiness and experiences.

Figure 2.

Officers' opinions as to whether length of service greatly effects happiness and experiences



The bar chart shows that 64.2% of participants agree, 17.9% remain disagree, and 17.9% remain unsure. This suggests that length of service greatly effects officers' happiness and experiences.

3. Relationships

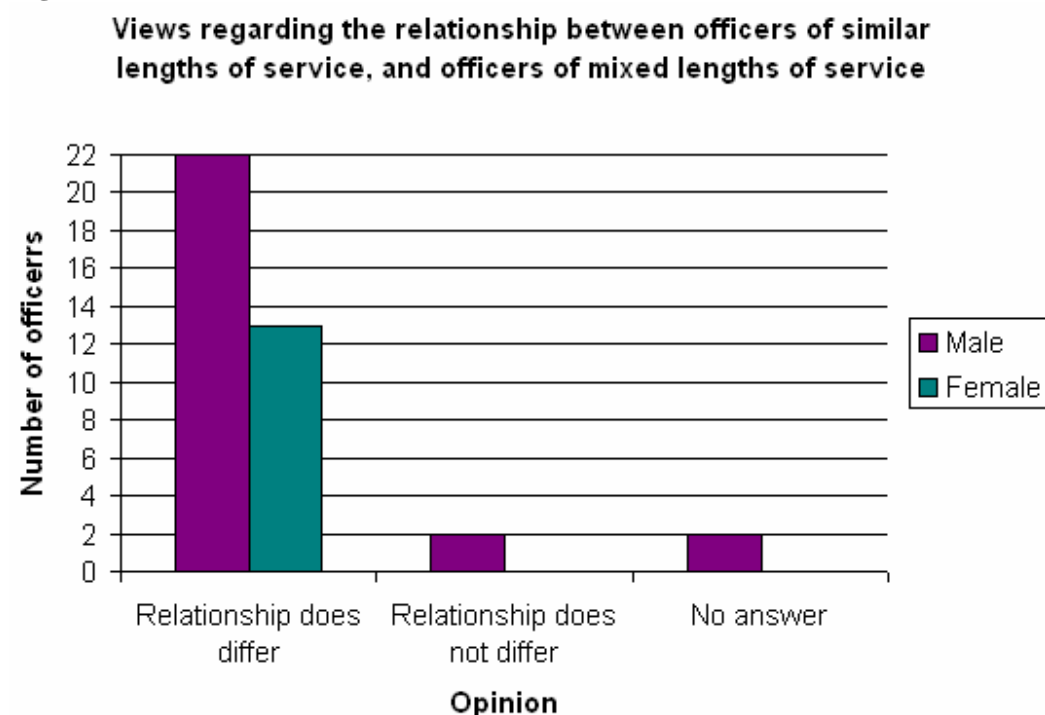
i. Welcoming

Participants had conflicting opinions as to whether new officers are made to feel more welcome by other new officers than by longer serving officers. 44% of participants agreed, but the same number of participants disagreed. As the remaining participants were unsure, it is unclear who makes newer officers most welcome.

ii. Relationship between new and longer serving officers

The diagram below illustrates the opinions of participants about differences in the relationship that new officers have with longer serving officers and officers with a similar length of service to their own.

Figure 3.



85% of males, and all females, believed that the relationship between new and longer serving officers differs from that between officers of a similar length of service. One explanation that represents the view of 59% of officers was provided by a police constable who argues that; “relationships are made through time together”. This could help explain why some officers feel that those with a longer length of service have a stronger relationship.

Whilst a large percentage of officers agreed that the relationship does differ, there were mixed opinions as to whether this difference was positive or negative.

One officer explained that “older and longer serving officers are more inclined to stick together”, and argued that this was a positive difference as the officers could support one another. However, 32% of officers believed that the difference could be negative. One

officer explained that some longer serving officers “can be rude to newer officers...But some can be very welcoming and want to pass on their experiences.” The stark difference in the perceived attitudes of longer serving officers suggests that relationships may be determined by the personalities of individual officers.

One explanation offered for the negative attitudes of some longer serving officers toward probationers was that:

“Officers with longer service feel that newer officers aren’t trained to the same standards and therefore lack some of the required skills”.

This suggests that some officers may assume that newer officers are working to lower standards than themselves, thus not doing such a ‘good’ job. Another officer explained that these views could be caused by initial police training, arguing that; “it is vastly different from before. They do not know the law nearly as well as older officers”.

A new officer supported the above views, suggesting that probationers are seen as a “nuisance” because of their limited knowledge. Changes to training may diminish the negative view of new recruits.

Longer serving officers may have better relationships, as new officers are quieter, more reserved and nervous. One officer explained that “newer officers are quieter and will not join in with the team”. Officers who do not ‘join in’ may not get to know other officers, thus hindering the formation of relationships. One officer expanded on this by explaining that new officers can be “seen as imposters to their close-knit team”. It is possible that probationers and officers with a short length of service find it hard to break-into such groups.

12% of officers had contrasting opinions, believing that relationships between new and longer serving officers are better than relationships between officers with similar lengths of service.

One officer explained that this was because newer officers feel “safer in the company of someone experienced”. Another officer stated that “officers of a similar service are more competitive to achieve figures/promotion than officers with a lot more service”. Newer officers may not feel threatened by the prospect of longer serving officers securing promotion prior to them, but may wish to stay ahead of officers with a similar length of service.

iii. Mixed gender relationships

7% of officers believed that male officers may prevent strong relationships being created with female officers. One female explained that some males believe that females are “treading onto ground stereotypically covered by males, which men do not like”.

Another officer offered an example of an occasion in which a male discriminated against a female, stating that:

“A long-serving male walked into a room where there was a male and a new gay female. He intentionally said ‘hey up lads’ knowing the female was there”.

It is not clear whether length of service, personal prejudices, gender or sexual orientation caused this situation to arise. It is possible that the male officer regularly uses male gendered language.

Although discrimination has been indicated, there are conflicting views amongst officers. 12% of officers believed that length of service does not affect officer to officer relationships. One officer argued that when they joined “...in 1979 there were some officers who would not talk to probationers.” The officer believed that this problem has been rectified. As other factors may influence the formation and maintenance of relationships, each officer may have a unique experience.

Conflicting opinions suggest that some officers may feel more comfortable and welcome in the police service than other officers. It remains unclear what has caused the difference in attitudes.

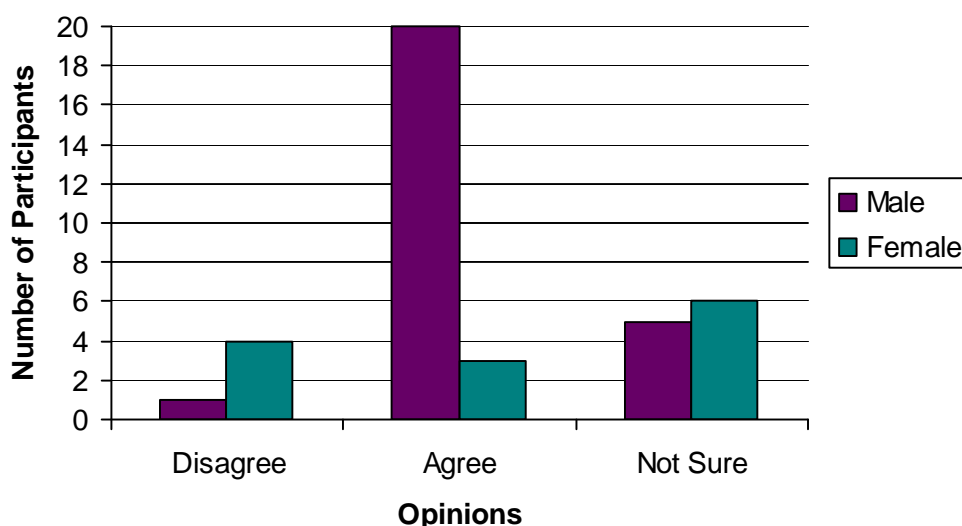
4. Treatment and Respect

i. Treatment from senior officers

The following bar chart shows officers’ opinions about whether they believe that longer serving officers receive more positive treatment from senior staff.

Figure 4.

Officers' opinions as to whether longer serving officers receive more positive treatment from senior staff



59% of participants agreed that longer serving officers received more positive treatment. Of this number, 77% were male and 23% were female. 13% of participants disagreed and the remaining 28% of participants were neutral.

ii. Length of service related treatment

67% of participants (62% males and 77% females) disagreed with the idea that all participants are treated the same regardless of their length of service. This suggests that length of service can affect treatment, and supports results suggesting that length of service affects happiness.

iii. Treatment of probationers

92% of officers believe that probationers are treated differently to officers who have completed their training. However, 28% of these officers argued that it is a positive difference as probationers are provided with extra help and supervision. One officer explained that “people look out for probationers, give them more helps and tips”. Another officer argued that “probationers attend more incidents” in their shifts, helping to enhance their knowledge and experience.

13% of participants believed the differences to be negative. One female argued that probationers “are spoken down to”. A male officer elaborated on this, explaining that “probationers are seen as a nuisance and waste of space”. A third officer stated that “senior officers don’t always take probationers seriously”, suggesting that officers cannot guarantee the commitment of probationary staff. It was argued that probationers have yet to gain respect from experienced officers.

54% of females, and 8% of males, believed that new officers are nervous and uncomfortable, so find it hard to settle in straight away. However, 12% of participants believed that new officers are more positive and enthusiastic than longer serving officers. One officer explained that newer officers;

“have not yet become too cynical and are generally keen. Older officers have become more cynical and have a ‘seen it all before’ attitude”.

This was supported by another officer who explained that;

“new officers are still fresh and should be enthusiastic. They will be more likely to see good in people depending on previous life experience”.

This conflicts with the idea that longer serving officers hold negative opinions regarding newer officers. It would seem logical to suppose that open-eyed, ready to help officers would be welcomed, instead of being looked down upon because of limited knowledge.

15% of females argued that probationers ‘hang around more’ than other officers. This may link to other factors and result from the officers’ lack of experience and need for more help and supervision.

iv. Treatment and respect

59% of participants believed that longer serving officers receive better treatment from senior officers. Almost 70% of officers disagreed with the idea that everybody is treated the same regardless of their length of service. This suggests that there may be significant inequality in the treatment of officers.

Qualitative responses provide an insight into why officers think this may be. One participant argued that “if we haven’t met our targets we can get it down the neck, unless we’ve been in longer and are one of the favourites”. Another participant explained that “when we’ve been here longer the brass is more lenient with us”. Both responses suggest favouritism and inequality in treatment. It would appear that officers with a short length of service may be treated more punitively.

All participants disagreed with the idea that the public treat officers thought to be new with more respect than longer serving officers. One officer explained that “some people aren’t prepared for the way the public will treat them. It can be disheartening”. This may suggest that there is inequality in treatment by the public, as well as within the police service.

One officer believed that the public respond to female officers better than male officers, suggesting direct discrimination on the part of some members of the public. They argued that females

“have a greater effect with the public and gain a warmer reception because they offer a more comforting role whilst providing the law enforcement expected of the police”.

23% of males stated that different support facilities are available for certain officers. One officer commented that;

“there are positive action days for females, and the Women’s Integrated Network...to promote the interests of women...and the Black Police Association for black officers. What would happen if there was a call for a white male union? I wonder!”

This suggests that some white males feel that certain officers have access to more support than themselves. However, it is not clear whether the officers would like the establishment of a white male union, or whether differences were merely being pointed out.

One male officer argued that gay officers are not fully integrated within the police service, stating that;

“gay officers are underrepresented within the service and there is a stigma about them not being up to the job, you can feel out of it sometimes”.

This resembles comments regarding the attitudes of some longer serving staff toward probationers, who felt that they performed to a lower standard. It needs to be noted that this quote was taken from a gay officer, who may personally feel discriminated against. This was not mentioned by any other officers.

5. Recruitment

i. Important attributes

See appendix iv for a table showing the attributes that officers thought were the most important in police recruitment.

Males thought the most important attributes were fitness (27%), communication skills (27%), outgoing personality (19%) and sociability (19%).

Females thought friendliness (31%), communication skills (31%) and potential to progress (31%) were the most important.

Overall, the attributes deemed to be important by most officers were; fitness (26%), communication skills (28%) and an outgoing personality (21%).

ii. Discrimination during recruitment

Qualitative answers provided by 49% of participants suggested that discrimination may occur during recruitment processes. One officer argued that;

“the emphasis for Notts police is on the recruitment of groups which make up a minority of the police force such as minority ethnics, women or homosexuals.”

Another officer offered support for this and explained that recruitment is “unfair and done at the expense of candidates who are just as good, but are white, male and heterosexual”.

These arguments suggest that officers believed that positive discrimination may occur in an attempt to make the police service more ethnically representative.

26% of participants argued that age discrimination is present within recruitment. One officer argued that:

“The chances of getting into the force are diminished with age, the older the candidate the less chance of a full length of service. Younger candidates, given the same expenditure (training, uniform, etc), are more likely to give a full service”.

51% of officers held contradictory views, either believing that recruitment is non-discriminatory, or failing to mention the presence of discrimination during recruitment processes.

One officer explained that recruits can be of any age, gender or ethnicity “as long as they are friendly, non-biased and non-discriminatory”. This contrasted with another officer

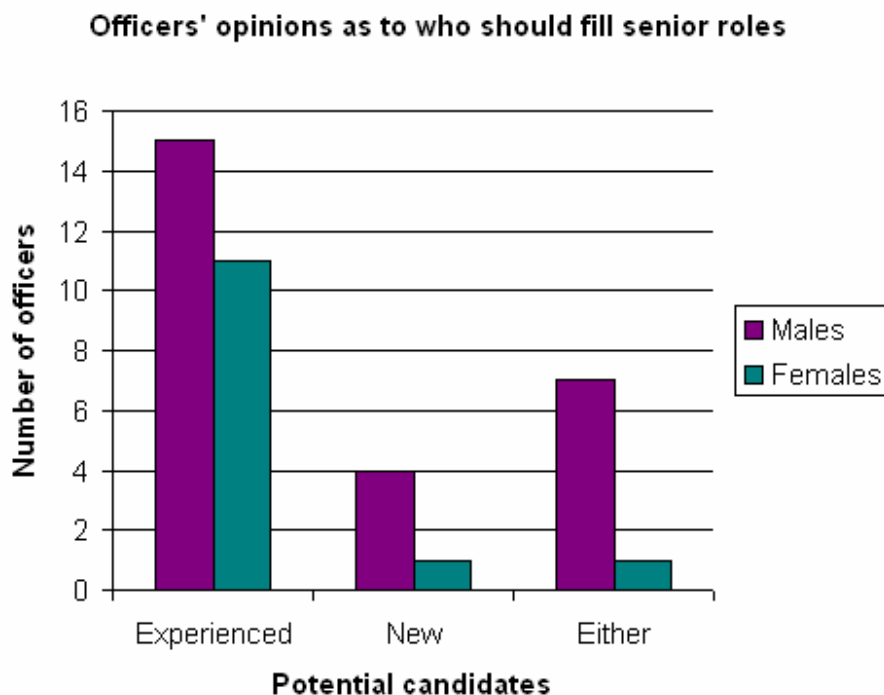
who argued that the police service uses positive discrimination to “rectify this dichotomy”.

Whilst positive discrimination may help to create a representative police service, the approach may create problems. One officer explained that it leads to “white male officers being discriminated against, causing lack of morale in this group”.

iii. Senior roles

The bar chart below shows officers’ opinions regarding who they prefer in senior roles.

Figure 5.



67% of officers would prefer senior roles to be filled by officers with extensive experience. 13% of participants would prefer senior roles to be filled by people from other organisations. 20% of participants (27% of males and 8% of females) had no preference. One officer stated that “it’s all very well telling us what to do and how to do it, but if you’ve got no experience than how can you expect to get the respect”. Another officer argued that “its only when you’ve been out there on patrol that you fully understand the ins and outs of policing.”

6. Promotions

i. General promotions

33% of officers believed that discrimination is present within promotional processes.

30% of these officers argued that white males are discriminated against: 12% suggested that white heterosexual males are discriminated against.

One officer explained that “chances of promotion for a white heterosexual male are reduced compared to gay or minority groups unless you brown nose or backstab”. Another officer argued that bosses “have lost touch with reality from pandering to politics and their own promotion”. This suggests that internal politics may hinder the effectiveness and efficiency of the police service. An example of this was offered by an officer who stated that:

“My Sgt has said he may not agree with everything he is told to get us to do but he will not challenge his boss because he is ‘playing the game’ to get promoted”.

Another officer agreed and argued that there is a “practice of bullying” from their Sergeant, who;

“goes from being on the back of one officer to the next, picking fault with them in order to say ‘there was a problem with my staff and I sorted it out’”.

Some officers had conflicting opinions. 67% of officers made no suggestion that discrimination occurs during promotional processes. One officer stated that “there are equal opportunities for all officers regardless of sex or race for promotions and opportunities”.

ii. Specialist promotions

23% of officers believed that discriminatory practice can occur when promoting individuals to specialist positions. One officer argued that “promotion into areas such as CID and firearms is done on a discriminatory basis”. Another officer agreed, arguing that “friends of officers already in such areas get into these positions causing groups to become very ‘cliquey’”.

One officer offered details of the groups discriminated against, stating that: “female and ethnic officers are targeted to apply for certain roles even though they’re not better qualified”. This indicates that white males may be discriminated against. However, it cannot automatically be assumed that women or ethnic persons promoted into specialist positions are less well qualified than those who were not promoted.

7. Leaving

i. Factors causing officers to leave

Officers had mixed views about people’s reasons for leaving the police service. one officer’s explanation, which represented that of 31% of officers, was that officers “leave because of long hours and shift work, it can have a bad effect on your health and personal and family life. Also new job prospects”.

Pay was mentioned by 26% of participants.

18% of officers argued that internal politics can lead to officers leaving. One officer argued that “the police force is extremely political...We all have to pander to political needs, which works to the detriment of police work”. Another officer argued that internal

politics can frustrate officers and that “paperwork is sometimes duplicated to appease politically”. This suggests that politics may constrict the efficiency of police work.

15% of officers argued that lack of recognition and praise can lead to resignation. One officer argued that “no praise is received for good work, but poor performances are instantly highlighted”. The lack of recognition may reduce job satisfaction.

One officer suggested that lack of recognition, support and feedback along with low staffing levels can caused officers to feel stressed. This supports the argument that some officers are unhappy with the level of feedback and support.

8. Other Discrimination

i. Officer to officer discrimination

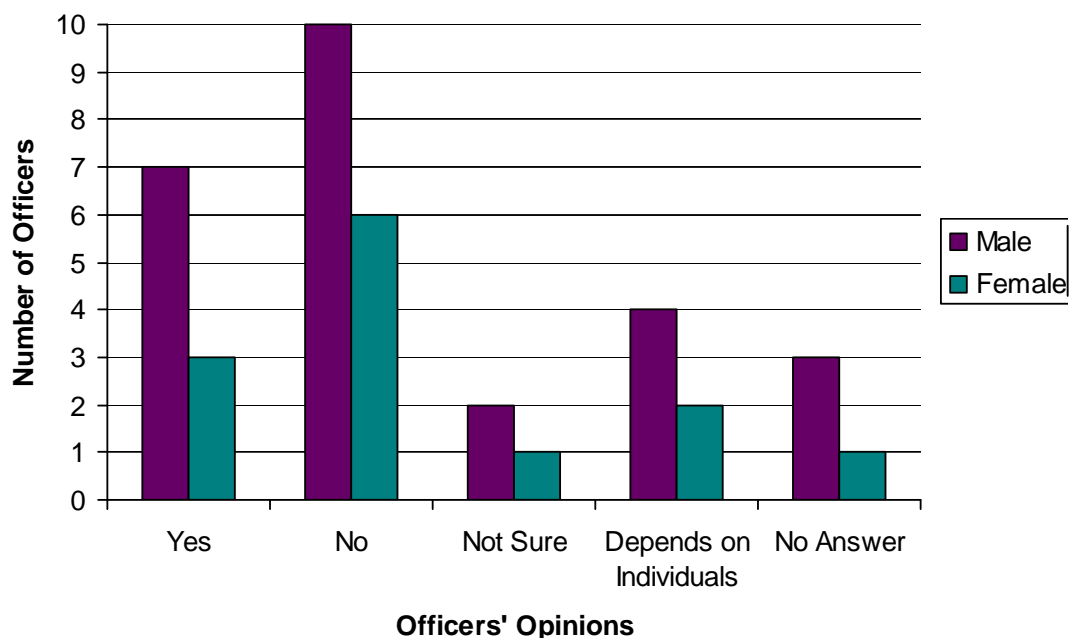
62% of participants (58% of males and 69% of females) had not experienced or witnessed any officer to officer discrimination.

ii. Discrimination from area to area

The bar chart below shows officers’ opinions as to whether discrimination against newer officers differs between area (stations / forces).

Figure 6.

Officers' opinions as to whether discrimination differs between rank or station



Officers generally believed that discrimination differs from area to area (41% of participants).

One officer explained that “it is very much to do with the personalities of people within the organization”. 13% of officers shared this view. Another officer believed that discrimination “will occur when it is allowed to occur”. They believed that effective management would eradicate discrimination.

The remaining officers did not believe that discrimination varies from area to area. One officer argued that all officers “are beaten with the same stick... Vigorously”.

9. Internal Politics

Internal politics, and the importance placed upon meeting targets, were mentioned by 18% of officers. One officer argued that “it is unfair that you can get on by simply hitting figures despite possibly not doing your job effectively”. Another officer supported this, arguing that it “is ludicrous to think that as long as targets are hit, the brass don’t care if you’re doing your job”.

These responses suggest that some officers believe internal politics can hinder the effectiveness and efficientness of police work, and that a ‘better’ job could be done by focusing energies into non-target dominated areas. One officer suggested that many officers believe this to be unfair and that officers can become frustrated with the targets placed upon them. He argued “we signed up to reduce crime and help people but it seems that all we do is hit figures”.

Word count: 3356

Discussion

Participants' responses suggested that they were happy to share their opinions. Although the research focused on length of service discrimination, answers revealed other important areas, which are considered in the discussion.

1. Participant Diversity / Diversity of the Police Service

Snowball sampling generated a positive response rate, but did not produce a diverse sample. Participants were of both genders and varying ranks, but all described their ethnicity as White British. Other ethnic groups were not represented. In order for the results to be generalized to all officers in Nottinghamshire, Lancashire and Leicestershire, further research would need to be conducted to include proportionate numbers of minority ethnic persons.

The police service has acknowledged the under-representation of minority ethnic groups. The Lord Scarman Report (1982, cited in Politics, 2008) recognized the importance of the police service reflecting the ethnic makeup of society, stating:

“A police force which fails to reflect the ethnic diversity of our society will never succeed in securing the full support of all its sections”

A Home Office (2007) report recognised this under-representation and set targets to increase the percentage of minority ethnic persons in each force by 2009, proportionate to the percentage of the minority ethnic population in the local districts.

The report showed that the overall percentage of minority ethnic persons in the police service in 2007 was 5.3%. The 2009 target was set at 7%.

In 2007, the forces from which participants were drawn contained less ethnic minority persons than the target. For example, 3.2% of officers in Nottinghamshire had minority ethnic origins. The 2009 target is 4%.

2. Happiness and Commitment

Approximately 85% of officers were happy and committed to the police service. Whilst this is positively high, it is possible that the officers who were not happy may have suffered from discriminatory practice or behaviour, or feel that they do not have access to support (Redman and Snape, 2006). 23% of officers believed different levels of support were available to different officers. It is possible that these are the unhappiest officers. Further research would be needed before drawing any conclusions.

3. Attitudes of Longer Serving Officers Toward Newer Officers

Results suggested stark contrasts in the attitudes of longer serving staff toward probationary or newer officers. It is important to consider theoretical explanations to comprehend why some officers hold negative views.

i. Theoretical explanations; authoritarian personality theory

The authoritarian personality theory could help to explain negative behaviours and attitudes toward officers of a shorter service. Adorno et al (1950, cited in Macrae et al, 1996) found that certain individuals develop authoritarian personalities, sticking to middle class conventions, converging to authority without question, and thinking in rigid categories without considering the individual differences of people in certain groups.

The personality is said to develop through authoritarian child rearing strategies, resulting from parents' severe status anxieties. The children repressed the anger and frustration they felt toward their parents, displacing their unconscious and unacceptable impulses onto newer officers as adults through attitudes and behaviours.

If newer officers feel nervous and anxious, as qualitative results suggest, then authoritarian officers may display discriminatory behaviour because they view them as diverging from the 'in-group'.

The authoritarian personality theory has been criticised in methodological and conceptual terms. It assumes that all officers who behave negatively toward newer officers were raised in an authoritarian way. The theory could not explain regional or societal differences in prejudice, nor why some authoritarian-reared officers act positively toward 'out-groups'.

ii. Theoretical explanations; realistic conflict theory

The realistic conflict theory offers a second explanation. Bobo (1983, cited in Hall, 2005) explained that "prejudice stems from competition between social groups for valued commodities or opportunities."

Some longer serving officers may feel they are competing with newer officers for the same promotions and job opportunities. Promotions will lead to economic gain, and newer officers may, therefore, be perceived as a threat. This competition may cause longer serving officers to act negatively toward newer officers.

However, it cannot explain why some longer serving officers can act positively toward newer officers. Officers who are not seeking promotion may not see other officers as a threat. The theory assumes that all officers are competitive and will act negatively towards others.

When linked with the authoritarian personality theory, it is possible that officers with a certain personality may act negatively, with competition being the justification.

iii. Theoretical explanations; social identity theory

The social identity theory offers a third explanation. Tajfel and Turner (1986, cited in Worchel et al, 1998) argued that people have two identities which are used in different

situations; a social identity derived from individuals' membership in groups, and a personal identity derived from personal characteristics.

Longer serving officers may wish to maintain a positive image, using their social identity to converge with, and advantage, their 'in-group' - consisting of other longer serving officers. They may diverge from newer officers by displaying negative attitudes and behaviours.

Again, this cannot explain why some longer serving officers act positively toward newer officers. This theory suggests that all longer serving officers would view newer officers negatively.

When considered alongside the previous theories, new possibilities arise. Officers with an authoritarian personality may use their social identity to advantage their 'in-group', whilst competitive officers may use their social identity to converge with their 'in-group'.

iv. Theoretical explanations; modern racism theory

Weiner and Freedheim (2003) argued that some individuals justify negative behaviour toward certain ethnic groups through non-prejudice explanations. Moving the context away from race, longer serving officers may justify prejudiced views by describing probationers as a "nuisance" or "waste of space" and "talk down to them", whilst acting negatively, as suggested through qualitative results.

Although all officers are assumed to be prejudiced, some officers may feel justified in acting negatively. It is possible that officers who do not act negatively do not hold prejudiced views.

When linked to the previous theories new explanations arise. Individuals with authoritarian personalities may hold pre-conceived prejudiced views regarding newer officers. They may use social identities to converge with their 'in-group' and act negatively toward 'out-group' members. Non-prejudice explanations may be used as justification.

v. Theoretical explanations; labelling theory

The labelling theory offers another explanation. Becker (1973, cited in Finn, 1997) argued that;

“deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an ‘offender’.”

Longer serving officers may view attributes associated with newer officers, such as quietness, as deviating from the norm established by longer serving officers. As a result, newer officers may be labelled as outsiders and viewed in a negative manner.

Like three of the previously discussed theories, it cannot explain why some longer serving officers act positively toward newer officers. It is possible that some newer

officers conform to the norm more readily than others, and are viewed positively as a result.

Further explanations are created when this theory is considered in conjunction with others. Individuals with authoritarian personalities think in rigid categories, labelling all new officers as outsiders. Officers with prejudiced views may use labelled differences as justifications for acting negatively.

vi. Theoretical explanations; evaluation

Each theory offers an understandable explanation, but none of the theories clearly distinguish what 'type' of person is most likely to exhibit the described behaviours. When the theories were considered together, further explanations arose.

The theories cannot explain why 59% of participants believe longer serving officers are treated more positively by senior staff. They are unlikely to see shorter serving officers as competition. Senior officers do not require longer service than other officers to develop through fast-track schemes.

Negative responses toward newer officers, may be simply explained by individual personalities. As previously discussed, Silvestri (2003) and Garner (2005) argued that the police culture strongly affects officers attitudes and behaviours. Police culture, or training, may unwittingly promote negative behaviours.

4. Mixed Gender Relationships

7% of officers believed some males deliberately prevent strong relationships being created with females. Secondary research can offer some explanations. Acker (1990, cited in Prokos and Padavic, 2002) explained that gendered symbols reinforce gendered divisions. Prokos and Padavic argued that such symbols are influenced by police culture and training, which encourages masculinity and the exclusion of women. Amendments within these areas may eradicate these opinions.

5. Discrimination During Recruitment

49% of participants believed that discrimination is present during recruitment. Several officers suggested that white heterosexual males are discriminated against. It must be considered whether this view is founded in fact or personal prejudice.

Analysis of officers' beliefs is difficult, as recruitment statistics are not widely available. However, the government has recognised the importance of recruiting persons of all ethnicities and has set targets for the recruitment and retention of minority ethnic persons.

Whilst it would not be lawful for the police service to use positive discrimination, it uses positive action initiatives to help meet these targets. Nottinghamshire Police (2008) explained that: "Positive action can...assist women, members of minority ethnic groups and disabled people to compete for jobs on an equal footing." They argue that this does not lead to any discrimination.

They explained that positive action occurs through advertising, recruitment initiatives, such as targeted recruitment events, and liaison with appropriate community groups. This involves recognising potential and encouraging applications from the stated groups, and providing training to help them develop and progress.

Although the policy suggests that no discrimination occurs, recruitment statistics need to be considered. None appeared to be available from Nottinghamshire and Lancashire. Statistics from Leicestershire for 2002-2005 suggest that discrimination did not occur, as 5.2% of the four hundred and ninety eight recruits were minority ethnic (Leicestershire Police, 2008).

A Home Office report (2007) showed that the 11% of Leicestershire's population consists of minority ethnic persons. This was also the recruitment target for Leicestershire by 2009. Statistics suggest that white people are not discriminated against during recruitment, contradicting some officers' opinions.

Although positive discrimination cannot be used by the police service of England and Wales, it is used by the Northern Ireland constabulary. The Good Friday agreement (1998, cited in British and Ireland Governments, 2001) argued that the police service needed to gain "representativeness, with 50/50 recruitment to the new police service". They now recruit equal numbers of Catholics and non-Catholics.

Recruitment processes and statistics may fluctuate between forces, so this finding cannot be generalised to other forces. Qualitative results showed that some officers believe that no discrimination occurs during recruitment.

Personal prejudices may have caused some officers to believe that discrimination occurs during recruitment. Theories can offer explanations why some officers may be prejudiced.

The realistic conflict theory suggests that white officers' fear of competition from minority ethnic persons, regarding recruitment and promotion, may cause them to hold negative attitudes. Some white officers may not fear competition. This could explain why some officers do not think discrimination occurs during recruitment.

According to the authoritarian personality theory, narrow-minded individuals may diverge from minority ethnic officers, who are seen as an 'out-group'. The recruitment of minority ethnic persons may be seen as disadvantaging the in-group, leading to negative attitudes.

The modern racism theory could explain this in terms of white officers holding pre-conceived prejudices toward minority ethnic persons. The officers may use the aims of the positive action initiatives as justification for holding prejudiced opinions. It is unlikely that all of the white officers who believe discrimination exists are racist. The social identity theory offers another explanation. White officers may wish to advantage their 'in-group', and recruitment of minority ethnic persons could be seen as

disadvantaging them. This may cause prejudiced views. It is unlikely that every officer who believed that discrimination exists would perceive the recruitment of minority ethnic persons as disadvantaging them.

The labelling theory could explain this in terms of pre-conceived prejudices being cast regarding minority ethnic persons. Minority ethnic persons would be perceived as a group, rather than individuals. Negative prejudices would span the whole group. Again, this assumes that all white officers who believe discrimination is present are of the same mind-frame.

Of the discussed theories, the realistic conflict theory is the only one that can explain why some officers' believed that discrimination is not present during recruitment. The theories do not consider that other factors, such as internal politics, may create officers' opinions regarding recruitment. Further research would need to be conducted to establish why some officers believe discrimination is present during recruitment.

6. Discrimination during promotion

i. General promotion

33% of officers believed that discrimination is present within promotional processes, and 30% suggested that white males are discriminated against. As with recruitment, it is necessary to consider whether participants' beliefs are founded in fact or personal prejudice.

As promotional statistics are not available, a full investigation could not be conducted.

12% of officers suggested that white heterosexual males are discriminated against during promotions, suggesting that gay officers are given advantages. There was no research to support these beliefs. They may have been caused by positive action initiatives.

Unlike Alder (1990, cited in Brown, 1998), Abraham and Medoff (1985), the research did not suggest that length of service can be indirectly discriminatory during promotions.

ii. Specialist promotion

23% of participants believed that discrimination occurs during specialist promotions. Some believed that females, and minority ethnic persons, may be advantaged. These opinions reflect the beliefs of Holdaway and Parker (1998) who argued that there are disproportionate numbers of women in specialist positions.

Statistics released by the Avon and Somerset police force (2007) suggest otherwise. As at November 2007, 100% of males, and 98% of females, working in the Criminal Investigation Department were white. The remaining 2% were minority ethnic. 60% of the unit's employees were female, suggesting that officers' opinions stemmed from prejudice not fact. The realistic conflict theory could offer an explanation for individuals having prejudiced feelings. They may view women and minority ethnic officers as competitors, thus creating prejudice and rivalry.

Statistics are not available from other specialist units and forces. Therefore, whilst statistics conflict with officers' opinions, they can not automatically be generalised. The diversity of employees may greatly differ between unit or force.

7. Internal Politics

18% of officers believed that internal politics and targets hindered the effectiveness and efficiency of police work, and that 'better' work could be done if resources were not solely placed on areas dominated by targets. Some argued that internal politics led to sergeants acting in ways they may not agree with, to increase their own chances of promotion.

Whilst this would be an important area to investigate, there does not appear to be any existing research into this area, preventing an informed discussion.

8. Discussion Summary

The discussion focused on areas of discrimination most frequently suggested by participants. There are limited statistics available regarding recruitment and promotions in the police service. Access to these statistics would have enabled a thorough investigation into recruitment and promotion, and a deeper informed discussion to have been developed.

Research allowed for the exploration of theoretical explanations for discriminatory treatment from longer serving staff toward newer officers, and for some officers believing that discrimination exists during recruitment despite the fact that statistics appear to suggest otherwise. Due to the limited statistics available it remains possible that discrimination does exist in recruitment and promotion. The only available statistics were provided by a force from which no participants were taken.

Conclusions

Following the analysis of previous research and primary questionnaires, several conclusions have been made.

i. Key findings

Secondary research showed that length of service related discrimination is a problem in some organisations. Previously researched areas of discrimination within the police service highlighted the significant emotional and physical effects of discrimination. Secondary research highlighted the importance of police culture, which was found to strongly shape officers' attitudes and behaviours.

Primary research showed that officers were willing to share opinions and experiences. Whilst the research focused on length of service, officers disclosed other areas, such as recruitment and promotion, in which they believed discrimination to exist. It was important to consider these as well as discrimination related directly to length of service.

Findings showed that almost 70% of officers disagreed that all officers are treated the same regardless of service length. Almost 60% believed that longer serving officers receive more positive treatment from senior officers. These statistics suggested that large proportions of officers believed length of service discrimination is a problem within the contemporary police service. As over 64% of officers believed that length of service greatly affects happiness and experiences, the problem of length of service related discrimination needs to be addressed.

The aims and objectives of the research were met, and research found that length of service discrimination does exist within the police service. Findings showed that some longer serving officers are prejudiced, and act unfairly, toward newer officers. This can be verbally, through the ways in which newer officers are spoken to, or physically through behaviours.

It was recognised that some long serving officers did not hold prejudiced views, or act in a discriminatory manner toward newer officers. Individual personalities are likely to affect the experiences of newer officers.

ii. Research development

With additional time, this research could have been expanded to investigate **why** discrimination occurs, instead of just **if** it occurs.

Research could be extended to include proportionate numbers of minority ethnic persons, and officers from more stations and forces. This would allow for more representative sampling creating a proportionately diverse sample. However, this would require more time and potential funding, to allow for travel and printing costs. Official access may still be denied.

The same questionnaire could be issued to the Scottish police service, to allow for comparison with results from England and Wales. If findings showed stark contrasts, differences in police policy and practice could be investigated to identify areas that may create or encourage length of service related discrimination. However, this would be a major task as multiple areas would need to be investigated, and significant amounts of time would be taken.

Police culture and training could be explored to investigate how they establish and develop officers' attitudes, opinions and behaviours. These areas have been found to be very significant (Silvestri, 2003; Garner, 2005). Changes within these areas could equip officers with more positive outlooks and behaviours, leading to less officer-officer discrimination. Prejudiced and negative views could be extinguished. Any officer divisions created during such processes could be identified and reformed as necessary.

Whilst length of service discrimination has been found to exist, further research would be needed to fully comprehend the causes of such discrimination. This would allow identification of methods to reduce discrimination.

iii. Policy recommendations

The introduction of team building tasks and social events could help officers to create and maintain relationships with other officers, of all lengths of service. This may prevent personal prejudices leading to some officers acting in a discriminatory manner.

Training days, such as anti-discriminatory courses, could be run locally within each police station or force. By encouraging all officers to participate, rather than relying on self-nomination, a diverse mix of officers would attend. Whilst highlighting the importance of equality in behaviour and practice, the training days could incorporate hands-on activities to help officers develop relationships with other officers.

A universal support service could be made available to all officers, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity or length of service. The service could provide confidential help and information to all officers, whilst providing career advice to help officers reach their full potential. Redman and Snape (2006) believed access to support was very important. Results showed that some officers believed that certain groups have access to greater support, such as the Women's Integrated Network. Access to a universal support service would make officers less likely to feel that some colleagues are better supported.

The majority of police officers were happy and believe that they will remain in the police service. However, there was evidence of probationers being subject to discriminatory practices. All officers, regardless of length of service, should be made aware of anti-discriminatory conducts, and given specific information about what to do if they believe they are being treated unfairly. By encouraging officers to report such behaviours the true extent of discrimination, along with the areas in which discrimination occurs, could be understood and dealt with effectively. A named member of staff could be identified within each police station, to whom officers could report discriminatory practices. This

would ensure that somebody takes overall responsibility for managing any problems that arise.

By making all officers aware of current initiatives regarding recruitment and promotional processes, opinions are more likely to be based on fact than misunderstanding or personal prejudices, as found in this research. Making the processes more open will enable officers to see for themselves whether discrimination exists during recruitment or promotion.

iv. End note

Whilst anti-discriminatory legislation has been introduced to tackle areas of discrimination such as race and gender, length of service remains an under-investigated area. Findings have suggested that length of service related discrimination is a problem within the contemporary police service. Further research is necessary to fully understand this area of discrimination.

Length of service was found to have great effects on officers' happiness and experiences. It is widely acknowledged that discrimination significantly affects happiness, engagement and personal well-being (Hassell and Perrewé, 2003; Redman and Snape, 2006). Further research would be beneficial in identifying and reducing length of service related discrimination.

Other areas in which officers believed discrimination to exist were discovered, such as recruitment, where positive action initiatives have been introduced in an attempt to create anti-discrimination practices (Nottinghamshire Police, 2008).

Appendices

Appendix i

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Before completing the following questionnaire, please take the time to read the following information:

This research is being conducted by Rosie Lambert, a BA (Hons.) Criminology student. Research is for part of a dissertation, which aims to investigate discrimination in the police service, particularly in regards to length of service. All research has been approved by an ethics committee.

Extensive research has been conducted into the presence and extent of discrimination within this organisation, by many researchers. However, length of service has largely been ignored, whilst factors such as gender have been the main focus.

Participant Number _____

CONSENT FORM

Before you begin the questionnaire please carefully read the statement below, then sign and date the form to give your consent to take part.

By signing below you are acknowledging that your participation in this research will remain anonymous. However, all answers will be studied by the researcher and will feature, in collaboration with answers from other officers, in a dissertation. You can chose not to answer any question that you feel uncomfortable with and can withdraw from the research at any stage of the questionnaire. As a participant you can request to see a copy of the dissertation once finished, and further information / contact details are displayed on the final page of this questionnaire.

Signed _____ Date _____

To assist with the research please provide the answers the following information:

Gender: _____

Rank: _____

Section: _____

Station: _____

Length of service: _____

Age (delete as applicable): 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56+

Ethnicity (tick as applicable):

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| - White British | - Asian |
| - Other White background | - Black African |
| - White and Black African | - Black Caribbean |
| - White and Black Caribbean | - Other black background |
| - Other mixed background | - Other: _____ |

Participant Number _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle the number corresponding with the extent to which you agree to the following statements, where 1 =strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

1.
I am very happy with my current role.
1 2 3 4 5
2.
I am intending to stay in the police service for the foreseeable future.
1 2 3 4 5
3.
Other officers treat new officers with more respect than longer serving officers.
1 2 3 4 5
4. The public treat new officers with more respect than longer serving officers.
1 2 3 4 5
5. New officers are made to feel more welcome by other new officers than by longer serving officers.
1 2 3 4 5
6.
Length of service has great effects on officers' experience and happiness.
1 2 3 4 5
7.
Longer serving officers receive more positive treatment from senior members of the police than newer officers.
1 2 3 4 5
8.
All officers are treated the same regardless of their length of service.
1 2 3 4 5

Please answer the following questions:

9.
Please describe any ways in which you feel the experiences of newer officers, within the police service, may differ from the experiences of longer serving officers.

10.

Do you feel that that the relationship between new and longer serving officers differs from the relationship between officers who have been in the police service for a similar length of time? Is so then how, and why do you think this is?

11.

What do you think are the key attributes for police recruitment? (E.g. age, potential to progress, gender, friendliness, length of service, etc...)

12.

In your opinion, what are the main factors that lead to officers leaving the police service?

13.

Do you believe that discrimination is present within the police force? Are there any amendments you would make to reduce this?

14.

Are you aware of unfair treatment taking place within the police service? Please feel free to give examples.

15.

Do you think that probationary officers are treated differently from officers who have completed their training? If so, then how?

16.

Do you think discrimination against newer officers differs between rank and area?

17.

Would you prefer senior police roles to be filled by those with extensive police experience, or would you be happy for new people to come in from other organizations that have the necessary management skills? Please explain your answer.

18.

Please feel free to use this bit of space to leave any additional comments:

Thank you for taking part in this research, your participation is very much appreciated. This research is being conducted by Rosie Lambert, BA (Hons.) Criminology student at Nottingham Trent University. If you wish to get in contact please use the following email address; N0093696@ntu.ac.uk. Thank you.

Appendix ii

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION

Before completing the following questionnaire, please take the time to read the following information:

This research is being conducted by Rosie Lambert, a BA (Hons.) Criminology student. Research is for part of a dissertation, which aims to investigate discrimination in the police service, particularly in regards to length of service. All research has been approved by an ethics committee.

Participant Number _____

CONSENT FORM

Before you begin the questionnaire please carefully read the statement below, then sign and date the form to give your consent to take part.

By signing below you are acknowledging that your participation in this research will remain anonymous. However, all answers will be studied by the researcher and will feature, in collaboration with answers from other officers, in a dissertation. You can chose not to answer any question that you feel uncomfortable with and can withdraw from the research at any stage of the questionnaire. As a participant you can request to see a copy of the dissertation once finished, and further information / contact details are displayed on the final page of this questionnaire.

Signed _____ Date _____

To assist with the research please provide the answers the following information:

Gender: _____

Rank: _____

Section: _____

Station: _____

Length of service: _____

Age (delete as applicable): 18-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56+

Ethnicity (tick as applicable):

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| - White British | - Asian |
| - Other White background | - Black African |
| - White and Black African | - Black Caribbean |
| - White and Black Caribbean | - Other black background |
| - Other mixed background | - Other: _____ |

Participant Number _____

QUESTIONNAIRE

Please circle the number corresponding with the extent to which you agree to the following statements, where 1 =strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree.

1.
I am very happy with my current role.
1 2 3 4 5
2.
I am intending to stay in the police service for the foreseeable future.
1 2 3 4 5
3.
Other officers treat new officers with more respect than longer serving officers.
1 2 3 4 5
4. The public treat officers thought to be new with more respect than longer serving officers.
1 2 3 4 5
5. New officers are made to feel more welcome by other new officers than by longer serving officers.
1 2 3 4 5
6.
Length of service has great effects on officers' experience and happiness.
1 2 3 4 5
7.
Longer serving officers receive more positive treatment from senior members of the police than newer officers.
1 2 3 4 5
8.
All officers are treated the same regardless of their length of service.
1 2 3 4 5

Please answer the following questions:

9.
Please describe any ways in which you feel the experiences of newer officers, within the police service, may differ from the experiences of longer serving officers.

10.

Do you feel that that the relationship between new and longer serving officers differs from the relationship between officers who have been in the police service for a similar length of time? Is so then how, and why do you think this is?

11.

In your opinion, what are the main factors that lead to officers leaving the police service?

12.

Have you experienced or witnessed any officer-officer discrimination? On what basis?
Are there any amendments you would make to reduce this?

13.

Are you aware of unfair treatment taking place within the police service? Please feel
free to give examples.

14.

Do you think that probationary officers are treated differently from officers who have
completed their training? If so, then how?

15.

Do you think discrimination against newer officers differs between rank and station?

16.

Would you prefer senior police roles to be filled by those with extensive police experience, or would you be happy for new people to come in from other organizations that have the necessary management skills? Please explain your answer.

17.

What do you think are the key attributes for police recruitment? (E.g. age, potential to progress, gender, friendliness, length of service, etc...)

18.

Please feel free to use this bit of space to leave any additional comments:

Thank you for taking part in this research, your participation is very much appreciated. This research is being conducted by Rosie Lambert, BA (Hons.) Criminology student at Nottingham Trent University. If you wish to get in contact please use the following email address; N0093696@ntu.ac.uk. Thank you.

Appendix iii

Rosie Lambert
25 Watkin Street
Nottingham
NG3 1DL
12 November 2007

Nottingham Police
Sherwood Lodge
Arnold
Nottingham
NG5 8PP

Dear Sir or Madam,

I am a BA (Hons) Criminology student, at Nottingham Trent University, and am writing to you with regards to my dissertation. I have chosen to base my dissertation around discrimination in the police force, with particular regards to length of service. I am aware that extensive research has been conducted into discrimination within this organisation, especially with gender being the main focus. However, length of service has been largely ignored, with little or no research having taken place.

I am conducting primary research, in the form of a questionnaire, which asks questions relating to officers' experiences, views and opinions. No questions directly ask if the participant has ever experienced discrimination, as that would be highly unethical. My research has been approved by an ethics committee, and all answers would be given anonymously. No personal details are asked for.

Would you be able to help me by allowing officers to complete a questionnaire? I would like officers of both genders, all ranks and of all lengths of service to participate, and as many as possible.

I come and discuss this further with you, or can contact me using the details provided at the bottom of this letter. If you chose to help, I would happily let you see a copy of my dissertation once finished, and my dissertation is the only place in which results would be discussed.

I understand if you do not wish to take part, but thank you for taking the time to read my letter,

Yours sincerely,

Rosie Lambert
BA (Hons) Criminology student
Nottingham Trent University
rosie.lambert@students.ntu.ac.uk / 079707 59250

A Safe Nottinghamshire For All



NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
POLICE

HQ(P)/NW/lw

19 November 2007

Ms R Lambert
25 Watkin Street
Nottingham
NG3 1DL

HEADQUARTERS

Sherwood Lodge, Arnold
Nottingham NG5 8PP
DX 715806 ARNOLD 3

Dear Ms Lambert

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF RECEIPT

I am in receipt of your correspondence/enquiry 12 November 2007, regarding your dissertation on discrimination in the Police Force.

Please note that this matter is receiving attention and a full reply will be issued as soon as possible.

In case of query please contact the person detailed below who is responsible for responding to your request:

NAME	Mr Nigel Willey
JOB TITLE	Head of Human Resource Management
TEL. NO./EXT	0115 967 2400

Yours sincerely

 Nigel Willey
Head of Human Resource Management



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE



A Safe Nottinghamshire For All



NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
POLICE

Chief Superintendent Peter Moyes

Nottingham City Division
Central Police Station
North Church Street
Nottingham
NG1 4BH

Tel: (0115) 844 5000

Fax: (0115) 8445019

E-mail address:

peter.moyes@nottinghamshire.pnn.police.uk

Our Ref: PM/ALD/281107

4th December 2007

Rosie Lambert
25 Watkin Street
Nottingham
NG3 1DL

Dear Rosie

Thank you for your letter dated the 12th November 2007.

You have chosen an unusual and interesting aspect of discrimination and I am sure your work will be of value. However, prior to circulating anything around my organisation I would like to see the questions and the content of the questionnaire before agreeing to participate.

It may help if you could forward me an outline of your proposed research, including a copy of your questionnaire and details of how many officers or staff to whom you would wish to circulate your questionnaire.

Yours sincerely

Peter Moyes
Divisional Commander
City Division



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE



Rosie Lambert
62 Longridge Road
Woodthorpe
Nottingham
NG5 4LA

10th December 2007

Dear Peter,

Thank you very much for your reply to my letter, regarding my university dissertation.

I have enclosed a copy of my questionnaire along with an outline of my proposed research for you to have a look at. If you have any queries, or would like any questions amending, deleting or even adding, then please let me know.

I am aiming to get a significant number of officers / staff to complete my questionnaire, in order to give my research some strength. Ideally, at least fifty people would complete my questionnaire, but any number of responses would be appreciated – the more the better.

If you do agree to circulate my questionnaire around your organisation, I could either bring an agreed number of questionnaires into the station, or send it to you electronically, which ever is most convenient.

I very much appreciate you taking the time to consider helping me with my dissertation, and look forward to receiving your reply. It would be fantastic if you do decide to participate, however please feel free to say no. I could provide you with a copy of my dissertation once completed, if you should wish to see it.

Yours sincerely

Rosie Lambert

Overview of research

General Research Aim:

The research aims to investigate whether discrimination, in regards to length of service, is present within the contemporary police service. The extent and effects of this discrimination will also be investigated.

Research Questions and Objectives:

This research has a number of objectives. The questionnaire aims to investigate whether officers feel that discrimination exists, in relation to length of service, and seeks answers to a variety of questions, for example whether length of service has a significant impact on experiences, happiness and job satisfaction.

The questionnaire will also explore whether newer officers are treated differently, than those with longer service. Answers will enable a conclusion to be drawn as to whether discriminated regarding length of service exists, and the extent of any discrimination.

Existing research literature will also be studied as part of this research, and aims to explore findings in previous research that may relate to this area of discrimination. This will help to consider any potential effects of discrimination. Methods that have been used to reduce discrimination will be considered, and this may help to draw up recommendations to prevent any discrimination relating to length of service.

Justification for Research:

There is a gap in existing literature regarding discrimination resulting from length of service. The proposed research will therefore provide an original insight into this gap. Whilst this undergraduate research may not give a longitudinal analysis of great depth, it can act as a basis for the researcher's Masters degree and will aid understanding of the presence and extent of discrimination.

Although there are many equal opportunity and anti-discrimination acts, there is no legislation to reduce discrimination specifically regarding length of service. This research will help to discover if this type of discrimination is a problem that needs addressing within the police service. It needs to be acknowledged that discrimination through length of service may differ between organisations.

Existing equal opportunities legislation includes the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) promotes equality for both genders, and the Human Rights Act of 1998. This act makes it unlawful for public authorities, including the police service, to discriminate against an individual either directly or indirectly, or subject them victimisation. This legislation is broad and covers any acts of unfair treatment. Discrimination relating to length of service could be seen as victimisation, and would thus be covered by this act.

Existing legislation, along with previous research, shows that length of service is an under researched area. This research can help provide an insight into this gap.

A Safe Nottinghamshire For All



HEADQUARTERS

Sherwood Lodge, Arnold
Nottingham NG5 8PP
DX 715806 ARNOLD 3

HQ (P) ER&E NW/AH

10 December 2007

Ms R Lambert
25 Watkin Street
Nottingham
NG3 1DL

Dear Ms Lambert

I refer to your recent letter requesting assistance in relation to your dissertation.
I am sure you will appreciate that we receive many requests like this and unfortunately it is not possible to assist you.

I would like to wish you all the best with your studies.

Yours sincerely

Nigel Willey

Head of Human Resource Management



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Appendix iv

A table showing the attributes that officers thought were most important in police recruitment.

	Male	Female	Total
Fitness	7	3	10
Sociability	5	1	6
Friendliness	2	4	6
Willingness to learn	2	1	3
Cooperative	-	1	1
Age	2	3	5
Ethnicity	4	1	5
Confidence	2	2	4
Communication Skills	7	4	11
Patience	-	1	1
Motivation	2	1	3
Gender	3	1	4
Religion	-	1	1
Potential to progress	2	4	6
Length of service	1	1	2
Outgoing Personality	5	3	8
Ability to work as a team	3	1	4
Non-biased	-	1	1
Non-discriminatory	-	1	1
Hard Working	4	1	5
Honest	-	1	1
Not sure	1	-	1
Not answered	6	3	9

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Acknowledgments

Many thanks to my dissertation tutor, Phil Hodgson, for his help and advice over the last few months. It has been a long process but I have enjoyed it.

Special thanks also go to my mother, Liz Lambert, who has offered unconditional love and support throughout my time at university. I could not have done it without you.

I am very grateful to you both.