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# BEYOND COP CULTURE

## The Cultural Challenge of Civilian Intelligence Analysis in Scottish Policing

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# Abstract

The central contention of this thesis, and its original contribution to the subject area, is that the recent development of civilian intelligence analysis in Scottish policing presents a challenge to an otherwise hegemonic 'cop culture' in police intelligence work. In advancing this argument this thesis develops the existing literature by recognising that academic research to date on 'police culture' has focused almost exclusively on the cultures of sworn police officers, and particularly those 'cops' engaged in 'frontline' policing. Civilian police staff groups have been excluded from existing cultural accounts, despite their long-established position in many police forces, particularly those in Scotland.

Drawing upon five years of qualitative sociological fieldwork, and taking inspiration from the theory and research of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, this thesis highlights how civilian intelligence analysts – as office-based, young, predominantly female and embodying a new 'academic' knowledge that is divorced from experience – have become increasingly essential to the effective functioning of intelligence-led policing. The integration of civilian intelligence analysis into police intelligence work in Scotland, however, is inhibited by the persistent hegemony of a cop culture that privileges masculinity, physicality, solidarity, cynicism and, above all, the experiential knowledge that the 'crime-fighting' cop has gained from policing 'the streets'.

The cultural challenge of civilian intelligence analysis, emerging from within wider processes of civilianisation and pluralisation, has provoked a patriarchal response from police officers. This response is characterised by masculine domination and the exertion of symbolic violence within the wider ideological construction of the 'police family'. This patriarchal response has also contributed to the infantilisation of the intelligence analyst in Scottish policing, as a concomitant form of cultural control. The interplay of these processes of cultural challenge and control contributes to a phenomenon of cultural dissonance – a sense of difference, discord and disharmony – between police officers and intelligence analysts. This cultural dissonance is sustained in everyday practice through the perpetuation and persistence of a 'them and us' culture between these groups.

This thesis concludes by exploring the future of intelligence analysis in the context of profound and on-going organisational reform, and in doing so identifies recent processes of de-civilianisation in Scottish policing. Although intelligence analysis has remained relatively insulated from de-civilianisation to date, fieldwork disclosed how there has emerged disquiet about the potential diversification of the intelligence analyst role and concern for the future position of the intelligence analyst in Scottish policing as it enters a new phase in its distinctive development.

# Contents

## Acknowledgements

When I sat down to write these acknowledgements I came across a saying I had never encountered before: 'it takes a village to raise a child'. In full knowledge of what follows in the thesis I thought that a similar argument could be made for completing a PhD. At the outset of this research I was unaware of the impact it would have on others in my life, and of how much any success would rely on an array of people, some of whom, at that early stage, I had still to meet. The following passages reflect my gratitude to only a few of the many people who assisted me along the way. To everyone else who helped – directly or indirectly, knowingly or unknowingly – I am indebted to you in ways beyond reparation.

I wish to extend my grateful thanks to my supervisors Dr Sarah Armstrong and Professor Fergus McNeill. I always valued your guidance, considered judgement, engagement and enthusiasm throughout this process. You allowed me space to develop my ideas but also respectfully reined me in when I threatened to veer off course. Given the demands on your time, as two expert researchers in your respective fields, I appreciated your ability to accommodate me and my work into your plans. I was very lucky to have had two such excellent supervisors. More than that, though, I welcomed your kindness, warmth and generosity as people.

My thanks also go to Professor Bridget Fowler for taking the time to read and review my engagement with the work and ideas of Pierre Bourdieu. The theoretical perspective of this thesis is much stronger for your kind commentary, thoughtful insight and critical appraisal.

As with many PhD theses, this research would not have occurred without the support of a great teacher. In this vein, I would like to acknowledge the support of Professor John Peterson who, ten years ago, encouraged me to continue studying when I could easily have walked away. Sometimes in life you need others to see something in you that you do not see in yourself.

I also wish to extend my grateful thanks to Gemma Crompton for her enthusiastic proofreading and gentle guidance. You really did go above and beyond any reasonable

expectations of a friend. I hope I have returned your generosity in unreasonably demanding innumerable burpees. Any remaining errors are my own, and are present despite your fantastic efforts.

My mum and dad have supported me in ways that only loving parents could. Six years is a long time, and you have both lost people close to you along on the way. This is for you. When I was very young my parents also found me the best babysitter – and de facto teacher – that a boy could have; Lorna, you are between the lines and behind the ideas of every part of this thesis.

Lastly, and most importantly, I wish to thank my wife Linda. I apologise for the nights when I was apart from you, staring blankly at a blinking cursor waiting for inspiration to come. I was selfish, and you were an unconditionally understanding, generous, supportive and loyal partner, and then wife. I hope that this degree somehow helps us and our growing little family, now that it is finally over.


Colin Atkinson

Clydebank
October 2013

## Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature             _____

Printed name       _____

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| ACPOS | Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland |
| CCTV | Closed Circuit Television |
| CHIS | Covert Human Intelligence Source |
| DC | Detective Constable |
| DCI | Detective Chief Inspector |
| DI | Detective Inspector |
| DS | Detective Sergeant |
| DSU | Dedicated Source Unit |
| HMICS | Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary for Scotland |
| IT | Information Technology |
| MI | Major Investigation |
| MOPS | Member of Police Staff |
| MSP | Member of Scottish Parliament |
| NIM | National Intelligence Model |
| NYPD | New York Police Department |
| PC | Police Constable |
| PCSO | Police Custody and Security Officer |
| SCDEA | Scottish Crime and Drug Enforcement Agency |
| SIO | Senior Investigating Officer |
| SNP | Scottish National Party |
| SPSA | Scottish Police Services Authority |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| US | United States |

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Preface       Before, through and beyond cop culture

As a young, working class boy growing up in Clydebank, a town on the outskirts of Glasgow famous for its shipbuilding heritage but in the throes of post-industrial decline, my encounters with the police were not especially positive. I was distraught, and cried, when a police officer told me at primary school that I had failed my cycling proficiency test. A few years later, fuelled by the bravado of adolescence, the youth football team for which I played would chant a derogatory, expletive-laden and violent anti-police song on the mini-bus to our games on a Saturday morning, to the tune of *The Drunken Sailor*. Although I was never in any trouble with the police as a youngster, there was certainly nothing pre-determined about me joining Strathclyde Police as a civilian intelligence analyst in June 2005. Given that I had never accepted the heroic image of the police, I did not apply for the job believing that I would be changing the world or saving lives on a daily basis. I applied because I thought that working in intelligence sounded like something I would enjoy, and I also thought I would be good at it. However, on my first day, and for some time, I struggled to understand the Byzantine nature of the police, its physical layout, organisational structure and its processes of cultural production and practice. This period, its particular struggles and the further challenges ahead, formed the roots of this study.

My first role as a civilian intelligence analyst, from June 2005 to September 2006, was working in the strategic analysis unit of Strathclyde Police. My unit was responsible for the analysis of crime and intelligence data on a force-wide basis and across a broad range of criminal activity: from serious organised crime to anti-social behaviour. I was based at the police headquarters in Pitt Street in Glasgow, a single building confusingly comprised of two structures haphazardly combined, despite being built several decades apart. This created a working environment somewhat akin to a rabbit-warren, and I frequently found myself getting lost and having to ask for directions to another office or the next meeting room where I was due. This was not helped by the fact that intelligence offices, by their nature, are often anonymous, lacking any clear signage in an attempt to remain covert. Navigating the complexities of the organisation itself proved even more difficult. Despite working in an intelligence environment, my contact with police officers was, at first, very limited, and it took some time for me to become familiar with the rank structure of the police (was a Superintendent above a

Detective Chief Inspector?) and its idiosyncrasies (why is everyone calling that guy 'Sir' all the time? Anyway, why are some police officers in uniform and others not?). During this period I recall feeling glad that I had not taken the job with any grand pretensions of making a difference or changing the world because I felt that, given my position in the organisation and my lack of any effective contribution, nothing could have been further from the truth.

I believe that I endured those difficult early days because within a few months of becoming a civilian intelligence analyst I began a postgraduate course in criminology and criminal justice. Although the specific subject matter was new to me, returning to academic study provided me a refuge in an area in which I was comfortable and knowledgeable, whilst in my professional life I felt lost and of little worth. As I progressed through the course I delved deeper into the academic literature on policing, and found an extensive and illuminating literature on a phenomenon called, amongst other things, 'cop culture'. Reading these works – by Banton, Reiner, Manning and Reuss Ianni – helped me in my professional life by facilitating a fresh, critical perspective on my day-to-day job. Crucially, I also identified one significant gap in the literature: it had very little to say about civilian police staff. I thought that by conducting research in my new workplace I could develop the existing – but separate – literatures on civilian intelligence analysts and Scottish policing, and this became the focus of my dissertation for this postgraduate course. Following the completion of this dissertation, and the subsequent degree award, I was successful in my application for a Bramshill Fellowship to turn this exciting, but relatively limited, study into something much more substantial: a doctoral thesis.

The completion of this postgraduate course and my first steps towards developing this doctoral study coincided with my move to a civilian intelligence analyst post in another department: the Counter Terrorism Intelligence Unit (Scotland). I worked there for almost six years – from September 2006 until June 2012 – and the vast majority of fieldwork for this thesis was undertaken whilst working there. This was an exciting time to work in counter-terrorism as the 'network' of police and security services expanded in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in London in 2005. I was fortunate to work on a range of important and high-profile investigations, including the 2007 terrorist attacks in London and at Glasgow International Airport. I grew into my

new role and became, what I considered to be, an effective intelligence analyst. During my time in this unit I worked very closely with police officers from a range of police forces, and these experiences undoubtedly influenced and shaped the representations in this study. Whilst I saw the potential value that an intelligence analyst could add to an investigation or operation, I also experienced the conditions that could render intelligence analysts as ineffectual or impotent. My time there felt like opportunity and oppression in equal measure.

As I progressed through the final year of my doctoral study in the summer of 2012 – and became more deeply involved in the laborious and incremental process of writing-up my thesis – I left my role as an intelligence analyst in the Counter Terrorism Intelligence Unit (Scotland). I did not, however, leave the police service. I instead moved to another role in the Strathclyde Police Analysis and Performance Unit: Planning and Performance Officer. This move was motivated several intersecting issues: my frustration at the failure of intelligence analysis to exploit its full potential in a field still dominated by police officers, the lack of development opportunities – and remuneration – for intelligence analysts when compared to their police officer counterparts, the increasing prominence of performance-led policing under the watch of an influential chief constable, and a real sense of foreboding in relation to the potential impact of the move towards a single Scottish police service upon civilian police staff. Despite such concerns, I was especially sad to leave the world of counter-terrorism, which I consider to be an area of policing in which the exploitation and analysis of intelligence can be the difference between a defused bomb and a detonation. The scope of this thesis extends beyond counter-terrorism to consider the breadth of police intelligence work. In contexts such as these the cultural challenge of the intelligence analyst – in particular to the core characteristics and hegemony of cop culture – could be considered as one of the most pressing issues facing policing in Scotland.

Chapter 1    Introduction

## 1.1    Beyond Cop Culture

### 1.1.1  To cop culture and beyond

Academic research on 'police culture' has been one of the most vibrant and productive areas in the study of policing, uncovering many of the day-to-day realities, lived experiences and cultural meanings of police work. Research in this area has also offered valuable contributions to the wider literature on methodologies in the social sciences (see Punch 1979 and Holdaway 1983). Despite such cultural insights and methodological contributions, this thesis begins by recognising that there is scope for further analytical and methodological progress in this subject area. The range of research to date – which has disproportionately developed in very few national contexts (Nickels and Verma 2008: 190, Terpstra and Schaap 2013: 61) – has bequeathed a multiplicity of terms to describe the social phenomena with which it seeks to engage: police culture, cop culture, canteen culture, street cop culture, management cop culture, police cultures, police sub-culture, police occupational culture and police organisational culture. [1] Such terms are defined and conceptualised in the literature to varying extents. Oftentimes these terms are conflated – as in Fielding's (1994) cop canteen culture or Waddington's (1999) police (canteen) sub-culture – or considered synonymous and interchangeable. [2] The term most commonly used to describe this social phenomenon has arguably been the alluringly simple term 'police culture'. Taking stock of the research field in 2007 Marks and Singh suggested it was significant that none of the contributors to their edited volume believed the term police culture should be discarded (Marks and Singh 2007: 365-366). Illustrative of the conceptual imprecision in this area, however, Marks and Singh's edited volume itself was titled *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*. Over a decade earlier, however, Janet Chan (1996: 110) had highlighted the deficiencies of the conceptual construct of police culture, and argued that as an analytical term it was so poorly defined that it had become of little value. This thesis develops Chan's critical approach by suggesting that, based on the existing research, the

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[1] No previous studies – dedicated or explicit – have been published into cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in the forces and agencies of the Scottish police service, despite the country's claim to be at the forefront of the development of both the modern police and police studies.

[2] See Wilson et al's (2011) discussion of some of the characteristics of Robert Reiner's (2000) influential account in which 'police' and 'cop' culture are synonymous.

term police culture should be rejected on the grounds that it promotes a narrow and prescriptive idea of exactly who constitutes 'the police'.

Regardless of their preference of nomenclature, the existing academic analyses and cultural representations of policing share an almost exclusive concern with culture as it relates to police officers. More specifically, the academic focus has been on the visible policing of 'cops on the beat'. This has been attributed to the romanticism of this role and the relative ease with which the social researcher can gain access to street-level workers in order to gather data (Foster 2003).[3] This narrow focus is unsatisfactory given the diverse range of otherwise 'hidden' actors and networks involved in contemporary policing. In particular, this fixation is symptomatic of a lack of recognition given to the presence, position and agency of unsworn, civilian police staff – all of those persons who are employed in the police service but are not police officers, from administrative assistants to intelligence analysts – in contemporary police forces, or to consider their cultural impact. This neglect represents a major weakness in the academic study of policing and cultural representations of the police. A key conceptual critique of this thesis is that by focussing solely on police officers – particularly the frontline, visible, street-based policing of cops – the critical mass of existing accounts can be better considered as the history of *cop culture*. These accounts, the vast majority of which have been researched in jurisdictions other than Scotland, cannot be regarded as representing a more holistic '*police* culture', as to do so would necessitate either the generalisation the core thesis of previous cultural accounts beyond the cop role – to include, for example, civilian police staff – in the absence of any adequate empirical basis for doing so. In developing an original contribution to the subject area this thesis recognises that the police workforce is broader than simply that of cops or, indeed, of police officers more broadly considered. Following processes of civilianisation in Scottish policing civilian police staff now account for 28% of the total police workforce.[4] Therefore, even if the existing accounts of cop culture could be un-problematically transposed across national, jurisdictional and institutional boundaries, their applied explanatory power would be limited to, *at best*, only around three quarters of the police service in Scotland.

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[3] This academic focus could also, perhaps, be justified in its approach given the deep political commitment towards an ill-defined and vaguely conceptualised 'frontline'.

[4] The number of police officers, 17499, was recorded by the Scottish Government (2012a). The number of civilian police staff, 6890, was provided in a written answer to the Scottish Parliament on 6 September 2012 (Scottish Parliament 2012a).

The focus of existing cultural accounts on police officers is particularly problematic given that civilian police staff are now active across a range of roles, some of which directly impinge upon traditionally 'core' policing activities. The changing nature of the work of police staff was highlighted by Daniel Donnelly and Kenneth Scott in their 2005 account of the organisation of Scottish policing,

> "Police forces have employed civilian staff from time immemorial, normally in the capacity of minor clerical and administrative jobs. However, employing professionally trained civilians and substituting them in key roles hitherto occupied by sworn police officers are more recent phenomena." (Donnelly and Scott 2005a: 21).

More specifically, this thesis seeks to address the relatively recent employment of civilian intelligence analysts in Scottish policing. Intelligence analysts have been introduced to the very heart of an area of policing previously monopolised, and closely guarded, by police officers: police intelligence work. The limited range of available evidence from jurisdictions other than Scotland suggests that the introduction of civilian intelligence analysts into police forces has had important cultural consequences for such organisations (see Ratcliffe and Guidetti 2008: 122). The existence or extent of any analogous cultural impact following the introduction of civilian intelligence analysts in Scottish policing, however, remains unknown. This thesis will address this gap in the research to date by exploring the ways in which civilian intelligence analysts in Scotland challenge cop culture, and the cultural responses of dominant groups to the introduction of this new set of police staff. In doing so this thesis seeks move *beyond cop culture* by exploring the extent to which civilian police staff create distinctive cultural and sub-cultural groups in Scottish policing.

The contribution and ambition of this thesis, however, extends beyond these empirical insights. This thesis also seeks to advance both the theoretical perspectives upon, and methodological approaches to, cultural representations of police work. In relation to the former, an important critique advanced in this thesis is that, until relatively recently, much of the research on cop culture to date had been descriptive and atheoretical. Nevertheless, there has emerged a trend in the literature to use social theory to bolster empirical research. This approach was pioneered by Janet Chan in her 1997 work *Changing Police Culture* in which she employed a Bourdieusian perspective – applying the theory and concepts of Pierre Bourdieu – in order to account for the

existence of multiple cultures in policing. Chan sought to recognise the creative and interpretive aspects of culture, to situate cultural practice in the political context of policing, and to provide a theory of change (Chan 1997: 67).[5] This thesis contends that there remains significant scope to deepen a Bourdieusian perspective which can, in turn, further assist in exploring – and explaining – cultural positions, dispositions, tastes, values, attitudes and beliefs in policing. The Bourdieusian influence upon this study is not limited to theory; instead encompassing Bourdieu's methodological perspectives upon, and approach to, empirical research. As the first cultural representation of police work researched and written by a serving civilian member of police staff this thesis demonstrates a commitment a form of qualitative sociological enquiry that represents a critical dialogue with, and reflexive analysis of, oneself, one's social group and one's shared interaction with other groups in a given society. Before advancing such contributions, and especially given both the limited range of research on policing in Scotland and the importance of recent developments, it is first necessary to provide an overview of the politics and organisation of Scottish policing.

## 1.1.2   The politics and organisation of Scottish policing

In 2011, in response to current and impending reductions in public expenditure, the Scottish police service was approaching a critical juncture in its long, distinctive history. Its de-centralised structure, the basis of which came into existence in 1975, was coming under increasing public and political scrutiny due to its perceived inefficiencies and duplication of efforts. Senior police officers disagreed on a common way forward. Some argued for the retention of the existing structure of eight territorial police forces supported by a plethora of centralised services, but with increased collaboration between all involved. Others opted for a rationalised regional model of three or four police forces, to be achieved through the merging of existing police services and forces into larger units. The remainder radically proposed that a single Scottish police service was the only appropriate response to both budgetary constraints and criminality across the country. These three competing visions were all suggested as options for structural reform in the Scottish Government's *A Consultation on the Future of Policing in Scotland* published in February 2011 (Scottish Government 2011a). The Scottish

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[5] The influence of Chan's approach is evident in subsequent work on cop culture; for example in her 2009 work *Police Culture in a Changing World* – an ethnographic study of 'police culture' in an English police force – Bethan Loftus remarked upon the new social field of policing, invoking the language of Bourdieu (Loftus 2009). The use of such theoretically laden language is significant and provides evidence of an emerging theoretical discourse in this area of study.

Government was, like the senior police officers who served under its authority, also unclear on a future path for the Scottish police service. Facing future fiscal crises the politicians were, however, unequivocal on the need for change; they considered the status quo untenable due to impending spending reductions and reform a necessity (Scottish Government 2011a: 6). Legitimating the requirement for reform the political mantra of the Scottish National Party (SNP)-led administration became 'bobbies not boundaries' (see Maxwell 2011 and Herald Scotland 2011). It seemed that following nearly forty years of structural stability – and some conservative adaptation within this existing structure – everything was about to change. In 2011 the Scottish police service was therefore at a critical juncture, but also almost certainly facing a historic transformation. This thesis – a cultural account of Scottish policing for which the bulk research was undertaken in the period from 2008 to 2012 – offers a unique insight into a public service during a period of significant uncertainty and on the cusp of potentially radical organisational change.

Developing a cultural account of Scottish policing in this context of instability and uncertainty requires, from the very outset, an understanding of three important areas: definitions, distinctiveness and devolution. Scottish policing must be *defined* in a way that recognises any potential *distinctiveness* from policing in other jurisdictions – particularly in England and Wales – and which takes into account recent processes of political *devolution*. Considering definitions, a series of scholars have recognised the requirement for clear distinction to be made between policing and the police. As Robert Reiner stated in 2010,

> "It is important to distinguish between ideas of 'police' and 'policing'. 'Police' refers to a particular kind of social institution, while 'policing' implies a set of social processes with specific social functions." (Reiner 2010: 4).

Given that the social processes of policing pre-date, and in contemporary society are entirely possible without, the social institution of the police (see Zedner 2006) it is first necessary to define policing. In their influential work *Private Security and Public Policing* Trevor Jones and Tim Newburn considered policing to be,

> "[T]hose organised forms of order maintenance, peacekeeping, rule or law enforcement, crime investigation and prevention and other forms of investigation and associated information-brokering – which may involve a conscious exercise of

coercive power – undertaken by individuals or organisations, where such activities are viewed by them and/or others as a central or key defining part of their purpose." (Jones and Newburn 1998: 18-19).

Jones and Newburn subsequently discussed the range of individuals and organisations that may undertake any of these policing activities, of which they considered the modern 'state' police to be only one of many. Indeed, there has long been an awareness in the literature that the police cannot not hold a monopoly over policing in a modern democratic society.[6] In the very opening sentence to his pioneering study *The Policeman in the Community* Michael Banton acknowledged,

> "A cardinal principle for the understanding of police organization and activity is that the police are only one among many agencies of social control." (Banton 1964: 1).

However, in understanding and defining policing, a key difference between early pioneers in the study of policing, such as Banton, and later scholars rests in the recent development of the 'transformation thesis'.

The transformation thesis in the study of policing recognises that the pace and extent of technological and organisational change in the police service since the 1950s has been startling. In their 1997 discussion of the future of policing, in which they somewhat problematically posited that the fictional Police Constable (PC) George Dixon represents the typification of the 'British' bobby, Rod Morgan and Tim Newburn speculated that,

> "Were we to resuscitate PC George Dixon he would find his surroundings somewhat strange… there would be computers and electronic communications wizardry unknown in his day. But he would probably be most surprised that most of these aids – aids handling vital and confidential information – were being operated by civilians." (Morgan and Newburn 1997: 11).

Although the transformation thesis recognises the pace and extent of technological and organisational change, it also offers a deeper conceptual account of changes in policing as a social practice and considers how these changes have affected the police service itself. The successive accounts that contribute to the transformation thesis consider a range of different developments: changes in legal frameworks and arrangements for the

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[6] Or, for that matter, late-modern or postmodern democratic societies.

accountability of policing, transformations in technologies, management, and practices in policing and, importantly, the pluralisation of policing (see Johnston 1992, Loader 2000, Crawford 2005, Henry and Smith 2007, Jones et al 2009). The cumulative effect of such changes was first signalled in Bayley and Shearing's original and bold claim that,

> "Modern democratic countries like the United States, Britain, and Canada have reached a watershed in the evolution of their systems of crime control and law enforcement. Future generations will look back on our era as a time when one system of policing ended and another took its place." (Bayley and Shearing 1996: 585).[7]

The main impetus for Bayley and Shearing's claim lay in their assertion that the social practice of policing is no longer monopolised by the public or state police. Importantly, they argued that as the traditional police service had become increasingly challenged by private and community-based policing agents it faced dual crises of effectiveness and legitimacy. More importantly for my account of the challenge of civilian intelligence analysis in Scottish policing, Bayley and Shearing also contend that civilianisation is located *within* these processes of the pluralisation of policing (Bayley and Shearing 1996: 589). Similarly, for Newburn and Reiner,

> "Arguably, the most profound shift in the past 50 years in policing has been the ending of the idea of a police "monopoly" in policing as a broadening array of private, municipal and civilian guards, officers and wardens become ever more visible. An increasingly complex division of labour has emerged in which private security personnel far outstrip police in numerical terms in which civilian employees and auxiliaries have become an accepted part of state policing – and have access to increased powers in some cases – and in which the police and numerous other agencies – public, private and voluntary – work in "partnership". (Newburn and Reiner 2004: 614).

Indeed, they continue that the successive waves of civilianisation from the 1980s onwards were the factor with the greatest impact on the contemporary policing

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[7] Proponents of the transformation thesis, and Bayley and Shearing in particular, may be subject to critique for their propensity to overstate the epochal nature of change (Zedner 2006: 79, Jones and Newburn 2002: 129). Ultimately, they probably do overstate the case in arguing that there has been a sharp break in systems of policing in liberal democracies. Bayley and Shearing's account has also been criticised for its particularly narrow North American focus, which fails to take into account important differences with other policing systems, despite the authors' claim to be discussing global change (Jones and Newburn 2002). More recently, Adam White and Martin Gill (2013) have argued that, in the 'British case' the evidence suggests that rather than signalling a straightforward shift from public good to private market, what is instead occurring in policing is a complex blurring of relations and rationalities across the traditional public-private divide.

landscape (Newburn and Reiner 2004: 616). The central tenet shared amongst theorists of transformation in policing – the recognition that the state no longer holds a monopoly on legitimate policing in a given territory – is a crucial point of difference with earlier scholars such as Banton. When Banton argued that the police service is one agent of social control amongst many he was referring to preponderance of other traditional, state-led, secondary agents of social control such as park wardens in municipal recreation grounds and bus conductors on nationalised public transport systems (see Morris 1994: 315). Banton did not report upon, nor did he foresee, the rise in private security (Shearing and Stenning 1981 and 1983) or the commodification of policing and security (Loader 1999, Newburn 2001). The transformation thesis has thus critically contended that new and emerging actors, both within and beyond the state, are becoming increasingly important in the social practice of policing, and that the police are re-defining their role within this newly emerging settlement.[8] Although the extent of any transformation in policing is subject to debate, it remains clear that there is a requirement to locate 'the police', and subsequently understand their role, in any emerging new social context.

For Robert I. Mawby the police can be understood as distinct from other agencies and actors active in policing in terms of *legitimacy*, *structure* and *function* (Mawby, R. I. 2003: 15). The legitimacy of the police originates in the state-sanctioned power to exercise coercive power or violence. This unique and defining characteristic was insightfully summarised by Lucia Zedner,

> "By 'the police', I refer to constables in the employ of the state, whose task it is to deliver up criminals to the criminal justice system. This crude oversimplification does damage to the variety of the police and the considerable complexity of their role but it does capture the indissoluble relationship between the police and the modern state." (Zedner 2006: 81).

Zedner is clearly aware that her definition fails to capture the array of actors, both sworn police officers and civilian police staff, that are active in the police service today, and the wide range of activities that they undertake. Her definition does, however, astutely situate the police as an institution of the state and an instrument of state power and policy. Although its role may be increasingly challenged by new and emerging policing

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[8] Indeed, for Lucia Zedner (2006: 82) the concept of policing as a purely 'state' activity is becoming an intellectual straightjacket.

actors located outside or beyond the state, the police service maintains a unique relationship with the state. This remains a defining characteristic of the contemporary police service, particularly in Scotland where recent political changes in statehood have had important political consequences on policing and its delivery. The police is also recognisable in its structure in that it is organised hierarchically and based upon a quasi-militaristic model wherein formal power is distributed based upon a rank structure.[9] This model of organisation assists the police in carrying out its function, which Mawby understands as the maintenance of law and order and the prevention and detection of offences. This is perhaps the most controversial of Mawby's criteria. Functional definitions of the police are common, but the utility of such definitions is contested. As Rubén Rumbaut and Egon Bittner argued in their 1979 review of the police role in American society,

> "The inquiry into the nature of the police role, then, as suggested by our preceding review of the literature, has alerted us to the diversity and complexity of police work, its ambiguous and problematic social context, its role conflicts and contradictions." (Rumbaut and Bittner 1979: 282-283).

In the 1980s Klockars also argued that it remained problematic to define the police predominantly in terms of their supposed function (Klockars 1985). Adopting a similarly critical standpoint this thesis argues that, Mawby's functional definition of the police can be considered as both restrictive and reductive: it excludes a wide range of activities and actors in the police service and narrows its function to a traditional 'crime-fighting' role. Mawby does, however, recognise that police systems vary locally (Mawby, R. I. 2003: 16), which is an important point to recognise when considering the 'distinctiveness' – or otherwise – of Scottish policing. In summary, the police can be *defined* as a state-funded organisation of professional people engaged in a social process of policing, its legitimacy state-sanctioned, in which power is formally distributed along a hierarchical structure strongly influenced by rank, with the core functions of maintaining order and the prevention and detection of crime in a society, but within which a range of other ancillary tasks have become increasingly common.

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[9] Somewhat counter-intuitively, the use of discretion – an important informal power in the police service – increases the 'lower down' a police officer is placed in this hierarchical rank structure, especially for those police officers whose daily work involves response or community policing, and thus necessitating a large degree of interaction with the public.

Although policing and police have now been defined in the context of this thesis, adding the prefix 'Scottish' complicates matters further, and can only be fully understood by exploring the matter of *distinctiveness* and the linked processes of political devolution in Scotland. The paucity of academic research on policing in Scotland has been long lamented by a range of commentators (Gordon 1980: 7, Carson 1984: 207, Carson and Idzikowska 1989: 267, Walker 2000: 152, Donnelly and Scott 2005a: 1, Dinsmor and Goldsmith 2005: 40, Donnelly and Scott 2010a: 3-5). This situation is slowly changing as the police service in Scotland, and the nation's criminal justice process more widely considered, has increasingly entered the critical gaze of academic study. In an emerging body of literature scholars have recently identified Scotland as a unique and potentially illuminating setting for research on policing (Barrie 2008, Donnelly and Scott 2010). Such studies have sought to contribute to the wider, pre-existing debate on the extent to which the criminal justice process in Scotland – its governance, institutions, practices and values – can be understood as distinct from elsewhere, and particularly the other nations of the United Kingdom (UK) (see McNeill and Whyte 2007, McAra 2008, Croall et al 2010). Despite recent processes of political devolution in Scotland, the limited range of dedicated research on Scottish policing has been affected by a tendency to consider the structures and practices of policing in England and Wales as representative of 'British policing', to the detriment of 'distinct' jurisdictions such as Scotland (Mawby, R. I. 1999: 13). This tendency has been recognised elsewhere in the emerging literature on the subject (see Barrie 2008: 2). Even the most engaged and astute commentators have perpetuated such misunderstandings. In his 2009 autobiography *Policing Controversy* the former Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Sir Ian Blair offered an unapologetically Anglo-centric account, demonstrated in his description of Ian Loader and Aogán Mulcahy's 2003 work *Policing and the Condition of England* as 'a history of recent British policing' (Blair 2009: 36). In doing so Blair ignored Loader and Mulcahy's unambiguous assertion that they sought to produce a cultural sociology of post-war *English* policing. Loader and Mulcahy explicitly and astutely stated,

"We use the term 'English' – rather than 'British' – here quite deliberately and in full cognizance of the fact that Englishness/Britishness has lately become the subject of much heated cultural and political disputation." (Loader and Mulcahy 2003: 54).

Loader and Mulcahy adopted this position in part because of the different historical development of policing in Scotland, the nation's specific criminal justice system, political culture and newly devolved institutions. However, they also did so because their work attempted to make sense of 'English policing culture', meaning the mix of institutions, practices, policies, myths, memories, meanings and values that constitute the idea of policing in English society at any given time (Loader and Mulcahy 2003: 55). This level of analytical sophistication, however, has not been common; for many observers *British* policing has been simply synonymous with *English* policing.

Some academics have claimed that the sociology of police work has repeatedly demonstrated the similarity of cultures, practices and structures within and between jurisdictions (Johnston 2000: 35, Kiely and Peek 2002: 168). The limited range of available academic research, however, does acknowledge a tension between the universality of cultural representations and the uniqueness of Scottish policing (Munro et al 2010: 266). The potential for distinctiveness, for understanding any uniqueness of *Scottish* policing, was recognised early in the development of police research (see Skolnick 1975: 64). Although acknowledging the potential for distinctiveness is easy, specifically locating and defining any difference is a more difficult exercise.[10] In the 2010 edition of their edited volume *Policing Scotland* Daniel Donnelly and Kenneth Scott began with the assertion that,

> "Ask any Scottish police officer whether or not policing in Scotland is different from that in England and Wales and there is likely to be an intuitive, affirmative answer. Ask about the precise nature of these differences and how they came about and the answer is likely to be less clear and, indeed, may be quite vague. Once the fact that Scotland has its own laws and legal system has been identified, it becomes more difficult to articulate specifically what it is about policing north of Hadrian's Wall that makes it peculiarly Scottish." (Donnelly and Scott 2010a: 1).

Donnelly and Scott (2010b: 461) conclude this same edition of *Policing Scotland* by articulating some of these differences, including its distinctive development, accountability and links to local government and, importantly, a consensual community policing model that emerged naturally from a common understanding between the police and the policed. Neil Walker (1999: 94) usefully summarised this tension in his

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[10] Very recently, Terpstra and Schaap (2013) have undertaken quantitative research in the Netherlands to explore the tension between the Anglo-Saxon 'standard model of police culture' and the unique traits of 'Dutch police culture'.

summation that policing in Scotland is 'distinctive but broadly familiar' in its culture, practices and history.

The distinctive historical development of Scottish policing and its institutions across two turbulent centuries is difficult to deny. Historically, Scotland has a legitimate claim to have birthed the modern police, and thus the system of policing that predominated in many modern democratic societies across the twentieth, and into the twenty-first, century. The City of Glasgow Police was established by a British Act of Parliament – the Glasgow Police Act – in June 1800, over 29 years before the formation of the Metropolitan Police in London in September 1829 (Newburn 2007a: 613).[11] This has been termed as the 'remarkably early growth of Scottish policing' (Walker 2000: 152). For Daniel Donnelly (2008: 14) this early reform of policing in Scottish society – the introduction of uniformed constables as part of a dedicated police force – was at variance with developments south of the border: in Scotland it was a progression and transition, and not a radical overhaul of an existing system. Having birthed the first modern police force, Scottish policing took a different course than other parts of the UK (Barrie 2008: 3), and increasingly so in more recent times. From a historical perspective, therefore, Scottish policing has been distinctive in important ways from policing in England. More recently, this distinctiveness has been institutionalised by the devolution of policing powers from the UK Government in London to the Scottish Government in Edinburgh.

Devolution is the process by which political power is transferred from central government to local or regional bodies, which thereby carry out governmental functions while leaving sovereignty in the hands of central government (Deacon 2006: 1). The Scotland Act 1998 granted devolution to Scotland with the establishment of the Scottish Parliament; a representative, democratic body that was given legislative competence of criminal justice matters, including policing. Donnelly and Scott (2005b: 62) have argued that Scottish devolution heralded a significant change in the constitutional landscape of

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[11] Misconceptions and confusion surrounding this issue persist. In the foreword to his autobiography Sir Ian Blair stated that the story of policing in Britain 'began with the Metropolitan Police in 1829' (Blair 2009: xv). This is inaccurate, as even by 1800 Glasgow had experienced two failed attempts to establish a police force: first in 1778 and later in 1788. Both attempts failed due a lack of finance. Following the Glasgow Police Act of 30 June 1800 another eleven Scottish cities and burghs established police forces under individual police Acts of Parliament before the Metropolitan Police was established in 1829. Later in his autobiography Blair acknowledged the prior establishment of 'Glasgow's police' (2009: 33) but considered it as similar to previous colonial police forces and regarded London and the Metropolitan Police as 'different' to these prior developments.

Britain and, moreover, that this process has had important implications for policing in Scotland. Foremost amongst such implications has been the increased politicisation of policing in post-devolution Scotland (Scott 2011: 123-124, Donnelly 2008: 208, Seneviratne 2004: 341), as senior police officers have come into more frequent contact with politicians and been held more rigorously to account by nascent, but increasingly strident, political institutions, structures and actors. For example, Kenneth Scott concluded a recent article on the impact of devolution on the police in Scotland by suggesting that,

> "The new constitutional context in which the police in Scotland now operates is therefore much more political than it was under the previous arrangements and the amount of interaction between the police and politicians has increased significantly." (Scott 2011: 131).

The increased politicisation of policing in post-devolution Scotland was also apparent in the SNP's 2007 election manifesto commitment to employ an extra 1000 police officers, the subsequent controversy surrounding the delivery of these extra personnel (BBC News 2008, BBC News 2011) and its political, and organisational, consequences (see Donnelly and Scott 2010a: 7). Despite over a decade of ever increasing politicisation in the post-devolution settlement, the organisational architecture of Scottish policing had been relatively stable since the Scotland Act was passed. In February 2013 Scotland maintained – but only just – the same eight territorial police forces it had had since 1975. These eight territorial police forces are represented geographically in figure one below.[12]

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[12] It is recognised that a range of other agencies, units and services are involved in policing in Scotland, including, but not limited to, the British Transport Police, the Civil Nuclear Constabulary, Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs, the Ministry of Defence Police, the National Domestic Extremism Unit, the National Wildlife Crime Unit, the UK Borders Agency, the Secret Intelligence Service, the Security Service, and the Serious and Organised Crime Agency. This thesis, however, will be primarily focused on the eight territorial Scottish police forces and a small subset of central units and agencies regarded as appropriate to the research question contained herein (see section 1.2.1).

*Figure 1: Territorial Scottish police forces February 2013*
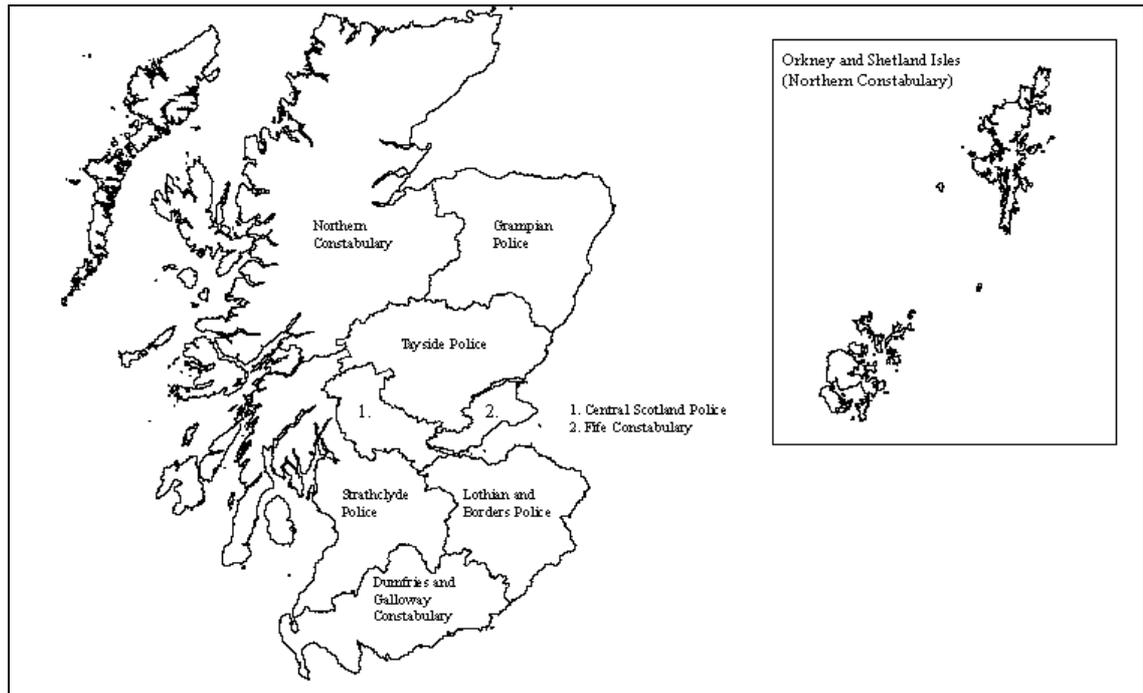


Although there has been a large degree of continuity in the organisational structure of policing in post-devolution Scotland, changes in political governance – and the emergence of new criminal threats, such as global drug and people trafficking and Al-Qaeda related and inspired 'international' terrorism – have heralded the development of some new agencies, units and services to support the work eight territorial Scottish police forces. These developments have included the creation of the Scottish Drug Enforcement Agency, which was formally established on 1 April 2001 and later renamed the Scottish Crime and Drug Enforcement Agency (SCDEA) to reflect a widened remit beyond a narrow focus upon countering the illegal importation and distribution of controlled drugs. This renaming process was a result of the Police, Public Order and Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2006 which made the SCDEA a statutory body and also established the Scottish Police Services Authority (SPSA). The SPSA is responsible for maintaining the SCDEA and provides expert policing and support services to Scotland's eight police forces and the wider criminal justice community. Beyond its important contribution to the practices and processes of Scottish policing, the significance of the SPSA rests mainly in the centralising tendency which it represents (Scott 2011: 125).[13] The emergence of the SPSA, however, was also important in the

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[13] Considering the gradual rationalisation of the number of police forces in England and Wales in the past 50 years, Tim Newburn and Robert Reiner commented that "it is difficult to see how this centralising and managerialising tide is to be turned back." (Newburn and Reiner 2004: 618).

intensification of processes of civilianisation in Scottish policing, as its development increased the number of civilian police staff employed in the police service. More broadly, this complex of police forces and services provide an organisational framework for the people, practices and processes in the Scottish police service, including civilian police staff.

### 1.1.3  Civilianisation in Scottish policing

Civilianisation is the process whereby an increasing number of roles, functions and responsibilities in the police service come to be undertaken by un-sworn civilian police staff. As aforementioned, civilian police staff have historically been present in Scottish policing and police staff roles have diversified into areas traditionally regarded as core policing or the preserve of the police officer. The potential for extending civilianisation to such 'key roles' was recognised by Michael Banton, who suggested in *The Policeman in the Community* that the skills required for some of the senior positions in the police service are not acquired by 'pounding the beat', and may require the expertise of civilians (Banton 1964: 268). More recently, and recognising how civilianisation exists within wider processes of pluralisation, Adam Crawford argued,

> "The pluralisation of policing as a trend is evident within, as well as beyond, the police organisation. The last two decades have seen a considerable erosion of the idea of the omni-competent sworn police constable, able to perform a wide variety of roles and the sole entry into the profession. Increased specialisation has exposed the rigidity of the idea that the basic training and experience of a constable is the sufficient and appropriate basis for the complex array of tasks demanded of the modern police." (Crawford 2008: 152-153).

For Charles Edwards (2005: 130) the rationale for civilianisation is that there is no reason to suppose that any task that does not potentially involve the need to apply coercive force to any member of society cannot be done equally well by someone other than a police officer. However, the rationale for civilianisation is not value neutral, but has important political motivations and policy consequences.

Civilianisation has been promoted as a policy in policing due to a perception that it could deliver efficiency savings; civilian police staff members cost less to employ and train than police officers, and incur less pension costs. As Tim Newburn argued in 2007,

"Concern about police funding has always been a primary part of the impetus towards civilianization." (Newburn 2007b: 233).

Jones and Newburn have also traced the roots of civilianisation in Britain to successive Conservative administrations in the 1980s who promoted this as a policy of incentivising the replacement of expensive police officers with civilian employees in posts that did not directly require police powers, training or experience (Jones and Newburn 2002: 137-138). [14] Similarly, Daniel Donnelly and Kenneth Scott have described how civilianisation in Scottish policing had roots in the Thatcher-era of British politics (Donnelly and Scott 2005a: 21). More recently Daniel Donnelly himself argued,

"Civilianisation of police posts [in Scotland] was encouraged as a way of releasing sworn police officers to operational duties. There were also efficiency savings to be gained as a result of reductions in salary, pension charges and training costs compared with those of police officers. Thus began a slow process of civilianising specific police posts in the eight Scottish police forces." (Donnelly 2008: 57-58).

This slow process has had an important influence in transforming the composition of police forces and agencies in Scotland. In 2005 Donnelly and Scott reported that the extent of civilianisation was then 'considerable' with police staff accounting for around one-third of the total police workforce (Donnelly and Scott 2005a: 24). Later in the same 2005 edition of *Policing Scotland* Donnelly and Scott recounted how some police commentators believed that police staff could account for 50% of the police workforce in the 'near term' (Donnelly and Scott 2005c: 250). Supporting such assertions, in his 2007 review of the future of policing in Britain Tim Newburn (2007b: 233) argued that with financial pressures likely to increase, further civilianisation of roles was likely. However, despite such predictions, and contrary to the apparent logic of managerialism, the pace of civilianisation in Scotland has recently slowed. [15]

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[14] Locating civilianisation in this political context is important because it must be considered as fundamentally ideological. Raine and Wilson (1995: 35) have argued that whilst criminal justice agencies are now as preoccupied with the managerialist agenda as the rest of the public sector, there are some particular conditions and circumstances pertaining to criminal justice that raise important questions about this philosophy and approach. Similarly, Ian Loader (1996: 22) identified the managerialist turn in policing and argued that restructuring police work according to administrative criteria of economy, efficiency and effectiveness is equally a process where the values associated with democratic citizenship – such as justice, equality, representation and participation – are marginalised.

[15] In fact, as will be highlighted later in this thesis, processes of civilianisation in Scotland have been reversing, and this trend is likely to intensify in the short term at least.

The recent history of civilianisation in Scotland – from the financial year 1997/98 to 2006/07 – was characterised by an inexorable increase in the numbers of civilian police staff. By 2006/07 civilian police staff numbered 8171 and accounted for 33.17% of the total police workforce. However, the proportion of police staff in the total police workforce has declined in every year in the period since 2006/07.[16] By 2011/12 police staff numbered 5709 and accounted for only 24.6% of the police workforce; a lower proportion than that recorded in 1996/97.[17] Nevertheless, civilian police staff still account for around one quarter of the police workforce, and, as previously stated, have increasingly come to undertake core policing tasks as civilian police staff roles have diversified. Such developments have important consequences for the existing research on cop culture. Conducting research in England Nina Cope highlighted the diversification of civilian police staff and noted that there was little information on their cultural impact or dispositions,

> "Little is known about civilian cultures within the police. Police forces increasing reliance on civilians to perform a range of administrative or 'pseudo-policing' functions raises questions about whether civilians form a culture in themselves, or approximate to general police cultural norms whatever they may be. This would be worthy of further study as police functions are devolved to other 'experts' within police organizations." (Cope 2004: 197).

Nina Cope's research is important in the context of this thesis because whilst it highlights the increasingly diverse range of policing roles undertaken by civilian police staff, it also narrows the broad range of civilianisation processes to specifically consider the cultural impact of intelligence analysts.

### 1.1.4   The rise and role of the intelligence analyst in Scottish policing

The role of intelligence analyst in the Scottish police service is to identify patterns and relationships in crime, intelligence and other data, in order to create products that assist police decision-makers – almost always police officers, and usually senior police officers – in formulating solutions and strategies to crime problems and target police activity.[18] Beyond Cope's research, however, there has been a paucity of research concerning the rise and role of the intelligence analyst. As Jerry Ratcliffe argued, despite

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[16] Despite this emerging decline, in 2008 Donnelly and Scott recognised civilianisation as "an important aspect of police organisation in Scotland." (Donnelly and Scott 2008: 189).

[17] In 1996/97 civilian police staff numbered 4980 but accounted for 25.19% of the total police workforce.

[18] This account of the intelligence analyst role was influenced by the definitions of Nina Cope (2004: 188) and Evans and Kebbell (2012a: 205), as well as the practical experiences of fieldwork.

a recent recognition of the increasing importance of intelligence analysis, this area remains so under-researched that even the number of intelligence analysts in a given police service is oftentimes unknown (Ratcliffe 2008a: 9). Directly addressing Ratcliffe's concern, research for this thesis provides that in 2012 there were 250 intelligence analysts employed in the Scottish police forces and the SPSA.[19] This number represents a significant increase in the number of intelligence analysts since the introduction of the National Intelligence Model (NIM) in 2000. For example, the available data provides that in 1999 Strathclyde Police had only 11 intelligence analysts, increasing to 85 in 2012. Similarly, in 1999 Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary had only two intelligence analysts, increasing to 18 in 2012. The development of the intelligence analyst workforce from 1999 to 2012 is provided in the table below.

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[19] This figure, and the subsequent data on the numbers and gender of intelligence analysts across the organisations and agencies of Scottish policing from 1999 to 2012, were obtained under the auspices of the Freedom of Information (Scotland) Act 2002, specifically from nine Freedom of Information requests submitted in May 2012. The template used for this request can be found in section 10.5.

*Table 1: Count of intelligence analysts by Scottish police force and agency 1999 – 2012*[20]
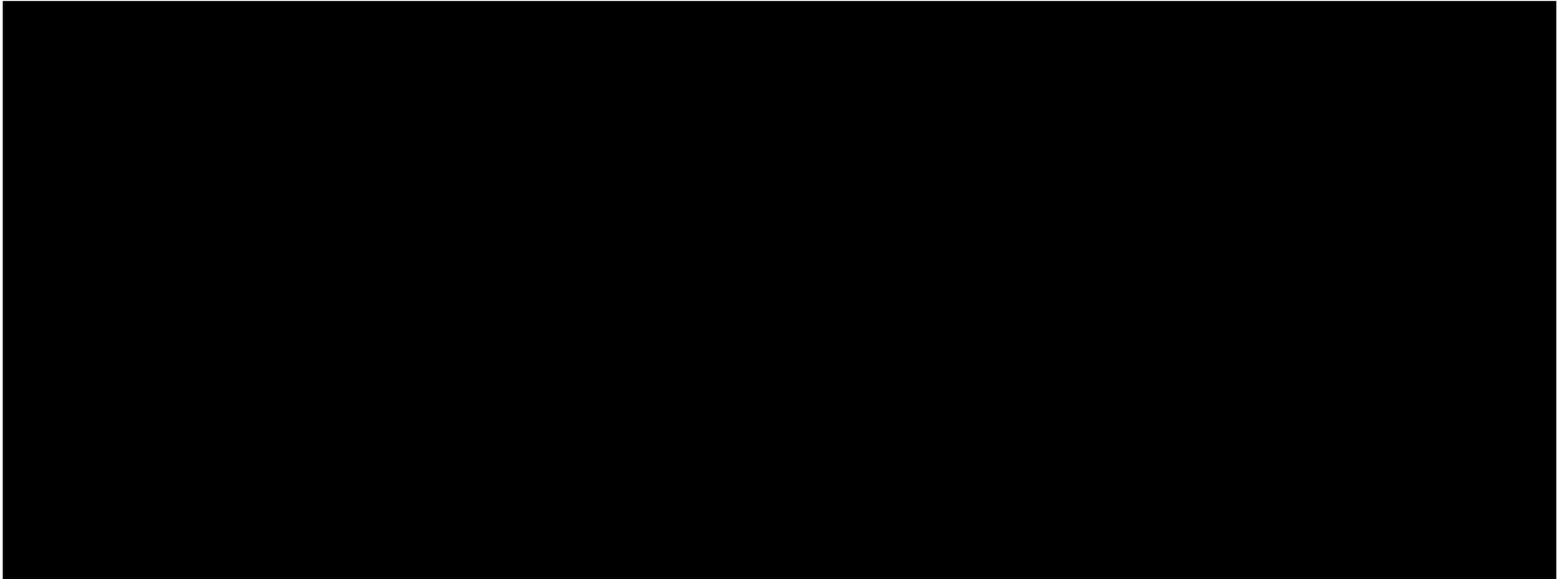
Despite the increase in the number intelligence analysts in Scotland since 1999 and the introduction of the NIM, this emerging group of civilian police staff has been remarkably absent from existing academic accounts. Any existing accounts are limited to the narrow exploration of intelligence analyst's views on risk assessments (Hamilton-Smith and Mackenzie 2010) and performance indicators for the policing of organised crime (Mackenzie and Hamilton-Smith 2011), or a tendency to conflate intelligence analysis alongside other, separate, forms of analysis in the police service (for a substantive example see Donnelly and Scott 2010c: 30).[21] Given the limited range of literature on the rise and role of the intelligence analyst in Scottish policing, it is necessary for the outset to understand their contribution to policing.

In theory, all intelligence analysts in Scotland create analytical products as specified in the NIM. The NIM is a business model used to structure intelligence work in law enforcement and has been adopted by police forces in Scotland, England and Wales. In detailing the tasking and coordinating processes to be adopted at tactical and strategic levels in policing, the NIM specifies the standard intelligence products that should be produced in support of these processes, and the common analytical techniques used to create these products. In short, the NIM standardises processes, practices and products in intelligence work. Following an extensive period of development beginning in the early 1990s and boosted by the Audit Commission's 1993 report *Helping with Enquiries: Tackling Crime Effectively*, the NIM was officially released to UK policing agencies in 2000 and enthusiastically adopted in Scotland by the Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland (ACPOS) (Flood 2004: 41). The adoption of the NIM has been a major driver of intelligence analysis in policing in Scotland, as well as England and Wales. As John and Maguire have noted,

> "[Intelligence] Analysis is a fairly new career but one that has received significant impetus since the introduction of the NIM. The role is also developing away from simply a focus on the visual representation of data and intelligence using crime pattern analysis and mapping technology, to using these tools to provide advice on resourcing and prioritization to senior police managers" (John and Maguire 2007: 208-209).

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[21] This thesis recognises that there are various job titles for intelligence analysis roles across the eight territorial police forces and associated law enforcement agencies. These titles include, but are not limited to, 'analyst researcher', 'crime analyst', 'criminal intelligence analyst', 'community safety analyst', 'partnership analyst', 'source targeting analyst', 'CHIS analyst', 'analyst coordinator', 'strategic analyst', 'assistant principal analyst', 'deputy principal analyst', 'principal analyst' and 'intelligence analyst'.

The NIM products most commonly created by intelligence analyst are:

*Strategic Assessment*: An overview of on-going and long-term issues which involve criminality or have community safety implications. Produced annually (or less frequently) with interim updates. Used to devise a 'control strategy' that lists the key crime priorities that the force or agency must tackle.

*Tactical Assessment*: Defines short-term issues in relation to crime trends, investigations, operations and emerging issues, comparing current figures to seasonal averages and makes recommendations in furtherance longer term priorities. Usually produced on a two-, four- or six-weekly cycle.

*Problem Profile*: Provides information leading to a greater understanding of a particular 'problem' area of crime or offending, regularly involving an analysis of a series of crimes or incidents, a hotspot location or a group/network of concern. Makes recommendations for the tactical resolution of the identified problem.

*Target Profile*: Brings together intelligence and other data from a range of sources within one document to create a 'package', leading to a greater understanding of a person, network or group of people (for example a gang-member, or gang, engaged in criminal or anti-social behaviour). Often includes recommendations to direct or influence future operational police activity.

In addition to these formal 'NIM compliant' analytical products, intelligence analysts also produce a range of other, bespoke forms of analytical work. Indeed, to many of those police officers engaged in intelligence work, the intelligence analyst is likely to be defined by these informal functions above all others. The intelligence analyst is often

regarded as someone who 'does the phones', 'makes maps', or 'draws charts'.[22] Examples of these tasks are provided below:

*'Doing the Phones'*:    Telecommunications analysis. This involves:

a) The analysis of telephone billing data – dialled and received numbers, incoming and outgoing text messages, and internet usage – legally obtained from a telecommunications service provider. Such analysis may be undertaken for a variety of reasons, the most common of which include: developing an investigation at an early stage in order to uncover networks of criminal contacts and/or in support of on-going criminal investigations to identify areas for prosecution or disruption.

b) The (generally retrospective) tracking of the movements of a telecommunications device – most commonly a mobile telephone – as it wirelessly communicates with a network of masts, or 'cell-sites', across a geographical area. Layered with other intelligence data the intelligence analyst may, for example, draw inferences upon the user of a device or the reasons for the movements of a device.

c) Both the analysis of billing and cell-site data.

The products of telecommunications analysis are generally written reports, and include recommendations for future action. They may also include 'maps and charts' (see below), as such products likely to have been developed and exploited in the course of telecommunications analysis process.

*'Making Maps'*:    Crime mapping and, less commonly, the mapping of intelligence data. This involves:

a) The extraction of recorded crime data – that has been 'geocoded' to include spatial coordinates – and the inclusion

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[22] To intelligence analysts these tasks are respectively known as telecommunications analysis, crime mapping and network analysis (or, increasingly, social network analysis). Crime mapping, telecommunications and network analysis have earned a degree of currency through representations of police work in the media and popular culture, particularly in America (examples of such work can be seen in the opening credits to season three of the influential television series *The Wire*).

of this data on a map as a layer to create 'hotspots'. This task is seen as particularly controversial, and attracts a challenge from some police officers 'who know where the crimes are' (see Ratcliffe and McCullagh 2001). In addition to the simple provision of crimes, this geocoded layer of crime data may then be placed upon, or overlaid, with other spatial data (for example data of socio-economic deprivation or licensed premises) to provide deeper analyses of crime problems.

b)  The mapping of intelligence data. Although less common than crime mapping, intelligence data can also be mapped. Examples of this may include cell-site mapping, as mentioned above, or the mapping of youth gangs and gang-territories based upon offender and incident locations, as identified through intelligence.

*'Drawing Charts'*:   Analytical charting and timelines. This involves:

a)  Creating visualisations of criminal networks based upon a range of intelligence sources. This includes the creation of 'entities' (such as persons, locations, events, crimes, weapons, telephones and so forth), links between these entities (for example associates, frequents, suspect or user) and the grouping of these entities where possible (for example into geographic areas or criminal networks). The result of this process is a printed chart that can vary greatly in size, dependent upon the data available and the nature of the analytical task in question.

b)  The importing of 'pre-linked' crime or intelligence data from databases. This removes the requirement to manually create links between data, although in doing so the chart may sometimes lack depth, clarity or complete accuracy. The result of this process is superficially and aesthetically similar to point a).

c)  The development of timelines to chart the history of an offender, incident, crime or series of crimes. The purpose of a

timeline is to provide a narrative to such events in order to identify gaps, links between people, incidents and objects, and to make recommendations for future investigative activity.

Often these bespoke tasks are considered as the *raisons d'être* of the intelligence analyst and can be the basis upon which an intelligence analyst is judged as competent or effective in their role. This perspective resonates with Evans and Kebbell's research in Australia that highlighted the importance of analytical products in understanding and determining the effectiveness of an intelligence analyst (Evans and Kebbell 2012a: 207). Having described the rise and role of the intelligence analyst in Scottish policing, the following section seeks to add vitality to this abstract description by providing an account of a day in the life of an intelligence analyst in Scottish policing.

### 1.1.5   A day in the life of an intelligence analyst

In offering an account of a day in the life of an intelligence analyst in Scottish policing it is necessary to provide an important note of caution: there is no typical account of an intelligence analyst's day that can readily capture the breadth of roles and experiences of tasks. The primary variable that distinguishes intelligence analyst roles, and even days experienced within a single role, is one of pace. For example, an intelligence analyst working in a major investigations team on a murder inquiry – particularly where there is no suspect or known motive, known colloquially in Scotland as a 'whodunit' – will be reacting to intelligence emerging on a minute-by-minute basis. The intelligence analyst will most likely be analysing telephone billings, reconstructing events through the creation of maps and timelines of events. They will be providing recommendations for senior investigating officers on the course of the investigation, who may or may not be considered a suspect, or making recommendations for the tasking of informants. Such days will be very different than that of an intelligence analysts working at a local divisional police office and dealing with the more routine tasks of searching databases for crimes and offences of anti-social behaviour, disorder and housebreaking, and mapping the results or updating partner agencies such as local authorities. The pace of police intelligence work can also vary within roles. For example, an intelligence analyst employed in a counter-terrorism unit may spend the majority of their time, and even their entire career, working on the more routine, or even mundane, aspects of intelligence work. This may involve researching and updating databases or producing

target profiles on individuals who may be subject to intelligence development work and who, ultimately, may never feature prominently in any terrorist or extremist activity. Yet, following the flick of a switch or the connection of a phone call, this same intelligence analyst may find themselves catapulted into a different working environment: a police operations room dedicated to responding to, or preventing, an individual or network from conducting a terrorist attack. Facing banks of large screen monitors showing live feeds of surveillance teams, multiple cameras on streets and helicopters, television news and intelligence updates the intelligence analyst may be tasked with making sense of data as it enters this critical space. This is an important role. What follows, therefore, cannot be considered as representative of every intelligence analyst role in Scottish policing. It does, however, provide a richer picture of the work of an intelligence analyst and their occupational position, and the practices and relationships between the intelligence analyst and their police officer counterparts.

<u>A day in the life</u>
I walk to work from the train station nearby. My office is embedded somewhere within a structure that is indicative of the brutal post-war architecture that blighted much of Britain and its public buildings. This particular construction is a police station, but it could just as easily have been a council building, a hospital or a school. Perhaps its anonymity is useful given that it is home to a police intelligence office. It is not an inspiring place to approach, but I enter nonetheless. The glass doors give way to a more recently renovated reception; information leaflets, unceremoniously stuffed into their plastic holders, spill out onto the tables like little avalanches. I trudge towards the reception desk and clock in. It is 8:44am. The commissionaire gives me a nonchalant nod through as I walk past. He clicks the button and releases the secure door. The noise and hustle of station life inside hurriedly escapes as I push open the door.

I navigate through the noise, make my way to the staircase and lift my still weary legs up three flights of stairs, through the double swing doors and into a quiet and stark corridor. There are doors on both sides of its length. The third door on the left has no sign. It could be anything; a cleaning cupboard or a maintenance room, but its importance is betrayed by an alarm and security system stacked on the wall beside it. I scan my fob and the door buzzes, releasing the lock. I push the door inwards, temporarily revealing an open plan office that spans half of the length of the corridor. This is the intelligence office. I am officially at work.

The office bustles with the beginnings of the working day. Computers chime as they boot up, giving way to the persistent buzz of the cooling fan. The kettle boils and the pungent smell of coffee permeates the room. Our office is divided into little sections. At the front, near the door, there is administration comprising of two police staff, both female. This gives way to the intelligence analysts – five of us, four females and one male – before merging into the desk officers, which consists of six police officers, who are all male. Each of us has a desk, with the

analyst's desks distinguished by the presence of two PC screens instead of one: a system known colloquially as 'twindows' and providing for a wider space to read and interpret large volumes of data, which is integral to the role. The DI's room nestles near the entrance, a cubby-hole from which he gains some privacy, but dislocates him from the hum of daily business. Other senior management are located elsewhere in the corridor; far enough not to interfere, but close enough to make their presence felt.

As I enter I express the mandatory 'good mornings', roll my chair out from under my desk, ditch my bag and collapse into my chair. It gives way slightly, seemingly exhaling a doleful sigh, perhaps in expectation of a long day ahead. I depress the button on the PC and it steadily fires up. The screens flicker into life and remind me that I am working with Windows XP, an operating system that reminds me of the police service itself: old but stable. Our IT systems are basic but functional. We have the usual range of office software – Word, Excel, Access and the like – as well as a small range of other bespoke systems that allow us to create maps, charts and timelines. It's certainly not like *CSI* or *Spooks* – with their shiny Macs or databases with instant access to data beyond our dreams, but it's what you make of it. The best intelligence analysts are the ones who use these tools in imaginative ways to develop new inferences and insights into crime problems or investigations. Sometimes, however, our IT lets us down, like many big companies I suppose. As the PC finally gains some momentum, I log in.

Work begins by checking emails and conversing with my analyst colleagues about what has happened with their lives in the 14 hours since we last spoke. This conversation gradually segues into work chat, some threads of which prompted by emails in my inbox. What is happening with a particular operation today? *Not much*. Has there been any feedback from management on the problem profile I completed a few days ago? *No*. Are we still on for our meeting with colleagues from another department to discuss sharing data and potential disruption of one of our key targets? *Yes*. My morning routine begins with researching the crime and intelligence systems to ascertain what has developed since yesterday. These systems can be clunky and slow, depending on how many people are active and accessing data. Mornings are therefore not ideal, but I plod on.

The sheer volume of data can be overwhelming, especially for someone who is new to the role. Faced with the task of reading and interpreting literally hundreds of intelligence logs, crime reports and even publicly available 'open source' data can be overwhelming. I once heard it described as trying to drink from a fire hose. It can feel that way, but as your skills develop you learn to identify the wheat from the chaff. So, for example, you look at the source of the intelligence. Was it from an informant, police officer observations or a member of the public? You look at the content of the report. Does it tell us anything new, reaffirm or refute any developing inferences on what might be happening with a specific target or network? Does it identify any new associates that we didn't know about previously? I plough through the crime reports and there is nothing much there. I research the intelligence database using keywords based on the problem profile with which I have been tasked. I am looking for any signs of an emerging crack cocaine market emerging in the west of Scotland. It is interesting stuff, and I especially interested in intelligence on freebasing at home using a microwave. That's the kind of intelligence that can be useful for making

recommendations to cops on the street: if you spot any suspicious looking discarding of microwaves, submit an intelligence log as it might be a crack-den!

Researching and writing takes up most of the morning. Office life rumbles on as questions about work and life fly between the sections, but it is lunchtime before you know it. Each section staggers the lunch time breaks to staff, ensuring that at least one person is there to take any calls or enquiries. Some of the analysts head up to the canteen – a shadow of its former self, long since closed in the face of budget cuts – to eat their home-made sandwiches. I stay behind, preferring to escape the confines of the office when they return, in order to go for a weather permitting wander. Going outside for a walk will also let me have a think about the meeting I am scheduled to attend this afternoon with one of our DCs and his DS.

The meeting starts at 2pm, or 1400hours in police speak, and we are meeting with some colleagues from the unit responsible for targeting folk to become police informants. This is an area closely guarded by cops, but they require leads generated through intelligence to get to the people that are close to the criminals themselves. It's a difficult area, with a high chance of failure. Based on an overview of the intelligence on crack markets and networks I have analysed during the last week, I offer up a couple of suggestions for source targeting. We discuss why they might be useful. Who do they know? How do they know them? Are they close to them? What access do they have? Would they be willing to work with us? Are they vulnerable? What motivates them? Discussions of these issues progress, but there is simply a lot we don't know. The source targeting cops take our suggestions away, but, for reasons of source protection, we never know if any subsequent pitch is successful, or even if it's undertaken. But it's a good meeting, and I feel like I have achieved something. Whether the cops think the same thing, though, is debateable.

I return to my desk and it is mid-afternoon. A request has come in from a sergeant from another department to run checks on a list of telephone numbers to see if we have any intelligence traces on them. It's a pretty long list – about 20 numbers – each of which has to be searched across two databases. It will take a while. Searching for telephone numbers in databases is a pain, requiring searching for full numbers and partial numbers, just in case there is any variance in area code or a partial number has been put on the system. It definitely requires some care. Just over an hour later and there is nothing of any real substance; some historical reporting linked to low level criminality – drug possession, robbery and the like – but nothing linked to any current targets or operations I know about. So I draft up a response and email the sergeant. Apart from the odd 'thanks', we never hear much back, so I don't think I'll hear back from this either.

It is after four, and I have an hour or so to kill before home time. It seems as good a time as any to have a stab at writing my appraisal, which has been overdue for a while now. I have a quick chat with my line manager, an analyst, about what she thinks I should include as my priorities for the forthcoming year. She reckons some additional training at the police college might be in order. Seems sensible to me. I also grab one of the cops to see if he knows of any training in source targeting that might be suitable for an intelligence analyst. He doesn't, the only

training in that he knows of is for cops. Typical. I fill in the boxes as best I can and submit it to my line manager for consideration and sign off.

It's the best sound of the day, the chimes of the shutting down computer. I grab my bag, push my chair under the desk. I quickly grad a pile of restricted documents and make my way to the shredder, which is on the way to the door. The shredder satisfying drags the paper into its teeth, destroying them beyond recognition. When the last section disappears I flick the switch to unlock the door and skip away down the corridor, intent on making the express train home. Another day in the life of an intelligence analyst.

Having accounted for the rise and role of the intelligence analyst in Scottish policing, and provided an insight into what may constitute a day in the life of an intelligence analyst, this thesis progresses to explore processes of cultural and sub-cultural practice, production, persistence and change in the relationships between police officers and intelligence analysts in the research setting of police intelligence units in Scotland. Achieving this requires the construction of a clear set of research questions and a comprehensive research design to deliver answers to these research questions.

## 1.2   Research Question and Research Design

### 1.2.1   Research question

Research questions are important in social science research because they shape and guide the research process, and in doing so make any such endeavour both practical and possible. In developing a sharp and incisive research question this study employed a criteria developed by Alan Bryman (Bryman 2008: 74). Bryman's criteria are as follows,

- Research questions should be clear, in the sense of being intelligible.
- Research questions should be *researchable*, in that they must point towards practicable research processes and outcomes.
- Research questions should have some connection(s) with established theory and research.
- Research questions should be linked to one another.
- Research questions should hold the prospect of making an original contribution to the field.
- Research questions should be neither too broad nor too narrow.

Following a typology suggested by Marshall and Rossman (2006: 38-40) the research question adopted in this study aimed to be general enough to permit exploration but specific enough to limit the study. Establishing clear limits was important given the wide geographical area in this study – an entire nation – and the diverse range of actors that could potentially be incorporated in a study of policing therein. This was achieved by developing a research question that was capable of capturing abstract theoretical and conceptual issues (the development, persistence and transformation of cultures in the police service), whilst focusing upon particular populations (police officers and intelligence analysts) in specific research settings (police intelligence units). The principal research question is given below.

Principal Research Question

To what extent are civilian intelligence analysts active in processes of cultural or sub-cultural practice, production, persistence and change in police intelligence work in Scotland?

*Sub-questions to explore…*

- Does intelligence analysis present a cultural challenge to established values, working practices and knowledge production in Scottish policing?
- In what ways do civilian intelligence analysts interact with other cultural groups or communities in Scottish policing?
- In what ways do cultural issues affect the integration of civilian intelligence analysts – and their analysis – into intelligence-led policing in Scotland?
- Do civilian intelligence analysts form a distinctive cultural or sub-cultural group – a *community* or a *class* – in their own right?

This principal research question, and its associated sub-questions, provided this research study with a coherent focus, both conceptually and practically. Once this principal research question was identified, a research design was developed to guide the study. The aim of this research design was to assist in producing a study that provided answers to the research questions that were evidence-based, methodologically reflexive, theoretically engaged and which generated authentic cultural representations. This latter

objective – to generate authentic cultural representations of *what it is really like*, at least from one unique perspective – was a guiding principle of the research study.[23]

## 1.2.2   Research design

A research design provides a framework for the collection and analysis of data in a particular study (Bryman 2004: 27). As an empirical research study based upon data collected through an extensive period of fieldwork, this thesis sought to explore cultural and sub-cultural practice, production, persistence and change in a previously neglected research setting. Beyond this exploration, however, this research aimed to be both descriptive and explanatory. This holistic approach – incorporating exploration, description and explanation – was influenced by Neuman's tri-partite typology of the purposes of social research (Neuman 2007: 15-17). Creating a research design that was *exploratory*, *descriptive* and *explanatory* necessitated the use of research methods that were capable of *representing*, *understanding* and *theorising* in relation to the research questions. In practice this was achieved by using a mixed methods research design incorporating sociological fieldwork, semi-structured interviews and focus groups, as depicted in figure two below.

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[23] I recognise that 'authenticity' in research is always contested. As Burman et al (2001: 454) stated, in their discussion of the ways in which reaching conclusions in social research is a political, and contested act, "There is no such thing as an authentic experience unmediated by interpretation. Stories, narratives, accounts do not remain unchanged, but are edited, rewritten, and interpreted away from the social relationships in which they occurred." In advancing an 'authentic' cultural account I sought to reach a representation of the 'genuine voice' that 'really belongs to' those whose life-worlds are being represented (Winter 2002). Such an attempt is vital to any truly sociological activity. As Richard Winter (2002: 146) recalls in his discussion of authenticity in social research, "In a society where the voices of dominant social groups systematically drown out, encapsulate or silence the voices of groups lacking cultural privilege, one might claim that 'research' has an 'emancipatory' role to play in recalling to audibility the voices of the silenced."

*Figure 2: Mixed methods research design*

Semi-structured interviews

Sociological fieldwork

Focus groups
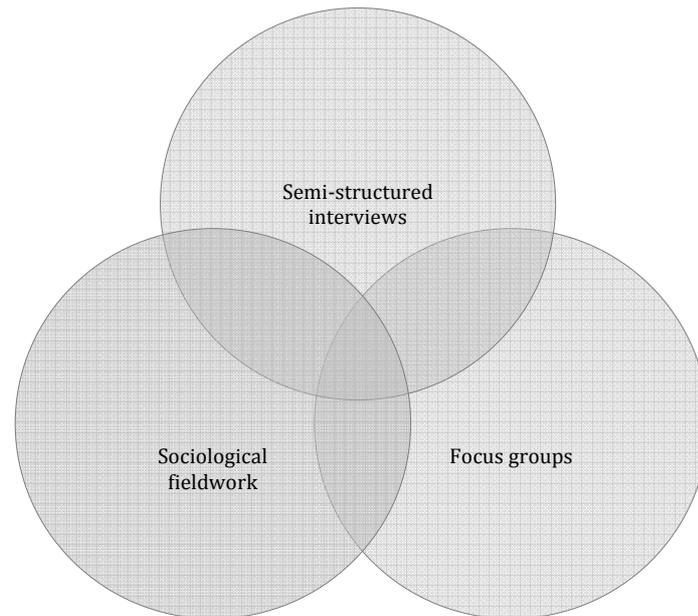
This mixed methods research design facilitated an iterative research process. During this process research and analysis were continually constituted and complimentary, allowing themes to emerge and to be further explored with participants using other, alternative research methods. For example, issues that emerged through fieldwork were explored with police officers and intelligence analysts in interviews, which, in turn, generated data that formed the basis for discussion in focus groups. The emergent themes in focus group discussions were then reflexively considered during fieldwork, and so on, allowing an iterative research process to develop. This iterative process also allowed the space and opportunity for participants to deliver feedback on the representations created through the research process. I considered this to be especially important given my aforementioned commitment to generate cultural representations that were recognisable and authentic. Importantly, in undertaking this approach, and encouraging feedback from those represented in the research, I aimed to ensure that the representations generated were also both responsible and fair. In practice this meant continually challenging, questioning and sometimes revising my own initial representations in response to feedback, but also necessitated being similarly critical of feedback and persisting in areas where I was convinced that the emerging data was providing an authentic, if challenging, account. This mixed methods research design provided a framework for a deeply reflexive approach to 'data collection' and analysis; helping to (co-)produce representations of the work, lives, practices, values, tastes, attitudes, dispositions and outlooks of the intelligence analysts and police officers encountered in

fieldwork. In short, it facilitated an insight – a unique perspective – into the cultural dynamics of police intelligence work at an important period in the history of Scottish policing.

Chapter 2    Research Methods

## 2.1    Policing research reconsidered

### 2.1.1   A messy look at the Filth

Both the academy and the police frequently present their work as clean, neat and unproblematic. Digging a little deeper, however, it becomes clear that qualitative research is messy and policing can be a dirty business. Geoffrey Pearson (1993) has argued that qualitative research is inherently messy, although it is rarely presented as such. Particularly highlighting the messiness of ethnographic approaches, Pearson stated,

> "Published accounts of fieldwork are invariably cleansed of the 'private' goings-on between the researcher and the researched. When the lid is taken off, however, this can be something of a shock." (Pearson 1993: vii).

Lifting the lid of the state institution of the police can be even more shocking. Previous academic research has revealed violence (Westley 1953), corruption (Punch 1985), racism (Holdaway 1994) and sexism (Reiner 2000) in what is elsewhere portrayed as a heroic organisation defending society from anarchy; as the thin blue – and clear – line between order and chaos. This gap between the real and the ideal – between the pure and the polluted – is one reason why the police are often pejoratively referred to as 'dirty pigs' or 'the Filth' (Welsh 1998, MacLaughlin and Hall 2002). In this regard, therefore, qualitative research on the police can thus be considered as a messy look at the Filth.

Having previously explained the principal research question and the overall research design, this chapter aims to describe, explain and justify the qualitative research methods used in furtherance of this sociological study. Academic training and scholarly protocol generally discourage writing in the first person, especially where claims are made of the 'scientific' nature of the research undertaken. In the classic positivist characterisation, the researcher stands outside of the research process as an objective observer to the natural world, dutifully and un-problematically recording data as it occurs. If this caricature ever existed it has certainly been challenged by the emergence of feminist, post-positivist and critical perspectives on social research.

Reflecting upon being a member of the community she was concurrently researching, and before actively interrogating her own personal story, Sasha Roseneil confessed,

> "To traditional methodologists what follows may seem, at best, irrelevant, a self-indulgent excursion into adolescent angst; at worst, it will be seen as indicative of complete failure at the enterprise of social-scientific research. I would disagree." (Roseneil 1993: 182).

This chapter will proceed in the same spirit of Roseneil's self-criticism and self-discovery. By re-examining and re-interrogating the research design, research methods and the researcher, this chapter will bring a strong critical focus to the overall study. I will write in the first-person and expose what lies beneath my own experience of qualitative research in, and on, Scottish policing. In other words, I will show the mess that lies 'after method' (Law 2004) in my research on the Filth.

## 2.2    Digging Dirt in the Filth

### 2.2.1    Finding the researcher in the mess and the Filth

Understanding the status and role of the researcher is vital in assessing the reliability and rigour of any social research. In studies of the police this has traditionally involved acknowledging a clear boundary between the organisational insider and the academic outsider. Maurice Punch, for example, commented that the police service often erects barriers against 'prying outsiders', therefore making it one of the most secluded parts of the criminal justice system (Punch 1979: 4). Given this organisational and cultural seclusion research by 'police insiders' has been vital in advancing academic understandings of cop culture. Studies by serving police officers – including Simon Holdaway's covertly researched *Inside the British Police* (1983) and Malcolm Young's *An Inside Job: Policing and Police Culture in Britain* (1991) – have been particularly insightful in their respective claims to provide an insider's view of the police.[24] In a classic study discussing the merits of the insider perspective in police research, Peter K. Manning stated,

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[24] Young's *In the Sticks* (1993), the follow up to *An Inside Job*, could also be considered for inclusion in this list. Other, non-academic works, such as Mike Seabrook's (1987) *Coppers: Inside View of the British Police*, Graeme McLagan's (2003) *Bent Coppers: The Inside Story of Scotland Yard's Battle Against Police Corruption* and Andy Hayman's (2009) *The Terrorist Hunters*, also claim to provide the insider's view of policing. Seabrook's book is of particular note given that it claims to represent an inside view of the 'British police', although the author's time as police officer was spent exclusively in the south of England.

"The police as an organisation do not possess a "common culture" when viewed from the inside. Instead, there is an elaborate hierarchical rank structure which replicates the social distribution of secret knowledge. Police organisations are segmented, specialised and covert to a striking degree." (Manning 1978: 244).

Similar sentiments were later expressed by James Sheptycki (1994) who posited that 'police culture' can seem monolithic, and different, when viewed from the outside. There are practical advantages of being an insider, in the traditional sense, when developing a cultural account of police work. Brown and Waters have argued that academic outsiders may not have the opportunity, ability, time or credibility to properly penetrate the culture and thus gain valid data (Brown and Waters 1993: 325). This was dramatically demonstrated in Maurice Punch's 1979 book *Policing the Inner City: A Study of Amsterdam's Warmoesstraat*, an ethnographic exploration of the police in Amsterdam, in which Punch famously failed to uncover an extensive corruption scandal in the police department he was researching. As an outsider researching 'frontline' policing Maurice Punch later recalled how easy it was to 'go native' (Punch 1993: 196), meaning to over-identify with the research participants and lose an appropriate, critical perspective on the research.[25] For the criminologist Victor Jupp, Maurice Punch's experience demonstrated the seduction of the academic outsider into accepting a particular representation of police work (Jupp 1989: 152). Others have maintained that the outsider perspective is valuable in police research. James Sheptycki, for example, has offered an appreciation of such research,

"Rather than being seen as a limitation, the outsider status of academic researchers can be turned around. If the research subjects (*ie* police officers) are, understandably, unwilling to disclose all, the academic is at least able to step from the institutional context and take a dispassionate view. They can see the organisational structure of the institution better, at least potentially, because they have no vested interests to protect." (Sheptycki 1994: 127).

A considered approach may suggest that there are advantages and disadvantages to both the traditional insider and outsider perspectives in the study of policing. Certainly, previous insider perspectives have been hugely influential in the study of the cop culture: disaggregating the organisation, contextualising experiences and providing

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[25] Both insider and outsider researchers must account for bias and subjectivity in their studies. The clear distinction here though, between Punch's research and my own, is between 'going native' and 'being native'.

representations that would otherwise have been difficult to uncover. It is significant, however, that all insider accounts of policing to date have been written by police officers. There have been no similar studies written by civilian members of police staff. This thesis redresses this matter by offering a cultural account of life and work in the police service researched and written by a current member of police staff. Developing such an account, however, challenges the standard model of a binary insider/outsider dichotomy in research on policing.

On a deeper methodological and epistemological examination, this previous research betrays a particular perspective on the position of the police in contemporary society. As Coretta Phillips and Rod Earle argued in the context of prison ethnography,

> "Methodological debates about Insider/Outsider dynamics are situated within a modernist discourse of a positivist epistemology that seeks a single, universal truth." (Phillips and Earle 2010: 360).

My research experience provides an account that contradicts any traditional understanding of clear boundary between the organisational insider and academic outsider in police research. The dichotomous nature of this traditional debate is unhelpful in understanding my role as a researcher as it assumes that these perspectives are mutually exclusive, clearly delineated and do not overlap. Some scholars have attempted to further develop the boundaries of previous research; for example through Jennifer Brown's quadripartite typology of police researchers as 'inside insiders', 'outside insiders', 'inside outsiders' and 'outside outsiders' (Brown 1996: 180-186). Such categorisations, however, can be confusing and fail to capture the fluidity of the researcher's identities as they move between fields across time. The classic, traditional debate establishes clear boundaries that, in conducting research for this study, became blurred beyond all utility. In undertaking this research I was both a postgraduate student and a civilian intelligence analyst. These dual identities – as researcher and colleague – raised some important practical, and ethical, considerations. I managed these in practice by, wherever possible, signalling both verbally and in writing that this project was a personal endeavour and a clear data firewall was created between research data and work data. Whilst I acknowledge that any 'insider' status as a member of police staff could potentially have facilitated the development of rapport with those represented in the research, these two identities became an important area of cultural conflict, and in

becoming so also constituted a source of empirical insight. My liminal status, as both a researcher and practitioner – as an outsider *and* an insider, to varying degrees and to varying extents at different times and in different contexts – raised several important methodological issues that required reflexive consideration for this research to be both feasible and successful. Some of these methodological issues became apparent during a pilot study undertaken in advance of the proposed doctoral research study.

### 2.2.2   Pilot study: lessons learned

Before embarking upon substantive research for this thesis, I designed and conducted a pilot study. The pilot study is important stage in social research, particularly for the novice researcher. Instrumentally the pilot study allows the researcher to uncover any weaknesses in the processes and methods of the study and provides the opportunity to assess the efficacy of the research design in generating data relevant to the research question. Piloting research methods and design is particularly important in police research. For example in *Reproducing Order: A Study of Police Patrol Work*, a classic work in police studies, Richard Ericson (1982: 35) describes how a dedicated pilot study led to the revision of the research instruments and sampling procedure in his study.[26] The pilot study discussed herein had a similar revising effect on plans for data collection, research methods and the overall research design used in this doctoral study.

The pilot study undertaken in advance of this doctoral study was a significant piece of social research in itself.[27] This qualitative study was titled 'A Study of the Police and the Policing of Young People in the BA Sub-Division of Strathclyde Police'. This particular sub-division of Strathclyde Police is located in the east end of Glasgow, an area which has a recent history of post-industrial decline, and a reputation for violence, knife crime and gang behaviour. More recently, the east end of Glasgow has experienced several attempts at urban regeneration and cultural renewal, the most recent of which is associated with the city's successful bid to stage the 2014 Commonwealth

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[26] In fact, it was through her involvement in this same pilot study, as a participant observer, that Janet Chan was first exposed to cop culture (Chan 2012: 301-302).

[27] In addition to sharpening the research approach of this larger doctoral study this pilot study formed the basis of a paper presented at the British Society of Criminology annual conference in 2009. This paper was jointly researched, written and delivered by the PhD candidate and a fellow doctoral research student who conducted parallel and complimentary research on young people in the same geographical area. The title of this paper was titled *Researching Gangs in Glasgow: A Critical Dialogue of Subject, Method and Object*.

Games.[28] Once the 2014 Commonwealth Games were awarded to Glasgow, however, the justification for the urban regeneration of the east end became framed by the authorities using the language of crime-control. This emerging political discourse suggested that the Games offered the potential to improve policing, reduce levels of violence and antisocial behaviour and divert offenders away from crime (Scottish Government 2008). This pilot study explored the voices of those policing actors – both police officers and civilian police staff – who were engaged in the policing of young people in the east end of Glasgow in 2008. Fieldwork for the study involved a six week period of participant observation of a busy custody suite at a police office in the area, followed by a series of 16 semi-structured interviews of both police officers and civilian police staff. This interview sample included, amongst others, police officers working in intelligence units, police officers based on school campuses, civilian intelligence analysts, researchers and custody staff. Data collection for this study ran from September to December 2008.

I learned several important lessons from this pilot study: from the practicalities of taking fieldnotes, and the effect of this practice on the field and those who inhabit it, to the requirement to be able to succinctly summarise one's own research in a sentence that is both engaging and intelligible. The most important methodological lesson learned, however, was that despite being, in accordance with the traditional approach, an 'insider', the currency of my status as a civilian member of police staff often mattered little in the research setting. Much of my time in the field undertaking participant observation was spent with Police Custody and Security Officers (PCSOs), civilian members of police staff responsible for the security and safety of individuals in police custody. Upon formally entering the research field – a police office that I had never previously been in and where I knew no-one – I introduced myself as a member of police staff undertaking a 'uni project'. However, I was perceived as a 'spy from headquarters', a perception validated through my tendency to overtly take fieldnotes, a practice that some of the PCSOs found especially unsettling. An extract from my fieldnotes is indicative of my marginal status in the field as neither a full insider nor a complete outsider. This was written at around 4 o'clock in the morning, shortly after returning home following a period of participant observation.

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[28] The east end of Glasgow will host the opening ceremony of the 2014 Commonwealth Games, the athletes' village and a variety of sporting events.

Fieldnote 19 September 2008

"Well, that felt like a total disaster. I'm going to get this down before bed in case I wake up in the morning and think it went well. After getting over the initial comedy value of finding the turnkeys [PCSOs] sitting about watching *Police Academy 6* when I arrived, they treated me with a weird mixture of disinterest and outright hostility. The custody sergeant [a police officer] was nice enough, taking me around, showing me the cells and the layout and what not. But the turnkeys [police staff] wouldn't even speak to me at first! They, we, just sat watching the rest of *Police Academy*. One of them started asking a few questions, and began to seem really interested, but he was also the one who clearly was ostracised from the rest of the group, of which there were four. This left me in an awkward position of not wanting to seem rude but also seeking to get 'deeper', or at least strike up a decent rapport with the turnkeys, and not alienate the rest of the group. Much of their time seemed to be spent fending off boredom in-between checking-up on the prisoners. The arrival of the police doctor prompted some activity and discussion, breaking the silence and monotony for a bit. Shortly after the doctor had left I started to ask some pretty general questions, just to fill the uncomfortable silence as much as anything else, and one of the PCSOs shouted from the other end of the room, "aye, don't tell him, he's writing everything doon and taking it back to headquarters, he's a spy!" It wasn't meant as a joke. And it didn't feel like it either."

On reflection, my experience resonated with the previous literature elsewhere on police research. As Robert Reiner and Tim Newburn astutely stated in their overview of police research,

"In general the very fact of having official approval for the research can be a difficulty when it comes to being trusted by the research subjects themselves who may regard the researcher with suspicion as a tool of management." (Reiner and Newburn 2008: 355).

Reiner and Newburn also argued that, in the final analysis, there is no way of knowing whether what 'the police' do in front of observers or say in interviews is intended to present an acceptable front to outsiders (Reiner and Newburn 2008: 354-355). [29] Suspicion towards the motives of the researcher is not limited to the study of policing; similar attitudes are found elsewhere in criminological and social research (see Lumsden 2009). When the practice of social research is uncovered and laid bare there may be common experiences shared between sociologists, irrespective of the perceived status and standing of the research participants.

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[29] There is no indication to whom Reiner and Newburn are referring to when they say 'the police'; although by context – in that it represents an overview of existing research – it seems fair to suggest that this refers only to police officers.

In an article reflecting upon a personal account of becoming a sociologist Susan B. Murray (2003) sought to draw upon Erving Goffman's dramaturgical model in his work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) in order to show the series of identity negotiations that characterise the process of undertaking fieldwork and how acknowledging these negotiations is key to becoming a sociologist. For Murray,

> "As a sociologist my job is to study social inequality and power. Broadly speaking, my intellectual goal is to identify structures of inequality, and my political goal is to dismantle them. My chosen methodology means that I study inequality at the level of face-to-face interaction. In so doing – by virtue of my own various social locations – I become a part of the very inequities I am researching. At times I may even end up perpetuating power inequities at the interactional level in order to continue my analysis at the structural level. In maintaining my particular definition it seems as though I have answered my own question: What am I really? I am a spy, a shill, a go-between, and (consequently) a sociologist." (Murray 2003: 394).

The construction of the 'sociologist as spy' has been previously considered in the study of police work. In a reflexive and, at times, confessional account of researching police deviance in Amsterdam Maurice Punch (1989: 196) considered his own descent into duality in order to penetrate 'real' police work, and pondered how in doing so the sociologist may find him- or herself employing techniques normally associated with 'morally polluted' professions such as policing and spying, and may also, therefore, share a similar degree of moral ambivalence towards their respective tasks.[30] Contrary to my thoughts at the time, my fieldnote describing my entry into the research site was useful, both culturally and methodologically. It demonstrated to me that my status in each research setting would be fluid, continually constructed and contested, always changing and different in each context and encounter. I would be perceived differently by each participant in the research and any insider status would always be contingent upon a complex array of factors beyond my control. My first experiences of 'proper fieldwork' during the pilot study thus had a significant influence upon the methodological approach used to create cultural representations in my research.

## 2.3    Creating Cultural Representations

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[30] In the literature on cop culture this is characterised by the Klockars' *Dirty Harry* problem (Klockars 1980) in which 'dirty' methods – violence, beating, physical and psychological intimidation – can used to justify morally desirable ends, such as locating victims or securing confessions from criminals.

### 2.3.1 Developing a qualitative sociological study

Given my commitment, through my research question and research design, to the qualitative sociological study of cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in the relationships between police officers and civilian police staff in Scottish policing, the first major decision in regard to research design was whether my study would adopt an ethnographic approach. Although some introductory textbooks on social research treat ethnography as synonymous with participant observation (see Bryman 2008: 400), this is misleading. Ethnography is more than a research method; it is a commitment of the researcher to discover the meaning of social action – to uncover and understand the influence and power of culture – through fieldwork in a naturally occurring research setting. This is a commitment to which I sought to adhere from the outset, and in this regard my research was always ethnographic. Adopting an ethnographic approach to research is, however, in many ways a political choice. For van Maanen,

> "An ethnography is a written representation of a culture (or selected aspects of a culture). It carries quite serious intellectual and moral responsibilities, for the images of others inscribed in writing are most assuredly not neutral. Ethnographic writings can and do inform human conduct and judgement in innumerable ways by pointing to the choices and restrictions that reside at the very heart of social life." (van Maanen 1988: 1).

Beyond these routine political pitfalls there were important ways in which my research was distinguished from traditional ethnographies. The traditional ethnographer begins and concludes their research journey as an outsider; from the academy they negotiate and secure access, enter the field and spend time there building rapport, capturing comment, conversation and conduct that make for interesting and insightful fieldnotes, before leaving the field to reflexively consider their data and begin their analysis.[31] Given my liminal status, betwixt and between, I found this privileged journey impossible. I had no formal entry into the field and no opportunity to tactically retreat to the academy.[32] For van Maanen culture was something that the fieldworker 'pursues' (van Maanen 1988: 13); however, for me culture was something that flooded my

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[31] Marilyn Strathern (1987: 28) has astutely observed that the ethnographic researcher differs from others in the culture or group under study because the researcher is also a member and a participant in the academic community. This is clarification is critical to understanding the research design adopted in my research; as a researcher I held, to greater or lesser extents, multiple identities across the period of study: professional, academic and personal.

[32] To date, I am still both a postgraduate research student and civilian member of police staff; there was no distance to be afforded between the traditional stages of 'researching' and 'writing up'.

consciousness and submerged my being, and from which there was no distance to be gained nor space from which to draw breath. I was part of the field and its unique story, although my decision to developing a qualitative sociological study fell short of a full commitment to the representation of culture through *auto*ethnography.

There are some similarities between my qualitative sociological study and autoethnography. Autoethnography has been defined by several academics as the research and textual representation of oneself and one's own social group (van Maanen 1995: 9, Karra and Phillips 2008: 545, Ferrell 2012: 219), and this was apparent in my study from the outset. Also, my study has in common with autoethnography the translation of 'home' cultures for audiences of 'others' (Reed-Danahay 1997: 127).[33] However, it seems necessary to caution against the elevation of the sociologist within autoethnography; to exercise caution in relation to the promotion of the self as the only relevant story. As Paul Atkinson (2006: 403) has argued, 'others' remain infinitely more interesting and sociologically significant than sociologists who document their own experiences, rather than analysing social action and social organisation. Although I am certainly present in this thesis, it is the dialogue of others that informs the bulk of the data, analysis and representations herein. Another key difference between my own qualitative sociological study and autoethnography is found in the method of representation. Autoethnographic accounts are often expressed in unique aesthetic or narrative styles that defy the sanitised and detached approaches encouraged in the social sciences. As expressive communication autoethnographies are often, at heart, epistemologically evocative; they seek to represent the lived experience of the researcher and other participants through communicating emotion. Doing autoethnography blurs the boundaries between traditional social science approaches and art such as poetry, literature, photography or film.[34] The representations herein, whilst emotionally engaged, will instead be familiar to more traditional social scientist.[35] In balancing the analytical and evocative, I took methodological refuge in Clifford Geertz's

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[33] This is an important point. I always intended this research to speak to an audience of 'others'; an audience of academics, police professionals and critics in jurisdictions beyond Scotland. However, as my research progressed I increasingly adopted a position of advocacy and hoped (but nothing more) that the research would also speak to a 'home' audience and be recognised as authentic, if not useful.

[34] For a particularly instructive example of autoethnography as novel see *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel About Autoethnography* by Carolyn Ellis (2004).

[35] Whilst I recognise the possibility of an analytic autoethnography (Anderson 2006), any such construction is contentious in the academic debate on this emerging, and political, approach to social research (see Denzin 2006, Ellis and Bochner 2006, Vryan 2006).

argument that ethnographies tend to look as much like romances than lab reports (Geertz 1988: 10).

### 2.3.2 Researcher identity in a qualitative sociological study

In practice, my personal, professional and academic identities were so deeply intertwined and messily interwoven that my initial – and misguided – research design was deliberately constructed to develop what I intended to be clear boundaries between these contrasting and sometimes conflicting identities. This initial research design – a mixed methods approach using both qualitative and quantitative methods – sought to limit the personal and professional trauma that is often associated with some 'deep' ethnographic approaches.[36] It intended to implement boundaries that clearly delineated when I was an academic researcher and when I was an intelligence analyst. Beyond this deliberate design, and reflecting upon my research experience, I also developed a set of routine practices and rituals that sought to maintain identity boundaries and defined my role in specific situations and circumstances. For the most part, my physical professional life was contained within an office and a locker in the headquarters office of Strathclyde Police. The locker contained my business clothes – shirts, ties, dress trousers and sensible shoes – that I wore whilst working in the police office.[37] In making the short journey from the city centre to the university in the leafy west end of the city I would routinely change from my 'professional' dress into a t-shirt, jeans and scruffy trainers: my student wear. This, my everyday 'style' and default academic attire, was also what I wore when conducting my research. The irony of this ritual was clear: in becoming more unkempt I was striving to keep a neat, clean boundary between my (increasingly) conflicting identities.

Despite the intentions of this initial research design and associated rituals the reality was that the identity boundaries they sought to create – both temporal and spatial – became almost immediately blurred as my research progressed, and my research design adapted to adopt an increasingly qualitative, and explicitly ethnographic,

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[36] For example in her discussion of the production of a feminist ethnography of young, white working class women undertaking a course in 'community care' Beverley Skeggs (1994: 73) stated that "The time spent doing the ethnography was so intense that the boundary between my life inside and outside the research dissolved."

[37] Malcolm Young (1991: 206-223) has highlighted the importance of the 'regulation of the body' in police work, which is predominantly achieved through the imposition of a uniform. As a civilian member of police staff I was required to wear business dress but not a uniform. Nevertheless, my ritual cleansing suggested that the physical body remains an important site of bodily regulation – and cultural control – in Scottish policing.

approach.[38] In conducting certain aspects of the research that required prior organisation – such as interviews and focus groups – I would fret about whether or not to wear my police identity card, a dilemma perhaps more readily understood if the object is given its informal nomenclature 'pass'. Wearing my police pass identified me as a police worker to the commissionaires manning the receptions of police offices, where much of my research was to take place, negating the requirement for a visitor pass to be administered. The following fieldnote, constructed in the immediate aftermath of interviewing an intelligence analyst in Edinburgh, is indicative of my concern over this issue, and how I perceived this object as symbolic in regulating my identity during periods of research.

> Fieldnote 19 September 2008
> "A short time into the pre-interview discussion I noticed I was still wearing my pass. Without breaking the tempo of the discussion I took my pass off, passing the lanyard over my head and wrapping the lanyard carefully around it, I suppose as if to conceal my formal police face. This was, at the time, unintentional, although I can appreciate its somewhat ceremonial significance in retrospect. The thing that struck me though was that Charles reciprocated! He took off his own pass, removed it over his head, wrapped the lanyard around it and placed it neatly on the table in front. This led me to think if I was over-analysing this particular issue and its significance. Perhaps Charles' response was simply an indication of how I was establishing good rapport. I still think that it is symbolically important for me though, like an off duty/on duty signal. I would suppose that it's actually a form of communication, and the interviews would perhaps take a different path if I appeared aesthetically different, more professional or official. That, however, is not what I want to achieve."

My research was undoubtedly influenced by a personal and professional knowledge of some aspects of the Scottish police service; its inner workings, practices, norms and unwritten rules. This profoundly cultural knowledge could not be contained neatly in a locker: it permeated my everyday professional life and my academic research. Confronting these issues led to a form of identity reconciliation; an acceptance of the blurred borders between ethnography and life (see McLean 2007: 263-264).

These blurred boundaries were demonstrated in a most dramatic manner, and in the unlikeliest of circumstances, on the evening of 22 February 2011. The following

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[38] My decision to refocus my research design does not reflect an abandonment, or deep critique, of the utility of quantitative approaches to the study of cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in policing. Indeed, I recognise and appreciate the value and contribution of such approaches to the subject area (see Terrill et al 2003 and Terpstra and Schaap 2013).

fieldnote requires a degree of scene-setting for it to make sense in the context of a research methods chapter. Having completed a full working day as an intelligence analyst I was at home watching football on the television. As credits rolled on the post-football match analysis I pondered whether to go to bed or to watch the news. Perhaps more through lethargy than any commitment to current affairs, I settled on watching *Newsnight*. It was shortly before 11pm.

> <u>Fieldnote 22 February 2011</u>
> "Right, it's now well past midnight. Work in the morning, but can't stop staring at the telly. Because there I am. Me. In my favourite red hat. It's definitely me. Frozen, digitally… there I am on the telly! ... I had decided to turn on *Newsnight* instead of going to bed... it cut to *Newsnight Scotland* ... the intro[duction] led on the controversy surrounding higher education funding, which Isabel Fraser, the newscaster, called the "*cash crisis*". I thought: 'that might be alright, will give it a watch'. The segment began with the reporter describing the "*scene MSPs want to avoid: angry students just before an election.*" It then showed a protest at the University of Glasgow the previous week, and just before Alistair Sim of Universities Scotland gave his 'expert view', there I was, on the telly, 'protesting'. I was one of those "*angry students*" the news was talking about! I was walking past a police officer, and alongside some bloke I met ten minutes earlier from the Communist Party. Although you couldn't tell from the telly, I was also standing right in front of a big Communist Party banner, which attracted me because it had the words 'Clydebank Branch' written on it, which is the town where I am from. He [the Communist Party member] seemed like a sound [nice] enough guy… I didn't tell him I worked for the police; it just didn't seem the done thing at a student protest which was being heavily policed. I quit the march early, before it got to the [University of Glasgow] Senate, because I had to get to work for my shift. I remember the police helicopter hovering overhead as I cut down Woodlands Road towards the city centre."

A picture of me as an 'angry student', taken from *Newsnight Scotland*, is given below.[39]

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[39] The picture on the front cover of this thesis is taken from the same series of images.

*Figure 3: Member of police staff, intelligence analyst, angry student?*



On deeper reflection of this situation, I was struck by the paradoxes of my position. As a civilian intelligence analyst, I used images like these – images like *me* – in police intelligence work. I regularly viewed images of 'unidentified males' – taken covertly by surveillance teams, from closed circuit television (CCTV) footage, or from 'open source' research of the internet and other forms of media – in intelligence tasking documents. These tasking documents were often designed to be sent to covert human intelligence sources (CHIS),[40] who are subsequently asked to identify individuals for the purposes of progressing or developing an investigation. The more I thought about this image, *my* image, the more it emphasised to me the blurred boundaries between my research, work and life.[41] In viewing this image it struck me that *I* could be in an intelligence report somewhere as an 'unidentified male in red hat' associating with a member of the Communist Party. My image could be pasted into a tasking document and given to a CHIS, or feature in an analytical chart showing my 'links' to the

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[40] In police circles often referred to colloquially as 'touts'. In criminal circles often referred to colloquially as 'grasses'.

[41] My image reminded me of the photographs of the 7/7 bombers, Mohammed Siddique Khan and Shehzad Tanweer, which were subsequently cropped and shown to a CHIS for identification purposes (see Guardian 2011).

Communist Party, based upon my 'choice' of associates to march alongside or even my red hat.[42] None of this was beyond the realms of possibility; although I took solace in the fact that should this situation have ever occurred it would probably have been me doing the analytical work. The night of 22 February 2011 was thus seared into my research experience as the time when I realised there was to be no space, separation or reconciliation between my oftentimes conflicting identities. Moreover, there was also no resolution or distance in writing up, which became a pause for breath rather than an 'objective', final and authoritative analysis. My initial methodological approach to maintain clear boundaries between these identities was misguided, and one which I ultimately rejected in favour of an approach that valued these blurred boundaries, and used them to highlight processes of cultural challenge, conflict, control and dissonance. I accepted the blurred boundaries between these identities and regarded this as part of the uniqueness of the research study itself. I simply recognised that, for me, doing social research on the Filth was destined to be inherently messy.

### 2.3.3 The practicalities, and partialities, of research

Much of the academic literature on social research methods, and particularly those works focussed upon the interview as a research technique, is concerned with issues of the representative-ness of the sample population.[43] Less emphasis is given to understanding the biography and background of the research participants who in the processes of abstraction, are instead rendered as data points or, worse, as invisible data generators. Whilst there are often good reasons for adopting such a stance, such as maintaining the anonymity of those contributing to a social research study, the sampling procedure used in this thesis made no deliberate attempt to be statistically representative of any wider population. As Barnard Lahire argues, often in social research there is a need to move from statistical tables to individual portraits (Lahire 2008: 168). In seeking to explore the views, opinions, attitudes, beliefs, positions, dispositions and tastes of a minority (and hitherto hidden) population in Scottish policing – civilian intelligence analysts – it made some sense to over-represent their voices in comparison to their counterpart group, police officers. As such the interview sample was as provided in the figure below.

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[42] Through the blurred experiences of fieldwork and professional experience I have seen such linkages occurring, based on seemingly spurious and far-fetched inferences.
[43] For a discussion of interview sampling see Alan Bryman's *Social Research Methods* (2008: 458-462).

*Figure 4: The interview sample*

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │ Police officers and │
                    │    police staff     │
                    │      (n=40)         │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              │
              ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
    ┌──────────────────┐            ┌──────────────────┐
    │ Police officers  │            │   Police staff   │
    │     (n=22)       │            │     (n=18)        │
    └──────────────────┘            └──────────────────┘
         │                                   │
    ┌────┴────┐                      ┌───────┴───────┐
┌────────┐ ┌────────┐           ┌────────┐     ┌────────┐
│ Male   │ │ Female │           │ Male   │     │ Female │
│ (n=19) │ │ (n=3)  │           │ (n=8)  │     │ (n=10) │
└────────┘ └────────┘           └────────┘     └────────┘
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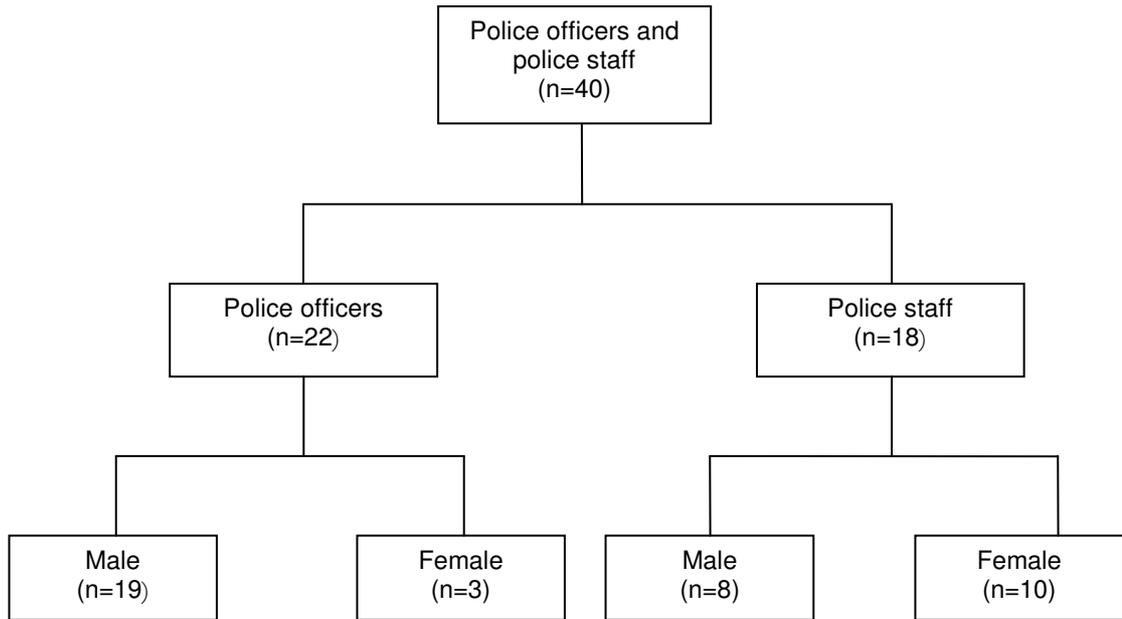
All of these participants were either currently working in police intelligence or had recent experience of police intelligence work. A snowball sampling technique was used to develop this sample from an initially small set of research participants, identified through a range of colleagues, contacts and other gatekeepers. Snowball sampling yields a study sample through referrals made by people who know others who possess characteristics that may be of research interest (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981: 141) and can be a useful technique when researching hard to reach and hidden populations (Faugier and Sargeant 1997). Whilst snowball sampling inherently entails a certain loss of control for the researcher, it is important to recognise that the researcher remains active in following-up referrals and selecting interviewees. In addition to the snowball sampling technique, particular research participants were deliberately selected based upon their public or professional profile within intelligence-led policing in Scotland. A variety of ranks and roles were represented in the sample, from the senior ranks that comprise ACPOS to civilian intelligence researchers.[44] The interview research sample included participants from six of the eight Scottish police forces. The semi-structured interviews focused on four main themes: experiences of cultures in policing, perspectives on civilianisation, the role of intelligence analysis and the futures for Scottish policing. These themes, chosen following an extensive review of the relevant literatures (as discussed in the following chapter). All interview data was anonymised to

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[44] In this sample the only members of police staff interviewed were intelligence analysts, as previously defined.

prevent the identification of research participants.[45] The naming convention used in the study attributed names on a random basis, with only the gender consistent with the research participant.

A series of focus groups was also conducted following the conclusion of around two-thirds of the semi-structured interviews and following a preliminary analysis of the data. Three focus groups were conducted: one consisting of a mix of both police officers and intelligence analysts, one consisting of only intelligence analysts and one consisting solely of police officers. A focus group is best understood as a collective group discussion centred on set themes or questions and in which group interaction is explicitly used to generate a unique form of data. The aim of the researcher in a focus group is to encourage participants to talk to one another: asking questions of each other, exchanging views, or commenting on one another's experiences and points of view (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999: 4). Focus groups also aim to explore the ways in which accounts are articulated, censured, supported and contested through social interaction, and how this relates to group norms and peer communication (Kitzinger and Barbour 1999: 5). In this way, focus groups can demonstrate a form of cultural power in practice.

The use of focus groups offered two additional benefits beyond a straightforward reliance on semi-structured interviews and ethnographic fieldwork. Firstly, it provided additional data to supplement, deepen and develop the initial analysis emerging from other methods. Taking this approach was not meant as a process of triangulation in a positivist sense: it is doubtful that two research methods, conducted iteratively but not concurrently, and incorporating different research participants in unique settings, could in any way be considered as offering direct comparability, and thus triangulation. Secondly, undertaking a short series of focus groups allowed police officers and intelligence analysts the chance to challenge or contest the developing representations, a process in itself that emerged as an important form of data. This approach recognises the claim that focus groups can be used to democratise the research process as a forum for public participation, as well as offering an avenue to deepen initial analysis, rather than to test it (Bloor et al 2001: 18). By feeding back the emerging representations for critical discussion the focus group stage offered the research participants an informed voice in the study. Whilst the focus groups were structured along similar themes to the semi-

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[45] A further discussion of ethical issues is provided in section 2.3.4.

structured interviews, the group dynamic was enhanced (and stimulated) by the provision of research vignettes – such as suitably anonymised interview quotes and fieldnotes from ethnographic fieldwork – to stimulate group discussion.[46] In this way the focus groups offered the opportunity to qualify, challenge, corroborate or contest the analysis and emerging representations. The expectation of this approach was that it would provide new data and new perspectives on the themes that had emerged from preliminary analysis of the data. This use of focus groups added depth to the analysis and democratised the cultural representations through the provision of critical appraisal and counter-perspectives to those representations emerging in the research study.

The use of this research technique in practice, however, was not always straightforward. Alan Bryman has highlighted several limitations that can occur when conducting focus groups: researchers have less control than in an individual interview, data is voluminous and therefore both difficult to organise and analyse, and transcription can be time-consuming and difficult (Bryman 2008: 488). All of these limitations were encountered in conducting focus groups for this research study. Conversations overlapped during focus groups and were sometimes difficult to decipher. Selecting participants was also problematic. Bryman also reflected upon the debate in the research methods literature on whether it is beneficial to use natural groupings in focus groups (where the research participants know one another) or whether to opt for a deliberately constructed collection of people who are unknown to one another (Bryman 2008: 482). On at least one occasion I exercised little control over this issue as I capitalised upon the opportunity to conduct a focus group following the conclusion of a police training course held for both police officers and intelligence analysts. As the training course, which lasted for five days, was nearing its conclusion the participants had become accustomed to one another in this setting. This in itself created an interesting dynamic of familiarity tempered by uncertainty, and offered a unique setting in which power relations were evidently still emerging and being tested. In taking the opportunity to conduct a focus group in this setting I exercised no control of group composition; in this sense the sampling procedure in this case was opportunistic. The other focus groups, however, were constructed using a deliberate sampling strategy wherein prospective participants were contacted directly and asked to consent to taking part. The issue of

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[46] Examples of these are provided in section 10.4.3.

sampling, therefore, was not always straightforward but did offer the possibility of unique data that added depth to the research.

In examining the practicalities of the research study it is necessary to provide a discussion of the methods of analysis, including an overview of the scope, extent and shape of the data included in the analysis, the processes of analysing this data and the extent to which these data and processes informed and shaped the theoretical approach developed in the study. The requirement for such a discussion is recognised in the academic literature; as Attride-Stirling has argued, there is a need for greater disclosure in qualitative research, which can only be achieved by recording, systematising and disclosing methods of analysis, particularly in relation to thematic analyses (Attride-Stirling 2001: 385). As discussed in the earlier section on research design, this study sought to develop a mixed methods research design that facilitated an iterative research process. In practice, this meant that the study was informed by data from the three principal and intersecting research methods: semi-structured interviews, focus groups and observational fieldwork. The bulk of the empirical data presented in the thesis is taken from the 40 semi-structured interviews conducted for this study, as specified in the interview sample above. The duration of the interviews ranged from 26 minutes to one hour and 18 minutes in length. Initially I was faced with the choice of whether to transcribe interviews selectively or fully. Fielding and Thomas (2008: 257) have offered a discussion on the relative merits of full or selective transcription, and advise that even if selective transcription is chosen the first few interviews should nevertheless be transcribed fully. I progressed on the basis of this advice and began to transcribe interviews fully using Windows Media Player and Microsoft Word. Having established a process for doing so, and recognising the benefits of having such transcripts, I continued this transcription process for all interviews. The word length of the transcribed interviews ranged from 4.053 words to 7.929 words. In addition to the transcription of the interview content itself, I also developed a process of immediately recording my own thoughts and feelings, using a digital voice recorder, on how individual interviews had progressed. Some of these recordings were partially transcribed to offer a degree of additional context, vibrancy and colour to the interview data.

In addition to the provision of a bulk dataset through interview data, additional datasets were provided by focus group transcriptions and fieldnotes generated through observational fieldwork. The three focus groups conducted for this study, all of which were fully transcribed, generated the following data for analysis,

- Focus group 1, police officers and intelligence analysts: the focus group lasted 51 minutes and a transcript of 5,173 words was generated.
- Focus group 2, intelligence analysts only: the focus group lasted 58 minutes and a transcript of 7,121 words was generated.
- Focus group 3, police officers only: the focus group lasted 32 minutes and a transcript of 3,528 words was generated.

The fieldnotes generated through observational fieldwork also constituted a substantive dataset in its own right. Fieldnotes were collected during fieldwork from a period of over four years: from December 2009 to March 2013. These fieldnotes ranged from single words and short phrases on post-it notes, scraps of Microsoft Word documents and emails sent to myself – all collected in situ – to long and reflexive fieldnotes crafted following working days as an intelligence analysts. The most substantive fieldnotes undertaken consisted of these reflexive diary entries. All of these fieldnotes, both short notes collected in situ and longer, reflexive diary entries recorded following periods of observational fieldwork, enriched the available dataset for analysis and informed the other methods in an iterative and complimentary manner..

The analysis of the bulk of this data, including all interview and focus group transcripts and a selection of substantive and transcribed fieldnotes, was undertaken using NVivo qualitative data analysis software. This software facilitated the coding of segments of data to nodes through the identification of ideas, themes, categories and concepts in the data. The iterative research design and process of data collection facilitated the linking of nodes into hierarchies – or trees – to categorise and group data, and help to understand the relationships between nodes. For example, nodes emerged in relation to (infantilisation) and, as the analysis progressed, these were categorised into a broader tree of 'infantilisation'. The overall strategy for identification of nodes in the dataset was influenced by Ryan and Bernard's approach that,

"Themes come both from the data (an inductive approach) and from the investigator's prior theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study (an a priori approach). Mostly, though, themes are induced from empirical data." (Ryan and Bernard 2003: 88).

The origins of the nodes identified in this research were a mixture of both these generative positions. Predominantly the themes were derived from self-emerging patterns of experience in the data collected, including fieldwork. However, as Gomm acknowledges,

"Even with thematic analysis there comes a point at which the analyst imposes a structure on the data." (Gomm 2004: 194).

In some ways, a degree of structure was already present in much of the data, given the semi-structured nature of the interviews and the lines of inquiry developed further through focus groups. Moreover, this overlay of structure in my dataset was facilitated by both prior engagement with the key themes in the available literature and the desire to deploy a Bourdieusian theoretical perspective to offer and explanatory perspective upon the data, and allow otherwise disparate data to become inter-connected and meaningful. For example, as the hierarchy of infantilisation and associated nodes emerged, this was linked via the software to the Bourdieusian concept of symbolic violence, which was gradually emerging from a deeper reading of Bourdieu. Some additional research and analysis was undertaken using Microsoft Word and Excel packages, although this was primarily to supplement or inform the data emerging from the broader process of analysis undertaken in NVivo.

In addition to the practicalities of the research methods, it is necessary to confront and consider the partialities of my study. I was engaged in a process of researching my colleagues which, van Heugten (2004: 207) highlights, inevitably leads to concerns about inherent bias and subjectivity. In a classic study on the subject of bias in social research Howard. S. Becker (1967) asked 'whose side are we on?' and concluded,

"We take sides as our personal and political commitments dictate, use our theoretical and technical resources to avoid the distortions that might introduce into our work, limit our conclusions carefully, recognize the hierarchy of

credibility for what it is, and field as best we can the accusations and doubts that will surely be our fate." (Becker 1967: 247).

Discussions of bias in social research are connected by one common characteristic: they consider bias as a pejorative label. Whilst many texts acknowledge that social scientific studies will be affected by issues of bias, an appreciation of bias is absent in the methodological literature. Ethnography offers a method of analysis in which politics, bias and subjectivity are deliberately implicated in the research design. This research design of this study – qualitative, sociological and ethnographic – creates, shapes and influences the cultural representations that are sketched herein. Aware of the potential pitfalls of such an approach, I sought to create a research design that provided the space for feedback on the emerging representations, and make that space and opportunity available to 'all sides'.

### 2.3.4   Further discussion of ethical issues

The representation of people in this study – through comments and reflective vignettes emerging from interviews, focus groups and participant observation, from both the researcher and those represented in the research – raises important ethical issues that must be addressed. Some of these issues are interlinked, especially those of disclosure, privacy, confidentiality and informed consent. The element of disclosure in policing research has received short shrift from some important scholars. For example, Louise Westmarland has mused upon whether there is any point in conducting an intensive police ethnography for any reason other than to 'blow the whistle' on 'their indiscretions' (Westmarland 2001a: 523). Whilst it may be tempting for the scholar to seek to make his or her name by 'exposing' corruption or excessive violence in the police, in disaggregating the police service through research it becomes apparent that not only is much police work typically routine, mundane and somewhat boring – including the manipulation of data on computer screens by civilian intelligence analysts – but policing is also a loose array of activities undertaken by a range of individuals with their own biographies, histories, politics and motivations for doing the work that they do.[47] As with research on any other institution, however powerful, there is an ethical imperative to protect the research participant. One cannot treat the police as a special case – exempt from the ethical limitations of other communities – due to a perception

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[47] The ethical difficulties of the 'mundane realities' encountered during ethnographic police research were considered by Michael Rowe (2007) as 'molehills', rather than the 'mountains' he expected to face having immersed himself in the previous methodological literature on police research.

that they constitute a powerful institution, and therefore legitimate target, for research. Following this claim, my research sought to avoid deception and disclose to the research participants as much of the research purpose and methods as possible, through the practice of obtaining informed consent.

Informed consent has been defined by Maurice Punch (1994: 90) as the right of subjects in any research to be informed that they are being researched, and about the nature of the research. In practice, during the course of conducting interviews and focus groups, this involved, at the outset of such processes, the presentation of an information sheet for research participants and a consent form to be signed.[48] In doing so I developed a set of practices for introducing these forms at the beginning of such staged research practices, but they undoubtedly had an interrupting impact upon the development of rapport during such research. In reflecting upon the practice and consequences of obtaining informed consent Punch has commented,

> "In much fieldwork there seems to be no way around the predicament that informed consent – divulging one's identity and research purpose to all and sundry – will kill many a project stone dead." (Punch 1994: 90).

Indeed, reflecting more generally upon applying traditional ethical codes to his own work in researching policing Punch (1989: 192) concluded that this would have been 'ludicrously inappropriate' and, if employed, would have 'effectively have destroyed his research'. Whilst I did not experience such dramatic outcomes whilst obtaining informed consent during interviews and focus groups, it undoubtedly had an effect on the dynamic of interviews and focus groups.

Obtaining informed consent during the sociological fieldwork aspect of this qualitative study – the collection of routine and reflexive fieldnotes of daily activities and interactions – was more problematic. As Tim May has argued (May 2011: 68) although the ethical issues of disclosure and invasions of privacy can be mitigated through obtaining informed consent prior to any 'formal' or staged research method – such as interviews or focus groups – and the considered judgement on the part of the researcher, issues persist in using other research methods such as participant

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[48] For the information sheet and consent form used in the pilot study see sections 10.1.2 and 10.1.3. For the information sheet and consent form used for interviews and focus groups in the full doctoral study see sections 10.3.1, 10.3.2, 10.4.1 and 10.4.2.

observation, particularly in its covert form. The challenges of informed consent in police research were highlighted by Rowe, who highlighted the ways in which practical problems made the methodological ideal difficult to realise, and often it was not feasible to seek the consent of all those encountered (Rowe 2007: 43). Given the impossibility of informing every single person I came into contact with that I was simultaneously both a practitioner and a researcher I developed a dual strategy of being as overt as possible in relation to my research and its intentions and, where necessary, I exercised judgement and restraint upon any fieldwork that impinged upon, or represented, anyone who did not have a necessary level of knowledge of the research or its intentions. This meant confronting two issues that are oftentimes difficult for the researchers: routinely talking about my research in an open and inclusive way with those who would be part of the narrative, and, crucially, excluding some data that, whilst it would have been insightful, would also have been unethical to include. Indeed, during the course of all research activities I recognised that obtaining informed consent did not offer *carte blanch* to expose the private lives of participants or to collect information beyond the scope of the research (David and Sutton 2011: 48). As Alan Bryman highlights, the participant who explicitly provides their informed consent to participate in any study does not forgo their right to privacy entirely (Bryman 2008: 123); limits are instead placed on the social researcher to inquire about those opinions and actions that impinge upon the research question, and not those matters beyond. In this regard, the exercise of judgement on what to disclose was crucial in maintaining the integrity of the ethics of the research.

Maintaining an ethical position in relation to those represented in the research became a guiding principle of the study, and extended beyond informing consent and disclosure. As well as exercising considered judgement to ensure that only data that impinged upon the research question was included in the analysis and representations herein, I also sought to ensure the confidentiality of the data that was disclosed, analysed and featured in the research, and, as far as was practicable, the anonymity of those represented therein. Colin Robson (2011: 207) has highlighted how providing anonymity to participants when reporting social research is the norm. In practice, this was achieved by the provision of pseudonyms for research participants and, on occasion, removing any biographical or geographical information that could be used to identify people or places. The key guiding principle in doing so was the protection from harm. David and Sutton (2011: 48-49) succinctly identified three dimensions of protection

from harm: protection from physical harm, emotional harm and legal harm. To this list it is possible to add a further dimension: professional harm. The collection of data, and the representations that emerged from this process, were oftentimes frank and critical of the police service and its processes, management and cultures. Having been trusted with this information, and having guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality as far as was possible, I took a responsibility to ensure that those represented in the research were protected from any professional harm.

Limiting the extent of harm to research participants is clearly an important responsibility of any academic researcher and must be addressed in their research design. Nevertheless, the issue of harm to the researcher has been subject to less critical discussion, particularly in the context of research by 'insiders'. Providing her thoughts on this subject Dydia DeLyser commented,

> "For insider researchers interviewees often remain friends or coworkers, people with whom the researcher continues relationships. They read the published results – and see how they are represented." (DeLyser 2001: 446).

This also raises the issue, in developing the representations in this study, of any potential conflict of interest between my status and intentions as a researcher, my status as a member of police staff, and any loyalty or hostility towards those who were represented in this study.[49] Trudo Lemmens and Peter Singer (1998: 960) have defined a conflict of interest as a situation in which professional judgement regarding a primary interest, such as research, may be unduly influenced by a secondary interest, such as financial gain or personal prestige. Conflicts of interest arose intermittently during the research process, almost exclusively in relation to balancing the interests of research, and representing the array of practices, actions and behaviours – both positive and negative – of the researched, with my personal and professional relationships with those who were being researched. Whilst my research horizons extended beyond my immediate working environment, during the course of this qualitative research I engaged with, and represented, many people whom I had known previously in professional and

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[49] In a more recent journal article on 'police subculture' in counter-terrorism policing in England David Lowe (2011) reflected upon his experiences of covertly researching his colleagues and co-workers. As a Detective Sergeant (DS) in a counter-terrorism policing unit, Lowe identified the betrayal of trust as a key issue, given the covert nature of his study. Lowe justified his use of covert ethnography by arguing that this was a research method of the last resort: no other research method was open to him (Lowe 2011: 237). I disagree with Lowe's conclusion, and I discounted the use of covert participant observation on ethical grounds.

personal contexts: they were, and in some cases remain, co-workers, colleagues and confidants, as well as research participants. From a positive perspective, this positioning provided the possibility of maintaining – or at least continually and reflexively negotiating, both formally and informally – a level of trust, identity and access. On occasion, however this led t difficult decisions on whether to include comment or practices in fieldnotes where the recorded behaviour was controversial, or less than professional. Any such instances were heightened by the nature of the research process itself; there was no neat and tactical a retreat from 'the field' and back to the academy to engage in a 'dispassionate' process of writing-up.[50] In dealing with such conflicts of interest I recognised them as such in fieldnotes, and reflexively sought to balance the benefits to the research with any potential harm to my relationship with the researched, or the researched themselves. Coming to such judgements was delicate, and required careful consideration. However, even where data was explicitly excluded on such grounds, such decisions undoubtedly impinged indirectly on the analysis and representations provided herein.

## 2.4 Conclusion

### 2.4.1 After Method, Beyond Cop Culture

The aim of this chapter was to describe, explain and justify the research methods and the methodological orientation of this research, but to do so with a critical focus and to openly disclose the mess that lies after method. The uniqueness of this approach challenges orthodox accounts of the methodological state-of-the-field. In an overview of police research Reiner and Newburn asserted that,

> "Research on policing and the police has been carried out using the full gamut of social science research methods: overt or covert participant observations; surveys; interviewing; field diaries; policy evaluation; analysis of organizational data like calls for service or personnel deployment; documentary analysis of historical or contemporary records and files; analysis of official statistics." (Reiner and Newburn 2008: 353).

Some of the methodological tools used in this research may be familiar to Reiner and Newburn: interviews, focus groups, participant observation and fieldnotes. However, as the first qualitative sociological of the police service conducted by a civilian insider – at least as traditionally understood – it extends these methods and analysis to new

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[50] In fact, the conflict between these fields and identities came to form an important aspect of my research.

researchers and sociological actors. The practical methods employed in my research design – literature review, analysis of official documents and statistics, participant observation, fieldnotes, interviews, focus groups, transcription, thematic and content analysis – are not necessarily innovative or unique in themselves, but when used to develop this qualitative sociological study they become more than simple methods; they become tools of both cultural and self-representation.

In developing this qualitative sociological study this research also re-interprets some of the classic social science research methods and challenges assumptions about their use in social research. Focus groups, for example, have often been used at the outset of research projects as preliminary exploration in those areas where little is known, where prior research is lacking or where knowledge is concealed in hidden communities (Bloor et al 2001: 6). However, in my research design focus groups are used at a much later stage in this research to help explore emerging cultural representations and to provide a forum in which to corroborate, challenge, or contest these representations. This was necessary because, as aforementioned, although I am undoubtedly present in the research and analysis this research is not *my* story; it is the story of a community of civilian police staff, to which I belong, and the interaction of this group and its members with a hegemonic culture to which I am an at least partial outsider. This research, therefore, is a cultural narrative – privileged, imperfect and partial – in which I am an active protagonist. I have been active in shaping and influencing a culture, or sub-culture, of which I am part; one that this thesis argues presents a challenge to the core characteristics and hegemony of cop culture. Perhaps more importantly, it is worthwhile heeding Tom Cockcroft's argument (2007: 100) that there is a need for further debate over the term 'police culture' regardless of methodology. It is to this issue, a critical appraisal of the existing literature, that this thesis now turns.

Chapter 3    Beyond Cop Culture

## 3.1    Introduction

### 3.1.1    Reinvigorating the sociological perspective on policing

This thesis has already identified three main deficiencies in the literature on cop culture: its lack of conceptual clarity, its fixation on police officers, and the limited range of settings in which research has been conducted. Moreover, research on cop culture faces two further challenges: a lack of theoretical engagement and a crisis of relevancy. In relation to the former, relatively recent research on cop culture has highlighted the atheoretical nature of much of the pre-existing literature on the subject (Chan 2003). This is indicative of a wider malaise in the study of policing. In a recent article outlining the state-of-the field, Peter K. Manning lamented upon how little theory has featured in police research. He stated,

> "Returning to the sociology of knowledge perspective, how is it that a field generated by creative, individual scholars working with little or no funding is now radically dependent on funding, features trivial research often supported by soft money, and is ready and eager to atheoretically study any currently fashionable question without theorizing it?" (Manning 2005: 38).

A lack of engagement with theory, and social theory in particular, limits the currency of police research in the academy and, more importantly, restricts its ability to communicate its representations across research fields and between academic disciplines. Research on cop culture has produced few works that are empirically informed but theoretically ambitious. This is especially apparent in comparison to other areas of research within the broader interdisciplinary school of criminology. For example, in penology David Garland's work on the history of crime control and criminal justice has engaged deeply with social theory. Garland's ambition was recognised by Matravers, who stated in a review of Garland's *The Culture of Control*,

> "David Garland's *The Culture of Control* (2001) is rightly regarded as making a significant contribution not only in the field of criminology, but also to social theory and the history of the present." (Matravers 2004: 1).

Police research, and particularly research on cop culture, has typically lacked such theoretical engagement, sophistication or ambition, and this is the fourth major

weakness in the literature on cop culture. Just as importantly, however, the literature on cop culture also faces a fifth weakness: a crisis of relevancy in contemporary society.

Studies of cop culture are challenged from within the academy by a research field that has apparently exhausted all available avenues of inquiry: interested researchers have progressed to explore the mixed economy of policing (Crawford 2005) or have abandoned any analytical concern with the social institution of the police and the practice of policing, in favour of a move towards understanding the governance of security (Johnston and Shearing 2003, Wood 2004). From outside the academy studies of cop culture are challenged by the multiple representations of police officers in the contemporary media space, and especially in and through mass-media. Robert Reiner (1992a: 171, 2000: 52, 2010: 177) has argued that mass-media images of the police are of central importance in understanding the political significance and the role of policing in society, and remain an important source of information on the police for those sections of the population who do not encounter the police in their daily lives.[51] The mass-media is saturated with images and representations of the police officer, who features as a recurring protagonist in fictional, biographical and autobiographical literature, appears across all conceivable genres on television and film, and is reported in newspapers of all shapes, sizes and political persuasions.[52] This is important in any review of cop culture because, as John van Maanen has argued (1988: 131), academic disciplines do not have a monopoly on cultural representation in society.

Existing cultural narratives of policing in Britain often reference a 'Golden Age' of that began in the aftermath of the World War II and lasted until the end of the 1950s.[53] This Golden Age is considered as a period of unparalleled public confidence in policing, sustained by a myth based upon blind faith in authority and ignorance of actual police work at a time of relative harmonious community relationships (Downes and Morgan 1994: 221). PC George Dixon, the iconic lead character of the television series Dixon of Dock Green, was symbolic of the Golden Age. It has been argued that through

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[51] This is also important because Reiner has elsewhere emphasised that, despite a recent trend in both news and fiction towards criticism of law enforcement, the media generally present a very positive image of the success and integrity of the police, and criminal justice processes and institutions more generally (Reiner 2007: 393).

[52] Although it is important to recognise Reiner's assertion that the relationship between the police and the mass media has always been vexed and complex (Reiner 2008: 314).

[53] Newburn and Reiner (2004: 604) have argued that the British police were at a pinnacle of popular legitimacy in 1954.

his direct and reassuring addresses to the television camera PC Dixon assisted the state in achieving a degree of social consensus (Sydney-Smith 2002: 205). Although for some Dixon remains the embodiment of an ideal 'British' policeman (Sydney-Smith 2002: 1), or for others the point of reference against which the current police service continues to be compared (Mawby, R. I. 2003: 212), it is important to note that Dixon inhabited and symbolised a world of policing BC: Before Culture. The development of police research in Britain coincided with the end of this Golden Age (Bowling and Foster 2002: 980). Beginning with Banton's (1964) sympathetic description of *The Policeman in the Community* and culminating in Holdaway's (1983) controversial covert ethnography *Inside the British Police* there emerged a level of coterminosity – if not symbiosis – between crises of policing in Britain and the emergence of lucid, descriptive and critical accounts of cop culture.[54] The academy was therefore undoubtedly instrumental in creating a developed understanding of policing AD: After Dixon. Many of these studies have become cornerstone texts in the literature on social research methods (see Bryman 2008: 54). The influence of police research in describing cop culture and developing the methodological tools of social research is at least partly attributable to its pioneering ability to uncover areas of social life previously hidden to the wider society. However, just as the police can no longer claim a public monopoly on policing in society (Bayley and Shearing 1996: 586),[55] so the academy can no longer sustain the claim that it provides the only lens into 'real-life' police work.

An alternative lens into everyday 'frontline' policing is increasingly provided by television programmes consisting of images from CCTV systems and footage captured by cameramen embedded alongside police officers on street patrol, in police cars and helicopters, or even integrated into the uniforms of police officers themselves. Programmes of this type serve the public with a dose of 'the action' without leaving the comfort of their sitting room.[56] However, fieldwork during the aforementioned pilot study demonstrated the highly staged nature of police reality television in Scotland, and highlighted how 'the action' may be a construct of creative direction and not a reflection

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[54] It is worth noting that Holdaway's *Inside the British Police* has been considered as a 'classic sociological text' that, even when its contribution is considered in isolation, elevates Holdaway to the status of a 'police research pioneer' (Heslop 2012: 526).

[55] If such a monopoly ever existed. Jones and Newburn (2002: 133) argue that the height of the symbolic monopoly of public policing was an era in which low crime rates and social order were produced by a range of structural influences that underpinned an effective network of informal social controls.

[56] This could be considered important because as Westmarland (2000: 26) has argued, in police research 'the action' is often where the insight lies.

of an otherwise occurring reality.[57] This reflects Greer and Reiner's contention that distinction between fact and fiction in representations of crime and criminal justice in the media has become fluid and blurred (Greer and Reiner 2012: 248). Perhaps none of this should be surprising; Robert C. Mawby (2002) had previously identified the importance of civilian communications professionals – marketers, public relations experts and media professionals – in promoting, projecting and protecting the police image. The construction of such images, however, has important social and political consequences; we get to 'know' a sanitised version of the police officer – his nickname, hobbies, likes and dislikes – whilst the criminal remains unknown, his face blurred, his identity concealed, his history silenced.[58] Leishman and Mason (2005) succinctly summarised this change in the assertion that media representations of policing have shifted from Dixon of Dock Green to the 'docusoap'. This rise of the police docusoap, with its mix of reality and creative construction, combined with a saturating presence on UK television schedules, poses a unique and previously unconsidered challenge to the sociological perspective on cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in policing. This challenge is compounded as citizens increasingly record their encounters with the police using new technologies – particularly digital cameras and mobile phones – and upload this content directly to video-hosting websites and news agencies. Such public exposure problematises the extent to which the police can truly be considered as a hidden community and creates powerful, and narrow, common-sense representations of the police: of who they are and the work that they do.

Yet it is here, where the hegemony of 'common-sense' understandings threatens to blind us to alternative perspectives, that the tools and methods of sociological inquiry are needed most. For Max Weber the social scientist must not be content with the self-evidence of widely accepted value-judgements of social phenomena, and must instead ask questions about things which convention makes self-evident (Weber 1949: 13). More recently, in the introduction to their important work *Thinking Sociologically* Zygmunt Bauman and Tim May describe sociology as distinguished from other academic disciplines by its special relationship and fluid borders with common-sense

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[57] During fieldwork I accompanied the Gangs Task Force of Strathclyde Police as they were being filmed by Sky Television for a documentary on the issue of 'youth gangs'. I was struck not only by the influence of the member of police staff from 'corporate communications' over proceedings – particularly over what and whom was filmed – but also by the extent to which the police officers self-censored both their talk and action. As one police officer matter-of-factly offered upon being refused entry into a particular residence, "If the camera's wurn'y here we'd be in that hoose."

[58] The characters in such programmes are, more often than not, men.

(2001: 7). The relationship between sociology and common-sense is complex and oftentimes messy. Crucially, however, Bauman and May contend (2001: 8) that sociology, unlike common-sense, subordinates itself to 'responsible speech', meaning that the discipline is careful to distinguish between statements that are corroborated by evidence and those ideas that remain untested and provisional. Media representations, on the whole, are not guided by such norms of rigour and reflexivity. This is an important distinction.[59] The advantage of sociology, however, is not that it is objective, but that it is reflexive and critical in relation to its own perspectives. In his own sociological account Garland argues that the politicisation of crime and crime control has bred a new populism. He states,

> "The importance of research and criminological knowledge is downgraded and in its place is a new deference to the voice of 'experience', of 'common-sense', of 'what everyone knows'." (Garland 2001: 13).

Garland continues that trust in penal experts, who were traditionally insulated from public debates and media headlines, has been eroded (Garland 2001: 37) and subsequently replaced by the media engendered phenomenon of moral panics (Garland 2001: 66).[60] If academia cannot stand as a bulwark to a new populism, it must surely instead serve as an antidote by supplying alternative perspectives on criminal justice institutions, processes, practices and actors; perspectives that are empirically informed but reflexive, and evidence-based but critical. It is in this regard that sociological research on cop culture – and beyond – should continue to strive for relevancy, despite the plethora, persistence and pervasiveness of populist representations.

The claim that sociology should continue to strive for relevancy in understandings of cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in policing remains, for now, normative and, at best, an academic call to arms. Academic police research, and particularly the strain that has sought to provide a cultural narrative of 'British' policing, has thus far neglected to explore the cultures of Scottish policing, and the mass-media has filled this vacuum with powerful representations of the Scottish police officer. The representations of the Scottish police

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[59] Although I would also argue that the construction of a Marxist contrast between science as objective and interest-free and common-sense as distorted and false because of its practical interests and values (Benton and Craib 2001: 52) cannot be sustained.

[60] For a history of the concept moral panic see Young (2009). For a critical conceptual appraisal of moral panic see Garland (2008).

officer presented across various forms of media construct a convincing 'popular culture' image of crime and policing in Scotland, and a provide a powerful cultural narrative. Thus, before considering the failure of police research to explore cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in Scottish policing it is important to trace the construction of the Scottish police officer in popular culture.

## 3.2    Representations of Policing in Scotland

### 3.2.1    The Scottish police officer in popular culture

As previously highlighted in this thesis, scholars have repeatedly argued that mass-media images are of central importance in understanding the role of the police and their political significance. In Scotland, in the vacuum created by the absence of any persuasive academic representations, the Scottish police officer has been created in popular culture, particularly through representations in television and literature.[61] The Scottish police detective television series *Taggart* was the longest continually running police television drama in the world and exercised an unparalleled influence on public perceptions of the role of the Scottish police officer. Just as *Dixon of Dock Green* generated the classic image of the reassuring and pacific 'British' bobby, so *Taggart* gave the masses the classic Scottish detective: a tough, callous, middle-aged Scottish male; in the patois, a hard-man. This representation is particularly important given Neuman's (2007: 4-5) warning that television portrayals of crime and crime control do not accurately reflect social reality, and that the media tend to perpetuate the myths of a culture.[62]

Just as television portrayals have provided resonant representations of the Scottish police officer, similar arguments can be applied to Scottish literary fiction. For Douglas Bicket (1999) policing in Scotland remains rooted in such fiction, and thus in what he terms a 'realm of the imagination'. The trilogy of detective novels by William McIlvanney – *Laidlaw* (1977), *The Papers of Tony Veitch* (1983) and *Strange Loyalties* (1991) – remain influential in popular, common-sense understandings of the Scottish police officer and his role in society. Set in Glasgow, McIlvanney's trilogy evoked the

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[61] Specifically in relation to television, Robert C. Mawby (2003: 217) has argued that people know the police through this medium, which is a rich source of policing images. For Greer and Reiner (2012: 252) "stories about crime and law enforcement have saturated television since it became the leading broadcasting medium in the 1950s."

[62] This resonates with Robert Reiner's position that the mass-media are also implicated in mystifying the police (Reiner 2010: 139-202).

gritty myth of the 'no mean city' (see McArthur and Kingsley Long 1957) and exerted a profound influence on subsequent representations, including *Taggart*. *Laidlaw* established a clear Scottish take on the detective genre and cast the classic mould for the Scottish police officer: a tough, flawed but maverick male detective, grounded in the landscape of the Scottish city but silently coping with his personal demons. Like *Laidlaw*, the Rebus literary detective series, set in Edinburgh, is character driven. Gill Plain usefully summarises the main protagonist,

> "Rankin's policeman, Detective Inspector John Rebus, is a shabby, introspective, middle-aged, working-class Scot, – in many ways the archetypal hard-man with a soft centre. Living on the traditional Scottish diet of cigarettes and sausage rolls, he is also divorced, lonely, and on the verge of alcoholism. Although good at his job, he is unlikely ever to rise beyond the rank of inspector, due to his grievous tendency towards insubordination and his stubborn refusal to play the corporate policing game." (Plain 2003: 56).

There are striking similarities between Rebus and Laidlaw: both are middle-aged male detectives of inspector rank investigating murder and other serious crimes; both share a maverick approach to the job and a moderate disdain for rules, procedure and 'red-tape' and both struggle to maintain happy domestic lives away from the job. Significantly both Laidlaw and Rebus reflect Scottish masculinity in crisis. Rankin sees the policeman as the ideal figure through which to examine the state of the Scottish nation (Plain 2003: 56), and the Rebus series is unique in Scottish police fiction that it is, potentially at least, grooming a female successor to Rebus.[63] Duncan Petrie has argued that the triumvirate of Jim Taggart, Jack Laidlaw and John Rebus contribute to a distinctively Scottish contribution to the detective genre over the past twenty-five years (Petrie 2004: 159). Whilst this is undoubtedly true, the work of Irvine Welsh must also be considered as contributing to popular constructions of the Caledonian cop, particularly through his 1998 work *Filth*.

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[63] Rankin has, as yet, failed to deliver on this promise. In his most recent book, *Standing in Another Man's Grave* (2012), Rankin resurrects Rebus in a civilian police staff role. Presumably, Rankin did not consider Rebus's female protégé and erstwhile successor strong enough to stand alone, without Rebus's support. Despite this perspective, it should be noted that Scotland already has its first female chief constable; Norma Graham was appointed as chief constable of Fife Constabulary in July 2008. This merited her mention in Robert Snow's *Policewomen who Made History: Breaking Through the Ranks* (Snow 2010: 142). This further demonstrates the disparity between fictional representations and existing practice.

*Filth* stands as the last great Scottish detective novel of the twentieth century, and provides a controversial crescendo to representations of the Scottish police officer in popular culture. The central character in *Filth* is DS Bruce Robertson; a scheming, conniving, careerist, alcoholic, drug-abusing, chauvinist, cross-dressing, lying, fantasist. The plot begins with a racially-motivated murder on the streets of Edinburgh, a crime which DS Robertson is responsible for investigating. As Robertson psychologically unravels the novel eventually reveals Robertson as the murderer, and that the colleagues he schemed against – in particular his boss Inspector Bob Toal – were in fact protecting him. The climax of the book sees Robertson violently hang himself to gain revenge on his ex-wife; an act finally and cruelly witnessed by his young daughter. Whilst the literary merit of *Filth* can be debated – Roger Scruton considered it the worst novel of 1998 (Kelly 2005: 151) – it undeniably draws upon a rich literary lineage and was published at a key turning point in Scottish political history. For Morace,

> "*Filth* offers its own voyeuristic glimpse into a sordid underworld of its own in the wake of devolution. *Filth* also connects with, and to a degree deconstructs, the tradition of the Scottish detective novel, from William McIlvanney's Glaswegian Laidlaw books to Ian Rankin's Rebus series." (Morace 2007: 90).

*Filth* can be read as a bookend to the popular myth of the Scottish police detective character and to British rule from Westminster. Both literally and conceptually Welsh kills the Scottish detective of literary fiction *in extremis*.

*Filth* is an important work for its inversion of Scottish culture and its portrayal of cop culture. In nomenclature Bruce Robertson inverts the masculine sanctity of Scottish hero Robert the Bruce. Schoene links this inversion to the wider political settlement in this period of Scottish history. He states,

> "A reading of *Filth* in terms of Scottish masculinity and nationalism is invited by the protagonist's patronymic name, Bruce Robertson, which appears to identify him as a fictitious descendant of Robert the Bruce. Significantly though, unlike his daunting heroic ancestor, Bruce is a policeman, not a soldier, employed not to fight an external enemy but to ensure the uniformity and concurrence of the unruly elements within the nation's own borders. Published only a year after Scotland's devolution in 1997, Welsh's depiction of Scottish nationalism in *Filth* is devastatingly pessimistic, not least because of the dubious choice of protagonist. If Bruce is the new Scotsman, then the new Scotland is not a postcolonial nation rejoicing in its newly won independence." (Schoene 2004: 135).

In its treatment of cop culture *Filth* is deliberately provocative and relentlessly negative.[64] Where Rebus celebrates cerebralism, Robertson is intellectually inept; he fails to solve the tabloid crossword puzzles in both *The Sun* (Welsh 1998: 33) and the *News of the World*, the latter of which he disparagingly refers to as the *News of the Screws* (Welsh 1998: 228).[65] Welsh also plays on the ambiguity of the word 'filth'; a term that has been re-appropriated in the culture of some police officers.[66] Nevertheless, for Welsh the nickname 'the Filth' is both derogatory and dirty. The portrayal of the police in *Filth* is monstrously grotesque: an organisation employing both a racist murderer and those willing to cover up for his crimes; an organisation formally committed to policies of equality and diversity but informally harbouring a sea of sexism and prejudice; an organisation in transition and crisis. Considered collectively, *Taggart* and the literary works of McIlvanney, Rankin and Welsh chart the rise and fall of the Scottish detective in popular culture: a masculine figure rooted in an urban landscape, but struggling to reconcile his role with a changing social settlement and political landscape. These works conspire to create a powerful 'common-sense' understanding of the Scottish police officer in popular culture. However, Scottish detective fiction is not the only literary genre to contribute to such understandings; the self-representations of Scottish police officers have also been important in perpetuating narrow narratives about the role of the police in Scottish society.

### 3.2.2 Self-representations of the Scottish police officer

The relationship between the fictional representations of Scottish policing found in various media and the factual self-representations is complex and symbiotic. In *Filth* Irvine Welsh parodies the self-importance and self-aggrandisement of senior police

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[64] Police officers in Southampton took such offence at the front cover of the first edition – depicting a pig in a police helmet – that they seized promotional posters from a book store window (BBC News 1998).

[65] Welsh found the subject of the Scottish police officer germane enough to reprise a decade later in *Crime* (2008), his follow up to *Filth*, which centres on Bruce Robertson's former partner and now promoted protégé DI Ray Lennox, and his recovery from drug-addiction and occupationally induced mental breakdown. Lennox is a sometime hero to Robertson's persistent villainy: where Lennox was once complicit in Robertson's rape of a 15 year-old judge's daughter, he is now instrumental in saving a young American girl from a paedophile ring. Although *Crime* offers a degree of redemption for the excesses of *Filth*, Lennox retains some of the disturbing darkness of his former self, particularly in his excessive drug-use and 'canteen' sexism. Tellingly, Welsh felt compelled to extract Lennox from Scotland – *Crime* is predominantly set in Florida – in order to transform Lennox into a hero. In this sense, the urban geography and culture of hard-drinking masculinity became, in Welsh's account, a prison for the police officer; character development, or cultural progress, was only possible when Lennox escaped the confines of the Scottish city.

[66] For example, in his 2002 account of his time as a senior detective and undercover agent in the Metropolitan Police Drug Squad and Regional Crime Squad Duncan MacLaughlin considers 'filth' as a nickname for a detective or the Criminal Investigations Department itself (MacLaughlin and Hall 2002).

officers who attempt to write about their police careers. This is achieved by revealing Inspector Toal's secret efforts to author a fictional screenplay – *City of Darkness: A Murder Mystery* – based on the experiences of his police career, although reset in New York City. Inspector Toal's attempt at literary fame incorporates the worst clichés of the crime novel and is subsequently sabotaged by the scheming DS Robertson, who comments with invective,

> "Who the fuck does he [Toal] think he is? Does he think he's going to get out of this place, that Hollywood's going to come along and say: Aye, you're a thick Scottish cop who couldnae catch a cauld and cannae write his name, here's a million quid for a fuckin screenplay? We'll get fuckin Tom Fuckin Cruise and Nicholas Fuckin Cage tae star and Martin Fuckin Scorsese tae direct…aye, sure." (Welsh 1998: 221).

Welsh's satire is all the more effective because it resonates with reality. A useful example in this regard is the autobiography of Graeme Pearson, ex-Director General of the SCDEA, titled *The Enforcer: A Life Fighting Crime* (Pearson and O'Hare 2008).

Whilst lacking Inspector Toal's fictional frame *The Enforcer* attempts to maintain the traditional crime-fighting image of the police, and is suitably clichéd.[67] The title *The Enforcer* evokes association with Clint Eastwood's portrayal of Inspector 'Dirty' Harry Callahan in the 1976 movie also titled *The Enforcer*. Pearson even recalls speaking to the actor Mark McManus – who was researching the Glasgow police before portraying the lead role in *Taggart* – in late 1982 and telling him about life as a detective in the Strathclyde Police Serious Crimes Squad (Pearson and O'Hare 2008: 145). Pearson's nod to popular televisual representations is not unusual: police officer autobiographies and self-representations frequently reference such accounts. In some instances the links to television may be explicit, for example in Dick Kirby's 2005 account of an English 'flying squad' *The Real Sweeney*.[68] In others the references are more subtle; Scottish police officers Maureen Scott and David Corbett separately likened their police shifts to the American police drama *Hill Street Blues* (Scott 2003:

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[67] In opening chapter 'Getting to Grips with a Triple Killer' Pearson's *The Enforcer* begins "It was a typically miserable cold and wet February night back in 1980…" (Pearson and O'Hare 2008: 1). In *Filth* Inspector Toal begins his screenplay with "A solitary man is nervously walking down a darkened, cold, deserted street…" (Welsh 1998: 228). The parallels, although unintentional, are clear.

[68] The title of this book shows the continued influence of police television drama. The book was published in 2005; the final episode of *The Sweeney* was first aired on British television on 28 December 1978. The nickname 'the Sweeney' originates in the cockney rhyming slang 'Sweeney Todd', in reference to 'Flying Squad'. A film adaptation of *The Sweeney* was released in 2012.

183, Corbett 2002: 27). Corbett also remembers watching British police television drama *Z Cars* before joining the police and 'getting a thrill just from watching fictional police officers at work' (Corbett 2002: 21).[69] In his autobiography ex-Scottish police detective Les Brown suggests that most real life detectives enjoy a police television thriller (Brown and Jeffrey 2005: 2). Other police officers, however, have expressed more critical views of police drama. In *Coppers: An Inside View of the British Police* (1987: 166-168) ex-Metropolitan Police officer Mike Seabrook argues that ingrained in every police officers psyche is a deep dislike and irritation at the fictional portrayals of the police, and a dislike that also has a tendency to infect the police officer's attitude towards the public in general.

Several other autobiographies, memoirs and self-representations of Scottish police officers are also notable for a variety of reasons. From a historical perspective William Muncie's memoir *The Crime Pond* (1979) provides an account of a fascinating 40 year police career, beginning with his time as a probationary constable in the mining village of Shotts in 1936 and ultimately describing his role as an assistant chief constable in Strathclyde Police via his involvement in 54 murder enquiries. A keen naturalist Muncie proposed that the criminal world exists in a state of nature; a crime pond that is both violent and primal. More recently Alan Stewart's *Wildlife Detective* (2008) tells his own unique police story, beginning with his employment as a constable in Dunblane in 1966 to his retirement and subsequent re-employment as a civilian member of police staff.[70] Despite engaging with seemingly offbeat subject matter – from salmon poaching to dolphin protection – Stewart, like Pearson, Brown and Muncie, considers himself as a crime-fighter, although in his case fighting wildlife crime and not Glasgow's gangsters. However, just as it would be unsatisfactory for the academy to rely on the validity of fictional representations of the Scottish police officer, so it would also be negligent to rely solely on self-representations of police officers in an effort to understand policing in contemporary Scottish society. Clearly there are problems of bias

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[69] Interestingly, a police officer interviewed during fieldwork offered exactly the opposite opinion; on reflecting upon his reasons for joining the police service as a police officer Gordon stated, "I wasn't interested in *Z-Cars* or *Softly Softly* or anything like that." *Z-Cars* originally ran on British television from 1962 to 1972 and was, for its time, an action-packed programme. *Z-Cars* challenged the relatively benign and socially conservative *Dixon of Dock Green*. Laing (1991: 130) has argued that *Z-Cars* was viewed as both a rival and a successor to *Dixon of Dock Green*. It is interesting to note, however, that *Dixon of Dock Green* outlasted *Z-Cars*. *Dixon of Dock Green* originally aired from 1955 to 1976.

[70] His follow-up work *The Thin Green Line* (Stewart 2009) is notable for its recognition of the importance of intelligence work in countering wildlife crime, particularly in post-devolution Scotland, and its explanation of 'the range of characters' involved in this endeavour, including civilian police staff.

and selectivity associated with all autobiographies. Indeed, the most important pages of a police officer's autobiography are often the last few pages because they detail why and in what circumstances they left the police service and their motivation for publishing their story. Nevertheless autobiographical accounts do provide an important alternative lens with which to examine how police officers see themselves, or at the very least how they wish to be seen.

The argument thus far has been that various forms of media in popular culture, fictional and 'factual', have mythologised the Scottish police officer and romanticised his role in Scottish policing. If Kenneth Dowler's (2003: 109) argument that public knowledge of crime and justice is largely derived from the media is accepted, then clearly these representations will have important consequences, particularly if they fail to fully capture the essence of current policing institutions and the range of actors and practices involved. Yet understanding the impact of these media representations on individual, community and societal perceptions of the police is problematic from both empirical and theoretical perspectives. For Jewkes,

> "There has been very little research on the extent to which media representations inform public opinions about the police, and even less about the impact that media have on the police." (Jewkes 2004: 150).

Robert Reiner disagrees, arguing that there is much evidence that the mass-media shape most people's understandings of the police and frame political debate (Reiner 2010: 178). Policing activity has, traditionally, borne most heavily upon individuals and groups at the lower levels of society, particularly the working class and the young. For those who do not routinely encounter the police in their daily lives, knowledge of policing is instead obtained through the media lens. It is important to note, however, that various media representations of policing are not simply a medium of benign communication. Hurd, for example, has argued that televisual representations of policing also perform ideological work, structuring reality in accordance with a narrative that reinforces ideas of natural justice and the police role in maintaining that *status quo;* thus suppressing wider conflict in society, such as class struggle (Hurd 1979: 120). It is in this context that rigorous, evidence-based, critical and reflexive academic research on policing is increasingly essential.

### 3.2.3 Academic representations of Scottish policing

Robert Reiner not only argues mass-media representations of policing have mystified the police, but further contends that social research has a privileged role in demystifying police practice (Reiner 2010: 139). One of the most important claims of the sociology of police work is that despite the popularity of the common-sense, crime-fighting image perpetuated by both the mass-media and police officers themselves, most police patrol work is boring, routine and un-dramatic, and the crime-fighting image is equally misrepresentative of detective work (Johnston 2000: 41). Mass-media representations are also problematic in the particular context of Scottish policing. Whilst there has emerged a powerful myth of the role of the police officer in Scottish popular culture, the academy has been much less successful in exploring Scottish policing to any great extent. There have been few published academic studies concerning the role of the Scottish police officer since the emergence of police research in the 1960s.[71] This paucity of research is particularly disappointing because, as a research setting, Scotland was initially at the vanguard of police research.

Just as the first modern British police force was birthed in Scotland and not in England, so the literature on cop culture, loosely defined, also began north of the border, with Michael Banton's 1964 work *The Policeman in the Community*. Alistair Henry argues that *The Policeman in the Community* 'brought police research into the academy' (Henry 2007: 1). Although trained as an anthropologist Banton sought to engage with the wider sociological tradition in *The Policeman in the Community*, which used primary research data to conduct a theoretically-grounded comparative analysis of police officers in Britain and the United States (US). For example Banton argued,

> "Not only are the British police as an institution somewhat sacred, but the British constable's role seems sacred compared with other occupational roles and compared with that of the patrolman across the Atlantic, I would emphasize again that here I speak of sacredness in sociological terms and that I refer to the way people behave toward policemen. Following Durkheim, I think of the socially

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[71] Very few of the extant studies directly impinge upon the research question of this thesis. In a comparative quantitative study of female police officers in England and Wales, Northern Ireland and Scotland Jennifer Brown (2000) offered an account of discriminatory experiences of female police officers. Brown reported that her research showed there to be relatively high levels of harassment towards female police officers in Scottish policing (Brown 2000: 107). The comparative currency of this research in Scotland was, however, somewhat limited by the failure to gain consent for the research to be conducted in Scotland using the same methodology as employed in other research sites. Instead, Brown's analysis was limited to a previously conducted study in a single Scottish police force.

sacred as that which is set apart and treated both as intrinsically good and as dangerous." (Banton 1964: 237).

The primary research site for Banton's 'British' data collection was in Scotland.[72] However, Banton's work is important not only because it engaged with policing in Scotland, but also because it was published at a critical moment, both in police studies and the wider social history of post-war Britain. Reiner has argued that there are four broad historical stages of policing in post-war Britain: consensus, controversy, conflict and contradiction (Reiner 1992b: 456-457), and elsewhere has stated that *The Policeman in the Community* exemplifies the 'consensus' stage of police research (Reiner and Newburn 2008: 349). More recently Reiner and Newburn have argued that Banton's work was framed in a celebratory mode and assumed a harmonious view of British society (Reiner and Newburn 2008: 349). Such an assessment seems accurate, as in its attempt to examine an 'institution working well' (Banton 1964: vii) Banton's work evokes the conservative social spirit of Dixon.

Nevertheless, Banton's celebratory account contrasts with the conclusions of *The State of Crime in Scotland*, also published in 1964, in which J. V. M. Shields and Judith A. Duncan examined the data of crimes made known to the police in Scotland in 1954-1955 and 1961-1962. Reflexively taking into account the methodological limitations of police crime statistics Shields and Duncan conclude that crime was 65% higher in Scotland in 1961-1962 than was reported in 1954-55 (Shields and Duncan 1964: 77). In this respect their work charts the decline of the Golden Age of policing, an era which Banton otherwise believed to be still apparent. Nicholas R. Fyfe has described *The State of Crime in Scotland* as 'painting a bleak picture of crime trends across Scotland' (Fyfe 2005: 109). Clearly, the findings of *The State of Crime in Scotland* contrast starkly with Banton's commitment to learn the lessons of an institution working well. Shields and Duncan thus presciently saw a historical shift in crime control in Scotland – from consensus to controversy – that Banton did not.

Despite its failure to realise the emerging historical shift concerning the police role in society *The Policeman in the Community* still remains a cornerstone text in police research. For Robert Reiner (1985: 48) it is 'a pioneering sociological study' and

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[72] In this sense Banton's generalisation of the 'British' case, based upon empirical research in Scotland, was subsequently inverted by the research that followed, which also generalised the 'British' case, although based upon research in England.

elsewhere, with Newburn, Reiner calls it 'a pioneering empirical study' (Newburn and Reiner 2007: 911). For Simon Holdaway it is both 'seminal' (1979: 3) and 'pioneering' (1983: 19) and for Eugene McLaughlin (2007: 26) it is simply 'a classic'. Yet as *The Policeman in the Community* creeps closer to its half-century anniversary it increasingly lacks contemporary relevance and cultural resonance. The tardis-like police boxes of Banton's era – once used to structure routine police patrol in Scotland's communities (Banton 1964: 15) – became cultural relics, used by vendors in Glasgow's Buchanan Street and Byres Road to sell coffee wittily re-branded as *coppuccino*.[73] Moreover, in the period since 1964 the volume of academic research on Scotland's police has been minimal. Certainly, there has been no research undertaken in Scotland that has been as influential in the wider field of police research as Banton's account. Importantly, however, Alistair Henry notes a recent improvement in the prospects for police research in Scotland,

> "In the intervening decades [since *The Policeman in the Community*] there has been rather little in the way of Scottish police research, and so Banton's study remains an important example. However, there are signs that the post-devolution Scottish police are under greater political and academic scrutiny than they have been for some years, and it is likely that this field of study may yet flourish in the way that it has in England and Wales." (Henry 2007: 3).

In *The Policeman in the Community* Michael Banton ultimately concluded that both the police and the wider public would benefit from informed and independent academic opinion about the police and their duties (Banton 1964: 268). Proceeding in the same spirit, this thesis argues that empirically informed academic analyses of Scottish policing – particularly exploring its cultures and practices – are both necessary and long overdue.

## 3.3    Cop Culture and Beyond

### 3.3.1   A critical and conceptual review of cop culture[74]

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[73] More generally, in the period since *The Policeman in the Community* it can be argued that the police service has receded as the primary agent of social control, particularly given the growth of private policing and processes of pluralisation as discussed in section 1.1.2.

[74] King and Wincup (2008: 19) argue that reviewing the literature is an essential element of the entire research process and should not be confined to one particular stage. This logically applies to this thesis, as the material discussed in the preceding section (3.2) on representations of the policing in Scotland can also be considered as a literature review.

Having appraised representations of Scottish policing in popular culture, this section will progress to review the extant academic literature in the subject area of cop culture more widely considered. Although it could be argued that Michael Banton pioneered the study of the subject in 1964 and Janet Chan re-invigorated this area of study almost forty years later, the intervening period saw an abundance of research and scholarly literature. However, as has already been argued in this thesis, much of this work was undertaken in a small number of jurisdictions and was narrowly focused on particular aspects of police work. Nevertheless, the corpus of academic work on cop culture is now so voluminous that it is not possible to review it longitudinally and in full. The following literature review is therefore deliberately designed to be critical and conceptual. It will outline the narrative trajectory of research on cop culture by exploring the emergence of the main themes, concepts and settings as they relate to the research questions of this thesis. Although there is a clear danger of selectivity in this strategy, this type of approach is advocated by King and Wincup who stated in their 2008 overview of the process of criminological research,

> "An appropriate review of the literatures excludes those pieces of work which do not bear directly on the emerging research question. The real secret of a good literature review is that it is well targeted to the purpose at hand and not a scattergun approach to work in that general area without any obvious indications of the directions for future research… The review should be comprehensive but when the literature on the topic is voluminous it does not need to include absolutely everything written about the topic or matters closely related to it." (King and Wincup 2008: 18).

This review of the academic literature will assess the strengths and weaknesses of this existing work, highlighting the gaps in currently accumulated knowledge. These gaps in the literature should be viewed not as deficiencies, but as opportunities for the future development of research in the field. Despite the large body of work previously undertaken on cop culture, this review concurs with O'Neill and Singh (2007: 15) that this remains a vibrant and exciting area of research; one that is amenable to diverse methodological approaches and conceptual tools which can be used to explore actors and areas not previously considered in police research.

Louise Westmarland (2008: 253) has highlighted how cop culture, in its various forms, is difficult to define. Nevertheless, for P.A.J. Waddington the 'authorised version' of cop culture can be found in the core characteristics outlined in the successive

editions of Reiner's influential work *The Politics of the Police*. The most recent edition of Reiner's work (2010: 118-132) describes these core characteristics as,

- Mission – action – cynicism – pessimism
- Suspicion
- Isolation / solidarity
- Police conservatism
- Machismo
- Racial prejudice
- Pragmatism.

Although Reiner's account succinctly summarises much of the existing research, it is not beyond criticism. In fact, in his most recent contribution to this area of study Waddington (2012: 89-90) called upon Robert Reiner to revise his authorised version of cop culture, and challenge assumptions of how and to what extent it influences police officers and how policing is done. A recurrent criticism in this subject area, and one recognised by Reiner, has been to highlight the monolithic nature of existing, traditional accounts (Reiner 1992a: 109, Chan 1997: 65). As Eugene A. Paoline recognised in 2004,

> "Recent research is beginning to directly question the existence and conceptualization of a monolithic police culture, and is focusing on the complexity of culture and variation among officers." (Paoline 2004: 207).

Paoline has not only astutely acknowledged the datedness of the earlier monolithic accounts, but also the changes that have occurred in policing in the period since they were first posited. [75] Acknowledging such criticisms there has been an emerging tendency in the study of cop culture to recognise a multiplicity of cultures in policing. For example in *The Politics of the Police* Robert Reiner's focus has shifted from defining a linear, singular cop culture (Reiner 1992a; Reiner 2000) towards a plural, more diverse, concept of cop culture*s* (Reiner 2010: 115). Despite such adaptations, however, the persistence of the prefix 'cop' in Reiner's successive accounts is telling: it discloses a bias in the extant research to focus solely on cultures as they relate to *police officers*. A key conceptual critique of this thesis is that by focussing solely on police officers, and particularly the frontline, visible, street-based policing of cops, the history

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[75] In highlighting variation among 'officers', however, even Paoline is silent on the subject of culture as it relates to civilian police staff.

of all hitherto existing accounts must only be considered as the history of *cop culture*.[76] Existing accounts cannot be considered as depicting a more holistic '*police* culture' as to do so would necessitate the generalisation the core thesis of previous cultural accounts beyond the cop role – to include other police officers and, critically, civilian police staff – in the absence of an adequate empirical basis. This is unsatisfactory. The police workforce is broader than simply that of street cops or, indeed, of police officers more broadly considered: police staff are active in many roles, some of which directly impinge upon traditional 'policing' activities. In doing so these civilian police staff can challenge hegemonic cultures, and potentially create cultural and sub-cultural groups in their own right. The term police culture – were it to be extended to include police staff based on existing research – would not only generalise an account beyond its empirical basis but also re-entrench the monolithic tendencies of earlier studies. By alternatively constructing a clear concept of *cop culture* it becomes possible to summarise, contextualise, consolidate and clarify existing accounts, and thus create the space for further conceptual development. To do so, however, it is necessary to define both constituent parts of this concept – *cop* and *culture* – in order to create the space for further analytical development.

### 3.3.2 The 'cop' and 'culture'

Superficially there seems to be little controversy – or utility – in substituting the prefix 'police' for that of 'cop', as the terms are commonly seen as synonymous. A cop is generally considered to be, quite simply, an informal or slang term for any police officer. Renaming the concept as 'cop culture' has the initial and immediate benefit of therefore excluding police staff who, by definition, are not cops. This renaming, therefore, more accurately reflects the analytical focus of previous research, which has generally excluded civilian police staff from its analytical gaze. However, re-casting *police* culture as *cop* culture should not be confused with an exercise in simple semantics; it should instead be considered as a comprehensive effort to re-appraise and re-conceptualise previous research, and in doing so challenge some widely held assumptions. A common assumption to be challenged is that all police officers are cops. Fieldwork for this thesis has uncovered that, in Scotland at least, understandings of

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[76] For example Janet Chan (2003: 16).has previously recognised that the research literature has especially recognised and described the 'street cop' culture.

which police officers are considered to be cops – and importantly which police officers are *not* cops – is itself a cultural construction.

The exact origin of the word 'cop' is uncertain. Whilst in common folklore it is sometimes attributed as acronymous – for example as meaning 'constable on patrol' (see Eisiminger 1978: 582) – it is more likely to have developed in early eighteenth century Britain from the obsolete *cap* meaning 'arrest', deriving from the Old French *caper* meaning 'seize', and originating from the Latin *capere* (Hoad 1996: 97). Any uncertainty over etymology seems of little concern in contemporary society where, as aforementioned, cop is simply considered as synonymous with police officer. Fieldwork for this thesis, however, frequently indicated that the noun 'cop' has a distinct cultural meaning in Scottish policing. Amongst police officers in Scotland a cop generally refers to a police officer with rank of constable or, crucially, those police officers of a higher rank who still seek to identify with the values, attitudes, dispositions and perspectives of that particular rank and role. During fieldwork Detective Inspector (DI), Cameron, highlighted the specific role and cultural construction of the cop in Scotland,

> *Cameron, Police Officer*: "The cop role is the grass root of the police service. It's the first rank; it's the only rank that delivers the business at the front end. The cop is the first interface with the public. A lot of senior managers see themselves as the first interface with the police to a community, but it's not the case; it's the responding cops, they are the front face of the police."

Cameron's account resonates with much of the data from fieldwork. When speaking of cops the research participants in interviews and focus groups often preceded the noun with adjectives such as 'uniform', 'street' or 'frontline' or spoke about the 'cop on the street' who would routinely be of constable rank.[77] All constables were therefore understood to be cops. However, this cultural construction did not preclude police officers of more senior rank from self-identifying as cops. In one particularly revealing interview a Detective Chief Inspector (DCI), Donald, who had management responsibility for a large intelligence unit, implicitly revealed how *he* was a cop – and part of wider collective of cops – defined in opposition to other, outside and polluting professions. Donald was exasperated at the extent and recent pace of change in the

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[77] Other adjectives of note included experienced, inexperienced, probationer, young, older, lazy, good, honest, male, burly, community and tutor.

police service, and particularly the impact of such change upon the role of the police officer. He remarked,

> *Donald, Police Officer*: "We've become so specialised now; we are pseudo-social workers, pseudo-psychologists, pseudo-sociologists! We are *cops*!"

Donald was expressing an apparent frustration with the ever-expanding role of the police service in contemporary Scottish society: 'from counter-terrorism to dog shit'. In the face of organisational overstretch, limited resources and future fiscal constraints Donald identified himself as 'an old-fashioned crusty' and advocated a return to 'cop values'. This perspective, however, was not shared by all senior police officers, many of whom explicitly rejected the idea that they could be considered as cops. What was apparent through fieldwork, however, was that that there is a distinct culture formed in the crucible of a police officers' early experiences of uniformed, street-policing – working as a *cop* – and aspects of which can persist throughout a police officer's career even as they move beyond the cop role. This process of cultural learning, this apprenticeship, ultimately excludes other actors from fully participating in its practices and sharing its values.

Before cop culture is traced in-depth, it is important to address O'Loughlin and Billing's assertion (2000: 64) that to conceptualise something as intangible as cop culture it is first necessary to define what exactly is meant by the term culture. In *The Idea of Culture* Terry Eagleton (2000:1) suggested that 'culture' is one of the two or three most complex words in the English language. Confronting this complexity James Fulcher and John Scott define culture as the ideas, beliefs, values, norms of a society and their symbolic representation and communication (Fulcher and Scott 2007: 14). This represents a useful starting point, and reflects the ways in which this concept is understood in many existing accounts of cop culture. For example in an early study Douglas Drummond (1976: 7) invoked a description of culture advocated by anthropologists and sociologists as a system of norms shared by members of a society, providing prescriptions and proscriptions that indicate how things should be done or appraised. More recently O'Loughlin and Billing (2000: 64-65) understood culture as the complex set of learned and shared beliefs, customs, skills, habits, traditions and

knowledge common to members of a society.[78] In his own exploration of cop culture John P. Crank (2004: 18) defined culture in a manner that recognises that culture is dynamic and not static; he calls this the 'emergent component' of culture which recognises that culture is influenced by social action, is a creative activity, is a product of social relations among social groups and, crucially, may be a shaped by conflict with other social groups. The provision of such definitions, however, represents only a starting-point in moving towards an understanding of culture. In an article in his edited work *Culture Theory* Robert A. LeVine (1984: 67) argued that formal definitions do little to clarify the nature of culture and that such clarification is only possible through ethnography. In a similar vein, for John van Maanen culture was something that the fieldworker 'pursues' (van Maanen 1988: 13) rather than objectively defines. The sociological fieldwork developed in this thesis, emerging from and developing a wider Bourdieusian perspective, will develop a deeper understanding of culture by exploring the interplay between a hegemonic cop culture and the cultural challenge of civilian intelligence analysis in the Scottish policing.

### 3.3.3   Clarifying cop culture

The cop culture thesis has reached its most comprehensive conceptualisation in the successive editions of Robert Reiner's book *The Politics of the Police* in which Reiner has weaved a comprehensive account, drawing together the threads of much of the existing literature on the subject. Although Reiner had earlier written a sociological study of police unionism – *The Blue-Coated Worker* (1978) – he began his conceptualisation of cop culture with a discussion of Jerome Skolnick's account of the policeman's 'working personality', which he considered to be the *locus classicus* of the field (Reiner 2000: 87).[79] Skolnick's account appears in *Justice Without Trial*, first published in 1966, and represents one of the first authentic attempts at advancing a cultural account of police work, situated in the context of declining police legitimacy and massive social change. For Skolnick, the policeman's working personality – which is most developed in the role of the 'man on the beat' – contains two variables, danger and authority, which must be interpreted in light of a constant pressure to appear

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[78] Society is in turn is defined as a number of people who have lived together long enough to become organised to some degree and who share a common culture (O'Loughlin and Billing 2000: 65).

[79] Through his academic work on policing, and criminal justice more generally, Jerome Skolnick has also been considered as a pioneer in the field (Kimora 2013).

efficient (Skolnick 1975: 43-44).[80] The element of danger in this culture is generative of two distinct occupational themes. Firstly, danger generates unusually high degrees of internal solidarity and social isolation amongst policemen. Secondly, the unexpected dangers in police work result in a high degree of suspiciousness amongst policemen. Skolnick later added secrecy (2000) and a 'blue code of silence' (2002) to his cultural depiction and fully reappraised his account in 2008, where he further added 'suspiciousness' as a characteristic of police officers (Skolnick 2008: 36). Skolnick considers uniformed patrol work as the foundation of the working personality, or culture, and regards it as an apprenticeship that all police officers must have served (Skolnick 1975: 43). Skolnick's account of a working personality is therefore, in many ways, a pre-cursor to the narrower account of cop culture advanced in this thesis: a set of values, attitudes, perspectives and positions formed in the crucible of a police officers' early experiences and practices of uniformed, street-policing as a cop. By definition this working personality immediately excludes civilian police staff, who do not undertake such patrol work and who have not, therefore, served this apprenticeship.[81] In reinforcing internal the solidarity of cops – through a shared, common experience – this culture can also be considered as exclusionary, erecting cultural barriers between cops and 'others'.

Although beginning his conceptualisation of cop culture with Skolnick's working personality Reiner added that variations within and between police forces – and across time – must be considered as important in any analysis of cop culture. Specifically, he stated,

> "The culture of the police – the values, norms, perspectives and craft rules – which inform their conduct is, of course, neither monolithic, universal nor unchanging. There are differences of outlook within police forces, according to such individual variables as personality, generation or career trajectory, and structured variations according to rank, assignment and specialisation. The organisational styles and cultures of police forces vary between different places and periods." (Reiner 1992a: 109).

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[80] Any critical review of Skolnick's pioneering work must also recognise that it focuses on visible, uniformed police patrol conducted by *men*, excluding both women and civilian police staff from its analysis.

[81] At least in Scotland where, unlike the rest of the UK, uniformed patrol has not been extended to Police Community Support Officers in the same way as it has been in England and Wales.

This position stands opposed to even Skolnick's most recent account, wherein he argued that that the role and practice of policing anywhere in the western world supports a claim of universal, stable and lasting features of the culture of the police (Skolnick 2008: 35). As previously outlined, an opposition to monolithic cultural accounts has become increasingly prevalent in the academic literature on this subject. Whilst recognising the possibility of spatial and temporal difference, research to date does disclose a range of common core characteristics of cop culture, shared across jurisdictions and across time. For example, in his study of cynicism and self-motivation of police officers in Sweden Björk (2008: 98) found that cop culture was characterised by tough-guy attitudes, overt male chauvinism, missionary authoritarianism and resistance to change. Björk's findings echo those of Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003) who argued that policing in a midwestern US city is both gendered and sexualised, and cop culture embraces symbols of aggressive masculinity, such as toughness and physical strength. Similarly, in 2007 Jennifer Brown found that despite historical changes and recent reforms, police work in the UK still privileged a masculine approach (Brown 2007). The similarities in successive accounts between jurisdictions and across time, a point emphasised by Reiner (2010: 137), suggests that some of the core characteristics of cop culture are attributable to the pressures of enduring social structures and not the individual personalities of police officers. Significantly, Reiner added to Skolnick's account that cop culture both reflects and perpetuates the power differences within the social structure it polices (Reiner 1992a: 109); the most important consequence of which is the cultural distinction between 'street cops' and 'management cops'.[82]

The distinction between street cops and management cops was explored in the late 1970s by Elizabeth Reuss Ianni who – following her research on the social organisation of the police in New York City, the New York Police Department (NYPD) – learned that there were literally *Two Cultures of Policing*. She began her analysis,

> "[T]he organization of policing is best described as and understood in terms of the interactions of two distinct cultures: a street cop culture and a management cop culture." (Reuss Ianni 1983: 1).

Reuss Ianni's thesis presents a classic, class-based system of social conflict and, ultimately, also describes a process of organisational change. For Reuss Ianni the street

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[82] Resonating with the structural distinctions of class in modern capitalist societies.

cops are the proletariat of the piece, romantically characterised by their 'old-school' working-class values and local concerns. They are, in a Marxist sense, defined by their labour and their relationship with the means and mode of production. According to this reading, the work of street cops provides a form of class consciousness in the values of family, commitment and loyalty, but they experience growing alienation by the 'impersonal ideology of modern management'. The values of street cops remain hegemonic in the precinct, but as an occupational class street cops lack access to organisational power. In contrast, 'management cops' represent cultural change and bring organisational conflict. They are middle-class and well-educated, and consequently they have higher levels of social mobility. Management cops are less defined by their work, open to the prospect of alternative careers and less loyal to the street cop's code. The value systems of street cops and management cops are therefore "incongruent" (Reuss Ianni 1983: 5). The value system of street cops is occupational and organic, rooted in years of historical experience. In contrast, the value system of management cops is bureaucratic and found in the formal policies and procedures of the organisation. A more critical reading would therefore regard these value systems as antagonistic because their opposition is dynamic; in conflict they create change. Reuss Ianni's work was an important step-change in research on culture in policing for two reasons. Firstly, it pioneered the prospect of multiple *cultures* by highlighting the cultural distinction between two distinct groups in the NYPD, and in doing so critiqued the monolithic nature of pre-existing accounts. Secondly, it provided a complex and subtle separation of occupational culture and organisational culture, and the power dynamics therein; a distinction used to good effect by later researchers (see Manning 2007).[83] There are, however, criticisms to be made of Reuss Ianni's study. In particular, in the context of research for this thesis the noun 'management cop' is essentially tautological: police officers in management positions, on the whole, are culturally distinct from cops, cop values and cop culture. Although senior police officer management may have served their 'apprenticeship', they have abandoned these values and can no longer be considered as cops within the organisation.

Whilst the distinction between an occupational cop culture and an organisational management culture was made possible by Reuss Ianni and, later, Manning, it was Janet

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[83] It is recognised that Manning considered organisational culture and occupational culture to be linked; for Manning occupational culture exists *within* an organisational context.

Chan's 2003 work *Fair Cop: Learning the Art of Policing* that truly made it possible to think 'beyond cop culture'. Where previously the literature had sought to describe culture, particularly in accounts that sought to construct ideal-types of police officer, Chan's applied theoretical approach facilitated deeper explanations of culture through its explicit engagement with social theory, and in particular the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Chan remarked,

> "Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, and habitus are useful for explaining culture and socialisation in terms of the interaction between structural conditions and cultural knowledge in organizations." (Chan 2003: 312).

This development was ground-breaking in the subject area. Chan challenged the veracity of previously accepted maxims by recognising that the culture of street cops – cop culture – is not entirely negative, not all pervasive, and not monolithic (Chan 2003: 11). [84]However, whilst her engagement with social theory facilitated an opening-up of the 'blue box' of the police service to explore the actors and agents within and their connections to wider social structures, institutions and practices, it failed to direct any analytical concern towards with those civilian police staff who were not police officers.

Any review of the literature on cop culture must acknowledge the long history of research on the subject, dating back to the emergence of police research as a substantive and coherent academic endeavour in the mid-1960s. In appraising existing contributions in 1976 Drummond suggested,

> "There is a strong need for further development of research regarding this police culture. This work is by no means complete. Others are encouraged to pursue this subject." (Drummond 1976: 41).

Despite the datedness of Drummond's argument – almost forty years have passed since it was delivered and many studies have since been published – there remains significant scope for the development of research in this subject area. In particular, research in the period since has neglected the study of civilian police staff by focussing almost entirely

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[84] Myhill and Bradford (2013: 342) recognise that most discussions of 'police culture' emphasise its negative characteristics and potential malign influence, and go on to highlight how this 'canteen culture' must be overcome to successfully deliver process and service-model policing, which emphasises fair and respectful treatment of the public.

on the cultures of police officers.[85] Although police forces in Scotland have employed civilian members of police staff for some considerable time, recent increases in the number and influence of civilian police staff makes them an important – and under-explored – group of 'new' actors in Scottish policing. Despite their long-established position in the Scottish police service, and jurisdictions beyond its borders, civilian police staff remain excluded from existing cultural accounts in police research. This thesis therefore recognises the pressing analytical and political requirement to move beyond cop culture.

## 3.4    Beyond Cop Culture

### 3.4.1    The cultural challenge of civilianisation

As aforementioned, police forces in Scotland have historically employed non-sworn civilian staff in a variety of roles. In the inter-war period the chief constable of the City of Glasgow Police Percy Sillitoe championed the use of civilians in specialist positions such as forensic science (see Sillitoe 1956). Thirty years later, Michael Banton noted a cultural resistance of police officers to the use of civilian police staff, who had become increasingly prevalent in support roles such as mechanics, car washers and cleaners. Banton stated,

> "British police officers seem to resent specialization and the employment of civilians, because such developments strike at the conception of the police officer as personally committed to the people he protects, and substitute a more technically conceived, limited-ability kind of role. It is the officer on foot patrol who is regarded as the representative policeman. The tasks he performs are so varied that he has to be an 'all-rounder'." (Banton 1964: 158-159).

In highlighting this issue Banton was the first to trace the cultural challenge of civilianisation in policing. Later evidence from England supports the construction of civilianisation as a potential cultural challenge to the core characteristics of cop culture, particularly as civilian police staff have increasingly come to undertake what may be regarded as core policing tasks. In the late 1980s Mike Seabrook reported a cultural divide between police officers and police staff in England. He stated,

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[85] One exception to this overwhelming and disproportionate focus is Barry Wright's 2010 journal article exploring the 'code of silence' in cop culture and the differences between the views and opinions of police officers and police staff on misconduct and integrity. Wright's research indicated that the code of silence amongst police staff may actually be stronger than that of police officers. Interestingly, Barry Wright is also an intelligence analyst.

"Police [officers] tend to look down their noses at 'civvies' [police staff] – the very term has a sneering offensive ring to it. They think civilians don't, and can't, *know* the job, because they can't think like policemen; and by and large this view is correct." (Seabrook 1987: 215-216).

Slightly later in the development of English policing, Malcolm Young stated in *An Inside Job: Policing and Police Culture in Britain* (1991: 223) that civilians are always reminded that they are not police officers and that there is a tendency to use the word civilian in a pejorative or derogatory manner. In his subsequent book *In the Sticks: Cultural Identity in a Rural Police Force* (1993: 73) Young suggested that this pejorative classification is used as a structuring principle to maintain historically symbolic boundaries that separate insiders, police officers exclusively, from 'the others' These 'others' cannot understand the job of policing as undertaken by the sworn constable, and nor can they be trusted. This exclusion was recognised by Sir Ian Blair in his 2009 autobiography in which he argued that the culture of the Metropolitan Police in London was 'patently male, white and rank-obsessed' and 'favoured police officers over non-police officers'. Blair continued that even civilian police staff at senior management level in the Metropolitan Police felt 'less valued' than their police officer colleagues (Blair 2009: 119). Despite this range of evidence from England, less is known about the cultural challenge presented by civilian police staff in the Scottish context, post-Banton. For example, in *The Enforcer* the only civilian member of police staff to gain a mention of any note was Graeme Pearson's personal driver (Pearson and O'Hare 2008: 233). Civilian police staff in Scotland have thus remained hidden from public view and absent in many existing accounts.

Beyond the available evidence from the self-representations of police officers, there remains a dearth of academic research on the role of civilian police staff in cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in the police service. A decade ago Janet Foster (2003) identified this as one of the most potentially illuminating, yet untapped, seams in police research. She argued that civilian cultures in policing as a whole remained significantly under-explored in criminal justice research and stated,

"We know very little about how they [civilian police staff] perceive the world of policing, how much dominant cultures influence their attitudes, values and

approach to their work, or whether they form a significant subcultural grouping in their own right." (Foster 2003: 212).

In one of the few studies to consider such issues Paoline et al (2000: 583) expected that an increasing diversity of police personnel should fragment 'police culture' and result in further heterogeneity in occupational outlooks. This was supported by evidence presented in a 2007 exploration in the US of how crime analysts perceive patrol officers and the attitudes of sworn police officers about the crime analysis function, which raised concerns about whether analysts are being accepted within the 'police culture' and whether patrol officers understand what analysts do (Taylor et al 2007). The speculative tone and limited geographical focus of such accounts, however, betrays current limitations in the academic literature, which this thesis seeks to address.

## 3.5    Conclusion

### 3.5.1   Representations through research

This chapter began with the argument that academic research on cop culture faces a lack of theoretical engagement and a crisis of relevancy. It highlighted the need to reinvigorate the sociological perspective on policing due to the increasing prominence and power of various fictional and 'factual' representations that have come to exercise a profound influence upon common-sense understandings of policing. Scotland is a particularly germane setting to challenge these representations for three reasons. Firstly, Scotland was a research setting initially at the vanguard of academic police research, but which has since been neglected by the academy. Secondly, Scotland is too easily subsumed into discussions of 'British' policing without an adequate empirical basis for doing so. Lastly, various fictional representations of the Scottish police officer have been particularly powerful: from literature's *Laidlaw*, through television's *Taggart* to Rankin's *Rebus*. There is a requirement to challenge the hegemony of these cultural representations through sociological research that is empirical, evidence-based, responsible, reflexive and critical.

Progressing to discuss academic representations of policing, and offering a critical and conceptual review of the literature, this chapter has argued that by focussing solely on police officers, and particularly the frontline, visible, street-based policing of cops, the history of all hitherto existing accounts must only be considered as the history

of *cop* culture. Existing accounts cannot be considered as depicting a more holistic '*police* culture' as to do so would necessitate the generalisation the core thesis of previous cultural accounts beyond the cop role – to include other police officers and, critically, civilian police staff – in the absence of an adequate empirical basis. Tracing the development of the cop culture thesis – through Banton, Skolnick, Reuss Ianni, Reiner and Chan – a series of key conceptual criteria have been considered: the developed working personality of the cop, imbued with masculinity, the tension between such seemingly universal representations and the requirement to account for variation both within and between police forces, the cultural cleavage between the street-level worker and his management and the distinction between occupational and organisational cultures, opening the possibility of multiple cultures within the police service by opening up the 'blue box' of policing to reveal actors and structures previously hidden the academic gaze. Ultimately, this critical and conceptual review of the literature, and the broader chapter, not only clarifies and consolidates the existing research, but creates the analytical space to move beyond cop culture by recognising the cultural challenge of civilianisation, highlighted initially by Banton at the outset of police research in the 1960s, but neglected in the period since.

Chapter 4     Developing a Bourdieusian Perspective

## 4.1     Introduction

### 4.1.1   The value of social theory to research on cop culture

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the value of social theory to empirical research on cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence, and change. In doing so this chapter will also develop a theoretical perspective in which to embed and explain the cultural representations described in this study. Social theory is understood herein as the development of concepts that exist within a broader, coherent framework or set of relationships, which are fruitful in explaining the nature and historical genesis of social phenomena. The creation, development, persistence and transformation of cultures are social phenomena that can be usefully explained using social theory. Contrary to some characterisations that depict theory as detached and irrelevant, social theory is, in fact, inseparable from empirical sociological research. The second chapter of this thesis demonstrated the messiness of social research and the blurred boundaries between ethnography and life, and Pryke et al have located the vital role of theory within any such messy endeavour. They argued,

> "In the messiness of research, the concerns of theory and research already run together, even for those who see themselves as free from such supposedly dispassionate pursuits. After all, the idea of rigour and rigorous research, the easy division between inside and outside ('going out and doing research'), all betray a certain philosophical position about the world, about the researcher and the objects ('humans and non-humans') to be encountered in the research process." (Pryke et al 2003: 2).

Considered in this context the epistemological position and ontological perspective of this study necessitate a theoretical engagement: theory was not a choice or a luxury in examining objective structures and subjective meanings, it was instead essential to developing rigorous and explanatory answers to the given research question. The answers developed herein, however, do not constitute objective 'findings'. In fact, I am epistemologically and ontologically opposed to the use of the word 'findings' in relation to my work, and especially so in this qualitative research study. Findings, in the context of my study, suggests that cultural representations, narratives and insights were pre-existing, awaiting discovery through some apolitical and impartial process of sociology, akin to a process of social archaeology. Whilst there was a degree of digging involved in

this study – in the sense of developing access and delving through cultural layers – this digging was not undertaken to reach an essentialist and existing truth, but was instead an active process of moulding, building and shaping, otherwise creating, cultural representations and narratives. Another researcher 'digging' at the same research site and during the same period may have created, or 'found', contrasting or competing representations and narratives, depending upon their own personal identities, politics, perspectives and status. As Bourdieu argues in *Pascalian Meditations*,

> "This 'objective reality' to which everyone explicitly or tacitly refers is ultimately no more than what the researchers engaged in the field at a given moment agree to consider as such, and it only ever manifests itself in the field through the *representations* given of it by those who invoke its arbitration." (Bourdieu 2000b: 113).

Following this Bourdieusian perspective my study will use the term 'representations' instead of 'findings', and thus invoke the active role and creativity of the researcher – me – within a specific, and active, set of social fields.

The practice of theorising, moreover, lifts the research beyond the parochial confines of practitioner-focussed police research and enables the development of a more critical cultural account. This approach resonates with David Garland's argument in *Punishment and Modern Society: A Study in Social Theory* that,

> "Properly pursued, theoretical argument enables us to think about the real world of practice with a clarity and a breadth of perspective often unavailable to the hard-pressed practitioner. It allows us a chance to escape the well-worn thought routines and 'common sense' perceptions which penality – like any other institution – builds up around itself like a protective shell. Theory enables us to develop analytical tools and ways of thinking which question these established habits of thought and actions, and seek alternatives to them." (Garland 1990: 277).

The value of practicing or applying social theory, however, does not rest solely in demonstrating knowledge of complex concepts or distinguishing the sociological perspective from the common-sense perceptions of the practitioner. Practicing and applying social theory also adds value to research through the provision of a common language with which to explain social phenomena, facilitating meaningful dialogue between research settings, fields of study and even academic disciplines. Practicing and applying social theory allowed me, for example, as a student and practitioner of

policing, to take an interest in, and inspiration from, an exploration of the body, ageing, injury and career in classical ballet dancers (Wainwright and Turner 2006). Indeed, the provision of a common language with which to explain social phenomena is particularly important in interdisciplinary fields such as criminology and criminal justice. If one is to accept Gary LaFree's argument (2006) – made as part of the presidential address to the American Society of Criminology – that it is imperative for criminology, at least in its American variant, to become more interdisciplinary in the future, then the practice of social theory can create common ground, through shared vocabularies and concepts, from which to build interdisciplinary bridges.

An important critique of this thesis, thus far, has been that much of the research on cop culture to date has been descriptive and atheoretical. Nevertheless, there has been an emerging trend in the literature to apply the approaches and concepts of social theory to empirical research in this area of study. This endeavour was pioneered by Janet Chan in her 1997 work *Changing Police Culture* in which she employed a Bourdieusian account – applying the theory and concepts of Pierre Bourdieu – in order to account for the existence of multiple cultures in policing, to recognise the creative and interpretive aspects of culture, to situate cultural practice in the political context of policing, and to provide a theory of change (Chan 1997: 67). Although Chan has attracted some criticism for, what some consider to be, the uneasy fitting of Bourdieu's ideas to police socialisation (Manning 2005: 35) the influence of her approach is evident in subsequent work on cop culture. For example in her 2009 work *Police Culture in a Changing World* – an ethnographic study of 'police culture' in an English police force – Bethan Loftus remarked upon the new social field of policing, invoking the language of Bourdieu (Loftus 2009). The use of such theoretically laden language is significant and provides evidence of an emerging theoretical discourse in this subject area.[86] This represents a real advance in research in this subject area, and one which this thesis seeks to further develop.

## 4.2     The social theory and concepts of Pierre Bourdieu

### 4.2.1   Why Bourdieu?

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[86] This emergent engagement with Bourdieu is reflected on other areas of criminological study, including both prisons (Drake 2011) and criminal justice social work (see Fram 2004 and Garrett 2007a, 2007b).

Given the broad sweep of social theory and social theorists – from Marx's conception of class struggle and conflict in the nineteenth-century to the more conservative, consensual approaches of the structural functionalists of the twentieth century – the decision to focus upon developing a Bourdieusian perspective for this thesis requires some justification. This requirement is especially accentuated by the deployment of similar frameworks in earlier studies, in particular Chan's successive accounts of cop culture in Australia (1996, 1997 and 2003). I first encountered Bourdieu through the work of Janet Chan and, having delved deeper into Bourdieu's scholarly works, I believed that there was space for the further development of his ideas and concepts in relation to cultural representations of policing. Developing this deeper Bourdieusian account became a key aspect of the postgraduate dissertation that preceded this doctoral research. To an extent, therefore, for the purposes of this study the Bourdieusian theoretical perspective was pre-selected, rather than emerging from the data itself. This doctoral study did, however, offer the time and space to delve even deeper into Bourdieu's intellectual universe, engaging with a broader range of works – both primary accounts by Bourdieu and others, and a range of commentaries and criticisms of Bourdieu – that were not considered in the earlier dissertation. This thesis, therefore, extends and deepens the Bourdieusian perspective on processes of cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change in Scottish policing in ways that were not previously considered.

Given the increasing prevalence of Bourdieu in sociological studies it could possibly be argued that Bourdieu is over-exposed, both in the study of policing and social research more generally considered, and that the study of cop culture would benefit from the application of alternative – either competing or complimentary – perspectives and theoretical approaches. Undoubtedly, the work of Pierre Bourdieu has recently gained popularity and a degree of traction amongst sociologists and cultural anthropologists outside of Bourdieu's native France. [87] Commenting upon the importance of Bourdieu Elizabeth Silva and Alan Warde (2010: 1) noted that Bourdieu was probably the most eminent sociologist in the world in the last quarter of the

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[87] This increasing popularity and traction of Bourdieu's work is evidenced in Nicholas Garnham and Raymond Williams' baseline comment in a 1980 journal article that the influence of Bourdieu upon Anglo-Saxon thought and research to date had been "extremely fragmentary" and was limited to the discipline of anthropology and to the sub-discipline of the sociology of education (Garnham and Williams 1980: 209). Clearly, this is no longer the case, with scholars in many areas – from ballet (Wainwright and Turner 2006) to mixed martial arts (Spencer 2009) using Bourdieu's work to good effect, in addition to, of course, to the use of Bourdieusian theory and concepts in studies of cop culture.

twentieth century, after long arousing intense passion in French sociological circles. Karl Maton noted the increasing popularity of Bourdieu's work within Anglophone social science in the late 1990s and early part of the twenty-first century (Maton 2003: 53), and the remarkable popularity of Bourdieu's sociology continued well into the new century (Savage 2011: 169). Summarising such trends Marco Santoro was unequivocal in considering Bourdieu's rise to sociological 'stardom' in the last thirty years (Santoro 2011). This thesis seeks to develop a Bourdieusian perspective not because of Bourdieu's recent increase in popularity – and it is important to recognise that there remain harsh critics of Bourdieu – but because of the still under-explored potential within his work and ideas.[88] Santoro usefully summarises the potential of developing a Bourdieusian perspective in social research,

> "There are many good reasons to consider Bourdieu's conceptual framework one of the most insightful and strategically useful we have today for doing sociology, especially a sociology attuned to actors, their relations, institutional grounds, space and historicity, a framework theoretically dense but empirically-grounded. Not least among these reasons is the common language that Bourdieu provided sociologists with, a useful resource for a discipline where major confrontations are often fostered by the difficulties scholars have in understanding and managing different conceptual languages." (Santoro 2011: 14).

Santoro highlights the utility of the common vocabularies and concepts bequeathed by Bourdieu, which I believe are vital to the flourishing of interdisciplinary subjects such as criminology. Additionally, Santoro also considers Bourdieu's conceptual framework as both strategically useful and empirically-grounded, signalling the exciting promise of Bourdieu's theory to the practical researcher seeking to get his or her 'hands dirty'. Such pragmatic benefits were also major reasons for adopting a Bourdieusian perspective from which to make the move beyond cop culture.

The value of Pierre Bourdieu's approach to my research was evidenced in how he considered empirical research and theory to be inseparable. One particular critical appraisal regarded this as one of the most distinctive features of Bourdieu's work

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[88] In regard to criticisms of Bourdieu, John Guillory (2000: 19) has, for example, explained how Bourdieu's work was greeted with both suspicion and hostility in the American academy. Elsewhere David Hesmondhalgh (2006: 211) highlighted how the work of Bourdieu has been received with some ambivalence in Anglo-American media studies. For Loïc Wacquant, Bourdieu's work befuddles many Anglo-American readers (1993: 237), partially stemming from the lack of familiarity of American social scientists to the Continental strands of social theory and philosophy that form the intellectual tradition, or backdrop, to Bourdieu's endeavour (Wacquant 1993: 244).

(Postone et al 1993: 11). Bourdieu himself clearly considered the development of theory in his work to be intimately intertwined with empirical research. In response to a question posed by Loïc Wacquant – to locate the place of theory in his work – Bourdieu stated,

> "Let me say outright and forcefully that I never "theorize," if by that you mean to engage in the kind of conceptual gobbledygook (*laïus*) that is good for textbooks and which, through an extraordinary misconstrual of the logic of science, passes for Theory in much of Anglo-American social science. I never set out to 'do theory' or 'construct a theory' *per se…* There is no doubt a theory in my work, or, better, a set of *thinking tools* visible through the results they yield, but it is not built as such." (Bourdieu quoted in Wacquant 1989: 50).

In addition to a disdain for theory in and for itself – theory as 'gobbledegook' – his provision of thinking tools outlines Bourdieu's position that theory should have a symbiotic relationship with practical research. In Bourdieu's approach to sociological analysis there is no clear demarcation – spatial or temporal – between theory and research. Considering Bourdieu's answer to Wacquant, Richard Sparks has suggested that the use of the word 'built' by Bourdieu discloses how he considered theoretical work as an activity, and one that is intimately involved in the practice of research (Sparks 1997: 420).[89] This close relationship between theory and empirical research, in which developing theory is itself an activity – or practice – closely connected to empirical fieldwork and a series of on-going, reflexive identity negotiations, was a major reason for adopting a Bourdieusian perspective to help explain the cultural representations in my research. Even in his earliest work Bourdieu regarded his re-reading of Marx and his engagement in anthropological research to be closely-linked, and in doing so he remained committed to observation and measurement, as opposed to second-hand material thinking (Bourdieu 2000a: 6). Bourdieu claimed to have always been immersed in empirical research projects, and that the theoretical tools he created through such endeavours were not for theoretical commentary, but were to be put to use in new research, be it his own or that of others. He called this comprehension through use (Bourdieu 1993a: 271). Ultimately my study adopts and develops a Bourdieusian perspective for two reasons. Firstly, in seeking to describe, explore and explain the cultural representations developed in this study, Bourdieu's thinking tools are inherently useful. Secondly, although Bourdieu's work has previously been applied in the study of

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[89] The juxtaposition of abstract 'thinking' and practical 'tools' is also evocative of theory as an activity.

cop culture, there remains under-explored potential within his work and ideas as applied to this subject area.

Having outlined the value of social theory to research on cop culture and justified the development of a Bourdieusian perspective with which to describe, explore and explain the cultural representations sketched in this study, this chapter now turns to the substantive task of outlining this theoretical perspective. There are undoubtedly dangers in wrenching selected aspects of Bourdieu's work from his wider project and, crucially, extracting his thinking tools from contexts in which they were produced. The most significant dangers in doing so are, according to Bourdieu, dangers of distortion and deformation (Bourdieu 1997a: 450). Despite these dangers Bourdieu bequeathed a set of useful thinking tools that exist within a broader conceptual system – or theoretical framework – which can help explain social relations across many settings.[90] In an edited volume that sought to demonstrate the explanatory power of Bourdieu's key concepts Grenfell and Kelly regarded their contributing authors to be 'walking the tightrope' between Bourdieu's work and their own (Grenfell and Kelly 1999: 15). The following chapters will seek to tread a similar tightrope, using key concepts in Bourdieu's work to explicate, explore and explain the production and reproduction of cultures and sub-cultures in the Scottish police service, as well as recent cultural challenges and transformations. These chapters will engage with and employ the concepts of and field, habitus and capital – which Bourdieu described as the three fundamental concepts that lie at the heart of his project (Bourdieu 2000a: 101, see also Postone et al 1993: 4) – as well as the additional concepts of doxa and hexis, which are vital to developing a comprehensive Bourdieusian perspective. However, in seeking to engage and employ such concepts one must bear in mind Bourdieu's opposition to professorial definitions, and his assertion that whilst concepts such as field, habitus and capital can be defined, they cannot be done so in isolation: they only acquire meaning within a system of relations (Bourdieu quoted Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96). Perhaps most

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[90] Craig Calhoun has questioned whether Bourdieu's 'analytic apparatus' – habitus, field, and capital – can be applied universally without modification, or are situationally specific. Although he was particularly concentred with epochal or trans-historical application, he suggested that habitus is likely to be universal, but the universal application of capital is 'trickier' (Calhoun 1993: 66-67). Additionally, Michael Grenfell (2010: 26) has warned that any 'toolkit' approach utilising Bourdieu's theory must recognise the epistemology of Bourdieu's schema; these tools are bounded by a set of intersecting and integrating philosophical assumptions including rationalism and relationism. This epistemology and set of philosophical assumptions was recognised in my study, within which the cultural challenge of civilian intelligence analysis was considered as acutely relational, and the agency of actors was embraced as rational, and self-interested, in the field or sub-field setting.

importantly of all, however, for Bourdieu these concepts were designed to be put to use in an empirically systematic fashion (Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96). This chapter will progress in the same spirit of reflexive practice and discovery. In this sense, whilst this chapter will provide definitions and a conceptual overview of Bourdieu's approach, the true meaning of Bourdieu's concepts and their place in his overall framework will only be fully understood by their practical application in the following chapters of this thesis. However, before this is achieved, it is necessary to begin an attempt to understand these key concepts (Chopra 2003) or Bourdieu's relational conceptual matrix (Lipstadt 2003).

## 4.3    Field and Habitus

### 4.3.1   Field and sub-field

In some ways it is pertinent to begin an overview of Bourdieu's key concepts with a discussion of his concept of field. For example, Edward LiPuma has argued that the notion of field is central in both Bourdieu's theory and practice (LiPuma 1993: 15). Similarly, for Loïc Wacquant the notion of field is the central organising concept of Bourdieu's work, alongside both his concepts of habitus and capital (Wacquant in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 94). Considering the trajectory of Bourdieu's project Thomson has argued that field was to assume an increasingly important aspect of Bourdieu's work, with much of his later writings concerned with specific investigations of the concept (Thomson 2008: 68). Yet despite its increasing importance in the development of Bourdieu's work and its centrality to both his theory and practice, the concept of field is often treated as secondary to habitus in commentaries on Bourdieu. This has been acknowledged, at least historically in Bourdieu's work, by David Swartz, who suggested that whilst the concept of field is crucial to understanding Bourdieu it has been given relatively little attention compared to his other concepts, such as habitus and cultural capital (Swartz 1997: 4).[91]

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[91] Commentaries and analyses of Bourdieu's work often deal with habitus and capital first before then moving to tackle field, thus creating an informal conceptual hierarchy or logic in understanding Bourdieu (for examples see Postone et al 1993 and Robbins 2000). This is perhaps understandable, given a tendency in Bourdieu's work to do the same (see Bourdieu 1990). It should be acknowledged, however, that David Swartz later adjusted his argument in 2004 when, alongside Vera Zolberg, he argued that this neglect of field was mitigated by a considerable amount of subsequent research drawing inspiration from Bourdieu's field perspective (Swartz and Zolberg 2004: 7).

In a somewhat sterile fashion, Bourdieu defined a field as a network or configuration of objective relations between the positions of agents (Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96). In applying Bourdieu's concept of field to the production of art in nineteenth century Scotland Nick Prior – walking the tightrope between Bourdieu's work and his own – considered a field as a partially independent region of social activity structured according to a relational set of struggles over currencies or resources particular to that region (Prior 2000: 142-143). As such a field is a competitive arena, or a social network of co-operation and conflict, in which agents manoeuvre to conserve their resources and improve their position in relation to others in the same space. Prior's perspective resonates with the allegorical device that Bourdieu used to bring the concept of field to life: that it is possible to understand the field using the metaphor of a game. In employing such a metaphor a field can be understood in its literal sense as a space where games are played out – such as a football field – and in which players deploy resources and position themselves in order to maximise their outcomes. It is in this sense that a field can be understood as a space of conflict and competition (Wacquant in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 17). Similarly, it can also form a space in which groups coalesce to maximise collective outcomes, in 'teams', groups or classes. Crucially for Bourdieu, however, the field is not simply a neutral stage or a benign space that is acted upon; it is an active force in shaping the outcomes of the game itself. Loïc Wacquant considered this active force of the field to be a 'specific gravity' (Wacquant in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 16-17); an invisible force that acts upon those within its sphere of influence. Unlike a football field, therefore, a social field is not demarcated or bounded by drawn lines; it does not have explicit, codified rules and regularities, and nor is it the result of a deliberate act of creation (Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 98). In the absence of clear boundaries – which are instead being continually contested and shaped in a symbiotic process between agents and the field itself – the limits of a social field are situated at the point where the effects of the field cease (Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 98). In Wacquant's understanding, the limits of the field are to be found in the spaces in which its specific gravity wanes. This is crucial in understanding both the powerful and active force of a field and the extent to which specific forms of capital can be expended and exploited both in a field and between fields.

Within Bourdieu's conceptual schema the greater or lesser autonomy of a field is vital to understanding the dynamics of the field itself. Bourdieu privileged the autonomy achieved by fields, understanding the ways this autonomy is historically contingent and recognising the liberatory potential of any separation from the wider structures of power and domination. As Rodney Benson summarises,

> "A field's autonomy is to be valued because it provides the pre-conditions for the full creative process proper to each field and ultimately resistance to the "symbolic violence" exerted by the dominant system of hierarchization" (Benson 1999: 465).

Despite his description of the cultural game as "fetishism" in his earlier work, *Distinction* (1984: 250), in *The Rules of Art* (1996: 344) Bourdieu actively rallied against threats to the autonomy of the field of cultural production and sought to mobilise an 'internationale of intellectuals' against these threats. This was a project to which he was to devote considerable energy in the last decade of his life. Bourdieu, however, also understood that complete separation from the world of production could be 'crippling', which he thus considered fundamental ambiguity of field autonomy (Bourdieu 2000b: 15). Within this context of fundamental ambiguity, Bourdieu's writing also discloses the possibility of disaggregating fields into smaller units or spaces, which may be understood autonomous to greater or lesser degrees. In *Pascalian Meditations* (2000b: 14) Bourdieu began with a critique of scholastic reason in which he considered 'fields within fields'; for example understanding the location of the fields of philosophy and some scientific fields as 'totally limited' within the broader scholastic field. These fields within fields, which can be more usefully understood as sub-fields may, in turn, increase their insulation or disassociation from both their parent field and the fields of power beyond. In doing so they create their own specific conditions and privilege alternative forms of capital; otherwise increasing their autonomy. A key argument of this chapter is that police intelligence work can be understood as a smaller sub-field within the wider field of policing, which is in turn relationally positioned to other fields, and the fields of power and cultural production. This claim is important from a Bourdieusian perspective because of its consequences for explaining processes of domination, subjugation and liberation.

4.3.2   Habitus

One of the most challenging aspects of the fieldwork for this thesis – for both those represented in the research and for me as a sociological researcher – was to fully describe cop culture. As a social phenomenon I encountered cop culture in a fashion that was pervasive in both fieldwork and life; its power and influence permeated all situations. My professional and personal encounters with police officers and police staff could only be fully understood through an appreciation of the attributes, perspectives, and consequences of cop culture; and yet it remained intangible, elusive, and almost amorphous, oftentimes only manifest in relation to the caricature of previous understandings and representations. During the early period of fieldwork – during which I was still clarifying the differences between multiple conceptualisations and various descriptions of this phenomena – I approached the issue directly in an interview with a police sergeant,

> *Colin:* "A lot of media images about the police and a lot of the academic literature talks about a police culture. Is that something that's familiar to you, 'police culture'?"
>
> *Tommy, Police Officer*: "Oh definitely, aye, how would you define it? I don't know really. A phrase to define police culture [long pause]."
>
> *Colin:* "Perhaps an easier question would be 'has it changed over the course of your service?'"
>
> *Tommy, Police Officer*: "I think that the, what's required of police officers has changed. When you talk about police culture there is a police culture that aye, police officers often feel themselves isolated from the community, they often feel themselves, they don't mix with other members of the community because, well, I don't think that's intentional as such. I remember when I joined the police my attitude to my friends I was growing up with hadn't changed. What had changed was I never saw them because I was always working and you don't see them. But yeah there is a police culture and your social life revolves invariably around what you do in your work, and your work's night out. It's an organisational culture that is there and as far as police culture goes, sometimes police officers feel like they are fighting, like they are keeping society off the brink of anarchy and we get absolutely no thanks for it. I think that that sums up police culture, I think. There's all sorts of add-ons into the history of it, about hard-drinking previously. All that's gone away to be honest and it's unacceptable now. So yeah there is a police culture but it has changed, certainly."

I recognised and appreciated Tommy's initial difficulty in fully describing a culture in which he was native, deeply embedded, and, crucially, active in generating, challenging, and shaping. This insight justified Chan's assertion that it is important to ask police

officers themselves to define the culture to which they identify and belong (Chan 2007: 144). It was only through the application of a Bourdieusian perspective – and in particular developing an understanding of the concept of habitus – that I was able to fully explain our shared inability to describe cop culture either succinctly or comprehensively.

Bourdieu's habitus is not synonymous with culture, but an understanding of habitus within Bourdieu's wider theoretical framework can go some way in helping to understand and explain cultural production and reproduction. The importance of habitus in Bourdieu's work and its concomitant impact upon the social sciences is difficult to overestimate: Richard Shusterman (1999: 4) considered habitus to be Bourdieu's 'hallmark concept', whilst Noble and Watkins (2003: 520) have remarked upon how, in developing the concept of habitus, Bourdieu opened a 'rich vein' in cultural studies. The term 'habitus', however, was not originally coined by Bourdieu; in fact, its origins can be traced to Aristotle's notion of hexis, meaning an acquired yet entrenched state of moral character that orients our feelings and desires in any given situation, and therefore guides our actions (Wacquant 2006: 317), and habitus re-appears variously in the works of key social theorists before Bourdieu. The work of Bourdieu, however, has been vital in re-shaping habitus into a concept that is both theoretically elegant and empirically useful for sociology and cultural anthropology. Bourdieu's influence on the concept of habitus has been so extensive that Bridget Fowler has argued that, for some, the concept of habitus has become virtually synonymous with Bourdieu (Fowler 1997: 17). In a typically parsimonious fashion, Bourdieu defined habitus as a system of dispositions attuned to a particular field (Bourdieu 1993b: 18). In assessing the value of Bourdieu's concepts for feminist theory, Terry Lovell offered an alternative explanation,

> "By habitus Bourdieu understands ways of doing and being which social subjects acquire during their socialization. Their habitus is not a matter of conscious learning or of ideological imposition, but is acquired through practice… Habitus names the characteristic dispositions of the social subject. It is indicated in the bearing of the body ('hexis'), and in deeply ingrained habits of behaviour, feeling, thought." (Lovell 2000: 27).

Habitus is both a social process of becoming and of being – of identity formation and sustaining an identity – within a specific field. As a social process habitus is intimately linked to history and the development of cultural narrative. Habitus is history naturalised

to become a form of cultural trajectory, or ideology, that is shared and communicated between groups or classes. Importantly, habitus is taken for granted and not consciously conceived, and in this regard it is can be understood as a form of silent ideology (Dovey 2005: 284).

In constructing this concept of habitus Bourdieu was arguing against two popular dichotomies. Firstly, he was critiquing a Cartesian distinction between the mind and the body. For Bourdieu habitus operates simultaneously as the internalisation of the external and the externalisation of the internal: there is no distinction to be made between the mind and the body, both of which are implicated in internalising and practising one's habitus in an almost continuous loop. In fact, for Bourdieu habitus is profoundly linked to – and is generative of – the body, just as the body is generative of habitus. In *Pascalian Meditations* Bourdieu (2000b: 135) speaks of how the body immediately mediates and comprehends the world, creating dispositions and anticipating regularities in a form of corporeal knowledge of practical comprehension that is different from any intentional act of conscious decoding. For Bourdieu the body cannot be divorced from the mind when considering habitus. Secondly, Bourdieu was rejecting the strict differentiation between objective and subjective accounts of society. Bourdieu critiqued the differentiation between these ontological positions as destructive. He stated,

> "Of all the oppositions that artificially divide social science, the most fundamental, and the most ruinous, is the one that is set up between subjectivism and objectivism." (Bourdieu 1990: 25).

Bourdieu instead sought instead to reconcile the importance of the agency and ideas of actors in subjectivist accounts with the reproductive tendencies, power and relational positioning of structuralism.[92] This is an important aspect to grasp given the tendency in previous Bourdieusian accounts of policing to place particular emphasis on structures, and especially the socialisation into a rank-structured and disciplined organisation (see Chan 1997). In exploring the habitus of a police officer, Richard Heslop (2011: 333) correctly highlighted the importance of the individual's life and biography before they joined the police. Such an account considers habitus as history; as a complex interplay between past and present, as well as the social world of the field. For example, in the context of this study Christopher, an intelligence analyst, considered cop culture to

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[92] Importantly, Bourdieu sought to transcend objectivism, not eliminate it (see Fowler 2009: 371).

reflect the wider working-class values of Scottish masculinity, embodied in police officer recruits before they become cops,

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "I don't think it [cop culture] develops on its own, it's not like it comes from the *tabula rasa* where everyone joins the police and this like culture develops; it develops out of the different cultures brought into it and this like male culture, you think of it like different areas of America that have their own cultures but America is what it is because of the different cultures that formed it. And it's the same with the police because it's mainly men, and for a long time only men, so it's got a huge amount of what is just males in it, but it's also quite working class as well, so it's got a lot of working class in it as well."

From a Bourdieusian perspective Christopher's account demonstrates how habitus can be both durable and transposable, staying with actors, and adapting, as they move between fields. Habitus is, in important ways, internalised history adapting to success in new conditions.

Just as Bourdieu brought the concept of field to life through the metaphor of the game, so he extended this metaphorical device to understand habitus. For Bourdieu habitus can be understood as a 'feel for the game', to which he further explained,

> "Having the feel for the game is having the game under the skin; it is to master in a practical way the future of the game; it is to have a sense of the history of the game. While the bad player is always off tempo, always too early or too late, the good player is the one who *anticipates*, who is ahead of the game. Why can she get ahead of the flow of the game? Because she has the immanent tendencies of the game in her body, in an incorporated state: she embodies the game." (Bourdieu 1998: 80-81).

Fieldwork disclosed the importance of the habitus of cop culture as a 'feel for the game' in the field of Scottish policing. The concept and was also approached at the very outset of Irvine Welsh's *Filth* when DS Bruce Robertson, stated,

> "The job it holds you. It's all around you; a constant, enclosing, absorbing gel. And when you are in the job, you look out at life through that distorted lens… That's the games. The games are the only way you can survive the job. Everybody has their own wee vanities, their own little conceits. My one is that nobody plays the games like me, Bruce Robertson. D.S. Robertson, soon to be D.I. Robertson. The games are always, repeat, always, being played. Most times, in any organisation, it's expedient not to acknowledge their existence. But they're always there." (Welsh 1998: 3).

It is, in some ways, useful to understand habitus as a lens; as a way of both seeing and feeling the field. To extend the sporting analogy, just as a world-class football player can 'see' a pass that another player cannot – by visualising and capitalising upon the state of play even before the necessary conditions coalesce – so a police officer may see an opportunity to successfully secure an outcome in his or her own field that would be otherwise invisible to the uninitiated, and thus 'un-cultured', observer. This may be at the expense of a colleague – as evidenced in Machiavellian machinations of *Filth* – or it may be to prevent or detect a crime of one form or another.[93] Crucially, the development and innate internalisation of habitus is crucial to success as a police officer, and is highly valued amongst police officers.

## 4.4    Capital

### 4.4.1   Forms of capital

In addition to the interplay between habitus and field, an understanding and explanation of cop culture from a Bourdieusian perspective necessitates an appreciation of the various forms of capital. Pierre Bourdieu argued that it is impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world – for field and habitus – unless the concept of capital is re-introduced and accounted for in all its forms (Bourdieu 1997b: 46-47). For Bourdieu capital can be understood as a set of actually useable resources and power which account for difference in a society and distinguish between classes of conditions of existence (Bourdieu 1984: 114). It has been argued that for Bourdieu the definition of capital is very wide, including both material goods, which may also have symbolic value, and other, less immediately tangible things, which may designate culturally significant attributes such as prestige, status and authority (Harker et al 1990: 13). Capital is an important concept in Bourdieu's framework because within a social field – or multi-dimensional space of positions – the location and distribution of agents is determined by the volume and composition of their capital (Bourdieu 1985: 724). The former of these – volume of capital – is the more important principle of differentiation than the latter (Bourdieu 1998: 6-7). Capital is therefore a form of power, used to exercise control over one's own future and the future of others within a given society (Postone et al 1993: 4). Importantly for Bourdieu the value of capital – the extent to which it can be used positively – differs between fields. So, for example, whilst an

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[93] In *Filth* DS Bruce Robertson savoured "Ah, the games, the games" in his attempt to malevolently smear a colleague as an 'HIV spreading, diseased, queer' (Welsh 1998: 249).

educational qualification may be useful in the field of academia, this form of capital may have less instrumental value within the field of policing, where other forms of capital, such as experience, may more highly regarded and useful. Conversely, some forms of capital may hold their value in transfer between specific fields. Indeed, it has been usefully argued that capital may even be contested – and its value not universally accepted – within a specific field (Webb et al 2002: 22).[94]

In his work *Distinction* Bourdieu developed his theoretical perspective by outlining three forms of capital: economic, cultural and social capital.[95] On an initial reading Bourdieu displays a certain disregard for the discussion of economic capital, arguing that it is less his concern and more the domain of others (Bourdieu 1993b: 32). Despite his focus upon other forms of capital, Bourdieu understands economic capital as a material form of accumulated labour, primarily money, and which may be institutionalised in the form of property rights (Bourdieu 1997b: 46-47). Although recognising that Bourdieu's notion of capital is not fully Marxian (Postone et al 1993: 4) his notion of economic capital does resonate with Marx as economic capital increases as one moves from the dominated to the dominant fractions of a society. It is also the most efficient and easily traded. Yet, as aforementioned, Bourdieu's primary focus was not upon economic capital, but alternative forms of capital that have been otherwise neglected by other theorists. In particular, Bourdieu was concerned with cultural capital, which Bridget Fowler has described as 'highly controversial' (Fowler 2000: 14). Others have argued that Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has not been clearly defined (Sullivan 2001: 896); perhaps reflecting Bourdieu's oftentimes Byzantine approach and aversion to become held to a specific dictionary definition.[96] Nevertheless, cultural capital can be understood in a Bourdieusian sense as the power exercised by resources inherited mainly from educational or family systems; or as the assets, or liabilities displayed in the cultural performances of everyday life (Berger 1995: 93). Defined as such cultural capital refers to currencies that facilitate movement within a particular field beyond simple economic capital. Bourdieu (1997: 47) argues that cultural capital exists in three states. Firstly, there is cultural capital in an embodied state, in the

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[94] This argument was made specifically in reference to cultural capital, but the thrust of its argument can be extrapolated across different forms of capital.

[95] Elsewhere Bourdieu called these three forms the 'three fundamental species' of capital (see Bourdieu 1992: 119).

[96] Possibly also reflecting Bourdieu's position that his concepts are best understood through application in practice, rather than through their reification in text.

enduring dispositions of the mind and body. Secondly, there is cultural capital in an objectified state, in the form of goods, such as instruments or books. Lastly, there is cultural capital in an institutionalised state, a form of objectification that must be set apart because it confers original properties upon the form of capital, for example through educational qualifications.

Social capital, a term which has entered academic discourse and gained popularity across social science disciplines (see for example Putnam 2000), is also an important concept in Bourdieu's theoretical framework.[97] In an uncharacteristically straightforward fashion, Bourdieu defined social capital as follows,

> "Social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" (Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96).

Social capital is therefore the connections between networked agents that ensure the reproduction of a specific order, group or class, often through the informal flow of valuable information. As such, Bourdieu does not necessarily view social capital in the positive manner in which it may be viewed by other, later theorists.[98] For Bourdieu social capital can be exclusionary, helping to sustain and reproduce classes based upon the bonds, channels and connections that are apparent in pre-existing networks of relationships. To social capital Bourdieu added a fourth form of capital: symbolic capital, which can be understood as a reputation for competence and an image of respectability or honour that are easily converted into political positions (Bourdieu 1984: 291). The significance of symbolic capital, for Bourdieu, lies in its apparent economic disinterest; as Carolyn Betensky (2000: 208) so accurately argues, for Bourdieu symbolic capital is 'capital that says it is not capital'.

Whilst Bourdieu's focus was upon forms of capital other than economic capital, it is important to understand that, in the final analysis, Bourdieu recognised the importance of economic capital as ultimately at the root of all other forms of capital (Bourdieu 1997b: 54). The other forms of capital – cultural, social, and symbolic – are

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[97] Although it is important to recognise that there are clear differences in conceptualisations of social capital between thinkers such as Bourdieu and Putnam.
[98] Robert Putnam, by contrast, takes a much more positive view of social capital (see Putnam 2000).

forms of capital transformed, for example through the investment of time or other resources. The key point is therefore that forms of capital are convertible, in that the agent can change the form of capital in order to maximise their position in the field, and thus their expected outcome. Forms of transformed capital – beyond economic capital – have their own specific value in a field of social relations, and in the logic of social exchange, and in this way they may be vital in maintaining or advancing one's position in a field vis-à-vis other agents.

Advancing Bourdieu's allegorical 'game' metaphor, forms of capital constitute a resource in the particular game that is played out in a given field; and as such the notions of capital and field are 'tightly interconnected' (Bourdieu in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 96). As Prior argues,

"Agents in a position of dominance will tactically deploy their capital in order to conserve their position, whereas agents looking to outflank, displace or over-take those in a dominant position… will attempt strategies of succession or subversion." (Prior 2000: 142-143).

Crucially for Bourdieu, field and capital are inter-constitutive, because the value of a specific form of capital hinges upon the form and limits of the field or, metaphorically, which game is being played where. Similarly, the agent – or player – can attempt to transform the field itself, thus changing the 'rules of the game' and therefore the value of specific forms of capital. This theoretical approach resonates with Bourdieu's concern with bridging subjectivist and objectivist sociological accounts, in that it connects both agency and structure into more symbiotic, or inter-constitutive, relationship. There is real value in this approach in explaining cop culture, and the social practice of policing more widely considered.

## 4.5    Doxa and Hexis

### 4.5.1   Doxa and Hexis

To fully trace Bourdieu's theoretical framework and apply it to cultural production, reproduction and transformation in policing it is necessary to engage with two additional Bourdieusian concepts: doxa and hexis. For Bourdieu doxa is a set of powerful values or deep beliefs that are taken for granted in a community. He states,

"Nothing, paradoxically, is more dogmatic than a doxa, a set of fundamental beliefs which does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma." (Bourdieu 2000b: 15).

Locating this within Bourdieu's wider framework, Cécile Deer (2008: 120) argued that doxa is 'intimately linked' to both field and habitus. In relation to field, Bourdieu differentiates his version of doxa from that of previous theorists by arguing for a specific doxa: a system of presuppositions inherent in the membership of a field (Bourdieu 2005: 37). The key point here is that in inhabiting and belonging to a field – in accepting that one is a native player in the game – one also accepts a series of tacit presuppositions; a set of pre-reflexive perceptions, values and understandings that are shared – acquiescently and axiomatically – between agents in this given field. Importantly for Bourdieu, whilst doxa can be understood on an individual basis it can also be applied relationally; for example in considering a doxic order of domination that is shared implicitly by both the dominated and the dominants (Krais 1993: 169). Understanding doxa, therefore, is vital to explaining power relations between groups within a specific field.

In contrast to the implicit nature of doxa, Bourdieu's concept of hexis is much more immediate and visible. In fact, for Bourdieu hexis is rooted in posture; a 'way of bearing the body' (Bourdieu 2000b: 144). Hexis is the embodiment of habitus, it is how actors 'carry themselves' within particular fields. In this regard the relationship between habitus and field serves to produce a bodily hexis. As such, the body can be understood partly both as an individual, political accomplishment in itself and as a method through which an agent can communicate or resist within a particular field. Hexis can also be considered as a matter of style, or a method through which capital is communicated. As Greg Noble and Megan Watkins argued in their exploration of habituation in the acquisition of habitus, or 'how Bourdieu learned to play tennis',

"The hexis revealed in the way we play tennis, for example, articulates a style which has meaning within the array of styles available within the tennis world, but it also expresses class, gender, and so on. The ways our bodies act and look, our physical properties, embody the capital – economic, social, cultural – we possess." (Noble and Watkins 2003: 522).

Despite the abandonment of such 'old-fashioned' notions such as sex and height requirements for entry into the field of Scottish policing, the body remains a critical site

of professional identity work, as well as a vehicle for communication and conflict. For example, the standards that regulated and disciplined the police body formed in the wider field of policing persist into the sub-field of police intelligence work. My own hexis – young, shabby, long-haired, often unshaven and slightly unkempt – often provoked condemnation from cops: to them I was an anathema to their values, representing a reversal of the standards of the disciplined body they learned upon entry into the field.[99] The relationship between hexis and gender is especially salient in explorations of the production and reproduction of cop culture, and in particular the cultural challenge of civilianisation. As Beate Krais argued, any division of labour between man and woman objectifies itself as it becomes embodied in the hexis, and, in determining the agent's relation to his or her own body, it shapes identity in an absolutely fundamental fashion (Krais 1993: 161). Hexis is therefore, in the context of gender, a symbolic form of power. For Bourdieu hexis is a means of explicating and understanding how the body is inscribed with culture, a way of accounting for the ways in which history and culture actively shape the agent's body, and explaining how this body moves through the field. Understood as such, Bourdieu's concept of hexis can be usefully employed to understand the cultural challenge of civilian intelligence analysis within the sub-field of police intelligence work, and the wider field of policing.

## 4.6    Drawing together a Bourdieusian Perspective

### 4.6.1   The interplay between Bourdieu's key concepts

In drawing together a Bourdieusian perspective to help explain cultural production, reproduction, challenge and transformation in the Scottish police service it is essential that one recognises the 'rich complexity of Bourdieu's conceptual world' and how it 'resists easy summary' (Swartz 1997: 4). In a fundamental way, understanding this rich complexity necessitates an explication of the *interplay* between Bourdieu's key concepts. At the origin of Bourdieu's perspective lies the trinity of concepts – field, habitus and capital – that form the basis of his approach. For Postone et al,

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[99] During a particular encounter in fieldwork an older police officer was questioning my preference for having long hair. I enquired as to whether he had had long hair prior to joining the police. He recalled how he did, and had to have his head shaved 'tae the wid' (closely shaved) the day before he joined. He also recounted how he spent the next few weeks hiding in doorways to avoid the embarrassment of being seen sporting such short hair by his 'rocker' friends. The shift in his habitus and hexis over time was evident.

> "On the basis of these three concepts – field, habitus and the various forms of capital – Bourdieu formulates a reflexive approach to social life that uncovers the arbitrary conditions of the production of the social structure and of those dispositions and attitudes that are related to it… His approach seeks to illuminate the social and cultural reproduction of inequality by analysing processes of misrecognition: that is, by investigating how the habitus of dominated groups can veil the conditions of their subordination." (Postone et al 1993: 6).

In constructing a relational theory in which the interplay between field, habitus and capital was of fundamental importance, Bourdieu was seeking to reject previous dichotomous positions in social theory and philosophy; from the schism in social science between objectivist and subjectivist accounts that respectively privileged social structures and agents in their explanations of society and its reproduction, to the Cartesian distinction between mind and body. As Thomson argued,

> "Rather than becoming bogged down in aimless debates about the primacy of either social structures or human agency, Bourdieu argued for a methodology that would bring together an inter-dependent and co-constructed trio – field, capital and habitus – with none of them primary, dominant or causal. Each was integral to understanding the social world, and the three were tangled together in a Gordian knot that could only be understood through case-by-case deconstructions." (Thomson 2008: 69).

By adding the supplementary concepts of doxa and hexis, which are often overlooked in appreciations and applications of Bourdieu and his work, this thesis seeks to develop an account of cop culture and the cultural challenge of civilian intelligence analysis that can be explained from a Bourdieusian perspective. Whilst the concepts of field, habitus, capital, doxa and hexis may be explicated and defined to varying degrees, it is only through this practice of empirical application that one can fully understand the interplay between these key concepts. For example, as Postone et al further argued,

> "The position of agents in a multi-dimensional space – or field – is the result of an interplay between an individual's habitus and their place in a field of positions as defined by the distribution of appropriate forms of capital." (Postone et al 1993: 5).

This aptly demonstrates how the interplay between Bourdieu's concepts – in this case field, habitus and capital – is vital to drawing together a Bourdieusian perspective.

4.6.2   Considering the limitations of the Bourdieusian perspective

This chapter previously signalled that the work of Pierre Bourdieu has been subject to criticism from other scholars engaged in the development of social theory. It is important to recognise that Bourdieu is a highly controversial figure (Silva and Warde 2010: 6) and, especially since his recent death, his work, ideas and readings – his intellectual universe – have become a 'site of intense struggle' between supporters and critics (Atkinson 2012: 167). Whilst it is tempting to conclude, as some supporters of Bourdieu have, that many of Bourdieu's critics do not sufficiently appreciate the complexity of his thinking (Swartz 1997: 68), it is also important to recognise such criticisms, and reject or reconcile them in relation to this study.

A key, and recurring, critique of Bourdieu's perspective and conceptual schema has been his perceived overemphasis on social structure. For example, although David Gartman considered Bourdieu's *Distinction* to be 'impressive' (Gartman 1991: 421), he also highlighted what he considered to be an overly structural approach to culture in Bourdieu's work. For Gartman,

> "Bourdieu's failure to grasp the reification of material culture is grounded in a more fundamental flaw – a structuralist conception of culture that reduces cultural choices to passive reproductions of structural necessities." (Gartman 1991: 422).

Whilst Gartman's analysis certainly fits well with the conditions of the field – in particular its force or 'specific gravity' – it does not provide a convincing account of the active role of an actor's habitus or forms of capital in contributing to their position in the field. Certainly, the application of Bourdieu's conceptual schema to the study of the cultural challenge of intelligence analysis in Scottish policing supports the balance between structure and agency in Bourdieu's account of social reproduction. Indeed, in considering such criticisms of Bourdieu and any limitations of his perspective and conceptual schema it is sometimes useful to invoke Anthony King's assessment that Bourdieu sought to move beyond agency and structure (King 2000: 430), or the limitations of either approach.[100]

Other interested scholars have offered further criticisms of Bourdieu's intellectual universe. In particular, some have critiqued Bourdieu's neglect of forms of

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[100] It is also worth noting that Michael Grenfell (2010: 17) considers critiques of Bourdieu's work as deterministic, overly structural or lacking the possibility of resistance to socio-cultural hegemonies as false accusations based on partial and superficial readings of Bourdieu.

action, practice and conduct that are 'ethical' or in the collective interest of groups and classes of actors beyond one's own. Andrew Sayer, for example, has critiqued Bourdieu's model of social life as Hobbesian, interest- and power-based, and as such this model fails to account for actions and conduct that are undertaken as they are right or good in themselves, and not for a competitive advantage (Sayer 2010: 95). Similarly, the game metaphor has also been critiqued as lacking the capacity to accommodate collective and individual practices that led to a coordinated reasonable outcome for all players, in contrast to the neo-Hobbesian world of self-interested actors in a zero-sum game (see Wilkinson 2010).[101] To an extent, the impact of this criticism is limited in my research and analysis given that the focus is upon the cultural challenge of one group, intelligence analysts, to another, police officers, within a given field and specific sub-field. However, one cannot blatantly disregard such criticisms, as to do so would be to facilitate blindness towards circumstances of consensus or co-operation in the field or sub-field. This said, fieldwork disclosed a conflictual field and sub-field in which actors acted in a self-interested fashion, with indications, to greater or lesser extents, of class formations and political action. Whilst this does not forego the possibility of action, practice and conduct that are ethical or mutually beneficial between groups and classes, such representations were not apparent in fieldwork.[102] Others, such as Bernard Lahire, have highlighted perceived limitations of some of Bourdieu's concepts. For Lahire the notion of field does not capture the totality of formative experience and relations, particularly for those actors who were not 'born in the field', and are often outside or at the margins of the sociological gaze (Lahire 2011: 29-30). Whilst this criticism would seem to provide particular resonance for this study, as both police officers and intelligence analysts enter the new sub-field of police intelligence work, it can be argued that it neglects to consider Bourdieu's development in his later work *Pascalian Meditations* (2000b) of cleft habitus, which also forms an important part of the analysis herein.

## 4.7 Conclusion

### 4.7.1 Following Bourdieu into the field

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[101] Game analogies in sociology have also been criticised for their generic nature and lack of specificity in relation to particular games – their rules, constraints and emergent order – the neglect of which can result in literary devices that are evocative but not especially illuminating (see DiCicco and Gibson 2010).

[102] It is also possible to recognise and counter such criticism of Bourdieu by positing the possibility of enlightened self-interest (see Tocqueville 1841: 119).

This chapter began by exploring the value of social theory in research on the police and posed the question 'why Bourdieu?'. Applying social theory to any empirical sociological research is useful as it extends the analysis to become explanatory, rather than simply offering a descriptive account of social phenomena. Moreover, an engagement with social theory is both analytically rewarding and potentially exciting; as John Scott outlined in his 2005 overview of historical and contemporary debates in social theory, whilst sociology is an exciting enterprise, nothing is more exciting than engaging in theoretical analysis and debate (Scott 2005: 6). This chapter identified a trinity of Bourdieusian concepts – of field, habitus, capital – which Loïc Wacquant (2003: 236) terms Bourdieu's 'core theoretical notions' and which, when considered in parallel with the supplementary concepts of doxa and hexis, collectively shape the perspective employed in this study. The dangers in wrenching these concepts – or thinking tools – from Bourdieu's own fieldwork and life have been identified: dangers of distortion and deformation. Such a potentially dangerous endeavour is nevertheless essential. The interplay of these concepts can only be fully understood by following Bourdieu into the field, and treading a tightrope between Bourdieu's work and my own. Such an applied approach can also be considered as essential to contributing to Bourdieu's legacy. For Bridget Fowler,

> "Internationally, Bourdieu had achieved a recognition as possibly the single most significant social scientist of the turn of the millennium, and one who had enormous impact not just on sociology but on fields as far as art history and museumology. Given both his reputation and the internal rigour of his works, it is my view that we should best defend his achievements by putting his theories to work in fresh ways, yet always, of course, with a critical gaze." (Fowler 2003: 487).

In justifying the development of a Bourdieusian perspective and methodological approach to this research I have argued that whilst Bourdieu has recently risen to sociological stardom his work was selected on pragmatic grounds; it was anticipated that Bourdieu's perspective and methodological approach would be useful in helping to explain cultural production, reproduction, challenge and transformation in police intelligence work in Scotland.

The justification for adopting a Bourdieusian theoretical perspective and methodological approach was not based solely on pragmatism or the potential

explanatory power of his work. Another important reason for employing the theory and concepts of Bourdieu rests not only in their explanatory power, but in the inspiration of Bourdieu's methodological approach. This approach was particularly influenced by Bourdieu's own biography. For Postone et al,

> "As a theorist of society Bourdieu necessarily operates within what he analyses; he is both an analyst of science and society, and an actor in these fields." (Postone et al 1993: 6).

As a researcher I also found motivation in the possibilities opened up by the reflexive analysis of oneself and one's social group using Bourdieu's work, as Bourdieu did himself in his *Sketch for a Self-Analysis* (Bourdieu 2007). Bourdieu's work even had an emancipatory effect during some of the darker and more difficult days encountered during my research. In particular, I drew support Bourdieu's conclusion to his 2007 work,

> "And nothing would make me happier than having made it possible for some of my readers to recognize their own experiences, difficulties, questionings, sufferings, and so on, in mine, and to draw from that realistic identification, which is quite the opposite of an exalted projection some means of doing what they do, and living what they live, a little bit better." (Bourdieu 2007: 113).

Loïc Wacquant (2004) considered that much of Bourdieu's work, and particularly his early field studies conducted concurrently in colonial Algeria and in his childhood village of Béarn in south-western France, adopted a profoundly reflexive perspective and demonstrated the possibility of conducting 'insider ethnography'. In doing so Wacquant acknowledged the social embeddedness and split subjectivity of the inquirer without reducing ethnography to storytelling and forsaking social theory for poetry. It was with this revocation of ethnography as 'a heroic exploration of otherness' (Wacquant 2004: 387) that I brought Bourdieu into the field, arming myself with a set of thinking tools and an appreciation – or at the very least an anticipation – of how these can be used to explore, describe represent and explain culture, and in turn further develop the Bourdieusian theoretical perspective.

Chapter 5    Cultural Challenge

5.1    Introduction

5.1.1    Culture, challenge and conflict in the sub-field

This chapter will explain how new actors – civilian intelligence analysts – have been brought to bear on core policing tasks in the sub-field of police intelligence work. Furthermore, this chapter will explore the extent to which the emergence of these new actors, and their cultural dispositions, challenge and conflict with the habitus of police officers as formed in the wider field of Scottish policing. In doing so this chapter will develop Jerry Ratcliffe's argument that the adoption and implementation of intelligence-led policing presents a revolution in forms of knowledge that are valued, or are intrinsically useful, in policing. As he asserted in 2008,

> "Intelligence-led policing is attempting to synchronize two different types of knowledge (old and new) that are, on the surface, fairly mismatched, and is attempting to do so in order to create intelligence products that go beyond the existing arrest mentality and into preventative areas that are incompatible with the subculture of current policing. The challenges are significant." (Ratcliffe 2008b: 217).

Importantly, these two forms of knowledge are not shared equally between all actors in the sub-field of police intelligence work; instead they are distributed antagonistically between cops, the holders of old knowledge, and intelligence analysts, the bearers of new knowledge. The challenges in intelligence-led policing identified by Ratcliffe include that 'cops still favour knowledge from other cops' and that a powerful cop culture both inhibits change and results in a distrust of civilians; thus creating a 'double-whammy' for intelligence analysts and the integration of analysis into policing (Ratcliffe 2008b: 215-216). He highlighted that,

> "Unlike old knowledge, the new intelligence is held by people who rarely leave the police station and who might also be civilians in a sworn world. This slow paradigm shift on what information is perceived as a significant and valuable has taken most police agencies into uncharted territory both culturally and organizationally, and has the potential to change the dynamics of long-held notions of value and worth within policing." (Ratcliffe 2008b: 217).

This new knowledge is less about criminals and more about crime and the technical, IT prowess required to manipulate these new, rich information sources (Ratcliffe 2008b: 210).[103] For Ratcliffe, therefore, the development of the sub-field of police intelligence work, and the new actors and forms of knowledge it has brought to bear upon the sub-field, has been marked by cultural challenge and cultural conflict.

In understanding these developments from a Bourdieusian perspective this chapter argues that this new knowledge of intelligence analysts represents a fresh source of cultural capital in the sub-field.[104] This new form of cultural capital is in many ways incongruent with the pre-existing form of cultural capital as developed in the wider field, and which is imported into the sub-field by cops. The bearers of this new knowledge – civilian intelligence analysts – can thus be understood as representing a cultural challenge to the prevailing hegemony of cop culture in this sub-field. This cultural challenge, however, has profound consequences for the status and position of intelligence analysts because cultural capital does not necessarily translate into power in a straightforward, linear fashion. This is reflected in Ratcliffe's (2008b: 211) assertion that the intelligence analyst, despite being the gatekeeper of this new knowledge and therefore essential to the organisational effectiveness of intelligence-led policing, is often considered to be a 'second-class citizen' in the sub-field. As the sub-field of police intelligence work has developed within the wider field of Scottish policing, following the implementation of the NIM in 2000, it can thus be understood as a contested space within which cops and intelligence analysts seek to exert influence and control upon one another and each of whom struggle to shape the very conditions of the sub-field itself.[105] This chapter will begin by exploring the ways in which the development of this sub-field has had profound consequences for the habitus of cops, which encounters crises of legitimacy and authority in these new conditions.

## 5.2    Tormented Habitus and Cultural Capital in the Sub-Field

### 5.2.1    Cop culture as tormented habitus

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[103] Similarly, in his discussion of intelligence-led policing Tim Newburn (2007a: 613) argued that a number of cultural barriers exist to the implementation of such new, proactive policing paradigms.

[104] This develops, therefore, the tendency in the academic literature to emphasise the heterogeneity of cultures in the police service.

[105] Tim Newburn argued in 2007 that it remained 'early days' for the NIM and despite a large degree of commitment to it there was a long way to go before it could be claimed that it had been embedded successfully within the police service (Newburn 2007a: 605). The sub-field of police intelligence work has obviously developed and consolidated in the period since Newburn's assertion, but it remains a fluid, developing and contested space in Scottish policing.

The previous chapter highlighted how, for Pierre Bourdieu, one's habitus is a system of dispositions attuned to a particular field. Habitus is the 'feel for the game', but only within the confines of the environment and the rules of that specific game. In the field of policing, cop culture develops as a pragmatic response to the occupational demands of policing 'the streets', and its core characteristics – machismo, physical prowess, experience, cynicism, solidarity, social isolation and conservatism – are deeply embedded in the habitus of police officers, all of whom share this common experience, an apprenticeship, as cops. This habitus may be most deeply ingrained upon those cops who remain engaged in 'street policing', but throughout fieldwork it was seen to be held, to a greater or lesser extent, by all police officers. Alongside the bodily hexis of the cop this habitus was explicitly recognised by both police officers and intelligence analysts as useful in order to successfully navigate the particular field within which it was first produced.[106] Crucially, however, when this same habitus – this system of dispositions – was used to navigate through a different field, one unlike the conditions within which the habitus was first produced, such as the sub-field of police intelligence work, it became less useful. In a Bourdieusian sense, in these new conditions the habitus could be considered to be tormented.

In *Pascalian Meditations*, Bourdieu sketched his vision of tormented habitus when he rejected criticisms of habitus as monolithic or unchanging. For Bourdieu,

> "I have many times pointed to the existence of cleft, tormented habitus bearing in the form of tensions and contradictions the mark of the contradictory conditions of which they are the product…" (Bourdieu 2000b: 64).

Elsewhere in *Pascalian Meditations* (2000b: 160), Bourdieu suggested that when one's habitus shifts towards new, 'contradictory' conditions, this transition can effectively destabilise habitus, the consequences of which can include suffering, or a failure to successfully navigate the field, or 'play the game'. In *Sketch for a Self-Analysis*, Bourdieu even considered himself to hold a tormented or 'cleft' habitus, due to the discrepancy between his low social origin and high academic consecration (Bourdieu 2007: 100). This tormented habitus, often neglected in discussions of Bourdieu, can be

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[106] For example, Christopher, an intelligence analyst, considered how a focus on physicality and masculinity would be would be important when trying to "wrestle some thug to the ground", whilst William, also an intelligence analyst, did not think it was "bad" to have "two hulking cops dragging a guy off with a meat cleaver", in fact he thought it was "necessary".

usefully applied to understand the role and status of cop culture in the new sub-field of police intelligence work.

The core habitus of police officers – heavily influenced by the distinct culture formed in the crucible of a police officer's early experiences of uniformed, street-policing as a cop – becomes increasingly unstable when a police officer moves from a wider field, within which his or her's core habitus was first formed, and into a new sub-field, with different conditions, logics, challenges and opportunities. The principles, rules, attitudes, and forms of conduct that were learned on the street and used to guide cops through this environment become less valuable in the new conditions and circumstances of police intelligence work. This sub-field, although in certain respects remaining umbilically linked to the wider field of policing, generates its own conditions for success and privileges its own forms of cultural capital, some of which are different from those that are apparent and deployed in the wider field. Police intelligence work, and especially the analysis of intelligence as stipulated in the NIM, requires the employment of individuals with skills in computer systems and analytical software, and the ability deal with large volumes of information on multiple crimes (see Evans and Kebbell 2012b). These skills, however, are not necessarily reflected in the cultural construction of the cop role, with its preference for action-based crime-fighting, practical wisdom and outdoor physicality; indeed, there is a significant level of disdain in cop culture for time spent 'doing paperwork' or being 'tied to the computer', neither of which are considered to be 'real polis work'. The influential police scholar P.A.J. Waddington summarised the challenge of intelligence-led policing – the policing paradigm that has facilitated the employment of intelligence analysts – to established understandings of what is valued as 'good police work'. For Waddington,

> "One of the most alluring aspirations of the past few years has been 'intelligence-led' policing. Instead of policing by 'hunch' and 'prejudice', police now aspire to be guided by the use of intelligence, so that interventions are directed only at those for whom it is merited." (Waddington 2007: 130).

Intelligence-led policing privileges the position of the intelligence analyst by allowing them access to influence police decision-makers – or management – in order to direct policing activity, at the expense of the old knowledge of cops. Crucially, however, the

habitus of police officers – whilst it may certainly be considered as cleft or tormented – is not totally nullified in the transition into this new sub-field.

Reflecting the relational dimensions and dynamic processes between structure, agency and culture, individuals, whose habitus is produced within specific fields or contexts, reciprocally and creatively shape those same fields in an ideological manner. Importantly, however, it is possible to draw upon cultural resources – cultural capital – acquired in one field to attempt to exert influence or effect change in another (Hillier and Rooksby 2005: 395). In the relatively new sub-field of police intelligence work these emerging structural realities privilege new forms of cultural capital, but only in relational conflict with existing cultural resources and social structures, or fields. The sub-field of police intelligence work has therefore emerged as a type of battleground. Upon this battleground – or contested space – traditional actors with tormented habitus and old forms of cultural capital (cops) and emerging actors with a less developed habitus and new forms of cultural capital (intelligence analysts) compete for position and control. In doing so these actors actively shape the conditions of the sub-field itself. This conflict, and its influence upon the sub-field, is apparent in the deployment of competing forms of knowledge as cultural capital in the sub-field.

## 5.2.2   Experiential knowledge as cultural capital

Cop culture has traditionally privileged forms of knowledge that gain validity, authority and respect through actively experiencing; doing, working, living and being. This privileging of experiential knowledge is a core feature of a cop's habitus and its deployment is a fundamental source of cultural capital in the wider field of policing.[107] This experiential knowledge is learned, at least initially, 'on the street' and transferred informally through storytelling, word-of-mouth, banter, joking, gossip and criticism between cops. Indeed, the ability of a police officer to have and to tell 'good stories' about one's professional exploits and experiences is vital to establishing one's status and reputation in the field. For Merlijn van Hulst (2013), who conducted an ethnographic study of a police office in the Netherlands, the practice of storytelling is a crucial part of everyday police station life and through storytelling police officers make

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[107] As one Superintendent recounted during a meeting with his senior management team, "We know this because we've been there and done that, when we were cops." This also provides further evidence of the perception of a cultural divide between cops and management as, for this Superintendent, being a cop was history.

sense of things that are going on in their area, shape their identities, and give meaning to their experiences, work and environment.[108] To be a real cop or a 'proper polis' requires not only to have 'been there and done that', but also to have the ability to tell others about how this was done, preferably in a funny, witty or gruesome fashion.[109] During fieldwork, a DI in an intelligence unit was especially venerated for 'having great stories', often involving exciting episodes – such as discovering dead bodies, being called to particularly violent incidents, or involvement in car chases – or humorous situations. Inevitably, storytelling by police officers involves both exaggeration and embellishment, generally for bravado, kudos or comic effect. Storytelling also, however, forms a serious method of cultural reproduction, transmission and 'learning through narrative', even when it is learning about 'what not to do'. As Amy, a police sergeant, recounted,

> *Amy, Police Officer*: "There is a huge element of storytelling on the shift [street-policing]. When I joined as a probationer there were older cops there with a fair bit of service who would tell you about the old days and how they dealt with things, but it was more a, I wouldn't say you learned from it; you maybe learned how not to do things. The culture [then] was so different from me joining nine years ago from them [older police officers] joining that, that's no' how you learned, you learned by doing things or people telling you when you [were] dealing with an incident how to deal with it ... the storytelling, like, it was fun and it was interesting."

Throughout fieldwork in the sub-field of police intelligence work, police officers frequently engaged in storytelling about their experiences of street-policing, of going from call to call and dealing with 'scumbags and neds' and recalling the 'good old days' when policing was 'done properly'.[110] Such stories were often recounted during quieter periods at the end of a working day and recalled, and reinforced, the core values of their shared habitus: of solidarity, pragmatism, masculinity and crime-fighting. Indeed, a DI who was to be transferred from the sub-field of police intelligence work back into the wider field of policing commented upon how he was "looking forward to getting some good stories again, [as] mines are out of date!"[111] The office environment, where much

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[108] Civilian police staff were notably absent from van Hulst's study.

[109] Oftentimes during fieldwork these were recalled as 'war stories', reflecting and reinforcing the perception that they originate from 'dangerous streets'.

[110] As one DS recalled of his time as a probationer when his tutor cop, an older experienced cop, 'battered a wife-beater', "It's no' nice tae say it, but we were the biggest gang in Glasgow. It's no' nice tae say it, but that's what we wur."

[111] Shortly following his transfer he remarked that "I've only been back on shift for a week and I've got some great stories again."

police intelligence work takes place, is thus a venue for storytelling, but it is not an area for generating stories. For police officers, therefore, the sub-field of police intelligence work is an arena of cultural performance, but not one of cultural production.

Intelligence analysts, however, lacked this ability to engage in such cultural performance in the sub-field. Amber reflected upon how intelligence analysts lacked storytelling abilities because they are 'office-based' and not 'street-based'. For Amber,

> *Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "They [police officers] like telling their stories, and they're generally about what people they've lifted [arrested] or funny stories about what has happened when they've been out on a job one night. The ones I work with haven't generally been out on the streets working for a number of years but they still have their fair share of stories from back in the day when they've been working out on the streets, and I suppose that is quite different from [civilian] police staff because we wouldn't generally be telling stories about what happened 'one day in the office'. It's a bit different from lifting a bunch of people on the street."

Such accounts also disclose a fundamental feature of the storytelling of police officers: police officers do not simply tell stories to one another; police staff also form a receptive audience, and therefore they are active in receiving, interpreting, challenging and influencing this cultural performance and reproduction through narrative. Importantly, however, in such instances intelligence analysts are being educated in a cultural narrative in which they can never fully participate, having never been 'on the street'.

As office-based and young, both in terms of age and duration of police service, intelligence analysts oftentimes lack the necessary cultural capital to gain the respect of cops; they have 'never been there and done that'. Christopher, an intelligence analyst, succinctly summarised this cultural capital as the 'currency of experience', and considered it to be profoundly linked to other forms of cultural capital and bodily hexis – machismo and physical prowess – particularly in comparison to his own hexis as an intelligence analyst. Christopher stated,

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "There is the whole kind of rookie thing, folk being judged from their [length of police] service, and as an analyst you are never going to have 29 years' service, really, and so you are always going to be seen as not having the experience base to comment. And because you are an analyst and

you were never on the beat, probably never on the beat. You know it's that whole, *the currency of experience* is very important in the police, and it's how people are judged and as an analyst you are never going to be seen as having much of background, you are not going to have that kind of authority from experience. Erm, and that is partly to do with you weren't on the beat and partly because a lot of folk are young. There's very few burly analysts as well [laughs]. I think probably in certain offices and certain units and stuff in context that's as important; [me] being a bit weedy, you know?"

Another intelligence analyst, Lucas, memorably summarised the importance of experiencing street-policing – of having been there and done that as a cop – for police officers. For Lucas,

*Lucas, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think it's a lot about nostalgia but it's also like their Vietnam! It's like they have done their bit: "I was there!"… And I think it's about having done your turn, and gone through it. For someone who has worked in an office, yeah absolutely these stories are great and they are really interesting but you may read a lot of interesting intelligence reports and what have you, but you are not the one who has been hands-on. You've never had to come face-to-face with the fear that you may actually get a blade across your face or whatever it may be. And it's a common, eh, kind of experience that they [police officers] have all shared."

Crucially, this currency of experience remains privileged as a form of cultural capital in the sub-field of police intelligence work. This was demonstrated in a discussion between police officers in a focus group consisting of both police officers and intelligence analysts. This conversation between three police officers disclosed how this form of cultural capital was a resource predominantly held by cops and remained valued by other police officers,

*Alasdair, Police Officer*: "I think that's the same in any walk of life, when your back is against the wall you are gonnae go for experience, it doesn't matter what you do. But in a police environment, especially in an intelligence environment where you need answers quick, the tendency is to go with people you've worked with before, and that's what you do instead of taking a chance on someone who is brand new. So it's not unique to the policing world."

*Maria, Police Officer*: "The situation that we've got it's not the analysts it's the researchers [also members of staff within the police analytical structure] that we have that are retired police officers and knowledge that they add is phenomenal."

*Kevin, Police Officer*: "But the trouble is that if everybody is civilianised then you don't have retired police officers that have that experience to drop into that role."

The perception that experience was vital, and the form of cultural capital most valued by police officers, was also apparent in interviews with other police officers. For example, Abi suggested,

> *Abi, Police Officer*: "I think there is still something to be said about having the experience of being a police officer. You are maybe thinking more long term, 'is there evidence?', thinking from a possible prosecution or evidence gathering. I don't think unless you've been out [on the street that you have that]. I don't think police officers and civilians think in the same way."

For Abi, these different ways of thinking – and the privileging of the old experiential knowledge of the police officer – places limits on the extent of civilianisation in the sub-field. Within this developing sub-field of police intelligence work, however, the currency of experience is challenged as new forms of knowledge increasingly confront older, traditional, established ways of working and forms of cultural capital. For Douglas, a police officer who worked with intelligence analysts across many different intelligence departments and units, this alternative perspective provided by the intelligence analyst was, in fact, their *raison d'être*. For him, 'analysts are supposed to think differently from cops'.

## 5.3    The Cultural Challenge of the Intelligence Analyst

### 5.3.1   Cop culture and 'academic knowledge'

In Scottish policing the word 'academic' has oftentimes been regarded as synonymous with worthless, useless or pointless. Such attitudes were usefully expressed by Les Brown, an ex-Scottish police officer, in his book *Glasgow Crimefighter*, in which he vehemently voiced that,

> "The cop on the beat in a tough scheme, the detective with his ear to the ground and even the police administrators driving a desk thick with paperwork tend not to pay too much attention to the ragbag of opinions and theories that spout from the mouths of psychiatrists, psychologists and academic criminologists, filling newspapers and magazines. The cops just get on with the job of nailing the bad guys." (Brown and Jeffrey 2005: 22).

Similarly pejorative attitudes towards academia have been identified in the literature on cop culture from other jurisdictions. In the US, for example, scholars have argued that until recently American police practitioners eschewed the use of academic research as a

result of a cop culture that regarded such research as 'too theoretical' or not grounded in the 'real world' (Perez and Shtull 2002: 169). Whilst some progress has been made in the US since the 1980s, mainly due to cultural change amongst police management, Perez and Shtull caution against becoming too self-congratulatory in this regard, citing the conservative nature of much of the police research that has been commissioned or conducted (Perez and Shtull 2002: 181). Whilst there may have been a change in cultural attitudes of police management in the US towards academic knowledge, research from elsewhere discloses how this change may not be evidenced across all ranks and roles. For example, Janet Chan found that, in Australia, the academic aspect of police training was straightforwardly dismissed as 'Alice in Wonderland stuff' which was taught at 'bullshit castle' (Chan 2003: 10). Additionally, in their review of *What is Criminology?* (Bosworth and Hoyle 2011), two police officers in England straightforwardly suggested that criminology was 'theoretical' and had little relevance for operational police officers (Crossley and Tonks 2012: 329). Such antagonism exists because academic knowledge is antithetical to many of the core characteristics of cop culture, or the habitus of cops: it is from outside the police and therefore challenges the privileged position and expert role of the police officer; it is abstract and critical, and often advocates change in a conservative profession that values the practical wisdom gained, in the Scottish patois, 'oan the joab'.

Fieldwork identified a persistent and deep-seated seam of hostility towards academic knowledge from cop culture in Scotland. This hostility led to some particular challenges for this study itself, with some research participants regarding the research endeavour as irrelevant, meaningless or doomed to fail. Negative attitudes towards my research – as a form of academic knowledge itself – were apparent from the very outset of fieldwork. During the pilot study, a PCSO, a civilian member of police staff who had taken up this role following his retirement as a police officer, told me during a period of participant observation in a custody suite,

> "You'll no' get a true picture. Some of the shite we get off them [young people in custody]. Dunno if it's them, their Maw [mother] or their Da' [father]. My theory is one of them needs a good kicking."

On reflection, I was troubled by the attitude that although I was there I could not fully understand: the academic research endeavour was considered to be hopelessly

ineffective.[112] At the time I struggled to appreciate the logic in the argument of the PCSO. I was, after all, witnessing first-hand the interaction between the PCSOs, police officers and those young people held in custody. There was nowhere and no-one 'off limits', so how could I fail to get a 'true picture'? The PCSO even felt comfortable enough to disclose to me some deviant attitudes, manifest in his somewhat dubious theory that the solution to the challenging behaviour he encountered lay in the dispensation of physical violence against a young person in custody or one of his or her parents. Even here, however, the research experience demonstrated that although I was in many ways an insider, uncovering and communicating 'what it's really like' in police work was considered by some participants to be impossible. This challenging entry into this particular research setting was nevertheless useful as it sensitised me to similar opinions expressed by research participants in later fieldwork. For example, the following fieldnote was drafted following an interview with a female police sergeant,

Fieldnote 3 February 2011
"I think what interested me most about this interview was that Betty thought the whole project was a bit pointless and, well, shit. I'm not sure why, other than she simply didn't think it was up to much, and that it would produce 'no clear answers whatsoever'. I tried to explain that getting definitive answers wasn't really what it was all about, but I don't think I really got the message across very well. Off-tape following the end of the interview she was more responsive, and when I tried to further explain about how I was interested in 'cop culture' she said that, because of her gender, nationality, and sexual orientation, "I fucking hate police culture." I didn't feel that much of the actual the interview reflected any of that. I felt she was suspicious and a bit hostile. Her body language was really defensive throughout the whole process; her arms held across herself, tightly folded, and her body positioned slightly away from me. I also felt that I wasn't helping matters much by some of my questions being long-winded and meandering too. I think her lack of positive engagement made me uncomfortable, and I responded with questions that were probably overly defensive and explanatory, rather than open and exploratory. I suppose the failure to get Betty to disclose this type of stuff in interview showed the limits of the particular research method. Or more likely the weaknesses of me as a researcher. I am not sure."[113]

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[112] This exchange resonated with some of my prior reading of the literature on cop culture, and I interpreted it as illustrating the difference between cultural talk and actual behaviour. My overall feel of the custody environment in the police office was one in which the primary aim of everyone involved was to ensure the safety of those brought into police custody. There was no punitive aspect to the work, and I found little evidence of the dispensation of judgement by police officers or police staff. A similar distance between talk and action in cop culture was also found by P.A.J. Waddington in his appreciation of cop culture, in which he argued that the rhetoric of the backstage 'canteen' is divorced from 'action on the streets' (Waddington 1999: 302). Whilst Waddington offers a narrow and prescriptive range of actors and settings – of police officers on the streets – my research experience in this instance supported his argument of a conceptual distance between expressive talk and 'what the police do'.

[113] Understanding the counter-narrative of apparently 'failed' research was emphasised as important by Nairn et al in the journal *Qualitative Research*, in which they argued that that an apparently unsuccessful

Such attitudes towards academic study, and the insecurities of the researcher, are well referenced elsewhere in the literature on policing. In an insider study of policing in England, Malcolm Young considered policing to be a conservative profession that feared revolutionary change, and within which academic research forms an implicit threat to the distribution of power. Indeed, Young found a preference in policing for 'academic silence' (Young 1991: 46). This cultural hostility towards academic knowledge extended beyond perceptions of my study; it was evident within the core habitus of police officers, and was particularly pronounced in the attitudes of police officers towards academic qualifications.

The provision of a university degree matters little in the wider field of policing, where cop culture fully exercises its hegemony. Instead, pragmatic, experiential knowledge is considered as the principal form of cultural capital. A deeper analysis of Betty's interview, for example, demonstrated how she compared this experience to 'book-learnt knowledge', and considered the former to be privileged as cultural capital within this wider field,

> *Betty, Police Officer*: "Every decision that you are making, you can't make a decision unless you know what the likely outcomes would be, and a lot of that skill comes from experience. It's all well and good to canvas opinion but it's nice to sit back and say 'the last time I dealt with this situation these were the outcomes, actually that wasn't what I wanted, I wanted this situation'. So experience is vastly important. You can absolutely have book-learnt knowledge, that's great, but if you can't apply that to reality, and sort of the public and the situations we go to, that are so varied and influenced by random issues, that you can't just look at a book and follow a flow chart to make a decision."

A similar perspective – that the cultural capital of experience was vital to decision-making – was apparent in an interview with another female police officer, Abi.

> *Colin*: "What is it about policing the street that you think is so important?"
>
> *Abi, Police Officer*: "I think to make decisions… I think for managers to make a decision, how can you make a decision you know nothing about? They are making it based on a managerial decision rather than an experience decision. Does that makes sense?"

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interview which might not be included in data analysis should always be revisited because a reflexive consideration might yield more understandings than initially seemed possible (Nairn et al 2005: 223).

The expression of such attitudes is interesting because police officers, like Betty and Abi, often hold university degrees or further education qualifications. To cite an additional example, Donald, who held a Masters degree in Criminology, was hostile about academic knowledge and defensive in relation to its influence on policing,

> *Donald, Police Officer*: "We take on too much, we worry too much, we defer too much to other experts because we think, sometimes we think we are thick plods and they must know better; 'if someone from academia is telling me that's right it must be right, we better change what we are doing'. All, explaining crime stats, all it needed was someone to say 'yes, yeah, I hear all that with the British Crime Survey but we are here to deal wi' crime as it is reported. As it is *not* reported, quite frankly, there's not a lot we can do about it'. We are not going away looking for work, we've got enough work as it is, you know?"

For police officers with degrees, their educational qualifications were perceived as incidental and very secondary to experience. Jennifer Wood and Monique Marks (2008: 292) considered such attitudes as symptomatic of police cynicism towards academia and criminal justice partners alike, and argued that it constituted a 'defensive gear' towards both innovation and outsiders. Increasingly, however, academic qualifications have been given institutional legitimacy as a pre-requisite, or desirable criteria, for the promotion of police officers.[114] Robert Reiner and Tim Newburn (2008: 363) go as far to say that formal relations between the police service and the academy have been transformed as the police service has sought to re-legitimate itself through the provision of academic credentials.[115] This development, however, is best understood as a shift in organisational culture, rather than a transformation in habitus, or informal cop culture. Such qualifications were seen as an instrumental 'means to an end' – usually promotion – rather than a valuable exercise in obtaining new perspectives, modes of thinking and forms of knowledge.

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[114] In 2007 Maurice Punch stated, "What they [police officers with university-level education or qualifications] do believe, however, is that it [university education] brought them social 'capital', a set of skills (verbal, analytical, in writing, etc.) and, above all, a sort of critical, questioning style to problem solving and decision-making." (Punch 2007: 120). Research of this thesis, however, suggests that this is overly optimistic. At best, police officers considered their educational qualifications to be instrumental in career progression due to a prevailing organisational culture that increasingly privileged such qualifications. This facet of organisational culture, however, was at variance with the prevailing occupational cop culture.

[115] Whilst the academy has welcomed new sources of students and, increasingly, new streams of funding.

Observational fieldwork indicated that negative perceptions of academic research and higher educational qualifications persisted beyond the wider field of policing and penetrated into the sub-field of police intelligence work. This was particularly the case at the practitioner level, analogous with the 'street cops' in the wider field. As one police officer in an intelligence unit colourfully expressed upon hearing that a graduate was to undertake a day-long IT training course,

> "Five fucking years at university and you need to go oan a PowerPoint course for fucks sake!"

A similar discussion amongst a group of police officers about a candidate for a vacant post in an intelligence unit began with a DCI remarking upon how the candidate had "like five degrees". A sergeant responded, "aye, but can she dae the fucking joab?" before another chipped in, "aye, well that's me fucked then wi' ma' O-level in wid'work!" A fundamental issue with such attitudes towards academic knowledge – defined broadly not simply as knowledge generated in universities and colleges but as knowledge, expertise and ideas that exist *prior* to experience, practice or implementation and are considered to originate from 'outside' policing – is that such knowledge is vital to the effectiveness of intelligence-led policing, and intelligence analysis in particular. The cultural hostility towards academic knowledge – from deep within the habitus of cops – extended towards intelligence analysts themselves, who were often educated to university level, and resulted in a reticence to value the contribution of intelligence analysis, which was generally perceived as divorced from experience and unrealistic 'pie in the sky', or simply as a 'load ay shite'.

### 5.3.2 Intelligence analysis as 'academic knowledge'

Intelligence analysis in Scottish policing is frequently constructed as producing 'academic knowledge'. Such depictions may not be unique to Scotland; for example Martin Innes and James Sheptycki (2004: 16) have highlighted how intelligence analysts, through the creation of analytical products such as profiles, maps and charts, justify and legitimate constructions and disruptions of crime through an 'implicit criminology'.[116] More significantly, intelligence analysis in Scottish policing has been, through its professionalisation, deliberately constructed as a new form of academic

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[116] More recently Wartell and Gallagher (2013: 386) highlighted how crime analysts were aware of theories of environmental criminology and were making an attempt to incorporate these theories into their work.

knowledge, an alternative perspective to the prevailing forms of experiential and doxic knowledge of the habitus of the Scottish cop. Significantly, fieldwork disclosed how intelligence analysis in Scotland was not always constructed as a cultural challenge. Embedded within processes of civilianisation in Scottish policing, the development of intelligence analysis was, at its outset, characterised by the 'promotion' of police staff from administrative posts into intelligence analyst positions. Ruby, who was initially a clerical assistant before becoming an intelligence analyst in 1994, recalled how the police forces in Scotland during this period sought 'glorified typists' for the role of intelligence analyst, who spent the majority of their time undertaking routine data-input, rather than conducting any meaningful analysis. Similarly, Gio, a police inspector, recalled,

> *Gio, Police Officer*: "When I was in the FIB [Force Intelligence Bureau] I spoke about back in '99, because the NIM was coming in, there was a bunch of staff in there who were admin support people who were basically sent on an [intelligence] analyst course and turned into analysts overnight. That's not right; you can't just turn someone into that overnight."

This initial development of intelligence analysis in Scottish policing had consequences for the perception of value of intelligence analysis, and any concomitant respect for their 'expertise'. As Delilah, who was instrumental in developing intelligence analysis in Scotland following this initial phase, stated,

> *Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "People came in without any qualifications and of course when that happens people think, anyone could do that, and we wanted to make it very much different by putting an intellectual rigour around it."

Following this initial process of civilianisation in the 1990s – a process that was internally focussed within the existing police service cadre and structures – the police service in Scotland gradually moved towards professionalising the discipline of intelligence analysis. In this sense the professionalisation of intelligence analysis in Scottish policing relied upon the development of a new type of cultural capital, academic knowledge, that differentiated intelligence analysis from the established cop culture in the field. The development of this new cultural capital was achieved through a change in recruitment processes, developing more comprehensive training, and attempts

at improving career progression for intelligence analysts.[117] Recruitment processes in particular facilitated the employment of a new demographic of police staff. These new intelligence analysts were younger and more 'highly educated' than the previous cohort, and often arrived straight from university. Although these intelligence analysts often had university degrees – as this became an increasingly desirable criterion in the job specification for the role – they frequently had no prior experience of working in the police service. I was one of them.

During fieldwork I regularly explored the background of intelligence analysts; inquiring as to how they found out about the role and the reasons why they applied to join the police service. Where they had university degrees I also asked what subject their degree was in and if they felt that such qualifications were valued in the police service. Christopher offered useful answers to these exploratory questions,

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "Philosophy [laughs]. I don't think it's valued. No, it's not. I don't think it's valued. There has been times when I have been mocked for that [having a Philosophy degree]. There was a time when a bunch of cops were talking about stuff and I was asked 'what did you do at uni?' and I said Philosophy and this not-trying-to-laugh look came over their face and they asked some questions that were just taking the piss and I was pissed off. I was like 'I know you are taking the piss, just fuck off'. I don't think it's valued, but sometimes I think it's used against you, because if you make a mistake it's like 'you have a degree, you are supposed to know how to do this, because you should be clever because you've got a degree and everything'. I don't think it's valued."

Christopher's opinion resonated elsewhere in fieldwork. Danny was a relative newcomer to intelligence analysis, although he had worked in two different intelligence environments in his short tenure. Becoming an intelligence analyst was Danny's first job since graduating from university. I asked him if his degree was valued in the police service and if it was useful in his role,

> *Danny, Intelligence Analyst*: "It [having an International Relations degree] is useful to me as an individual. In the police service I would say no, it's still not particularly valued I don't think."
>
> *Colin*: "Why not?"

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[117] Parallel developments outside of Scotland, for example in the development of professional associations – such as the International Association of Crime Analysts and the Association of Crime and Intelligence Analysts – were also important drivers in the professionalisiation of intelligence analysis in policing (Townsley et al 2011: 158).

*Danny, Intelligence Analyst*: "I guess, maybe it's the nature of the thing that you study, I mean you go to a tertiary place of education and you get more and more specialised and things seem a bit less relevant to everyday life; like you say to someone 'I studied early Modern History' they say 'why the hell did you do that?'. So I think a lot of cops didn't go to university because they got a job and did something more practical. They [cops] say 'why did you do that? You are wasting your time!'. So that's the perceptions of that sort of thing."

From the very moment an intelligence analyst is placed in an intelligence unit and begins working alongside cops, they immediately face challenges of legitimacy because the knowledge and expertise that they are considered to embody – new, academic knowledge from outside of the police service – is antithetical to the habitus of cops. Poppy usefully summarised this challenge and its consequences,

*Poppy, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think, for me this sounds really stupid, but on paper you get loads of really good analysts and they come in and I notice it a bit, I don't want to sound detrimental but we get a lot of graduates in and they are very good on paper but they don't have the life skills or they are just a bit naïve or they don't understand how, I don't know, how should I say, some people just get it and some people don't. I feel [they] are just a bit naïve or too young to maybe grasp. So I think a bit of maturity is needed. I don't know if that is a skill as such, but certainly for me for my staff I can pick the ones who just get it and they know, they don't even need to be that particularly experienced in the working environment, they've got that level of maturity and understanding about how things work… if you can't engage wi' cops then you've had it. That's a really big thing for me. And if you can get down to their level, or be able to talk to them in a language that they understand then you are half-way there, and I can see that in the interactions of some of my staff with officers, operational officers, and it works really well and with some others it's like "that analyst has no' got a clue, don't bring him back to my door." So if you've got that kinda awareness as an analyst then you are half-way there. Definitely, and that's really important to me because we have I would say we get a lot of kind of boffins in the door, really switched on, smart, intelligent people, but they just cannae speak with cops. And it just disnae work."

Given this cultural hostility towards competing forms of knowledge – and especially academic knowledge – the ability to 'do' and to deliver something practical is therefore vital to success in the sub-field, even though such skills are often at odds with the academic background that is actively sought for the role. As Suzanne, an intelligence analyst, expressed during a focus group,

*Suzanne, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think what we are getting into is a culture where the police, certainly where we work, are depending more and more on academic

qualifications for analysts and quite rightly; we are paid well so we should be of a certain standard and the mistake a lot [of intelligence analysts] are making is that they are coming in and they are very clever, very intelligent people but they don't have any experience and it's not until you are in a certain position that you notice it. [Speaks as if addressing an intelligence analyst] 'You know, I am delighted that you are that intelligent and I am delighted that you can produce ten pages, but you're actually forgetting what you are being asked to do.'"

The delivery of an appropriate analytical product by the intelligence analyst was considered as crucial to their success in the sub-field and the wider field of policing. As one senior police officer recalled,

*Gordon, Police Officer*: "You know Colin, you lot [intelligence analysts] gave us *The Times* when what we were looking for was *The Sun*."

Delilah was very clear that her acceptance by cops – and by default the reconciliation of their habitus to the changing conditions of the sub-field and the cultural challenge she presented – was made easier by her 'practical' background and experience in other professions. Nevertheless, Delilah's advice on being a 'great' intelligence analyst was rooted in the pursuit of academic knowledge, or what Betty would consider as book-learning,

*Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "You've got to read constantly. Always keep abreast of stuff. Read stuff nobody else has read. Apply it in a different way. Think about it and question yourself constantly: am I doing this the right way, have I come to the right conclusions? Always seek feedback: 'can I just explain something to you here, now, do you think I am right?'. Challenge me on it so I can rehearse my narrative. And if I come up with an idea tell me, have I gone through a logic process? But there's always a leap you've got to make."

It would be surprising to hear such advice – to read extensively and think for yourself – being given to a police officer as they began their career as a cop.[118] Indeed, the fieldwork data suggested that certainly the latter attributes – to think innovatively and independently – were not considered as defining characteristics of recent police officer recruits.

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[118] In fact, during fieldwork a police officer recounted to me his first day in the police office in which he would be stationed as a probationer constable, having emerged from his initial period of training at the police college. Upon being shown around his new working environment he was introduced to a 'hairy-arsed old cop' whose advice to him was simply, "Son, the joab's fucked."

Despite Les Brown's assertion that academic knowledge is viewed negatively throughout policing, fieldwork disclosed that such attitudes are not spread evenly or universally across the police service in Scotland: some areas of policing have embraced academic knowledge, and sought to base whole strategic areas of police business upon criminological and other academic research.[119] Areas of academic work that have made specific inroads into the business of policing include criminology, psychology and health studies. Despite a persistent thread of cultural hostility towards academic knowledge in cop culture and evidenced in Scottish policing such inroads should not perhaps be too surprising; there have historically been advocates of new and alternative forms of knowledge in policing. In a 1930 article titled 'The Scientific Policeman', published in the inaugural edition of *The American Journal of Police Science*, August Vollmer of the University of Chicago signalled that,

> "The time has come when the official police department may afford frankly to concede that Science can help them apprehend the criminal." (Vollmer 1930: 8).

Given the nature and extent of the cop culture that was uncovered in the latter half of the twentieth century – on both sides of the Atlantic – it is perhaps surprising that Vollmer was also the chief of police in the city of Berkeley, California from 1909 to 1931.

Whilst Vollmer was particularly concerned with the application of what is now considered as forensic science to American policing, there has been a recent tendency in some circles to re-cast intelligence analysis – or more frequently 'crime analysis' – as a science (see Chainey and Ratcliffe 2005 and Chainey et al 2008). Indeed, some police officer managers in the sub-field of police intelligence work explicitly referenced the value of intelligence analysis as a 'science'.[120] This was illustrated in the interview with Gio, who managed a team of intelligence analysts,

> *Colin*: "What are the main skills that a good analyst should have?"

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[119] For example in Scotland the approach championed by the Violence Reduction Unit.

[120] More broadly, the construction of intelligence analysis as science is problematic. As Julian Richards (2010) has recognised, whilst the scientific aspects of intelligence analysis is becoming increasingly important – in the technical competence to sort, organise and visualise large volumes of complex data – they must be balanced against the art of intelligence analysis which privileges creativity, critical thinking and alternative approaches. Richards states, "[A] basic culture of challenge and critical thought also needs to be interwoven inextricably into the daily fabric of intelligence analysis, even within fast-moving, operational scenarios." (Richards 2010: 118). From epistemological and ontological perspectives, the construction of intelligence analysis as science betrays the belief that there may be underlying causes of crime and technical solutions that remain hidden from view.

*Gio, Police Officer*: "They need to have good skills in their confidence in terms of predicting on the basis of empirical evidence if you like, instead of saying 'here are the hotspot areas'. They need to be a bit more in depth, they need to put a lot more meat on the bones instead of just saying 'oh crime is happening here at that time and that street by these people'. It needs to be a lot more scientific than that. So it needs to be more scientific to give the depth and if you don't have that the product is meaningless. As I said, anybody can identify a hotspot. I could do that by researching the system properly. It's about putting together a proper product that is predictive, that is not just about hotspots but is much deeper and greater than that, it's giving the cops the opportunity to do something about it."

However, rather than a positive claim for the validity and value of intelligence analysis within the sub-field, Gio's construction of intelligence analysis as 'science' suggests implicit failures in the provision of intelligence analysis to date: to many cops it is descriptive, 'tells us what we already know' or 'does what we can do ourselves'.[121] Such criticisms of intelligence analysis – as new, academic knowledge – are especially pronounced when located within the 'two cultures' of policing.

## 5.4    Intelligence Analysis in the 'Two Cultures' of Policing

### 5.4.1   Confronting the 'two cultures' of policing

As explored in the literature review in chapter three, following extensive research on the social organisation of the police in New York City Elizabeth Reuss Ianni (1983) pioneered the cultural distinction between street cops and management cops: what she considered as the 'two cultures' of policing. Reuss Ianni's distinction remains useful in understanding contemporary Scottish policing. More significantly, however, it also disclosed how civilian police staff, and particularly intelligence analysts, confront these two cultures: of cops and management. Intelligence analysts occupy a unique position in the police service in that, whilst they can be found working alongside 'lower ranked' cops, the analytical products that they create are generally for the benefit of decision-makers – or 'customers' – of a more senior rank; the group Elizabeth Reuss Ianni (1983) recognised as 'management cops'. This direct relationship between intelligence analysts and managers has caused a degree of friction between intelligence analysts and cops. Recognising the close relationship between intelligence analysts and managers, and the

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[121] Poppy, an intelligence analyst, highlighted such perceived failures of this new knowledge. She remarked, "That is always my fear that you are coming along and you [as an intelligence analysts] are not contributing anything in addition to what they [cops] already know. Particularly at division where there has been a spate of housebreakings and you [as an intelligence analyst] say 'oh they happen in the middle of the night', [and cops say], 'tell us something we don't know!'"

cultural consequences of this proximity, Jean-Paul Brodeur and Benoît Dupont argued that,

> "In ILP [intelligence-led policing], police management proactively determines, on the basis of "objective" analyses conducted within the organization, how resources should be deployed... This top down model meets great resistance from police field officers, whose occupational culture has little room for civilian analysts setting the priorities from above." (Brodeur and Dupont 2008: 18).

Similar attitudes were encountered during fieldwork in Scotland. For example in an interview, Ben, a police sergeant, stated,

> *Ben, Police Officer*: "Well there's got to be a divide [between cops and management]... But, maybe it's down to lack of understanding by the management as well. The management should realise that good police officers can analyse things themselves. A good police officer will know what's happening in their area better than an analyst looking at a computer screen [and] maybe picking off the odd job. I think management don't trust police officers to do their own kind of analytical work. It's probably the best, the best position; they [police officers] are suited to do it."

Ben's account was highly critical of the role of the intelligence analyst and their close relationship with senior police managers. Another police officer, Maria, suggested that the products created by intelligence analysts for senior managers devalued the core skills – or cultural capital – of police officers, and in particular their experiential knowledge. For her,

> *Maria, Police Officer*: "I think maybe analysts are sometimes only doing charts and maps for senior management telling them [cops] to go straight to this bit or straight to that. [Cops] sometimes see that as devaluing their knowledge and experience, and it's just cause the management have so much on their mind that they just want a quick answer and maybe, just maybe, that's a basis for cops who feel devalued."

Intelligence analysts therefore were seen to occupy a unique and contradictory position in the sub-field; although they routinely worked in close proximity with cops their analytical products – representing a new knowledge in direct competition with the old knowledge of cops – was being channelled towards management in an effort to guide decision making on resource deployment and investigative tactics. This was perceived as a direct challenge to the cultural capital of the cop, and the reactions to this challenge

could have profound consequences for the day-to-day role of the intelligence analysts within the sub-field.

One intelligence analyst, Christopher, secured a newly created analyst position in a highly secluded section of the police service: a dedicated source unit (DSU). The primary function of a DSU is to ensure safe handling and effective exploitation of CHIS – police informants – in accordance with the relevant legislative framework. Such units have a unique and particularly secretive sub-culture. Christopher felt marginalised upon initially undertaking his role and entering the DSU. This role was created at the behest of a Superintendent without consulting the cops with whom the Christopher would be working on a daily basis. Although this police intelligence unit was, in many ways, secluded from the wider field of policing, some particularly pronounced aspects of cop culture made it difficult for Christopher to adapt to this section of the sub-field,

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "I got really down about it the first few months I was here, because they [the cops] were so negative; really, really negative about other people's work and their own work, not their own standard of work which would be unquestionable, but erm, the stuff that they were being asked to do was all 'shite, shite'. And that is one of the standing jokes with them, is referring to everything as 'shite' for fun. But again, and it was to do with the first few months of my job it was taking a long time for the things to be put in place for me to be able to do my job, so for a lot of the time I felt like I wasn't adding any value. And there was also quite a lot of negativity expressed towards the analytical role, expressed quite up front in the office and stuff, erm, and not just by the DCs but the DI and the DCI as well, like to our faces. So the fact that I felt as if I wasn't doing anything that added any value made me feel much more vulnerable in that kind of environment; that yeah I wasn't adding anything and that I was a waste of time."[122]

The negativity towards intelligence analysis discloses the hegemony of cop culture in the sub-field and highlights how intelligence analysts, their dispositions, knowledge and bodies – their habitus, cultural capital and hexis – are often considered to be antithetical to the core characteristics of cop culture. The negativity and cynicism of cops, as understood by Christopher, is indicative of a wider cultural outlook of cops in Scottish policing, frequently lamented in the refrain 'the joab's fucked'. Janet Chan (2003) has identified that such cynicism develops early in a police officer's career. Crucially, therefore, fieldwork for this thesis suggests that this habitus – formed in the crucible of

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[122] Poppy recalled a similar culture in the CID in a different force: *Poppy, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think you get a lot of they will take the mickey out of themselves or slag each other. And they slag each other, or their skills as a detective. You hear a lot of that. Or maybe a bit of sexual innuendo. I've heard that."

one's early experiences as a cop 'on the street' – can persist as one moves from the wider field of policing and into the sub-field of police intelligence work. In doing so the habitus can powerfully shape the sub-field itself; with consequences for the role, status and integration of the intelligence analyst, who is also active in this sub-field.

## 5.5    Conclusion

### 5.5.1    Cultural challenge

This chapter has highlighted how the sub-field of police intelligence work in Scotland has emerged as a contested space, or a type of cultural battleground, within and upon which traditional actors with tormented habitus and old forms of cultural capital (cops) and emerging actors with a less developed habitus and new forms of cultural capital (intelligence analysts) compete for position and control. This contest continually shapes, and re-shapes, the sub-field and its conditions. Fieldwork disclosed the ways in which the habitus of cops, despite facing the challenging and contradictory conditions of the sub-field and the competing currency of new forms of capital, continues to shape the sub-field in important ways. Perhaps the most important consequence of this cultural power is the persistent privileging at the practitioner level of old, experiential knowledge at the expense of new, academic knowledge. This is problematic because the sub-field demands the exploitation of new actors, skills and perspectives in order for intelligence-led policing to fulfil its potential.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu highlighted how those with 'educationally uncertified' cultural capital would always be required to prove themselves as they only are what they do, whilst the holders of titles of cultural nobility only have to be what they are (Bourdieu 1984: 23-24). In important ways the sub-field of police intelligence work, and the field of policing more generally, can be understood as the opposite of the field of education as sketched by Bourdieu, wherein titles were produced that could be ennobling or stigmatising. In the sub-field of police intelligence work, whilst academic qualifications may be helpful in gaining entry as an intelligence analyst, once an individual has entered the sub-field and begins to 'play the game' they quickly realise that the most valued contributions are perceived as those delivered by actors with experiential knowledge, those who have 'been there and done that'. Ultimately, fieldwork for this chapter supports Jerry Ratcliffe's assessment that,

"The power of police culture as an inhibiting influence on change is almost legendary, and has the potential to leave an integrated analytical model in a cachectic state." (Ratcliffe 2008b: 215).

In Scottish policing this cachectic state is evidenced in the marginalisation of intelligence analysis the sub-field of police intelligence work. This is not an incidental occurrence, but instead forms part of deliberate processes of cultural domination and subjugation of the very habitus, hexis and cultural capital that intelligence analysts embody, the tendency for which to do so lies deep within the habitus of cop culture. This cultural challenge should not, however, be considered as a reductive characterisation of the entire police service to a dualistic opposition between 'cops and analysts' or, more broadly, 'police officers and police staff'. Instead, it is important to recognise the prevailing trend in the literature on policing to provide an account of the diversity of cultures in the police service. In this regard the representation of intelligence analysts as a group of police staff, operating in the sub-field of police intelligence work and exhibiting and experiencing culture to varying extents based on their own biographies, bodies and dispositions, should be regarded as a contribution to understanding the cultural diversity of the police service, beyond cop culture.

Chapter 6     Cultural Control

6.1     Patriarchy, Civilianisation and Cop Culture

6.1.1   Cop culture, gender and civilian police staff

Although recent police research has highlighted the diversity of cultures in the police service, traditional representations of cop culture have considered policing as a street-based, masculine pursuit. For example, in a pioneering study forty years ago the influential police sociologist Peter K. Manning stated,

> "[T]he police culture is essentially a masculine culture with an emphasis on virility, toughness, masculinity, and masculine interests such as sexual triumphs, sports, outdoor life, and so forth." (Manning 1978: 249).

Much later in the development of police research, Miller et al (2003: 365) provided an account of how policing is both gendered and sexualised, highlighting how cop culture embraces symbols of 'aggressive masculinity' such as toughness and physical strength. Even more recently Jennifer Brown (2007: 216-217) argued that cop culture is both street-based and imbued with masculine imagery; with its cultural resources – stories, rituals and symbols – critical to preserving its masculinity. All of the above accounts resonate with Nigel Fielding's summation that the stereotypical values of cop culture may be read as an almost pure form of hegemonic masculinity, emphasising aggression, physical action, competition, conflict, and heterosexual orientations; values that become manifest in misogynistic and patriarchal attitudes towards women (Fielding 1994: 47).[123] Jennifer Brown continued to develop her characterisation by arguing that this cultural construction of police work can be understood in contrast to what it is not: feminine and office-based. For Brown,

> "Real (male) police work – crime fighting – takes place on the street, celebrates physical prowess and demands emotional control in the face of danger and injury. Station house work, in contrast, is inside work involving administrative or interpersonal skills." (Brown 2007: 216-217).

More recent contributions have extended cultural analyses in this area to 'bring the body back in', by incorporating the power of physical capital – and implicitly invoking

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[123] Fielding's account invokes the language and work of Connell's classic account of the nature and construction of different masculinit*ies*, each associated with different positions of power (Connell 2005).

Bourdieu's hexis – in the context of gendered identities. Specifically, Louise Westmarland, in her authoritative account of the role of gender in cop culture, argued that police officers' gendered bodies define suitability for certain aspects of police work (Westmarland 2001b). This resonates with gendered interpretations of workplace images and responsibilities of female police officers in both the midwestern US (Kurtz et al 2012) and England (McCarthy 2013). Additionally, Susan Broomhall and David G. Barrie recently presented an edited volume that explored the role of masculinity in the historical context across various jurisdictions (Broomhall and Barrie 2012). This critical mass of evidence, empirically collected in research across time and between jurisdictions, collectively evokes the close relationship between cultural dispositions, masculinities and cultural capital in the broad field of policing.

The extent to which masculinities and gender play a role in Scottish policing, however, remains unclear. In her autobiography *A Fair Cop* Maureen Scott (2003) presented a valedictory account of her police career in which gender played little or no part. By contrast Anne Ramsay's more recent account, *Girl in Blue* (2008), offered a scathing appraisal of hyper-masculinity in Strathclyde Police. More critically, the existing academic accounts provide little or no consideration to the roles of civilian police staff and their interactions with masculinities in the police service. For example, in Westmarland's work, police staff featured only as bystanders as police officers 'did gender' in their daily work (see Westmarland 2001b: 157). More recent studies of gender identities and images in US policing focussed exclusively on women working as police officers (Morash and Haarr 2012, Kurtz et al 2012). If extant accounts are to be taken as read, they suggest that civilian police staff are inactive – lacking agency, influence or even any meaningful existence – in the field of policing, and are unaffected by cultural constructions of hegemonic masculinity and the consequences of such constructions. Making a unique contribution to the subject area, this chapter aims to understand processes of civilianisation in the field of policing as fundamentally gendered and, moreover, employs the conceptual lens of patriarchy to explore processes of infantilisation, masculine domination and symbolic violence in the sub-field of police intelligence work.

## 6.2    Civilianisation and Gender

### 6.2.1    After 'the coming of the girls'

As a consequence of the neglect of civilian police staff in the existing literature on policing, the relationship between processes of civilianisation and the importance of hegemonic masculinity within cop culture – between a transforming field and a hegemonic habitus – remains largely unexplored. In the small number of studies where civilian police staff have been considered in the context of gendered identities there has been a tendency, historically at least, to deploy disparaging and demeaning language in the discussion. In *The Thin Blue Line* (Grant 1973), a historical account of the development of the City of Glasgow Police, Douglas Grant implicitly recognised the gendered nature of civilianisation at its genesis. Grant commented of chief constable Percy Sillitoe's pre-World War II reforms,

> "The officers who benefited most from the employment of [civilian] typists were members of the C.I.D., who, *before the coming of the girls* [emphasis added], had to type all their own reports." (Grant 1973: 100).

Grant may be factually correct and the majority of typists in the post-Sillitoe era may have been female, but his use of such gendered language is nevertheless indicative of the ways in which civilian police staff have historically been perceived and, moreover, the roles they have been deemed competent to undertake. Grant's use of the term 'girls' is especially culturally resonant because it is both highly gendered *and* acutely infantilising. As Peggy Chinn has argued (2003: 71) in the context of research on health, the use of the word 'girl' to refer to an adult woman is both demeaning and infantilising, and is therefore unacceptable. In policing the use of the collective term 'girls' restricts the agency – and limits the cultural capital – of police staff within the field of policing as it inscribes almost definitional form of femininity, youth and inexperience upon their physical bodies; within a field that privileges the exact opposite: masculinity and experience. Further developing the cultural representations outlined in the previous chapter, the use of this term is indicative of a habitus that places significant emphasis upon experience: it is *girls* who are the typists, not women. In reconsidering such historical accounts this chapter will explore how hegemonic masculinity within the police service – apparent in the habitus, hexis, and capital of police officers – has adapted to recent challenges and transformations in the field of Scottish policing and, more specifically, the sub-field of police intelligence work. In developing this account this chapter will examine the ways in which dominant cultures and positions have persisted or adapted in response to processes of civilianisation within the police service.

### 6.2.2  Civilianisation as gendered processes

From humble beginnings in the Sillitoe era, the successive and – until very recently – persistent processes of civilianisation have been instrumental in transforming the field of policing in Scotland. Civilianisation has diversified the range of actors who inhabit, act upon and influence this field. This transformation has been particularly profound because processes of civilianisation have been persistently gendered; specifically the claim that over a sustained period of time such processes have disproportionately resulted in the recruitment of females into civilian police staff roles. These gendered processes are particularly apparent when contrasted with the recruitment of police officers, the latter of which, until recently, was also a gendered process in that it resulted in the disproportionate recruitment of males as police officers. The evidence for the claim that processes of civilianisation have been persistently gendered are found not only in the cultural accounts of police historians such as Douglas Grant, but can also be empirically located in the more recent records of employment data of the eight Scottish police forces, and associated agencies and services.

The available empirical data provides that the police officer workforce predominantly consists of men, whilst the police staff workforce is mostly comprised of women. In June 2012, 71.7 % of police officers in Scotland were male and 28.3% were female. The gender profile of the police staff workforce, however, was radically different: only 32.4% of police staff across Scotland were male, compared to 67.6% who were female (ACPOS 2012). This most current position, however, does not reflect the patterns of recent recruitment practices that have challenged the understanding of a police officer's work as the preserve of the 'big men', specifically through the disproportionate recruitment of women over men, and concomitant moves towards a more equitable gender balance in the workforce. Similarly, it does not reveal the ways in which the parallel processes of police staff recruitment have remained highly gendered, failing to confront the perception that civilian police work remains 'women's work', or, perhaps more accurately, 'girl's work'. Data on the composition of workforces in the Scottish police service was collected annually by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary for Scotland (HMICS) between financial years 1996/97 and 2008/09. The HMICS data on staffing presents a picture of a police service that has both grown and transformed in recent times. In the simple numbers of people – both police officers and

police staff – HMICS found that the Scottish police service workforce grew by almost a quarter from 1996/97 to 2008/09; from 19,768 to 24,424. The percentage of females in the overall workforce in Scottish policing – both police officers and police staff – increased from 25% to 29% in the same period (HMICS 2009). However, although the combined number of female police officers and female police staff increased across the period, the internal patterns within each group were markedly different. The female police officer workforce increased both in a standard count and in proportion to the number of male police officers: between 1996/97 and 2008/09 the number of female police officers increased from 2,036 to 4,320, raising the proportion of females in the police officer workforce from 13.7% to 25% (HMICS 2009). In contrast, the data on the civilian police staff workforce provides that only the number of female police staff increased; from 3,178 to 4,669. The ratio of female to male police staff remained stable at around two females for every one male (HMICS 2009). Therefore, although the police officer workforce and its gender composition were being transformed by new recruitment practices, the processes of civilianisation intensified but remained consistently gendered. In summary, whilst the police officer workforce remains male-dominated but in transition, the civilian police staff workforce remains overwhelmingly female. The cultural and societal consequences of such recruitment practices in the field of policing in Scotland, however, remain unexplored in the current literature.

Gendered processes of civilianisation have also been apparent within the sub-field of police intelligence work. Data collected for this thesis highlighted how intelligence analysis in Scottish policing is, and has always been since its initial development, predominantly undertaken by 'young' females. This data provides that in 2012 72% of all intelligence analysts in Scotland, or 181, were female. In Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary in 2012 almost 90% of the intelligence analyst workforce was female, whilst in four other forces the corresponding figure was 75% or greater. The lowest percentage of female intelligence analysts was in Central Scotland Police, where females accounted for 54%. In all of the Scottish police forces and agencies in 2012 female intelligence analysts outnumbered their male counterparts. The number of intelligence analysts in Scottish police forces and agencies in 2012 by gender is given in the table below.

*Table 2: Intelligence analysts in Scottish police forces and agencies in 2012 by gender*

| Force / Agency | Count of Female Intelligence Analysts | Count of Male Intelligence Analysts | Female Intelligence Analysts as % of Force Total | Male Intelligence Analysts as % of Force Total | Total Count of Intelligence Analysts | Force Intelligence Analysts as % of Total in Scotland |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Central Scotland Police** | 7 | 6 | 53.85% | 46.15% | 13 | 5.16% |
| **Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary** | 16 | 2 | 88.89% | 11.11% | 18 | 7.14% |
| **Fife Constabulary** | 10 | 3 | 76.92% | 23.08% | 13 | 5.16% |
| **Grampian Police** | 14 | 8 | 63.64% | 36.36% | 22 | 8.73% |
| **Lothian and Borders Police** | 33 | 19 | 63.46% | 36.54% | 52 | 20.63% |
| **Northern Constabulary** | 6 | 2 | 75.00% | 25.00% | 8 | 3.17 |
| **Strathclyde Police** | 64 | 21 | 75.29% | 24.71% | 85 | 33.73% |
| **Tayside Police** | 14 | 4 | 77.78% | 22.22% | 18 | 7.14% |
| **SPSA** | 17 | 6 | 73.91% | 26.09% | 23 | 9.13% |
| **All Forces / Agencies** | **181** | **71** | **71.83** | **28.17** | **252** | **100%** |

Moreover, where longitudinal data was available it overwhelmingly disclosed that intelligence analysis in Scottish policing has historically been undertaken by women. For example, in Strathclyde Police in 1999 males accounted for only 18% of the intelligence analyst workforce. Despite a significant expansion of intelligence analysis in the 13 years hence, by 2012 males only accounted for 24% of the intelligence analyst workforce in the same police force. Similarly, despite having employed a small cadre of intelligence analysts since 2000, Northern Constabulary did not have a male intelligence analyst until nine years later. In some police forces the proportion of female intelligence

analysts has actually increased over time; for example, in Tayside Police the percentage of female intelligence analysts increased from 66% in 2003 to 78% in 2012. Therefore, unlike the police officer workforce which has begun to be transformed in a manner that challenges a male gender bias, there are no clear patterns in recruitment that challenge the idea that civilian intelligence analysis is a female endeavour.

Additionally, this data also disclosed how the intelligence analyst workforce in Scotland was relatively young, with the majority – around two-thirds – aged 35 and under. The youth of intelligence analysts was particularly pronounced given the relative age of police officers involved in police intelligence work. Typically, police officers would not be eligible for such a specialist role as 'intelligence officer' until they completed both their two year probationary period and a further period of time as a cop 'on the street', developing their operational or investigative skills. By the nature of their role, therefore, police officers in intelligence units tended to be older, longer in the tenure of their service and thus more 'experienced'. Importantly, therefore, the data collected for this thesis disclosed how a significant number of intelligence analysts were both female and young.[124] This demographic presents an immediate challenge to cop culture, within which a hegemonic masculinity and experience remain the premier forms of cultural capital in the sub-field of police intelligence work. Moreover, these gendered processes of civilianisation of intelligence analysis – which are located within wider processes of the pluralisation of policing – have provoked patriarchal cultural responses from police officers.

## 6.3    Patriarchy in the Field of Policing

### 6.3.1    The police family as response to pluralisation

Processes of the pluralisation of policing have increasingly challenged and marginalised the traditional role of the police organisation in contemporary society (Jones and Newburn 2006). Understood from a Bourdieusian perspective, such processes have fundamentally transformed the field of policing by extending its boundaries and concomitantly broadening the range of actors operating within this field. Whilst this wider range of new actors is often primarily considered to involve those in the private

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[124] Specifically, in Strathclyde Police in 2012 over half of the intelligence analysis workforce, 55%, were females aged 35 and under. In Grampian Police and Tayside Police forces the corresponding figure was over one-third, and constituted the largest group by age and gender in the intelligence analyst cadres in their respective forces.

security industry, such transformations have also resulted in a significant increase in the numbers of civilian police staff. Civilianisation is therefore understood as a process located within, and not separate from, the pluralisation of policing. In response to pluralisation, leaders in the police service across the UK have introduced – and intentionally invoked – the ideological concept of the 'police family' in an attempt to bring a degree of cohesion and control to an increasingly unstable field; one in which processes of transformation have been both uneven and unpredictable. In this sense police service leaders, influenced by their own developed habitus and 'feel for the game', have recognised the wider field of policing as a site of struggle and sought to regain control of this field as it undergoes these transformative processes.

The development of this police family rhetoric, however, has been largely overlooked by the academy. This neglect was recognised in relation to policing in England and Wales, by Les Johnston, one of the few scholars to engage with this topic. For Johnston,

> "Though the analogy of the 'extended family' has been central to recent debate about the future direction of police reform in England and Wales, the term remains surprisingly ambiguous." (Johnston 2007: 134).

The concept of the police family was initially developed in the late-1990s in England by Sir Ian Blair. In 1998 Blair delivered a speech to the Association of Chief Police Officers titled 'Where do the police fit into policing?' in which he sought to deliver a 'wake-up call' to his colleagues to consider the 'extended police family' (Blair 2007: 176). Blair explicitly referenced Bayley and Shearing's 1996 thesis that modern democratic systems had reached a watershed moment in the evolution of systems of crime control (Bayley and Shearing 1996: 585). In engaging with Bayley and Shearing's thesis, the consideration of which had hitherto been confined to the academy, Blair explicitly sought to influence the future shape of crime control and transform the field of policing in response to the challenges of pluralisation. Given that he pioneered the concept of the police family, understanding the development of Blair's vision for the field of policing in England and Wales is vital to explaining the subsequent uptake of this rhetoric by police leaders in Scotland.

The evolution of Blair's plan for the future shape of policing can be understood in two distinct phases. In the initial phase, from 1998 to 2002, Blair invoked the adoption of a horizontal model in which he argued that the police needed to abandon its long held pretence to have a monopoly on patrol and to consider how to work in partnership with alternative providers of policing, such as local authority patrols, neighbourhood wardens and private security. He stated,

> "I saw – and the system so developed – the police at the centre of an extended policing family, coordinating, accrediting, and directing the work of many others." (Blair 2007: 176).

In this system Blair accepted that the field of policing in England and Wales would broaden and transform, but within which the rhetoric of the police family would be deployed – and would be sufficient – to maintain the dominant position of the police service. However, as this system incrementally developed in practice, Blair's vision changed. In the period after late 2001, in response to the increasing social and political significance of crime and a plethora of security schemes – or 'nodes' – beyond the police and much wider than previously anticipated, Blair argued that a horizontal model would no longer suffice. Blair thus adapted his vision to instead promote a vertical model. For Blair,

> "…we will need a vertical model, with public police directly employing a larger proportion of the security workforce if serious social dysfunction is to be avoided." (Blair 2007: 176).

In this vertical model Blair believed that the police should have a more central role and take back a near monopoly on patrol by delivering a cheaper form of police service. In this new vision the police would become an increasingly dominant node in the field of policing – and the wider governance of security – in late modern society; controlling and directing in a more direct way than previously envisioned in his looser and more disaggregated horizontal model. Although Blair fundamentally shifted his thinking on the role of the police in what quickly became a much more fluid field, the requirement for an extended police family remained a cornerstone of his rhetoric. This shift, however, meant that the members of this family would be much closer to 'home' – the police service – than previously envisioned. The vigour with which this rhetoric was adopted was evidenced legislatively in the enactment of the 2002 Police Reform Act in

England and Wales, which in Blair's own words (2009: 126) 'introduced the extended police family.'[125] Although the Act diversified the range of actors involved in policing south of the border, Robert Reiner (2010: 236) considered the legislation to be a major landmark in consolidating central government control over policing whilst simultaneously broadening, in Blair's understanding, the extended police family. In doing so this Act was the legislative outcome of Blair's vision of a vertical model of policing.

Whilst the concept of the police family, particularly in its extended form, has been used to invoke a wider inter-organisational field of security governance, the concept can also be applied to the integration of different roles and specialisms within the police service. As Les Johnston insightfully argued,

> "...in order fully to explore the dynamics of nodal governance in any given security context, it is also necessary to explore relations *within*, as well as between, discrete security nodes." (Johnston 2007: 134).

The concept of the police family has featured prominently in the recent debate on policing in Scotland, featuring in both written and oral evidence given to the Justice Committee at the Scottish Parliament. For example, in 2007 a written submission was provided to the Justice Committee from Grampian Police that considered civilianisation in the context of an 'extended police family' (Scottish Parliament 2007a).[126] Also in 2007, and more specifically at a meeting of the Justice Committee on 6 November discussing police resources, several participants, including two chief constables and members of the influential Scottish Police Federation, used the phrase 'police family' or 'policing family' during the discussion.[127] The term has also gained currency in

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[125] Although the Act itself did not use the term 'police family'. David Ormerod and Andy Roberts (2003) usefully offered the insight that the Act promoted common themes of the then Labour UK Government's approach to criminal justice, especially managerialism exhibited through increased central regulation and monitoring of all aspects of policing, and communitarianism. This was demonstrated by the expectation that the local community would take responsibility for crime control in the shape of an 'extended police family'.

[126] Interestingly, and demonstrating a degree of reticence to fully subscribe to some of the potential consequences of Sir Ian Blair's vision, the same evidence stated that "This [civilianisation in the context of the police family] can only go so far." (Scottish Parliament 2007a).

[127] The participants were chief constable Colin McKerracher of Grampian Police, chief constable Peter Wilson of Fife Constabulary, Paddy Tomkins of HMICS and Joe Grant and Alasdair Gilles of the Scottish Police Federation. More generally, this evidence supports Daniel Donnelly's analysis that senior police mangers in Scotland are supportive of community wardens, particularly if they are based within and employed by the local authority, and that they play a key role in the evolving 'extended police family' (Donnelly 2008: 381).

Scotland beyond political discourse. For example the 2004 thematic inspection of community engagement by HMICS – *Local Connections: Policing with the Community* (HMICS 2004) – recognised the concept of the police family and the potential contribution it could make to public reassurance and community safety. This evidence demonstrates that whilst the police family has not been given the same legislative recognition in Scotland as in England and Wales, the concept has still had an important impact on policing north of the border. More critically, this thesis argues that when the rhetorical device of the police family is deployed by police leaders it is used to exert a degree of control or leadership over the field of policing at the same time as that field is becoming increasingly unstable. More fundamentally, however, the emergence and development of this police family rhetoric, and its consequences, discloses an inherent proclivity towards patriarchy by the police service and its leaders.

### 6.3.2   Perpetuating patriarchy through the police family

The concept of patriarchy can be gainfully applied to account for the enthusiastic adoption and political deployment of the police family rhetoric in Scotland, and to help understand both the political and cultural consequences of its use. Notions of patriarchy must be treated with caution; they are diverse and different, not unified and monolithic, and are likely to be interwoven in complex ways with other organisational features such as hierarchy, managerial control, culture, subordination, resistance and inequalities. However, considered etymologically patriarchy invokes a structure of rule in which power is distributed unequally in favour of fathers (Waters 1989: 193); thus lending itself neatly to an analysis of the ideological construct of the police family and its cultural consequences. Refracting the police family rhetoric through the conceptual lens of patriarchy does, however, require particular care. Patriarchy has been contested within feminist and gender studies and, as a result, it has no universally accepted definition (Waters 1989: 193). Indeed, the concept is so contested that some researchers even fail to offer a consistent definition within their own singular accounts (see Gray 1982: 19-21).

The concept of patriarchy does, however, have deep roots in the work of some of the founding figures in the social sciences (see Weber 1947). Developing these roots, Steven Goldberg considers patriarchy as any system of organisation – political, economic, industrial, financial, religious, or social – that is universal and in which the

overwhelming number of upper positions in hierarchies are occupied by males (Goldberg 1977: 25-26). Goldberg argued that patriarchy is inevitable due to sexual dimorphism; his core assertion being that this male dominance is produced by biological differences between men and women. Goldberg's account has its supporters, most notably Catherine Hakim in her book-length study *Key Issues in Women's Work* (2004: 7). Nevertheless, Goldberg's theory of patriarchy can be critiqued on the basis that it places too much emphasis on physiological factors, particularly in comparison to social and, especially, cultural factors. This emphasis is reflected in his definition of patriarchy, which privileges the functional distribution of formal power of males at the apex of hierarchical structures. Such criticisms are evident in competing perspectives on patriarchy; for example Sylvia Walby proposed that patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (Walby 1989: 214). Goldberg fails to recognise the ways in which the formal power structures he describes generate powerful cultures and practices that, in turn, instantiate such abstract structures. Goldberg's fixation on sexual dimorphism also results in a narrow focus on patriarchy in the context of gender, to the detriment of age relations; and to an extent deviating from the Weberian roots of the concept. Recognising such criticisms, for the purposes of this thesis patriarchy is considered to be a complex of social structures, cultures, practices and vocabularies within which a hegemonic masculinity is privileged and forms of which are used as a tool for the domination, repression, subjugation, and ultimately the control, of both the feminine and the young. This definition is particularly applicable within the field of policing and the sub-field of police intelligence work, wherein masculinity and experience are privileged forms of cultural capital.

Despite the multiplicity of accounts indicating the importance of hegemonic masculinity and experience in cop culture, very few studies have used the concept of patriarchy to examine the police service, its people or practices. In her 1998 work *Patriarchy in the Jamaica Constabulary Force*, Gladys Brown-Campbell, a serving DS at the time of the publication of her work, considered the Jamaica Constabulary Force to have always been a traditionally patriarchal organisation (Brown-Campbell 1998: 1). Brown-Campbell also claimed her own work to be ground-breaking insofar as this topic – patriarchy in policing – had never been researched before (Brown-Campbell 1998: 3). Such a claim is almost accurate: only one previous study had attempted to explicitly

explore patriarchy in the context of cop culture (Rigakos 1995) and even here the focus was narrowly limited to individual attitudes toward the enforcement of protective court orders for battered women. This paucity of studies on patriarchy in policing reflects a wider malaise in the application of patriarchy to professions; as Anne Witz argued,

> "'Professions' and 'patriarchy', despite having a splendidly alliterative ring, are two words that are rarely put together." (Witz 1992: 1).

Following Witz's criticism David Collinson and Jeff Hearn have pioneered the use of patriarchy as a conceptual lens with which to analyse male power and identity in workplaces. Importantly, they recognise that the office environment has been relatively little explored as a site of masculinities (Collinson and Hearn 1996: 69). Extending Witz's alliterative device further, patriarchy has been largely absent from studies of policing as a profession, and there has been no such consideration given to the office environments in which police intelligence work is routinely undertaken. By exploring the role of patriarchy in the sub-field of intelligence work in Scottish policing – and in particular understanding the power of patriarchy in the relationships between police officers and intelligence analysts – it is possible to develop a deeper understanding of the significance of the police family rhetoric and its cultural consequences within the police workforce.

## 6.4     The Patriarchal Sub-Field of Police Intelligence Work

### 6.4.1   Intelligence analysis as 'no man's land'

The term 'no man's land' is generally used to describe a disputed or contested space, often left unoccupied, between two opposing parties. Although used beforehand, the term gained currency during World War I where it was brought into common use following the Anglo-German Christmas truce of 1914. Since its popularisation the term no man's land has generally been applied to contested, abandoned or vacuous, territorial space. However, as a metaphor, no man's land can also be usefully applied to other, more abstract, forms of space, including organisational or cultural space. The term can also be considered literally: as a space that contains 'no man' or men; for example, a limited range of work in health studies has used the term no man's land to account for the absence of men in the context of research on gender, without necessarily demonstrating any concern with the term's etymology or the particular consequences of

its use as a metaphor (see Banks 2001 and Bjorklund 2006). During research for this thesis the term no man's land emerged spontaneously, from the ground up. The phrase was first explicitly encountered during an interview with a female police sergeant who worked closely with intelligence analysts on a routine basis. Considering the heterogeneity of the police service from her perspective as an insider Betty, the police sergeant, reflected upon how intelligence analysts have increasingly come to undertake traditional policing activities. For Betty, this development had important consequences for the status of the intelligence analyst,

> *Betty*, *Police Officer*: "I suppose the intelligence analyst kind of sits in that *no man's land* of kind of being not quite a member of civilian staff and not quite being a police officer."

Betty's account was important for this study in that, as a reflective account, it resonated with both prior and subsequent fieldwork. Adopting a more developed approach, this thesis seeks to use no man's land as both a metaphor and a conceptual lens with which to explore the positions, dispositions, status and roles of intelligence analysts within the sub-field of police intelligence work. This use of the term no man's land is appropriate and enlightening for two reasons: firstly, it points towards the aforementioned preponderance of young people, especially females, in intelligence analyst roles in Scotland and, secondly, it reflects the marginal, liminal status of intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work and the wider field of Scottish policing. At heart, therefore, this use of no man's land as a metaphor and a conceptual lens will be used to explore the relational positions of intelligence analysts, refracting their gendered roles and ultimately illuminating their liminal status in the sub-field and wider field.

Any examination of gendered roles, and thus gender relations, in the context of the police service also necessitates an engagement with Connell's concept of gender order. This is requirement is exacerbated by the preponderance of a particular form of hegemonic masculinity within cop culture. Across several decades and through successive works Connell has developed an account of gender order in societies that recognises how hegemonic masculinity is constructed in relation to a range of subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women and, further, how the interplay between different masculinities is important in the functioning of a patriarchal society (Connell 1995: 183). This relational positioning between different forms of masculinities, which fits well with a Bourdieusian perspective, offers a more nuanced understanding of gender order that moves beyond a simple dichotomy between dominant masculinity and a subordinate femininity, an example of which includes Cope's account that intelligence analysis has become associated with the type of feminine traits – office-based, 'paper work' – that are regularly side-lined by police officers in the pursuit of masculine crime-fighting (Cope 2004: 198). Developing Cope's account, it must also be recognised that counter perspectives and positions to the hegemonic masculinity within cop culture – to the tough, crime-fighting cops – may not always be 'feminine'. Fieldwork did not uncover, nor is the claim made in this thesis, that 'all cops are from Mars and all civvies from Venus.' [128] Instead, the field of policing, and the sub-field of police intelligence work, is characterised by a diverse range of roles, actors, characters who adopt a variety of positions, strategies and statuses in order to dominate, control, challenge, subvert or resist one another, and other groups, in the game. Such intricate settings and subtle manoeuvres cannot be reduced to a simple dichotomy of a homogenised masculine dominance and a subjugation of a single femininity.

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[128] First broadcast in 2006 the police television drama *Life on Mars* – depicting police work in 1970s in Manchester, England – has a powerful cultural resonance in Britain; its title evokes not only the distance of a different world, but also a setting in which the values of masculinity, virility, and power are privileged over all others. Whilst in many ways deviating from the established police procedural *Life on Mars* cleverly places the (post)modern and politically correct DCI Taylor in the pragmatic world of policing in the 1970s. This historical and cultural setting allows for a romantic representation of the period, with kipper ties, brown suits, big moustaches and Ford Cortinas dominating an aggressive aesthetic. *Life on Mars* depicts the self-consciously male world of policing through its anti-hero, DCI Gene Hunt, whose views on female police officers are less than favourable. Recent recruitment practices in Scottish policing, including a rising number of female police officers and (until recently) a longer term process of civilianisation, present a more empirically informed, diverse and nuanced narrative

Although relations in the sub-field of police intelligence work are complex and diverse, the simple preponderance of females in intelligence analyst roles was readily recognised by intelligence analysts themselves. For Ronald, intelligence analysis was a metaphorical no man's land in the sense of literally containing 'no men', and was constructed as such,

> *Ronald, Intelligence Analyst*: "It's a female mafia this business! There aren't any males in the analytical structure. It's run by women for women!"

It is almost impossible to imagine Ronald's representation of a female mafia, run by women for women, applying to policing as traditionally understood in either the academic literature or popular culture, which instead reflects the masculine outlook of cop culture as 'just boys doing the business' (Fielding 1994).[129] However, Ronald's central contention – that intelligence analysis is highly gendered in this sub-field – was reflected by many other intelligence analysts encountered in fieldwork. For William, an intelligence analyst in the same force as Ronald,

> *William, Intelligence Analyst*: "In terms of analysis, just gender, it's female dominated. I don't know if that's a fact, but my experience is that it's female-dominated."

For Grace, an intelligence analyst in another Scottish police force,

> *Grace, Intelligence Analyst*: "The gender balance [in intelligence analysis] is overwhelmingly female, really."

In some ways, the prevalence of females in intelligence analysis was considered as a legacy of historic recruitment practices, as Charles continued,

> *Charles, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think some of it was a throwback to having like receptionists and all sorts moving into [intelligence] analysis when it first started off as a profession."

Similarly, for Poppy, a female intelligence analyst, who had witnessed intelligence analysis grow since the introduction of the NIM in 1999,

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[129] Ronald's interpretation was also provocative in depicting this part of the police service as a 'mafia'.

> *Poppy, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think way back at the start when they created these criminal intelligence analysts posts and at the time they converted a lot of kinda administrative roles, or they took from a pool of administrative workers in to that whole analysis environment which were predominantly female."

This understanding was reflected by Ruby, who also had extensive experience of intelligence analysis and was a member of police staff well before intelligence-led policing was formally implemented in Scotland through the introduction of the NIM. For her intelligence analysis was seen at the outset as 'just another civvie role' to be undertaken by the type of police staff the police service was used to employing: females. Ruby reflected,

> *Ruby, Intelligence Analyst*: "When I started the whole analytical side was female, and basically the job requirement at that time included keyboard skills. Basically they were wanting glorified typists. And you'll find that a female is more likely to be trained in keyboard skills. But that's going back a few years, it's probably changed now."

The intelligence analyst workforce, although still predominantly female, has changed in important ways since the introduction of the NIM in 1999, especially through the recruitment of a younger cohort more likely to be university educated. This recruitment of younger people from outside the police service into the role of the intelligence analyst also brought an increasing likelihood of a more equitable gender balance in the intelligence analyst work.

These changes were organisationally and culturally significant because the increasing demographic diversity of the intelligence analyst workforce did not result in the dissipation of the hegemonic masculinity of cop culture; it simply adjusted to a new set of targets. Danny, a relatively young male intelligence analyst employed in this new cohort, recounted how he had experienced intelligence analysis as 'female dominated', and how there was an expectation from male detectives that an intelligence analyst is likely to be young or female. Danny said,

> *Danny, Intelligence Analyst*: "I am sure [intelligence] analysis, it's a female dominated part of policing. You spend enough time around analysts, and sort of all of them were women in my experience… I mean I share an office with four cops, experienced detectives, and it is a very male atmosphere in there. But I think it's another thing that affects their perception of analysts is it [is] supposed to [be] sort of a young [person], or women doing it."

Danny's view reflected the perception that police officers working in intelligence environments held patriarchal views, with police officers as seen as the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity – which intelligence analysts identified during fieldwork as the 'alpha-male' or 'silverback' role – with intelligence analysts expected to be female or young, or most likely both. When this expectation was subverted, however, in the sub-field, the challenging actor was suitably re-cast to fit the established patriarchal structure. As another young male intelligence analyst, Charles, stated,

> *Charles, Intelligence Analyst*: "Erm, well the majority of analysts here are female, and I don't think they have adopted any kind of masculine characteristics. I once asked my first chief inspector, when I was employed in the first seven [analysts] I was the only male and across the force there were 30 female analyst and only four or five males, and I asked 'how come you've employed just me and Jack [as] the only guys who've [recently] been employed?', and he said 'that's because you think like a woman', and maybe that's the impression of a police officer that a good analytical brain is a female brain, I don't know."

This construction of Charles as 'someone who thinks a woman' can be read as a deliberate strategy by an actor seeking to subvert a perceived source of alternative masculinity – the cerebral and powerful thinker – in the sub-field by negating his very existence.

This exertion of hegemonic masculinity was also evident in reconstructions of the traditionally feminine role: from the subservient, gentle, compassionate carer to bullish, aggressive fighter. For example Delilah, drawing upon her experiences of intelligence-led policing in England, considered such transformation essential to success in the masculine field of Scottish policing,

> *Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think Scotland is behind in a whole range of ways in comparison to England and Wales. As a woman and as police staff. They are much more diversified down south. It's a much more male culture up here, and that makes it very difficult as a woman. So you end up being very bullish in nature which doesn't always sit naturally… When I started me and my deputy were called Barbed Wire and Nettles. But we had to be, you know? Otherwise they just trampled all over you. It was 'you're a woman you stay here', you know?"

The adoption of such characteristics contrary to the traditional female role, especially in policing, was recognised by William, a male intelligence analyst, who considered the

influence of hegemonic masculinity upon intelligence analysts operating at a senior management level,

> *William, Intelligence Analyst*: "There is a macho culture, yes, absolutely. And what I would [say] is that [this] impacts, that [this] has an impact, its rank structure, either way, male or female, that sort of organisation requires a certain bullishness and there's an element of people being defensive about their position and their sort of, their colleagues and so forth, a brotherhood mentality about it, definitely. That has a significantly negative aspect upon a parallel, police staff organisation which is not rank structured and is primarily female. I think it means that you get an incredible amount of aggressive behaviour amongst police staff management as a reflection of their interaction with police officers. I would say that most, sort of, it is a masculine culture."

The common experiences of William and Delilah highlight a further advantage of understanding intelligence analysis as a type of no man's land. Although it is useful as a metaphor for the prevalence of females within intelligence analysis, it is further effective as a conceptual lens with which to view the sub-field as a site of struggle. Delilah reflected upon her part in struggle 'as a woman', which she considered as a 'war of attrition' in fighting to convince police officers that intelligence analysis was worthwhile and could make a valuable contribution to intelligence-led policing. For Delilah,

> *Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "I have went through some really difficult periods I really have… I feel like I have fought more than I have had to do."

The requirement to 'fight' in the sub-field as an intelligence analyst, and especially as a female, was also highlighted by Grace. For Grace,

> *Grace, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think you need to be confident, erm, stand your ground and fight your corner. If you're confident with your findings then you should be able to stand [up] for them I suppose.

The sub-field of police intelligence work, therefore, represents a unique site of struggle – a contested space – within which police officers and intelligence analysts reconfigure their dispositions, or various forms of masculinity or femininity, in order to maximise their own position and sustain, subvert, challenge or circumvent, the hegemonic habitus of cop culture. However, unlike police officers, who enter police intelligence work having served several years as a uniformed cop, and whose habitus was formed within

the crucible of their early experiences on the street, intelligence analysts often lack the developed habitus – the 'feel for the game' – required for success in this contested space. This particular problem of an under-developed habitus in a sub-field of struggle was compounded by routine processes of the infantilisation of intelligence analysts.

### 6.4.2   The infantilisation of intelligence analysts

Just as fieldwork for this thesis continually uncovered the importance of experience in contemporary cop culture in Scotland – as evidenced in the previous chapter – it has also disclosed a concomitant feature: that relationships between police officers and intelligence analysts are fundamentally characterised by processes of infantilisation. The concept of infantilisation has primarily developed in academic disciplines other than criminology; particular perspectives on the subject have developed in both nursing (the infantilisation of the elderly, see Whitbourne and Wills 1993) and the broader subject area of sociology (the infantilisation of women in sport, see Messner et al 1993). The concept of infantilisation has featured little within the study of criminology and criminal justice; with a notable exception being the ways in which the infantilisation processes have been invoked in the study of the imprisonment of women (see Clark 1995, Bosworth 1996, and Marcus-Mendoza et al 1998). Nevertheless, for the study of policing in particular there are significant conceptual insights to be gained from the use of infantilisation as it has developed in other subject areas and disciplines. [130] A substantive example of this academic potential can be found in Mike Hepworth's 1996 study of the infantilisation of the elderly in which he defined infantilisation as the tendency to treat older people as if they are dependent children and, crucially, how those elderly people in his study may be active or complicit in their own infantilisation. Hepworth stated,

> "Infantilisation is usually defined as an unwelcome imposition on older men and women who are often portrayed as relatively powerless to resist. Whilst the negative consequences of enforced infantilisation must not be ignored there are also occasions when infantilisation may be regarded as a voluntary or chosen mode of resistance on the part of older people to the decrements and external impositions of later life. The concept of infantilisation may therefore be enlarged to include modes of resistance involving processes of mutual identification of the

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[130] Such an endeavour comes naturally to criminology, which is regularly characterised as multi-disciplinary in origin (Rock 2007: 6), inter-disciplinary (Walsh and Ellis 2007: 2) or both (Carrabine et al 2004: 4). A subsequent edition of Carrabine et al's *Criminology* celebrated criminology's 'disciplinary hybridity' as one of its greatest strengths (Carrabine et al 2009: 4).

old with the young; in certain instances even as a form of conspiracy between these two age groups against the wider society." (Hepworth 1996: 423).

Hepworth's definition raises some crucial points for conceptual discussion. Firstly, he recognises how infantilisation can affect both women and men. Secondly, and significantly, Hepworth highlights how infantilisation can be imposed upon *or* actively chosen by those whom it affects. This conceptualisation raises the prospect that imposition and complicity may work simultaneously in processes of infantilisation. Understood in this way, infantilisation may be embraced by an adult in order to cope with, navigate through, or even resist a particular set of challenging social circumstances. From a Bourdieusian perspective Hepworth's definition opens the explanatory possibility that processes of infantilisation in the relationships between police officers and intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work constitute a form of symbolic violence.

In his work *Masculine Domination*, Pierre Bourdieu was concerned with the complicity between the major institutions through which all social order – including masculine order – is enacted and reproduced, and the structures embodied in both men and women (Bourdieu 2001: 117). In this work Bourdieu also sought to advance a 'truly relational' approach to the relations of domination between men and women as they develop in the 'whole set of spaces and subspaces' (Bourdieu 2001: 102). *Masculine Domination* bequeathed a perspective and an additional set of thinking tools that could be applied to the minutiae of social relations and interactions uncovered through subsequent empirical fieldwork. Understood in this way, the Bourdieusian perspective on masculine domination therefore offers the possibility of deep explanation of processes of cultural and sub-cultural production, practice, persistence and change.[131] For Bourdieu, masculine domination is the prime example of symbolic violence, which is in turn a gentle form of violence, often imperceptible and invisible even to its victims (Bourdieu 2001: 2-3). Yet symbolic violence is also more than this: it is violence exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity, and as such can be considered as a misrecognition of violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2004: 272). In his discussion of masculine domination as a form of symbolic violence Bourdieu is concerned with explaining order and stability rather than conflict *per se*, and specifically how order and

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[131] For example, Whitehead and Barrett (2001: 16) considered masculine power in the police service can be considered as 'relational and positional'

stability are reproduced – and go unchallenged – within a field of social relations, despite the propensity for such structures to promote relationships of domination and subjugation and perpetuate injustice in a society. Bourdieu focuses upon how such structures appear as natural to those agents within a particular field or sub-field. Bourdieu's analytical perspective in *Masculine Domination* thus resonates with the empirical focus of this chapter, which has sought to explore gendered processes of civilianisation and two distinct but mutually reinforcing processes of patriarchy in the sub-field of police intelligence work in Scotland: the rhetorical deployment of the police family in the field of policing and the infantilisation of intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work.

Fieldwork persistently uncovered evidence of the infantilisation of intelligence analysts in Scottish policing. This evidence disclosed that, in the sub-field of police intelligence work, intelligence analysts are often treated as children; as dependent, ignorant, immature, powerless, and un-knowing. Treated as such, their agency and influence within this sub-field is severely inhibited. This infantilisation is achieved through routine, everyday talk and, more particularly, through 'office banter'. Throughout the period of fieldwork I encountered – and was subject to – jokes, quips and jibes that, as an intelligence analyst, either alluded to my status as 'a child' or constructed me as child-like. For example, I was routinely asked by police officers if I had my 'crayons or fuzzy felt out today' or if I was 'colouring in'; phrases pejoratively referring to the process of producing crime maps or creating analytical charts detailing criminal networks. This was part of the 'banter' between police officers and intelligence analysts that featured heavily in everyday police intelligence work. Such talk, however, was not innocuous or interest-free; it was both purposeful and ideological, seeking to sustain a system of social relationships – to exercise control in the sub-field and privilege and devalue specific forms of cultural capital – within which I was effectively constructed as a child, to be subjugated, repressed and controlled. The police officers who participated in such profoundly infantilising practices were active in marginalising the contribution of intelligence analysis by constructing intelligence analysts as submissive and subservient through routine talk or banter.

Previous accounts of the role of banter in policing have focussed particularly upon racism, and to a lesser extent sexism, and sought to understand the relationship

between prejudiced talk and practices and acts 'on the street'. Any such direct relationship between talk and action, if it is in any way apparent at all, is likely to be complex. P. A. J. Waddington (1999: 288) has argued that previous representations of cop culture have focussed upon what the police *say* – their oral culture – and he critiqued the 'rickety conceptual bridge' between private police talk and public action. Waddington has also followed this up more recently with a discussion of the disconnection between the 'views and opinions in the canteen' and what police officers actually do in their duties (Waddington 2012: 96-97). Occurring exclusively in private, behind the veil of 'thin blue line' between the police service and the public, workplace banter between police officers and police staff is a means – just like police storytelling – by which dominant cultures are produced, reproduced, sustained, learned and transmitted. The phenomenon of workplace banter has featured heavily in police research: from Simon Holdaway's uncovering of racialised joking and exclusionary practices (Holdaway 1994, 1996 and 1997) to Bethan Loftus' more recent remarks upon how police officers in England lamented the demise of banter, particularly in relation to the exclusion values that were once the mainstays of white, heterosexual male culture (Loftus 2009: 773). The forms of overt racism and sexism identified by Holdaway were not generally uncovered in my experiences of ethnographic fieldwork. However, contrary to Loftus' 2009 account of the demise of banter, this social phenomenon and its practices remain alive and well in Scottish policing, although within narrower limits and contexts than may have historically been the case. During an interview with an intelligence analyst working in Lothian and Borders Police the participant, Arthur, recounted how he still considered policing to be a masculine profession despite recent transformations, and how he learned and adopted this cultural disposition through experiencing and participating in workplace banter,

> *Arthur, Intelligence Analyst*: "Whilst I am all for diversity and what have ye', it is still a masculine job. And I think that is just something that's come fae historic, it's passed down through the years whereas in years gone by there was probably less females… And it's [considering policing as masculine] inevitable through the banter; the jokes that are cracked and that sort ay stuff. And there is to a large degree black humour in the polis, but you look at what you are dealing wi'; that's how folk deal wi' it. But I think now it's a case of judge your audience. I think folk are very much aware of diversity, and the potential repercussions of stepping over that line, which I think is a positive thing."

For Arthur, workplace banter was a means of occupational, organisational and cultural learning. Banter was important in exploring gendered identities and testing the boundaries of what is regarded as acceptable speech and cultural practice. In fieldwork I frequently encountered police officers prefacing casual but controversial comments with phrases such as "I'm not sexist, but…". Such prefaces and qualifications were partly attributable to an adapting or tormented habitus within a transforming field, but were also evident of the active role of habitus is seeking to test the boundaries of the field within which it operates.

The role of banter between police officers and police staff has not been uncovered in previous academic accounts. In Scotland, however, workplace banter is essential in maintaining the relational position of all actors in the field of policing and, particularly, in the sub-field of police intelligence work. For Ewan, a Detective Constable (DC) working in a police intelligence unit, banter between police officers and police staff existed outside of any real conflict, opposition or attrition. In fact, Ewan considered it simply as a form of harmless fun,

> *Colin*: "Have you ever experienced or encountered any resistance to civilianisation?"
>
> *Ewan, Police Officer*: "Oh aye definitely, no' so much nowadays but years back the culture of the old cops. 'What do we need analysts for? What do we need civilians for? We can go out and catch the bad guys ourselves'. But that's – the majority of people as we used to call them were dinosaurs and the majority of them are retired now, you know? So I don't think there is the same resistance now, but if you go back 15, 20 years ago it was seen as probably that civilians were coming in to take police overtime away if you know what I mean… But that was just the culture then you know? It was very much the police done their own thing and we didnae need civilians you know? And it was always the banter, even when they started bringing civilians into the police there was always the banter between the police and the civvies, and I must say the majority that I experienced was good natured and there wasnae any, I cannae think of any situations of conflict between police and civilians. There's been a couple over the years but very, very minor you know?"[132]

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[132] Ewan's account was also interesting in how, for him, 'the police' referred to both police officers and the police service as a whole; they were so overlapping as to be considered as functionally identical. Civvies, a noun considered as pejorative by many police staff, were external: from the outside 'coming in' to the police. The persistence of such language suggests that the integration of police staff remains partial at best.

There was certainly evidence, however, that some intelligence analysts found it difficult to adapt to an environment or sub-field in which banter – which can sometimes be sharp, cruel, and cutting – could be considered as harmless fun or part of the game. For Christopher, like Arthur also an intelligence analyst in Lothian and Borders Police, his progression through three different intelligence offices demonstrated well the difficulties he faced in adapting to office banter. Moving to work alongside a group of male police officers signalled, for Christopher, a step-change or intensification in his experience of banter in the police workplace. For Christopher,

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "The first [intelligence office I worked in] was analysts only, and I was the only man in that office – no, there was two guys actually, initially but then one went away – so for a lot of it I was the only man in the office, and I found that everyone was quite quiet, none of the women were particularly what you would call girly, you know, erm, but it was like a kind of environment where things that were happening in people's home lives were [the] topic of conversation and folk would kind of sympathise and things like that. And in the time I was there two of the women who were there got pregnant, at different times, but you know that was important, and you would be talking about that and you would day 'how has so and so been doing? Has there been any news?'"

Christopher compared this to his subsequent experience, which was working in an intelligence unit with a more mixed gender composition and more frequent contact with police officers. He spoke of how he adapted to this new environment and set of circumstances,

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "…that was quite a shock me going into that office because there was a lot of the kinda just taking the piss out of each other kind of banter and a lot of the kinda stuff that would be said that would probably be disapproved of, you know in terms of a little bit politically incorrect and things like that… And then I got used to it and realised that most of it was like banter, which I think I realised at the start but for some reason it took me a while to realise that I shouldn't get upset about it."

Christopher's most recent experience, working in a unit in which he was the sole intelligence analyst working closely alongside a group of mostly male police officers, was, for him, much more challenging. He struggled to adapt to this new 'game',

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "Then [I] moved here and [went] further down that spectrum, like, every, the kind of *lingua franca* in the office is like 'shut the fuck up' just like, taking the piss out of each other, but it's not just taking the piss out of each other, it's like slagging each other off. And I see people, I really think

that even the guys who are in there play that part more than would be natural to them… And one of the DCs when he does take the piss out of me he will grin and wink and I don't know whether as he sees me as not as able to take a slagging because I am skinny and I am middle class and because I am not a cop that he kinda softens the blow by going 'I am just joking eh?'. I dunno."

In Arthur and Christopher's accounts workplace banter between police officers and intelligence analysts constitutes a form of implicit social learning, of the development of habitus, status and relational position between those actors involved in a given field or sub-field: it is a means through which one learns the 'rules of the game', of positions of dominance and subservience. For Arthur it was a way of learning practices of masculine domination, reflecting infantilisation through banter as a 'mechanism of masculine hegemony' (see Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 834). For Christopher it was through banter that he learned of, and to cope with, the cynicism of police officers and reconcile and understand his own role, and hexis, in intelligence work.

The central argument of this section is not simply that workplace banter exists, but that it performs ideological work in influencing the relationships, status and positions of actors in the sub-field and, moreover, that it is important in the infantilisation of intelligence analysts as a mechanism of dominance of hegemonic masculinity. During an interview with Amber, an intelligence analyst, she offered an account that highlighted the significance of banter in the infantilisation of intelligence analysts,

> *Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "[Police officers tell] jokes about [intelligence analysts] getting our crayons out and drawing our pictures, most of the jokes I hear are about that. Generally I don't let it get to me because I know that the work that's produced in our office by the analysts is a good standard and is meaningful, but I know that sometimes some of these jokes have a serious undertone to them and is what the actual police officers do think."

Another female intelligence analyst, Delilah, recounted how when she first came into intelligence analysis, early on in the development of intelligence-led policing in Scotland, she was expected to simply 'draw pretty pictures'. Another intelligence analyst, active at management level in Strathclyde Police, recognised the classifying principles of such banter; upon being handed a clutch of coloured white-board markers by an inspector she replied "that's what we're famous for: colouring in!". Such talk devalued and degraded the role, status and position of intelligence analysts in the sub-

field, relegating intelligence analysts to subservience and powerlessness. Importantly, however, evidence also emerged through fieldwork of the ways in which intelligence analysts may in fact be complicit in their own infantilisation.

Amy, a police officer, usefully highlighted both how intelligence analysts were viewed as young and, concomitantly 'immature' by cops. Amy further explained how intelligence analysts were in some ways active in their own infantilisation in their habitus and hexis, both of which were antithetical to the hegemonic cop culture. For Amy,

> *Amy, Police Officer*: "I don't think age matters as much as some of the analyst staff are kind of immature for their age, which I don't think helps how they are viewed by the police officers. I think you always think of the [analysts], not all of the analyst team but some of them, as quite young erm, quite you know, stereotypical student, not long out of education. I think some of the things they talk about in the office doesnae endear them to the desk [intelligence] officers… I think some of the police have a kind of superior attitude to the analysts. I think some of the analysts don't play up to intentionally but because of their immaturity or their perceived immaturity they are kind of looked down upon because the intel[ligence] desk don't know what the analysts deliver or what they do, the intel desk perceive themselves as being in charge of the analysts to some extent."

Illustrating complicity in her own infantilisation, one Strathclyde Police intelligence analyst encountered during fieldwork, Olive, considered her analytical charting of criminal networks to be 'just a picture', with little recognition of the skills she deployed to produce this work, or of the potential importance of such analytical products in influencing or directing police activity. Such attitudes towards analytical products reflect a perception that they may not be valued by police officers because they are not created by fellow police officers or cops.

The processes by which intelligence analysts are infantilised extend beyond workplace banter. These additional processes were brought clearly into focus when I interviewed a chief officer, Gordon, who was instrumental in the initial implementation of intelligence analysis in Scottish policing. I recounted in my post-interview notes how Gordon, who knew me professionally, 'spoke to me as an analyst' rather than a doctoral researcher; he considered me – as a young, 'inexperienced', graduate – to be representative of all intelligence analysts. Gordon recognised that intelligence analysis had been structurally suppressed – in effect, infantilised – because of cultural prejudices

towards both youth and gender in the institution. For Gordon, this structural suppression and infantilisation was integral to the failure of intelligence analysis to make a more significant impact in the sub-field of police intelligence work or to the wider field of Scottish policing.

> *Gordon, Police Officer:* "I think it was mainly due to the police [officers], not meaning to, suppressing you because you were young and you had people, a lot of women, [and] it was quite easy to suppress you. Because women were still trying to make that breakthrough in the police service. Young, you know? Age and experience matters in this organisation and do we really trust your stuff because we know that anyway? And you helped us in that by delivering products that [told us what] we knew anyway; which were preferred by us."[133]

The interview with Gordon, although insightful and honest, was emotionally difficult; it was part social research, part critical appraisal of my performance as an intelligence analyst. Gordon answered interchangeably by referencing to me as an individual and to intelligence analysts as a collective; for example,

> *Gordon, Police Officer:* "You are easy to fob off Colin, if management was so inclined, because you are all youngsters. I personally try to give youngsters every chance but it's erm, and experience does count, age and experience do count but there is a tiny bit of that [youth] that's very helpful as well."

Gordon's account of the failure of intelligence analysts to make an impact recognises both their lack of appropriate cultural capital and their gendered hexis within the sub-field of police intelligence work. It also disclosed how intelligence analysis was, and remains, a cultural challenge to the established hegemony of cop culture; a hegemony created, protected and sustained by police officers as a 'ruling class'. This challenge to established structures, cultures and practices was recognised by Grace, who stated,

> *Grace, Intelligence Analyst*: "I just think personally I don't get, I've been told that 'if you are going in [into a police intelligence unit] then being a female and the age you are then they might not respect what you have got to say'… I think if you are sitting in an office of 40-something experienced weathered cops then they are going to immediately judge you coming in as a young analyst and try to tell them what they should be doing or how they should be tackling a certain group or driving an investigation forward, I think there is an element of ageism."

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[133] Interestingly, Gordon, like Ewan, also considered 'the police' to be synonymous with both 'police officers' and 'the police service'.

Grace clearly recognised that her gender, relative youth and status as a civilian member of police staff inhibited her integration into the sub-field, and how intelligence analysts were met with resistance in their recommendations for directing police activity. Similarly, Bonnie, an intelligence analyst in Lothian and Borders Police, recounted her experience of how some police officers disliked being told what to do by a young, female intelligence analyst. Ultimately, these processes of infantilisation – perpetuated by police officers and within which intelligence analysts were often complicit – were reflective of the acceptance of a doxic order of domination in the sub-field, within which both groups implicitly accepted the relations of the dominants and the dominated in 'the game'.

## 6.5    Conclusion

### 6.5.1   Cultural control

This chapter has argued that research to date on cop culture – and the wider study of policing – has traditionally represented policing as a street-based, masculine pursuit. Addressing the lack of empirical evidence to substantiate such representations in Scottish policing, this chapter outlined how processes of civilianisation have historically been, and currently remain, fundamentally gendered. Whilst the police officer workforce remain male-dominated but in transition, the civilian police staff workforce remains overwhelmingly female. Gendered processes of civilianisation have also been apparent within the sub-field of police intelligence work. This chapter highlighted how intelligence analysis in Scottish policing is, and has always been since its initial development, predominantly undertaken by young females. Furthermore, there are no clear patterns in recruitment that challenge the idea that civilian intelligence analysis is a female endeavour.

Progressing to critically consider the presence and power of patriarchy in the field of Scottish policing, this chapter argued that, in response to pluralisation, leaders in the police service across the UK have introduced – and intentionally invoked – the ideological concept of the police family in an attempt to bring a degree of cohesion and control to an increasingly unstable field. Crucially, whilst the concept of the police family, particularly in its extended form, has been used to invoke a wider inter-organisational field of security governance, the concept can also be applied the

integration of different roles and specialisms within the police service. This chapter has represented the sub-field of police intelligence work as inherently patriarchal. Within this sub-field the intelligence analysts – predominantly young and female – inhabit a liminal no man's land, whilst police officers are considered as the embodiment of masculinity. In this sense, the sub-field can be further understood as a site of struggle. The consequence of this struggle is the infantilisation of the intelligence analyst through talk, practice and structural suppression. This infantilisation through banter performs important ideological work in influencing the relationships, status and positions of actors in the sub-field.

This chapter contended that the rhetorical deployment of the police family in the field of policing and the infantilisation of intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work collectively constitutes a form of symbolic violence that maintains the structural stability of the sub-field and limits the agency and influence of the intelligence analyst. The patriarchal structures and practices – and gender order – highlighted in this chapter are not immutable; in fact, they have developed and intensified in response to instability in the sub-field and field, and are therefore, by their very definition, both unsettled and variable.[134] Adopting a Bourdieusian perspective to explain processes of masculine domination and symbolic violence in the relationships between police officers and intelligence analysts opens the possibility of cultural change. For Wacquant,

> "Indeed, the whole of Bourdieu's work may be interpreted as a materialist anthropology of the specific contribution that various forms of symbolic violence make to the reproduction and transformation of structures of domination." (Wacquant in Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 14-15).

Representing these patriarchal structures of masculine domination and symbolic violence through research opens the possibility of cultural change and further transformation in the sub-field. Simply highlighting the dominated habitus, however, is not sufficient to overcome patriarchal structures because, as Bourdieu highlights, symbolic violence of masculine domination is deeply embedded in the body of the dominated. He states,

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[134] Although recognising that such structures, cultures and practices may be transmitted and intensified from existing cultures and fields.

"The passions of the dominated habitus (whether dominated in terms of gender, ethnicity, culture or language) – a somatized social relationship, a social law converted into an embodied law – are not the kind that can be suspended by a simple effort of will, founded on a liberatory awakening of consciousness. If it is quite illusory to believe that symbolic violence can be overcome with the weapons of consciousness and will alone, this is because the effect and conditions of its efficacy are durably and deeply embedded in the body in the form of dispositions." (Bourdieu 2001: 39).

Despite such an assessment, Bourdieu does not foreclose the possibility of social and cultural change. Bourdieu envisages that transformation is possible, but far from guaranteed,

"When a scientific analysis of a form of domination is made publicly available, this necessarily has social effects, but they may run in two opposing directions: it may either symbolically reinforce domination, when its findings seem to confirm or intersect with the dominant discourse… or help to neutralize it, rather like the revelation of some state secret, by favouring the mobilization of its victims. It is therefore exposed to all kinds of misunderstandings, easier to foresee than to dispel in advance." (Bourdieu 2001: 111).

Ultimately, this chapter develops the existing research on gender in policing to incorporate new, previously unconsidered actors, and deepened its analysis through the deployment of the conceptual lens of patriarchy. In doing so this chapter deepens the emerging perspective on cultural diversity in policing by exploring alternative, and oftentimes conflicting, cultural dispositions in the sub-field of police intelligence work.

Chapter 7    Cultural Dissonance

7.1    From 'Common Purpose' to Cultural Dissonance

7.1.1   Structural division in the field and sub-field

In everyday practice across the broad field of Scottish policing there is heterogeneity in relation to cultural production, practice, persistence and change. There are a diverse range of actors – both sworn police officers and civilian police staff – operating ins range of fields and sub-fields across a highly differentiated organisation. However, whilst such cultural diversity is undoubtedly apparent, there remains a clear structural division in the field of policing between sworn police officers and civilian police staff, and this has a homogenising effect for each of these groups of actors, or, more controversially, classes. This chapter will focus upon the cultural consequences of this divide. In everyday practice this division is manifest organisationally in mutually exclusive job descriptions, conditions of service and remuneration levels between police officers and police staff. Despite this structural division, and based upon an analysis of statements made in recent political discourse and debate on Scottish policing, any suggestion of division or conflict between police officers and police staff in Scotland would appear unsubstantiated. In evidence presented to the Scottish Parliament Justice Committee in 2007, Joe Grant, the then General Secretary of the Scottish Police Federation, offered Cathie Craigie, the then MSP for Cumbernauld and Kilsyth, an account of the Scottish police service as a generally harmonious family. The exchange ran as follows,

> "Cathie Craigie: Has the greater use of civilian support staff caused any problems for frontline police officers?
>
> Joe Grant: By and large, no. When any dynamic changes in a workforce, there will be frictions but, by and large, that has not been the case in the police service. The police family – police officers and support staff – work together and to a common purpose." (Scottish Parliament 2007b).

Five years later the Scottish Police Federation continued its attempt to shape the political debate on Scottish policing and its workforce dynamics. Again delivering evidence to the Justice Committee, although this time on the subject of police reform, the current General Secretary of the Scottish Police Federation Calum Steele warned that,

"[W]e should never get into a situation in which we talk about the value of a police officer versus the value of a support member of staff. A balanced workforce is very important." (Scottish Parliament 2012b).

Beyond the rhetoric – and thus the ideological construction – of the police family as a 'balanced workforce' with a 'common purpose', such harmonious accounts belie the lived, cultural realities of many police staff in the field of Scottish policing, and especially intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work.

This chapter will argue that the structural division between police officers and intelligence analysts generates, and is in turn sustained by, a 'them and us' culture in the police service that is shared antagonistically between these groups. For some intelligence analysts the experience of working alongside police officers can be tense, troublesome and traumatic. Similarly, for some police officers the experience of working alongside, and managing, intelligence analysts can be unfamiliar and uneasy. These cultural dynamics, which reflect asymmetric power structures in both the wider field and the specific sub-field, can be particularly pronounced during times of uncertainty or instability. In order to explore and explain the distance, differences and discord between intelligence analysts and police officers in the sub-field of police intelligence work, this chapter will develop and deploy the concept of cultural dissonance. Developing the concept of cultural dissonance is essential to fully understand and appreciate the cultural dynamic in the relationship between police officers and intelligence analysts in Scottish policing.

## 7.1.2 Towards an understanding of cultural dissonance

This chapter contends that within the sub-field of police intelligence work the structural division between cops and intelligence analysts – which forms part of a wider system of social stratification in the field of Scottish policing between police officers and police staff – is both generative of, and sustained by, processes of cultural dissonance. The concept of cultural dissonance is explored in only a small selection of literature in sociology, anthropology and cultural studies, and within which there is no common understanding of this concept. Beyond this limited range of literature, moreover, the concept of cultural dissonance has failed to make any substantial impact on wider

academic research or political debate.[135] The concept has, however, been deployed successfully in some specialist areas of academic study. For example, in their research on experiences of young gypsy traveller students in English secondary schools Chris Derrington and Sally Kendall made an effort to define cultural dissonance. For them,

> "Cultural dissonance is a sense of discord or disharmony, experienced by individuals where cultural differences are unexpected, unexplained and therefore difficult to negotiate." (Derrington and Kendall 2007: 125).

Although the literature on cultural dissonance is limited in range, it has not been entirely absent from police research: a 1999 study by Larry A. Gould explored the impact of working in 'two worlds' upon Native American police officers. Evoking Durkheim, Gould considered cultural dissonance to signify an anomic state in which individuals are faced with having to operate within the confines of two competing cultures, and wherein following the rules of one culture risks violating the rules of another (Gould 1999: 53). Gould's focus on cultural dissonance remained upon the police officer as he or she operated in, interacted with and moved through a wider society.[136] Gould's conceptual contribution is therefore to accentuate the difficulties of moving through fields – or sub-fields – that are divided or contested between social groups. Given the focus of his research Gould had nothing to say about cultural dissonance *inside* a differentiated police organisation. For the purposes of this thesis, cultural dissonance can be understood as a sense of difference, discord and disharmony between two social groups – one dominant and controlling, the other subordinate and challenging – within a specific field or sub-field, despite the possibility of being engaged in common tasks or shared goals.[137] However, whilst a working definition of cultural dissonance can be synthesised, the concept can only be fully appreciated through undertaking empirical fieldwork that is embedded within an appropriate theoretical framework. This will become the focus of this chapter.

## 7.2    Exploring Cultural Dissonance in the Sub-Field

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[135] Particularly in comparison to the counterpart concept of cognitive dissonance as developed in the literature on psychology.

[136] Gould's sample of 25 police officers consisted of 19 males and six females, accounting respectively for 76% and 24% of his sample population (Gould 1999: 63).

[137] Although not specifically referenced in this definition, Derrington and Kendall's accentuation of the unexpected nature of discord and disharmony remains an important consideration. For example, some police staff in fieldwork, including intelligence analysts, spoke of their 'shock' when initially exposed to cop culture.

### 7.2.1  Cultural dissonance and stigmatic labelling

The field of policing in Scotland, as in many other nations and societies, is characterised by an array – or complex – of structural boundaries and borderlands, where habitus conflict and the currency of various forms of capital wax and wane. Some of these boundaries are extra-organisational, separating the police force from the society that it polices: the police service as the 'thin blue line' between order and chaos.[138] Other boundaries are intra-organisational, delineating police forces within national jurisdictions, divisions or sub-divisions within police forces, or signalling the presence of sub-fields within and between organisations. This complex array of organisational and social spaces generates a large degree of cultural heterogeneity in policing. For example, fieldwork indicated the ways in which intelligence analysts, despite being members of police staff, were considered by police officers as distinct from other 'civvies' in important ways. Intelligence analysts also recognised a degree of difference between themselves and other members of police staff; evidenced in Lucas's depiction of his transition from a clerical assistant post at a territorial division ('boring, tedious administration work') to become an intelligence analyst at a force headquarters; a role he considered to have 'consequences, responsibilities and influence'. The creation of the intelligence analyst role thus brought new actors to bear in the sub-field of police intelligence work to undertake tasks that impinged upon what may traditionally be considered as core policing tasks. This contributed to an important division in the sub-field of police intelligence work: between cops and intelligence analysts. This division was apparent in a cultural distinction, on both sides, between 'them and us' and sustained through both routine practice and everyday talk.

The existence of a 'them and us' culture between cops and intelligence analysts reflects the asymmetric distribution of power in the police service and the privileging of specific forms of capital within its patriarchal system.[139] This culture is sustained in everyday working life, at least in part, through a linguistic practice of stigmatic labelling. For example, Ruby was unequivocal upon the existence of a 'them and us'

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[138] The extra-organisational boundaries as reflected in Gould's aforementioned account of the 'two worlds' of the Native American police officer (Gould 1999).

[139] It is important to recognise that the consequences of this patriarchal 'police family', whilst manifest in the form of the infantilisation – and structural suppression – of intelligence analysts as young and female, are uneven. In *Gender and Power* Connell (1995: 125) highlighted how in the traditional patriarchal household a sexual division of labour limits on the patriarch's ability to exercise power, since the dominated monopolise certain kinds of skill and knowledge. From a Bourdieusian perspective these skills and knowledge can sometimes become important forms of capital with which to influence the shape of the field itself.

culture and how she was labelled – and positioned – both in the field of Scottish and the sub-field of police intelligence work,

> *Ruby, Intelligence Analyst*: "It's 'them and us' and it always has been and it is always gonna be that and it's never gonna change. There's always going to be that 'oh we are an equal opportunities employer and all that', but you are still going to be looked down upon because you are a civvie."

As noted in chapter three, in his ethnography of an English police force, Malcolm Young (1993: 73) considered the word 'civilian' as a pejorative classification, deployed as a structuring principle to maintain the historic and symbolic boundaries that separate police officers from 'the others'. In Scottish policing the colloquialism civvie conducts similarly ideological work, maintaining organisational boundaries and systems of social stratification and order within the police service. Ruby's use of the term therefore becomes especially culturally significant. The term civvie was encountered routinely during fieldwork, and considered common parlance by both police officers and police staff.[140] A fieldnote from July 2010 reflected upon how I encountered – and reacted to – the pejorative use of the term in everyday police talk.

> Fieldnote 10 July 2010
> Was 'round Amy's office chewing the fat, discussing nothing much as the day petered out. She was telling me about how a cop had caused 'uproar' earlier. Turns out something had gone wrong, a bit of a fuck-up by someone, and a female sergeant was quick to appoint the blame: "that'll be the fuckin' civvie" the sergeant commented, without realising there was a female member of police staff present in the office at the time, who was not best pleased at the accusation. The term 'civvie' didn't bother me when I heard this story; it generally doesn't. But it's the discourse that surrounds it that is problematic: 'that'll be the fuckin' civvie', 'just a civvie', 'leave it to the civvie' or 'they're only civvies'. It's divisive, constantly telling me that I'm not part of whatever it is that we are there to do, not one of 'them'.

In the lexicon of cop culture the term civvie is deployed to denote a form of deviance within the organisation, and thus reinforces the solidaristic aspect of the habitus shared between police officers. In doing so, this colloquialism is also indicative of a process of stigmatic labelling.

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[140] During a focus group session consisting only of police officers, I used a vignette from research to prompt discussion that mentioned the word 'civvie'. Fred, a police officer, responded with feigned ignorance, "What's a civvie?!", much to the amusement of the rest of the group.

Within criminology, labelling theory is routinely employed to explain the processes through which societies construct and impose deviance as a form of social exclusion, and particularly the deviance of 'the criminal'. In his classic account *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*, Howard Becker argued that deviance was, in fact, created by society itself. For Becker,

> "…*social groups create deviance by making rules whose infraction creates deviance*, and by applying those roles to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is *not* a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by other of rules and sanctions to an 'offender.' The deviant is one to whom that label has been successfully applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label." (Becker 1963: 8-9).

Becker also cautions against assuming those labelled as deviant are a homogenous social group, although they do share, at least, the experience of being labelled as outsiders (Becker 1963: 9-10).[141] The labelling of the civvie confers upon them a marginal, liminal status by a powerful group, casting them as neither full group members nor complete outsiders and consequently constructing them as deviant in the field.[142] Fieldwork disclosed evidence of this stigmatic labelling – and constructed deviance – in practice. For a significant period of time during fieldwork I worked alongside a police officer, Helen, who was previously a member of police staff. During a routine office encounter Helen was mistaken for a member of police staff by a visiting colleague to which she responded, "I used to be a civvie, but I'm alright now!"[143] The process of becoming a cop, for Helen, was a form of status elevation, cultural reparation, or rehabilitation from deviance.

More generally, the reception of the term civvie by police staff, and intelligence analysts in particular, was mixed. Some openly resented the use of the term, recognising its pejorative principles and classifying consequences. Others were more ambivalent about the term, simply considering it as either an arcane colloquialism reflecting a

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[141] This area of criminological work was more recently developed, in some analytical depth and with a deep appreciation of history, in the work of David Garland, and specifically his depiction of a 'criminology of the other' (see Garland 1996: 461-463 and Garland 2001).

[142] The extant literature on cop culture demonstrates similar processes by cops to construct the deviance and societal position of 'the criminal'. For example, Robert Reiner (1992c: 48) has considered how certain classes and populations are defined as 'police property'.

[143] Helen would also aggressively interrogate my political beliefs on policing and the role of punishment in society. Finding my views too 'liberal' she would question "are you working for the right organisation?!"

particular historical legacy or as a simple, benign nickname. For example, Poppy recounted the decreasing use of this term in the field,

*Poppy, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think the term civvie, a lot of civilians or support members of staff can be offended by that term but it truly doesnae bother me at all. As we have become more PC [politically correct] as an organisation there has become less use of the term civvie. Whereas when I started all them years ago you were a civvie and that was it! But now you hardly hear that term. Or maybe what you'll hear is when you walk into a room a group of police officers, but they would never use the term in front of you. I've certainly noticed that… I think for a lot of them it's just a term, I don't think they mean any malice in the term. Certainly in the instances that I've heard it's not been used in derogatory way, I wouldn't say [it is] banter either like 'aw you'se civvies are the same'. Having said that maybe once or twice, aye, aye, probably once or twice in that kind of jovial manner. But when I've been present it all very PC, so it's few or far between in the past few years."

The context in which the word civvie was used, however, was often important to the manner in which it was perceived by intelligence analysts. This was highlighted in an interview with Amber,

*Colin*: "Are you often called a civvie?"

*Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "Oh yeah I've heard that loads of times. I suppose it depends on the context in which it is said and how it is said. If I am in a meeting with maybe higher level people and I would be referred to as that I would probably be more angry than if it was just general chat in the office. I suppose it maybe depends on who is saying it as well. I don't think civvie is a particularly derogatory term to me. I suppose we used to be called MOPS [Members of Police Staff]. I would rather be called a civvie than a MOP. People can say it in a derogatory term and some police officers will use it in that way as they see civvies as less than police officers. So it can be used and can annoy me."

The reconstruction of civvies as 'MOPS' continued processes of stigmatic labelling and provoked a cultural response from police staff, particularly given the connotation of the undertaking 'menial' forms of domestic labour. For Delilah,

*Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "I hate the word MOP as well [as civvie], which I think is particularly offensive."

These linguistic practices ultimately contributed to a cleavage in the field and associated sub-fields between cops and civvies, by perpetuating a culture of 'them and us'.

Understood from a Bourdieusian perspective, the stigmatic labelling of the 'civvie', and the reconstruction of this group as 'MOPS', cannot be reduced to benign talk. Instead, names perform important ideological work that help to sustain, or in some cases subvert, dominant practices and classes. For Bourdieu,

> "In the symbolic struggle over the production of common sense, or, more precisely, for the monopoly of legitimate *naming*, that is to say, official – i.e., explicit and public – imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world, agents engage the symbolic capital they have acquired in previous struggles… Thus, all the symbolic strategies through which agents seek to impose their vision of the divisions of the social world and their position within it, can be located between two extremes: the insult, an *idios logos* with which an individual tries to impose his point of view while taking the risk of reciprocity, and *official nomination*, an act of symbolic imposition that has behind it all the strength of the collective, the consensus, the common sense, because it is performed by a delegated agent of the State, the holder of the *monopoly of legitimate symbolic violence*." (Bourdieu 1985: 731-732).

Reflecting Bourdieu's deeper perspective upon stigmatic labelling and its consequences, one intelligence analyst, Roddy, recounted during fieldwork how, for him, the cultural distinction between these groups ran deeper than simple talk; it was a result of everyday practice, built upon a structure of inequality in both the sub-field and the wider field,

> *Roddy, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think it's also to do with 'them and us' because of just the different terms and conditions we work to right down to the small everyday matters: one gets paid for their lunch break, one doesn't; one works shifts, one doesn't; one has a fixed start time, one doesn't; one has natural career progression, one doesn't; one has a permanent job for life unless they screw up, one doesn't [laughs]. So whenever there is organisational change or any kind of threat to how people work, one is slightly more protected or shielded than others… so I think whenever you get that sort of situation of inequality if you like, where there could be greater equality, that kind of translates into everyday kind of 'them and us' cultures."

This everyday distinction or cultural dissonance – a construction of 'them and us' based upon a fundamental structural division and perpetuated through processes of stigmatic labelling – was also reproduced in the sub-field through an asymmetric distribution of capital in the politics of social space.

## 7.2.2   Cultural dissonance and space

During fieldwork the division between police officers and intelligence analysts was often apparent in a real physical dislocation; with intelligence analysts working in small groups, isolated from any extensive contact with, or exposure to, police officers, and particularly 'cops'. For example, Ruby worked in a small office with just one other intelligence analyst, having previously worked more closely alongside police officers in a larger intelligence unit. For her,

> *Ruby, Intelligence Analyst*: "It makes the difference working with police officers as opposed to this rarefied atmosphere we are in [here] where you are not meant to have any contact with them [police officers]."

Ruby clearly felt side-lined by her location, which she considered – at best – to be a contributing factor in the marginalisation of her labour. Derek, also an intelligence analyst, recalled the detrimental effects such isolation could have on the intelligence analyst, the quality of their tasking and the impact of the analytical products they create. For Derek, who worked at a police headquarters,

> *Derek, Intelligence Analyst*: "I've spoken to analysts out at division and some of them are physically detached from any police officers, so they sit at the end of the corridor out of the way and they have the same disjoin, there is not that kind of operational overlap where stuff is going on, anything they are being asked to analyse they don't know the operational aspect of what it is they are being asked to analyse. They are not in the same room and they are not tasking to these guys on a regular basis. Quite often it will only be the [analyst] coordinator that has really got any liaison with the cops, finding out first-hand what it is. The rest of it just [is] 'can you do a piece of work on blah blah blah' and it gets passed down. And you know you are not 100% aware of why you are doing this piece of work, what's it meant to inform, you know? All the bits and pieces, or any of the operational chitchat you might get just from being closely connected to them [police officers], they are losing all that. Not just from our perspective [at force headquarters] but from division as well. They are in the same boat, they don't get 'why are we doing this?' or 'what's the impact going to be?' Maybe there is somewhere they could go to get better informed at it, but they are just missing that link."

Both police officers and intelligence analysts referenced this missing link, this disconnect, with their workforce counterpart. The consequences of this disconnect could magnify the cultural dissonance between these two groups. Roddy, who recalled how, following this separation, intelligence analysts could be excluded from the valuable forms of knowledge, or cultural capital, that give legitimacy and authority to knowledge claims in the sub-field,

> *Roddy, Intelligence Analyst:* "I remember from my experience at division we were a very relevant team of analysts to senior managers, providing statistics, figures and tactical assessments and all the things they needed, the kind of things they needed to tick the boxes as divisional commander. But we're the most irrelevant department to the operational units in the division because we would be tasked by the divisional managers to do a problem profile on vehicle crime because targets are not being met and we were completely blind to the fact that in the room next door they are talking about this offender and that offender who are committing all these offences, but none of that is documented on any system so it is invisible to us, we produce that report that has no mention of any of that activity and they look at it and say 'that is a waste of time'. They speak to the commander and because it's a cop speaking to commander of course that's going to be seen as the most valid explanation of what's going on and the product is filed away and it just looks completely irrelevant. And you feel slightly a failure as an analyst because you are not privy that kind of culture. I think in cop culture there is so much that is hidden from the analyst. It could be that kind of information or it could be a political thing as well, the number of times you'll be asked to do a report not knowing what the politics are and it is actually to denigrate the efforts of another department or something like that, that's the ulterior motive behind it. Maybe experience as an analyst makes you a bit more aware that there could be something like that behind the scenes."

Overcoming this missing link was identified as a major factor in improving the integration of intelligence analysis in Scottish policing, For example, Olive, an intelligence analyst contended,

> *Olive, Intelligence Analyst*: "Analysts need to work closer with the cops just to improve relationships and get a different perspective. Police officers do have a different perspective on things, things that you write. Things that you read, they'll maybe see something different in it that you wouldn't have got, so I think you'd need to increase that."

Olive's appeal for closer working and an increased level of mutual understanding between these two groups resonated with the views of some police officers encountered in fieldwork. For example, as Jennifer stated,

> *Jennifer, Police Officer*: "We'd like to know what each other's jobs are, where our remits are, what we are trying to achieve separately and jointly."

However, the data collected throughout fieldwork did not suggest that the simple co-location of police officers and intelligence analysts would instantly transform these dissonant relationships and provide this missing link.

The exposure of these groups to one another – through close working in a particular police intelligence office – could, in fact, magnify the asymmetry in their structural positions, accentuate cultural differences and result in a deeper sense of discord or disharmony. In short, working more closely together could actually *intensify* cultural dissonance. Even when co-located in the same office, dissonant practices could emerge between police officers and intelligence analysts. For example, Lucas worked in an office alongside police officers, and I asked him if there was a divide between police officers and intelligence analysts in the workplace. He answered,

> *Lucas, Intelligence Analyst*: "Well right now in my office we have one big bank of desks and on that side of the desk [points to his right] it's all police officers, and on that side [points to his left] it's all civilians. It's as glaringly obvious as that… So yeah, there is a divide."

Amber, an intelligence analyst, worked closely with police officers in her workplace. This routine exposure, however, did not necessarily result in a positive increase in mutual understanding and respect; instead she still recognised the existence of a deep sense of cultural dissonance between police officers and intelligence analysts. For her,

> *Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "I didn't realise it would be, erm, didn't realise the difference in cultures between police officers and police staff at that time as well… Erm, to me working as a member of police staff, not all police officers but a lot police officers look down on police staff and don't see them as doing as good a job as what they [police officers] are doing. In the office I work in at the moment it's probably not as bad as it is elsewhere, but I would say police staff are still seen as second class by police officers… And there is this general thought that it needs a 'police perspective', but I don't think anyone knows what that 'police perspective' means, but that word [police perspective] has been used quite a lot. It's down to a cultural thing; they think that they need a police officer there because the police officer knows more than a member of police staff is gonnae know."[144]

However, from their dominant position in the sub-field police officers often recognised this structural division but failed to appreciate, or even acknowledge, any concomitant cultural dissonance. For example, Abi explicitly rejected Amber's idea that police staff could be considered as 'second class citizens' in the police service,

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[144] To cite a further example of division between these two groups, Amber recalled, "I can remember one course I went to, it was on Excel, Microsoft Excel, and all the polis sat on one side of the room and all the civilian staff on the other and we went to lunch and all the civilian staff sat at one table and all the polis at another so they did! [laughs]."

*Abi, Police Officer*: "I find this really difficult. I've got friends who are civvies and I don't treat them any differently, they work for the police. I'd like to think that I don't treat people that I work with any differently and I don't consider myself to be any better than a civilian who is doing the same job. I think it's unfair to say [police staff are] second class citizens. What's the alternative? [Names chief constable] says we are going to keep all the civilians and start getting rid of police officers out on the street, we are going to start cutting the numbers of police officers? You are going to see crime increasing. And the crime figures. If the police went what would happen? Anarchy, and you wouldn't have anyone to deal with it."

Abi's account acknowledges the inherent instability in the field, referencing the economic challenges facing police forces in Scotland, but implicitly recognises the structural and cultural dominance of the police officer when it comes to 'proper' policing. In Abi's 'black sky' scenario the thin blue line is ultimately comprised of cops. As one DCI recounted during fieldwork, 'it's a *police* force, for *police officers*!'

### 7.2.3   Focussing on cultural dissonance in the field and sub-field

The cultural dissonance between cops and intelligence analysts was apparent in the data that emerged from the focus groups conducted for this study, of which there were three: one consisting of both police officers and intelligence analysts, one consisting only of intelligence analysts and one consisting solely of police officers. As discussed in chapter two, the focus groups were conducted during the latter stages of fieldwork and were constructed to offer an opportunity for participants to challenge the representations emerging through the process of research and analysis. As a research method, focus groups generate a dynamic which shape the 'findings' that emerge from this form of qualitative enquiry (Farnsworth and Boon 2010: 605-606).[145] Whilst the focus groups conducted for this study provided a wealth of qualitative data in the voices of those who participated, the emergence of less visible group dynamics was also important in shaping the representations through fieldwork.[146] Appreciating the unique group dynamic of each focus group contributed to an understanding of structural division, the

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[145] As detailed in chapter two, given the epistemology of this study the word 'representations' is preferred instead of the word 'findings'.

[146] Focus group participants were rendered 'invisible' as physical persons as their voices were recorded using audio equipment only, with no video or other images. Similarly, once transcribed and analysed the voices became further disembodied and de-personalised; rendered as hard, and cut into thematically coded pieces of data. In this regard, fieldnotes made prior to and following focus groups and re-listening to the audio data were important in re-invigorating the voices of participants, capturing their personalities, and recognising the group dynamics that emerged.

asymmetric distribution of power and forms of capital in the police service and, ultimately, cultural dissonance.

The first focus group conducted for this research, comprising both police officers and intelligence analysts, challenged the construction of cultural dissonance as represented in the research, but in attempting to do so validated its existence as a social phenomenon. This was apparent in both the provision of qualitative data – or 'what people said' – but also in the development of the focus group dynamic: who said what, who said what to whom, at which point participants contributed, and, importantly who did not contribute at certain points in the discussion. In fact, it was during this first focus group that the existence of a 'them and us' culture emerged as an explicit theme in the research study, inextricably linked to the cultural challenge of the intelligence analyst as framed in chapter five.[147] During this first focus group Kelly, an intelligence analyst, believed that dissonance occurs when the intelligence analyst challenges the primacy, power and capital of the police officer in the sub-field. She suggested that intelligence analysts have a specific, subordinate position in the sub-field, a place or position from which they should not transgress,

> *Kelly, Intelligence Analyst*: "And I think a lot of the 'us and them' happens because people actually forget why they are there doing that job, and we as analysts are there to do a specific role and I think sometimes, and I hate to say it, I've seen an analyst on day two of an MI [major investigation] telling an SIO [senior investigating officer] how it happens and I've cringed. And I'm sure it rubs police officers completely up the wrong way. So I think everybody has a place and you're right analysts are a great tool, police officers do something completely different and everybody has to know how to complement each other. And I think sometimes people are guilty of forgetting."

During the same focus group, Marie, a DS, developed Kelly's point further. For Marie the existence of a 'them and us' culture was due to the pragmatic reliance of police officers on other experienced cops. Any resultant perception of cultural division between cops and intelligence analysts was a misconception on the part of the intelligence analyst, rather than any deliberate strategy of exclusion or marginalisation by other powerful actors in the sub-field. Marie directly replied to Kelly's point,

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[147] This facilitated, and necessitated, the re-visiting and critical re-appraisal of fieldnotes and interview data collected earlier in fieldwork.

*Marie, Police Officer*: "Then it becomes 'them and us' and that's not necessarily true. 'This is what I was wanting to achieve from what you've produced and you've not given me what I was looking for and this is the reason why'. I mean I have worked with an analyst and given them the statement and you produce the document and we are all on the same track. But they have had vast police experience and I think you have to accept that you can analyse something but one number might not seem significant to someone without the experience, but it actually is... so at times it can be perceived that there is this 'them and us', and you do at times because the cop maybe gets it quicker, but ultimately can be perceived by that individual as 'them and us' and it's not and we are just trying to explain the best way that I need this evidence. I don't think that this is the analysts that are coming in's fault because they are just getting flung into these environments and told to get on with it... And I think it's a shame that it's sometimes perceived that it's 'them and us' and it's not the case at all, because they are part of your unit and part of your department and what you can produce to get to your final end, so you know. I think it's quite sad because I've seen in the past 10 years there's been a massive turnaround for most of the staff that we work with in the civilian roles, and at the end of the day if they are in the job and producing what anybody else would produce there is not a problem, and I think sometimes it is used as an excuse when it's not necessarily always the case."

The convergence of Kelly and Marie's successive contributions pointed towards an emerging consensus in the discussion: that any persistent perception of a 'them and us' culture – of cultural dissonance – was a misunderstanding on the part of the intelligence analyst. In fact, any distinction being made between cultural groups was done so purely as a pragmatic effort to make effective use of those with the most appropriate cultural capital to the task at hand: experience, and specifically the experience of cops.

The emerging consensus in this focus group session, however, was challenged by the contribution of an intelligence analyst late in the discussion. To this point the intelligence analyst – Carey – had not yet contributed to the discussion, preferring to sit quietly whilst others led and shaped the group dynamic. Carey was instead both silent in voice and slight in stature, diminutively distancing herself from the group through her hexis. This made her input especially startling as it disrupted the developing consensus. Carey interjected,

*Carey, Intelligence Analyst*: "Where I work the intelligence [work] is actually done by civilians and we have what we call a 'black trouser, blue trouser' problem where because the police officers have black trousers and we have blue trousers, and the officers who come into the unit will only speak to a police officer despite the fact that they've actually come to speak to a civilian. They still have that culture that they won't speak to a civilian. They come in and go 'oop' and walk away and when the girls go 'can we help you?' and when they say what they are

there for we go, 'actually you need to speak to us'. I think they still just don't understand."[148]

This was startling not simply because it was Carey's first input to the discussion, nor because of her soft spoken tenor; it was also surprising because it was not strictly the topic of conversation at the time. It changed the flow and direction of the discussion, which had hitherto been reaching the consensual point that whilst there was the potential for a culture of 'them and us' to develop, any such cultural dissonance was atypical in the sub-field of police intelligence work and the wider, contemporary field of policing.[149] Carey's input was immediately followed up by a police officer, who sought to reconcile her comment and repair the group dynamic once more, and did so with another appeal to the cultural capital of experience, although this time recognising the expertise of a select group of police staff: retired cops. Richard contributed,

> *Richard, Police Officer*: "With ourselves we have two civilian staff who are ex-police officers with over 30 years' service and young cops will come in and obviously not want to speak to them without even appreciating the fact that they've got a history behind them, you know? Because they are now a civilian member of staff they don't know their history therefore they do need to speak to a police officer despite the fact that these civilian members of staff have over 30 years' experience in the police and retired at ranking levels themselves."

In this contribution Richard sought to contrast the naïve young cop with the older, wiser member of police staff, the ex-cop. The critical point, however, is that for Richard the legitimacy, authority and standing of these members of police staff – and thus their position in the sub-field – comes from their previous experience and developed habitus as police officers, not any unique, distinct contribution they make as being civilian members of police staff.

The perception of a cultural dissonance between police officers and intelligence analysts – through a recognition of a 'them and us' culture – was also evident in a focus groups conducted with only intelligence analysts.[150] Despite the different group composition and dynamic, there were some issues of convergence with the first focus

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[148] Note Carey's construction of her professional peers as 'girls', reflecting the arguments developed in chapters five and six.

[149] Carey's point also resonated with me because it implicitly invoked the image of the 'blue coated worker' of Robert Reiner's study police unionism (see Reiner 1978).

[150] During this focus group the 'them and us' culture was widely accepted, and the intelligence analysts shared their experiences of cultural dissonance freely.

group. For example, a participant in the second focus group, Harriet, concurred, unknowingly, with the point raised by Marie in the first focus group: that there had been a recent cultural adaptation that had diluted some of the discord inherent in the 'them and us' culture. Harriet suggested that discord and disharmony indicative of earlier forms of dissonance had instead been supplanted by recognition of the difference of the intelligence analyst and an acceptance of their specialist contribution. For Harriet,

> *Harriet, Intelligence Analyst:* "When I was at division a long time ago, and things might have changed but very much it was 'them and us'. They [cops] didn't share information with us and thought we were irrelevant quite a lot of the time and we just didn't talk to them enough was a big feeling of my time at division. We didn't have, there were certain policing units we spoke to quite regularly and certain policing units we never spoke to, ever, and engendered the 'them and us' relationship. Now I have been in the police longer I think there has been a slight culture change, and also working in certain departments. Yes, there is still a 'them and us' relationship, a little bit, but it comes more out of the fact that we do different roles, and although its 'them and us' my current colleagues have more of a respect for what I do because it's something they don't think they could do, so they see me as separate but they see me as part of the team. So it's less of an antagonistic 'them and us' and it's more of a 'well, we are all working together to get the same result but the analyst does all this fancy stuff with the database and spreadsheets to achieve our aims and we don't do that'."

Importantly for Harriet, despite this recent culture shift, difference remained a key factor in understanding one's status in the sub-field. An appreciation of the tension between cultural dissonance and more recent cultural change also emerged in the data from the focus group consisting solely of police officers.

During the focus group consisting solely of police officers I explored the extent to which police officers felt that their experiential knowledge was valued by intelligence analysts. The following extract is taken from that focus group session,

> *Colin*: "Do analysts value your knowledge as cops?"

> *Shaun, Police Officer*: "No I don't think [so], no. I don't think they do all the time. Sometimes they do, sometimes they don't. Personal experience, I don't think they do."

This perspective was tempered in the group by recognition that some of this could be attributed to specific personalities, rather than systemic culture shared amongst intelligence analysts; although some intelligence analysts were considered to be in the

'habit' of thinking that 'I am an analyst and I know better because I have all this information'. The same focus group, however, challenged Poppy's assertion, emerging earlier in fieldwork, that some intelligence analysts were 'boffins' who had difficulty communicating with cops. An extensive exchange between two police officers revealed the extent to which intelligence analysis, and intelligence-led policing more generally, has shaped the conditions of the sub-field, and the vocabularies within,

*Fred, Police Officer*: "I can remember individuals who have come in like that, like a boffin. They can give you a report but nothing tangible at the end of it. Which is great reading but doesn't provide you with anything at the end of it. I have met one or two like that. But equally, and I'll play devil's advocate here, sometimes in the police service we have a mind-set that that everybody is bad and we'll work back from there, and sometimes just this fresh overview that [is] coming in and saying 'that's just a cultural thing and that is what is going around the rounds' can add some value."

*Andrew, Police Officer*: "Poppy sounds like a product of her environment a bit. That bit at the end 'they just cannae speak with cops and cops just cannae speak with civilians', you would think we are some sort of different species [group laughs], but that isn't actually the case. Everybody is just a person who has went into a certain career path and this kind of chat is just detrimental, really. How difficult is it to say 'what is your opinion, please provide me with some feedback, this is my view'? This kind of chat, just [tails off]."

*Colin*: "So that reflects a particular kind of culture as well?"

*Andrew, Police Officer*: "I think so, you know. You know, if Poppy thinks the onus should be on analysts to speak with cops, there should be an onus on everyone to be able to speak with one another."

*Fred, Police Officer*: "On the communication front you are speaking about boffins coming in. Now, there is a lot of analytical chat like 'gap analysis'. If you asked a uniformed [police] officer walking up Sauchiehall Street if he'd seen the latest gap analysis he would look at you as if you've got horns and you are speaking Klingon. And it is, it's all about the terminology, and it's not just the fact that communication in terms of one-to-one, it's the language used during the communication to ensure that everyone is on the same page."

*Andrew, Police Officer*: "We should be schooled in that language though."

*Fred, Police Officer*: "We should be."

*Andrew, Police Officer*: "It's like police talk, you know, if they were listening to a police radio or if we came in and said that's a [interrupted]."

*Fred, Police Officer*: "A FAGI [a call made by a member of the public to the police service and considered as a 'false alarm, with good intent'].

*Andrew, Police Officer*: "Yeah, whatever. You know, it's an intelligence environment and that is the language we should use. And I think there is an amount of education of our own, the police [officer], into this as well."

However, despite this recognition of recent cultural change and adaptation in the sub-field, or at the very least an appreciation of the requirement for it, data from other forms of fieldwork disclosed evidence of both discord and disharmony between cops and intelligence analysts in practice. This cultural dissonance was manifest in its consequences in the sub-field.

## 7.3 The Consequences of Cultural Dissonance in the Sub-Field

### 7.3.1 Friction in the police family

The consequences of cultural dissonance are important because, to be effective, intelligence-led policing requires the seamless integration of intelligence analysis into decision-making processes. Any cultural inhibitors to this integration, therefore, can be critical to the overall success or failure of this policing paradigm. As Jerry Ratcliffe has argued,

"Intelligence-led policing is attempting to synchronize two different types of knowledge (old and new) that are, on the surface, fairly mismatched, and is attempting to do so in order to create intelligence products that go beyond the existing arrest mentality and into preventative areas that are incompatible with the subculture of current policing. The challenges are significant." (Ratcliffe 2008b: 215-217).

Ratcliffe concludes that the integration of analysis into police intelligence work will be slow, with no guarantee of success (Ratcliffe 2008b: 217). Any such success will, *inter alia*, require close working between cops and intelligence analysts to ensure the effective flow of information and the maximal exploitation of different forms of expertise. Currently, however, the integration of analysis is mitigated by both cultural dissonance and a mutual lack of understanding of the respective roles of the cop and the intelligence analyst. Contrary to the requirement of close working, there were instances in fieldwork in which both police officers and intelligence analysts considered their counterparts to be 'useless' or 'pointless'. One police officer, a sergeant with a background in both intelligence work and community policing, stated,

*Ben, Police Officer:* "I mean a lot of the times the roles that are being done by police staff now were being done by police officers who were on light duties or long term sick... I think there just seems to be when the job was previously been done by one police officer there seems to be far more civilian staff required to do that job. A classic example is the intelligence unit... We used to have one guy doing warrants and one cop doing, as it was, your intelligence. Now it's a whole department. It's a whole department!"

In addition to his cynicism regarding the benefits of civilianisation, Ben was especially critical of the role of the intelligence analyst. He continued,

*Ben, Police Officer*: "I mean we've got [intelligence] analysts? *Why*?... We've got two analysts, four analysts, telling us what every cop knows anyway. I worked at [mentions town in West Lothian], and I didn't need the analysts, or I shouldn't need an analyst, to tell me where the [crime] hotspots are. I shouldn't need an analyst to tell me that there have been a number of housebreakings there, concentrate on that area. We used to do that anyway... Nowadays you pay an analyst God knows how many thousands pounds to come up with these fancy drawings with red spots about where everything is happening. Well, a good police officer should know that. I mean to me that's just wasting money."

Ben's critical voice was not isolated in fieldwork. Jack, also a police officer, offered a similar perspective during a focus group session consisting of both police officers and intelligence analysts. For Jack,

*Jack, Police Officer*: "I think they [intelligence analysts] have to prove something worthwhile. I have been in that kind of situation where there was a town where a beat cop had ten years [experience] before. It [intelligence analysis] isn't really telling you anything new. Whether that's a management thing or that the analyst isn't telling you something new."

This theme also recurred in the focus group held consisting solely of police officers. Fred, a police officer, contributed,

*Fred, Police Officer*: "A cop sitting at a division who sees the sign on the door 'analyst' but doesn't know what happens within that room will only read a report produced by an analyst and, as has been said earlier, tells me something I already knew. Or it's out in a different format to be easier understood, and I don't belittle it by saying pretty pictures, but sometimes a picture tells a thousand words, and until that, that's only one side of the analytical work that's undertaken, but that's the side that's probably coal-facing in terms of what the officer in the street sees, and it's not the most impressive part of the analytical product… you'll only see a report that says there's housebreakings taking place at such and such a place, and

the answer comes back 'oh really Sherlock, tell me something I don't know', and that, to a degree, undermines the work an analyst is trying to achieve."

As aforementioned, some intelligence analysts recognised the destructive potential of such descriptive analysis. Returning to the focus group session consisting of police officers and intelligence analysts, the following discussion took place between three police officers,

> *Kenneth, Police Officer*: "That's all cops think analysts can do: putting dots on maps about housebreakings."
>
> *Marie, Police Officer*: "Perhaps as well what you were saying earlier about a cop in that area and it's the same hotspots and stuff like that. I think maybe analysts are sometimes only doing charts and maps for senior management telling them to go straight to this bit or straight to that [and cops] sometimes see that as devaluing their knowledge and experience. And it's just 'cause the management have so much on their mind that they just want a quick answer and maybe, just maybe, that's a basis for cops who feel devalued."
>
> *Richard, Police Officer*: "I also think that its giving police officers too much as well and reducing the quality of officers, because if you're out there and you're going to the same areas and the same housebreakings in your areas if you've got a wee bit of savvy you'll go where are your housebreakings sneak oot at night catch the boy and solve your problem. But they are just telling you to go and stand there go and do this and go and do that, it demeans your integrity and your ability to think for yourself."

Returning to Fred, he reflected upon how, since their introduction, intelligence analysts have become the harbingers of a new form of knowledge that has supplanted the traditional knowledge held by cops,

> *Fred, Police Officer*: "When I joined the job, pre-Christ, that was your role. You as a beat officer you, as a beat officer out on the beat, knew where your housebreakers lived, knew where your resetters stayed, where their premises where, which pubs they frequented, who you would go [to] if you were looking for a particular type of individual, which drinking den they would be found in, and that was the role of the beat officer. I think the [role of the] beat officer has been eroded over the past 20, 30 years and now they are almost doing a fire-service response, in that they answer calls, answer calls, answer calls, and the role of the analyst has taken the place of that knowledge from the beat officer."

Such contributions were indicative of how friction could develop between cops and intelligence analysts when the latter were seen to debase, devalue or challenge the

cultural capital of the former, particularly through the provision of alternative or competing forms of knowledge.

The conflictive aspects of cultural dissonance were not, however, limited only to police officers: intelligence analysts encountered throughout fieldwork also demonstrated dissonant attitudes towards their police officer counterparts. For example, Darren, an intelligence analyst, offered an opinion reminiscent of the critical comments of Ben. Whilst Ben considered analysts as a 'waste of money', Darren similarly viewed cops working in intelligence offices as a 'waste of resources',

> *Darren, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think what we [intelligence analysts] do contributes more than the police officers in the current job I am in just now. Maybe because we've got a physical [analytical] product we can see. I don't know what the cops actually do in our department. There is sometimes like a doubling of work and stuff like that. So I'd say we do make a product that gets talked about at a meeting and actions are made based on the discussion so I think we contribute more than the cops. To be honest wi' you, you don't need half the cops in there, it's something a civilian could do. I always said when I was out at division there was ten cops out there doing the intelligence loggers job, putting intelligence onto a database. It's data entry! And I thought 'what a fucking waste, a cop going in to do that!' But that's kinda a place for some cops who are gonna retire: get them in and gie' them a desk job [when] they are nearly 50 or over 50. But erm, it's kinda like a waste of police resources I would say."

Further evidence of cultural dissonance between intelligence analysts and police officers – a sense of difference, discord and disharmony – was apparent in the focus group conducted containing only intelligence analysts. During this session Harriet and Sally discussed how the provision of their work both challenged, and was marginalised or rejected by, police officers. As they discussed,

> *Harriet, Intelligence Analyst:* "I think the one thing police officers hate is being told that something has changed because they think they know how it is and when you come along and say 'actually no, your hotspot isn't there its moved three miles west' or whatever I tend to find they are quite difficult about responding to that finding and will sometimes dismiss your report or recommendations because it's not what they think should be done. I think that's something we've all struggled with."

> *Sally, Intelligence Analyst:* "I think obviously what we do is of value, but I have found that I have been in situations where I have been, I wasn't expecting that [to be dismissed by police officers] and I have informed them of something and they have said 'we won't read your report anyway, we know better' to my face, and I

was like 'oh!' I didn't appreciate that culture was there. I didn't think that kind of thing happened."

*Harriet, Intelligence Analyst:* "Yes, there are some cops out there who think that analysts are a complete waste of time and money and they are never gonna change their mind, which is difficult."

This evidence of friction between police officers and intelligence analysts belies the cultural construction of a harmonious police family with a common purpose, and instead points towards the prior existence of a degree of cultural dissonance in their relationships.

### 7.3.2 Cultural adaptation in a dissonant sub-field

For newly recruited police officers their initial exposure to cop culture can be an intense experience, and one to which they must adapt through the development of habitus; a worldview, perspective and 'feel for the game' that persists throughout their police career and beyond. Indeed, the principal focus of Janet Chan et al's *Fair Cop* was to depict the complex processes by which recruits adapt, redefine, cope with and make sense of positive and negative aspects of their early experiences in the police service (Chan 2003: i). Cultural adaptation, through the development, utilisation and exploitation of one's habitus is vital to success in the field of policing and its associated sub-fields. For example, in a study of cop culture, John P. Crank highlighted how a failure to adapt to a police environment – one that is characteristically dense with rules and procedures – may result in the bitter separation of the individual from the organisation through voluntary resignation (Crank 2004: 321). Crank's analysis, although focussed on police officers, can also be usefully applied to understand the role and position of police staff. Following their exposure to cop culture, intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work must adapt to these conditions, the ways in which the field constrains and, importantly, empowers them. Also, they must also adapt to the dissonance generated by structural division and cultural practices.

The available literature on this subject suggests that although the presence of intelligence analysts may cause a degree of friction in the sub-field, some intelligence analysts respond to this friction – created by the cultural challenge of their position and the concomitant attempt at their cultural control by police officers – through a form of cultural participation: by identifying with the culture to which they are exposed (see

Sheptycki 2004: 323).[151] This suggests that some intelligence analysts may, in adapting to the sub-field, adopt a cultural variant of Stockholm Syndrome. Irka Kuleshnyk (1984) depicted Stockholm Syndrome as the phenomenon wherein hostages experience positive feelings towards their captors. Thomas Stentz (1980: 138) considers any such empathetic identification as an 'automatic, probably unconscious, emotional response to becoming a victim' and a coping mechanism in a stressful situation. In this context it is notable that fieldwork disclosed that intelligence analysts, and police staff more widely encountered during fieldwork, recounted a form of 'culture shock' experienced upon their entry and early experiences in the police service, or the field of policing. Nevertheless, whilst exposure to cop culture can be traumatic, it does not always result in such positive feelings or empathetic identification. For some intelligence analysts, adapting to the sub-field can result in the development of a unique habitus that is distinct from, and indeed may be at variance with, cop culture.

Fieldwork generally demonstrated the ways in which some intelligence analysts found cultural adaptation difficult, particularly given the dissonant nature of the sub-field. There were limited examples, however, of intelligence analysts demonstrating their own unique, developed habitus in their encounters with cop culture in the sub-field. Although he faced difficulties in his time as an intelligence analyst, in the periods where Christopher was more confident in his role he toyed with the values of the cop culture to which he was exposed, particularly its hegemonic masculinity and aversion to any perceived sexual deviance from heterosexual norms. He recalled,

> *Christopher, Intelligence Analyst*: "Actually in the first few weeks that I was working in [names police force] and having found it to be a much more kinda like male kind of environment than I had ever worked in before, I dunno, I came into the job quite confident and eh I kind of at a couple of points tried to make them think that I might be gay, just to try and make them a little uncertain around me. I don't totally know why, but I just kinda thought I wanted to unsettle them a wee bit, you know? Eh, and I don't know if anyone ever picked up on that but certainly at one point someone asked me outright [if I was gay]. They didn't say outright 'are you gay?' but it was in the context of a joke, but it was directed towards me. Someone had mentioned the phrase 'shaggy and gay' about somebody and someone turned to me and said 'are you shaggy and gay?' and I was shaggy, having long hair and a beard at the time, and I said 'only one of the two', and therefore they knew I wasn't gay. I still don't know if that was because they

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[151] Sheptycki's research claims to be a UK-based study (2004: 309) but has no recognition or description of Scottish policing, despite Sheptycki's support of the claim that policing differs significantly by country, thus limiting the generalisability of any research.

thought maybe 'Christopher is gay', but I'm married and I've got a wedding ring and I've got a child and I probably imagine that I'd reference the child, so probably not. I just don't know whether it was or not [an implication of homosexuality]."

Christopher's approach to the hegemonic masculinity of cop culture was neither confrontational nor submissive: it was subversive, implicitly recognising Mike Donaldson's claims that, firstly, heterosexuality and homophobia are the bedrock of hegemonic masculinity and, secondly, that homosexuality can be considered as counter-hegemonic (Donaldson 1993: 645-648). Christopher's playful resistance in constructing an alternative masculinity that subverted the hegemonic masculinity of cop culture was uncommon in the fieldwork, and very rarely encountered in the sub-field. It did however, demonstrate the ways in which the developed habitus of an intelligence analyst – distinct from cop culture in important, contradictory ways – could be used to navigate through the conditions of the sub-field and undermine the hegemony of the dominant habitus by testing its boundaries and turning cop culture against itself. This resonates with the perspective that it is necessary to recognise social struggles in which subordinated masculinities influence dominant forms, recognising the agency of subordinated masculinities (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Developing such a 'feel for the game', however, takes a considerable amount of time spent in the field and a confidence that was uncharacteristic of intelligence analysts encountered through fieldwork.

## 7.4    Conclusion

### 7.4.1   Cultural dissonance

This chapter began by describing the structural division in the field of policing between police officers and police staff, and located a parallel cleavage in the sub-field of police intelligence work between cops and intelligence analysts. Although official, and ideological, representations of this structural condition suggest a harmonious relationship, characterised by mutual support, respect and engagement in common tasks, fieldwork persistently demonstrated the existence of cultural dissonance between police officers and intelligence analysts in the sub-field. Cultural dissonance was defined as a sense of difference, discord and disharmony between two social groups – one dominant and controlling, the other subordinate and challenging – within a specific field or sub-field, despite the possibility of being engaged in common tasks or shared goals. This

cultural dissonance between police officers and intelligence analysts – a cultural cleavage between 'them and us', between cops and civvies – emerges from a structural, institutionalised inequality between the two groups; however it is maintained through processes of stigmatic labelling and the construction of deviance by powerful actors in the sub-field, with the cultural capital to re-shape the conditions of the sub-field to suit their own interests. For Bourdieu, this power – to impose a particular, vision upon the world based upon one's authority – reflects the monopoly of symbolic violence by the powerful. In this sense, the game is rigged in favour of those actors. The consequences of cultural dissonance include the emergence of friction between police officers and intelligence analysts, which belies the official, and in some ways natural, cultural construction of a harmonious police family with a common purpose. Instead this friction points towards the prior existence of cultural dissonance in the relationships between police officers and intelligence analysts.

Chapter 8    Cultural Consequences

8.1    The Future Field of Scottish Policing

8.1.1    The political path towards a Police Service of Scotland

The introduction to this thesis highlighted how, in 2011, Scottish policing was at a critical juncture in its distinctive development and on the brink of a potentially historic transformation. The path taken at this juncture – effectively a political choice concerning a new organisational settlement – would begin a process that would shape the field of Scottish policing for the years to come. Following a period of public consultation, the decision was taken by Scottish ministers in 2012 to create a single police force for Scotland with an implementation date – which became known colloquially in Scottish policing as 'day one' – of 1 April 2013. The new police force implemented on this date would be named the Police Service of Scotland.[152] Although the political decision to create the Police Service of Scotland was not officially taken until 2012, fieldwork from as early as 2010 disclosed a feeling of inevitability amongst the police workforce about the creation and implementation of a single service. For example Archie, a police officer in Northern Constabulary who I interviewed in summer 2010, stated of the single police service,

*Archie, Police Officer*: "My view is that it is inevitable. It has been for a while."

Archie's resignation towards this development resonates with the understanding in the literature that there emerged a tendency towards greater centralisation in Scottish policing in the post-devolution political landscape (Donnelly and Scott 2010b: 260), the successes of which created functional pressure towards the deepening of such processes. The view that a single police service was inevitable became increasingly influenced by the perception that police reform was being driven by a political requirement to deliver cost savings in the public sector.[153] For Cameron, a police officer in Dumfries and Galloway Constabulary who I interviewed in autumn 2010,

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[152] Although it would be branded as Police Scotland.

[153] The Scottish Government's outline business case for police reform stated "The budget for policing in Scotland was around £1.4 billion in 2010-11. This represents the highest ever level of police funding, and an increase of 20% since 2007. However, driven by UK Government cuts, budgets are now reducing. In line with wider public sector constraints, the 2010 Scottish Budget announced an average fall in resource budgets for non-protected areas of 6.4% in 2011/12. In most cases, the reduction for the eight police forces was 2.6% in cash terms. This has required forces to make difficult decisions about how and where

> *Cameron, Police Officer*: "I think it will be one force. I think my own view is that the economy of scale tends to nudge it that way."

Although the Scottish Government gave consideration to alternative proposals there thus emerged a sense of an inexorable gravitation towards the single force model, particularly given the existing impetus of centralisation and the imperative to reduce duplication in the pre-existing model to deliver cost savings. However, whilst the deteriorating economic situation set the broad boundaries for much of the debate upon reform across the public sector during this period, the path towards a Police Service of Scotland can be more usefully understood as intensely political in its approach to transformation and reconfiguration.

The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill, the legislation that would create this new Police Service of Scotland, passed Stage 1 of the parliamentary process on 10 May 2012. During this first stage the general principles of the Bill were considered by Parliamentary Committees. The Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill would continue its parliamentary progress over the summer of 2012 through consideration by committee (Stage 2) and following full consideration of the revised bill by Parliament (Stage 3). The meeting of the Scottish Parliament of 17 May 2012 – during Stage 2 – considered the topic of civilian police staff in the context of police reform. The debate at this meeting disclosed a broad political recognition of the positive contribution of civilian police staff to Scottish policing, but also considered the consequences of police reform upon this section of the police workforce. For example, further propagating the political rhetoric of the police family outlined in chapter six, the justice minister Kenny MacAskill MSP offered this assessment of the reduction in crime across Scotland,

> "The situation is down to splendid work by the wider police family. I have commented that other factors are involved, but I believe that there is, particularly in Scotland, a clear correlation between the figures and the visible police presence, along with the outstanding work of constables – from the newest constable to the most senior chief constable – and support staff in a variety of tasks. That is fundamental and it contrasts with matters south of the border. Scotland would not

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to reduce costs." (Scottish Government 2011d: 18). This report continued that "The current structure of policing in Scotland is financially unsustainable. Whilst the service has already planned efficiencies as a way of dealing with reducing budgets, from 2013-14 these are unlikely to be sufficient." (Scottish Government 2011d: 23). The Scottish Government has claimed that the creation of single police and fire services for Scotland will deliver estimated savings of £130 million a year and £1.7 billion over 15 years (Scottish Government 2011e).

have the world-class police service that it has without the dedication and commitment from everyone in the police family, whether they are support staff or police officers… We welcome the contribution that is made by all those who serve in the police family, and the record to which they have contributed should not be denigrated by anyone or by any political party." (Scottish Parliament 2012c).[154] [155]

Despite this positive assessment the justice secretary also recognised the negative consequences of police reform, and the creation of a Police Service of Scotland, upon the police staff workforce. MacAskill considered that,

"Support staff will remain central to the success of the new service, but yes – fewer support staff than we have at present will be needed at the end of the reform journey, just as fewer chief constables will be required." (Scottish Parliament 2012c).[156]

The comments of the justice secretary were delivered in a highly politicised debate that reflected the hostility of the ruling SNP Government in Scotland to the Westminster Government in London, the close relationship between the opposition Labour Party and trade union movement, the Conservative Party's perspective on workforce modernisation in the context of reduced public spending and the Liberal Democrats' opposition to a single police force. Most importantly, the debate also disclosed that the decision to create a Police Service of Scotland would result in more than a straightforward reappraisal of an existing organisational settlement; it would also

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[154] Kenny MacAskill more regularly attributed the reduction of crime to police officers, or more accurately the increase in police officers since 2007, alone. For example, in response to the publication of recorded crime statistics in June 2012 the justice minister stated "This is the fifth year in a row where recorded crime has fallen – to a 37-year low – and with police numbers remaining well above our pledge to put 1,000 extra officers on our streets. I congratulate every one of the more than 17,000 police officers across Scotland for their excellent work to prevent and detect crime and catch criminals." There was no mention of civilian police staff in the justice minister's comments; in fact he used this opportunity to signal the savings that would be delivered by police reform in stating "Next year will see the introduction of a single police service which will strengthen local policing. Reform will protect the frontline and strip costly and unnecessary duplication out of the current structures, delivering estimated savings of £1.7 billion over 15 years." (Scottish Government 2012b). For other examples of Kenny MacAskill attributing reductions in crime to police officer numbers, with no mention of police staff, see Scottish Government 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011f).

[155] In a 2012 address to the SNP conference in Perth Kenny MacAskill argued that his administration had delivered "A record number of police officers and a 37 year low in recorded crime. They are not unrelated but correlated. I thank them for their work and their service." He also, however, attributed credit and thanks to a range of other actors in the "wider justice family" (SNP 2012), invoking an idea of a criminal justice field.

[156] The perspective of police reform as a 'journey' was first encountered in the course of fieldwork for this thesis during an interview with a chief constable in summer 2010. For *Callum, Police Officer*: "I think we are still on that journey you know? Are there things, and I mentioned, back-office things about procurement and estate management and fleet management and finance and HR and so on, that doesn't need to be done eight times and could in fact be done in one place?" The construction of an argument for police reform to reduce duplication creates functional pressure towards a single force model.

fundamentally transform the field of Scottish policing and in doing so deepen a process of *de-civilianisation* that had recently emerged.

### 8.1.2 De-civilianisation in the field of Scottish policing

At the outset of the aforementioned parliamentary debate on civilian police staff, the Labour minister Lewis Macdonald MSP, who proposed the parliamentary motion on this matter, recognised an emerging process of de-civilianisation in Scottish policing.[157] He stated,

> "We know that job cuts are already under way… The risk is that things will only get worse under the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill. ACPOS [Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland] reckons that the only way to meet the savings in the outline business case for a single Scottish police force is to shed civilian jobs. At least 2,054 will have to go by the time of the next Scottish Parliament election, and most of the rest of the civilian staff will have reduced terms and conditions. If they were to resist reductions in terms and conditions, ACPOS believes that some 2,400 posts would be lost and, if ministers make no progress on the VAT issue, it estimates that some 3,200 jobs would have to go… This [police reform] is not simply about ending unnecessary duplication or trimming at the edges; it represents a fundamental recasting of how the police service is delivered. As Unison [trade union] has said, it takes us back to the policing model that existed before civilianisation began." (Scottish Parliament 2012c).[158]

De-civilianisation can be understood as the processes whereby a decreasing number of roles, functions and responsibilities in the police service are undertaken by un-sworn civilian police staff. Importantly, de-civilianisation processes also open the space within the field for the roles, functions and responsibilities that were previously undertaken by police staff to be instead undertaken by police officers.

De-civilianisation has not previously been considered in the extant literature on policing. This is unsurprising, given both the recent emergence of this phenomenon and the small number of existing analyses of civilianisation processes; the latter of which have been constrained by a failure to challenge the rhetorical entrapment of civilianisation's apparent managerialist rationale: as public services strived for ever greater efficiency, effectiveness and economy – to do more with less – there emerged an

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[157] The emergence of the concept of de-civilianisation in the national political debate on policing in Scotland also led to the subsequent uptake of the concept in the national media space (see STV News 2012).

[158] The VAT issue refers to the potential liability of the new Police Service of Scotland to pay value added tax (VAT), whilst the previous eight force model supported by the SPSA was not liable for this tax payment of approximately £22,000,000 (see BBC News 2012).

intrinsic expectation in the literature that the logic of civilianisation would continue apace. Early signs of this rhetorical entrapment were evident in 1994 when it was acknowledged by leading academics that 'few people argue for a reversal in civilianisation' (Jones et al 1994: 215). This general acceptance of civilianisation as unproblematic civilianisation continued well into the new millennium. For example, in his 2007 book chapter 'The Future of Policing in Britain', Tim Newburn recognised that concern about police funding has always been a primary part of the impetus towards civilianisation, and that with financial pressures likely to increase further civilianisation of roles was likely (Newburn 2007b: 233). In the Scottish case, two leading scholars in Scottish policing, Daniel Donnelly and Kenneth Scott, predicted in 2005 that police staff could account for half of the total police workforce in the 'near term' (Donnelly and Scott 2005c: 250). Even as recently as 2008, Daniel Donnelly considered there was little evidence that civilianisation would slow in Scotland (Donnelly 2008: 56). Despite these persistent predictions from leading academics of the deepening processes of civilianisation, research for this thesis has evidenced that the very opposite phenomenon has recently occurred: as the field of Scottish policing has begun processes of transformation and associated sub-field reconfigurations, processes of de-civilianisation have intensified. These processes, and their recent intensification, challenge the managerialist logic in existing analyses of civilianisation, and thus require critical academic engagement.

Whilst there is no single, consistent dataset on police officer and police staff workforces, the range of available evidence discloses that processes of de-civilianisation have been emerging in the field of Scottish policing since at least 2007.[159] Data from HMICS provides that from 2006/7 to 2008/9 the total number of police staff working in the Scottish police forces decreased by over 1000, whilst the total number of police officers increased by a similar amount (HMICS 2009). More recent data, from several sources, similarly provides that between 2008/9 and 2011/12 the number of police officers increased by a 205, whilst the number of police staff decreased by 1442.[160] The following chart, based on data solely from HMICS data for the period from 1996/97 to

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[159] Thus challenging the aforementioned claim of Daniel Donnelly in 2008 that there was 'little evidence that civilianisation would slow' in Scotland (Donnelly 2008: 56).

[160] This composite dataset incorporates relevant workforce data from HMICS (2009), SPSA (2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011), Scottish Government (2012a) and the Scottish Parliament (2012a).

In the absence of a single, consistent dataset for the period covered this presents the most comprehensive and reliable data set for analysis.

2006/07 and composite data from 2007/08 onwards, demonstrates the trends in these data.

*Figure 9: Count of police officers and police staff in Scotland 1996/97 to 2011/12*
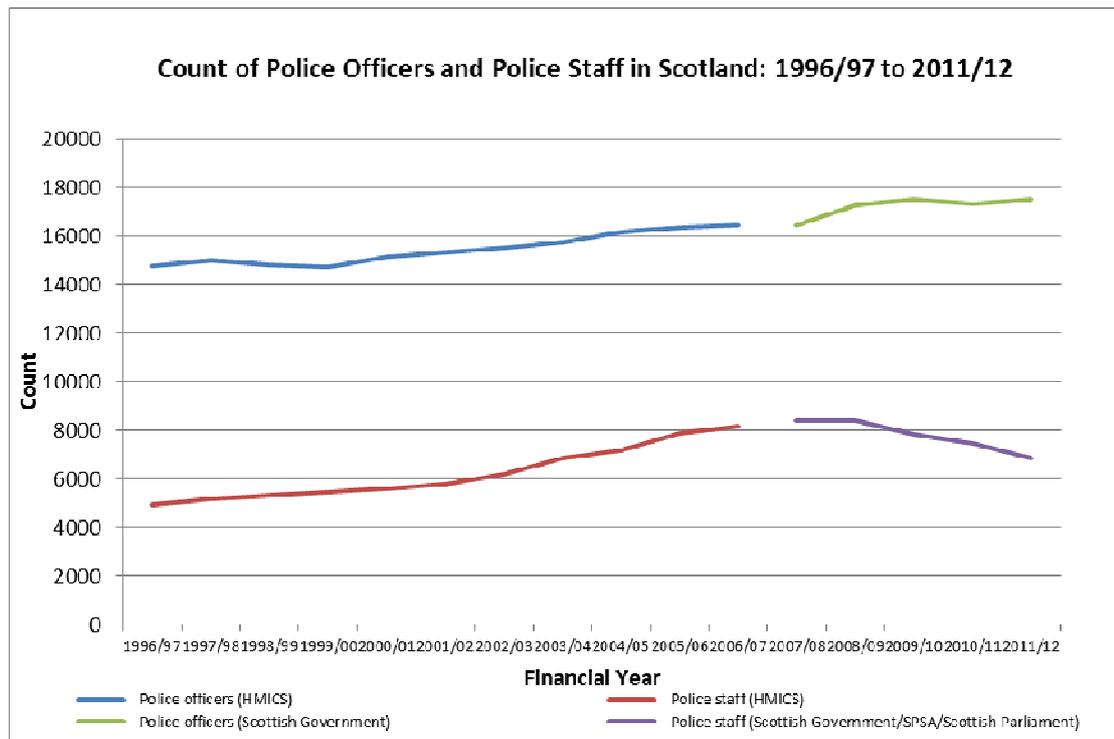


From 2007/08 onwards there emerged a clear pattern in which the police officer workforce increased, whilst the police staff workforce concomitantly declined. From a Bourdieusian perspective this shift in the overall workforce composition not only adjusted the range and composition of actors operating in the field of Scottish policing but also contributed to the on-going transformation of the field itself, given the Bourdieusian linkage between social structures and agency, or between the objective, material conditions in the field and its cultural dynamics.

The above data clearly evidences the emerging process of de-civilianisation in the field of Scottish policing. Behind this data, however, there is a requirement to understand these processes within this field as ideological: they cannot simply be stripped of their political content or laid bare as a rational or inevitable response to a deteriorating economic situation. Instead, they embody the ideological outlook and political dispositions of powerful actors in the field of Scottish policing, including politicians, police officers, the representative bodies and organisations of police officers, and the responses of police staff and their representative trade unions. Processes of de-

civilianisation are also indicative of the increasing politicisation of the field of Scottish policing in the post-devolution landscape, a phenomenon that has been recognised in the literature. For Kenneth Scott,

> "The new constitutional context in which the police in Scotland now operates is therefore much more political than it was under the previous arrangements and the amount of interaction between the police and politicians has increased significantly." (Scott 2011: 130).

The post-devolution reshaping of the field of Scottish policing heralded the introduction of new and powerful actors, specifically Members of the Scottish Parliament, who would be positioned in much closer proximity to chief constables than under the previous arrangement, within which policing policy was the responsibility of the Westminster government.[161] This reshaping also amplified the voices of some interest groups that had hitherto been marginalised in the UK policing settlement. For example, the recent success of the bodies that represent police officers – and in particular the Scottish Police Federation – has been apparent in the extent to which they exert influence upon policing matters in the political and media space, highlighting the 'dangers' routinely encountered by police officers and emphasising the heroic and unique nature of the constable.[162] The trade union movement, representing police staff, has been less effective in capturing the attention of the media, but has been somewhat successful in shaping the field through political lobbying; for example in helping to secure a concession from the Scottish Government that police reform processes, at the outset at least, would not involve the compulsory redundancies of police staff.

Fieldwork disclosed a perception amongst both police officers and police staff that the emerging settlement on the composition of the police workforce was 'political' rather than rational. I asked Delilah, an intelligence analyst, for her perspective upon the commitment of the Scottish Government to recruit and maintain an extra 1000 police officers, to which she exclaimed,

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[161] This proximity was recognised by Donnelly and Scott (2008: 188), who referred to the 'much closer linkage between policing and politicians'.

[162] This is analogous to processes in criminal justice fields elsewhere. For example, Joshua Page's recent work *The Toughest Beat* (2011) documented the similar success of the California Correctional Peace Officers Association – the prison officers' union in the 'Golden State' – in shaping penal policy through political lobbying, coalition building and media campaigns. The construction of the police officer's work as dangerous and heroic provides both politicians and the public with a representation that both resonates with fictional accounts and creates a hegemony that is difficult to challenge.

*Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "It was political!"

This perspective was encountered frequently during fieldwork and was expressed by a range of actors across the field, from chief constables to intelligence analysts. For example, Alex, an assistant chief constable reflected,

*Alex, Police Officer*: "When the incoming [Scottish] Government came into post they committed to putting 1000 extra police officers on the streets, and it's been fairly recently reported that that has been achieved. And that political position for any chief constable to play a part in challenging that political position would be rather short sighted. If [the Scottish] Government's commitment is to provide more of what they believe the community want, and a police chief says 'no I am going to go against that and I will explain why, because I am academically sound in my judgement and if you hear me out you will get to judge it'; we live in an era when [the] soundbite applies. Seeing through the debate to come to the logical conclusion just doesnae work. So there is a political dimension."

During this discussion Alex spoke in a considered and matter-of-fact manner, disclosing calmness over such field transformations reflective of realpolitik, or a commitment to serve political leaders rather than drive the politics of policing, at least as long as the privileged position of the police officer in the field continued to be protected. This approach contrasted with the ire and indignation of intelligence analysts, who considered further civilianisation to be the answer to emerging economic crises. For example during an interview Darren, an intelligence analyst, offered this response to a question regarding the approach of the Scottish Government to increasing and protecting the police officer workforce,

*Darren, Intelligence Analyst*: "Again it under-values you. You say "Fuck's sake, what's the point in me being here then, if you already value a cop before me?" So I'd say it undermines and under-values your job, but then it's a no-win situation [for the chief constable] because if he was to cut cops and crime went up then the public would be going mental so you can't cut back on cops like, it wouldn't look good and the media would have a field day with it so you can't generally make police officers redundant but then you, it's unfair to make us redundant as well, but I suppose that is kinda what has to happen. But I think the better way with these cutbacks to save money is to employ civilians in police roles, because we are less paid than a police officer. For example a sergeant in my office now is on like 40 grand a year, you could pay somebody like easy 10, 15 grand less to do his job, just as good a job if not better. I'm not saying he's not good at his job because he is, but erm, that would be the better way to cut things, employ less police officers and make them civilianised roles."

Darren's frustration, evident in his recognition of the constraints placed upon police leaders and the difficulties of the decisions they will be forced to make, was common in fieldwork. Indeed, an encounter with a chief constable during fieldwork disclosed his frustration with the political constraint of maintaining an 'arbitrary' number of police officers. This chief constable also ruminated upon these constraints following police reform in rhetorically asking 'if a chief constable of Scotland needs to maintain 17234 police officers, why not 17233?'[163]

The emergence of these political processes of de-civilianisation, however, did not go unchallenged in the field. The trade union movement, and in particular the Unison trade union representing public sector workers, sought to mount a political counter-narrative that emphasised the merits of civilianisation in an effort to influence the future shape of the field of Scottish policing. In a direct challenge to the perceived romanticism of cop culture Unison Scotland undertook a campaign to counter de-civilianisation by evoking the spirit of television series *Life on Mars* through its plea '*don't take policing back to the 1970s*'. This campaign progressed in parallel with the production of posters with the slogan '*Police Staff are Front Line',* parodying the pre-World War II '*Keep Calm and Carry On'* campaign. Examples of this material, which were encountered with increasing frequency through fieldwork, are given below.[164]

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[163] Interestingly, this chief constable also highlighted how civilianisation had become more 'expensive' over time, as police forces sought to employ individuals with 'specialist' skills.

[164] Both figure 2 and figure 3 were taken from issue three of the Unison Scotland Police Staff bulletin 'Police Matters' published in May 2012 (Unison 2012). Both figure 4 and figure 5 was taken during fieldwork in the second half 2012.

*Figure 5: Unison Scotland 'Life on Mars' campaign*
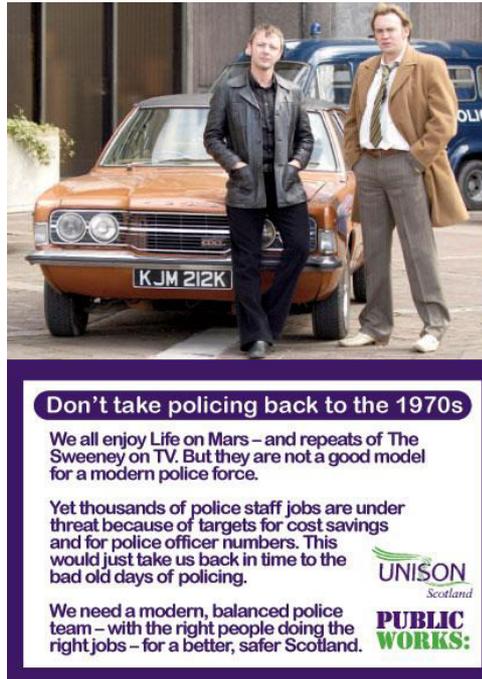


*Figure 6: Unison Scotland 'Keep Calm and Carry On' campaign*



*Figure 7: 'Keep Calm and Carry On' campaign at trade union event in Scotland*



*Figure 8: 'Keep Calm and Carry On' campaign in police office*



The rationale for such counter-narratives reflects a strategy to protect police staff by constructing them as a 'frontline' workforce. The term frontline is regularly invoked by politicians, police practitioners and the public to describe what they consider to be the most vital aspects of policing in contemporary society. In the context of reduced spending on public services, and in the debate surrounding the future of Scottish policing, the frontline is regularly regarded as something that should be protected. For example, on 12 January 2011 the Justice Minister, Kenny MacAskill MSP, delivered the following statement on police reform to the Scottish Parliament,

"The current configuration dates back to the 1970s. Structures need to be able to cope with the challenges of the 21st century. Accordingly, we need to look at how we structure effectively our police… to protect the frontline delivery that is essential to our communities." (Scottish Parliament 2011).

On 8 September 2011 the justice minister reiterated his sentiments, arguing that through reform it is possible to ensure that money is spent 'on the frontline' (Scottish Government 2011b). Similarly, in a meeting of the Scottish Parliament on 17 May 2012 Jamie Hepburn, the SNP MSP for Cumbernauld and Kilsyth, echoed the justice minister's account of how the SNP led administration was 'protecting the frontline' by increasing and maintaining police officer numbers (Scottish Parliament 2012c). However, whilst leading members of the governing SNP administration in Scotland have been vocal in the need to protect the frontline in policing, they have oftentimes been vague on what exactly they consider to constitute the frontline.[165]

This focus upon an amorphous conception of the frontline is not limited to the political rhetoric of senior ministers: it has been made essential to the very fabric of police reform in Scotland. In the Scottish Government's *A Consultation on the Future of Policing in Scotland* (Scottish Government 2011a) the phrase frontline was used seventeen times in a 49 page document, instances of which included: that options for structural reform should deliver efficiencies while protecting frontline services (Scottish Government 2011a: 5); to protect the frontline and reduce spending on headquarters and support functions (Scottish Government 2011a: 11); that tough decisions will have to be made to protect frontline services in the years ahead (Scottish Government 2011a: 13); emphasising the determination of the Scottish Government to protect frontline policing despite reducing budgets (Scottish Government 2011a: 13); and to maintain frontline services (Scottish Government 2011a: 16).[166] The trade union movement, therefore,

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[165] A similar situation is apparent in England and Wales. In March 2011 the Home Office admitted that no fixed definition exists for the frontline in policing, despite its frequent use by senior Ministers including the Home Secretary who, earlier that same month, used the phrase repeatedly and called for police leaders to "protect the front-line" (Daily Telegraph 2011: 14).

[166] Read in this context, the option to maintain the existing structure was never a likely outcome given that the consultation paper assessed that it "may require reductions in frontline policing." (Scottish Government 2011a: 24). The publication of the Scottish Government's *A Consultation on the Future of Policing in Scotland* signalled the beginning of a period of public consultation on this issue. Following the receipt and analysis of public comments the final report *Keeping Scotland Safe and Strong: A Consultation on Reforming Police and Fire and Rescue Services in Scotland* was published in September 2011 (Scottish Government 2011c). This further report contained the proposal that that the existing eight forces, SPSA and SCDEA should be brought together as a single police service governed by a single

sought to counter de-civilianisation by constructing the work of police staff as frontline, without necessarily contributing any clarity to the meaning of this phrase. The success of such counter-narratives in challenging de-civilianisation, however, was limited and did little to assuage the concerns of intelligence analysts who faced not only uncertainty in the field of policing, but also the reconfiguration of the sub-field of police intelligence work in Scotland, the consequences of which would have a potentially significant effect on their position in the new Police Service of Scotland.

## 8.2    The Future of Intelligence Analysis in Scottish Policing

### 8.2.1    Field transformations and sub-field reconfigurations

Throughout the period of fieldwork – from 2008 to 2012 – the field of Scottish policing became increasingly unstable as it moved through processes of transformation and reform. Sworn police officers could be confident of their future position in the police service, given the political commitment of the Scottish Government, that their workforce would be politically protected at a minimum of 17234 police officers. For civilian police staff, however, no such guarantees existed. The transformation towards a single Scottish police force – the Police Service of Scotland – created a significant degree of uncertainty in the field, particularly for civilian police staff. Processes of de-civilianisation had deepened even before the 'rationalisation' towards a single police service, through a combination of voluntary redundancies and recruitment freezes as the concomitant number of police officers increased. Moreover, there emerged an expectation that de-civilianisation would both persist and deepen as police reform progressed, despite the protestations of trade unions and the construction of counter-narratives against the prevailing political ideology.[167] These field transformations – often characterised in political circles as straightforward structural reform in response to economic challenges – would have profound cultural consequences for the police staff workforce, including those intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work. Indeed, these field transformations occurred in parallel with, and in some ways intensified, on-going reconfigurations in the sub-field of police intelligence work. These sub-field reconfigurations amounted to the response of intelligence-led policing to

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Scottish Police Authority and led by a chief constable. In doing so it featured the word frontline only six time across its 77 pages; five of which were in the foreword from Kenny MacAskill.

[167] For example, the aforementioned campaign by the trade union Unison to construct civilian police staff as both frontline and best value.

emerging challenges of new policing paradigms, such as performance-led policing, as well as the wider field transformations.

Given my position as an intelligence analyst and a civilian member of police staff throughout fieldwork, these field transformations and sub-field reconfigurations – and processes of de-civilianisation in particular – posed a significant professional threat. There emerged a real possibility that the political ideology driving de-civilianisation could, for me, result in redundancy, with its consequences for my family and financial situation, in addition to any impact upon my personal and professional identities. As a qualitative sociological researcher however, this period of fieldwork also offered a unique opportunity to document these historic field transformations in Scottish policing and to study the impact upon sub-field reconfigurations in police intelligence work. The particular focus of fieldwork facilitated an exploration of how such field transformations and sub-field reconfigurations shape the future of intelligence analysis.[168]

### 8.2.2   De-civilianisation in a reconfiguring sub-field

The field transformations that were occurring at the structural level of Scottish policing would also have an important influence upon on-going reconfigurations in the sub-field of police intelligence work. Despite the relatively small number of intelligence analysts across the Scottish police service the intelligence analyst role featured relatively prominently in the political debate on police reform.[169] For example, during debate in the Scottish Parliament on the Police and Fire Reform (Scotland) Bill the Liberal Democrat MSP Alison McInnes recognised that,

> "The role that civilian staff play in supporting our police forces is vital but frequently overlooked. It is all too easy to think of civilian staff as sitting in a back office doing paperwork when the fact is that they carry out a myriad of vital roles as intelligence analysts, custody officers and community wardens, to name but a few." (Scottish Parliament 2012c).

Other politicians, however, highlighted how intelligence analysts had not been insulated from on-going processes of de-civilianisation, and would not remain so in the future. As Graeme Pearson, the Labour MSP and former Director General of the SCDEA argued,

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[168] As mentioned in chapter one, the structure of Scottish policing had remained relatively stable since 1975, even allowing for the introduction of devolution through the Scotland Act 1998.

[169] In April 2012 intelligence analysts accounted for 1% of the total police workforce in Scotland (police officers and police staff) and 4.2% of the police staff workforce in Scotland.

"The evidence gained from staff across the forces indicates that they are losing staff involved in warrants, intelligence analysis, football monitoring duties, custody, HR support, media services duties and firearms certification." (Scottish Parliament 2012c).

The empirical evidence to sustain Pearson's proposition of de-civilianisation of intelligence analysis was uneven across the field. Although five of the nine Scottish police forces and agencies recorded reductions in the number of intelligence analysts from 2011 to 2012, the overall impact was mitigated by increases in the number of intelligence analysts in the two largest forces, Strathclyde Police and Lothian and Borders Police.[170]

Although the data on de-civilianisation in the sub-field of police intelligence work from 2011 to 2012 was inconsistent across Scotland, there emerged a common view amongst intelligence analysts during this period that de-civilianisation would intensify and affect all areas in the field of Scottish policing, including intelligence analysis. The voices of many intelligence analysts encountered throughout fieldwork, although in particular as police reform progressed, expressed genuine concern for their professional futures in the police service. During an interview, I asked William what were his feelings, and those of his fellow intelligence analysts, on police reform. He offered a pessimistic assessment,

*William, Intelligence Analyst*: "Fear. Full stop. Frankly, fear, pure fear. We'll soon be one Scottish force and we fear for our future. I don't think, and this comes from analysis being side-lined, it comes from analysis as not being a valuable part of what we do [as a police service]... so I don't have any confidence that we are valued enough to be seen as un-expendable… So that is what will happen, there will be a big fight at the top end where senior analysts will jockey for position and the winner will be told basically you've got to cut staff, regardless of what they can or do do for the police and that will be the end of it. And I think that it will be a massive backslide from the police in 1996-97 when analysis was created. We've back-slid to the point where analysis is almost redundant in the grand scheme of things."

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[170] In April 2011 Strathclyde Police had 76 intelligence analysts, increasing to 85 in April 2012. However, this April 2012 figure remains less than the peak number of intelligence analysts in Strathclyde Police, 90, recorded in both April 2009 and April 2010. In April 2011 Lothian and Borders Police had 43 intelligence analysts, increasing modestly to 45 in April 2012.

Intelligence analysts in Scotland generally considered the rationale for any impending de-civilianisation of their roles, understood pejoratively as 'cuts', to be economic, a perspective that challenged the previous assumptions about the drivers of civilianisation. The potential for undertaking such cuts to deliver cost-savings was recognised by intelligence analysts. Bonnie warned,

> *Bonnie, Intelligence Analyst*: "[I am] hoping that [with] the squeeze on budgets that people at an ACPOS level are sensible enough not to just think 'oh God that [intelligence analysis] is just a huge cost, we will just bin it and go back to the way we were'. It's probably not very probable but it's not something that people should assume isn't going to happen."

Amber, an intelligence analyst in another police force, provided a similar perspective to Bonnie, and also one that resonated with William's pessimistic assessment. I asked Amber what she thought would be the main challenges for analysis in the near term. She answered,

> *Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "The main challenge is going to be staffing and redundancies. Changing the structure and losing staff is going to have a huge impact on the job people have to do on a day-to-day basis and also morale. The way the job is now, there is no career for analysis now. There is no way for people to move up anymore. The pay is reduced obviously for some senior analysts and above. So to analysts and police staff in general it probably looks like a less attractive job than before. So people are now probably going to be expected to do more work probably for less pay. So I don't think it's looking positive for analysts over the next few years."

Arthur, who worked in the same police force as Bonnie, foresaw similar field transformations and sub-field reconfigurations, but remained more sanguine and philosophical about their consequences. An extract of the interview with Arthur is given below.

> *Colin*: "What will be the main challenges for intelligence analysis in Scotland over the next few years?"
>
> *Arthur, Intelligence Analyst*: "Resourcing… And I can't see that changing wi' the cuts that are coming, but that's just life. That's just life… I don't know, time will tell, but ultimately the cuts that are coming will affect not just intelligence-led policing but right across the board, public sector. How that will manifest itself, I don't know."

An interview with Delilah provided further evidence of the extent to which intelligence analysts had become afraid of how police reform would impact upon their role in the newly emerging Police Service of Scotland,

> *Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "Do I think it [intelligence analysis] will suffer? Yes I do, I think it will suffer… I think there will be fewer analysts and what we need is more analysts…"
>
> *Colin*: "What effect will that have on intelligence-led policing as a way of doing business?"
>
> *Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "Well, can I tell you, I really, really fear for it. I really do."

A fieldnote disclosed how another female intelligence analyst, Sophie, suggested that de-civilianisation amounted to on-going process of "ethnic cleansing" in the police service, within which police staff were seen as expendable.[171] Poppy reflected upon how these impending cuts would result in both unrest and an inability to deliver an effective analytical service. Poppy also envisaged a situation in which cops would increasingly undertake analytical work as the number of intelligence analysts decreased,

> *Poppy, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think if the cuts are to be to the extent that they are going to be and the analytical function is affected then it will almost go full circle, back to the days when cops were actually carrying out certain elements of analysis. I could see that, taking the cops off the street to do a lot of analytical work. Definitely, I could see that happening. So where do you go from there, when at a time you are trying to professionalise the whole analytical role and you have kinda 'part-time' cops coming in and doing the role. So that would be a concern."

The cultural consequences of field transformations for intelligence analysts were thus to exacerbate feelings of disenfranchisement, to cause disillusionment with their role, and to devalue their contribution to making a difference through their work.[172] Importantly,

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[171] Encounters through fieldwork with other members of police staff who were not intelligence analysts provided similar perspectives. For example, one member of police staff, Keith, loudly lamented "Wur being decimated!", whilst another, Douglas, adopting the persona of chief constable Kevin Smith, the ACPOS President and programme director for police reform, mocked "If yer no' a police officer yer joab's no safe!"

[172] Even prior to police reform fieldwork undertaken for this thesis disclosed a sense of uncertainty or ambivalence towards the extent to which intelligence analysts felt they were making a difference. For example, I asked Darren, an intelligence analyst, if the work he undertook at a busy divisional headquarters made a difference, to which he replied, "Erm, that's a difficult one [hesitantly] ayeee… You dae feel sometimes [it makes a difference], sometimes you do, sometimes you don't." As field transformations developed I asked Lucas, also an intelligence analyst, the same question, to which he replied, "I think, I have seen work that I have done make a difference, be taken on board and operations

these field transformations occurred alongside on-going reconfigurations in the sub-field, as intelligence-led policing reacted to the rise in influence of competing paradigms.

### 8.2.3 Diversification in a reconfiguring sub-field

During fieldwork a male intelligence analyst, Austin, speculated that "by the end of police reform in 2013" there would be "less than a couple of hundred analysts". In addition to concerns about de-civilianisation, however, there also emerged a parallel disquiet about a diversification of the intelligence analyst role in any new policing structure. In practice, intelligence-led policing had already been under pressure within the wider field of policing for some time before police reform, as alternative approaches and paradigms competed for influence. In particular, the emerging emphasis on 'police performance', apparent through the implementation of the Scottish Policing Performance Framework by the Scottish Government and associated processes at the level of individual forces, had challenged the strategic and tactical primacy of intelligence-led policing in directing police activity. Such developments are not limited to Scotland,

> "Performance management in some form is now a global feature of policing in both developed and developing countries… Under the steer of 'new public management', cultures of performance and the instruments of performance management are increasingly a part of the landscape of twenty-first century policing." (de Maillard and Savage 2012: 363).

Reflecting such global developments, the uptake of performance management in the field of Scottish policing followed the success of similar strategies in the US where William J. Bratton, the former chief of police in both Los Angeles and New York, was instrumental in designing and implementing the COMPSTAT computerised statistics system. Bratton stated in a recent article on police performance management,

> "The creation and implementation of COMPSTAT, with its emphasis on measuring the performance of police managers while holding them accountable for the crime that occurs in their districts, was seen as revolutionary in 1994 when I was appointed New York City police commissioner. Now it is nearly universally

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progressed, yes, but at the same token a lot of the work, about 85% of what you are doing just doesn't go appreciated, doesn't go acted upon."

viewed simply as the way we do business." (Bratton and Malinowski 2008: 260).[173]

Increasingly, similar models have gained traction in the field of Scottish policing as police leaders have sought to sustain claims of reductions in crime as evidence of their effectiveness and politicians have sought to increase both the public accountability and political oversight of policing activity. This has resulted in the creation of a performance-led approach to policing.

Fieldwork disclosed that the rise in influence of performance-led policing – an approach based on a quantitative analysis of recorded crime data creating functional pressures to respond to increases in crime or a failure to reach a target crime rate – was perceived as a threat to both the discretion of police officers and the value of intelligence analysis. Whilst in the US the COMPSTAT paradigm sought to seamlessly integrate intelligence into objective setting (see Henry 2003: 21), the relationship between intelligence and performance in Scotland has been more disjointed and conflictive. Donald, a chief inspector who managed an intelligence unit, reflected upon the increasing primacy of performance-led policing and the decline of discretion in the armoury of the police officer. For Donald,

> *Donald, Police Officer*: "It's linked to performance regimes so, in days gone by, if someone was urinating in the street you'd perhaps give them a quick dunt in the back, push them so they got the message and they'd peed down their trousers, [to let them know] that it wasn't the right thing to do, and you'd send them away with a flea in their ear; as long as they passed what the police call the attitude test. But erm, nowadays it's a performance indicator… if you passed the attitude test or if you were a ned you would probably get done with it, whereas if you passed the attitude test, aye, if you failed the attitude test you'd get done whereas if you passed [this test] you'd be more likely to get away with a warning and told not to do it again. Use your discretion. Whereas nowadays it's fixed penalty tickets. It's all performance, it's all targets."[174]

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[173] Interestingly, the success of police performance management, particularly in the US, has been insistent in the proposition that 'cops count' (see Bratton and Malinowski 2008: 259). Culturally, therefore it appeals to the conservative habitus of police officers and their representative organisations that self-identify, and self-preserve, as the 'thin blue line'.

[174] The attitude test appeared elsewhere in fieldwork, and referred to the discretion of the police officer to 'let someone off' with, for example, a driving offence if they displayed the right attitude. Generally this meant showing respect and deference to the police officer, admitting the offence or violation, showing remorse and offering an apology. A member of the public was also more likely to pass the attitude test if they were seen as respectable.

Donald suggested that this decline in the ability of the police officer to exercise discretion because of performance targets was a path of least resistance for policing and was in many ways antithetical to the ethos of intelligence-led policing.

> *Donald, Police Officer*: "Yes, I think erm the reliance on performance alone I think is dangerous because it comes to the stage where you are concentrating on the easy hits to keep your performance targets up; so urinators are fairly frequent, and you do more of them, they're not hard to find. People drinking in the street are not difficult to find. Housebreakers are hard to find; you'll not get many of them, people breaking into cars are hard to find, you'll not do many of them. So you'll find yourself concentrating on low level criminality, low level offences… It's not strategically, tactically and operationally led; it's populist. I am certain we will find ourselves in years to come developing in an action-plan based on a letter from a number of residents in a street, it will come down to those levels. So unless our strategic commanders are aware of that and know how to counter that, populist will be the word for it. And there will be no direction and focus about what we do. I mean local control strategies are going that way just now, the force control strategy is strategic in that it looks at every high level issues like terrorism and drug importation but if you look at local control strategies it's all about speeding motorists, antisocial behaviour and dog fouling; that's the big thing, that's what they are concerned about."

For Donald, performance-led policing challenged his expert role as a police officer, the cultural capital of his experiential knowledge, and the role of intelligence in shaping police priorities and directing police activity. The increasing influence of performance-led policing is controversial; Jones et al (2012: 223) have recounted how performance management systems aim to take the politics, and thus the democracy, out of policing and instead seek to present policing as a neutral technical exercise.

Fieldwork also disclosed an element of hostility from intelligence analysts towards the rise of performance-led policing. This was evident in an interview with Delilah, who reflected upon the consequences of performance-led policing for the discipline of intelligence analysis. For her,

> *Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "Particularly since we seem to be going down a hard performance measurement [route] here we actually risk hitting the target but missing the point…"

> *Colin*: "[So] The emphasis on performance may have some unintended consequences for [intelligence] analysis?"

*Delilah, Intelligence Analyst*: "It's catastrophic; catastrophic in its consequences. You remember that game about hitting the moles and you hit one and another one pops up? [This is like performance-led policing]... So yes, it's catastrophic. I think you've got to be very careful when you do performance culture because that's the easiest bit of policing."

Delilah, therefore, agreed with Donald's perspective that performance-led policing can result on concentrating on easy hits, to the detriment of engaging more challenging types of criminality or long-term change. Additionally, there emerged a nascent perspective that performance-led policing also challenged the intelligence analyst role, as intelligence analysts became increasingly tasked to analyse 'performance' data rather than developing inferences and analytical products – based on intelligence – that help to explain crime problems. Reflecting upon the types of work she is tasked with, Ruby recalled,

*Ruby, Intelligence Analyst*: "Plus there is like a lot of performance data requirements that we produce as well. So we actually produce the performance stats for the KPIs [key performance indicators] and all this malarkey, which again takes on its own kind of life… Performance stats are becoming more and more important basically rather than actually getting any intelligence dividend. It's 'What are we doing? What are the figures saying?'… This is where they are heading basically… I think there are still contributions it [intelligence analysis] can make. It just depends on the support you get from the senior management… whether they think they will be supportive of [intelligence] analysts or whether they will go down the route of performance and they find that more beneficial. So I think it's a bit of an uncertain future."

For another intelligence analyst, Roddy, the specificity and specialism of the intelligence analyst role – which may protect them from de-civilianisation in the short term – would be under threat in a new settlement that would most likely diversify the skill set of analysts. As Roddy discussed in a focus group,

*Roddy, Intelligence Analyst*: "I think intelligence analysis, professional performance analysis, statistics, these sorts of techniques it is a specialised role kind of the same was as scenes of crimes officers and forensic biologists do quite a specialised role and it wouldn't really make sense to place an untrained person in that role. So I think certain elements of civilianisation will be more protected than others… I see the role becoming more generic. The sort of analyst role whether you are analysing performance data, whether you are analysing crime scene photographs, whatever it is, the analyst role will become more of a hybrid one."

During fieldwork I also encountered a conversation between an intelligence analyst and a group of performance officers, a separate civilian police staff role in Scottish policing, during which they were discussing a joint project in which performance data was 'leading' the analysis of crime. The discussion revolved around the "fine-line" between both roles and the potential for "encroaching upon each other's territory" or "crossing over into someone else's realm". The language used is clearly significant from a Bourdieusian perspective. A field analysis helps to explain such behaviour and discloses the struggles for power and resources with the reconfiguring sub-field. The hostility of intelligence analysts towards diversification of their role into performance-led policing seems justified by evidence from other jurisdictions. For example, based on research with intelligence analysts in New Zealand, Jerry Ratcliffe suggested that any moves by intelligence analysts towards diversification into 'management statistics' is negative in its implications, and does not benefit the crime reduction effort (Ratcliffe 2005: 447). Based on such perspectives and evidence, the acceptance of diversification in order to protect from de-civilianisation may reap short-term rewards, but sow the seeds of long-term problems for the position of intelligence analysis in the field of Scottish policing. This may not be the best way to 'play the game' as the field transforms and sub-field reconfigurations unfold.

## 8.3    Conclusion

### 8.3.1   Cultural consequences

This chapter has sought to describe recent processes of police reform and change in Scotland – of field transformations and sub-field reconfigurations – and explain their cultural consequences as they relate to intelligence analysts. The most significant field transformation described in this chapter has been the political path towards a Police Service of Scotland, and the emerging processes of de-civilianisation that have been occurring in the field of Scottish policing since 2007. Actors in the field, both police officers and intelligence analysts, understood this de-civilianisation as inherently political, and its intensification a consequence of government policy. Although intelligence analysts had remained relatively insulated from de-civilianisation processes up until 2012 – the overall number of posts has remained relatively constant in recent times, following several years of successive increases – there has nevertheless emerged a fear that such processes would begin to take hold as police reform progressed. In a

transforming field in which political protection was being given to police officers and civilian police staff numbers were being reduced, intelligence analysts felt increasingly under-valued and marginalised. Such perceptions reflected the frustration of intelligence analysts at their lack of agency to influence or shape change, particularly compared to police officers and their representative bodies. These field transformations have occurred alongside on-going reconfigurations in the sub-field of police intelligence work as competing paradigms, and in particular performance-led policing, have challenged the hegemony of an intelligence-led approach in the wider field. As the sub-field of police intelligence work came under increasing pressure, this created further uncertainty for intelligence analysts, who feared that their role may become increasingly diverse, and intelligence analysis marginalised, in any emerging new settlement for the field of Scottish policing.

Chapter 9    Conclusions, Summary and Future Contributions

9.1    Conclusions

9.1.1    Returning to the research question

The principal research question for this study was stated in chapter two. This research question along with associated sub-questions were provided as per below.

Principal Research Question

To what extent are civilian intelligence analysts active in processes of cultural or sub-cultural practice, production, persistence and change in police intelligence work in Scotland?

*Sub-questions to explore…*

- Does intelligence analysis present a cultural challenge to established values, working practices and knowledge production in Scottish policing?
- In what ways do civilian intelligence analysts interact with other cultural groups or communities in Scottish policing?
- In what ways do cultural issues affect the integration of civilian intelligence analysts – and their analysis – into intelligence-led policing in Scotland?
- Do civilian intelligence analysts form a distinctive cultural or sub-cultural group – a community or a class – in their own right?

In direct answer to this research question, the critical exploration undertaken in this thesis has highlighted that civilian intelligence analysts are active to a significant extent in processes of cultural practice, production, persistence and change in police intelligence work in Scotland. The development of the sub-field of police intelligence work has brought new actors – intelligence analysts – to bear on core policing tasks, and their emergence both challenges and conflicts with the habitus of police officers as formed in the wider field of Scottish policing, which itself becomes a form of tormented habitus in the new conditions of the sub-field. Fieldwork disclosed the ways in which the habitus of police officers, despite facing the challenging and contradictory conditions of the sub-field and the competing currency of new forms of capital, continues to shape the sub-field in important ways. Perhaps the most important

consequence of this cultural power is the persistent privileging at the practitioner level of old, experiential knowledge at the expense of new, academic knowledge. This is problematic because the sub-field demands the exploitation of new actors, skills and perspectives in order for intelligence-led policing to fulfil its potential.

The cultural challenge of civilian intelligence analysis is not limited to the competing currency of new forms of capital, but instead extends to incorporate the youth and femininity inscribed upon their hexis. The response of a hegemonic cop culture to this cultural challenge of civilian intelligence analysis, and gendered processes of civilianisation more broadly, has been patriarchal. This is evidenced in the persistent deployment of the police family rhetoric and the infantilisation of the intelligence analyst in the sub-field, which collectively contribute to a form of symbolic violence exerted upon, and with the complicity of, the dominated intelligence analyst. Although official, and ideological, representations of the structural division between police officers and civilian police staff suggest a harmonious relationship, characterised by mutual support, respect and engagement in common tasks, fieldwork persistently demonstrated the existence of cultural dissonance between police officers and intelligence analysts in the sub-field. Cultural dissonance was defined as a sense of difference, discord and disharmony between two social groups – one dominant and controlling, the other subordinate and challenging – within a specific field or sub-field, despite the possibility of being engaged in common tasks or shared goals. This cultural dissonance between police officers and intelligence analysts – a cultural cleavage between 'them and us', between cops and civvies – emerges from a structural, institutionalised inequality between the two groups; however it is maintained through processes of stigmatic labelling and the construction of deviance by powerful actors in the sub-field, with the cultural capital to re-shape the conditions of the sub-field to suit their own interests.

Although the agency of the intelligence analyst within the sub-field is thus exposed, the extent to which intelligence analysts form a distinctive cultural or sub-cultural group – or a community or a class – in their own right is more problematic. Due to their relatively recent introduction, limited number and disparate geography, the cultural impact of civilian intelligence analysts can only be understood in their relationship with the hegemony of cop culture. In this sense, civilian intelligence

analysts exist as a sub-cultural group; in conflict and competition with the hegemony of the dominant habitus of police officers. Additionally, and in comparison to the cultural hegemony of their police officer counterparts, civilian intelligence analysts do not share a common, core habitus that helps them to navigate through, and shape, the conditions of the field and associated sub-fields. Instead, their isolated presence in the sub-field, lack of shared history (or habitus) and their lack of influential forms of cultural or social capital limit both their cultural impact and collective coherence. Certainly, civilian intelligence analysts in Scottish policing cannot be considered a class, in the Bourdieusian sense, as they lack the collective coherence and political mobilisation necessary for common action. In short, civilian intelligence analysts can, at best, be understood as a sub-cultural community; bound loosely by some common cultural experiences, similar positions and forms of capital, but lacking both a deep common history and a fully developed – and shared – habitus. This lack of political mobilisation is particularly important in the context of on-going processes of field transformation and sub-field reconfiguration in Scottish policing. The most significant field transformation in recent times has been the political path towards a Police Service of Scotland, and the emerging processes of de-civilianisation that have been occurring in the field of Scottish policing since 2007. Although intelligence analysts had remained relatively insulated from de-civilianisation processes up until 2012 – the overall number of posts has recently remained constant, following several years of successive increases – there has nevertheless emerged a fear that such processes would begin to take hold as police reform progressed. In a transforming field in which political protection was being given to police officers and police staff numbers were being reduced, intelligence analysts felt increasingly under-valued and marginalised. These field transformations have occurred alongside on-going reconfigurations in the sub-field of police intelligence work as competing paradigms, and in particular performance-led policing, challenged the hegemony of an 'intelligence-led' approach.

## 9.2    Summary

### 9.2.1   Summary of chapters

Chapter one of this thesis was titled 'Introduction' and argued that the term 'police culture' should be rejected on the grounds that it promotes a narrow and prescriptive idea of exactly who constitutes 'the police'. Regardless of their preference of

nomenclature, it was highlighted that the existing academic analyses of culture in policing share an almost exclusive concern with culture as it relates to police officers, and particularly the work of cops on the frontline. This fixation was regarded as symptomatic of a lack of recognition given to the presence, position and agency of unsworn, civilian police staff – those who are employed by the police but are not police officers – in contemporary police forces, or to consider their cultural impact. This chapter argued that this narrow and prescriptive approach of existing cultural accounts is particularly problematic given that civilian police staff are now active across a range of roles, some of which directly impinge upon traditionally core policing activities. Progressing to provide an overview of the politics and organisation of Scottish policing, this chapter highlighted how in 2011 the Scottish police service was therefore at a critical juncture, and facing a historic transformation. This chapter described the current organisational architecture of the Scottish police service – eight individual police forces supported by a range of centralised services, agencies and units – as the backdrop for cultural and sub-cultural production in the police workforce. Exploring the development of civilianisation in Scottish policing this chapter traced its historical development and rationale, as well as considering its transformational consequences. This chapter specifically considered the rise and role of the civilian intelligence analyst in Scottish policing, tracing both the historical development of intelligence analysis and the core products that the intelligence analyst is charged with creating. The chapter concluded by providing a principal research question concerning the role of the civilian intelligence analysts active in processes of cultural or sub-cultural practice, production, persistence and change in police intelligence work in Scotland, and developed a research design to deliver an answer to this research question.

Chapter two of this thesis was titled 'Research Methods' and provided an in-depth description, explanation and justification of the research methods used in this study. With a strong critical focus, this chapter especially aimed to show the mess that lies after method. The chapter began with an attempt to locate the researcher in both the mess of social research and in the broad pantheon of police research. In particular, this chapter sought to problematise the binary insider/outsider dichotomy traditionally posited in police research, and social research more broadly. Disclosing the pitfalls and practical lessons of a pilot study of the policing of young people in Glasgow, the chapter progressed to show how the research developed a thoroughly reflexive focus. This

approach to my research helped me to cope with the blurred boundaries between ethnography and life, which were on occasion brought into sharp focus by factors beyond my control. Although the practical research methods used in this study may be familiar to those with an awareness of police research, as the first qualitative sociological exploration by a civilian member of police staff, it embeds these methods in a unique and innovative methodological approach. This chapter concluded with the claim that I, as a sociological researcher, was an active and implicated in the cultural narrative this thesis depicts: a narrative that is privileged, imperfect and partial, but methodologically reflexive, rigorous and robust.

Chapter three of this thesis was titled 'Beyond Cop Culture' and attempted to reinvigorate the sociological perspective on policing. This chapter argued that the mass-media has created a powerful common-sense understanding of the Scottish police officer in popular culture which, alongside self-representations of police officers, have mythologised the masculine, male, Scottish police officer and romanticised his role in Scottish policing. Progressing to discuss academic representations of Scottish policing, this chapter argued that, despite a recent improvement in the prospects for police research in Scotland, in the period since 1964 the volume of academic research on Scotland's police has been minimal. As such, it highlighted that empirically informed academic analyses of Scottish policing – particularly exploring its cultures and practices – are both necessary and long overdue. Offering a critical and conceptual review of the literature on cop culture as it related to the principal research question, this chapter assessed the strengths and weaknesses of this existing work, highlighting the gaps in currently accumulated knowledge. Beginning with Reiner's classic account I argued that by alternatively constructing a clear concept of cop culture it becomes possible to summarise, contextualise, consolidate and clarify existing accounts, and thus create the space for further conceptual development. In recognising the pressing analytical and political requirement to move beyond cop culture this chapter traced the cultural challenge of civilianisation, first highlighted by Banton, and, in this context, the possibilities created by opening up the 'blue box' of policing to reveal actors and structures previously hidden from the academic gaze.

Chapter four of this thesis was titled 'Developing a Bourdieusian Perspective' and sought to develop the use social theory in research on culture in policing,

particularly through the application of the work and theory of Pierre Bourdieu. Beginning with the argument that practicing social theory adds value to research through the provision of a common language with which to explain social phenomena, the chapter then progressed to justify the use of a Bourdieusian framework. Bourdieu's work was selected not because of his recent rise in popularity, but because his key concepts – his thinking tools – are useful and remain under-exploited in this subject area. This chapter argued that understanding the rich complexity of Bourdieu's framework – the trinity of field, habitus and capital and the supplementary concepts of doxa and hexis – necessitated not only an understanding of each individual concept, but more importantly an explication of the interplay between these concepts. Further, this chapter argued that this framework, its dynamic and explanatory power, can only be fully appreciated through its application in empirical research. Armed with this framework I sought to tread an analytical tightrope between Bourdieu's work and my own research. The chapter concluded by drawing inspiration and support from Bourdieu's demonstration of the possibility of conducting ethnography of one's own community. It was in this spirit that, in the field, I armed myself with a Bourdieusian perspective.

Chapter five of this thesis was titled 'Cultural Challenge' and explored the extent to which the emergence of intelligence analysts in Scottish policing both challenges and conflicts with the habitus of police officers as formed in the wider field. This cultural challenge, moreover, has profound consequences for the status and position of intelligence analysts because cultural capital does not necessarily translate into power in the new conditions of the sub-field. Instead, the new conditions of the sub-field form a contested space within which police officers and intelligence analysts seek to exert influence and control upon one another and each of whom struggle to shape the sub-field. This chapter demonstrated the ways in which the habitus of police officers, despite facing the challenging and contradictory conditions of the sub-field and the competing currency of new forms of capital, continues to shape the sub-field in important ways. The most important consequence of this cultural power is the persistent privileging at the practitioner level of old, experiential knowledge at the expense of new, academic knowledge. This chapter concluded that the marginalisation of the intelligence analyst the sub-field of police intelligence work is not an incidental occurrence, but instead forms part of deliberate processes of cultural domination and

subjugation of the nascent habitus, hexis and cultural capital that intelligence analysts embody, the tendency for which to do so lies deep with the habitus of police officers, and is manifest in cop culture.

Chapter six of this thesis was titled 'Cultural Control' and challenged representations of policing as a street-based, masculine pursuit. This chapter engaged with the processes of civilianisation in Scottish policing and highlighted how such processes have been fundamentally gendered – historically and more recently – in ways that are markedly different from the parallel processes in the police officer workforce. Focussing specifically upon the development of intelligence analysis in the field of Scottish policing since 1999, it was demonstrated how, since its initial development, intelligence analysis has been predominantly undertaken by young females. This chapter represented the sub-field of police intelligence work as inherently patriarchal, and within which intelligence analysts – predominantly young and female – inhabit a liminal no man's land, whilst police officers are considered as the embodiment of masculinity. The consequence of this struggle is the infantilisation of the intelligence analyst, which constitutes a form of symbolic violence that maintains the structural stability of the sub-field and limits the agency and influence of the intelligence analyst. This chapter developed the existing research on gender in policing to incorporate new, previously unconsidered actors, and deepened its analysis through the deployment of the conceptual lens of patriarchy. In doing so this chapter further delved into the 'blue box' of policing, signalling new seams in the study of policing to incorporate not only issues of hegemonic masculinity, but also the concomitant hexis of the dominated, of femininity and youth. Both police officers and intelligence analysts shared an implicit acknowledgement of the doxic order of the sub-field; a tacit acceptance of the relational positions of the dominant and the dominated in 'the game'. However, in contrast to their police officer counterparts, intelligence analysts often lacked the necessary 'feel for the game', or habitus, necessary for success.

Chapter seven of this thesis was titled 'Cultural Dissonance' and, although recognising the diverse range of actors operating in a range of fields and sub-fields across a highly differentiated organisation, began by describing the structural division in the field of policing between police officers and police staff, and located a parallel cleavage in the sub-field of police intelligence work between police officers – especially

cops – and intelligence analysts. The fieldwork included in this chapter demonstrated how, contrary to official descriptions of a harmonious police family, the relationships between police officers and intelligence analysts in the sub-field of police intelligence work are characterised by cultural dissonance: a sense of difference, discord and disharmony between two social groups; one dominant and controlling, the other subordinate and challenging. This chapter explained how this cultural dissonance between police officers and intelligence analysts – a cultural cleavage between 'them and us', between cops and civvies – emerges from a structural, institutionalised inequality between the two groups, but is maintained through processes of stigmatic labelling and the construction of deviance by powerful actors in the sub-field, with the cultural capital to re-shape the conditions of the sub-field to suit their own interests. In this sense, the chapter showed how the game is rigged in favour of those actors. Intelligence analysts, by and large, did not demonstrate the strong, confident and developed habitus – distinct from cop culture in important, contradictory ways – that could be used to navigate through the conditions of the sub-field and subvert the hegemony of the dominant habitus.

Chapter eight of this thesis was titled 'Cultural Consequences' and described recent processes of police reform and change in Scotland – of field transformations and sub-field reconfigurations – and explained their cultural consequences as they relate to intelligence analysts. This chapter explained how the most significant field transformations in Scottish policing have been the political path towards a Police Service of Scotland and the emerging processes of de-civilianisation, the latter of which has been occurring since at least 2007. The data emerging from fieldwork, and informing this chapter, provided how, in a transforming field in which political protection was being given to police officers and police staff numbers were being reduced, intelligence analysts felt increasingly under-valued and marginalised. These field transformations have occurred alongside on-going reconfigurations in the sub-field of police intelligence work as competing paradigms, and in particular performance-led policing, challenged the hegemony of an intelligence-led approach in the wider field. Intelligence analysts felt that the shift towards this performance culture risked 'hitting the target, but missing the point'. These field transformations and sub-field reconfigurations coalesced to further marginalise the intelligence analyst, increasing

their frustration at their lack of agency to influence or shape change, particularly in comparison to police officers and their representative bodies.

## 9.3    Future Research

### 9.3.1   Thesis contribution and future research

The central contribution of this thesis, at its most basic level, can be succinctly summarised: cultural accounts of police work should now recognise the diverse range of actors whom are active in the contemporary police service. The existing academic literature has disclosed a slow and steady acknowledgement of the potential for a multiplicity of cultures in policing, but it has not accounted for the range of actors present and active within the police service. Instead, it has either neglected to consider civilian members of police staff, or depicted them as inactive bystanders as police officers got on with the real, practical job of policing. By instead recognising the increasing number of civilian intelligence analysts in Scottish policing – and their equally significant role in cultural practice, production, persistence and change – this thesis presents an opportunity to extend future cultural accounts. On a methodological level, this thesis has sought to demonstrate the possibilities of new perspectives on policing, particularly when undertaken by a civilian member of police staff. Future studies may wish to further capitalise upon, and develop, this pioneering approach. Considering its contribution to social theory, this thesis has deepened and developed the Bourdieusian perspective on policing, following the work of scholars such as Janet Chan. In doing so it has promoted the use of social theory as both an explanatory tool and an inter-disciplinary bridge, opening up the subject of cultural production, practice, persistence and change in policing to those from disciplines other than criminology and criminal justice, who may offer new cultural insights that remain currently obscured from our understanding.

Traditionally, a doctoral thesis will conclude by highlighting the implications of this new knowledge for the subject area and the opportunities for future research. However, the real contribution of my research rests not solely in its intended impact upon academic research, but can instead be found in its politics. In addition to any impression made upon the academic study of policing, I will also measure the value of my labour by the extent to which it is used to improve the position, conditions and status

of intelligence analysts, and civilian police staff more broadly considered, in the emerging Police Service of Scotland. In adopting such a position I recognise my ultimate move from researcher to activist. This shift reflects, on a much more modest scale, the trajectory of Pierre Bourdieu's journey from professional sociologist to become the primary public intellectual at the vanguard of anti-globalisation movements in France and western Europe (see Swartz 2003).[175] Indeed, for Swartz, the radicalising effect of these social changes upon Bourdieu was clear,

> "Bourdieu came to believe in the urgency of assuming a public role as a critical intellectual and social scientist to speak forcefully against the neo-liberal discourse that he believed had come to exercise a powerful censoring effect on public debate. The form and frequency of his political activism changed significantly from that of his early years. He found himself increasingly in the paradoxical position of assuming a high-profile public intellectual role for which he himself had expressed strong reservations." (Swartz 2003: 814).

For Bourdieu sociology is a martial art, or fighting sport, in which the informed and committed scholar can help to resist forces of homogenisation and depoliticisation through active resistance (see Bourdieu 2003 and 2010). I recognise, however, that my political ambition – to give character and voice to a group in Scottish policing under-represented in existing accounts – is much less ambitious than Bourdieu's. I follow Bourdieu in his spirit of intervention and commitment, but not his political level of analysis. I also recognise the inherent risks in adopting such an approach. As Bourdieu highlighted with characteristic precision,

> "By investing her artistic or scientific competency in civic debates, the scholar risks disappointing (the term is too weak) or, better yet, shocking others. On the one side, she will shock those in her own universe, the academy, who chose the virtuous "way out" by remaining closed in their ivory tower and who in commitment see a violation of the famous "axiological neutrality" that is wrongly identified with scientific objectivity when it is in fact a scientifically unimpeachable form of escapism. On the other side she will shock those in the political and journalistic fields who see her as a threat to their monopoly over public speech and, more generally, all those who are disturbed by her intervention in political life." (Bourdieu 2003: 18-19).

In fact, Bourdieu was scathing of the propensity for academics to devoid themselves of reflexivity and submit to 'paper revolutionism', devoid of genuine targets or effect.

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[175] Reflecting Paul Michael Garrett's contention that it is important not only to have regard to Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus, but to be mindful of his role as a critical intellectual and activist, foe of neo-liberalism and defender of embattled public services (Garrett 2007b: 225).

Therefore, following Bourdieu, I am aware that the academic contribution and political advocacy of an erstwhile ethnographer are not mutually exclusive. Should this thesis produce any published works, these may raise the profile of civilian police staff and, perhaps, be of use to those in political fields who seek to advance the position of police staff.[176] I recognise that the authority bestowed by any such academic publication and, indeed, the award of a doctoral degree itself, would confer a degree of legitimacy to this research. To not use this authority and legitimacy in a constructive and positive manner would be a disservice to many of those who participated, and were represented, in this research. I consider this to be an imperative, even if I consider that my future may lie outside of the sub-field of police intelligence work, and perhaps beyond the field of policing. I recognise that the responsibility of the ethnographer – regardless of the distance between themselves and those who they seek to represent to any wider audience – does not desist, or dissipate, as one completes their closing sentence.

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[176] For example, relevant trade unions, pressure groups or politicians.

Appendices

10.1    Pilot Study Research Methods: Faculty Ethics Committee Approval

10.1.1  Letter of ethical approval from faculty ethics committee

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*Faculty Ethics Committee*
*Miss Leeann Stevenson (Secretary)*
*L.Stevenson@lbss.gla.ac.uk or 0141 3304693*

</div>

23 July 2008

Mr Colin Atkinson
17 Maple Drive
Parkhall, Clydebank
West Dunbartonshire
G81 3SD

Dear Mr Atkinson,

**SSL/07/30**    **"A Study of the Police and the Policing of Young People in the BA Sub-Division of Strathclyde Police"**

I am pleased to confirm that your application for ethical approval has been approved by the Faculty Ethics Committee.

As a condition of approval and in line with the committee's need to monitor research, the committee requires that a report be provided to it towards the end of the research, giving brief details of the project to date and any ethical issues which have arisen. You will be contacted in due course in this regard. In addition, any unforeseen events which might affect the ethical conduct of the research, or which might provide grounds for discontinuing the study, must be reported immediately in writing to this ethics committee, from which you have received approval. The committee will examine the circumstances and advise you of its decision, which may include referral of the matter to the central University Ethics Committee or a requirement that the research be terminated.

Please note that this approval is valid for the duration of your project. **Please confirm in writing the end date for approval if not mentioned in the Application Form**. If the project should extend beyond the submission date you entered on your application form it will be necessary for you to contact the committee and seek an extension. As this approval is based upon the information you provided to the committee you will require to seek approval should any changes be made to your project. In particular, please note that if participants in your research involve children or adults with incapacity (as defined in the Adults with Incapacity (Scotland) Act 2000, available via the University Ethics Committee web site) you require to comply with the legislation which governs research involving these groups. If you have not complied with these requirements or you did not anticipate that your research may involve these groups you must exclude them from your study.

Please retain a copy of this letter.

Yours sincerely

**Faculty Ethics Committee**

10.1.2 Information sheet for research participants

Information Sheet

## A STUDY OF THE POLICE AND THE POLICING OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE BA SUB-DIVISION OF STRATHCLYDE POLICE

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read and consider the following information about the study and do not hesitate to ask for clarification if anything is not clear.

**About the study**

My name is Colin Atkinson and I am a PhD student at the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research at the University of Glasgow. I am also an Intelligence Analyst at Strathclyde Police Force Headquarters.

As part of my PhD I am currently conducting research into how Strathclyde Police deals with young people in community settings and I would like to ask for your help. The purpose of this research is to explore how police officers and police staff view and 'police' young people in your sub-division and deal with problems of disorder and anti-social behaviour where it arises.

**Why BA sub-division?**

The east end of Glasgow was chosen because it is an area with a high concentration of gangs and gang members compared to other areas of the Strathclyde Police force area, and this has resulted in the deployment of specific police tactics and resources to tackle this matter in the sub-division. The police response to anti-social behaviour in the sub-division has been discussed on television and reported in newspapers.

**Why are you being asked?**

I hope to observe a group of police officers and police staff as they conduct their routine enquiries and daily tasks for a six-week period. I would then like to interview a small sample of approximately 10-15 police officers and police staff, drawn mainly from your sub-division.

**What does taking part in the study involve?**

If you agree to take part in the study, I will spend some time observing you and your colleagues as you conduct routine work for a period of around six-weeks. I will only be shadowing on some occasions and will not be with you at all times. I may take notes during this process.

You may then be asked to participate in one interview lasting for around one hour. The interview will be conducted face-to-face in a private area of your workplace, or another police office or location if you feel that you would prefer this option.

I am interested in talking with about issues such your views on young people in the area, your experiences of dealing with them on a routine basis and the practices you use when dealing with young people on the streets. With your permission I would like to tape record the interview. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to, and you may stop the interview at any time.

**What will happen to your answers?**

The requirements of the Data Protection Act and Freedom of Information Act will be observed. All your comments will be anonymised and you will not be identified in the final research report.

Only I will have access to data arising from the research and this will be stored securely within my home address. All computer-held data will be password-protected.

All information collected will also be treated confidentially, unless you reveal details of harm or danger towards yourself or that you are causing harm or danger to others. If this occurs, ethical guidelines will be followed which involves contacting relevant bodies to enable help and advice to be given. Your answers will not be shared with Strathclyde Police unless such issues of harm or danger arise.

You will be given a transcript of any interview(s) you undertake to view and comment upon before the research document is finalised.

**Further questions or concerns**

The study has been approved by the following bodies,

- Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Applied Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow.

- Strathclyde Police Personnel Department.

If you have questions or concerns about the research at any time you can contact me Colin Atkinson, the researcher, at: colin.atkinson.1@research.gla.ac.uk. If you need to speak to me in person you can contact me on: 07908 798457.

If you would prefer to do so, you can contact my supervisor at the University of Glasgow, Dr Sarah Armstrong (s.armstrong@lbss.gla.ac.uk; tel. 0141 330 8257). If you have any concerns or complaints about this research to someone not affiliated with this project, you can contact the director of the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, Professor Michele Burman at: m.burman@lbss.gla.ac.uk or 0141 330 6983.

10.1.3 Consent form for research participants

Consent Form

## A STUDY OF THE POLICE AND THE POLICING OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE BA SUB-DIVISION OF STRATHCLYDE POLICE

Researcher: Colin Atkinson

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.


2. I understand that my participation in this research project is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.


3. I confirm that any interview undertaken will be recorded with my consent and that in the transcript a pseudonym or code identifier will be used and reference to me as an individual will be removed. The data will only be used for the stated research purposes.


4. I understand that any data I provide through taking part in this research will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.


5. I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in this research.


_____

Signature of participant



_____          _____

Name of participant (please print)          Date

10.2    PhD Study Research Methods: Faculty Ethics Committee Approval

10.2.1  Letter of ethical approval from faculty ethics committee


16 December 2009

Mr Colin Atkinson
198/2 Dumbarton Road
Old Kilpatrick
West Dunbartonshire
G69 5DT


Dear Mr Atkinson,

**LBSS/09/0002 "Beyond Cop Culture: Exploring Cultures and Counterterrorism in the Scottish Police Service."**

I am pleased to confirm that your application for ethical approval has been approved by the Faculty Ethics Committee.

As a condition of approval and in line with the committee's need to monitor research, the committee requires that a report be provided to it towards the end of the research, giving brief details of the project to date and any ethical issues which have arisen. You will be contacted in due course in this regard. In addition, any unforeseen events which might affect the ethical conduct of the research, or which might provide grounds for discontinuing the study, must be reported immediately in writing to this ethics committee, from which you have received approval. The committee will examine the circumstances and advise you of its decision, which may include referral of the matter to the central University Ethics Committee or a requirement that the research be terminated.

Please note that this approval is valid for the duration of your project. Please confirm in writing the end date for approval if not mentioned in the Application Form. If the project should extend beyond the submission date you entered on your application form it will be necessary for you to contact the committee and seek an extension. As this approval is based upon the information you provided to the committee you will require to seek approval should any changes be made to your project. In particular, please note that if participants in your research involve children or adults with incapacity (as defined in the Adults with Incapacity (Scotland) Act 2000, available via the University Ethics Committee web site) you require to comply with the legislation which governs research involving these groups. If you have not complied with these requirements or you did not anticipate that your research may involve these groups you must exclude them from your study.

Please retain a copy of this letter.

Yours sincerely

**Faculty Ethics Committee**

10.3    Interview

10.3.1  Information sheet for research participants

**BEYOND COP CULTURE: THE CULTURAL CHALLENGE OF CIVILIAN INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS IN SCOTTISH POLICING**

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read and consider the following information about the study and do not hesitate to ask for clarification if anything is not clear.

**About the study**
My name is Colin Atkinson and I am a PhD student at the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research at the University of Glasgow. I am also an Intelligence Analyst based at Strathclyde Police Force Headquarters.

As part of my PhD I am currently conducting research into police culture in Scotland. I have two main research interests,

1.  Cultures of Scottish policing, in particular as it relates to civilian police staff.
2.  Intelligence-led policing, and in particular the role of Intelligence Analysts.

The purpose of this research is to explore how police officers and police staff work together and in what ways, if any, they are different.

**What is police culture and why does it matter?**
Police culture is typically viewed as the attitudes, values and beliefs of police officers, and people are often interested in how this affects their work. Police culture has always been an important part of police research, but there have been very few studies of it in Scotland. Police culture matters because it directly affects the effectiveness of the police service are and how it is viewed by the public.

**Why are you being asked to take part?**
As a police officer or member of police staff in Scotland you will have a range of opinions on many aspects of policing based on your experience so far. This will range from attitudes to crime to the value of your work and relationships with your colleagues. Your views and opinions will be vital to understanding the cultures of policing in Scotland.

**What does taking part in the study involve?**
If you agree to take part in the study you will be asked to participate in one interview lasting for around 45 minutes. The interview will be conducted face-to-face in a private area of your workplace, or another police office or location if you feel that you would prefer this option.

I am interested in talking with you about issues such your views on a range of policing and crime issues, from your experiences of crime and criminals to your ideas about the future of the police service.

With your permission I would like to tape record the interview. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to, and you may stop the interview at any time.

**What will happen to your answers?**
The requirements of the Data Protection Act and Freedom of Information Act will be

observed. All your comments will be anonymised and you will not be identified in the final research report. Only I will have access to data arising from the research and this will be stored securely. All computer-held data will be password-protected.

All information collected will also be treated confidentially, unless you reveal details of harm or danger towards yourself or that you are causing harm or danger to others. If this occurs, ethical guidelines will be followed which involves contacting relevant bodies to enable help and advice to be given. Your answers will not be shared with your employer unless serious issues of harm or danger arise.

If you request it, you will be given a transcript of any interview(s) you undertake to view and comment upon before the research document is finalised.

**Further questions or concerns**
The study has been approved by,

- Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow.

If you have questions or concerns about the research at any time you can contact me Colin Atkinson, the researcher, at: colin.atkinson.1@research.gla.ac.uk. If you need to speak to me in person you can contact me on: 07908 798457.

If you would prefer to do so, you can contact my supervisor at the University of Glasgow, Dr Sarah Armstrong (s.armstrong@lbss.gla.ac.uk; tel. 0141 330 8257). If you have any concerns or complaints about this research to someone not affiliated with this project, you can contact the director of the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, Professor Michele Burman at: m.burman@lbss.gla.ac.uk or 0141 330 6983.

10.3.2  Consent form for research participants

**BEYOND COP CULTURE: THE CULTURAL CHALLENGE OF CIVILIAN INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS IN SCOTTISH POLICING**

Researcher: Colin Atkinson

1.  I confirm that I have read and understand the Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.


2.  I understand that my participation in this research project is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.


3. I confirm that any interview undertaken will be recorded with my consent and that in the transcript a pseudonym or code identifier will be used and reference to me as an individual will be removed. The data will only be used for the stated research purposes.


4. I understand that any data I provide through taking part in this research will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.


5. I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in this research.



Signature of participant  _____

Name of participant (please print)  _____

Date  _____

10.3.3  Interview schedule

Interviews were conducted in accordance with a semi-structured approach. All interviews were designed with four common themes and a range of possible interview questions. A sample of these pre-arranged questions is given below, under each of the four key themes. It is important to note that not all of these questions were asked at every interview and that, to facilitate and exploratory approach, each interview contained its own bespoke questions and follow-up questions as appropriate to the participant and their own individual narrative.

**Topic 1: Experiences of Policing and 'Cop Culture'**

Can you tell me about your personal background and your police career to date?

What were your reasons for joining the police service and becoming a police officer / intelligence analyst?

Before you joined the police, what were your opinions of the police in Scotland?

Before you joined the police, where did you source information the police in Scotland?

What were your expectations of your role in the police service before you joined? Have your expectations been met since joining?

How important was your initial training period to your ability to do your job well?

What skills do you need to be effective in your role as a police officer / intelligence analyst? How did you learn these skills?

Do you think that working for the police has changed your outlook on society?

Do you think that your work makes a difference to people and society?

Do you think the police service has a particular 'culture'? How would you describe it, what are its main characteristics?

Do you consider the police service to be a 'masculine' organisation?

Is policing a 'masculine' profession?

What role does gender play in the contemporary police service in Scotland?

**Topic 2: Civilianisation**

Can you describe your first encounter working with civilian police staff? Was it different to working with police officers?

Can you describe your first encounter working with police officers? Was it different to working with police staff?

In your opinion, what have been the main reasons for the overall increase in the numbers of civilian police staff since the 1990s?

In what roles do you consider the introduction of civilian police staff to have been the most / least successful?

What are the limits of civilianisation? Are there some roles that should remain the preserve of police officers?

Have you ever encountered the term 'civvie' in the police service? Can you tell me more about that term and what it means to you?

## Topic 3: Intelligence-led Policing and Intelligence Analysis

Can you tell me about the first time you became aware of the role of intelligence in police work?

Can you tell me about the first time you became aware of the concept intelligence-led policing?

How important has the National Intelligence Model been to intelligence-led policing in Scotland?

Can you tell me about when you first became aware of the role of the intelligence analyst?

What skills does a person require to be an effective intelligence analyst?

Can a police officer fulfil the role of intelligence analyst? What would be the positive and negative aspects of a police officer undertaking such a role?

Is it important that the intelligence analyst is a civilian member of police staff?

Do you think that intelligence analysis valued within the police service?

Which analytical products, if any, do you consider to be the most useful in your day-to-day role?

Does intelligence analysis influence decision-making in the police service and does it make a difference?

Do you think that the introduction of intelligence led-policing has been a success?

## Topic 4: Scottish Policing and its Future

Do you think that devolution and the creation of a Scottish Parliament has affected Scottish policing? If so, in what ways?

Is there anything distinctive about policing in Scotland that makes it different from any other country?

Do you consider further civilianisation to be likely in Scottish policing?

What do you consider to be the main challenges facing Scottish policing in the immediate future?

What do you consider to be main opportunities for Scottish policing in the immediate future?

What is your position on the possibility of restructuring Scottish policing? Do you consider it to be likely? If so, in what form will this take? Will this be beneficial to Scottish policing?

10.4    Focus group

10.4.1 Information sheet for research participants

**BEYOND COP CULTURE: THE CULTURAL CHALLENGE OF CIVILIAN INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS IN SCOTTISH POLICING**

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read and consider the following information about the study and do not hesitate to ask for clarification if anything is not clear.

**About the study**
My name is Colin Atkinson and I am a PhD student at the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research at the University of Glasgow. I am also an Intelligence Analyst based at Strathclyde Police Force Headquarters.

As part of my PhD I am currently conducting research into police culture in Scotland. I have two main research interests,

3.  Cultures of Scottish policing, in particular as it relates to civilian police staff.
4.  Intelligence-led policing, and in particular the role of Intelligence Analysts.

The purpose of this research is to explore how police officers and police staff work together and in what ways, if any, they are different.

**What is police culture and why does it matter?**
Police culture is typically viewed as the attitudes, values and beliefs of police officers, and people are often interested in how this affects their work. Police culture has always been an important part of police research, but there have been very few studies of it in Scotland. Police culture matters because it directly affects the effectiveness of the police service are and how it is viewed by the public.

**Why are you being asked to take part?**
As a police officer or member of police staff in Scotland you will have a range of opinions on many aspects of policing based on your experience so far. This will range from attitudes to crime to the value of your work and relationships with your colleagues. Your views and opinions will be vital to understanding the cultures of policing in Scotland.

**What does taking part in the study involve?**
If you agree to take part in the study you will be asked to participate in small focus group lasting for around 45 minutes. The focus group will be conducted with a selection of your colleagues in a private area of your workplace.

I am interested in talking with about issues such your views on a range of policing and crime issues, from your experiences of crime and criminals to your ideas about the future of the police service.

With your permission I would like to tape record the focus group. Your participation is completely voluntary, you do not have to answer any questions should you do not wish to, and you may stop the focus group at any time.

**What will happen to the data?**
The requirements of the Data Protection Act and Freedom of Information Act will be observed. Your comments and those of your colleagues will be anonymised and neither you nor your colleagues will be identified in the final research report. Only I will have access to data arising from the research and this will be stored securely. All computer-held data will be password-protected.

All information collected will also be treated confidentially, unless you reveal details of harm or danger towards yourself or that you are causing harm or danger to others. If this occurs, ethical guidelines will be followed which involves contacting relevant bodies to enable help and advice to be given. Your answers and those of your colleagues will not be shared with your employer unless serious issues of harm or danger arise.

If you request it, you will be given a transcript of any focus group in which you participate to view and comment upon before the research document is finalised.

**Further questions or concerns**
The study has been approved by,

- Faculty of Law, Business and Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow.

If you have questions or concerns about the research at any time you can contact me Colin Atkinson, the researcher, at: colin.atkinson.1@research.gla.ac.uk. If you need to speak to me in person you can contact me on: 07908 798457.

If you would prefer to do so, you can contact my supervisor at the University of Glasgow, Dr Sarah Armstrong (s.armstrong@lbss.gla.ac.uk; tel. 0141 330 8257). If you have any concerns or complaints about this research to someone not affiliated with this project, you can contact the director of the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research, Professor Michele Burman at: m.burman@lbss.gla.ac.uk or 0141 330 6983.

10.4.2  Consent form for research participants

**BEYOND COP CULTURE: THE CULTURAL CHALLENGE OF CIVILIAN INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS IN SCOTTISH POLICING**

Researcher: Colin Atkinson

1.  I confirm that I have read and understand the Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.


2.  I understand that my participation in this research project is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.


3. I confirm that any focus group undertaken will be recorded with my consent and that in the transcript a pseudonym or code identifier will be used and reference to me as an individual will be removed. The data will only be used for the stated research purposes.


4. I understand that any data I provide through taking part in this research will be held in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.


5. I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in this research.



Signature of participant

Name of participant (please print)


Date

10.4.3 Focus group schedule

Discussion prompts and research vignettes were used in focus groups in order to stimulate debate and provide a space for feedback on the representations emerging in the research. These discussion prompts and research vignettes were provided thematically, in a method similar to that used in the semi-structured interviews. The themes employed were: cop culture, civilianisation intelligence work, gender and intelligence analysis. A selection of prompts used are given below.

**Cop culture: Things ain't what they used to be...!**

*Cameron, Police Officer*: "We were an organisation that had a job to do and we did it and we didn'y really care what people thought... We didn't like criticism, we did it our own way, nobody looked at us or examined us from outwith, so we were a force to be reckoned with at that time. And if you look at your TV programmes today like your *Life on Mars*, that ethos and that situation back in the 70s and 80s spawned that type of TV programme, where it was flying by the set of your pants, basically. It is a different police force today.

*Callum, Police Officer*: "I don't think there is a single cop culture, I think the vast majority of people want to make a difference and do the best you can but if you're in a specialist CID function or up in the training branch your life experience and outlook is much different than if you are a response cop running about answering calls."

*Gio, Police Officer*: "When you go into departments there's cultures in there. There's very much a culture in CID, there's very much a culture in the operations divisions, things like public order, there's a great deal of I call then Tackleberrys, a lot of people they get a gun and all of a sudden they think they've become the most important person the world."

*Bonnie, Intelligence Analyst*: "The attitude of particular intelligence units can be seen as quite enclosed environments, probably quite elitist and a bit quite cliquey perhaps."

**Civilianisation in intelligence work**

*Cameron, Police Officer*: "And gradually they expanded in numbers into different roles. We had an [civilian] intelligence collator; big step for the police, allowing a non-police officer access to intelligence: previously unheard of... knowledge was power. We held everything close to our chests in the police officers structure. We weren'y going to pass anything like that to a non-police member of the public or employee. And that was the culture. That was the culture. That if it was police business it was done by a police officers and no other; you couldn't trust anybody else."

*Moses, Police Officer*: "I think they've needed at least a year before they've bedded in and understood the culture and understood what's actually needed. So my experience is that the analyst I recruited, really good chap, good operational skill, it probably took him over a year to really get into it and understand what it was he was there to do and good quality information was put out".

*Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "Yeah, currently in our office I don't see the actual need for the desk [police] officers. I think a civilian could do the same job for less money. I

don't think there is anything additional that a police officer adds to the role that a police staff couldn't [provide]."

## Gender

*Walter, Police Officer*: "So yeah it's changed though, it was at one point an extremely masculine profession, now I wouldn't say it was at all... You would hardly credit how different it was. Now policewomen get issued with the same equipment as policemen, but back then the old police baton for a man was 14 inches, 16 inches long; a woman's was half that. You think now "why?" but then it seemed like perfect sense, because you couldnae get a 16 inch thing into your handbag! [laughs]. You'd get strung up for that kind of remark now, but it was totally different, they did totally different things.

*Darren, Intelligence Analyst*: "I don't actually think it [gender] is that important these days. I've never come across anyone being sexist or anything like that. So I don't think it is that important these days."

*Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "I notice now when I go to meetings people assume when they first meet me that I am there to take minutes, because I am female because I am police staff and not a police officer."

## Intelligence analysis

*Ben, Police Officer:* "I mean we've got [intelligence] analysts? *Why*?... We've got two analysts, four analysts, telling us what every cop knows anyway. I worked at [mentions town in West Lothian], and I didn't need the analysts, or I shouldn't need an analyst, to tell me where the [crime] hotspots are. I shouldn't need an analyst to tell me that there have been a number of housebreakings there, concentrate on that area. We used to do that anyway... Nowadays you pay an analyst God knows how many thousands pounds to come up with these fancy drawings with red spots about where everything is happening. Well, a good police officer should know that. I mean to me that's just wasting money."

*Arthur, Intelligence Analyst*: "The amount of times I've heard folk say "you just produce pie charts for gaffers", so that's a lack a lack of understanding. But it's not something I lose sleep over, but again you might find it's something that reduces as time progresses,

*Amber, Intelligence Analyst*: "The general 'oh an analyst can produce a chart', the majority of them just think that an analyst can sit and draw pictures. They don't know what we sit and do and what an analyst can do. An analyst can add a lot to an operation."

*Darren, Intelligence Analyst*: "I don't know what the cops actually do in our department... I think we contribute more than the cops. To be honest wi' you, you don't need half the cops in there, it's something a civilian could do."

*Olivia, Intelligence Analyst*: "Analysts need to work closer with the cops just to improve relationships and get a different perspective."

10.5    Freedom of Information Requests

10.5.1  Freedom of information request template

Dear Sir / Madam,

I am writing to you with a request for information under the Freedom of Information Act (Scotland) 2002.

Please find herein a series of questions requesting information.

**Question 1:**
Within [force/agency name] how many [role] were employed as at

i)   April 1999
ii)  April 2000
iii) April 2001
iv)  April 2002
v)   April 2003
vi)  April 2004
vii) April 2005
viii)April 2006
ix)  April 2007
x)   April 2008
xi)  April 2009
xii) April 2010
xiii)April 2011
xiv)    April 2012

**Question 2:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point i) in question 1,

a)  How many of these [role] were male?
b)  How many of these [role] were female?
c)  How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d)  How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e)  How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f)  How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 3:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point ii) in question 1,

a)  How many of these [role] were male?
b)  How many of these [role] were female?
c)  How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d)  How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e)  How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f)  How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 4:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point iii) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 5:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point iv) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 6:**
Of the number of police officers requested at point v) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 7:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point vi) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 8:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point vii) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 9:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point viii) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?

c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

## Question 10:
Of the number of [role] requested at point ix) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

## Question 11:
Of the number of [role] requested at point x) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

## Question 12:
Of the number of [role] requested at point xi) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

## Question 13:
Of the number of [role] requested at point xii) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

## Question 14:
Of the number of [role] requested at point xiii) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?

e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

**Question 15:**
Of the number of [role] requested at point xiv) in question 1,

a) How many of these [role] were male?
b) How many of these [role] were female?
c) How many of these [role] were in the age range 18-25?
d) How many of these [role] were in the age range 26-35?
e) How many of these [role] were in the age range 36-50?
f) How many of these [role] were over 50?

In the unlikely event that the request for information is refused, please clearly explain your reasons for taking this decision by reference to the appropriate section or subsection of the Freedom of Information Act (Scotland) 2002. If your decision to withhold is based upon an evaluation of the public interest, please clearly explain which public interests you have considered, and why you have decided that the public interest in maintaining the exception(s) outweighs the public interest in releasing the information. Similarly, if disclosure is denied on grounds of national security, please define national security and explain exactly how the disclosure of such aggregate data jeopardizes national security.

I look forward to receiving the information requested as soon as possible, and in any event within the statutory 20 working days of receipt, i.e. by DATE.

Thank you for your assistance.

If you require any further clarification for this request, please do not hesitate to contact me as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

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