University of the West of England
BRISTOL

Challenge and change:
Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an Age of Austerity.

February 2014

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Challenge and Change

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Acknowledgements

We are indebted to the Police Federation of England and Wales and in particular to the Constables Central Committee (CCC) for their help and support in facilitating the research. A special mention must be given to Andy Dumbiotis (Vice chairman of the CCC) and Mark Harvey (Constables representative for Avon and Somerset) for their enthusiasm and ready willingness to positively promote engagement with the research. Finally, we would like to thank all the officers who participated in the research and returned a questionnaire. Their perceptions and experiences are reported throughout this report

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Regional Maps

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Force Maps

Source of Data:

http://data.gov.uk//dataset/police-force-boundaries-england-and-wales

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http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence/version/2/

Executive Summary

This project was developed by a research team at the University of the West of England (UWE) under the direction of the Principal Investigator (PI) Dr. James Hoggett. The project adopted a mixed methods approach, comprising an on-line survey questionnaire utilising both quantitative closed and qualitative open questions. These questions were used to elicit self-report data from 13,591 police officers from the rank of Police Constable to Chief Inspector from the 43 police forces in England and Wales. This is a response rate of an approximate one-in-ten when judged against figures from Her Majesties Inspectorate of Constabulary (2013) which suggests an eligible population size of 128,199.

Statistical tests were used to identify whether there was any geographical clustering on response profiles and whether these profiles differed between police forces or between the ranks of Constable, Sergeant, Inspector and Chief Inspector. It was found that differences in responses between forces and ranks are small, and there is no extensive geographical clustering of responses. The lack of differences between forces and ranks and the absence of any substantive clustering is in-keeping with a consistent set of responses suggesting a common voice across the sample.

The self-report data contained in this report cover a number of issues. These issues include officers police/professional identity (how they perceive their roles and duties and whether being a police officer is an integral part of who they are), contextual issues currently impacting on the police profession (i.e. participants' views on the changes and challenges they face in relation to issues such as the government spending cuts and Winsor reviews), issues of police morale, sacrifice and goodwill and finally officers hopes and concerns for the future of the police service.

Key findings include;

- 79.6% of respondents agree or strongly agree that policing is a vocation rather than a job.

- Only 1.6% of respondents agree the current government supports the police and only 1.1% positively report confidence in long-term government plans for policing. 95.8% disagree that cuts will not affect police resilience, 89.8% agree or strongly agree that the police are under resourced while only 6.4% of officers agree or strongly agree that the cuts will not impact on their ability to do their job. A further 80.4% agree or strongly agree that the current proposals, if implemented, will give criminality the upper hand

- 84.0% of respondents either agree or strongly agree that some police reform is needed and 87.6% that some change is needed. Additionally 92.5% agree or strongly agree change and reform should be independent of politics while 96.3% are similarly in agreement that change should be made in collaboration with the police.

- 83.8% of respondents agree or strongly agree that the Winsor reviews will negatively impact on their ability to do their job while 92.6% disagree or strongly disagree with the statement "*The aim of the Winsor recommendations is not to save money but to create a more efficient, productive, motivated and highly skilled workforce*".

- 80.5% of respondents agree or strongly agree that the support of the general public positively impacts on their job. However, only 8.9% agree or strongly agree that the general public understands what the police do. 81.2% agree that the proposed changes in the Winsor review will negatively impact on the police's relationship with the public and only 1.7% agree or strongly agree that the changes being made to the police service are in the public's best interest

- Only 11.9% of the sample respondents agree or strongly agree that they would join the police today if starting afresh. A further 64.9% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they would consider looking for alternative employment and 44.2% agreed or strongly agreed that they would consider voluntary severance.

- Only 9.6% of respondents reported that their morale was high while only 1.9% reported that the morale of their colleagues was high.

- 96.0% of respondents agree or strongly agree that they make sacrifices to be a police officer while only 18.9% agree or strongly agree that the sacrifices are still

worth it. Additionally 96.9% of respondents agree or strongly agree that officer goodwill is essential to the success of the police, while only 11.3% agree or strongly agree that the changes occurring to policing will not erode this goodwill.

The report also identifies that the police service is an organisation which creates a strong sense of identity for its members. Being a police officer forms a fundamental part of an individual's self-concept, therefore what happens to the police is of great importance to them and subsequently can have both positive and negative impacts which transfer beyond when officers are on duty.   Interestingly the report also identifies that police organisational identity is important as it underpins officers' organisational citizenship behaviour (goodwill). In other words it appears that the behavioural norms and rules that are consonant with police organisational identity are based on officer's willingness to go above and beyond what is contractually expected in order to get the job done. If police organisational identity is threatened or changed it could change the normative rules of police behaviour from that based on goodwill to that based on work to rule.

Finally the report suggests that senior management engagement and the development of management procedures to address the uncertainty created by current changes is important so that officers feel both supported and protected by the senior ranks. By supporting and encouraging active engagement from officers in the change process itself senior management may be able to strengthen police organisational identity and thus increase police organisational citizenship behaviour.

Contents

1.   Introduction

It is over 40 years since the 1962 *Royal Commission on Policing*. That report led to a major shake-up in policing, reducing the number of police forces, bringing new technology into policing and new developments in local policing. It was probably the biggest reform to policing in the UK since Robert Peel's creation of the 'New Police' in 1829. Peel's settlement lasted over a hundred years. The 1962 settlement had to confront a much faster set of changes in society and challenges facing policing. Now in 2013 these challenges and changes are perhaps greater than ever before and, despite the pervasive spectre of a damaged economy, cost is not the only dynamic driving these issues. Furthermore, the requirement to change is not unique to UK policing. In fact, it would be hard to find a police service anywhere in the world today that is not alive to the imperative of change. However, a combination of two major developments in the policing landscape in the UK has created a situation in which change and reform to British policing is occurring at a rate perhaps never experienced before.

First, in the October 2010 spending review, the Government announced that central funding to the police service in England and Wales would be reduced by 20% in the four years between March 2011 and March 2015. Originally, in response to this cut in funding police forces reported that they needed to save a total of £2.11bn. This was revised upwards in 2012 to £2.36bn and this year has increased again to £2.42bn (HMIC, 2013). At the same time the police service also began to digest the findings from the publication of the Winsor reviews of police pay and conditions. While previous inquiries into police pay were viewed positively by the police (e.g. the inquiry into pay conducted by Lord Edmund-Davies in 1978) the Winsor reviews have generated much controversy and opposition within policing. Despite this the two part Winsor review is supported by the present coalition government and a number of recommendations from Part One have already been ratified. The Winsor reviews together with the impact of spending cuts have undoubtedly

created a situation in which the police service are faced with some of the biggest and most controversial challenges and changes in the last 60 years.

Controversy not only surrounds the impact, both on the workforce and public, of these changes but also the implicit assumptions underpinning the direction being taken by the government, Winsor and police leaders to meet these challenges. The assumptions surround issues about who the police are or should be, and what they should be doing (what is valued in policing). Changes both compelled upon and adopted by forces in the face of government funding cuts and the Winsor reviews set out to reform the police in terms of prioritising a front line crime fighting role. This is despite acknowledgement, within academic circles at least, that such a crime fighting role is potentially problematic and contested and may not accurately reflect what the police do in practice (Reiner, 2010; Millie, 2013). Thus, it can be argued that in making recommendations in an attempt to improve or at least change the police and meet the challenges facing the service, the issue of cost savings has possibly been conflated with issues of police roles and functions.

The controversy surrounding these changes from within the rank and file of the police service itself can in part be explained by the fact that historically, when large scale changes to policing are proposed and reforms attempted, they are primarily driven from the top-down and outside-in (Bayley, 2008; Skogan, 2008). In seeking to understand why such reform processes occur in this way, research has identified that the overwhelming mindset of police departments, police reformers, and until recently criminal justice scholars, is, and always has been, that policing needs strong, top-down management (Sklansky & Marks, 2008).

Conversely, the impact of reforms and changes are almost always most keenly felt by those on the inside and at the bottom, in this case the rank and file officers of the police service in England and Wales. Yet despite this, in the current climate their voice has often been missed, ignored or dismissed by those pushing both for and against these proposals, despite both often claiming to be speaking on their behalf. Moreover, when rank and file voices are discussed they are often framed negatively as forming a cultural barrier that

creates resistance to change and reform, thus their marginalisation is seen as unproblematic. Such ideas, based on traditional and outdated concepts of police culture fail to recognise how the voices of the rank and file may also allow for the possibility of change as much as it does resistance to change (Chan 1997). Moreover, with growing research support for participative management within organisations (Locke & Schweiger, 1979) the recognition of the potentially beneficial and important role that the rank and file could have in developing and managing change and reform within policing is slowly becoming recognised (Steinheider & Wuestewald, 2008; Steinheider, Wuestewald & Pircher-Verdorfer, 2012)

In representing over 128,000 rank and file police officers in England and Wales, the late Paul McKeever (former chair of the Police Federation) suggested that the role of the Federation is to "*ensure that their [officers] views on all aspects of policing, including their welfare and efficiency, are accurately relayed to government, opinion formers and key stakeholders*" (Upholding the Queen's Peace: towards a new consensus on policing', 2012 p.2). The Federation therefore sees that part of its role is to relay the voices of the rank and file about a range of issues. Given the changes and challenges currently facing the police in England and Wales in 2013 the need to capture these voices and use them not only to inform debates about change but also to help manage it, has perhaps never been so pressing.

While police leaders, politicians and academics have all voiced opinions on these issues and the impacts they may have, relatively little attention has been spent finding out what some of those most affected think. What are the opinions of rank and file officers on these issues and what impact, if any, are these changes having on them and the service they provide to the public? The current project sheds light on such questions by providing self-report data from officers (from the rank of Police Constable to Chief Inspector) from the 43 police forces in England and Wales which addresses many of these issues.

2. Methods

An online questionnaire, comprising both closed and open ended questions, was used to survey police officers from the 43 police forces in England and Wales. The design and research procedures used are described below.

2.1 Design

Prior to data collection, ethical approval was obtained from the University of the West of England's ethics committee (see ethics section for detail). A mixed methods approach, comprising focus groups and an on-line survey questionnaire utilising both quantitative closed and qualitative open questions were used to elicit self-report data on a number of issues. These issues were federation member's police/professional identity (how they perceive their roles and duties and whether being a police officer is an integral part of who they are), contextual issues currently impacting on the police profession (i.e. participant's views on the changes and challenges they face in relation to the Government spending cuts and Winsor reviews), issues of police morale, sacrifice and goodwill and finally officers hopes and concerns for the future of the police service.

In terms of questionnaire development, a focus group was conducted at the annual Police Federation conference in Bournemouth in May 2012. This focus group data was then transcribed in full before being thematically analysed (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to identify some of the issues that officers themselves raised as being of greatest importance to them. The questionnaire covers a range of different issues including, the role of police in society, police identity, relationship between the police and government, views on the Winsor reports, current issues, change and reform, the relationship with the public, and the modern police officer. Officers were also asked to provide written responses to the following two open questions, '*please state your biggest hopes for the future of your job as a police officer*' and '*please state your three biggest concerns for the future of your job as a police officer*'. Additionally, key statements from, and recommendations within the Winsor

reviews, were used to develop survey questions and existing academic scales of Organisational Identity (Mael and Ashforth, 1992) and Organisational Citizenship Behaviour (Lee & Allen, 2002) were also used to obtain information about police identity and behaviour. These exisiting scales of measurement are well known, validated scales with good psychometric properties. These themes then formed part of the basis of the structure of the survey. A copy of the questionnaire used is given in Appendix A.

The rationale for using qualitative open ended questions in the survey as well as closed questions was to allow officers freedom to discuss their hopes and concerns for the future of the police service in their own words and allow the researchers to obtain a deeper understanding of the emerging quantitative survey results. For example by using this mixed methods approach (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004), the intention was to develop a body of data that captures both what officers think about a range of different change issues (quantitative questionnaire questions) as well as why officers may think this (qualitative questionnaire questions).

2.2   Procedure

In terms of developing and distributing the questionnaire survey the UWE research team utilised the software package Qualtrics which is an online software package designed to facilitate the creation and conduction of online surveys. The survey itself was designed to increase both participation and reliability of the results (thereby increasing accuracy). This was done in a number of ways. First, the key components of the survey (e.g. police identity, reforms, current issues, etc) were divided into separate blocks. Each of these blocks included a number of specific questions about the related area. The order of the blocks was randomised for each participant. Therefore each participant completed the questionnaire in a different order. This ensured that order effects would be minimised. Furthermore, the order of the questions within the specific blocks of questions were also randomised for each participant. Therefore even when completing questions about a specific area the questions themselves were presented in random order. Again this

minimises order effects. Furthermore, randomising both blocks and individual questions within blocks, means that the impact of possible extraneous effects (e.g. fatigue effect or missing item responses) would be minimised. Any of these effects would be randomly distributed across individuals and would therefore not systematically affect the results.

The questions themselves were presented in a way to engage participation, in that they were targeted on key issues raised by officers in focus groups, the Winsor reviews and prior academic research. Each question focused on a single issue and was designed not to lead or in any way encourage a single or unified response. Each question allowed the participants to express their views in a variety of ways. Furthermore, both positively and negatively worded questions were used in order to eliminate the impact of acquiescence responding (for example agreeing with all items).

The questionnaire was initially tested in a pilot study with the Avon and Somerset Constabulary, the results of which can be found at (http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/19068/). Subsequently, the questionnaire was amended slightly (minor grammatical issues and the inclusion of a small number of questions relating to Police and Crime Commissioners). The survey was then sent electronically to federation representatives from the Constables Central Committee (CCC) of the Police Federation who in turn disseminated it electronically to the officers they represent through a number of routes. These routes included the link being emailed directly to officers PNN work email address in each force, as well as the link being made available through the CCC website and via their mobile app. The CCC also shared the link to the survey with Federation representatives at Sergeant, Inspector and Chief Inspector rank through the Joint Branch Board of the Police Federation. Similarly to the process adopted by the CCC the link to the survey was sent out via these federation representatives to their members work email addresses in each force.

The survey was initially released to the Police Federation so that it could be sent to their members on 5th March 2013. After an initial two week period Qualtrics was used to identify the response rates for each force as a total of the available respondents (PC-CI) within that force. A ranked league table of the 43 forces was then created highlighting these

response rates and was subsequently sent to the CCC every week for them to share with their representatives in order to try and increase both dissemination efforts by the representatives and response rates from their members. This process of response rate analysis and league tables was conducted on a weekly basis until the survey was closed by the UWE research team on June 30th 2013.

2.3   The Sample: Who took part?

The on-line survey had a total of 17,357 unique log-in events for survey participation with 16,189 giving informed consent to take part (those not giving informed consent did not take further part in the survey). Of the 16,189 giving informed consent a total of 2,532 logged out of the system without providing any data. 11,753 completed every question on the survey with a further 1838 completing the survey but failing to answer a small number of questions (i.e. responses missing on ten or fewer items).   The following analyses are based on the 13,591 officers who gave informed consent and either fully completed the survey or otherwise partially completed the survey with incomplete responses on a small number of items. Given the latest national figures of 128,199 police officers, from the ranks of PC to CI, provided by the HMIC (2013) this sample size is an approximate one-in-ten response rate when judged against the size of the eligible population.

Figure 2.1 provides a graphical summary of the number of respondents by police force. Figure 2.2 similarly represents the response rate per police force. In this sense the response rate is the percentage of respondents in a police force relative to the estimated number of full-time equivalents in each force.   Inspection of these two graphics gives clear evidence of variation in the response rate between forces and Figure 2.3(a) and Figure 2.3(b) shows that at a regional level (delineated by Police Federation areas), a disproportionately higher number of response rate has occurred in the South-West of England.
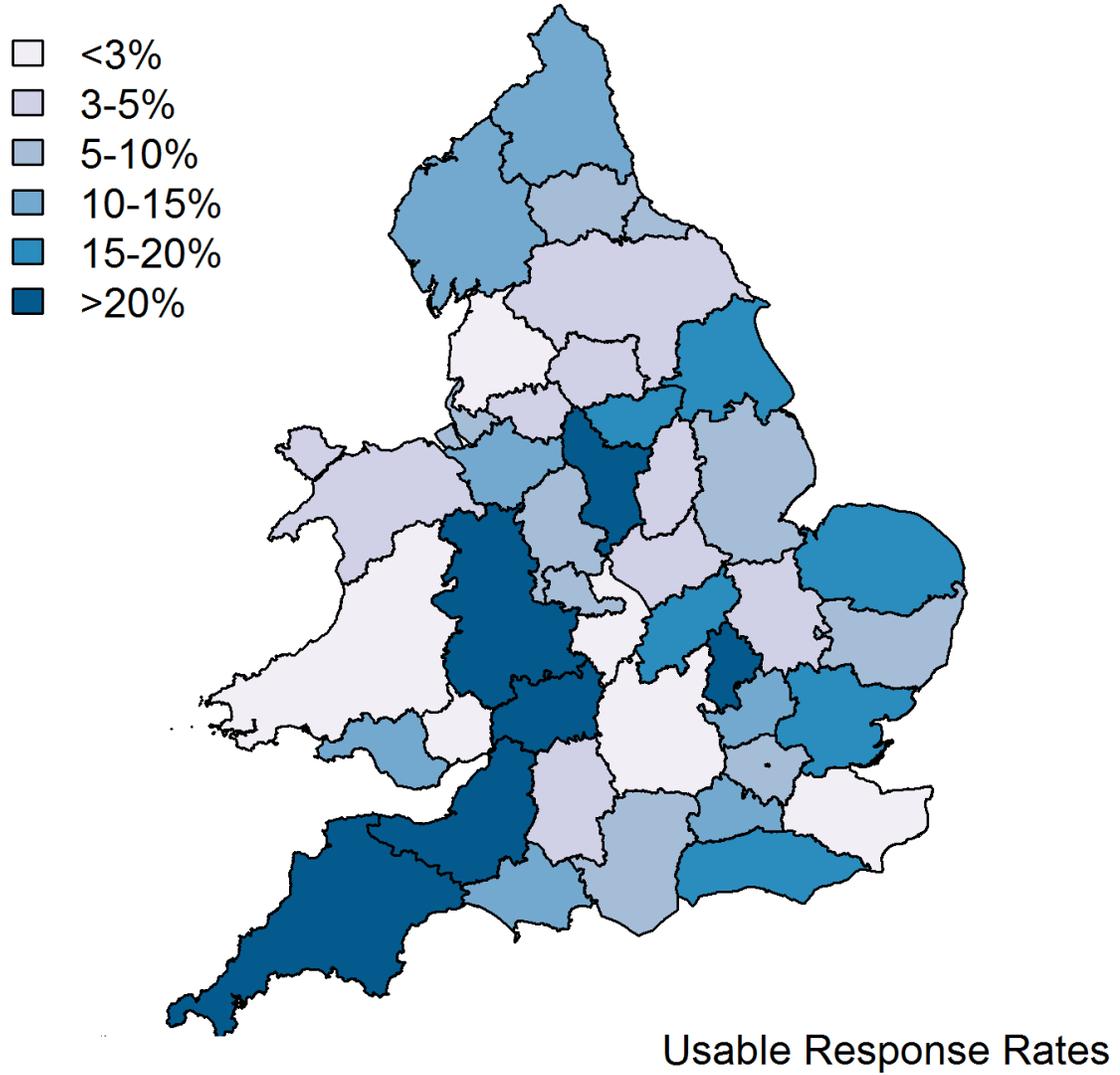
Number of Responses
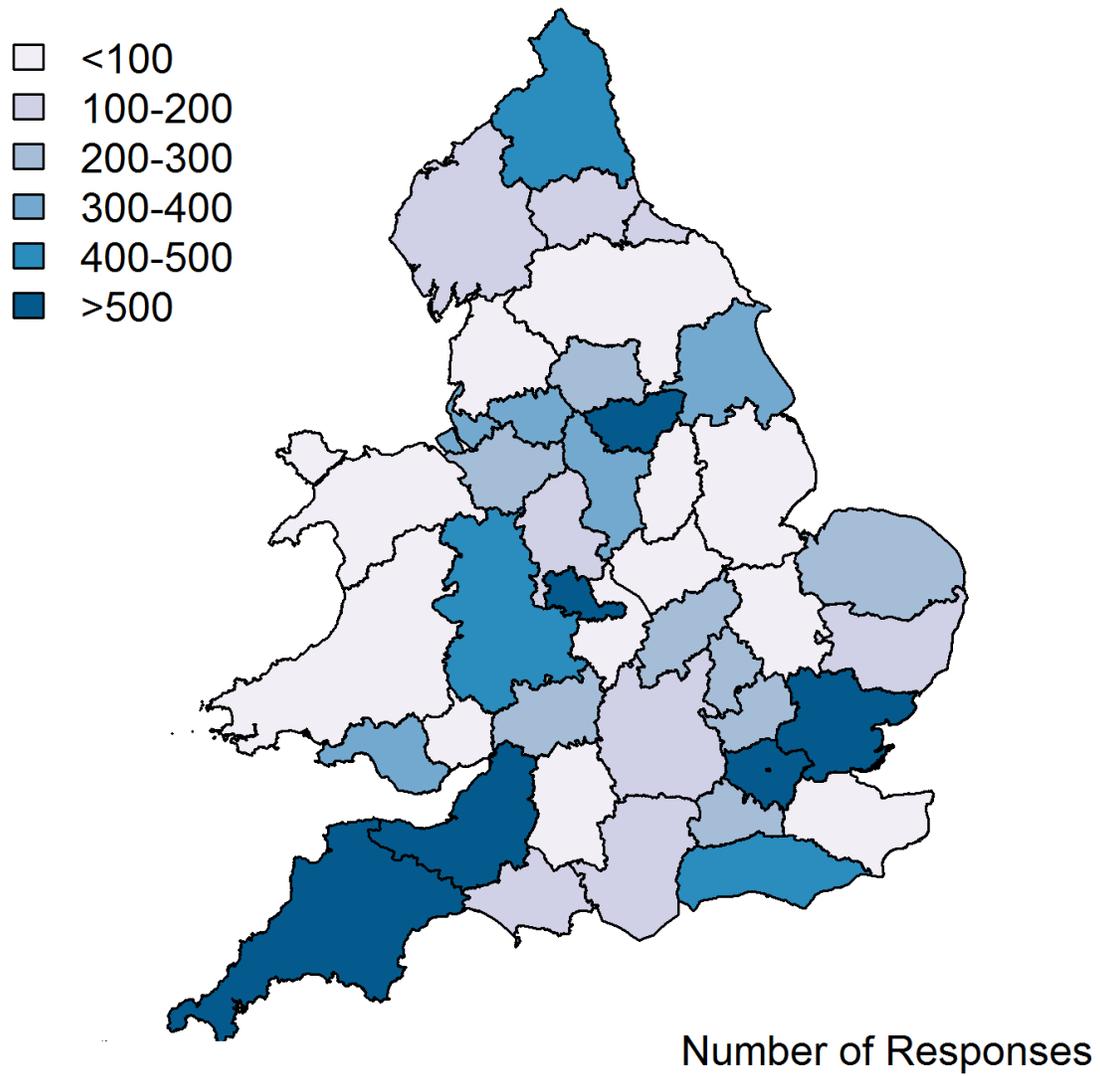
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Figure 2.1 Summary of the total number of respondents in each police force

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Figure 2.2 Summary of the response rate (as a percentage of full-time equivalents) in each police force

Figure 2.3a Response rate by region as a percentage of the number of full-time equivalents within each region.

5-10%
10-15%
15-20%
>20%
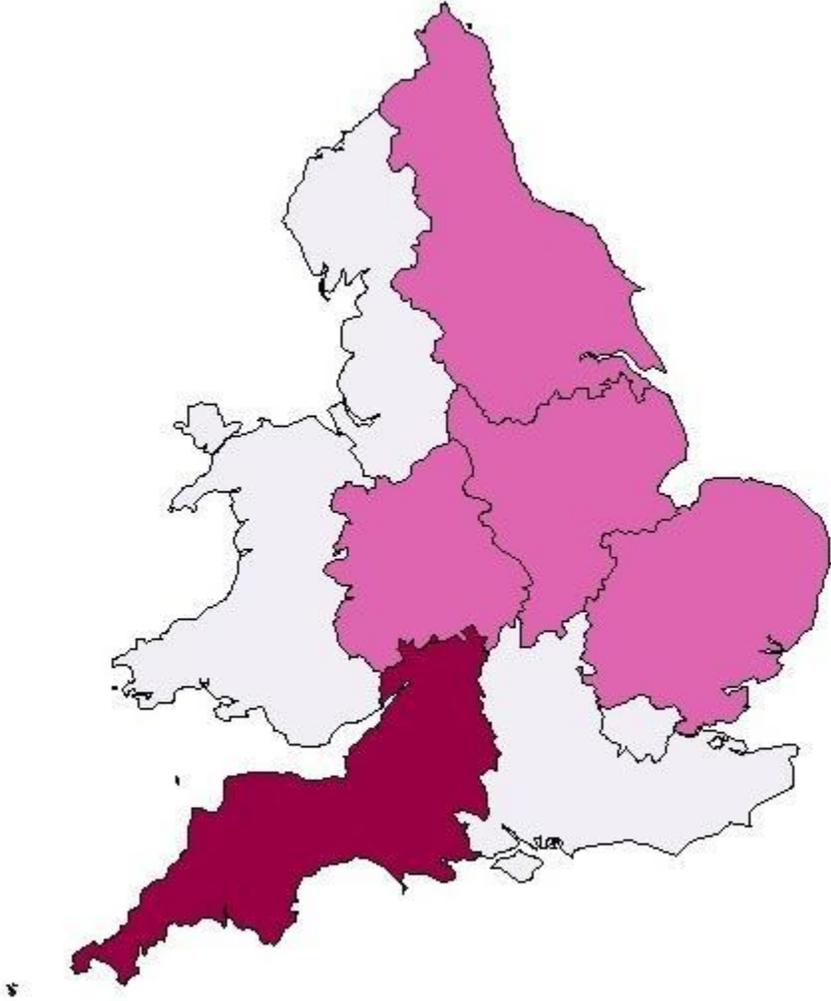
Regional Response Rates

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Figure 2.3b Response rate by Federation region as a percentage of the number of full-time equivalent within each region.

2.3.1 Describing the sample

75.3% of the sample were male, 22.1% female, and 2.7% did not self-report gender. This is broadly comparable to the figure of 27% female police officers given by the HMIC (2013). Table 2.1 gives the estimated within sample percentage participation rate by police force (percentage total 100%). For example, it shows that 10.8% of the overall sample (13,591) is from Avon and Somerset rather than 10.8% of Avon and Somerset officers responded. Table 2.2 summarises self-reported length of service amongst sample respondents. Table 2.3 and Table 2.4 detail the rank and ethnicity of respondents.

Table 2.1 Within sample breakdown of respondents by police force

Force	Sample %	Force	Sample %	Force	Sample %	Force	Sample %
Avon and Somerset	10.8	Dyfed Powys	0.2	Lincolnshire	0.4	Staffordshire	1.1
Bedfordshire	1.7	Essex	4.7	Merseyside	3.0	Suffolk	0.9
Cambridgeshire	0.5	Gloucestershire	2.2	Metropolitan	14.0	Surrey	2.2
Cheshire	2.1	Greater Manchester	2.4	Norfolk	1.8	Sussex	3.4
City of London	1.0	Gwent	0.3	North Wales	0.5	Thames Valley	0.9
Cleveland	0.9	Hampshire	1.4	North Yorkshire	0.5	Warwickshire	0.2
Cumbria	1.0	Hertfordshire	1.8	Northamptonshire	1.8	West Mercia	3.4
Derbyshire	2.9	Humberside	2.6	Northumbria	3.5	West Midlands	5.8
Devon and Cornwall	7.3	Kent	0.5	Nottinghamshire	0.6	West Yorkshire	1.6
Dorset	1.4	Lancashire	0.5	South Wales	2.4	Wiltshire	0.3
Durham	0.9	Leicestershire	0.6	South Yorkshire	3.9		

Table 2.2 Length of service amongst respondents

Length of Service (years)	Frequency	Percentage
<= 2	83	0.6
3 to 5	1060	7.8
6 to 10	3202	23.6
11 to 15	2813	20.7
16 to 20	2132	15.7
> 20	3945	29.0
Missing	356	2.6
Total	13591	100

Table 2.3 Rank of sample respondents

Rank	Frequency	Percentage
Constable	10463	77.1
Sergeant	2334	17.2
Inspector	635	4.7
Chief Inspector	122	0.9
Missing	37	0.1
Total	13591	100

This breakdown of respondents by rank is comparable to the latest figures provided in the HMIC Policing in Austerity report (2013), which shows that 76.9% of police officers are Constables, 15.8% are Sergeants, 4.8% are Inspectors and 1.4% Chief Inspectors.

Table 2.4 Ethnicity of sample respondents

Ethnic Group	Frequency	Percentage
White – British	11470	84.4
White – Irish	212	1.6
White – Other	486	3.6
Mixed: White & Black Caribbean	48	0.4
Mixed: White & Black African	22	0.2
Mixed: White & Asian	49	0.4
Mixed: Other	61	0.4
Asian: British -- Indian	43	0.3
Asian: British – Pakistani	24	0.2
Asian: British – Bangladeshi	4	0.0
Asian: Other	8	0.1
Black – British Caribbean	36	0.3
Black – British African	11	0.1
Black – Any other Black background	7	0.1
Chinese: Chinese ethnic group	3	0.0
Chinese: Other ethnic group	9	0.1
Prefer not to say	658	4.8
Missing	440	3.2
Total	13591	100

Again, by way of comparison between the research project and official demographics, figures from the HMIC (2013) show that minority ethnic officers represent 5% as a proportion of the total number of officers in England and Wales.

2.4   Ethics

As with any research project there are a number of possible obstacles to sharing newly generated data that needed to be overcome in the planning stages of the research. In relation to both the statistical and qualitative information generated by the survey anonymity was made a prerequisite (no names were identifiable to us from the PNN email addresses) and consent was sought from participants through an electronic link on the email they received. Only those officers who specifically clicked on the consent link were subsequently allowed by the software to continue to participate with the survey. Additionally, the research had to pass the University of the West of England's ethics committee before commencement and also adheres to the British Society of Criminology's code of ethical research conduct (www.britsoccrim.org/codeofethics.htm).

2.5   Analysis - Qualitative

In the first instance the data from the two qualitative survey questions '*please state your three biggest hopes for the future of your job as a police officer*' and '*please state your three biggest concerns for the future of your job as a police officer*' were both downloaded in full from Qualtrics. Initially these downloads were in Excel format, and then saved in a rich text format before finally being converted into two separate word documents (one for each question). The response rates for the two questions were 11,127 for the question about officer's three biggest hopes and 11,271 for the question about officer's three biggest concerns. The written responses to these questions varied in length from one word answers to multiple paragraphs. In total, the data set available for subsequent qualitative analysis from the two questions when combined comprised a total of 938,418 words (Hopes = 437,759 and Concerns = 500,659).

Given the size of the two data sets a combination of data and theory driven analytical approaches were adopted (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Weber, 1990). In the first instance it was important to delineate the boundaries of the analysis by developing a comprehensive analysis plan which set out how the data would be partitioned in a way suitable for subsequent theoretical analysis. The simple form of data reduction strategy (Miles and Huberman, 1994) used for this project was based on using word searches within the two documents to extract data relevant to the current research report. The words used to search the documents were theoretically informed by the quantitative questionnaire questions (topics inquired about) and the findings from the pilot report of the project. Words such as 'goodwill', 'morale', 'government', 'reform' etc. were used to identify data extracts containing these words using the 'Find' or 'Advanced Find' tools on Microsoft Word (see Appendix B for words searched for and number of results). While there are now many qualitative data analysis (QDA) software programmes available, when using such a big data set the use of Microsoft Word and its functions to organise and analyse qualitative data is recognized as a legitimate tool and well as offering cost and time savings benefits (La Pelle, 2004; Ryan, 2004).

The data extracts were subsequently copied and pasted into new Word documents which were given the title of the word used in the initial word search together with the prefix hopes or concerns. For example, a new word document titled 'concerns goodwill' was created. These new word documents were then analysed using principles broadly within the tradition of thematic analysis (Kellehear, 1993, Braun and Clarke 2006; Pidgeon, 1996; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Focus was given to exploring how the words identified through the initial data extraction process could be contextualized and their meaning understood to help explain why these issues are important for officers in relation to their perceptions about their hopes and concerns for the future of their job. To do this the material in each word document was read and then re-read to discover trends and identify issues within the documents, and from this identify themes, which were subsequently used to guide further re-reading and analysis.

Again Microsoft Word tools such as the 'New Comment' option were used when reading these documents to draw out sub-themes and ideas and help organise the data which subsequently forms the overall structure of the qualitative analysis presented here. The data included in the analysis section of this paper was selected for its representativeness in terms of illuminating the wider body of data within the thematic category. The analytic approach then sought to combine both the quantitative and qualitative data sets to create an overall account of officer's perceptions of the changes and challenges currently facing the police service in England and Wales using a process of triangulation (Denzin, 1978).

2.6   Analysis – Quantitative

The questionnaire taps into individual opinions and perceptions regarding a range of issues currently facing the police service (see p.11).   Each of these topics are investigated using a series of questions each based on a five-point Likert scale ("strongly disagree", "disagree", "neither agree nor disagree", "agree", "strongly agree"). Aspects of police identity and organisational citizenship behaviour have been surveyed using an adaptation of validated surveys by Mael and Ashforth (1992) and Lee and Allen (2002) with individual questions for the later on a five-point scale ("never", "rarely", "sometimes", "often", "all of the time"). Individual item responses are therefore measured on perceived five-point ordinal scales which readily permit category percentage response rates for each question to be determined. These percentage response rates are provided here and were developed using the statistical software package SPSS version 19.

Table 2.1 identified a marked deviation in response rates as an overall proportion of the total sample to the questionnaire between police forces (e.g. a response rate of 14.0% for London Metropolitan though to 0.2% for Warwickshire). It is therefore important to determine whether response profiles on questionnaire items either (a) differ between forces and/or (b) whether there is a geographical clustering (spatial gradient) on item responses. The Kruskal-Wallis test statistic was used to identify whether response profiles differ between police forces (this methodological process was also used to examine whether responses to items differed between the ranks of Constable, Sergeant, Inspector and Chief Inspector). The statistic, Moran's *I*, was also used to examine any geographical clustering on response profiles. The absence of any such effects (i.e. the absence of force-to-force differences, the absence of differences between ranks, and the absence of geographical clustering) would be consistent with a community of agreement amongst police officers on the issues examined in the questionnaire.

Given that the individual questions on the questionnaire are all on a five-point ordinal scale a statistical assessment of distributional differences between police forces can be

conducted on each individual item using the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test. The Kruskal-Wallis test uses a test statistic H. The effect size for distributional differences may be estimated using eta-squared (η^2) given by the formula $\eta^2 = H/(N-1)$ where H is the Kruskal-Wallis test statistic and N is the overall sample size (see, for instance, Marascuilo and Serlin, 1988). $\eta^2 = 0.06$ is taken as a lowest threshold for an effect to be judged as a medium sized effect and values for under 0.06 are, at best, considered to be small effects.
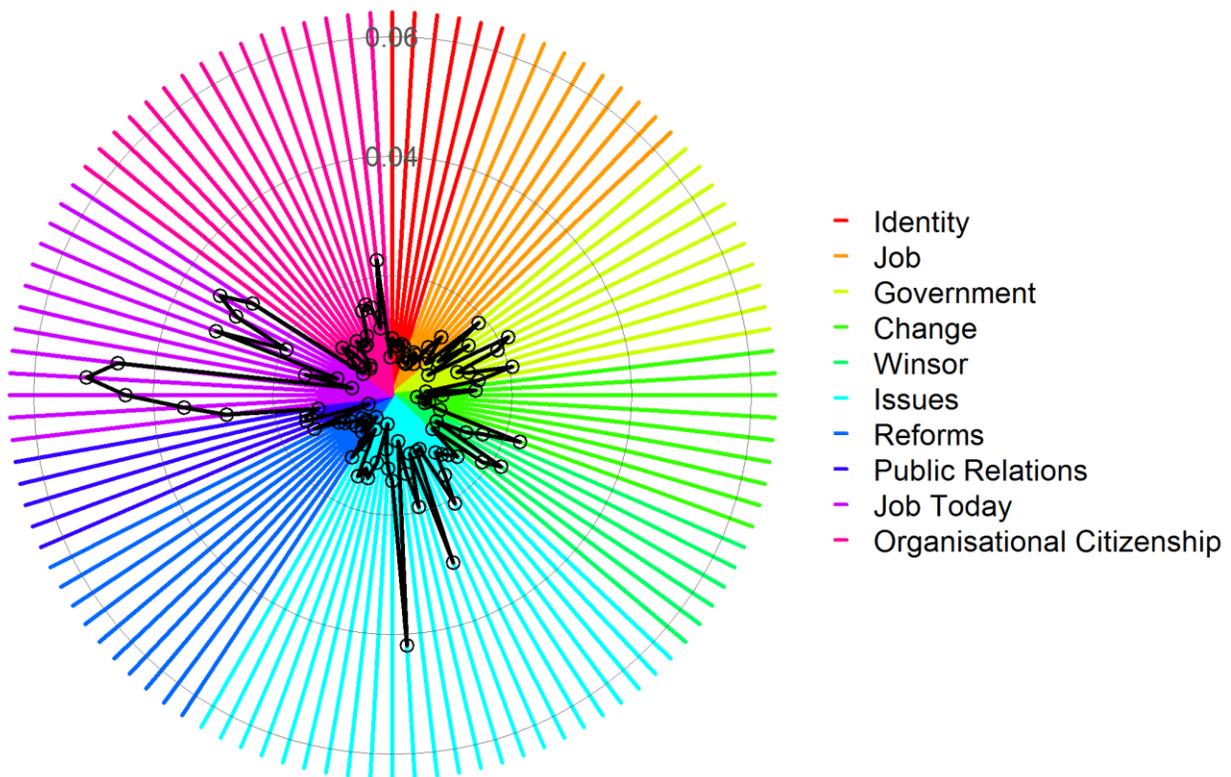
Figure 2.4 Radar plot of effect size η^2 for all items measured using the Kruskal-Wallis test

The radar plot, Figure 2.4, is a plot of effect size, η^2, for each item on the questionnaire with distance along each radial axis depicting effect size. All effect sizes are smaller than 0.06 therefore differences between forces are viewed as being "small". Within the survey as a whole there were only four items with η^2 in excess of 0.04. These four items are:

1. Issues facing the police: Item 14: *"The educational requirements for recruitment of constables should be increased"*

2. The Job: Item 3: *"I am satisfied with my job"*

3. The Job: Item 4: *"My morale in my job is high"*

4. The Job: Item 5: *"The morale of my colleagues is high"*

Differences between police forces on these four items will be examined in detail in the appropriate following sections.

The percentage agree/strongly agree and the percentage disagree/strongly disagree was considered for each item. For each item the extent of any spatial autocorrelation between police force regions in the response percentages was quantified using Moran's *I*. In general Moran's *I* can range from -1 (indicating perfect spatial dispersion) to +1 (indicating perfect spatial clustering) with the value 0 indicating a random spatial arrangement. The calculated absolute values for Moran's *I* for agree/strongly agree responses are summarized in Figure 2.5, and the calculated values for Moran's *I* for disagree/strongly disagree responses are given in Figure 2.6. Note in all cases the absolute value for Moran's *I* is small (less than 0.08) and with only five questions having a value between 0.06 and 0.08. These items are

1. The Job: Item 10: *"I would consider Voluntary Severance"*
2. The Job: Item 11: *"I would consider looking for alternative employment"*
3. Police Identity: Item 1: *"When someone criticises the police, it feels like a personal insult"*
4. Change and Reform: Item 6: *"Change should be made in collaboration with the police"*
5. Relationship with Government: Item 6: *"The police are under resourced"*
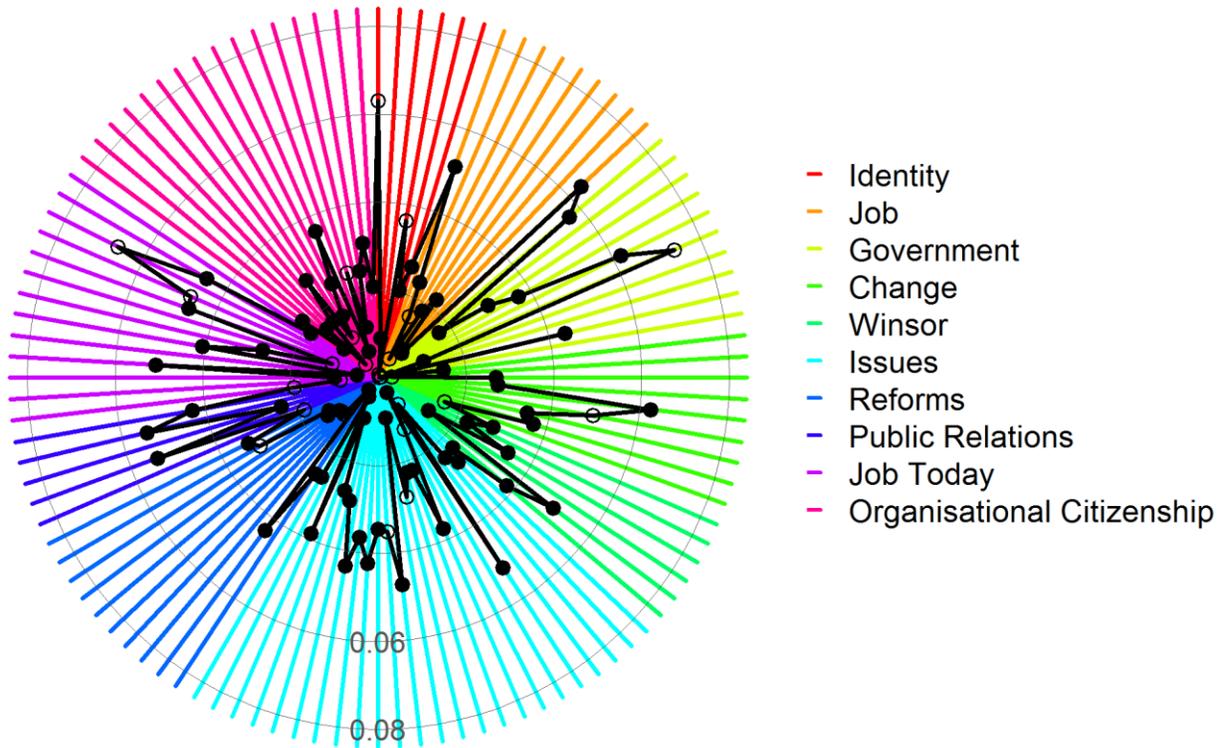
Figure 2.5 Moran's I based on agree/strongly agree

In summary, differences in responses between forces are small, and there is no extensive geographical clustering of responses. The lack of differences between forces and the absence of any substantive clustering is in-keeping with a consistent set of responses independent of police force or geographical region suggesting a common voice across the sample except on a small number of items. There are a small number of items which show some small differences between the forces and these items will be subjected to further investigation in the appropriate parts of this report.
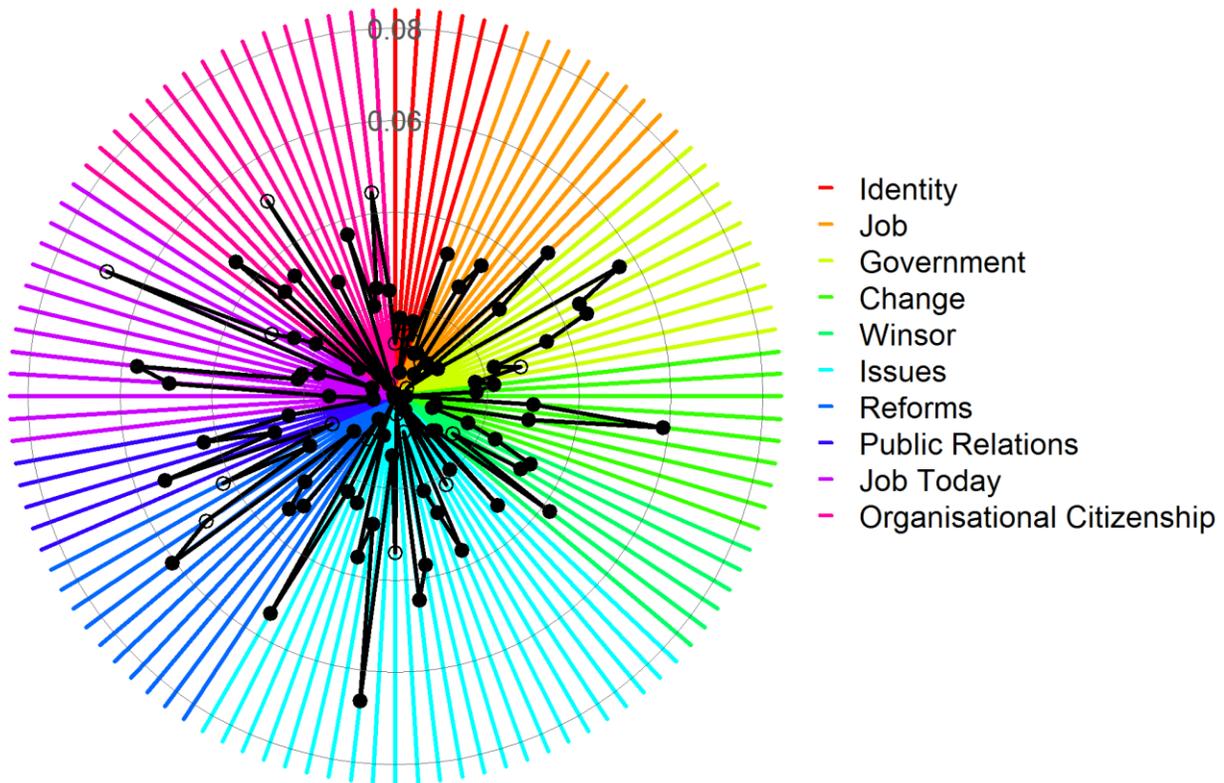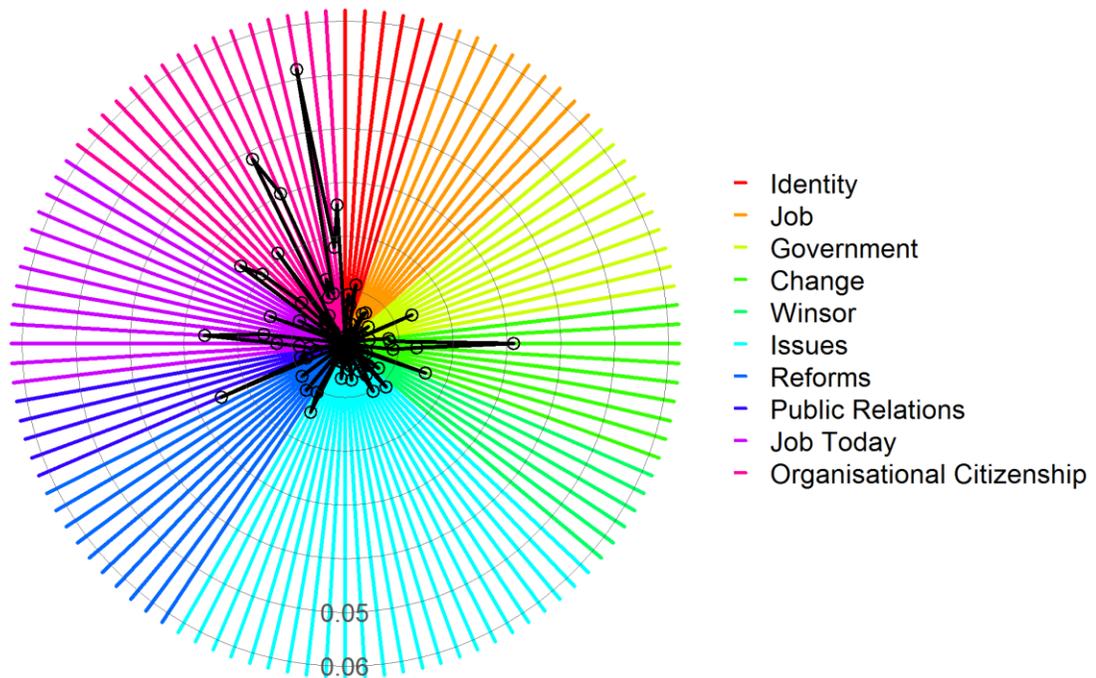
Figure 2.6 Moran's I based on disagree/strongly disagree

Each item on the questionnaire was additionally screened to identify potential differences according to rank (Constable, Sergeant, Inspector, Chief Inspector). Screening was done by using the Kruskal-Wallis test statistic and the partial effect size for each questionnaire item is graphically illustrated in Figure 2.7. Effect sizes for comparisons between ranks are small (all under 0.06) and the top five prominent items showing differences between ranks are the items:

1. Change and Reform: Item 3: *"I am opposed to police reform"*

2. The Job Today: Item 4: *"My morale in my job is high"*

3. Organisational Citizenship: Item 14: *"Offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organisation"*

4. Organisational Citizenship: Item 9: *"Attend functions that are not required but help the organisational image"*

5. Organisational Citizenship: Item 10: *"Keep up with developments in the organisation"*

- Identity
- Job
- Government
- Change
- Winsor
- Issues
- Reforms
- Public Relations
- Job Today
- Organisational Citizenship

Figure 2.7 Effect size (partial eta squared) for each questionnaire item quantified using Kruskal-Wallis test statistic

In summary, differences in responses between ranks are small, and there is no extensive clustering of responses. The lack of differences between rank and the absence of any substantive clustering is in-keeping with a consistent set of responses independent of police rank suggesting a common voice across the sample except on a small number of items. There are a small number of items which show some small differences between the ranks (above) and these items will be subjected to further investigation in the appropriate parts of this report.

3.   Police Identity

Talking in the Times newspaper (9th March 2011) Tom Winsor commented that *"In the past six months, I have seen a great deal of the culture of the police. It is a culture of determination, courage, hard work and achievement, of facing any challenge or danger and confronting it in full measure"*. Similarly the former New Haven police chief James Ahern wrote, *"The day the new recruit walks through the door of the police academy, he leaves society behind to enter a profession that does more than give him a job, it defines who he is. He will always be a cop"* (Ahern 1972).

Academic research on police culture has a long and conflicting history with arguments being made both for and against the concept itself, its practical usefulness and also whether it is positive or negative for the police and the public they serve (Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2010; Skolnick, 2008; Waddington, 1999). However, previous studies have failed to specifically identify, or at least measure, the existence of a police identity from which such culture may originate, and thus debates about police culture or cultures are often largely referent free. Using validated psychological scales of organisational identity (Mael & Ashforth, 1992) the present study addresses this issue by examining whether the police do have a recognisable organisational identity that forms a fundamental part of who they are as a person (Table 3.1).

The concept of organisational identity used here is based on ideas from Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1985). Within SIT it is argued that the self-concept is comprised of a personal identity, en-compassing idiosyncratic characteristics (e.g., bodily attributes, abilities, psychological traits, interests) and a social identity encompassing salient group classifications. Social identification, therefore, is the perception of oneness with or belongingness to some human aggregate. For example, a woman may define herself in terms of the group(s) with which she classifies herself (I am British; I am a woman; I am a nurse). She perceives herself as an actual or symbolic member of the group(s), and she perceives the fate of the group(s) as her own. As such, social identification and in the case

of this research, specifically organisational identity provides a partial answer to the question, who am I? (Stryker & Serpe, 1982; Turner, 1982).

Table 3.1 summarises percentage responses to items concerning Police Identity. 71.2% self-report an interest in what others think about the police. 69.9% agree or strongly agree that police criticism feels like a personal insult, with more than half (57.6%) agreeing police praise is like a personal compliment. The percentages in Table 3.1 are graphically summarized in Figure 3.1.

Table 3.1 Police Identity

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
	Percentage					Count
1. When someone criticises the police, it feels like a personal insult	2.9	11.7	15.5	48.8	21.1	13572
2. I am very interested in what others think about the police	2.0	7.4	19.4	54.0	17.2	13572
3. When I talk about the police, I usually say we rather than they	2.5	7.0	11.0	51.4	28.1	13572
4. The police's successes are my successes	4.0	14.5	31.3	38.8	11.4	13561
5. When someone praises the police, it feels like a personal compliment	2.9	13.9	25.5	44.0	13.6	13567
6. If a story in the media criticised the police, I would feed embarrassed	3.5	15.1	19.4	46.2	15.7	13568

Cronbach's alpha (coefficient alpha) was used to examine properties of this scale. Cronbach's alpha is a derived statistic to help describe the degree of internal consistency between items which comprise a scale. Standardized Cronbach's alpha can range from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 1. In survey work a value for alpha of 0.7 or higher is indicative of reliable scale scores and a value for alpha of approximately 0.8 or higher is highly desirable. In relation to the police organisational identity scale, reliability analysis identifies that there does appear to be a measurable police organisational identity. The six items measuring police identity scaled acceptably (alpha = .833 showing good internal consistency) and can be conflated into a single measure of police identity.

Challenge and Change

There is a degree of spatial autocorrelation on the item "*When someone criticizes the police it feels like a personal insult*" but this effect is small (see Figure 3.2) and does not impact on the single conflated police identity measure.
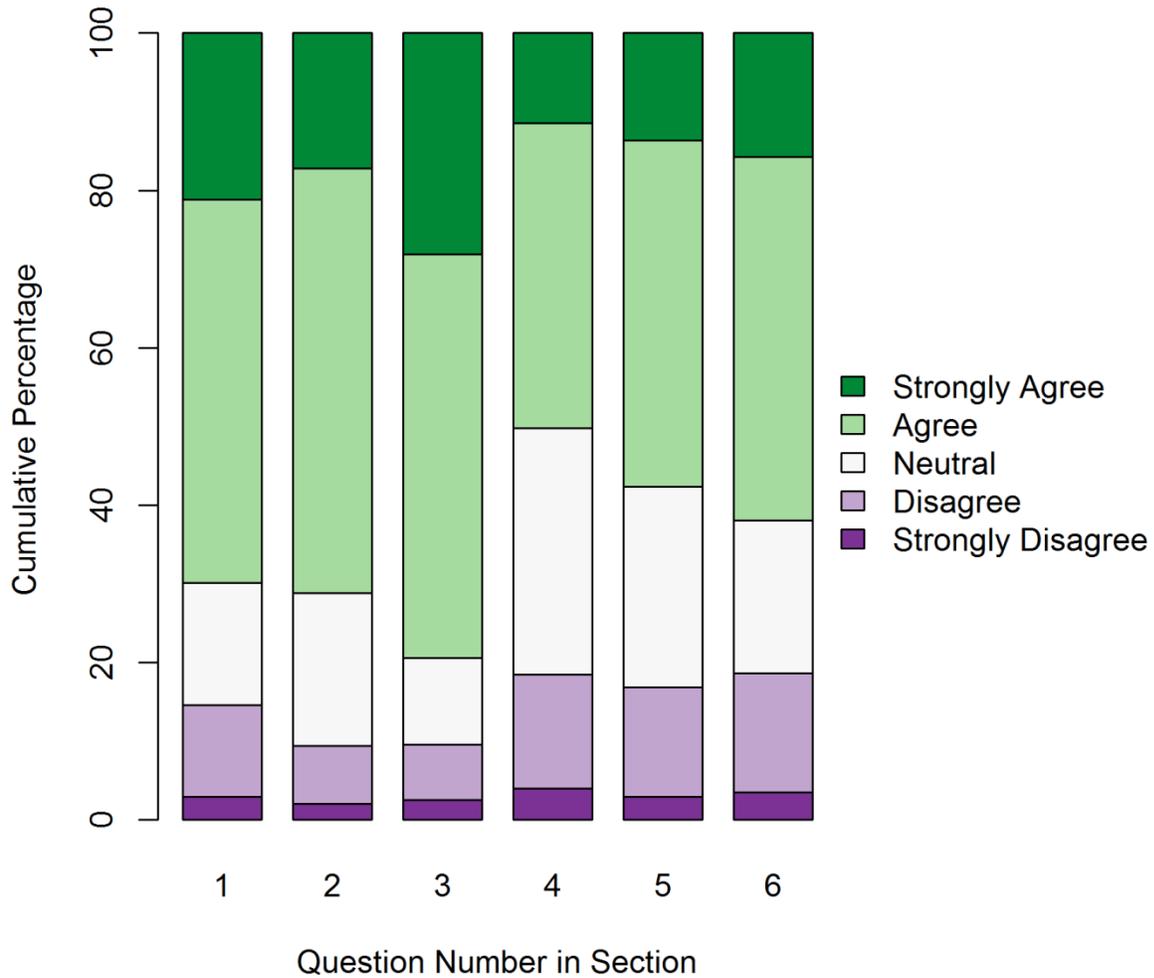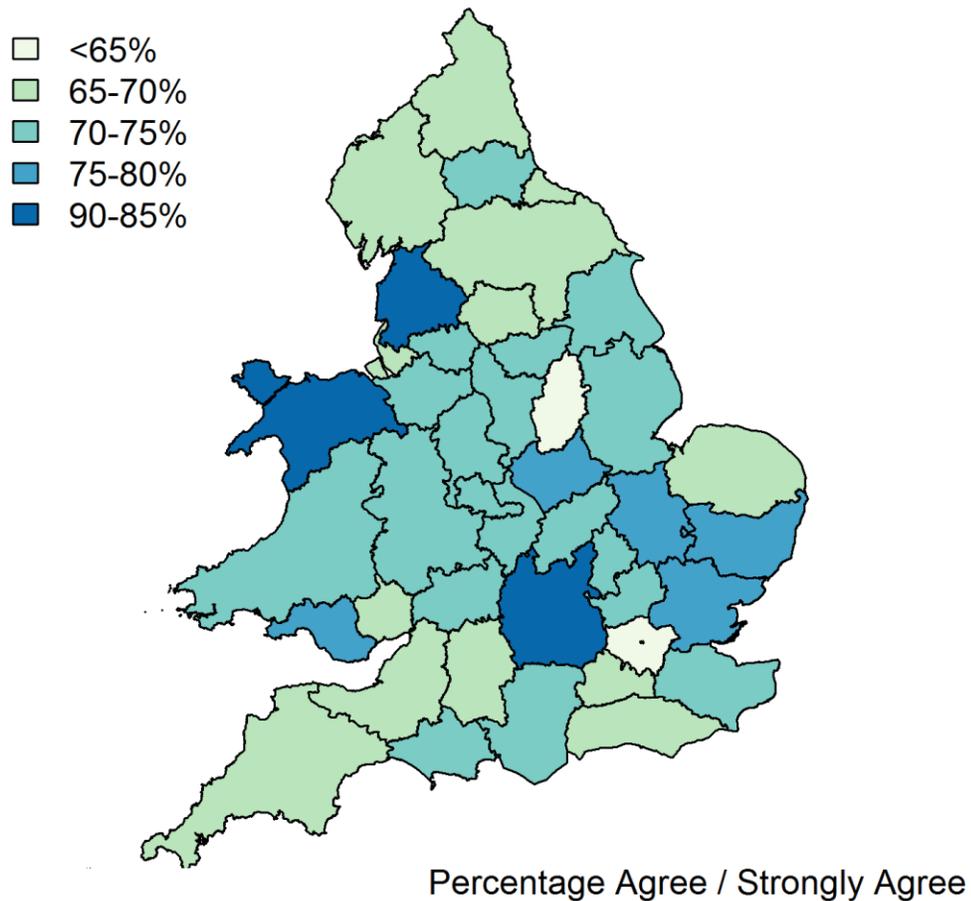

Figure 3.1 Police Organisational Identity

Legend:
- <65%
- 65-70%
- 70-75%
- 75-80%
- 90-85%

Percentage Agree / Strongly Agree

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Figure 3.2 When someone criticises the police it feels like a personal insult

Extrapolating from Social Identity Theory, what the discovery of this police organisational identity suggests is that what happens to one officer or force can have a corresponding positive or negative impact on all officers in all forces. This is because being a police officer is a fundamental part of their self-concept (who they are) and they perceive the fate of the police as being that of their own. This may be particularly important in times of change and reform where officers perceive themselves to be under attack or threatened by things beyond their control as this is a threat to their very being. In the two open ended questions about officers' hopes and concerns for the future of their job as police officers, this perception of threat to police identity was mentioned by numerous officers as one of

their concerns about the future of the police service. For example, an officer wrote that one of their concerns was that;

"The identity of the office of constable will disappear completely".

This sentiment was echoed by other officers in their responses to the question about their concerns for the future of the police service, for example;

"The service will lose its identity, and fail its employees and the public."

Another respondent noted that their concern was;

"Losing the fundamental identity of what the British style of policing represents".

While another wrote;

"The great British bobby will become a thing of the past, no accountability, no identity, no respect and no voice".

This concern about police identity in the future was summarized by another officer in terms of how changes to the police service may change the identity of its officers. They noted concern that;

"The identity of our Police Service being lost - Officer numbers are diminishing, and I believe the private sector will eventually take some responsibility for our workload - in effect we will offer the public 'fire station policing' and will only respond to emergency calls only".

4.   Role of Police in Society

Since her appointment as Home Secretary within the current coalition government, Theresa May has repeatedly stated in discussions about the police service in England and Wales, that their primary role and function is fighting crime, that this is the job the public want them to do and that both budget cuts and changes and reforms to the police will not affect this. For example during an interview on the Andrew Marr show (11th May 2011) the Home Secretary stated;

"People talk a lot about police numbers as if police numbers are the Holy Grail. But actually what matters is what those police are doing. It's about how those police are deployed. And it is crucial of course that Chief Constables are able to make decisions within their budgets about how they deploy their police officers to the greatest effect to ensure that they're able to do the job that the public want them to do. We want police officers to be crime fighters".

However, issues about both police officer numbers and crime levels and the role of the police as crime fighters are not as clear cut as the Home Secretary's statement suggests. In relation to police numbers and crime levels research evidence is inconclusive and relatively tentative. A recent review of research evidence for Her Majesties Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) found that while it is too early to say whether there is a direct causal link between higher numbers of police and lower crime "*there is relatively strong evidence for the potential of an effect of police numbers on crime, particularly with regard to property and other acquisitive forms of offending*" (Bradford, 2011).

Additionally, in relation to the role of the police as crime fighter's, research has identified that what the police do in practice is actually a lot more diverse and complicated than simply fight crime (Bittner, 1974; Reiner, 2010). Similarly, in addressing this issue of the role and function of the police in society the questionnaire survey data identified that the idea that '*police officers were only crime fighters*' is overly simplistic.

Challenge and Change

Table 4.1 summarises the percentage responses to items relating to the role of police in society. Inspection of Table 4.1 reveals a high degree of community agreement with respect to the "job" of the police with in excess of 90% either in agreement or in strong agreement that the job is to fight crime (96.6%), keep the peace (97.0%), enforce the law (95.7%) and to serve the public (93.6%). 92.3% disagree that the job is "clock-in clock-out" with 84.5% agreeing that they are effectively on duty 24/7. These responses are graphically illustrated in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2.

Table 4.1 Role of Police in Society

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
	Percentage					Count
1. The job of the police is to fight crime	0.4	0.9	2.0	35.0	61.6	13570
2. The job of the police is to keep the peace	0.4	0.7	2.0	39.8	57.2	13570
3. The job of the police is to enforce the law	0.4	1.2	2.7	37.7	58.0	13577
4. The job of the police is to serve the public	0.4	1.8	4.2	38.2	55.4	13568
5. Policing is a vocation rather than a job	3.5	6.7	10.1	32.7	46.9	13568
6. I can walk away from my policing duties when off duty	41.2	39.4	9.1	7.7	2.8	13571
7. I am effectively on duty 24/7	1.9	6.1	7.5	39.8	44.7	13563
8. Police officers are not motivated by money	4.3	20.7	27.0	32.9	15.1	13571
9. Policing is a clock in clock out job	66.2	26.1	4.3	1.9	1.5	13559

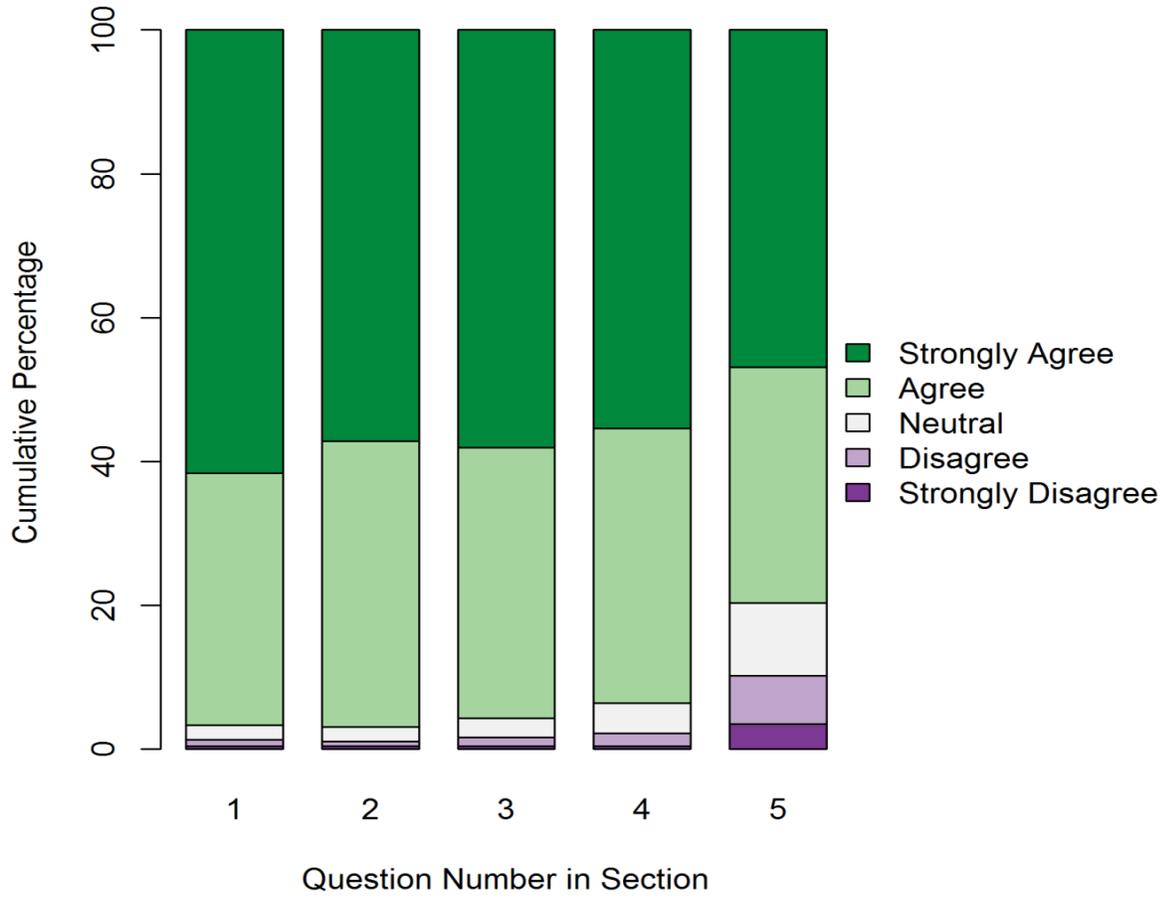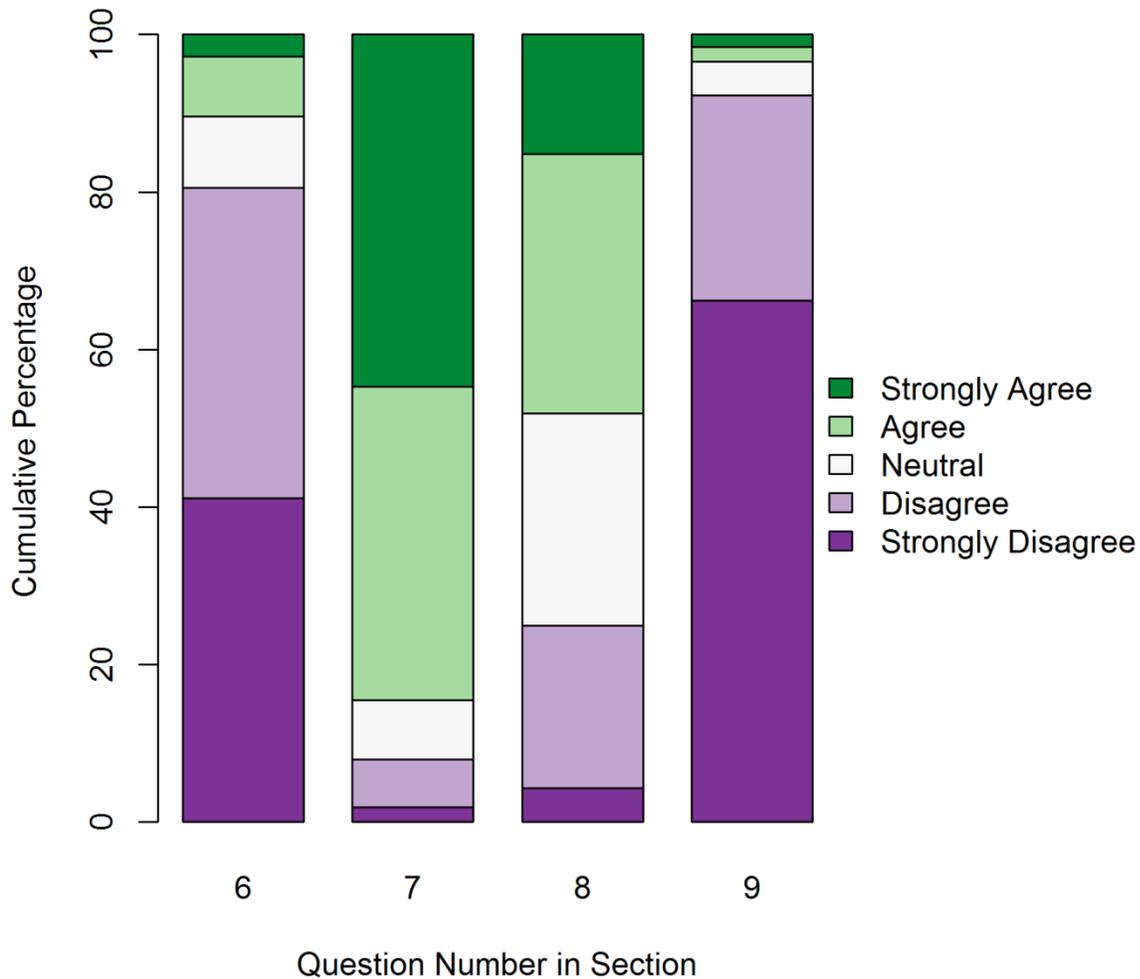**Figure 4.1 Role of the police in society**

Figure 4.2 Role of the police in society

In responding to questions in the survey about the three biggest hopes and concerns officers had for the future of the police service, issues about officer numbers and crime levels, the uniqueness of policing and its vocational nature, police role and function and problems of clarity associated with it were all written about. In discussing hopes for the future of the service officers raised issue about the links between crime levels and officer numbers. For example an officer noted;

> "It bothers me to have had these massive cuts and see figures suggesting crime is falling. Those in the thick of it (and let's face it the communities themselves) know that this is not the case. Figures can say whatever you want them to say. Could it be a decline in confidence and so less reporting? Could it be less proactive detections as

opposed to reactive ones - as fewer numbers and increased workload is impacting the ability to actively look for crime rather than just investigating what people choose to inform us of / report? The comments of a reduction in crime make it seem as though forces were wasteful in the first place by us appearing to manage with less. This is not the case and we are playing into the governments hands by not facing the realities of the situations occurring in our communities".

When writing about the role and function of the police and the Office of Constable, respondents also discussed how they hoped the uniqueness of their role would be recognised and protected. For example an officer wrote that their biggest hope was;

"That the unique role of Constable is taken into account and the reforms are reconsidered".

Similarly another officer responded that they hoped;

"That the role of police officer is recognised as being unique, the responsibility that we hold, the restrictions it places upon us in our private lives and the risks we all take every day dealing with unpredictable violent people."

The hope that recognition will be given to the unique role of the police in the future was expanded upon by others who noted that it was specifically in relation to recognition from the government that their hope laid. As one officer wrote, they hoped;

"That the government realise this is a unique job with unique challenges to both personal and private life"

Equally in writing about their concerns for the future of the police service issues about maintaining the unique status they believe they currently have were discussed. Responding to the question about concerns an officer wrote that theirs was about;

"The disintegration of the unique status of constable and the British way of policing".

While another noted that they were concerned;

> *"That the unique office of Constable is no longer the correct term for my job. The role of the police is no longer a vocation - it becomes just a job".*

The vocational nature of the police service was also further discussed in terms of officer's hopes and concerns for the future of the service. For example, an officer noted that they hope;

> *"Someone somewhere sees sense and recognises the Vocation and Office of Constable and not try to package it up as a job you can clock in and clock out".*

Others echoed this by stating that in the future they hoped that;

> *"The role of a Police Constable is respected as a 24/7 vocation - not a job to which you clock on and off",*

While another wrote that they hoped for;

> *"A return to policing as a vocation by people who love the job and want to serve the public".*

Expanding on the vocational nature of the police and hope that it maintains this position in the future, officers also discussed why the role is a vocational one rather than a clock-on–clock-off job. For example, an officer explained their hope that;

> *"The office of constable remains a vocation rather than becoming a 9-5 job as it is only those people in society that are willing to stand up and be counted that should consider the office of constable. If it becomes a 9-5 job policing, society at large and local communities will suffer. We have all had occasions when you want someone to stand up and deal with a situation that you can tell is getting out of hand, I know that my colleagues and I do this when we are off duty as much as when we are on duty in uniform making a visible presence. When I have done this having been off duty and you step in and make a difference you can tell people really do start to see what policing is about and how good it is to live in this country".*

Equally when writing about concerns for the future of the service the importance of policing being a vocation rather than simply another job was repeatedly mentioned. For example an officer wrote that they were concerned that policing;

"Becomes 'a job' rather than a vocational career".

This concern was shared and expanded upon by others. For example another officer stated that they were concerned that;

"People will only join for a few years instead of a vocation/career".

This issue of short termism affecting the vocational nature of policing was also elaborated on by others with similar concerns. An officer wrote that;

"There will be no place for career constables, motivated by their vocation, as only short term constables or eager to please climbers will be wanted within the service."

While another provided detail about how they were concerned the vocational nature of policing may alter due to changes occurring to policing. They noted that;

"Policing will move from a vocation to a job and will embody the spirit of Winsor reform encouraging people to join for short periods only i.e. it will no longer be a career. This will not only lead to poor policing but a degeneration in team work and support from our future colleagues, which is vital, particularly when working in dangerous and potentially life threatening changing conditions".

Concerns about the dangers of such change to the vocational nature of the police service were also discussed in terms of the detrimental impact it may have on the service the police provide. For example an officer wrote that they were concerned about the;

"Transformation from a vocation where police officers are committed to the public and each other to a 9-5 everyday job where staff care about nothing but getting through their shift as quickly as possible and then leaving. This new mentality is creeping in and it has an insidious effect on the fabric which holds traditional, good quality policing together".

Officers writing about future hopes and concerns for the service they provide in terms of 'good quality policing' invariably discussed issues associated with the role and function of the police service. As noted above, the government appears to prioritize a crime fighting role for the police, however in writing about hopes and concerns for the future officers themselves noted that a crime fighting focus may not accurately reflect what it is they do. As an officer wrote;

> *"We don't just fight crime as the government state",*

While another reported that;

> *"We are a service provider and we should focus on delivering the service which is to preserve life, protect property and prevent and detect crime".*

However, while acknowledging that they perform a range of roles and functions that do not fit within the crime fighting remit officers also stated that they hoped this may change in the future with greater focus being given to this crime fighting role. As another officer reported;

> *"I hope someone remembers the role of police is to catch criminals and reduce crime. The role is not to satisfy the objectives of different politicians. It is not that of probation, housing, marriage guidance, youth worker, education, parent, drugs worker etc. etc. etc".*

This differentiation of the police role from other public service providers while also acknowledging that the police perform functions for these other agencies was noted as being a reason why the police may not get to perform the role of crime fighter as much as they would like to. As another officer wrote;

> *"The main job of the Police is to deal with mental health issues and deal with jobs that should be dealt with by social services. Fight crime...Ha!! As if".*

This issue of covering for shortages in other public services was also noted as a concern by other officers completing the questionnaire. As one officer reported;

> *"The role of a Police officer appears to be now more of 'Social Worker' where Police are expected to sort out people's lives and prone to criticism if people don't get what they want. The leadership needs to be strong and, where appropriate, stand up for the Police and state when something should not come under their remit. We are so stretched trying to please everybody that we have lost sight of what we are actually for (the Governments obsession with 'customer' satisfaction is largely to blame for this - what people want isn't always achievable under law and the nature of policing means you can generally have two parties with opposing views - e.g. victim and offender - one of them won't be satisfied with the police action!)".*

The issue of police remits and lack of clarity about what their actual role and function within society was linked to officers reporting both hopes and concerns for the future about clearly defining what the police do. As one officer stated their hope was for assistance to;

> *"Define what we are here to do".*

In discussing hopes for the future officers also discussed how clarity over this remit issue could be dealt with, for example an officer wrote that they hoped;

> *"That a royal commission be put in place to define the role of police",*

While another wrote that they hoped;

> *"That the leadership clearly defines the role and purpose of the police to the public",*

While another hoped;

> *"That there is a public consultation about what people want the police to actually do, to define our role. As at the moment it seems we pick up where other services give up, our role is increasing and we are getting involved in incidents which the public don't need us".*

Others wrote about their concerns for the role and function of the police in the future. As an officer noted their concern was about;

"The changing role of a Police officer. The definitive role is constantly being redefined leading to confusion".

Another wrote that they were concerned that;

"The role of a Police Officer is undefined. The Police seem to be incapable of saying 'No' to anything. Therefore, we end up dealing with ridiculous incidents. If we had some sanitization of incidents when they are called in then the amount of Officers that we have could cope with the workload".

Others echoed and elaborated on the concern that the police may be trying to do too much because of a lack of clarity over exactly what the role and function of the police should be and how this may have negative consequences in the future. For example an officer wrote that;

"The role of policing in modern Britain is not defined clearly enough and we have become responsible for too broad a spectrum of society's ills. This spreads policing too thinly and as a consequence we provide a mediocre service, with little time to focus on what really matters".

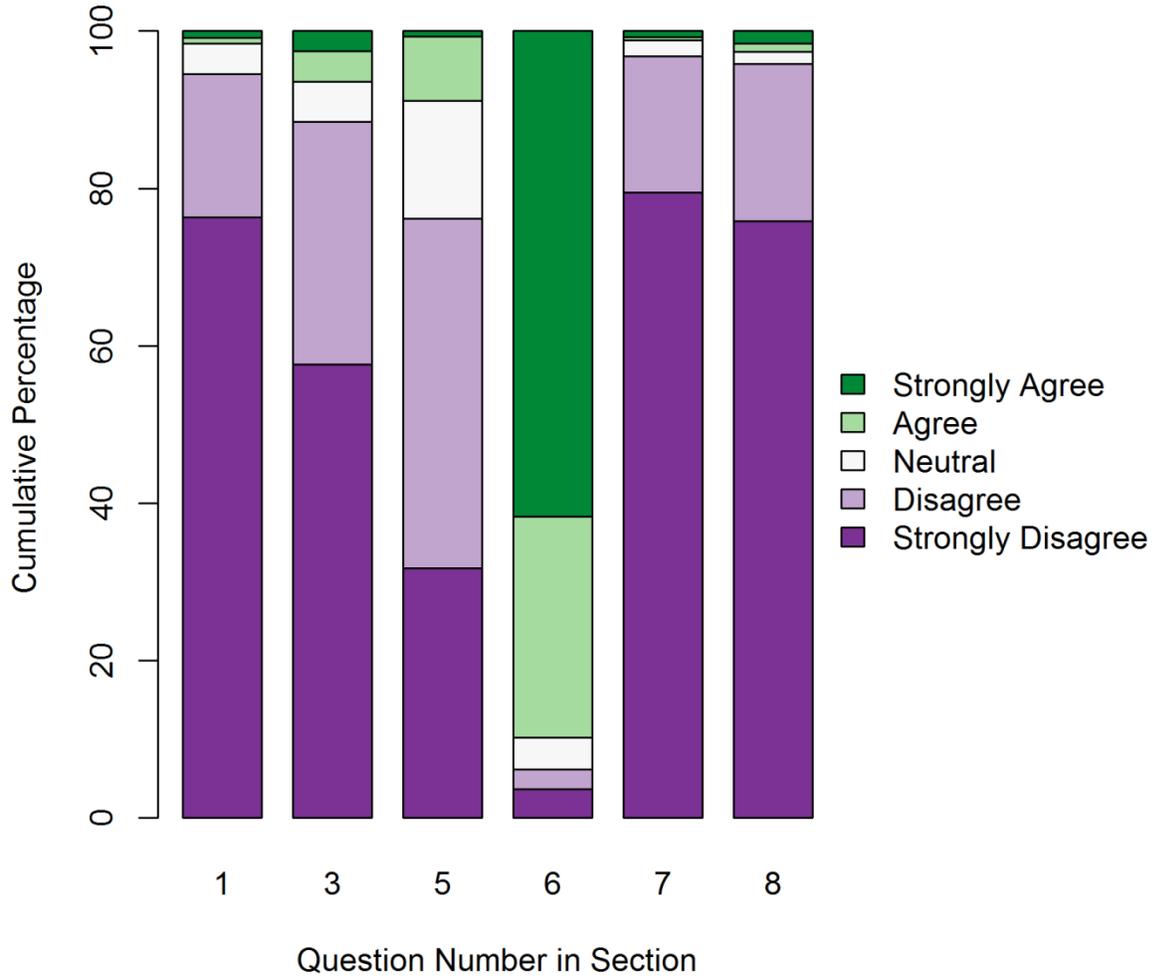# 5. The Relationship between the Police and Government

Table 5.1 summarizes the percentage responses to items relating to the relationship with Government. Only 1.6% of the sample respondents agree the current government supports the police and only 1.1% positively report confidence in long-term government plans for policing. 95.8% disagree that cuts will not affect police resilience, 89.8% agree or strongly agree that the police are under resourced while only 6.4% of officer agree of strongly agree that the cuts will not impact on their ability to do their job.

Table 5.1 Relationship between the Police and Government

|	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
			Percentage			Count
1. The current government support the police	76.3	18.2	3.9	0.8	0.8	13572
2. I am satisfied with the government cuts to police budgets	78.8	17.6	2.0	0.6	1.0	13583
3. The cuts will not impact on my ability to do my job	57.7	30.8	5.1	3.8	2.6	13574
4. The police are covering government cuts from other public services	5.8	6.0	23.5	31.3	33.3	13571
5. I have the resources to work effectively	31.7	44.4	15.0	8.2	0.7	13568
6. The police are under resourced	3.7	2.5	4.0	28.1	61.7	13571
7. I have confidence in the long term government plans for the police	79.5	17.4	2.0	0.3	0.8	13581
8. The cuts to policing budgets will not affect the resilience of the police	75.9	19.9	1.5	1.1	1.5	13567
9. There is enough resilience in the police to cover specialist training	42.6	40.7	11.6	3.9	1.2	13566
10. Policing is being eroded into a political numbers game	6.1	1.4	3.3	24.4	64.8	13578

Key results in Table 5.1 are represented graphically in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Relationship between police and government

It is also worth noting that there is some evidence of a spatial autocorrelation with respect to the responses to the item "*The police are under resourced*" although all forces have an agree rate in excess of 80% on this item (see Figure 5.2).

80-85%
85-90%
90-95%
>95%

Percentage Agree / Strongly Agree
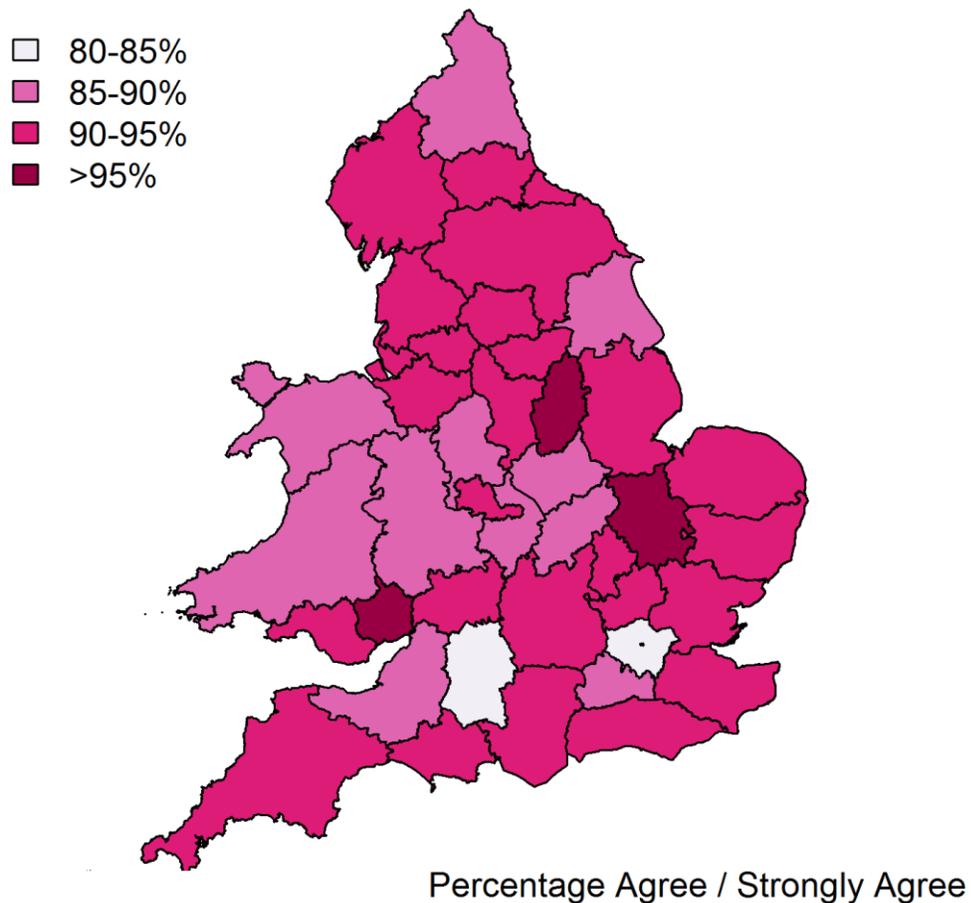
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Figure 5.2 Percentage agree or strongly agree on the item 'The police are under resourced'.

The quantitative results were elaborated upon by a range of qualitative responses in relation to questions about officer's biggest hopes and concerns for the future of the police service. Issues about the relationship between the police service and the government, resources, resilience and the impact of these issues on both the public and the police themselves were widely reported. One of the main concerns noted by respondents was about the perceived lack of support they believe they receive from the government. As an officer discussing their concerns noted;

"Lack of government support - it feels as though Police are being targeted and singled out by them as being the most expensive public service. It is sad to think that the

government expects officers to effectively be on duty 24 hours a day without credit. They have smashed morale and goodwill of officers to pieces with their cuts. Cuts to pensions and working conditions have caused a lot of officers to consider looking for employment elsewhere".

Concerns about the possible impacts of lack of government support for the police was discussed by other officers. For example an officer wrote of their concern that;

"Every one of my police colleague friends feels let down, unsupported, left out to dry and disrespected. I am personally disgusted and very angry, I have educated myself to Msc standard and I am doing everything I can to leave the organization I have loved for many years in 2 different countries. The Government appears monumentally naïve and knows this is a knee jerk reaction and bullying tactic over an organisation with no rights to strike. This is an inconceivably poorly considered short term solution to a regulatory issue the government should have handled better, pre-2008 financial crisis. There will have to be a reversal of government police reform plans at some point, because the public will suffer in the immediate future and eventually make themselves heard as well. Officers are de-motivated, losing hundreds of pounds from their monthly wages and have to work longer and harder. Public service will drop, organized criminal gangs will sense a change in police actions and reactions and slowly but surely this country will be affected by incredibly poor treatment of pivotal members of society. This country has a world-wide long standing reputation for fair and respected constables with a culturally engrained respect for officers, this will be eroded and the UK will slowly feel the effects. In every developing or third world country in the world, a poorly paid and de-motivated Police Service promoted corruption, inability to care socially and massive increases in all forms of crime. I am concerned and so should the general public be, although I am unsure they are fully aware of the facts".

Issues about confidence and trust in the government were also written about extensively in officers concerns for the future of the police. For example an officer wrote that;

"I have no trust or confidence in the present financial mismanagement of the government and its impact on policing and other public services",

While others wrote similarly that;

"Officers are losing all trust and confidence in the Government and the Police service",

And;

"The government is completely out of touch and I have zero confidence in the government",

Or;

"I have very little faith in the integrity of this Government".

Officers also wrote that their hopes for the future were based around the government recognising the negative impact of the cuts and changes on the police and the service they provide to the public. As an officer wrote they hoped;

"That some of the changes are reviewed and the government rescinds its intractable position and listens to those who know what the effects and consequences will be".

Other officers also expressed similar sentiments about their hopes for the future. For example, an officer hoped;

"For the government to realise they are destroying a great public service and they stop these ridiculous changes that are impacting negatively on a service I love to be part of",

While another hoped;

"That the government recognises that the cuts they have made are destroying the Police service and will cause irreparable harm to the service, the public perception/support of the police and will ultimately endanger police/public".

An officer also voiced concerns about the impact of changes and cuts on the police and to the public themselves;

"I feel the police will change beyond recognition over the next few years. All of which has been driven by cost. While I accept that there are some changes that need to be made, the amount of large scale change in such a short period is very worrying. The effects of these changes will not be fully understood until those implementing them have retired and it is someone else's problem".

The possible negative impact of current changes to the police service was elaborated on by other officers. For example an officer wrote that;

"I look at myself in various different ways. Yes I am a police officer but I am also a mother, a wife, a sister, a daughter, a friend, a resident of the community. These proposed changes worry me in every which way. I worry about the impact of them on the community I live in as much as I worry about the community in which I police, I worry about potential impact on my family and those I care about as I do not have the confidence that Policing is as effective as it should be and see that situation worsening with the proposals and lack of government support."

Officers also discussed their concerns about how resource issues caused by the current cuts and changes to the police service may create issues for to the public;

"There are not enough resources to do our job effectively and so we are providing the public with poor service",

This concern about poor service was discussed by other officers who voiced concern that;

"The budget cuts are going to prevent us from providing a quality service to victims. Whilst ACPO says there are no problems I am often embarrassed by the limits placed upon me by lack of resources",

And that;

"With reduced resources, it is going to be increasingly difficult to provide the service the public deserve",

Other officers wrote of their concern that inability to provide the service they want to the public will damage relationships with them. For example an officer wrote of their concern;

"That there won't be enough of us to do a good job and members of the public will think it is our fault not the lack of resources",

While another noted concern about;

"Loss of public support as reduced police numbers impacts upon investigations and general duties. As fewer officers do more work with fewer resources, the quality of service provided by the police will fall, leading the public to become more dissatisfied, leading to a lack of willingness to help tackle problems within communities. This may lead to a loss of legitimacy for the police".

As well as possible risks to the public, officers also discussed their concerns about how resource issues caused by the current cuts and changes to the police service may create risks for the police themselves. For example an officer discussing the impact of cuts and changes to the police service stated;

"The squeeze on the Police is getting to a dangerous level, putting officers safety at risk and yet this is continually brushed aside by the Government".

While another noted concern that;

"As numbers are reduced safety of my colleagues will concern me with less resources spread over a larger area".

Other officers were even more specific in voicing concerns about risks to officers, for example that;

"A police officer will be killed because of lack of resources",

And;

> *"I'm scared that another officer will die or get seriously injured as we are cutting resources so much".*

This issue of risk to officers was also built upon by others who discussed concerns such as;

> *"My biggest fear is that due to these cuts I or my colleagues may be seriously injured on duty or even worse killed due to lack of resources. I also fear that the force will become so under resourced due to cuts and officers leaving that my job which is overloaded will be overloaded tenfold to cover shortages in resources. We already don't get a lunch break most times and are off at least half hour late each day and come in half an hour early each shift.*

Concerns about how lack of resources could leave the police unable to cope with the demands placed upon them were also a big issue for respondents. One officer noted their concerns about;

> *"Budget restraints: since Police budgets have been so drastically reduced in the last 4 years, the number of Police officers being used on the "frontline" has dropped dramatically (on my team, in the biggest most heavily populated town in the county, my Intervention/Response team has gone from 17 PCs down to 7 PCs per 9 or 10 hour shift): yet we are expected, in fact pressured, to keep achieving at least as many positive results as before. The workload has increased dramatically as there are less officers to investigate crime, attend incidents, obtain evidence, when the number of assignments has not in any way decreased. This in turn is leading to more sickness through stress and depression, as officers are struggling to cope with the burdens, and that means there are even less officers available when people are either absent or on*

restricted duties because of sickness. And this inevitably is severely affecting our ability to do the job the public expects of us."

This issue of being unable to cope with the demands placed upon them was also discussed by others as being of concern. For example;

"There are seriously low numbers of officers able to respond to incidents at any one time - it seems like we are always running on minimum numbers and there is no resilience if there are a few serious incidents at the same time which leaves officers more at risk of being assaulted being on their own with no back up or back up from miles away"

Other offices reported concern about the service they can provide in terms of resilience and their ability to deal with spontaneous major incidents due to lack of numbers, resources and goodwill;

"My concern is that in the face of another major incident along the lines of the riots of 2011, which test our resolve, resilience and motivation, the 'thin blue line' will snap".

This issue was further elaborated on by other officers, for example;

"The current cuts to budgets have reduced our ability and resilience. This is only going to get worse placing the public at risk. I was deployed to London during the riots of 2011, if they were to happen again I do not see how we could cope. The goodwill required to police the riots is quickly eroding. I personally worked three days of 18 hour shifts with 6 hours between shifts, this was outside of police regulations, outside of working time regulations but in the spirit of British policing. The cuts have seen frontline officers now stuck behind a desk even more as they carry out functions of middle & back office roles. More cuts will see this get worst, again the public will suffer, and police officers on patrol will become increasingly rare."

However, it was not just concerns about the police's ability to respond to major incidents that officers reported but also how they are able to respond to daily emergency service calls;

> "*The centralization of policing and the closing down of local police stations means that we cannot provide the service to the public which we used to be able to do. Sometimes it can take nearly half an hour to reach people in an emergency because officers are stationed too far away. This is apparently in an attempt to save money but in the long run will probably end up costing more.*"

The concerns that officers raised about the impact of poor relationships with the government and lack of resources on resilience and service was summarized clearly by another officer who stated that;

> "*The thin blue line is now the dotted blue line*".

6.   Change and Reform in the Police

Broadly speaking the sample respondents are not against reform (see Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1). 84.0% either agree or strongly agree that some police reform is needed and 87.6% that some change is needed. Additionally 92.5% agree or strongly agree change and reform should be independent of politics while 96.3% are similarly in agreement that change should be made in collaboration with the police although there is some evidence of spatial clustering on this item (see Figure 6.2). But the overriding message is that there is at least 90% agreement on this item irrespective of police force. Importantly, 80.4% either agree or strongly agree that the current proposals for change and reform will give criminality the upper hand.

Table 6.1 Change and Reform in the Police

|	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
	Percentage					Count
1. Some change is needed in the police	0.9	2.7	8.8	73.9	13.7	13573
2. I am opposed to the current changes	1.8	3.7	9.2	38.5	46.7	13570
3. I am opposed to police reform	12.5	45.0	23.7	10.7	8.1	13563
4. Some police reform is needed	1.1	3.8	11.0	72.4	11.6	13568
5. Change should be driven by people outside of the police	35.1	40.5	19.6	3.7	1.0	13573
6. Change should be made in collaboration with the police	0.5	0.4	2.9	41.4	54.9	13574
7. Proposed change and reform must be independent of the police	25.8	42.0	19.1	8.6	4.5	13560
8. Proposed change and reform must be independent of politics	0.7	2.2	4.7	30.3	62.2	13572
9. Current proposals for change and reform will give the upper hand to criminality	1.3	3.6	14.6	42.5	37.9	13571
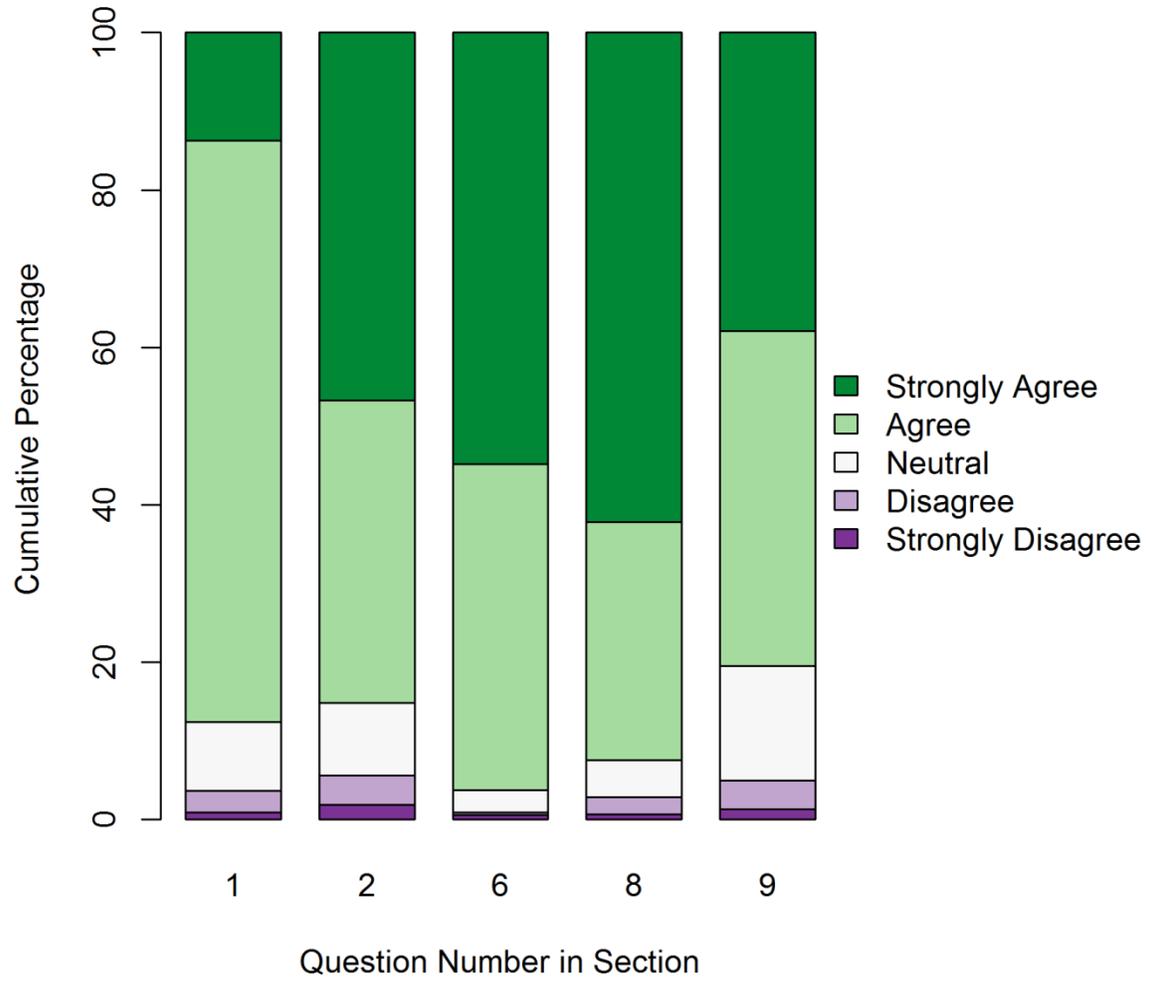
Figure 6.1 Change and Reform in the police
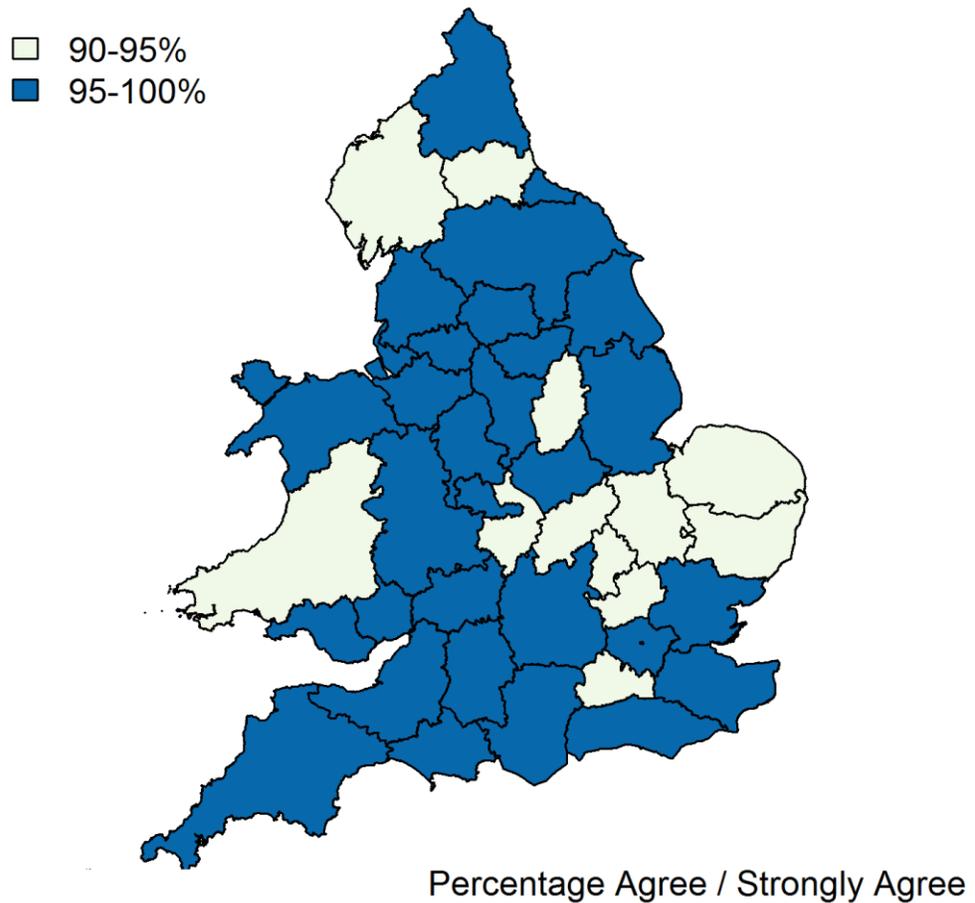
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Figure 6.2 Spatial clustering of Percentage Agreement on "change should be made in collaboration with the police"

There are substantial differences attributable to Rank on the item "I am opposed to police reform" with 53.4% of Constables disagreeing with this statement compared with 68.4% of Sergeants, 79.6% of Inspectors, and 86.7% of Chief Inspectors. Table 6.2 gives the full distribution of responses by Rank and Figure 6.3 strongly illustrates the difference between Constables and higher ranks on this item.

**Table 6.2 Percentage agreement by rank to the statement "*I am opposed to police reform*"**

		I am opposed to police reform					
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
		Percentage					Count
Rank	Constable	10.79	42.60	25.37	11.98	9.25	10441
	Sergeant	16.36	52.08	19.41	7.08	5.07	2329
	Inspector	23.03	56.62	14.67	3.47	2.21	634
	Chief Inspector	32.79	54.10	9.84	2.46	0.82	122
Total		12.52	44.99	23.70	10.65	8.13	13526
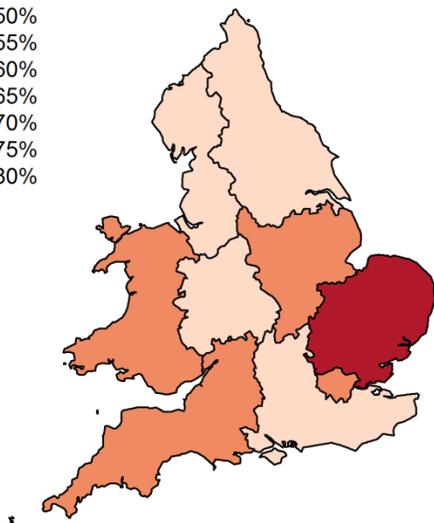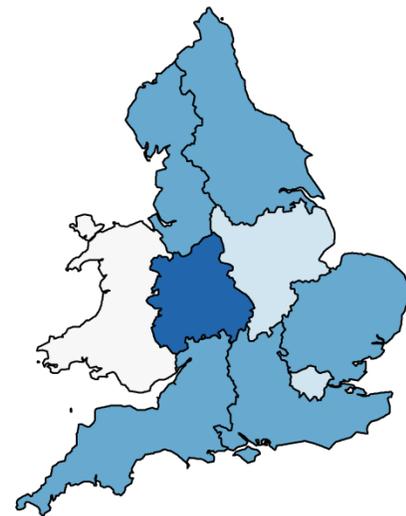
Regional Rates: Constable   Regional Rates: higher rank than Constable

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Figure 6.3 Percentage by rank that disagree or strongly disagree to the statement "*I am opposed to police reform*"

What the analysis suggests is that overall officers agree or strongly agree that some police reform is needed, while rank analysis identifies that, while still in favour of some reform, police constables are less favourable than their senior colleagues whose favourability to reform increases as rank increases. Given that the current Winsor reforms

appear to have the biggest impact on officers at constable level, this is perhaps not surprising.

Hopes about change and reform to the police service generally as well as concerns about those specific changes and reforms currently occurring or proposed to occur were discussed in numerous responses by officers. From these responses it seems clear that officers do not appear to be against change and reform in the police service per se but do have concerns about what is currently occurring. As an officer identified they hoped that the;

"Windsor (sic) review is removed and replaced with a much more thought out approach, allowing for intelligent reform as opposed to Windsor's hack-and-slash method. Officers appreciate the need to play the part in budget cuts, but we have been deliberately targeted in this haphazard way by the government as we are an easy target with our inability to take industrial action".

This hope that current changes and reforms are replaced by more 'thought out' measures can be linked to officers concerns about the perceived ineffectiveness of current changes, as exemplified by the following response;

"I am not against reform, far from it but some of what is done is not going to save much money and administratively going to cost lots so why have they done it",

And the perception that changes needed to be non-political;

"I do not trust politicians at all - but it is not that I do not think there is room for reform. I am not opposed to change, but change should be reasonable".

Concerns associated with the perception that current reforms were simply an attack on the police rather than an attempt to improve the police service was prevalent in officer's responses. As an officer stated;

"It has nothing to do with reform; it is about Ideology rather than genuine reform".

While another noted that;

> *"I'm sorry but as a result of the current changes implemented by the Winsor 'cuts' dressed up as reform I see nothing that brings any hope to the future of policing in this country".*

Moreover, officers were sceptical about the current changes and expressed concern that they would change very little in terms of what the police did and how and instead were more about saving money. As an officer noted;

> *"The changes under Winsor make little change to how the police operate on a day to day basis. The changes do not alter the way an officer works in any way what so ever. It lowers pay, alters the access into the command chain, alters length of service and introduces fitness tests to the police. If Windsor (sic) was intended to make the police work better, I do not see how it would. Officers in the job already will still operate in the same way; they will now just do it for longer and for less money. Nothing has been done to alter what an officer will do when he turns up to work, responds to a report of a burglary, investigates the crime, arrests the offender, spends hours with them in custody, charges them, prepares a file for the CPS, re-writes the file for the CPS, wastes a day at court because the offender fails to turn up to court, has a day off cancelled at the last minute to go to court again, gives evidence for 5 minutes, watches the burglar walk out of court with community service. The chance to help the police be better has been missed".*

Perceptions about the negative impact of current change and reform on police service and performance were further discussed by other officers. For example;

> *"Management is unwilling to accept that the cuts (cuts - not reform) are leading to a reduction in service. Even the public can see that is happening. Managers however are in a state of denial".*

While another officer voiced concern about the changes and identified the need to reform the police in ways which seek to improve the service the police deliver rather than dealing with finance as a starting point;

> *"Speaking as somebody who is nearing the end of their 30 year service I am concerned about the U.K policing as a whole. While I am not politically biased I find that what the present government has accepted and implemented in terms of the Winsor reports is tantamount to ruining this job. The whole package is an attack on the police service in terms of pay & conditions. Yes there needs to be change but communicate, discuss and come to an agreed course of action that reflects both how we improve our standard of service to the public but at the same time reflects the importance of what we do on a day to day basis".*

Issues about pay and conditions also dominated officers' hopes and concerns for the future of the police service. Officers expressed concern that changes to pay and pensions are being forced upon officers who have designed their working life around an expectation of what they would receive when they retire. The idea that they have been misled was voiced by officers who suggested that any changes to pay and pensions should only be applied to new officers as they could make an informed decision about whether to join the police or not based on clear knowledge of these issues. As an officer wrote;

> *"My one true hope would be that these reforms would start for new police officers, those that are making an informed decision about joining the job. I feel it is very unfair that after working ten years in this job that suddenly all the goal posts have been moved and no one seems to care how badly this will affect us".*

Similar hopes were expressed by lots of other officers, for example;

> *"That Windsor (sic) is reviewed and officers receive fair pay and conditions. Quite how serving officers who signed employment contracts with clear terms and conditions have had their pension rights and working lives extended is beyond comprehension. By all means review pay and conditions for new entrants allowing them to make informed decisions. Many of my staff left secure well paid professional jobs that brought bonuses to police as a vocation knowing or rather believing they would receive a good retirement income".*

Challenge and Change

Another issue that officers expressed concern over is linked to what they appear to perceive is the politically driven nature of the current changes. Officers reported concerns about the people driving the changes and reforms to policing and their lack of knowledge about the service, what it does and why. For example an officer raised concern about;

> *"Reforms made by people who do not have experience of the role of police officers, that do not take into account our needs, are having a negative effect on the service we can provide in general",*

While another officer noted;

> *"The reforms have been made by people who have never been police officers and with very little consultation - I am concerned that the Government think the police are an easy target and will simply make changes, the consequences of which they have no idea of".*

While others suggested that change needed to be driven by people who understood the police service, what they do, how and why. As an officer noted their biggest hope was that;

> *"Government employ advisers and reviewers who have been police officers, know the job and how it's done from the inside and listen and act on this advice - not politicians who have hidden agendas and serve on the board of companies who would benefit from police privatisation".*

The idea of change and reform within the police service utilising the insight of officers or people who have experience of and with the police to help drive it rather than having it forced upon them was further elaborated on by officers. As another officer noted;

> *"Improvement in Policing needs to come from within, persons who have knowledge of the workings of the Police Service can best drive reforms and there can always be room for input from those outside".*

Such ideas were echoed by other officers, for example an officer wrote;

> *"I hope that the government recognise that real reform can only be achieved by cooperating with the Police. I hope the Police have the courage to make reforms where they are required",*

While others spoke of the need for greater co-operation between the police and government when reforms are being planned and changes implemented. As another officer stated they hope;

> *"That the government work with the police service to bring in reform, rather than against us. There is a widely held belief in the police service across all ranks that the police service is hated by the present government. We all accept that reform is required and that money needs to be saved. The way it is being done is insulting, spiteful and counterproductive to the aim of all parties involved, both government and police who want a more efficient, cost effective and professional service. There is a wealth of talent, experience and commitment in the service that if engaged with would surpass the desired results. Reform will not be achieved if the result is an embittered, impoverished, and insulted workforce that can be made redundant within 45 days, have no industrial or employment rights, are ignored by their employers and are supervised by PCCs, HMIC, and imported management from industry with no policing experience. I am a committed Neighbourhood Sergeant, son of a police officer and I have been immensely proud to have served the public for 26 years in a vocation I chose and strongly believe in."*

The desire to have greater co-operation and an informed review of policing was underpinned by many officers expressing their hope that a new royal commission of policing would be conducted that would replace the Winsor reviews. For example, an officer hoped for;

> *"A genuine and proper review of the police by Royal Commission which will look at the role of the police, reform with a view to the future of policing, future and present retention of officers with a view to remuneration and pension and real, genuine reform*

to provide a service to the public which is independent, lawful and ethical. In short to re-establish British Policing as the envy of the world rather than the scruffy laughing stock it currently is."

While others provided similar detailed descriptions of their hopes for such a review;

"That a royal commission is commenced to examine the role of the police in today's society, what our role should be and what the public should expect of police officers and include pay and conditions review and recommendations. Ever since I joined in 2000 the police service has undergone reform after reform and more reviews. Paperwork has not been reduced; it has exploded and moved onto computers. Partner agencies have become dependent on the police to do their work for them, in particular mental health which is dangerously underfunded. Most officers are pushed and pulled in so many different directions that catching criminals committing crime is almost virtually impossible as they are sucked into the whirlwind of unattended incidents/request for assistants within 30 minutes of starting their shifts. What direction are we going......well that depends on the latest crisis depicted in the media, it could be child exploitation, domestic abuse, racial tension, radical groups posing a threat, gang culture, poor crime statistics. The average officer just wants to get out on patrol and prevent/detect crime. Not be filling in forms to try to prevent the latest identified failure by police management. We badly need a royal commission as identified by the police federation".

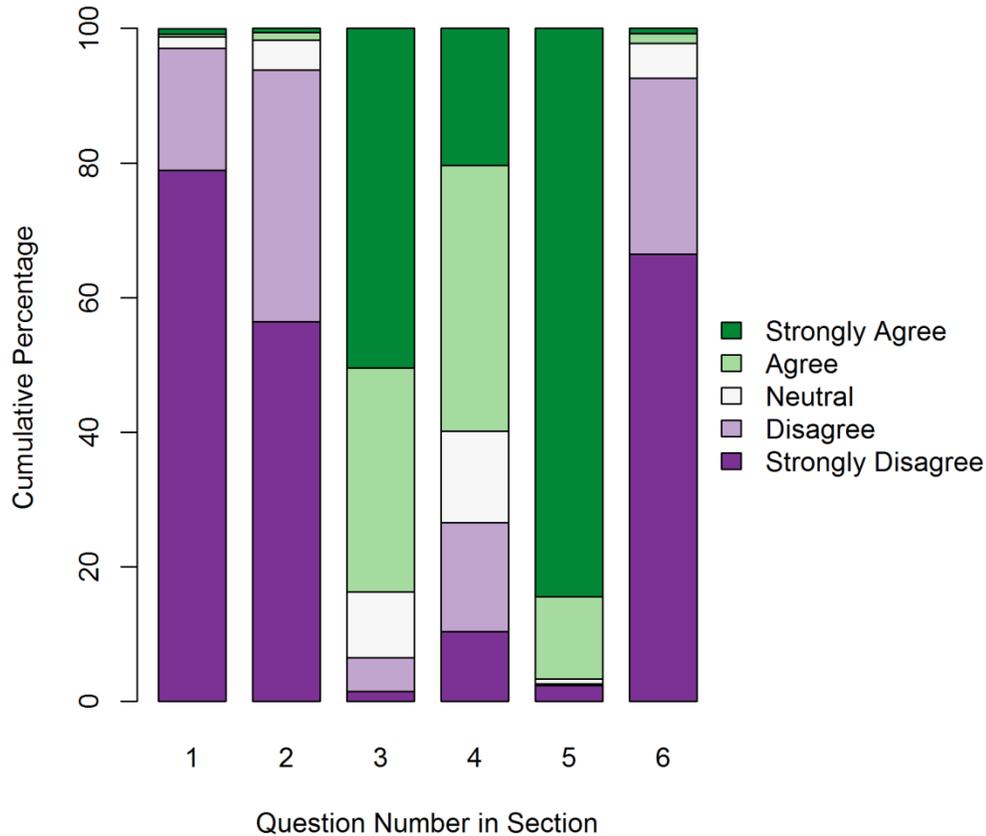# 7. Views on the Winsor Reports

97.0% self-report dissatisfaction with the Winsor reviews of police pay and conditions. 93.8% disagree that the recommendations of the Winsor reviews are "fair" with 96.7% agreeing that the proposed changes in the Winsor reviews are leading to a demoralized police force. Moreover, 83.8% agree or strongly agree that the Winsor reviews will negatively impact on their ability to do their job while 92.6% disagree or strongly disagree that the aim of the Winsor recommendations is not to save money but to create a more efficient, productive, motivated and highly skilled workforce.

Table 7.1 Views on the Winsor Report

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
			Percentage			count
1. I am satisfied with the Winsor reviews of police pay and conditions	78.9	18.1	1.7	0.4	0.9	13576
2. The recommendations of the Winsor reviews are fair in light of the current economic climate	56.4	37.4	4.4	1.1	0.6	13576
3. The Winsor reviews of pay and conditions will negatively impact on my ability to do my job[1]	1.5	5.0	9.7	33.3	50.5	11738
4. The police are spending too much time sitting behind their desks doing 'two fingered typing' rather than fighting crime	10.4	16.2	13.7	39.4	20.4	13582
5. The proposed changes in the Winsor reviews are leading to a demoralised police force	2.3	0.3	0.7	12.2	84.5	13578
6. The aim of the Winsor recommendations is not to save money but to create a more efficient, productive, motivated and highly skilled workforce	66.4	26.2	5.1	1.5	0.8	13574

[1]Excludes responses from Avon and Somerset Constabulary as the question was altered after the pilot study

Figure 7.1 Views on the Winsor Report

Officers discussed numerous issues about the Winsor reviews in response to questions about both their biggest hopes and fears. For example an officer noted that their biggest hope was;

> *"That the WINSOR (sic) changes are quashed and a new report is conducted that makes any reform to the Police Service fair and positive without the need to cut expenditure as its sole concern"*

While other officers expressed their lack of hope for the future of the police service while the Winsor recommendations were still being implemented. For example an officer wrote that;

> *"If the proposed changes to Policing as suggested by Tom Winsor take place and remain in place then I have little hope for the future of Policing".*

Other officers specifically voiced concerns about the Winsor reviews while recognizing the need for a review and potential change and reform. For example an officer noted that their biggest hope for the future was;

> *"That the government will wake up, scrap Winsor and allow a real independent review in to Policing as a whole, including the role, pay, pension and conditions".*

While another hoped for;

> *"Movement away from the poorly thought out, cost saving measures suggested by Winsor. Reform should be to the benefit of policing and the public service provided. Not the detriment. Winsor failed to properly research the role of policing. His proposals lack any sort of foresight or evidence. He was wholly inappropriate for the role. It should have been in consultation with police/public/government - not one individual's proposals*

Such ideas were discussed by numerous respondents, whose hopes, similar to those expressed about change and reform more generally in the previous chapter, appeared to be that a new review of policing would take place. For example an officer wrote that their biggest hope for the future of the police service was;

> *"That Winsor will come to be seen for the idiotic and clumsy Police bashing exercise it really is, and that a genuine and long overdue Royal Commission on policing will be set up with proper considered input from all relevant parties to tackle the hugely changed landscape of Police, rather than a bunch of politicians with other agendas who can afford to live in nice safe areas (often protected by specially allocated protection squad officers) where they do not have to see and worry about the issues that face the rest of us".*

Officers also discussed their concerns that if a new review was not conducted that the Winsor reviews will have a detrimental impact on the police service in the future. For example an officer wrote that;

"Winsor is the greatest threat to policing since the office of constable was created"

8. Issues currently faced by the Police

Table 8.1 and Table 8.2 summarize responses to issues currently faced by the Police. 95.6% disagree or strongly disagree that the proposed changes to pensions is fair. High levels of disagreement are similarly seen with respect to the proposed increase in retirement age (84%) and proposed changes to pay (94.4%), with 89.4% agreeing or strongly agreeing that proposed changes to pay and conditions are going to force people to leave the service. 81% agree or strongly agree that the annual fitness test is a good idea with 26.8% agreeing that they would not put themselves at risk in case of injury. 80.9% disagree or strongly disagree that the direct entry scheme is a good idea and 93.4% disagree that they would be happy to have someone with no police experience as a supervisor. 88.7% of the sample respondents either agree or strongly agree that privatization will negatively impact on the role of the police but with 47.4% agreeing that some jobs could be carried out by private companies.

Table 8.1 Issues currently faced by the Police

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
			Percentage			Count
1. The proposed change to police pensions is fair	77.8	17.8	2.6	0.8	1.1	13562
2. I am angry about the changes to my pension	3.2	1.4	7.0	15.3	73.1	13569
3. The increase in the age of retirement is fair	56.1	27.9	9.0	5.5	1.6	13560
4. I am angry about the proposed changes to the police retirement age	3.4	3.9	10.9	23.0	58.9	13567
5. Proposed changes to pay are fair	67.2	27.2	3.6	1.1	0.9	13561
6. Proposed changes to pay and conditions are going to force people to leave the service	0.9	2.5	7.2	42.6	46.8	13568
7. It is easy to distinguish between front line, middle and back office officers	14.4	29.7	21.5	27.2	7.2	13560
8. Paying officers different amounts depending on their duties is fair	14.4	16.8	16.2	44.0	8.6	13560
9. Proposed reductions to police starting salaries will help to attract the right calibre of recruit to join the police	74.5	18.9	4.4	1.1	1.0	13573

Table 8.2 Issues currently faced by the Police

|	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
			Percentage			count
10. An annual fitness test for officers is a good idea	2.1	4.7	12.2	47.3	33.7	13566
11. I am concerned about getting injured and failing a fitness test	11.6	21.6	17.0	30.4	19.4	13569
12. I will not put myself at risk in case I get injured	23.6	34.3	15.3	16.8	10.0	13569
13. Concern about fitness will have no effect on how I do my job	7.2	17.8	18.8	36.0	20.2	13562
14. The educational requirements for recruitment of constables should be increased	9.9	26.6	27.7	28.5	7.3	13568
15. The direct entry scheme is a good idea	53.4	27.5	15.1	3.3	0.7	13566
16. The direct entry scheme will have a negative impact on my job	2.1	5.9	25.4	32.9	33.8	13557
17. I would be happy to have someone with no police experience as my superior	77.4	16.0	3.9	1.8	0.9	13569
18. Operational competence is vital for all police officers	0.7	2.7	4.0	38.6	54.0	13557
19. In principle privatisation of policing is a good idea	64.2	25.1	8.0	2.0	0.8	13567
20. Privatisation of policing will negatively impact the role of the police	1.9	2.2	7.2	30.5	58.2	13568
21. I am confident that privatising police functions will be beneficial to the public	54.2	30.5	12.4	2.1	0.9	13569
22. Private companies will serve their share holders not the public	1.2	1.1	8.9	32.0	56.8	13567
23. Accountability is vital for the job of a police officer	0.6	1.7	6.5	49.4	41.7	13563
24. Some jobs that the police are currently responsible for could be carried out by private companies	12.8	20.4	19.5	41.1	6.3	13579

Analysis identified that there is substantial between force variation in response to the item "*The educational requirements for recruitment of constables should be increased*" with agreement percentages (i.e. agree and strongly agree combined) as low as 10.3% [Dyfed Powys Police] through to 50.5% [Metropolitan Police Service]. Table 8.3 presents each police force in increasing percentage agreement on this item and Figure 8.1 gives the spatial distribution.

Table 8.3 Agreement percentages for 'The educational requirements for recruitment of constables should be increased

Between 10% and 30%	Between 30% and 40%	Between 40 to 50%
Dyfed Powys	Cleveland	Lancashire
Cheshire	Avon and Somerset	Cambridgeshire
Leicestershire	North Wales	Hertfordshire
Thames Valley	Dorset	Humberside
Nottinghamshire	North Yorkshire	Derbyshire
South Wales	Northumbria	Essex
Surrey	Bedfordshire	West Midlands
Gloucestershire	Suffolk	Metropolitan
Sussex	Wiltshire	
Gwent	Durham	
Norfolk	Warwickshire	
Devon and Cornwall	South Yorkshire	
Northamptonshire	City of London	
Kent	Merseyside	
Cumbria	Lincolnshire	
West Mercia	West Yorkshire	
Hampshire	Staffordshire	
	Greater Manchester	
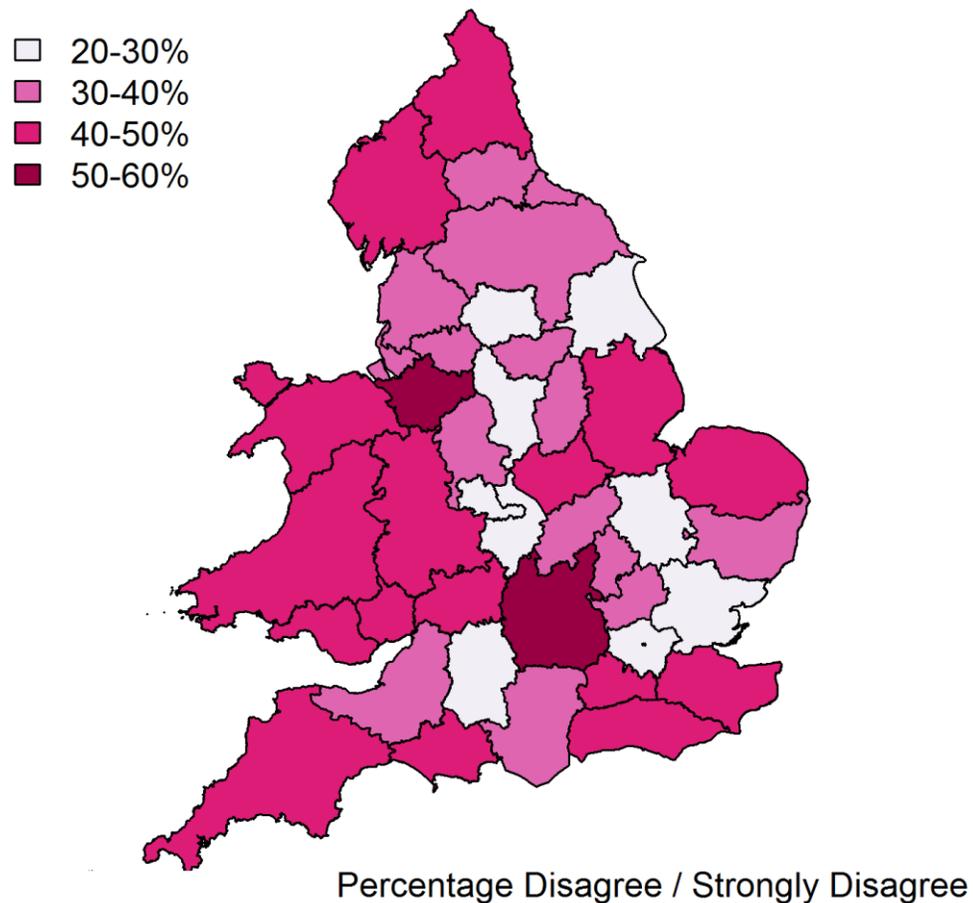
Figure 8.1 Regional variation in Percentage Disagree/Strongly Disagree with the statement "*The educational requirements for recruitment of constables should be increased*"

In the current economic climate the issue of public sector pensions in general has been a topic of much debate and an arena for change. However for the police it appears that the issue is particularly contentious as qualitative analysis suggests that the pension seems to be something that attracted officers to the service in the first place and something that has kept them in it throughout their service despite the obvious challenges being a police officer entails. The changes to police pensions are a source of major concern to the officers responding to the questionnaire survey. For example one officer wrote that;

> "When I joined the Police in 1994 I knew it was a difficult job, however we were promised a steady income and a good pension, that promise has been reneged upon resulting in a catastrophic loss of trust in this current government. In 2007 no one I

> *know in the private sector looked at my job with green eyes, however since the economic dip the government has been quick to portray the Police as over paid public sector workers with overly generous pensions, because it suits their short term financial aims. However ours is not a normal job; we have no rights to strike (most officers would not want to), we frequently deal with some of the worse/most violent members of society and are increasingly held to blame for many of society's ills e.g. from feral children, to people with low self-esteem returning to unsuitable often violent partners and the racist behaviour of a small but vocal members of the public. When I hear people complain about our pensions I point out to them that in my first two years of service I was attacked on more than one occasion (once with a 10"" carving knife), was head butted, threatened with an active fire arm, dealt with numerous violent incidents and dead bodies (including suicides and dead children from Road Traffic Collisions). I also had to inform a victim that their sister had been murdered by their brother -in- law and tell a mother of three young children aged 9, 11, and 13yrs that her husband had unexpectedly collapsed and died. Unsurprisingly none of the complainants of our pensions is quick to join up to the Police Service".*

While other officers spoke of their hopes that changes to pensions would be stopped, for example an officer wrote they hoped;

> *"To have decisions about changes to police pensions to be rescinded. We signed a contract with the government when joining the Police force and yet they have breached that contract without consequence. I don't think any officer would dispute having pay increases frozen or even paying a bit more into their pensions for a time if it meant that the end product remained the same as the one we signed into. No officer joined the Police force to become rich; it is a vocation more than a job. We are asked to treat the public fairly, but what about officers"?*

Others spoke of their willingness to pay more in as long as they still get the entitlement they believe they signed up to. For example, another officer spoke of their hope that;

> *"Pension reform will not go ahead; we will still get what we signed up too, even if we have to pay a little more into the pot".*

Challenge and Change

While others discussed how if changes had to be made that it was fairer only to apply them to future officers. For example an officer hoped for;

> *"The Pension reforms to become applicable only to new recruits"*

While another expressed their hope that;

> *"Pension changes are not for existing officers but if needed are adapted to suit the role, i.e. the contract should be changed for new recruits to allow for them to make their own decisions as to whether the role is for them".*

Issues over pensions were also strongly linked to proposed changes in officer retirement age and an extension of their thirty years' service. In discussing hopes for the future of the police service officers hoped for a situation in which the;

> "*Government do not alter serving police officer pensions or retirement age*".

While others similarly agreed that;

> *"I hope my pension and retirement age is not adversely affected anymore",*

And hoped for;

> *"Retirement age to remain at 30 years' service",*

And that the;

> *"Retirement age that I signed up for will stay the same".*

While others hoped that they would be able to continue to work past 30 years. For example and officer wrote that they hoped that they were able;

> *"To remain as a serving police officer until my retirement age".*

This issue of remaining a serving officer until they are able to reach retirement age was linked to concerns that this may not be possible because of the demands placed on individuals by the job. As an officer noted;

"Can a police officer effectively police at 60"?

Similarly other officers raised concerns about increases in retirement age and;

"Being too old to do the job I love, with the retirement age increasing to 60, it will force many officers to find office type work during the latter part of their careers. This is not what I signed up for".

While another voiced concern about retirement age and pensions;

"Will I make retirement age?! With the proposed reforms and radical demands of this job can I reasonably be expected to complete my service and claim the pension that has cost me over £350 a month since I was 23 years old? I expect to fail a fitness test and be made redundant thereby being unable to claim my full pension investment at 60".

Officers also discussed general hopes and concerns about changes to their pay and conditions. An officer described their hope for the future as one of;

"Reasonable pay and conditions for the dedication officers show".

While similar hopes were expressed by other officers. For example an officer hoped;

"That the pay and conditions of police officers properly reflect the unique responsibilities and challenges inherent in their role".

Expanding on the issue of pay and conditions other officers wrote about how they hoped pay and conditions would be fair in the future as they suggest that this issue has a big impact on who joins the police and the service they provide. For example an officer said that their hope for the future was;

> *"The pay and conditions of Police Officers continues to reflect the role and responsibility they carry out on a daily basis and often when not on duty. This will help to ensure that the best possible candidates for the role of Police Officer continue to be filled by individuals who are dedicated to carrying out this difficult job and want to do so as a career for life".*

Additionally, similar views on future pay and conditions were equally shared by officers when voicing concerns. For example an officer wrote that;

> *"Pay and conditions are very poor but I worry they will get worse".*

While another expressed concern that changes to pay and conditions would mean that lots of officers may leave the police;

> *"A lot of the best and most experienced officers are leaving the force due to the change in pay and conditions which is leaving the force without important skills and experience to work effectively. "*

Throughout proposals to change and reform the police the message from the government has been that this will not impact on front line officers. However, the HMIC (2013) report into policing austerity found that *"On average, forces currently plan to reduce frontline workforce numbers by 6% (8,100) and non-frontline workforce numbers by 33% (20,300) between March 2010 and March 2015. The result of this is that the proportion of total workforce (i.e. officers, PCSOs and staff) in frontline roles will increase by 7 percentage points between March 2010 and March 2015"* (p.30). What this means is that while, as an overall proportion of the total work force frontline officer numbers will increase, in absolute terms their number will decrease substantially. When responding to questions about their concerns for the future of the service officers complicated this picture further by suggesting

that distinctions between who is a front, middle or back office officer are overly simplistic and potentially counterproductive. As one officer voiced concern that;

> *"Change is very necessary and having studied hard to become a trainer and the other voluntary roles I complete daily, on top of my real job, I deserve to be rewarded properly for those endeavours - but because I don't wear a uniform means, to the current bosses & Government that I (and similarly qualified colleagues) are less deserving and not ""front line"" whatever the hell that means as no-one seems to be able to define it!!!!!!! (sic)*

While others similarly raised concerns, for example an officer responded that;

> *"My biggest concern is that the government appears hell bent on systematically dismantling the service and destroying the goodwill of the multitude of hard working officers who dedicate their lives to their role. I am in Child Protection and an experienced detective. Much of my role is 'two finger typing'. Does that make me back office, front office? - The government themselves use these terms but have no idea what we do. Try dealing with sensitive issues of cot death and not take those harrowing sights home with you. It isn't simply all about rolling around with drunks and shoplifters. I am also of an age where one small injury could result in being unable to pass a fitness test and result in having my wages reduced by this government. How do I feel? - Angry and let-down".*

The introduction of annual fitness tests for officers was also an issue that drew much discussion in officers' responses to questions about their hopes and concerns for the future of the police service. Building on the quantitative data that identified the majority (81%) of respondents agree or strongly agree that the annual fitness test is a good idea an officer wrote;

> *"I hope that the annual fitness test will be introduced. The public have a right to expect their Police Service to be physically able to offer the protection and reassurance they need".*

This general support for the introduction of fitness tests was widespread but was also tempered somewhat with concern about what failing a fitness test may mean for the officer themselves, particularly when it is not a straightforward matter of the officer being simply unfit. For example and officer wrote that;

> *"I am not adverse to reform, for example, annual fitness tests are a great idea, dealing with the officers who are constantly on the sick and recuperative duties however there must be safeguards and an officers history and sickness record should be considered, under the current system a minority of officers abuse the system and they need to be dealt with".*

Recent recognition of these concerns has been addressed by the Police Advisory Board for England and Wales Fitness Working Group (PABEW) who announced that *"Officers who fail the new fitness tests that come into the police service next month will not face sanctions for the first year"* (Police Magazine, August 2013). Despite this, continued concerns about the lack of safeguards for officers failing fitness tests for reasons beyond their control was echoed by concerns that fitness testing may be used more surreptitiously as a way to get rid of officers and save money. As another officer described;

> *"I have no opposition to fitness testing but I believe there is an underhand reason for this being implemented. Increase the age of serving Police Officers and then introduce fitness testing to force early retirement when they are unable to pass the fitness test! In other words get rid of the most expensive officers".*

Building on this issue, respondents expressed concern about what would happen to officers if they were injured on duty and therefore unable to pass a fitness test. As an officer identified;

> *"Injuries and ailments will take their toll; what should we do with those that are unable to pass a fitness test following an injury on duty or otherwise"*

Concerns about injuries on duty were also combined with concerns about increased retirement age and the ability of older officers to pass the fitness test. An officer voiced concern that;

"As I get older I will be forced to take pay cuts and eventually end up with a very small pension as age and fitness inevitably catches up with me. If I am injured doing my job: e.g. break my leg chasing a burglar, I will be 'rewarded' for this with a pay cut and eventual dismissal due to fitness issues. Why should I take the risk?"

While another officer described their concern about;

"Change in retirement age - 30 year contract or to the age of 55 was set to allow officers to be fit enough for the role. Changes in the fitness test allow for officers to be required to leave the service if they fail the tests with no set policies in relation to injuries on or off duty and with very limited support for rehabilitation of fitness. Policing at 55 to 60 years of age will mean an awful lot more officers will be unable to achieve a full pension and therefore this is part of the big money saving plan".

Hopes and concerns relating to the issue of possible changes to the educational requirements for joining the police were also discussed frequently by officers. Table 8.3 and Figure 8.1 (above) identify some of the regional variation in officer's responses to this issue. The variation highlighted in the quantitative data is also reflected in the qualitative responses to officer's hopes and concerns. For example, some officers hoped that educational standards would be improved. As an officer stated;

"To be frank some recruits have poor educational standards and intellectual ability. This is not meant to be dismissive or elitist, more a statement of fact - a constable with poor grammar and below average intelligence does not give confidence to members of the public, is not able to grasp concepts related to more than the most basic of crimes and is an easy target for intimidation/ridicule by defense (sic) solicitors/barristers."

While others also supported the need for increased educational entry standards, for example another officer voiced concern that;

"Despite the Winsor desire to increase educational requirements for new joiners the actions of both the last and the current government have achieved exactly the opposite, they have a glut of staff recruited in the last ten years who have few, if any

qualifications and whose levels of literacy and numeracy are often poor. This leads to a poor quality product. The window upon our work is often a criminal court where well educated barristers have to work with written material often produced by people who couldn't pass GCSE English. This is a concern as nothing is being done to improve this embarrassing situation which impacts on our ability to protect the public and perpetuates negative stereotypes held by other professionals".

Other officers however disagreed with the idea that educational requirements for new recruits should be increased and argued that;

"Whilst academic qualifications are important, a life experience is at least equal. I have many ex-service colleagues who are far better officers and their young graduate colleagues. Recruitment must NOT be blinkered - I fear it will",

While others agreed with this sentiment, arguing;

"That the wrong people will be recruited into the Police service. You can have all the qualifications in the world but, they won't make you a good police officer. Common sense and life experience are the greatest assets that you can have in our job. I see it time and time again where the 'high flyers' care not one little bit about their colleagues and their only concern is their next promotion. What the Police service needs are people who genuinely care about policing and EVERY (sic) officer should have spent at least 3 years on the beat before they are even considered for promotion."

The issues around proposals for direct entry schemes for Inspectors and Superintendents with no previous police background was one that created a lot of controversy in officer's responses to voicing hopes and concerns for the future of the police service. One area that officers voiced concern about was in relation to the perceived negative impact that lack of experience would have on decision making among direct entry senior officers. For example an officer wrote;

"That direct entry for either Inspectors or Superintendents will negate the positive impact that experience has on the decision making process in often dynamic and sensitive situations. The notion that somebody with effectively no policing experience

can run a serious crime/ silver crime public order or firearms incidents/ or deal with nearly all of the associated duties of those roles is, to put it plainly, ridiculous. Ultimately investigations will fail and members of the public will suffer harm if this policy continues. Direct entry will sacrifice operational effectiveness for budgetary business administration skills"

Other officers elaborated on this issue and voiced concern that decisions made by senior officers with no prior police experience could jeopardize those officers who have to act on those decisions. As an officer noted;

"To do the job as a police officer you need to be a police officer first. Decisions made by senior officers affect those still on the streets, and I feel that direct entry officers will not have that policing experience and will be making decisions from desk top scenarios or book led models, not from experience as a copper."

Others voiced concern about the possible negative impact that decisions taken by senior officers with no previous police experience could have on the communities within which officers work. For example an officer noted how they believed that;

"Direct entry at senior ranks will lead to extremely poor decision making around all aspects of policing that could have untold damage and impact on communities. Intelligence and qualifications are important in leadership and have their place, but the value of experience cannot be ignored either. There is no substitute to experience in all walks of life & the lack of it will always lead to errors and mistakes. In policing terms this is a very serious issue."

Another area of concern that officers discussed when talking about proposals for direct entry to Inspector and Superintendent Ranks was around issues of leadership, respect and trust. One officer noted concern by writing;

"Leadership - direct entry will have a huge impact. No amount of college based training will make up for having no street experience. Any front line officer worth their salt will tell you that the senior officers we trust and respect are those who come from being a good 'street copper'".

This notion was repeatedly voiced by other officers as a concern, for example an officer noted that;

> *"You cannot order and expect others to do what you have not done yourself. This isn't a business with little risk. People's lives greatly depend on the experience and actions of Police Officers".*

Similarly officers noted how having respect for senior officers related directly to the willingness of officers to follow their leadership and support them in the field. As another officer discussed;

> *"The direct entry scheme is farcical. How they are able to lead a team of truculent and petulant officers without any understanding of what they are going through on the job is unbelievable. This has been seen with a number of senior officers who were on the accelerated promotion scheme from an early point in their career; they did not earn respect from staff, and have never commanded respect throughout their career. I have respect for senior offices when I have seen them in action throughout their career. I am unlikely to have respect for a senior officer whether direct from university or from WH Smiths".*

Another issue raised by officers in relation to the possibility of direct entry schemes for Inspectors and Superintendents was around how it could negatively impact on the morale of officers who were seeking promotion themselves. For example, an officer noted concern about;

> *"Automatic entry into higher ranks. This is a major kick in the teeth for hardworking and deserving officers. Rank must be earned by practical policing experience and studying".*

While another officer wrote;

> *"I don't oppose accelerated promotion in principle. However, I feel that direct entry to senior level policing is fundamentally flawed. I cannot foresee how any person can enter the police force as an Inspector or higher, without having spent a substantial*

amount of time on the street. A large part of effective policing derives from common sense, previous experience and getting to know the problems in the areas that you work in. I believe that these skills can only be developed effectively, by doing the job at grass roots level. Direct entry, will further demoralise the service, and will also severely restrict promotion opportunities for existing officers".

One of the interesting issues that qualitative data raised in relation to direct entry was that officers suggested that there is a need for fresh leadership and management in policing, but just not in relation to the operational side of the organisation. As an officer noted;

"Direct entry will destroy the great British policing model and world renown. They SHOULD (sic) bring in good quality business people to help run the police more efficiently, but not ranked - as business managers".

While other officers echoed this sentiment, for example another officer wrote that;

"Direct entry to higher ranks for individuals with no experience of policing will be a catastrophic mistake. Recruits will have no experience but will be responsible for running large scale operations (Olympics) or investigations (Soham). If they are to perform administrative duties, it is not necessary for them to be police officers and can remain civilian staff, such as business managers. "

Another officer was even more explicit about bringing in expertise from the private sector to help save money and implement change but that these individuals should not take operational police roles. The officer wrote that they hoped;

"That Direct entry at Inspector level and above is implemented: I am supportive of reform within the Police from a financial perspective. In the past, Police forces have not spent their money well and there is a genuine requirement for person/s with 'business acumen' within the organisation. What there appears to no need for is for them to be Police officers. Senior staff are respected not only for their rank, but for the simple fact that they have experienced this job as a constable. There is no way that someone who has been employed directly to a senior rank will have achieved this and therefore the 'rank and file' officers will simply not engage with them. Any operational

decisions that they make will need to be overseen by officers with experience in these areas, not based purely on a university degree. You do not need to be a police officer to manage the 'business' issues".

Direct entry and issues around individuals joining the police from the private sector or other business were also linked to wider concerns about the privatization of policing more generally. For example an officer noted that the;

"Direct entry scheme is just another way of privatising via the back door / Privatising the police will focus on profit and not service to the public".

The issue of the privatization of the police service in general or at least parts of their current role and responsibilities generated a lot of discussion amongst respondents particularly in response to the question about their concerns for the future of the police service. The expressed concerns appeared to centre on a number of issues related to the perceived impact that officers believed privatization may have on the police and the service they provide the public. For example one officer wrote that they were concerned about a;

"Private Police Force? It's a joke. Police Officers do the job with a commitment to protect the public, often with their lives. G4S won't be offering that kind of service. It scares me to think what society my daughter will end up living in."

The concern that privatization may negatively impact on the service that everyone is entitled to from the police was elaborated upon by other officers, for example an officer voiced concern about;

"The further privatisation of the Police service (the rich will be able to afford a service but the poor will just be forgotten about by private firms). No matter what their PR says the job of any business is to make money for its shareholders - you can't pay, you get no service",

While another officer wrote of their concern about the;

"Privatisation of vital roles which will have a negative impact on the service and our relationship with the community".

Officers also expressed concern about the impact that they believe privatization may have on the role of police officers. For example an officer noted concern;

"That the police will not have a say in what elements of our work are suitable for privatisation and this will lead to us having to constantly provide support to those whose function was to take on some of our remit. For example constantly having to attend calls to provide support to security escorts where the detained person has kicked off in A&E or on route to court, if we privatise such activity then we must ensure that it will not require as much resources backing up the private security as it would to simply do the work in the first place".

Other officers were also concerned that private companies would seek to try and take away the easier jobs from the police service as they would be keen to get results thus achieve financial reward. An officer noted they were concerned about the;

"Privatisation of policing functions, and the 'cherry picking' of services which are more attractive to private companies and their shareholders. This is of no benefit to the public we serve",

While another officer voiced concern that;

"More and more areas appear to be being lined up for privatisation. The role of a police officer will soon be to arrest offenders and deal with confrontation only. All other functions will be dealt with by private companies for profit".

Officers also discussed concerns they had about issues of accountability and the possibilities of greater corruption if key policing roles became privatized. This general concern about accountability was succinctly summarized by an officer who stated that;

"Private companies serve shareholders. Public servants, serve the Public. "

Officers also linked concerns about lack of accountability and service to concerns about corruption. As an officer stated;

"Private policing will contain increased corruption and lower the service given to the public",

While another expressed concern about the;

"Privatisation of the police, this will lead to profit before protection and public service. Increased corruption, these companies would have access and control to secret information etc."

Other officers raised concerns by making reference to examples from other agencies within the criminal justice system which have undergone privatization processes. For example an officer wrote that;

"I have for the last four years worked within a unit dealing with corruption within the prison service, who have undergone very similar reforms to those presently being undertaken by the police. This has given me an insight to where perhaps the government's reforms will lead. The government has reduced prison budgets, privatised prisons, reduced staff & new recruit pay as well as having direct entry to senior manager grades. These changes have in my view lead to an upsurge in staff corruption, hence my unit has come into being to try and address the serious level of corruption that now exists within prisons".

In summing up officers concerns about issues of privatization and the future of the police service and officer wrote of their concern about how;

"Gradually police are being privatised and all the hard work and effort invested by members of the Police family is being undone. The same level of care, commitment and willingness to work that we have consistently demonstrated will not be equalled by

unaccountable people on minimum wage. The Police service will be ineffective. Corruption will become a problem. People will take the law into their own hands."

9.   Ranking of issues

Building on issues discussed above, officers completing the survey were asked to rank proposed recommendations and issues for reform in relative terms of those they were most in favour of (rank 1) to those they were least in favour of (rank 10). The responses to this ranking exercise were compared with each other to see if there were statistically significant differences in ranking choice. The results in Table 9.1 show that of the options given, officers were most in favour of 1) fitness testing, 2) changes to the promotion system and 3) changes to role and skill based pay, while they were least in favour of 10) changes to police pensions, 9) changes to the retirement age and 8) Privatisation.

Ranking the reforms which officers are most in favour of (#1) to those which they are least in favour of (#10) reveals the following statistically significant differences.

Table 9.1 Relative ranks of issues

Response	Rank Position
Fitness testing	1
Promotion System	2
Role and skill based pay	3
Academic Entry	4
Restrictive duty and recuperative pay	5
Contribution Related Pay	6
Direct Entry	7
Privatisation	8
Retirement age	9
Police officer pensions	10

10. Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC's)

The following data are based on responses from 42 police forces (Avon and Somerset were not asked about PCC's when the pilot survey was conducted). Table 10.1 identifies that 69.8% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that they support the change to Police and Crime Commissioners, while a similar number 70.8% believed that their colleagues were also of this view. Only 7.4% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that Police and Crime Commissioners will make the police more accountable. Figure 10.1 graphically illustrates these responses.

Table 10.1 Police and Crime Commissioners

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
	Percentage					
1. I support the move to Police and Crime Commissioners	45.7	24.1	25.7	3.9	0.6	12175
2. My colleagues support the move to Police Crime Commissioners	45.6	25.2	27.5	1.3	0.4	12165
3. Police Crime Commissioners will make the police more accountable	37.1	27.9	27.5	6.5	0.9	12167
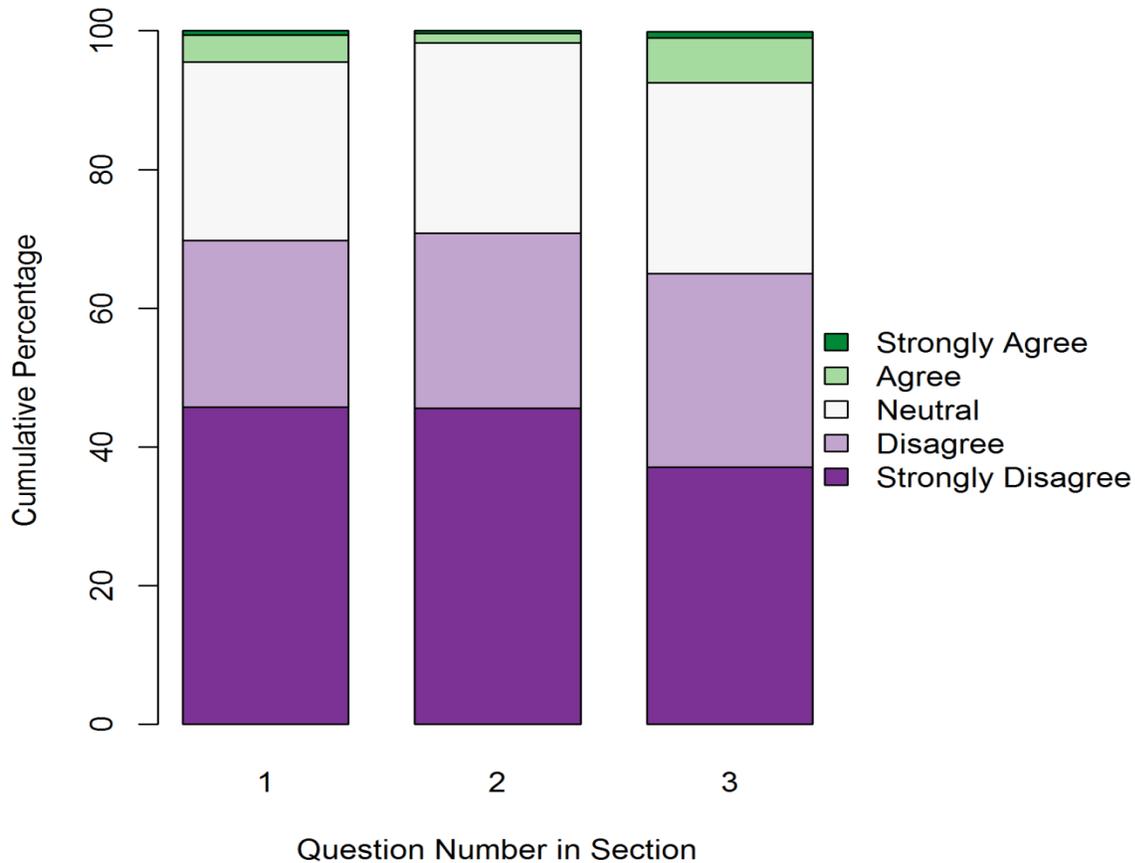
Figure 10.1 Police and Crime Commissioners

Building upon officers' self reported views on Police and Crime Commisioners qualitative data also reflected officers hopes and concerns about the role. It identifies that some officers expressed hope that the PCC's may have a positive impact on policing while others were concerned with possible negative impacts. Analysis also identified that officers discussed their hopes that PCC's would not politicise the police, while others were concerned they would and finally officers also expressed hopes that the post of PCC would be scrapped in the future.

In relation to hopes that PCC's will have a positive impact an officer wrote that;

> *"I hope that the PCC will be a 'breath of fresh air' and be of practical guidance to senior officers (who have become remote from the workforce)",*

While these sentiments were echoed by other officers, for example as officer stated;

> *"I hope the PCC has a positive effect on our police force - proves they are worthwhile investing in",*

While another;

> *"That the PCC actually succeeds and strengthens rather than weakens the service".*

Officers also tempered this hope a little by identifying that the impact of PCC's remains to be seen and will relate to what they do in practice. For example, an officer explained that they hoped;

> *"That the PCC's turn out to be a positive step rather than the negative step that they are now seen as. This will of course, greatly depend on how the PCC's go about their business".*

Other officers wrote of their concern about the potentially negative impact PCC's may have on operational policing matters, for example an officer discussed their concern that;

> *"The PCC has no knowledge of routine police work and comes up with some ridiculous ideas",*

While another officer explained they were concerned;

> *"That the PCC is not up to date and familiar with the current and ever evolving policing environment and therefore will make cuts that have a huge impact on the ability for police to perform their role effectively, safely and in the best interests of the public".*

Officers also discussed hopes and concerns about the possible politicisation of the service due to the implementation of PCC's. An officer wrote that they hoped;

> *"That PCC's do not bring political interference into the Force",*

While other explained;

> *"I hope that PCCs leave the business of Policing to Chief Constables who know what they are doing, rather than banging political drums and following personal issues".*

Other officers explained how they were concerned that PCC's would lead to the politicisation of policing. For example an officer wrote;

"I am concerned that PCC's are the first step to using the police as a political tool",

While another wrote of their concern about;

"Political interference in day to day policing - PCC's are interfering in operational matters to the detriment of some of the public".

Additionally there were also a large number of responses in which officers spoke about their hope that PCC's would be gotten rid of altogether. For example an officer said that they hoped that the;

"PCC will be abolished on the basis that no one voted for them and they therefore represent no one",

While other officers echoed this hope, for example and officer wrote that they hoped for;

"The removal of a one person Commissioner who sets agendas based on low election turnouts and unrealistic manifestos aimed at personal self-gain rather than service to the public".

11. Relationship with the public

80.5% of respondents agree or strongly agree that the support of the general public positively impacts on their job. However, only 8.9% agree or strongly agree that the general public understands what the police do. 81.2% agree that the proposed changes in the Winsor review will negatively impact on the police's relationship with the public and only 1.7% agree or strongly agree that the changes being made to the police service are in the public's best interest. Table 11.1 and Figure 11.1 illustrate these findings.

Table 11.1 Relationship between the Public and the Police

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
			Percentage			Count
1. The general public support the police	4.9	19.1	23.5	48.6	4.0	13563
2. The support of the general public has a positive impact on my job	1.9	4.8	12.8	51.7	28.8	13558
3. The general public understand what the police do	29.8	49.9	11.4	8.3	0.6	13564
4. Winsor's proposed changes to the police will negatively impact on the relationship with the general public	1.7	3.9	13.2	39.0	42.2	13561
5. The current and proposed changes to policing are in the public's best interest	58.7	35.0	4.6	0.9	0.8	13559
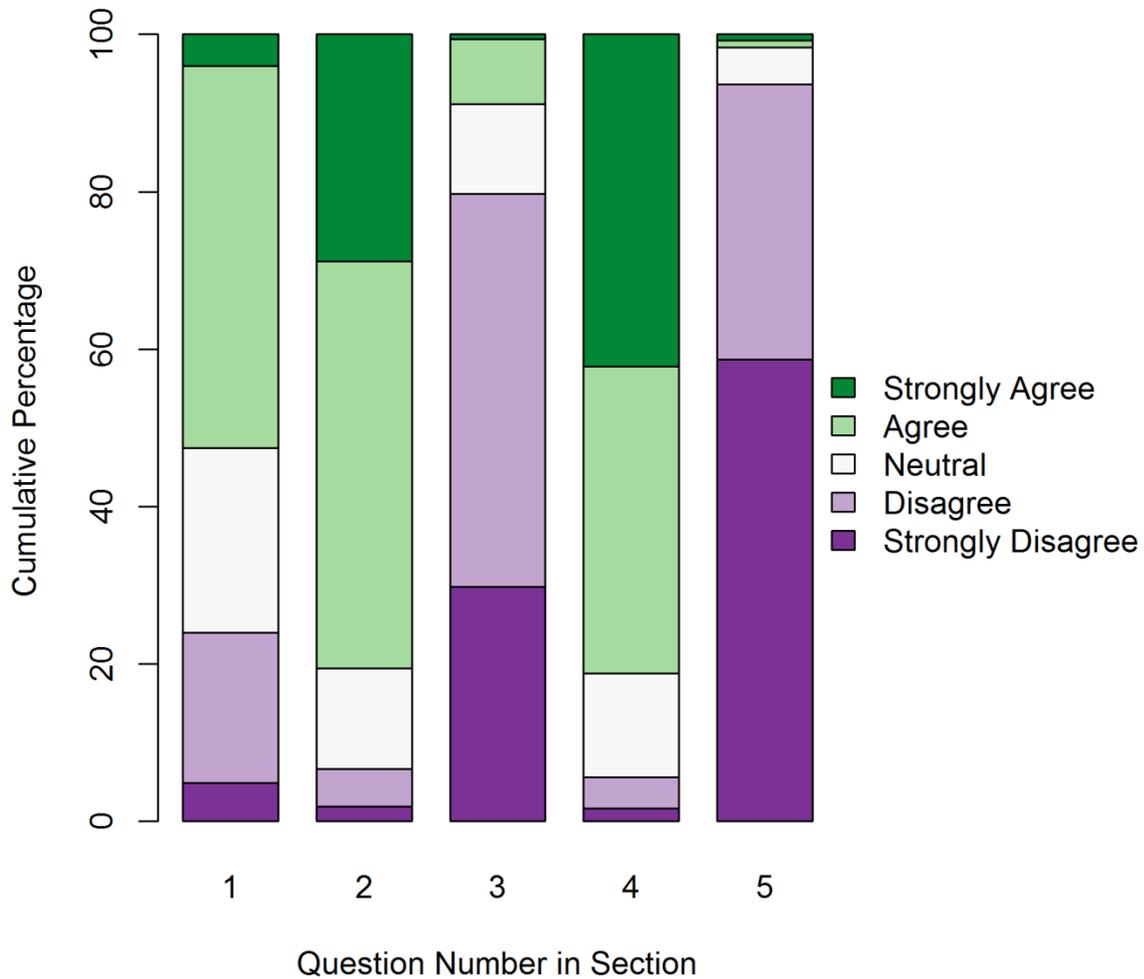
Figure 11.1 Relationships with the public.

Officers wrote about how they hoped changes would not drastically effect relations with the public. The issue of public support for the police was one which generated a lot of discussion among respondents. For example one officer hoped that;

"We don't lose the trust and support of the public",

While another officer similarly voiced their hope that;

"The public continue to support us, we police by consent".

Officers also discussed issues around public understanding of the police service, what they do, how and why. For example one officer wrote of their hope that;

> *"The truth about the role, responsibilities and demands on the work and personal life of a police officer is made public",*

While another officer hoped;

> *"That all Police forces stop manipulating crime figures so that the public can see what is actually happening. Every cop knows it happens, but supervision driven by the Government, who are hell bent on reducing crime by any means necessary, even if it involves 'not criming' obvious offences".*

Officers also discussed their hopes and concerns about the possible impacts current and proposed changes to the police service may have on the public. For example, one officer's biggest hope for the future of the police service was;

> *"That somehow we will continue to perform our function with commitment and dedication and retain the confidence and support of the general public".*

While other officers wrote about how they hoped that once the public become aware of the impact of the changes on the service the police provide that they will support the police and help them deal with the government. For example;

> *"I hope the public will recognise that they are not getting the service they should because of these ridiculous cuts and demand government does something about it".*

Similar responses were given by other offices when reporting their hopes. For example, an officer noted that;

> *"I HOPE (sic) that we can still provide a quality and efficient service to the general public, despite the cuts and low morale, as regardless of what is being told, the cuts ARE (sic) impacting on front line policing".*

However, officers also reported that they had concerns about how the changes occurring to the service would negatively impact on the public. For example an officer wrote that their biggest concern was a;

> *"Loss of public support as reduced police numbers impacts upon investigations and general duties. As fewer officers do more work with fewer resources, the quality of service provided by the police will fall, leading to the public to become more dissatisfied, leading to a lack of willingness to help tackle problems within communities. This may lead to a loss of legitimacy for the police",*

While another officer noted that their concern was about;

> *"Being effective, and offering a good service to the public, which I doubt we will be able to maintain with the changes to pay, recruitment and spending. we have even changed our catch phrase to 'a value for money quality service'. That's the difference between Tesco finest and Tesco value, and there is a difference".*

12. Job of a police officer today

In the opening to the first part of the Winsor review (2011) Tom Winsor asserts that *"these sets of reforms, if implemented, will materially and beneficially affect the police service – and so the public interest – for many years to come. They will affect the types and calibre of people who wish to join the police, the structures and rewards of their careers, and the efficiency and effectiveness of policing"* (Winsor, 2001. p.9). The supposed future benefits Winsor predicts his reform plans will have on the police service appear at odds with the views of officers themselves (Table 12.1).

Table 12.1 Job of a Police Officer today

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
			Percentage			Count
1. I would still join the police today if starting afresh	47.7	27.7	12.7	9.5	2.4	13576
2. I would encourage friends of family to join the police	48.5	28.5	13.5	8.1	1.4	13580
3. I am satisfied with my job	17.8	30.6	23.3	25.7	2.5	13573
4. My morale in my job is high	47.9	30.6	11.8	8.3	1.3	13570
5. The morale of my colleagues is high	68.6	25.2	4.4	1.5	0.4	13578
6. The goodwill of police officers is essential to the success of the police	0.6	0.8	1.7	25.5	71.4	13578
7. The proposed changes to the police will not erode goodwill	63.6	21.8	3.3	4.1	7.2	13579
8. I make sacrifices to be a police officer	0.9	1.1	2.0	30.6	65.4	13577
9. The sacrifices are still worth it	23.5	34.9	22.6	16.7	2.2	13570
10. I would consider Voluntary Severance	20.2	18.2	17.5	25.9	18.3	13571
11. I would consider looking for alternative employment	5.7	13.7	15.7	38.8	26.1	13573
12. I can still provide the service I want to	17.5	40.4	20.0	20.0	2.1	13570
13. I can still do the job I want to	15.4	34.9	22.9	24.4	2.5	13566

Table 12.1 identifies that only 11.9% of the sample respondents agree or strongly agree that they would join the police today if starting afresh, with only 9.6% self-reporting high morale in the job. A further 64.9% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they

would consider looking for alternative employment and 44.2% agreed or strongly agreed that they would consider voluntary severance.

Nearly all, 96.9%, agree or strongly agree that officer goodwill is essential to the success of the police, while only 11.3% agree or strongly agree that the changes occurring to policing will not erode this goodwill. Some 96.0% of respondents agree or strongly agree that they make sacrifices to be a police officer with only 18.9% agree or strongly agree that the sacrifices are worth it.

12.1 Starting afresh and recommending the job

When discussing hopes and concerns for the future of the police service, officers frequently noted that they would not seek to join the police service today if starting their career over and also that they would not recommend the job to family or friends. For example, an officer clarified how;

"It is not the job I joined 17 years ago and is not a career that I would recommend anyone to go into".

While another officer stated how;

"I joined as it used to be a good career. I wouldn't recommend it to anyone now".

Additionally an officer discussed how;

"Many of my colleagues would not recommend the police as a worthwhile career and I would be horrified if one of my children wanted to join".

Others also discussed how they hoped that family members would not seek a career with the police service and how if they did they would be disappointed with their choice. As another officer wrote;

"I hope my children don't express the desire to be a police officer as I would be unable to support their wishes".

While another stated that;

"I have already advised my nephew to seek an alternative vocation and not to even consider serving the public. This was once a noble profession. No longer, thanks to the constant drip dripped of negative media press fed by a destructive government".

12.2 Satisfaction and leaving the service

Analysis of the data identified that there is substantial variation between police forces with respect to response to the item "*I am satisfied with my job*". Table 12.2 lists the forces in order of the percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) to this question with Lincolnshire having the lowest satisfaction ranking (17% in agreement) through to Cambridgeshire (52%).

Table 12.2 Percentage agreement (agree/strongly agree) I am satisfied with my job

Between 10% and 20%	Between 20% and 30%	Between 30 and 40%	> 40%
Lincolnshire (17%)	Warwickshire	Cumbria	Avon and Somers (45%)
Cleveland	Essex	Humberside	Cambridgeshire (52%)
South Yorkshire	Kent	Staffordshire	
Northumbria	Hampshire	Norfolk	
	Metropolitan	Surrey	
	North Yorkshire	Suffolk	
	City of London	Wiltshire	
	Devon and Cornwall	Lancashire	
	Thames Valley	North Wales	
	Leicestershire	Gwent	
	Bedfordshire	Gloucestershire	
	South Wales	Dyfed Powys	
	West Yorkshire	Derbyshire	
	Sussex Police	Durham	
	Greater Manchester	Northamptonshire	
	Merseyside	Cumbria	
	Dorset	Humberside	
	West Midlands	Staffordshire	
	Nottinghamshire	Norfolk	
	West Mercia	Surrey	
	Hertfordshire	Suffolk	
	Cheshire	Wiltshire	

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

In a similar way, there is evidence of a spatial clustering and a noticeable variation between police forces with respect to response to the item "*I would consider voluntary severance*". Table 12.3 lists the police forces in order of the percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) to this question. Figure 12.1 summarises the spatial distribution in terms of the percentages who either agree or strongly agree with the statement "*I would consider voluntary severance*".

Table 12.3 Percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) "*I would consider voluntary severance*"

30% to < 40%	40% to < 50%	50% to < 60%
Northamptonshire (33%)	Warwickshire	Northumbria
Essex	Merseyside	Leicestershire
Dyfed Powys	South Wales	Cumbria
Suffolk	Cheshire	Cleveland
Bedfordshire	North Wales	Devon and Cornwall
Avon and Somerset	Hampshire	South Yorkshire
Hertfordshire	West Yorkshire	Metropolitan
Norfolk	West Mercia	Staffordshire
Gloucestershire	Surrey	City of London
Thames Valley	Cambridgeshire	Dorset
Derbyshire	Lincolnshire	Wiltshire
Gwent	North Yorkshire	Greater Manchester (58%)
West Midlands	Sussex	
	Durham	
	Kent	
	Humberside	
	Lancashire	
	Nottinghamshire	

Percentage Agree / Strongly Agree
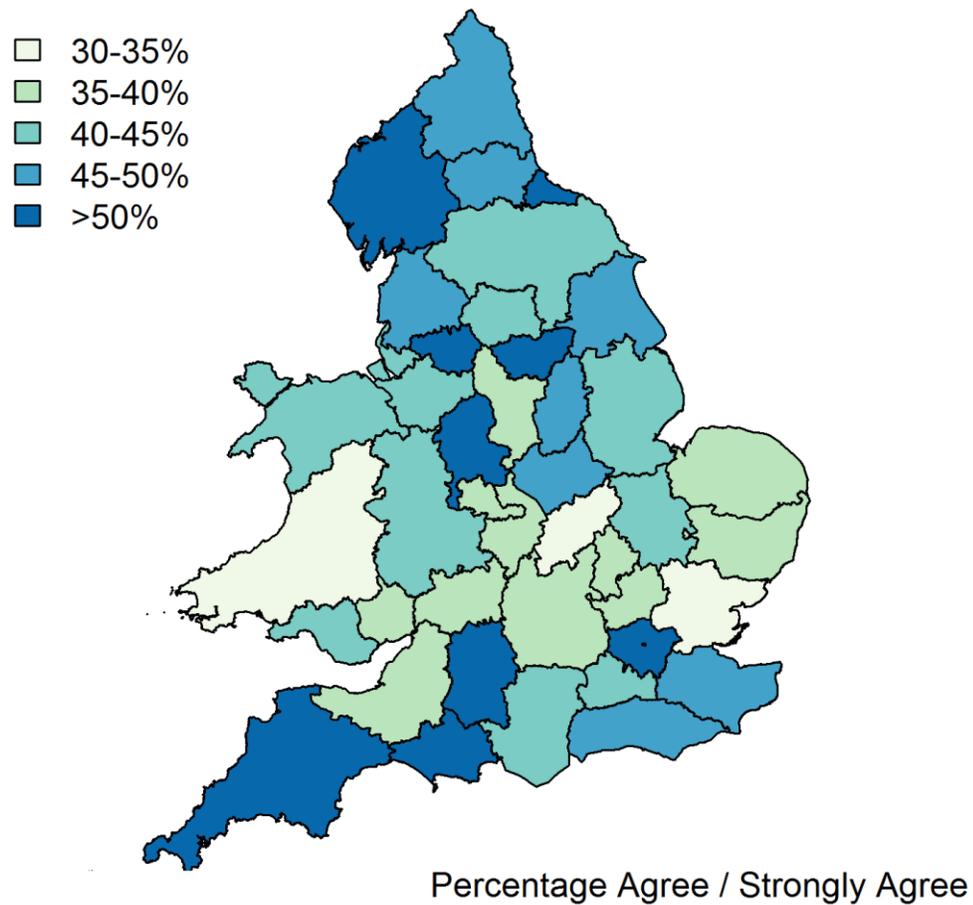
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Figure 12.1 Would consider voluntary severance

Similarly there is also evidence of a spatial clustering and a noticeable variation between police forces with respect to response to the item "*I would consider looking for alternative employment*". Table 12.4 lists the police forces in order of the percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) to this question. Figure 12.2 summarises the spatial distribution in terms of the percentages who either agree or strongly agree with the statement "*I would consider looking for alternative employment*".

Table 12.4 Percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) *"I would consider looking for alternative employment"*

30 to < 40%	50% to < 60%	60% to < 70%	70% to < 80%
Gwent Police (26%)	Avon and Somerset	Derbyshire	Warwickshire
	Northamptonshire	Cumbria	Surrey
	Norfolk	Merseyside	Hampshire
	Gloucestershire	Thames Valley	South Yorkshire
	Durham	Dyfed Powys	Leicestershire
	Suffolk	West Mercia	Hertfordshire
	North Wales	Cambridgeshire	Lancashire
	Staffordshire	Humberside	West Yorkshire
		Devon and Cornwall	Metropolitan
		Essex	City of London
		Cheshire	Kent Police
		Greater Manchester	Cleveland (78%)
		West Midlands	
		North Yorkshire	
		Nottinghamshire	
		Sussex	
		Bedfordshire	
		South Wales	
		Lincolnshire	
		Wiltshire	
		Northumbria	
		Dorset	
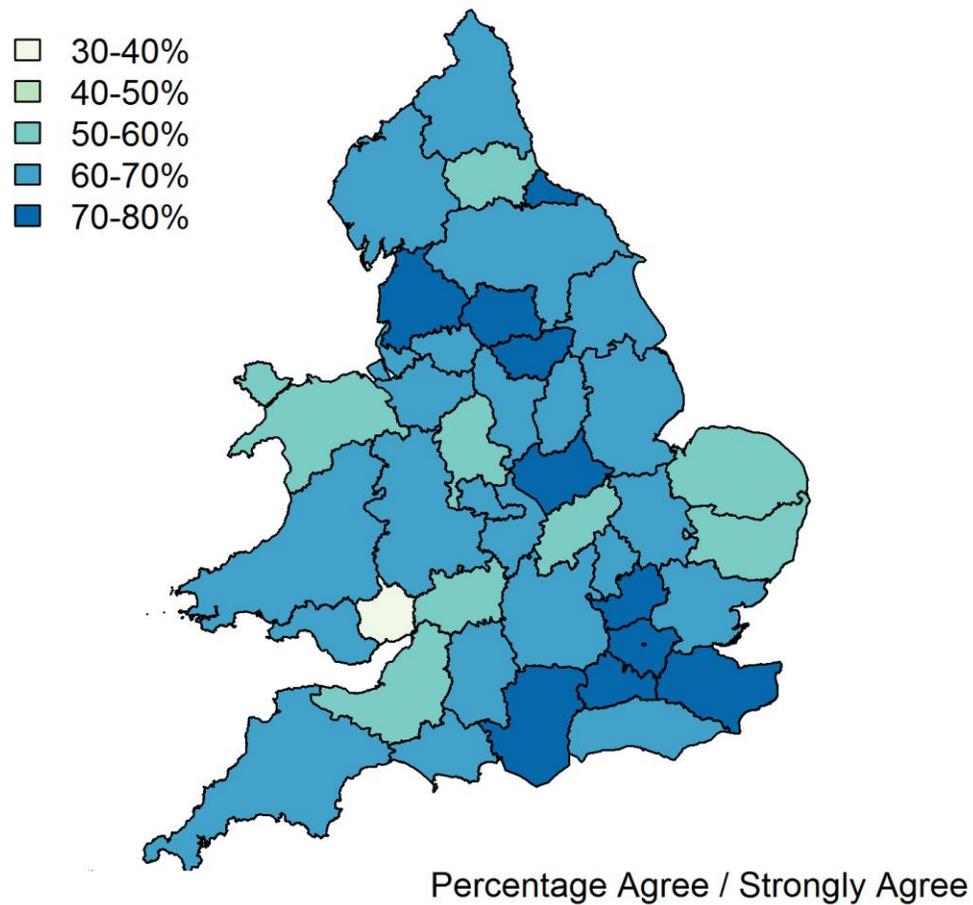
Figure 12.2 Would consider alternative employment

When discussing how current and proposed changes to the police are impacting on officer satisfaction and their desire to stay or leave the service officers voiced both hopes and concerns about issues of satisfaction, alternative employment and voluntary severance. For example, in talking about job satisfaction one officer wrote that they hoped;

"That I continue to feel satisfaction with the career I love & have always loved."

While another officer emphasized a similar hope but from the position of regaining satisfaction rather than maintaining it;

"I have no job satisfaction at present and cannot recall the last time I felt pride or job satisfaction. The police are a wonderful organisation with rich history and awe inspiring loyalty and camaraderie. Hopefully this can return".

Similarly another officer wrote that;

"I hope I am able to serve the public for the remainder of my service (however long that may be...) to the best of my ability, enjoying my work and gaining job satisfaction- the present environment/ culture of change does not allow me to do so at this time, I hope that changes but I'm fearful it will only get worse".

Officers also discussed how a lack of job satisfaction created by the current and proposed changes to the police service may result in them deciding to leave the force. Worryingly when leaving the force was discussed it was often written about as being a hope for the officer. For example an officer explained that;

"I wish I could change my career as I do not have the same job satisfaction as I did 12 months ago".

Similarly another officer commented that they hoped;

"That I can get out soon and do something as far removed from government/public service as possible and that will actually give me some sort of job satisfaction. It will improve my quality of life, my family life and make me feel a lot better than working for a government that demands so much but gives so little."

This sentiment was echoed by other officers, for example an officer described how they hope;

"That I will re-train in a different area and be able to leave the job of a police officer and find better job satisfaction elsewhere that causes less stress on me and my family, is more secure and less dangerous."

While another spoke of their hope;

"That I will be offered voluntary severance so that I can walk away after 28 years because the ConDem (sic) Government does not value me anymore. They say that I have a 'clock on clock off' attitude, that I am fat and unfit and that I'm not worth my salary. I disagree".

12.3   Sacrifice

Quantitative analysis identified that respondents believe they make sacrifices to be police officers and also that officers are questioning whether in light of current and proposed changes to policing, these sacrifices are still worth it. Building on these ideas officers discussed sacrifice as an issue of both hope and concern for them and the future of the police service. As an officer explained;

> *"The job requires flexibility and sacrifice in so many ways. I rarely finish duty on time, I have my shifts changed at short notice, I am asked to work away from home, I have been assaulted trying to protect others. I have willingly made those sacrifices knowing that I would be looked after in the long term".*

The general sacrifices that officers perceive they make for the job was also expanded upon by other officers. For example an officer discussed how;

> *"the role is a unique and difficult role unlike any other and the personal sacrifice that police officers make in order to do a job with high levels of stress, negative emotion, anxiety, responsibility and decision making (that can ultimately have devastating effects if incorrect) which carries the risk of loss of life, loss of personal life, loss of employment and loss of pension. All this, every day, every week, every month and every year of service".*

The impact of policing on officers family and social life was also an issue discussed by respondents as one which is relatively unacknowledged. As an officer stated;

> *"I have made numerous sacrifices, my children have to be guarded in what they tell others about my occupation for fear of bullying, and I am effectively on duty 24/7".*

Family sacrifice was further discussed by other officers who identified the stresses the job places on the officer and their family. For example an officer wrote that;

> *"As an officer I sacrifice my personal life in many ways mainly because when my family is together I am usually at work. It has a huge impact on my social life. The nature of*

the job, working shifts puts added stress onto the body, as well as the type of situations that we deal with".

Officers also voiced concern at what they appear to perceive as a lack of recognition about the sacrifices they make by the government and wider society. For example one officer wrote that;

"This may seem cynical but I have worked very hard as a front line officer for 25 years and made massive sacrifices on my personal and family life to do the job i love but all the authorities are doing is not caring".

While another officer explained that their concern was;

"That my profession will become held in a far lower regard than when I joined and that my pay and conditions (and therefore the quality of life for my family) will be diminished accordingly. I would hate to leave this job as I know that I make a positive impact on the world through my work but I fear that I might be compelled to take that step in order to adequately support my family because the conditions being pressed for by the current government are demeaning and ignorant of the huge sacrifices I make, as well as my family, in order for me to do this job professionally and to the standard that the public rightly expects".

This issue of lack of support from government, particularly in relation to changes to pay and conditions was one which generated a lot of concern about the sacrifices officers make for the job. As another officer explained;

"I have a demanding role, one which I risk my life for every day, ultimate sacrifices have been made by officers every day. PC Rathband, PC Beshenivsky and PC's Bone and Hughes (to name a few) made the ultimate sacrifice they never knew what would happen but they didn't return home. It is immoral for politicians and all the bonuses they get when police who are actually keeping the country safe end up having to scrimp and save. I was told when I joined that I would never be rich doing this job but I would be comfortable, I am not comfortable I have had no pay rise for two years when

inflation has risen hugely I am tightening my belt all the time to stay afloat. It can't carry on like this something has to give".

Officers also discussed that it was not a commitment for extra that they were looking for from the government, more a recognition that they make sacrifices to carry out their duties and that this should be fairly recompensed. Speaking about their hope for the future an officer stated that they hoped;

"That the commitment flexibility and sacrifice that officers make is recognised and rewarded fairly, we never wanted extra".

If the issue of pay and pensions was not resolved satisfactorily then officers described how this may make them question whether they are still willing to make the sacrifices they do to be a police officer. As an officer describing their hopes for the future explained;

"I hope that my pay and pension will not be further eroded to the point where the sacrifices are no longer worth it to do the job".

12.4 Morale

Analysis of the quantitative data also revealed that there is a noticeable variation between police forces with respect to response to the item "*My morale in my job is high*". Table 12.5 lists the forces in order of the percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) to this question with Gwent and Warwickshire followed by Lincolnshire having the lowest satisfaction ranking through to Avon and Somerset (21%). Figure 12.3 summarises the spatial distribution in terms of the percentages who either disagree or strongly disagree with this statement.

Table 12.5 My morale in my job is high (agree/strongly agree)

0% to < 5%	5% to < 10%	10% to < 15%	> 15%
Gwent (0%)	Northumbria	Cumbria	Staffordshire
Warwickshire (0%)	Lancashire	Wiltshire	Durham
Lincolnshire	Metropolitan	Leicestershire	Kent
Cleveland	City of London	Humberside	Avon and Somerset (21%)
North Yorkshire	Devon and Cornwall	Cheshire	
Hampshire	Sussex	Surrey	
Dyfed Powys	Dorset	Merseyside	
	South Yorkshire	Derbyshire	
	South Wales	Northamptonshire	
	Nottinghamshire	Cambridgeshire	
	West Yorkshire		
	Bedfordshire		
	Essex		
	Suffolk		
	Greater Manchester		
	Thames Valley		
	Hertfordshire		
	Norfolk		
	West Mercia		
	North Wales		
	West Midlands		
	Gloucestershire		

Percentage Disagree / Strongly Disagree
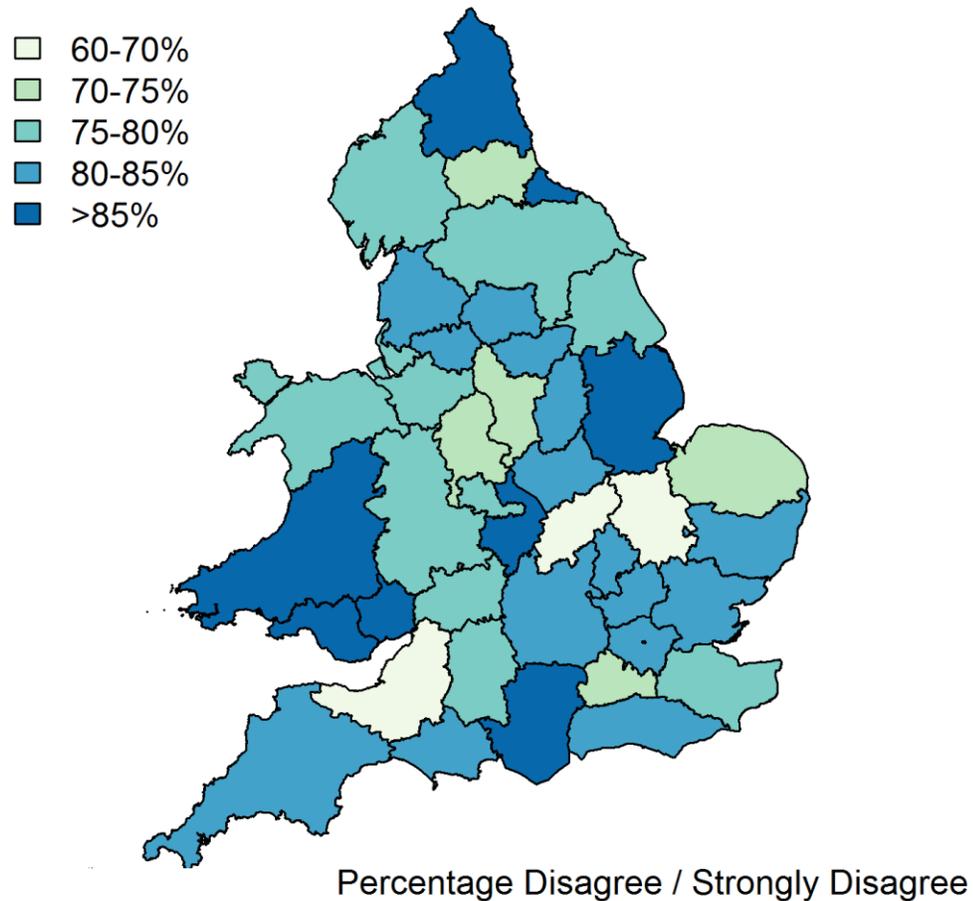
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Figure 12.3 Proportions Disagree/Strongly Disagree with the statement "My morale in my job is high"

In a similar way, analysis revealed there is a noticeable variation between police forces with respect to response to the item "*The morale of my colleagues is high*". Table 12.6 lists the forces in order of the percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) to this question with ten forces with 0% agree or strongly agree through to Avon and Somerset with 5.2% agree or strongly agree. Figure 12.4 summarises the spatial distribution in terms of the percentages who either disagree or strongly disagree with the statement "*The morale of my colleagues is high*".

Table 12.6 The morale of my colleagues is high (agree/strongly agree)

0%	0.2% to < 2%	2% to < 3%	3% to 5.2%
Durham	Sussex	Merseyside	Gloucestershire
Dyfed Powys	Greater Manchester	South Wales	Cambridgeshire
Gwent	Dorset	Northamptonshire	Surrey
Kent	Cumbria	Thames Valley	Warwickshire
Lincolnshire	City of London	Staffordshire	
North Wales	Cleveland	West Mercia	Avon and Somerset (5.2%)
North Yorkshire	Suffolk	Hertfordshire	
Nottinghamshire	Bedfordshire		
West Yorkshire	Hampshire		
Wiltshire	Metropolitan		
	South Yorkshire		
	Leicestershire		
	Norfolk		
	Northumbria		
	Lancashire		
	Cheshire		
	Essex		
	Devon and Cornwall		
	Humberside		
	Derbyshire		
	West Midlands		

Percentage Disagree / Strongly Disagree
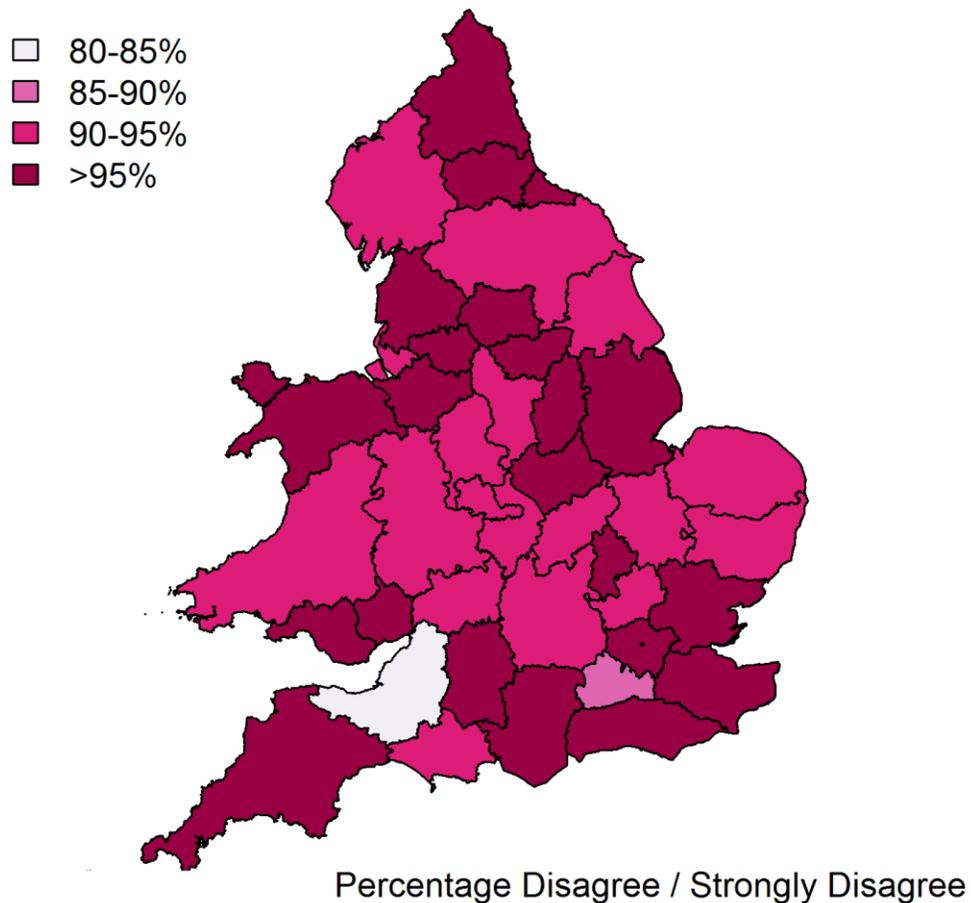
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Figure 12.4 Percentage Disagree/Strongly Disagree with the statement "The morale of my colleagues is high"

Analysis also identifies that there is a noticeable difference to the question "*My morale in my job is high*" between police ranks as shown in Table 12.7 with 81.4% of constables reporting disagreement with this statement, compared with 73.2% of those with rank sergeant, and with 55.8% of inspectors and 53.3% Chief Inspectors. These marked differences are clearly seen in Figure 12.5 and suggest that it is the morale of Police Constables which is lowest and should therefore be of greatest concern to the police service.

Table 12.7 Percentage agreement by rank to the statement *"My morale in my job is high".*

		My morale in my job is high					
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
		Percentage					Count
Rank	Constable	51.01	30.40	10.78	6.72	1.10	10449
	Sergeant	40.90	32.27	14.33	11.16	1.33	2330
	Inspector	28.48	27.37	18.51	22.31	3.32	632
	Chief Inspector	19.67	33.61	16.39	22.13	8.20	122
Total		47.93	30.61	11.80	8.35	1.31	13533
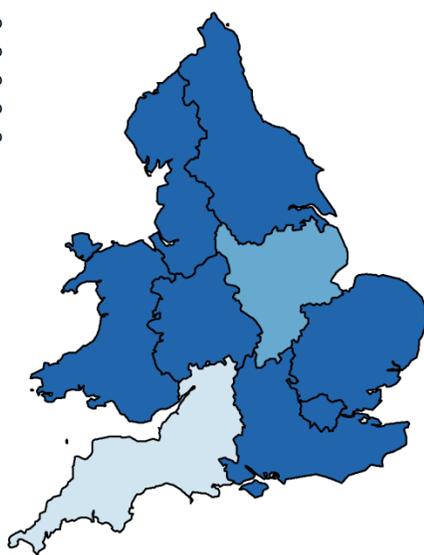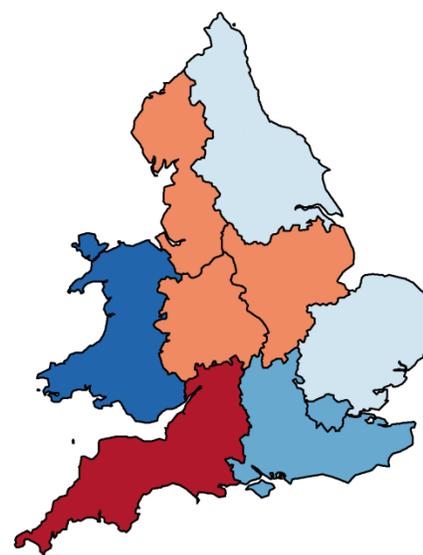
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Figure 12.5 My morale in my job is high. By Rank (Strongly Disagree and Disagree)

The 2013 HMIC report, Policing in Austerity: Rising to the Challenge, seeks to explain, analyse and make recommendations about the state of the police service as it enters the third year of the spending review period. The report identifies that *"There is a risk that collectively, these issues of workforce reduction, force restructuring, and some of the national changes around pay and conditions could have a negative impact on police morale.*

Indeed, HMIC's survey of senior police leaders found that they considered staff morale the biggest future risk to performance" (p.87). It can be seen from the quantitative data that police officer morale at both force wide, regional and national level as well as across ranks is very low.

In terms of the possible impact that low morale is having on officers hopes and concerns for the future of the police service qualitative data analysis is able to provide more detail about why morale is low and what affect this may be having to the police service and individuals within it. Morale was an issue which was written about numerous times in officer's answers to the open ended questions. Officers discussed general issues of morale as well as explicitly linking it to issues related to changes to the police service, the uncertainty created by these changes and how morale may impact of the performance of and service given by the police. When talking about hopes for the future of the police service an officer wrote that;

> *"I hope and pray 2013 is the commencement of a period which sees progress made to curtail reductions in staff morale within the Service, which is ultimately at a current all-time low - the lowest I have experienced in fifteen years' Service".*

While another officer voiced hope;

> *"That the organisation will start to treat its staff as what it is, the most valuable commodity whose morale should be of paramount importance, rather than treating us as completely disposable as they currently do".*

Others were more pessimistic about their hopes for positive change to police morale. For example and officer said that;

> *"I have no hope for the future of policing, I have been doing this job for 17 years and I have never known morale so poor".*

While another explained how they hoped for an improvement in morale as this would be beneficial to everyone within the service. They explained that they hope;

> *"That morale improves as working with friends is better than working with colleagues".*

Officers also discussed their concerns about low morale within the police service. For example an officer noted that;

> *"Policing is a thankless task by the nature of the work, it feels in recent years that the current Government don't think we're worth what we are and that has affected morale very negatively".*

While others voiced their concerns about how continued low morale in the police will affect officers. For example an officer wrote;

> *"Morale is so low in the police that I feel myself and colleagues suffer as a result of it. Remaining in the police service will have a detrimental effect on my health".*

Officers also discussed how the changes occurring or proposed to occur to the police service were negatively impacting on police morale and that this was an issue that needed to be addressed. As an officer noted;

> *"Morale (both personal and at a force level) is at an all-time low, and I hope that future decision makers realise this and act on it. Officers need to feel appreciated, that they are performing a worthwhile job which may have its risks but also its rewards. The rewards are gradually being taken away, leaving us with only the risk and erosion of our personal lives".*

While another wrote;

> *"I hope that the current Government wake up and realise the long term damage their 'reforms' to the UK Police service pay, conditions and pensions is doing to police morale".*

Given this view, officers also spoke about how reviewing the proposed changes and developing possible alternatives may help to increase morale. For example an officer wrote that;

> *"A more accurate view on officer's needs and views of the current system are needed, rather than blindly making changes with no realisation as to the actual effect it will have on frontline policing nationwide. I believe that if this was implemented the morale of policing would rise massively nationwide".*

Another possible cause of officer low morale was identified by respondents who suggested that the uncertainty caused by all the different changes to the police service and lack of clarity of the future of the service was creating anxiety amongst officers and subsequently impacting on officer morale. An officer explained their hope that;

> *"Any proposed changes to the force are sorted ASAP; it's the waiting around that usually affects officer's morale."*

While other officers similarly agreed, for example an officer hoped;

> *"For the future of the police service to be decided, there is too much scaremongering which is leading to low morale, just get on with it so that we can get on with the job".*

Officers also discussed their hopes and concerns around low morale and how it may impact on police performance and service. For example an officer described how they hoped;

> *"That morale within the police force will somehow come good again, a happy workforce is a productive one".*

While another officer explained concern that;

> *"Morale (that is already rock bottom) will get even worse and the government will have the demotivated, lacklustre police service that they deserve and the public will get a far lower level of service than they should".*

Finally, in bringing the issues identified in relation to the data on morale together in terms of concerns about impacts on the future of the police service, particularly in terms of the service the police provide, an officer explained that;

> *"I have never seen morale so low in the service. People feel very very angry about the way we have been treated. As a police officer every aspect of your life is public property. If you are off duty you are expected and most officers obliged to assist if something happens in front of you. I was seriously injured (multiple breaks both lower limbs, broken jaw) while trying to help someone that had crashed into the fast lane barrier on the motorway on my way home from a night shift. I worked hard and was back to full duties after only 5 months. The way we have been treated and continue to be treated by the government and to be told we have to pay a lot more, work a lot longer and get a lot less is heart breaking. We are not employees and as such we are not subject to employment law. This means we have no way of fighting any change implemented by government. There is a saying in the police to 'make the job work'. This generally involves unpaid overtime, short notice shift changes which we are not paid for as there is no money in the budget and breaching standard operating procedure (not criminally) in order to make it work. If you remove the morale of the service then this can do attitude will slowly change to a can't do one".*

12.5   Goodwill

There is no noticeable force-to-force variation in the responses to the item "The goodwill of police officers is essential to the success of the police" with agree or strongly agree endorsements minimally at 93% (Cumbria) through to 100% (North Yorkshire) as shown in Figure 12.6.
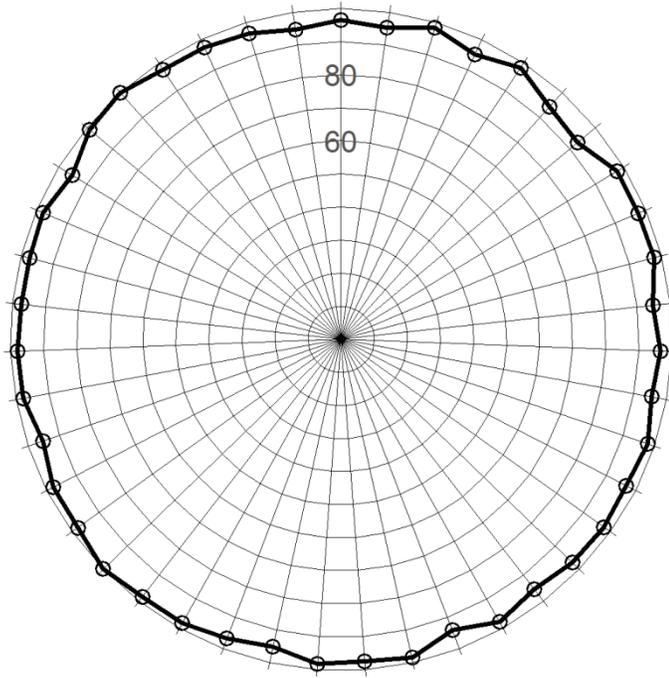
Figure 12.6 Percentage Agree/Strongly Agree that Goodwill is essential

However, there is slight geographic variance with the extent to which respondents express a disagreement with the statement "*The proposed changes to the police will not erode goodwill*". Table 12.8 lists the police forces in order of the percentage agreement (agree or strongly agree) to this question. Figure 12.7 summarizes the spatial distribution

Challenge and Change

in terms of the percentages who either disagree or strongly disagree with the statement "*The proposed changes to the police will not erode goodwill*".

Table 12.8 Proposed changes to the police will not erode goodwill (agree/strongly agree)

0 to < 5%	5% to < 10%	10% to < 15%	15% to < 25%
Warwickshire	Lancashire	North Yorkshire	Suffolk (16%)
Dyfed Powys	City of London	Staffordshire	Cambridgeshire (22%)
	Bedfordshire	Devon and Cornwall	
	South Yorkshire	West Mercia	
	Dorset	North Wales	
	Hampshire	South Wales	
	Hertfordshire	Metropolitan	
	Lincolnshire	Norfolk	
	Humberside	Derbyshire	
	Durham	Northamptonshire	
	Cheshire	Nottinghamshire	
	Gwent	Gloucestershire	
	Leicestershire	Northumbria	
	Greater Manchester	West Midlands	
		Merseyside	
		Essex	
		Wiltshire	
		Surrey	
		Thames Valley	
		West Yorkshire	
		Sussex	
		Avon and Somerset	
		Cumbria	
		Kent	
		Cleveland	

Percentage Disagree / Strongly Disagree
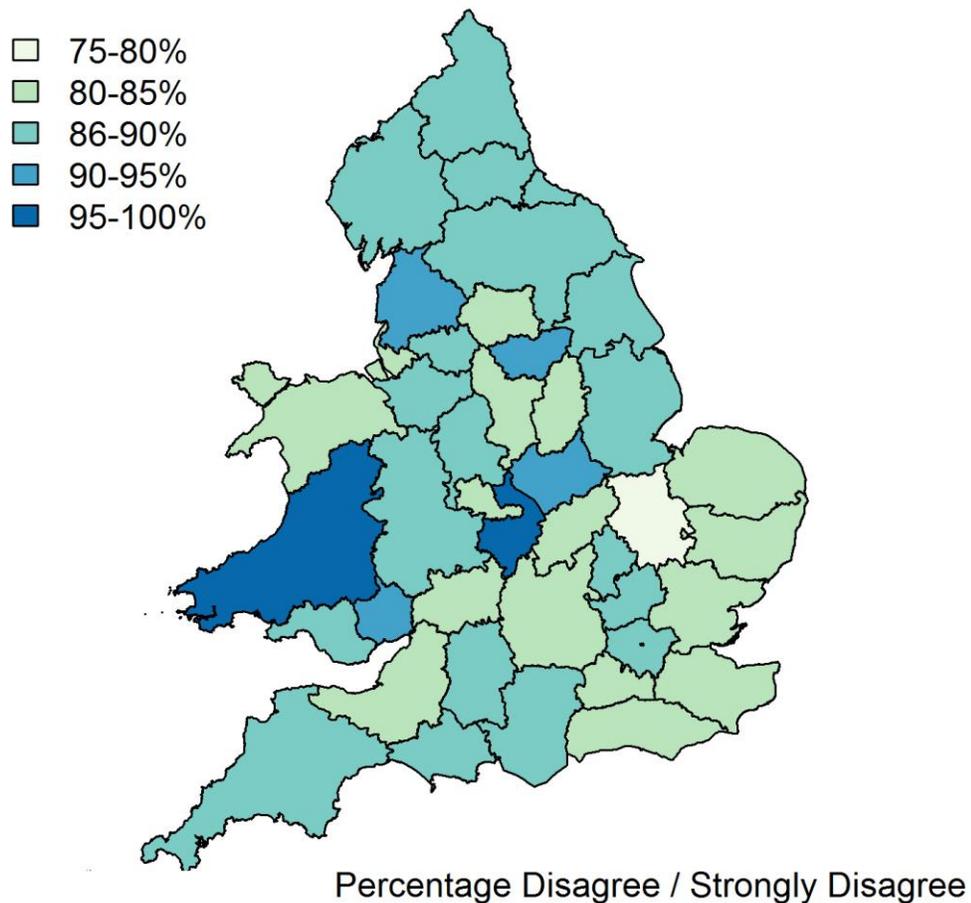
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Figure 12.7 Proposed changes will not erode goodwill

The HMIC (2013) policing report identified the issue of goodwill as one of importance. It found that "*Operational staff in a large number of forces felt that they could not lose any more officers. Focus group attendees also felt that goodwill was being eroded, and this risked officers and staff being unprepared to go the extra mile*" (p.87). Issues of goodwill and service to the public were frequently noted by officers in response to questions about both their hopes and concerns for the police service. Officers discussed how they believe that the police service is only able to function in the way that is does through the goodwill of officers and their willingness to go above and beyond to get the job done. Officers wrote about issues such as the need for goodwill and its possible erosion, the development of a work to rule approach and the impact all of these issues may have on the

future performance and service of the police. When writing about the need for police goodwill officers spoke of their hopes that others would recognize its importance and help to make sure that it doesn't disappear. For example and officer wrote that they hope;

> *"That the goodwill of Officers will continue - without it the wheel will stop",*

While another described that their hope was;

> *"For the management to realise that goodwill doesn't fight crime. It eventually runs out, PC Goodwill isn't a person and they I hope will realise that".*

Others described similar hopes in relation to the need to support the police to protect this goodwill. For example and officer explained that they hoped;

> *"That the government realises, before it's too late, that it is destroying the unique office of Constable and with it the goodwill and morale of the people of this service",*

While another wrote;

> *"I hope that the government come to realise the damage they're doing to the police service, particularly with regard to the loss of goodwill".*

This hope for support and recognition of the need for police goodwill and the importance of its protection was summarised by another officer who wrote;

> *"I want to be supported by the bosses and government and for them to realise that we do a pretty tough job in often rubbish circumstances and without our goodwill nothing would get done".*

Officers also described their concerns about the future of the police service because they believe that the goodwill of officers is being destroyed. As an officer noted;

"As a sergeant, I manage 12 officers. 5 of these are actively seeking alternative employment. Even the most motivated of my officers are now slowing their work rate considerably. It will soon come to the point that it is almost impossible to get anywhere near the level of productivity from them, that they would have previously provided".

While another officer wrote that;

"To be honest, I am currently researching training and development opportunities to enable me to choose a new career and leave the Police. This is not something I had even thought about prior to Winsor. The Police needs dedicated officers; this is a job like no other. If the Government do not start to look after its Police force all the Goodwill will erode and this will have a massively detrimental effect on policing".

Officers also linked issues of morale, goodwill and performance together and suggested without them the police service would fail to function. For example and officer wrote;

"The morale and goodwill of officers is being eroded by the reforms. If goodwill is withdrawn (e.g. work to rule) the police service will be in crisis. The amount of time and effort given for free is vastly underestimated".

This idea of officers working to rule, working only their necessary hours, and not going above and beyond that regardless of whether a job is done was also frequently discussed in terms of both hopes and concerns. For example an officer wrote that their hope was;

"That Police Officers say enough is enough and take firmer action to demonstrate the importance of our goodwill, such as working to rule".

While another voiced concern at this prospect by warning that;

Challenge and Change

> *"The organisation relies heavily on the goodwill of officers but this should not be taken for granted as there will come a time when officers will work to rule".*

Others described how they were already beginning to operate on a work to rule basis. For example;

> *"Officers have already withdrawn their goodwill, I will not do anything beyond the bear(sic) minimum. I turn my phone off on days off and will arrive at work exactly on time and leave exactly on time. I will do nothing to assist senior management",*

While others explained how this work to rule situation had arisen. As an officer described;

> *"A reduction in overtime budgets coupled with reduction in officer morale will lead to reduction in goodwill among officers. Refusal to work overtime for reduced or no pay will cause operational problems. Why would an officer who has had his or her pay and pension conditions eroded be willing to work extra hours for 'time in the book'? Officers are already refusing to work rest days at the new rate of pay of time and a half".*

Given the importance officers appear to place on goodwill and its perceived relationship to the successful functioning of the police service officers also voiced concerns about what the future of policing may be like without it. For example an officer explained how;

> *"Officers constantly have to work outside of the regulations to get the job done. So called 'Goodwill' will diminish if the constant erosion of pay and conditions continues, thus effectively disabling the Police and our impact on crime and public confidence. Perhaps if we the Police were to work our allocated shifts for just one week, then I guarantee there would be negative impact on our effectiveness, public confidence etc."*

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

Some of the possible negative repercussions of this loss of goodwill for the future of the police service were also described by others. For example another officer wrote of their concern that;

> *"The goodwill supplied by officers in abundance will disappear and the job will collapse into chaos. We are not that far away from that stage now".*

This was reinforced by other officers, for example;

> *"Morale of officers is at an all-time low, and the only reason the Police Force is effective in the UK, is down to officers going beyond the call of duty. This will stop and in effect, the public will no longer get the service they deserve and expect".*

And;

> *"The reduction in officer numbers means those remaining have to work harder and harder until melt down is reached and goodwill goes, then when the next big event or public order incident occurs there will be none left to deal with it".*

The importance of police officer goodwill and concern over the possible negative future impact that its erosion will have for the police and the public was described in detail by other officers. For example an officer explained that;

> *"The priceless value of Police Officers goodwill to always keep the wheel on and get the job done, no matter what, is rapidly disappearing, if not gone. This is dangerous for EVERYONE (sic). In 19 years' service it is this one thing that always got us through the daily crisis we manage. The current Governments relationship with the Police is so disastrous and broken that I see no change in this position for the foreseeable future. This makes me very sad about my job. In fact, I am angry that this goodwill has been destroyed by this government",*

While another officer described their concern about the impact loss of goodwill will have in the future;

> *"Little consideration is given to the high amount of goodwill police officers give to go beyond what is required to get the job done. Through the current attitude of government this will soon disappear and this will become JUST A JOB (sic). That is when the public will feel the backlash of the changes to policing. I know I have regularly gone beyond what is required to ensure that the job got done to the best of our abilities. I now feel that if this is just going to be a job I will do what is required and no more".*

13. Organisational Citizenship Behaviour (OCB)

Despite some of the survey items addressing issues of goodwill it is a relatively underdeveloped concept. While officers wrote about it when discussing their hopes and concerns it is still difficult to ascertain from this the extent of current levels of goodwill within the police service. This may be important as officers suggested that the erosion of goodwill would have a negative impact on the police service. To be able to address this issue in a quantifiable manner the survey utilised a validated psychological scale which explores the idea of goodwill through the broadly comparable concept of Organisational Citizenship Behaviour (Table 13.1).

Organ (1988: 4) defined Organisational Citizenship Behaviour as "*individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization. By discretionary, we mean that the behavior is not an enforceable requirement of the role or the job description, that is, the clearly specifiable terms of the person's employment contract with the organization; the behavior is rather a matter of personal choice, such that its omission is not generally understood as punishable.*"

The current study uses a slightly different taxonomy, which was proposed by Williams and Anderson (1991), which differentiates between organisational citizenship behaviours directed towards individuals, called OCBI, and organisational citizenship behaviours directed towards the organisation, called OCBO. The scale used in the questionnaire survey to distinguish between organisational citizenship behaviour directed both at an individual and organisational level is the 16 point scale used by Lee & Allen (2002). By using this scale it should be possible to differentiate between goodwill in terms of officers' willingness to go above and beyond for their fellow officers and the willingness to go above and beyond for the wider organisation. In other words, the scale seeks to measure both OCBI behaviour, which broadly may be conceptualised as helping behaviour involving voluntarily helping others with, or preventing the occurrence of, work related problems and OCBO behaviour, which may broadly be conceptualised as organisational

loyalty entailing promoting the organisation to outsiders, protecting and defending it against external threats, and remaining committed to it even under adverse conditions (Podsakoff, Mackenzie, Paine and Bachrach, 2000).

Items 1 to 8 on the Organisational Citizenship Behaviour scale measure Organisational Citizen Behaviour – Individual [OCBI] i.e.

1. Help others who have been absent

2. Willing give your time to help others who have work related problems

3. Adjust your work schedule to accommodate other officers requests for time off

4. Go out of the way to make newer officers feel welcome in the work group

5. Show genuine concern and courtesy toward colleagues, even under the most trying of work or personal situations

6. Give up time to help others who have work or non work problems

7. Assist others with their duties

8. Share personal property with others to help their work

While items 9 to 16 measure Organisational Citizen Behaviour – Organization (OCBO) i.e.

9. Attend functions that are not required but help the organisational image

10. Keep up with developments in the organisation

11. Volunteer for extra work assignments

12. Work more than you are paid for

13. Show pride when representing the organisation in public

14. Offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organisation

15. Express loyalty toward the organisation

16. Demonstrate concern about the image of the organisation

Table 13.1 highlights that over three-quarters (76.2%) claim that they either often or always work more than they are paid for. 86.7% often or always assist others with duties, 87.3% frequently go out of the way to welcome newer officers, 42.7% frequently volunteer for extra work assignments, and 58.2% frequently express loyalty towards the organisation. What the quantitative data suggests therefore is that at this time OCB at both an individual and organisational level is prevelent within the police service.

Table 13.1 Organisational Citizen Behaviour

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All of the Time	Total
			Percentage			Count
1. Help others who have been absent	1.3	6.3	33.8	43.9	14.7	13569
2. Willingly give your time to help others who have work related problems	0.8	3.7	26.6	47.8	21.2	13571
3. Adjust your work schedule to accommodate other officers requests for time off	2.2	10.0	41.1	33.7	13.0	13574
4. Go out of the way to make newer officers feel welcome in the work group	0.4	1.5	10.8	47.6	39.7	13578
5. Show genuine concern and courtesy toward colleagues, even under the most trying of work or personal situations	0.2	0.5	10.1	51.6	37.6	13571
6. Give up time to help others who have work or non work problems	1.2	5.5	35.0	42.6	15.6	13567
7. Assist others with their duties	0.2	0.8	12.4	54.8	31.9	13574
8. Share personal property with others to help their work	5.8	15.9	35.3	32.0	11.0	13551
9. Attend functions that are not required but help the organisational image	24.7	29.1	26.6	14.4	5.1	13563
10. Keep up with developments in the organisation	0.9	6.3	26.8	49.7	16.3	13576
11. Volunteer for extra work assignments	7.9	15.6	33.8	32.6	10.1	13569
12. Work more than you are paid for	3.2	4.2	16.4	41.5	34.7	13571
13. Show pride when representing the organisation in public	1.4	4.8	15.0	40.0	38.8	13569
14. Offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organisation	4.7	15.5	38.7	30.9	10.2	13564
15. Express loyalty toward the organisation	3.5	12.4	26.0	39.6	18.6	13565
16. Demonstrate concern about the image of the organisation	3.2	10.3	29.4	41.1	16.0	13564

The scale for OCBI and OCBO each have a theoretical range of 8 through to 40 with increasingly higher scores on these scales refelcting increasinly greater levels of citizenship and goodwill. Cronbach's alpha for OCBI and OCBO was calculated with analysis confirming that both can be collapsed into single measures. Alpha for OCBI is estimated to be 0.816 (signifying good internal consistency) and alpha for OCBO is estimated to be 0.797 (signifying good internal consistency). Figure 13.1 is a plot of OCBI against OCBO for the whole sample showing the trend between these two variables against a background of individual variation. Also note, that in addition to the trend and the individual variation around the trend, there is a preponderance of plotted points which populate the upper quandrant of the graphic (i.e. high OCBI and high OCBO is a dominating behaviour)
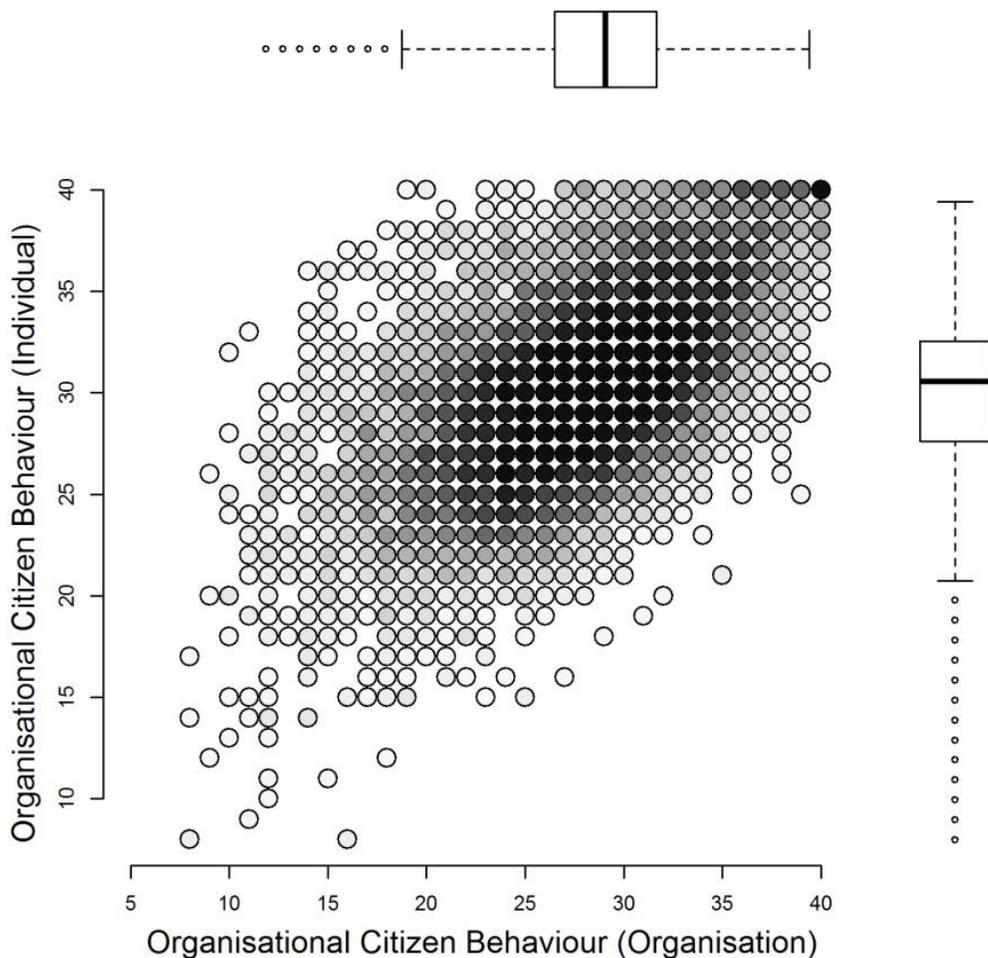
Figure 13.1: Plot of OCBI against OCBO

When examining data for OCB, analysis revealed that there are noticeable differences between ranks on the item "*Offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organisation*" with 35.6% of Constables stating "often" or "all of the time" compared with 54.4% of Sergeants, 72.2% of Inspectors and 83.6% of Chief Inspectors. These differences are summarized in Table 13.2 and illustrated in Figure 13.2.

Table 13.2 Percentage self-report engagement with ideas to improve the organisation by rank

		Offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organisation					
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All of the Time	Total
				Percentage			Count
Rank	Constable	5.68	18.17	40.39	26.86	8.90	10443
	Sergeant	1.72	7.60	36.28	42.04	12.37	2329
	Inspector	0.79	3.94	23.03	51.58	20.66	634
	Chief Inspector	0.00	2.46	13.93	58.20	25.41	122
Total		4.72	15.55	38.63	30.91	10.19	13528
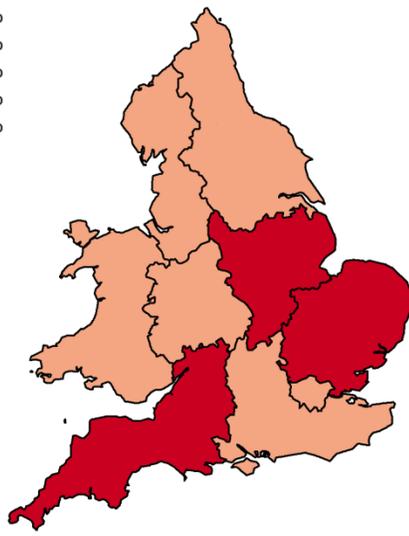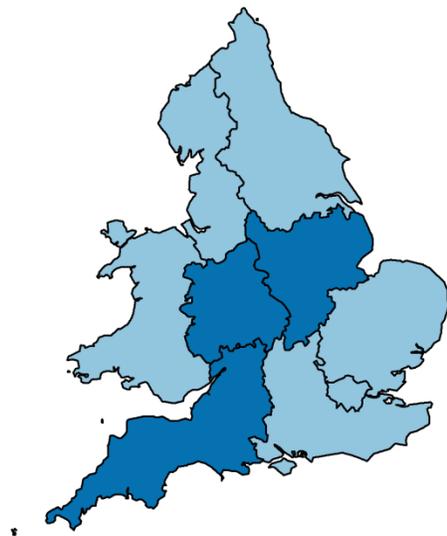
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Figure 13.2 Percentage who "Often" or "All of the time" offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organisation

Similar differences between ranks are observed on the item "*Attend functions that are not required but help the organisational image*" with 16.8% of Constables reporting attendance either "Often" or "All of the time" compared with 25.4% of those with rank Sergeant, 38.3% of Inspectors and 48.3% of Chief Inspectors. Table 13.3 gives the percentage break down on this item by rank and Figure 13.3 strongly contrasts response for Constables against all other ranks.

Table 13.3 Percentage self-report engagement with attendance at functions by rank

		Attend functions that are not required but help the organisational image					
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All of the Time	Total
				Percentage			Count
Rank	Constable	27.76	30.20	25.23	12.47	4.35	10437
	Sergeant	16.89	27.99	29.70	19.29	6.13	2333
	Inspector	6.78	18.45	36.44	25.71	12.62	634
	Chief Inspector	4.10	12.30	35.25	34.43	13.93	122
Total		24.69	29.11	26.62	14.46	5.13	13528
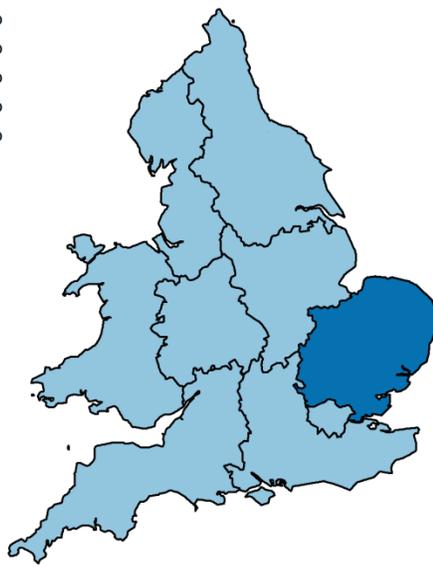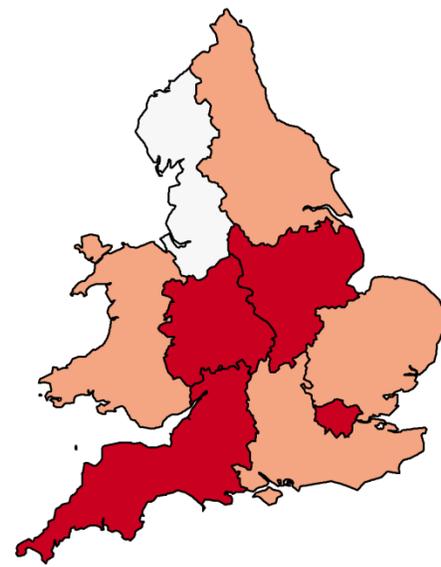
Regional Rates: Constable

Regional Rates: higher rank than Constable

35-40%
40-45%
45-55%
55-60%
60-65%

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Figure 13.3 Percentage "Rarely" or "Never" attend functions that are not required but help the organisational image

Clear differences between Ranks are also exhibited on the item "*Keep up with developments in the organisation*" with 62.0% of Constables reporting "Often" or "All of the time" compared with 77.5% of Sergeants, 85.3% of Inspectors, and 89.3% of Chief Inspectors. Table 13.4 summarises the sample distributions and Figure 13.3 shows a strong contrast between the rank of Constable and the higher ranks.

Table 13.4 Percentage self-report engagement by keeping up with developments by rank

		Keep up with developments in the organisation					
		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All of the Time	Total
				Percentage			Count
Rank	Constable	1.07	7.36	29.56	47.76	14.25	10452
	Sergeant	0.21	3.22	19.09	56.28	21.19	2331
	Inspector	0.79	0.79	13.09	55.36	29.97	634
	Chief Inspector	0.00	0.82	9.84	60.66	28.69	122
Total		0.90	6.28	26.81	49.70	16.31	13539

55-60%
60-65%
65-70%
70-75%
75-80%
>80%
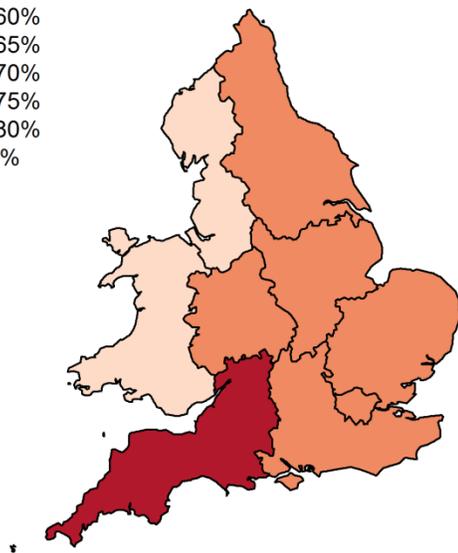
Regional Rates: Constable   Regional Rates: higher rank than Constable
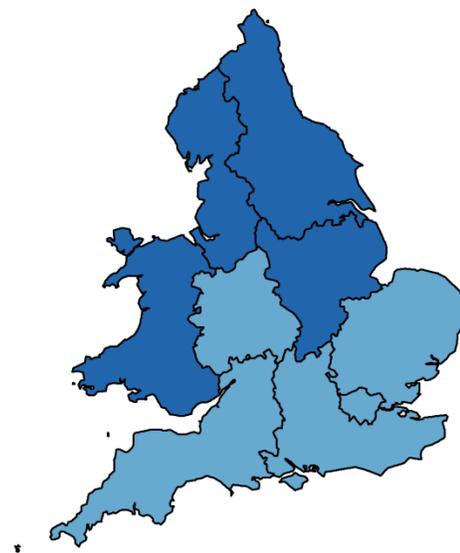
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Figure 13.4 Percentage of "Often" and "All of the time" in response to do you keep up with developments in the organisation

The analysis suggests that organisational citizenship behaviour is still in operation within the police service in England and Wales. It also suggests that there are slight differences in rank with police constables reporting that they are less likely to engage in OCBO behaviour (e.g. promoting the organisation to outsiders, protecting and defending it against external threats, and remaining committed to it even under adverse conditions) than officers in more senior ranks.

14.   Police Identity and OCB

The organisational identity scale and concept of identification used earlier in this report (p.31) describes only officers' perception of oneness, not the behaviours and effect that may serve as a consequence of this identity. Additionally the organisational citizenship behaviour scale and concepts of OCBI and OCBO used in this report describe only officers' self-reported attitudes towards extra role behaviour, not the factors and dynamics that may serve as antecedents of this behaviour. Thus, the current study has attempted to avoid a conceptual shortfall in suggesting a direct link between attitudes and behaviour. However, by analysing the relationship between organisational identity and organisational citizenship behaviour it is possible to investigate this issue and build on previous research which has explored the relationship between organisational identity and organisational citizenship behaviour (Riketta, 2005; Dick, Grojean, Christ and Wieseke, 2006).

Initially, adapting and analysing Mael and Ashforth's (1992) Organisational Identity scale;

1. When someone criticises the police, it feels like a personal insult

2. I am very interested in what others think about the police

3. When I talk about the police, I usually say we rather than they

4. The police's successes are my successes

5. When someone praises the police, it feels like a personal compliment

6. If a story in the media criticised the police, I would feed embarrassed

resulted in an estimated Cronbach's alpha of 0.833 [showing good internal consistency] allowing for analysis to be conducted between this measure of police organisational identity and police organisational citizenship behaviour. Analysis identified that overall there is a statistically significant positive correlation between scores on the Police Organisational Identity Scale and the corresponding scores on the Organisational Citizen Behaviour Scale ($r = 0.412$, $n = 13503$, $p < .001$) as shown in Figure 14.1.
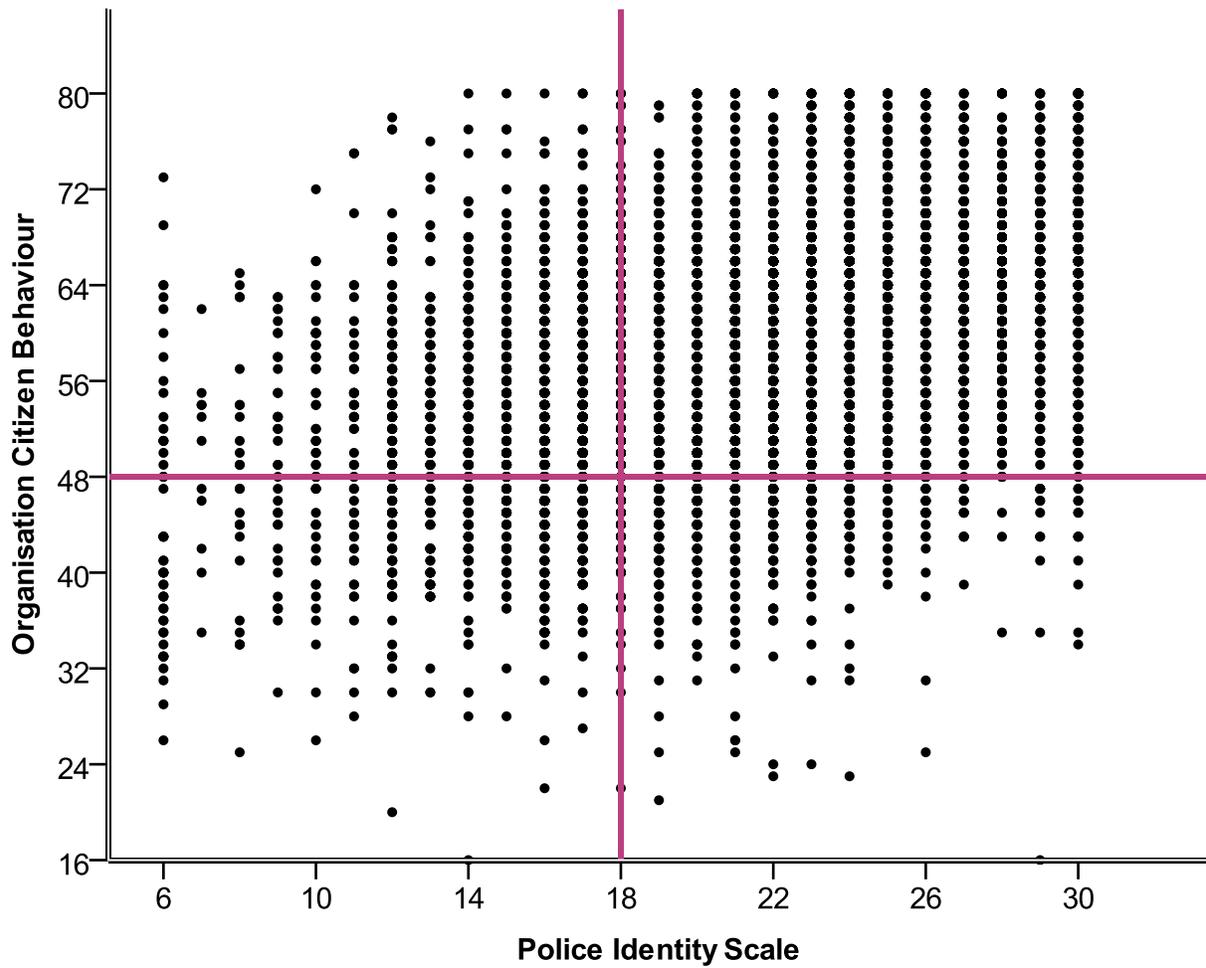
Figure 14.1 Correlation between Police Organizational Identity and Organizational Citizenship behaviour.

Figure 14.2 is a plot of the average OCB against each level of the Police Identity Scale and better shows the average trend between these two variables.
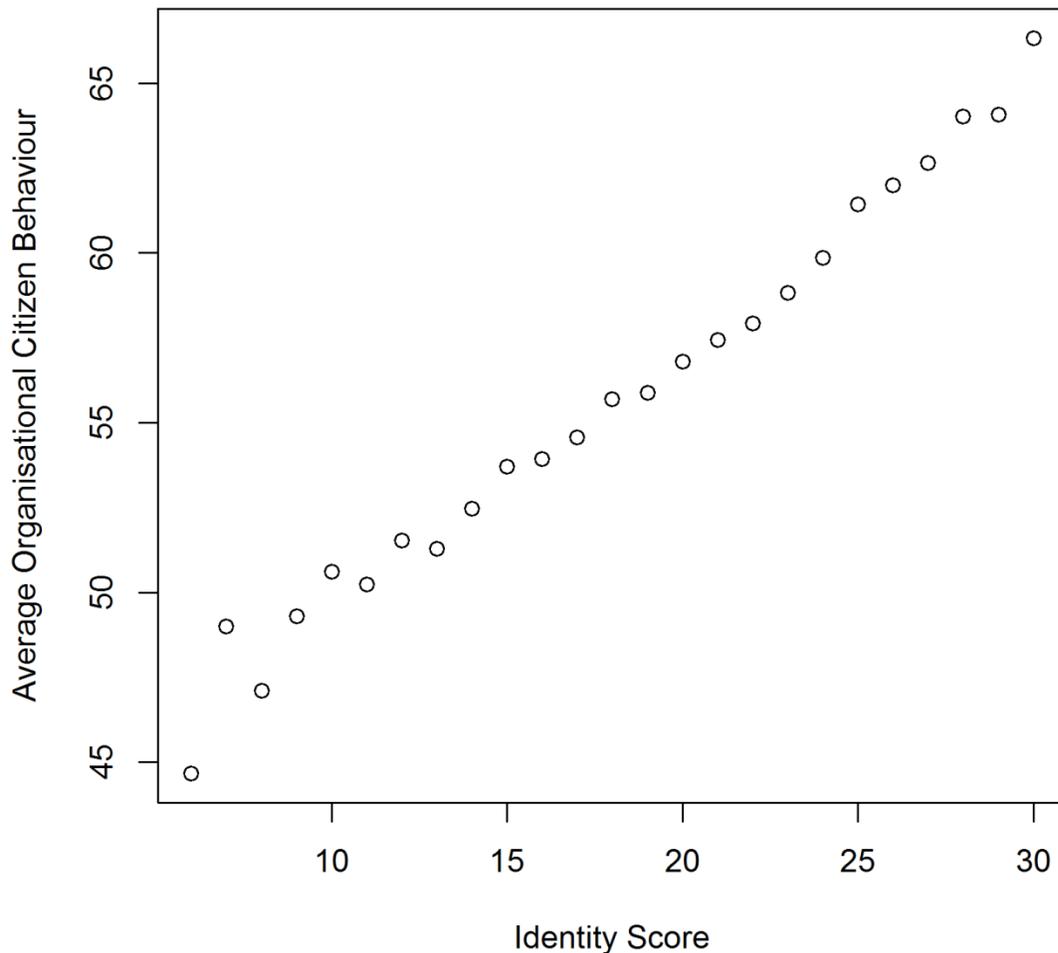
Figure 14.2 Average OCB against each level of the Police Identity Scale

The results of this analysis are in keeping with the view that organisational identification is an important antecedent to organisational citizenship behaviour; in general, the stronger organisational identity the stronger the organisational citizenship behaviour. Therefore, if officer goodwill (OCBI and OCBO) is important to the successful functioning of the police service (as officers suggest) then it is important to look at police organisational identity, threats to it and how to strengthen it, as analysis suggests that this should improve officer OCB, and there is prima facie evidence that improved police performance would folow.

15.   Managing change and the future of the police service

What the police service might be like in the future was an issue of frequent discussion for officers when writing about their hopes and concerns. For example an officer wrote;

"I really am concerned for the future of 'English policing' that has been held up as a model to the rest of the world. It seems that policing by consent is being eroded to the determent of the police and the public they serve".

Two particular issues which officers related to the future of the police service and which engaged much discussion were the topics of change management and police leadership. These topics were also identified as important for the future of the police service by the HMIC in their 2013 Policing Austerity report. Of particular relevance to the hopes and concerns of officers in relation to leadership is the chapter on '*Impact on workforce profile and morale*'. Within it examples of how forces were leading their officers through this period of change and uncertainty were identified. That chapter also suggested that leadership, rather than budget restrictions, was a stronger driver of improved police morale. However, despite this focus on leadership as a vital tool to help manage the change process the report also identifies that *"This is an unsettling time for many in the service, and our inspection found many concerns relating to future job prospects; the stress the workforce is under; and the extent to which they are valued for the vital job they do. These are, to varying degrees, circumstances in which the current generation of police leaders have not previously had to operate"* (p.90).

In light of this assertion and the data presented in this report, issues about support, management and leadership of the service as they relate to officers biggest hopes and concerns for the future of their jobs as police officers is of interest. Given the nature of the views and perceptions expressed by respondents to the survey, important questions need to be raised about what can be done to try to alleviate the concerns of officers or at least

help make them more manageable. This idea of manageability links into the final part of this report, in which the hopes and concerns of officers as they relate to issues of leadership and change management within the police at a local, force wide and national level are examined.

Firstly officers expressed concern about what they perceived to be a lack of support of rank and file officers from senior management level both nationally and within their own police forces. When discussing hopes and concerns the Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) was often mentioned. For example an officer wrote that they hoped that;

"ACPO starts supporting officers rather than themselves",

While another wrote they hoped;

"That ACPO and all officers above Sergeant will start supporting front line officers".

Again the hope that senior officers will support rank and file officers in the future was also expressed by other officers. For example an officer wrote that they hoped for;

"Senior leadership to be more supportive and in touch with rank and file officers".

One of the ways in which officers suggested this support could be given or demonstrated was through senior management at a local and national level speaking out on behalf of the officers by voicing their concerns to government and by taking a stand against the changes being made to policing. For example an officer wrote that;

"I hope that ACPO somehow learn to challenge the savage cuts that are being placed on us rather than just telling the public it won't affect our ability to police- It already is!!(sic)"

While another hoped that;

"ACPO ranks will stand up to the government without fear of upsetting their political masters"

This sentiment was reinforced by other officers, for example another described how they hoped;

> *"That Chief Constables and ACPO stick their neck out and support their staff by openly criticising government".*

One of the concerns officers voiced however was about their lack of confidence in senior police management and their ability to do this, as one officer wrote;

> *"I have no confidence or trust in my senior command team or the decisions they are making, this does nothing for my confidence or goodwill towards my force".*

While another wrote of their concern about a;

> *"Lack of backing from senior management within the service - it is clear that we are just numbers in this exercise and the goodwill provided by officers is just abused, senior management fail time and time again to keep staff updated of changes and proposals - no consultation opportunities given (sic)".*

While others described how this concern about lack of confidence in management extended to their decision making ability. For example an officer voiced concern that;

> *"Too many middle and senior managers are unwilling to make decisions for fear of it affecting their promotion prospects"*

Leadership in the police and issues of management was a topic that was written about frequently by officers when discussing their hopes and fears for the future of their jobs. For example an officer wrote that;

> *"Leadership is sadly lacking in the Police service and this needs to be addressed immediately. I have never experienced such poor leadership".*

Others identified that police leaders lacked adequate skills due to lack of training and that this was an issue for them. For example an officer wrote that they hoped for;

> *"Proper leadership training to those in leadership roles",*

While others voiced concern over this lack of training for police leaders, for example an officer noted concern that;

> *"No leadership courses are offered to senior officers who quite frankly seem to have forgotten where they have been".*

The issue of leadership in policing was also a frequent subject of hope for officers. For example officers talked about their hope for;

> *"Leadership by experienced and skilled officers who have performed those roles",*

Or for;

> *"Stability and good leadership from senior management",*

And;

> *"Clear and positive leadership demonstrating a clear vision from senior management".*

This hope for 'clear and positive' leadership and the beneficial impact it may have for officers in the future was explained in terms of the possibility for unifying the service with a clear sense of purpose. As an officer noted, their hope for the future was;

> *"Leadership taking control and showing direction and taking its workforce with it".*

Similarly to the HMIC (2013) report, the importance of leadership and its potentially positive impact on police morale also appeared central to officers when discussing their hopes and concerns. For example, support from senior officers and its impact on police morale were noted by officers who hoped;

> *"That ACPO realise that support of front line officers is badly needed to enhance morale and feel supported against the govt (sic)".*

Officers hopes for the future of the police service as it relates to issues of police leadership and how it may have an important role to play in relation to officer morale was further discussed by other officers. As an officer noted, they;

> *"Hope government and ACPO realise the special nature of policing and support rank and file officers and assist with the extremely low morale that currently exists within the service"*

While another wrote that they hoped for;

> *"Stronger leadership from senior managers and a recognition of the current feeling amongst police officers and staff (low morale, heavy workloads, no resilience etc.)*

Additionally officers identified that leadership and morale were also of big concern to them and the future of their job as police officers. For example an officer wrote of their concern that;

> *"The new leadership is weak and drives morale down through lack of support and self preservation as the promotion system does not identify leaders"*

While another noted their concern that;

> *"Lack of Leadership in the Force is causing low morale but they fail to recognise this and refuse to accept that they are partly to blame".*

Other officers voiced concern about how they believed senior and junior officers were becoming separated and that this separation was impacting on morale and performance. As an officer noted;

> *"I fear that there is a massive gap between our Senior Leadership Team (high level supervisors) and the ground level. Low morale has led to a massive reduction in 'good will' working where we made things work because we wanted to - there are rifts forming between departments and individuals on a regular basis and officers now just want to do the minimum and move on, rather than put the extra effort in."*

Similar concerns were echoed by other officers, for example one wrote;

> *"I'm concerned about police leadership for the future. It's quite obvious that there are a lot of senior officers who have failed to stand up and say to their officers on the*

ground , 'chin up, it's going to be a tough few years but I'm right with you' . I've not seen site of my chief for the last year, as far as I'm concerned we are a leaderless force apart from the odd email from a senior member of civilian staff to tell us about yet another 'change for the better'".

While another identified concern about;

"The continued negative effect on my work ethic (which is at the moment positive) by lacklustre leadership from first line managers and the continued lack of praise and any form of support from Senior Management Team (Chief Insp and above)".

Given the largely negative views expressed towards police senior management by the officers in the study yet the recognition that good leadership can have a positive impact on the service, interesting questions are raised about what officers would like senior management/leaders to do to address their hopes and concerns for the future of their job. One repeated answer was the hope for;

"Effective visible & strong senior leadership"

Issues of communication, engagement and support were also frequently discussed by officers when voicing their hopes and concerns. For example an officer wrote of their hope for;

"Greater and more open and honest support and dialogue between staff and the ACPO ranks",

While other officers hoped that this communication would also extend beyond them and occur between management and government so that issues could be addressed more co-operatively. For example an officer wrote;

"I hope that greater consultation will be given to ACPO when the government are proposing changes and i hope that ACPO do their officers proud in putting forward realistic ideas that benefit both the Police and the service we can deliver to the public"

While another echoed this sentiment and wrote that they hoped;

"That ACPO do the decent thing and stand with the Federation and show real leadership, and stop saying that cuts and reform of police officer's pay will not affect frontline policing"

16. Summary

16.1 Methodological Considerations

Two different recruitment strategies were used in this study. In the pilot stage, Avon and Somerset officers received individual emails. The questionnaire could be directly targeted with reminder messages aimed solely at those who had not yet completed. For the other police forces, there were no individual emails; rather links to the questionnaire were publicised on the Police Federation website and were promoted, with varying efficacy, by Police Federation representatives. Thus it is important to verify that there are no substantial differences in opinion between the Avon and Somerset officers' opinions and those recruited in the less targeted manner.

As with all questionnaires, those who opted to respond to the questionnaire in full are a self-selecting subgroup of the entire target population. As such, it cannot be claimed to be a representative sample and care must be taken about claiming that the views expressed are representative of police officers. In particular, respondents' views may be more extreme than the general population of police officers. However, when compared to the views of officers from Avon and Somerset – where the high response rate indicates that those responding cannot be viewed as holding extreme viewpoints – little difference has been found in the overall messages emanating from the responses provided by the entire sample. This indicates that the views and concerns raised by officers in this study are widespread in police forces in England and Wales.

Some non uniformity of response rate was observed in the report,however regional / between-force/ rank differences were assessed using standard measures of effect size. Save for a few questions which have been highlighted within the report, no differences have been found between forces and ranks, despite the different response rates. Spatial differences (e.g. North / South divide) were also not found within the data. Additionally, the composition of the sample respondents is broadly in line with the demographic composition of police forces in England and Wales and the high level of engagement with the questionnaire, with over 938,000 words written in the open ended questions at the end

of the questionnaire suggest officers willingness to participate in the survey and desire to make their perspective heard .

16.2 Conclusions

The current study has sampled officers from each of the 43 police forces in England and Wales and represents a sample size of approximately 1 in 10 while the demographics of the sample in terms of rank, gender and ethnicity are broadly similar to that of the police service as a whole. Of course the report is open to criticism that 9 in 10 officers may have a different opinion to those that responded to the survey and a greater sample size would certainly have helped address such criticism. However, as noted above, while there are some small geographic and rank differences in the responses given these have little effect on the overall picture. From a Social Identity perspective (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1985) the identification of a police organisational identity suggest that the respondents should share a common set of beliefs norms and values. Generally, given the uniform nature of the responses officers gave to the survey this appears to be substantiated. Furthermore, given the existence of a police organisational identity, it is not unreasonable to suggest that if this identity is shared by those who did not fill out the survey, then they too would hold similar views to those that did.

The research identifies a number of interesting and important issues for the police service and the change and reforms occurring within it. The report identifies that there is a lack of clarity about precisely what the role and function of the police is and should be. This lack of clarity is leading to uncertainty and anxiety among officers who are of the perception that they are being spread too thinly. This links to officer perceptions about change and reform in general. Respondents largely support the need for change and reform in the police service; however they are concerned that current changes are being driven by people with little experience of policing. Instead it appears that officers would broadly support a new review if it was made in collaboration with the police and identify that a

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

Royal Commission on policing which could clarify their role and function and thus alleviate uncertainty and anxiety may be appropriate.

In terms of the impact of the cuts to policing budgets and the changes and reforms proposed by either the Government or within the Winsor reviews officers held negative views. The report illustrates that officers who responded to the survey have a very poor view of the government. Officers appear to lack trust and confidence in the government and believe that the cuts being made to the police service will negatively impact on police resilience and their ability provide service to the public.

Similar views were expressed about the Winsor reviews, with respondents identifying that they see it as detrimental to the police service, as damaging morale and impacting on police identity. Police and Crime Commissioners were also broadly viewed negatively, both in terms of the lack of clarity over their role and also their potential for the politicisation of policing. Of the cuts and changes impacting on the police service it seems that officers are least in favour of changes to their pensions, increases in retirement age and the privatisation of the police service and most in favour of fitness testing, changes to the promotion system and role and skill based pay. Additionally, when discussing the public, respondents were concerned that their relationship with them will be weakened by the current changes and cuts and that the service they are able to provide to them will be worsened.

In terms of the job of a police officer today, the research identifies that officers would not consider joining the police today if they were starting over and would also not recommend a career in the police service to friends or family. Building on this, the report shows that nearly half of officers would consider voluntary severance and that over half would consider alternative employment. By way of contextualising these findings, officers also suggest that the sacrifices they make to be police officer's are no longer worth it, that there is low morale in the service and that they have concerns about the erosion of police officer goodwill.

The report also identifies that the police service is an organisation which creates a strong sense of identity for its members. Being a police officer forms a fundamental part of an individual's self concept. What happens to the police is therefore of great importance to them and subsequently can have both positive and negative impacts which transfer beyond simply when they are on duty. Interestingly the report also identifies that police organisational identity is important as it underpins officer's organisational citizenship behaviour. In other words it appears that the behavioural norms and rules that are consonant with police organisational identity are based on officer's willingness to go above and beyond what is contractually expected in order to get the job done. To put it another way, police organisational identity appears to support organisational citizenship behaviour (or goodwill) and so what happens to the police is not only of great importance to them in terms of self-esteem (their identity) but also in terms of behaviour. If police organisational identity is threatened or changed it could change what is normative identity consonant behaviour for the police from that which is based on goodwill to that which is based on work to rule.

This issue of police identity and organisational citizenship behaviour links into the final part of the report in which perceptions of leadership and change management were discussed. The report suggests that senior management engagement and the development of management procedures to address the uncertainty created by current changes is important so that officers feel both supported and protected by the senior ranks. By supporting and encouraging active engagement from officers in the change process itself senior management may be able to strengthen police organisational identity and thus increase police organisational citizenship behaviour. In a time of cuts and lack of resources having officers who are willing to go above and beyond the call of duty to get the job done could be an important means of successfully managing the changes, maintaining or increasing performance and providing the public with the service they expect.

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Appendix A

Survey Questionnaire

Police Federation - March 2013 Survey

Dear Colleagues

Please find below a link to a survey which we would be very grateful if you could complete. The survey is being undertaken by the University of the West of England (UWE) in order to develop a national data corpus from which to develop evidence about the numerous issues facing the police service in England and Wales today. UWE are extremely anxious to hear from you and to be able to represent your views in subsequent reports. The Police Federation and particularly the Constables Central Committee have helped facilitate UWE to conduct this research and the attached survey was developed from focus groups with police constables from around the country who identified some of the key issues which they believe are most pressing for the police today. These issues have been combined with recognised academic scales, for example on issues such as identity, to create the survey. The completed survey will be anonymous and no-one will be identified in any write up. The results will be analysed by Dr James Hoggett, Dr Paul White, Dr Deirdre Toher and Dr Paul Redford from the University of the West of England. Reports of the results will be prepared for the Police Federation. We would encourage you to complete the survey and are extremely grateful to you for your help. Please note that if you are completing the survey with others that your questions may be presented in a different order. For your information there will also be an opportunity to discuss issues raised in this survey with a member of the UWE research team as a series of focus groups will be conducted with forces around the country in the coming months. Thank you for your time and assistance

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

Police identity in a period of social, political and organisational change.

Please confirm that you understand and agree to the following:

I have read through the information on the previous page and received enough information about the research.   I understand that I can ask questions about the study after I have completed the study. I understand that I will never be personally identified in any report or write up that stems from this research, and that I will only be identifiable by a confidential ID number and my personal details will never be used in any report.   I am over the age of 18.   I understand that this information will be used only for the purpose set out on the information page, and my consent is conditional upon the University complying with its duties and obligations under the Data Protection Act. By consenting to take part in the study you are acknowledging that you understand that you are confirming to the agreement above.

Are you happy to consent to take part in this research?

❍ Yes
❍ No

You have not agreed to consent to the survey. You may have clicked this in error, please confirm whether you do or do not want to take part in the survey by completing the question below. If you click no, this will take you to the end of the survey.

Are you happy to consent to take part in this research?

❍ Yes
❍ No

Rank

❍ Police Constable
❍ Sergeant
❍ Inspector
❍ Chief Inspector

Challenge and Change

Please think about your identity as a police officer. Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
When someone criticises the police, it feels like a personal insult	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am very interested in what others think about the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
When I talk about the police, I usually say we rather than they	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The police's successes are my successes	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
When someone praises the police, it feels like a personal compliment	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
If a story in the media criticised the police, I would feed embarrassed	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

Please think about what you think the key role of the police should be in society. Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The job of the police is to fight crime	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The job of the police is to keep the peace	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The job of the police is to enforce the law	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The job of the police is to serve the public	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Policing is a vocation rather than a job	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I can walk away from my policing duties when off duty	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am effectively on duty 24/7	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Police officers are not motivated by money	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Policing is a clock in clock out job	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Challenge and Change

Please consider the relationship between the police and the government.Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The current government support the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am satisfied with the government cuts to police budgets	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The cuts will not impact on my ability to do my job	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The police are covering government cuts from other public services	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I have the resources to work effectively	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The police are under resourced	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I have confidence in the long term government plans for the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The cuts to policing budgets will not affect the resilience of the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
There is enough resilience in the police to cover specialist training	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Policing is being eroded into a political numbers game	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

The following questions focus on your thoughts about change and reform in the police. Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Some change is needed in the police	○	○	○	○	○
I am opposed to the current changes	○	○	○	○	○
I am opposed to police reform	○	○	○	○	○
Some police reform is needed	○	○	○	○	○
Change should be driven by people outside of the police	○	○	○	○	○
Change should be made in collaboration with the police	○	○	○	○	○
Proposed change and reform must be independent of the police	○	○	○	○	○
Proposed change and reform must be independent of politics	○	○	○	○	○
Current proposals for change and reform will give the upper hand to criminality	○	○	○	○	○

Challenge and Change

The following questions focus on your views on the Winsor Reports on police pay and conditions. Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am satisfied with the Winsor reviews of police pay and conditions	○	○	○	○	○
The recommendations of the Winsor reviews are fair in light of the current economic climate	○	○	○	○	○
The Winsor reviews of pay and conditions will negatively impact on my ability to do my job	○	○	○	○	○
The police are spending too much time sitting behind their desks doing 'two fingered typing' rather than fighting crime	○	○	○	○	○
The proposed changes in the Winsor reviews are leading to a demoralised police force	○	○	○	○	○
The aim of the Winsor recommendations is not to save money but to create a more efficient, productive, motivated and highly skilled workforce	○	○	○	○	○

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

This section asks you to consider what your thoughts are on a variety of issues currently faced by the police. Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The proposed change to police pensions is fair	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am angry about the changes to my pension	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The increase in the age of retirement is fair	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am angry about the proposed changes to the police retirement age	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Proposed changes to pay are fair	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Proposed changes to pay and conditions are going to force people to leave the service	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
It is easy to distinguish between front line, middle and back office officers	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Paying officers different amounts depending on their duties is fair	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Proposed reductions to police starting salaries will help to attract the right calibre of recruit to join the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
An annual fitness test for officers is a good idea	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am concerned about getting injured and failing a fitness test	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I will not put myself at risk in case I get injured	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern about fitness will have no effect on how I do my job	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The educational requirements for recruitment of constables should be increased	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Challenge and Change

The direct entry scheme is a good idea	○	○	○	○	○
The direct entry scheme will have a negative impact on my job	○	○	○	○	○
I would be happy to have someone with no police experience as my superior	○	○	○	○	○
Operational competence is vital for all police officers	○	○	○	○	○
In principle privatisation of policing is a good idea	○	○	○	○	○
Privatisation of policing will negatively impact the role of the police	○	○	○	○	○
I am confident that privatising police functions will be beneficial to the public	○	○	○	○	○
Private companies will serve their share holders not the public	○	○	○	○	○
Accountability is vital for the job of a police officer	○	○	○	○	○
Some jobs that the police are currently responsible for could be carried out by private companies	○	○	○	○	○
I support the move to Police and Crime Commissioners	○	○	○	○	○
My colleagues support the move to Police Crime Commissioners	○	○	○	○	○
Police Crime Commissioners will make the police more accountable	○	○	○	○	○

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

The following are a list of proposed reforms. Please can you re-order this list by dragging and dropping each issue into the order which represents those reforms which you are most in favour of (#1) to those which you are least in favour of (#10).You should end up with a list with those nearest the top are the changes that you are most in favour of (or object to least) down to the changes that you are least in favour of (object to most).

Changes to academic entry standards
Changes to contribution related pay
Changes to the direct entry scheme
Changes to fitness testing
Changes to police officer pensions
Privatisation of policing functions
Changes to restrictive duty and recuperative pay
Changes in role and skill based pay
Changes to the retirement age
The system of promotion

These questions concern your views on the relationships between the police and the public. Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The general public support the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The support of the general public has a positive impact on my job	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The general public understand what the police do	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Winsor's proposed changes to the police will negatively impact on the relationship with the general public	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The current and proposed changes to policing are in the public's best interest	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Challenge and Change

These questions focus on your thoughts on the job of a police officer today. Please mark your disagreement/agreement with the following statements

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would still join the police today if starting afresh	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I would encourage friends of family to join the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I am satisfied with my job	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
My morale in my job is high	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The morale of my colleagues is high	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The goodwill of police officers is essential to the success of the police	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The proposed changes to the police will not erode goodwill	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I make sacrifices to be a police officer	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
The sacrifices are still worth it	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I would consider Voluntary Severance	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I would consider looking for alternative employment	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I can still provide the service I want to	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
I can still do the job I want to	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

The following questions refer to the goodwill of officers to work with colleagues and the organisation. Please mark the appropriate box in relation to how often YOU engage in the following behaviours at work?

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	All of the Time
Help others who have been absent	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Willingly give your time to help others who have work related problems	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Adjust your work schedule to accommodate other officers requests for time off	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Go out of the way to make newer officers feel welcome in the work group	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Show genuine concern and courtesy toward colleagues, even under the most trying of work or personal situations	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Give up time to help others who have work or non work problems	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Assist others with their duties	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Share personal property with others to help their work	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Attend functions that are not required but help the organisational image	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Keep up with developments in the organisation	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Volunteer for extra work assignments	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Work more than you are paid for	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Show pride when representing the organisation in public	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Offer ideas to improve the functioning of the organisation	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Express loyalty toward the organisation	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Demonstrate concern about the image of the organisation	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Challenge and Change

You are now almost done. There are now just two open ended questions to go and then some demographic details.

Please state your THREE biggest hopes for the future of your job as a police officer in 2013?

Please state your THREE biggest concerns for the future of your job as a police officer in 2013?

Thanks for completing the main survey; we now just have a few questions so that we understand the people who have taken part better. These will never be used to personally identify you and will only be used for statistical purposes.

Sex

○ Male
○ Female

What is your age?

Drop down menu from 18 - 75 with 76+

Police Identity, Morale and Goodwill in an age of Austerity

How many years have you been in service?

○ Less than 1
○ 1-2
○ 3-5
○ 6-10
○ 11-15
○ 16-20
○ Over 20 years

Which ethnic group do you see yourself belonging to?

○ White - British
○ White - Irish
○ White - Any other white background
○ Mixed - White and Black Caribbean
○ Mixed - White and Black African
○ Mixed - White and Asian
○ Mixed - Any other mixed background
○ Asian or Asian British - Indian
○ Asian or Asian British - Pakistani
○ Asian or Asian British - Bangladeshi
○ Asian or Asian British - Any other Asian background
○ Black or Black British - Caribbean
○ Black or Black British - African
○ Black or Black British - Any other Black background
○ Chinese or other ethnic group - Chinese
○ Chinese or other ethnic group - Any other ethnic group
○ Prefer not to say

Challenge and Change

Which Police Force do you belong to? (Drop down list of forces in alphabetical order)

- ○ Avon and Somerset Constabulary
- ○ Bedfordshire Police
- ○ Cambridgeshire Constabulary
- ○ Cheshire Constabulary
- ○ City of London Police
- ○ Cleveland Police
- ○ Cumbria Constabulary
- ○ Derbyshire Constabulary
- ○ Devon and Cornwall Constabulary
- ○ Dorset Police
- ○ Durham Constabulary
- ○ Dyfed Powys Police
- ○ Essex Police
- ○ Gloucestershire Constabulary
- ○ Greater Manchester Police
- ○ Gwent Police
- ○ Hampshire Constabulary
- ○ Hertfordshire Constabulary
- ○ Humberside Police
- ○ Kent Police
- ○ Lancashire Constabulary
- ○ Leicestershire Constabulary
- ○ Lincolnshire Police
- ○ Merseyside Police
- ○ Metropolitan Police Service
- ○ Norfolk Constabulary
- ○ North Wales Police
- ○ North Yorkshire Police
- ○ Northamptonshire Police
- ○ Northumbria Police
- ○ Nottinghamshire Police
- ○ South Wales Police
- ○ South Yorkshire Police
- ○ Staffordshire Police
- ○ Suffolk Constabulary
- ○ Surrey Police
- ○ Sussex Police
- ○ Thames Valley Police

❍ Warwickshire Police
❍ West Mercia Police
❍ West Midlands Police
❍ West Yorkshire Police
❍ Wiltshire Constabulary

What was your highest educational qualification when you joined the police?

❍ O Levels/CSC/GCSE, Foundation Diploma, NVQ Level 1, Foundation GNVQ, or equivalent
❍ A Levels/VCEs, Higher School Certificate, Advanced Diploma, NVQ Level 3; Advanced GNVQ, or equivalent
❍ BSc/BA Degree, NVQ Level 4-5, HNC, HND, BTEC Higher level, or equivalent
❍ Higher degree (MA, MSc, PhD, MEd), Professional Qualification (e.g. teaching, accountancy) or equivalent
❍ Other qualification not stated

You have clicked "other qualification", please include qualification below.

What is your highest educational qualification now?

❍ O Levels/CSC/GCSE, Foundation Diploma, NVQ Level 1, Foundation GNVQ, or equivalent
❍ A Levels/VCEs, Higher School Certificate, Advanced Diploma, NVQ Level 3; Advanced GNVQ, or equivalent
❍ BSc/BA Degree, NVQ Level 4-5, HNC, HND, BTEC Higher level, or equivalent
❍ Higher degree (MA, MSc, PhD, MEd), Professional Qualification (e.g. teaching, accountancy) or equivalent
❍ Other qualification not stated

You have clicked "other qualification", please include qualification below.

Appendix B

Word searches and 'find results'

Officers three biggest Hopes	Officers three biggest concerns
Morale = 646	Morale = 723
Sacrifice = 121	Sacrifice = 145
Goodwill = 73	Goodwill = 198
Satisfaction = 101	Satisfaction = 67
Identity = 6	Identity = 30
Winsor = 475	Winsor657
ACPO = 111	ACPO = 130
Public = 2426	Public = 2000
Severance = 53	Severance = 139
Leaving = 1125	Leaving = 1589
Performance = 119	Performance = 78
Privatisation = 156 (+ privatization = 3)	Privatisation = 276
Pension = 3189	Pension = 4579
Fitness = 192	Fitness = 120
PCC = 249	PCC = 290
Government = 3623	Government = 4369
Struggling = 51	Struggling = 21
Safety = 99	Safety = 160
Resources = 503	Resources = 998
Resilience = 18	Resilience = 345
Retire = 753 (+ retirement = 878)	Retire = 467 (+ retirement = 388)
Future = 453	Future = 778
Redundancy = 160	Redundancy = 260
Corruption = 35	Corruption = 57
Pay = 3476	Pay = 4559
Conditions = 166	Conditions = 281
Role = 1669	Role = 1220
Change = 2742	Change = 3024
Media = 276	Media = 350
Reform = 727	Reform = 676
Culture = 76	Culture = 142
Education = 41	Education = 174
Rank = 338	Rank = 483
Support = 1473	Support = 1320
Management = 368	Management = 490
Leadership = 109	Leadership = 163