Police Decision-Making in Rape Investigations: Exploring the Barriers to Reform

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Abstract

The problem of attrition during the police investigation of rape has received much attention over time. As the gatekeepers to the Criminal Justice System, the police have a central role in the factors involved in attrition and, as a result, they have been subject to a number of reform and change programmes aimed at resolving this. Reviews exploring the ongoing problems have consistently found issues with the police response to rape and the high rate of attrition remains. This thesis investigates the key role of police decision making and the factors involved during a rape investigation. Officers' perspectives on the lack of successful change in this field is central to this work. The analysis presented draws on forty-eight semi-structured interviews with a range of officers who have involvement in the process of rape investigation in London. The research was undertaken over two time periods and explores the impact of change in this area of policing over time. The work draws on the theoretical ideas of Acker (1990), Sackmann (1991) and Bourdieu (1990) to explore the interview data and argues that the police organisation places increased credibility on certain gendered police tasks and outcomes. This impacts on officers' decision making within an investigation and the knowledge applied in this process. Achieving capital through involvement in this hierarchy of tasks allows officers to negotiate a sense of legitimacy as a professional police officer. The findings indicate that the capital attached to these tasks is reaffirmed by the presence of certain organisational processes and structures. In particular, performance management frameworks within the Metropolitan Police Service recreate a certain discourse about what constitutes both good policing and a professional police identity. The thesis explores the way in which these factors impact on reform agendas by examining the gendered nature of policing and how internal structures ensure its' strength is maintained.

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Glossary of Terms

Attrition

Attrition refers to the process of rape cases dropping out of the criminal justice system at one of a number of exit points. This might occur at the police stage, with the Crown Prosecution Service or in court.

No-criming

No criming refers to an allegation of a crime not being recorded as a crime by the authorities.

Judicial disposal

A Judicial Disposal is when a person is charged, summonsed or cautioned.

No Further Action (NFA)

No Further Action (NFA) means that the police are not taking any further action against anyone in relation to allegation. This decision is usually based upon the evidence available and may be reconsidered if additional evidence becomes available.

Abbreviations

CPS: Crown Prosecution Service

CCCU: Canterbury Christ Church University

CRIS: Crime Reporting Investigation System with Metropolitan Police Service

MPS: Metropolitan Police Service

HMIC: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of the Constabulary

BOCU: Borough Operation Command Unit

MOPAC: Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime

SARC: Sexual Assault Referral Centre

SOIT: Sexual Offence Investigative Trained (officer)

CID: Crime Investigation Department

NPM: New Public Management

ACPO: Association of Chief Police Officers

HMCPSI: Her Majesty's Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate

NPCC: National Police Chiefs Council

Chapter 1: Introduction

The problem of attrition in rape cases, particularly at the police stage of the criminal justice process, has been the focus of academic research for some time now. In the context of rape investigation, attrition refers to allegations of rape which do not lead to a charge or a prosecution. Feminist scholarship in the 1970s and 1980s sought to focus attention on the plight of women as victims of male violence (Brownmiller, 1976) and highlight the inadequate response of the criminal justice system toward its victims (Stanko, 1990). Since that time there has been a considerable growth in academic literature and policy interventions aimed at reducing the level of attrition in rape cases. Despite this, the problem of attrition continues to persist and remains high on both academic and policy agendas. Recently described as a 'wicked problem' and in need of further definition and understanding by Stanko (2017), this thesis explores the police role in relation to the ongoing issue of attrition in rape cases. Indeed, attrition in rape is highest at the beginning of a police investigation, with victim withdrawal accounting for a large proportion of these figures (Stern, 2010). As gatekeepers to the criminal justice system, the police and the decisions made by them play a pivotal role in the progression or non-progression of rape cases through the criminal justice system. More particularly, the aims of this thesis are to:

- Explore the working schema operating in police decision making during rape investigations
- Understand how officers interpret different contexts of sexual violence
- Identify the barriers to successful reform aimed at reducing the level of attrition
- Consider the role of performance measures used in cases of sexual violence and how they might impact on officer decision making
- Understand officers' perceptions of reform programmes in the context of police organisational culture
- Explore officers' involvement and role in the reform agenda around rape investigation

The thesis is based on the study of one police area, The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), and was conducted in two stages. Data was collected over two time periods;

the first between 2004 - 2005 and the second between 2016 - 2017. Given the extended time period upon which this study is based, the research affords a longitudinal insight into the policing of rape and change over time. The findings presented here are based on an analysis of forty-eight semi-structured interviews with police practitioners including response officers, investigating officers, Sexual Offence Investigation Officers (SOITs) and senior officers in more strategic positions dealing with central organisational factors relating to sexual violence. Furthermore, approximately two hundred hours of direct observation with response officers in London was undertaken in the first stage.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to situate my research within the wider context of both the academic and policy enquiries into the police investigation of rape. In doing so, the chapter emphasises the significance, originality and timeliness of my research. This introductory chapter is made up of four parts. The first part outlines the background to the study and explores the wider discourses on the policing of rape that led me to focus on this area. The second part explores my own background and motivation for undertaking the research. Over the course of this research, I have occupied a range of roles both within and outside the police, and, as a result, there is considerable complexity in relation to my status over the duration of this research. These changing researcher roles and how they have influenced my understanding of certain elements of the police organisation will be reflected upon here. The third part outlines the theoretical ideas that I have drawn upon in this thesis to make sense of my findings and the fourth and final part provides an outline of the structure of the overall thesis.

Background to the study

The problem of attrition is long-standing. Liz Kelly's work in 2001 clearly illustrated a long-term pattern of increasing reports of rape to the police in England and Wales and a comparatively static number of convictions. Kelly analysed data from 1977 and 1999. She found that in 1977, one in three reported rapes resulted in a conviction, by 1999 this had fallen to one in thirteen. Critically, Kelly considered these figures alongside other research which concluded that the real figure of attrition was far greater. Indeed, official statistics exclude allegations of rape that are no-crimed and fall out of the

criminal justice system at a very early stage (Gregory and Lees, 1999; Harris and Grace, 1999). Concerns regarding ineffective police practice in relation to the investigation process and decision making have been central to the work of feminist scholars exploring this subject since the 1970s (Kelly, 2001). Despite this work, their findings were not made visible to the general public and gained little traction within criminological discourses or police practice (Kelly, 2001).

The airing of Roger Graef's television documentary, '*A Complaint of Rape*' in 1982, showed a police interview with a rape victim by Thames Valley Police. The programme exposed the derogatory manner in which the police spoke to victims of sexual violence and a public outcry was subsequently promoted. As a consequence, a joint publication by the *Women's Aid Federation and Women against Rape* (cited in Horvarth et al, 2001: 6), made a case for detailed requirements to be present in police procedures in the investigation of rape. This resulted in the Home Office issuing a number of circulars (25/83 and 69/86) requiring the police to revise their procedures (Horvarth et al, 2009). At the same time in Scotland, the first piece of official research exploring attrition was commissioned and undertaken by Chambers and Millar (1983). Following this research, a number of policy changes were implemented across the United Kingdom in an attempt to address this issue. Nationally, many forces installed rape suites to conduct forensic examinations more sensitively: specially trained, predominately female officers were deployed to act as a liaison between the investigating team and the victim and the first Sexual Assault Referral Centre (SARC) was established in 1987 in St Mary's Hospital Manchester. Despite these interventions, considerable academic research has found that the problems with attrition and the care of victims remain (Gregory and Lees, 1999; Temkin and Krahe, 2008; The Angiolini Review, 2015).

Many of these reforms were implemented during the 1980s. This corresponded with the time period when much of the public sector, including the police, had become subject to techniques of 'new managerialism' (Reiner, 1998). Accountability became associated with performance targets, league tables, formal evaluations and 'what works' research. Subsequently, statistical overviews outlining which areas, teams and forces were achieving their targets around particular crimes became routine within police organisations. As Shearing and Ericson (1991) suggest, this ran parallel with

attempts to apply scientific approaches to police work, and to make policing more logical and accountable. The societal and governmental drive to understand and manage risk in a more effective, evidenced and rational manner was in line with a neo-liberalist political agenda which placed individual responsibility at its core.

This was reflected in the style of performance measures that were subsequently imposed and remain in policing. Reviews examining the police investigation of rape suggest that the current performance culture within the organisation needs to be considered in the debate about attrition, particularly with regard to how these structures might influence forms of unethical behaviour to achieve the results required (*The Angiolini Review*, 2015). Indeed, as Fleming and Scott (2008: 330) notes, performance measurement is a useful management tool when used sensibly. If used 'uncreatively, it can distort policing and lead to mechanistic responses'. This is important to the rationale of this thesis as it was the disparity in performance figures for rape across London that led to the commissioning of *The Metropolitan Police Service Rape Review* (Stanko, 2007). This review has significantly impacted on the development of the arguments presented in this thesis. *The Rape Review* offered a longitudinal study on attrition which started in 2006. Consistently, over time, the findings have evidenced a number of vulnerable characteristics present in the rape cases reported in London. Furthermore, the research explored the relationship these characteristics had with attrition rates and suggested that losing cases at the police stage might not be about rape per se. Rather, it is linked to certain types of rape cases entering the criminal justice system, involving victims categorised as vulnerable (Stanko, 2007).

The recommendations from this review provided more practical, useful research evidence than had been found in previous work. However, it left absent the voice of the police practitioners and their perceptions of this process. Critical questions about the drivers of decision making applied during an investigation remained unanswered and problems with attrition continued (Williams and Stanko, 2016; MOPAC, 2017). Understanding how the decision-making process is negotiated by officers and exploring what knowledge is used during rape investigations, and why, is central to

this thesis. Such factors relate to the type of knowledge considered as expert and credible within this area of policing and the impact the use of such knowledge might have on the negotiation of a legitimate police identity. As Sklansky (2008) notes, the impact of change is likely to be limited when officers perceive reform to be top-down and irrelevant to, or neglectful of, their own lived experiences. Therefore, capturing their narratives in this debate is pivotal.

Established in 2013, the College of Policing has been driving forward a professionalisation agenda. The agenda is largely focused on expanding and changing what constitutes police knowledge through the standardisation of police training and education. A Code of Ethics has been implemented nationally, there is a drive to embed an evidence-based approach to policing and collaborations between universities and the police is being encouraged (College of Policing, 2015). One of the justifications for this development was the inconsistency in service delivery across England and Wales. Hence, the findings presented in this thesis are both timely and key to the debate about broader challenges to reform in policing. Considering the persistent and ongoing absence of any significant change in this contentious area (Hohl and Stanko, 2015) and the recent move to further professionalise the police, exploring the type of knowledge applied in rape investigation is central to this thesis.

As Fleming (2015) argues, police officers remain very wary of academic research as a starting point for developing their understanding of a given policing problem. They feel much more comfortable reflecting upon their own experiences as relevant knowledge. Much of the discussion about police professionalism relates to the dialogue about what counts as legitimate knowledge in the policing sphere (Sklansky, 2014). Paradoxically, in this specific context, the concept of what currently does constitute professional knowledge has yet to be explored with officers themselves. Wood and Williams (2016) suggest that evidence-based policing can promote a view of police work which refutes the importance of police officer discretion. Discretion, according to many writers on police culture (Reiner 2010; Chan, 1997), has been instrumental in delivering policing on the streets and is integral to police work and police identity. One of the challenges to embedding what Eraut (2000) refers to as 'codified' research knowledge in policing is fostered by officers' perceptions of the

professionalisation agenda undermining their own personal sense of professionalism, discretion (Bittner, 1978), craft knowledge and identity (Hesketh and Williams, 2017). This is central to the debate about rape attrition and the level of care delivered to victims of crime. Reviews continue to find that victims experience a lottery of service delivery and achieved outcomes (*The Angiolini Review*, 2015). Sufficient understanding of what drives this lottery is lacking.

The notion of police legitimacy is also key to the College of Policing's agenda. Suchman (1995:574) defines legitimacy as 'a generalised perception or assumption that actions are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions'. His breakdown of the term legitimacy is important for this research, particularly what he defines as 'pragmatic legitimacy', 'moral legitimacy' and 'cognitive legitimacy'. Pragmatic legitimacy is based on interest and can involve an indication of 'organisational willingness to relinquish some measure of authority to the affected audience' and that 'displaying such responsiveness is often more important (and easier) than producing immediate results' (578). Moral legitimacy is normally based on what is perceived as right, and cognitive legitimacy is based on taken-for-granted cultural accounts. Reviewing the links between, and subsequent dependencies of, these three forms of legitimacy is important to understanding change in this field. Given the continuity of negative reviews and limited change in rape investigations, the notion of legitimacy is key and features heavily in this thesis.

Indeed, the ongoing significance of the research outlined in this thesis was highlighted in events concerning the investigation of rape and treatment of rape victims during 2018. Media coverage concerning the increasing time delays experienced by victims of rape awaiting court, potential miscarriages of justice resulting from police failures to disclose certain information in rape cases and the ineffective support for victims in the case of taxi driver, John Worboys[1], are important examples. These issues further illustrate the prevalence of the concerns and the threat such coverage has to police legitimacy. In focussing on the narratives of police practitioners themselves, this thesis

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[1] See for example: https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/jan/05/john-worboys-release-distressingforvictims-says-parole-board-chair https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2018/01/05/parole-board-mustpublish-reasons-allowing-black-cabrapist/

gives voice to their experiences of dealing with, and making decisions, in cases of sexual violence. It also considers the context within which officers undertake their work by offering insights into broader police reform and the challenges and opportunities that this brings.

As this work was developed in two stages, it is also worth noting that the police, as an organisation, have undergone severe cuts to their budgets as a result of austerity (Millie, 2013). Consequently, they have experienced reductions to both financial and human resources at a time when demand is rising and becoming increasingly complex. During the first stage of this research these factors were not an issue. Therefore, the context of the climate within which these officers are working has changed over the eleven years that I had away from the thesis. The thesis is based on the study of one police area, The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). Whilst The *MPS Rape Review* (Stanko, 2007) had a significant impact on this study in a variety of different ways, the reasons for choosing the MPS are multifaceted and relate largely to my own position within the organisation over the time that the research was conducted. My own changing role during this work is outlined below.

My changing status and its influence on the research

According to the Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime (MOPAC) (2017), rape attrition rates are worst in London with, on average, 46% of allegations resulting in an unsuccessful outcome. 23% of all unsuccessful rape outcomes are due to issues relating to the victim and this is compared to 18% for England and Wales as a whole. These issues relate to victim withdrawal (14%), evidence that the victim does not support the case (6.9%) and victims not attending court (2%). This is despite long-term research within the MPS and a number of internal and external reviews to examine these issues in more depth (Stanko, 2007; The Angiolini Review, 2015).

The uniqueness of the research presented here relates to it being conducted in two stages over eleven years. The first period of the research was prior to the commissioning of the *MPS Rape Review* and the second period was following its publication. While Chapter Four provides a more detailed explanation of the

longitudinal aspect of this work and my relationship with the organisation during that time frame, the fact that my status as a researcher evolved over this period of time is worth alluding to here.

This feature of the research impacted significantly on my own knowledge of both the problem of attrition and the organisational factors potentially influencing its continuity. When the research started I was a researcher within the MPS and was working on the research programme centred on rape investigation. There has been significant work conducted in the MPS on attrition in which I was personally involved during my career in the organisation between 2001 and 2012. I started my career in the MPS in 2001 working within the specialist rape unit, Project Sapphire. The Project had recently been established as a result of ongoing criticism in London about the attrition figures and the care of victims. The Project aimed to provide each Borough Operational Command Unit (BOCU) with a dedicated Project Sapphire team. The team consisted of both investigating officers and SOITs. The aim was to improve both the service provided to victims of rape and, in turn, attrition.

I worked on two major pieces of rape research during my time within the MPS research unit. The Project Sapphire senior team commissioned the first piece of research in 2003 following concerns about the number of withdrawal statements occurring in London, after an allegation of rape. This piece of research, '*Project Sapphire Report – Victim Withdrawal*' (Williams, 2004), involved a detailed exploration into the reasons for victim withdrawals, including interviews with nineteen women. The research found that the majority of these women had one or more vulnerable characteristics: mental ill health, drug and/or alcohol addiction or they had previously been in a relationship with the accused. Some of these women expressed that they had felt pressured by officers involved in the investigation to withdraw their allegation. However, due to the sample size, the recommendations were not effectively supported or acknowledged within the MPS. This previous research, and the link it has to this thesis, is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

The second piece of research that I was involved in was the '*MPS Rape Review: The Attrition of Rape in London*' (Stanko, 2007). This was a wider scale rape review examining victim typologies and the factors involved in attrition. The research was originally contracted to capture and share 'good practice' from those out of the thirty-

two Borough Operational Command Units (BOCUs) with the highest rate of judicial disposals, which were, and continue to be, used as the key performance measure for rape in London. Whilst Project Sapphire was established to deal with both attrition figures and victim care, the key performance measures ignored the victim care element of the Project. Given previous academic evidence on the use of targets and decision making, the research team involved made a decision to review all of the rape allegations made in London during a specific time frame, collate information on the characteristics involved in that rape case and review which cases ended up leaving the criminal justice system.

The *MPS Rape Review* sought to enhance the debate in this area by moving it on from simply being concerned with the number of cases leaving the Criminal Justice System to what type of cases were leaving. Within the contemporary debate about evidence-based policing, quantitative approaches are often perceived as the best available evidence within the research methods hierarchy. They are considered by some criminologists and police researchers to deliver more valid 'truths' based on the collection of objective scientific data (Bryman, 2012). Conversely, other scholars, such as Wood and Williams (2016) and Fleming and Scott (2008), suggest that such methods leave absent the important questions such as how and why such outcomes occur. Similarly, in Australia much of the research has heavily relied on a statistical analysis of data. Researchers there have also made reference to the need for more qualitative research to understand victim experiences and police decision making when investigating these crimes. Without this, they claim, a thorough definition of the problem remains unlikely and therefore reform and solutions will not be effectively applied (Fitzgerald, 2006). In the context of the research presented in this thesis, examining these broader questions through practitioner narratives is essential. The more qualitative approach presented here enables the data presented in the *MPS Rape Review* to be further contextualised, understood and explained from the perspective of practitioners.

Professionalisation and evidence-based knowledge is hugely relevant to my own background in this area of policing, and during the second phase of the work, my researcher status had changed significantly. In 2012 I left the MPS and started working as an academic in a policing department of a university. Therefore, whilst I continued

to be very much involved in the policing agenda, I was no longer employed by the organisation. I had chosen to interrupt my thesis for a number of personal reasons but had remained very much involved in the policing research world during this break from studies. During the second stage of the research, I was further embroiled in the professionalisation agenda through my teaching role. However, my experience as an academic researcher in the MPS had given me a vast amount of contextual knowledge, which continued to shape the research in this second phase. Within the MPS, I had been involved in conducting operational research and attempting to embed it into police practice. This made me increasingly aware of the operational demands police officers face, the issues with victim withdrawal, attrition rates and the extreme complexity of this area of police work.

These factors coupled with my time spent 'inside' the police, allowed me to reflect on how the role of the individual officer, and their decision-making processes during a rape investigation, was vastly influenced by wider contextual issues. These factors arise from being an actor operating in a wider organisation and a criminal justice system with its own processes, rituals and culture. Previous work on rape has pointed to the issue of consent and the credibility of the victim as two of the most critical factors involved in the complexity of decision making during an investigation (Jordan, 2011; Hohl and Stanko, 2015; Munro and Kelly, 2009). This previous research opened up a number of wider debates within its analysis, including the potential impact of rape myths on police decision making, gendered notions of deserving victims and societal perceptions of what constitutes acceptable female behaviour. Whilst such factors have previously been considered in relation to the masculine nature of police culture and the gendered nature of policing roles within policing, there has been limited consideration to the involvement of other organisational features in this field. Issues such as what is considered important in police work, police performance structures and what constitutes a valued police role, may reinforce and sustain the dominance of such gendered factors in the organisation. Furthermore, this may impact on decision making. These organisational and cultural features are strongly linked to the aims of this research and the theoretical approaches used within the analysis. It is argued that, the social relationships operating within policing between the organisation and the practitioners, and the impact they have on the success of change, will remain

unexplored in this debate without a considered analysis of these important issues. My changing researcher status during the research offered me real, practical insights to consider alongside the relevant police literature required for this research.

What constitutes police culture is a consistently contested concept and has been integral to many police debates (Chan, 1997). The gendered nature of this culture and what is valued within that cultural space is core to this thesis. Silvestri (2003) describes how a commitment to policing is demonstrated through specific symbols which provide officers with certain forms of symbolic capital. Such approbation provides credibility to officers and enhances their personal sense of police identity. This can be achieved through the type of work officers are involved in and the access that work provides them to gaining such capital and ascribed status. This may enhance their own sense of credibility as a professional police officer. Westmarland (2001) describes this in the context of specific female assigned police roles, such as dealing with victims, and the softer skilled roles aligned with police work.

Recognising the importance of these concepts is central to this thesis. King et al (2010) argue that individuals and organisations are given status as such, via various internal and external audiences' expectations of them as professionals. Subsequently, these audiences then hold them to account for their actions. Considering this concept, this research views the police organisation itself as having a key role in decision making during a rape investigation. It negates the argument that decisions sit simply with the individual officer. Rather, certain organisational structures influence these decisions. As a result of my time in the MPS, I argue that without understanding the role of the organisation as a social actor, and the influence the workplace has on employees' actions, it can only be assumed that decisions are isolated and made purely as a result of an individual's subjective knowledge (King et al, 2010). As Bevir and Rhodes argue (2006. cited in Wood et al, 2008:73), 'individuals do not exist outside of a particular social context(s); they are situated in that context rather than fully autonomous agents'. Understanding how officers evaluate the impact of this on their own perceived legitimacy, credibility and ability to gain symbolic capital is a core part of this thesis. The research aims to bring this narrative into the policing and rape debates as the current literature broadly overlooks its relevance.

In order to effectively review these issues in depth, predominantly from the viewpoint of the practitioner, this research will draw on a qualitative, sociological enquiry approach. Much of the research conducted in policing at the current time is quantitatively focused and preoccupied with 'what works' in policing and crime prevention. Whilst this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, critiques of this suggest that such methodologies are politically motivated and ignore the voice of the practitioner (Hesketh and Williams, 2017; Fleming and Rhodes, 2018; Punch, 2015). Therefore, although the 'what works' agenda is important to policing, particularly during austerity, so is 'what matters' (Diijk et al., 2015). For example, the policy obsession with 'what works' in crime prevention leaves non crime-fighting police functions, such as victim care, on the back stage. Such a focus can reinforce the dominant paradigm of policing as primarily a crime fighting role. Therefore, this thesis has 'what matters' at the heart of its enquiry. I will consider the extent to which the officer's voice is incorporated into this debate both around the understanding of decision making and in terms of their views on reform.

There is currently much discourse regarding police leadership styles and the importance of engaging in participatory and fair management behaviour. Officers' sense of organisational justice impacts on their willingness to buy in to reform and change, and this is particularly limited if they have been ignored in the reasoning for that change (Bradford and Quinton, 2014). This work presents a far more nuanced approach to reviewing the barriers to successful reform aimed at reducing the level of attrition. By applying the theories of Acker (1990), Sackmann (1991) and Bourdieu (1990; 1991) and through the chosen methodology, the work explores this subject from a new perspective. The thesis considers a number of both individual and organisational settings that are highly significant in this debate and locates the practitioners and their decisions in the wider context of their place in the police organisation. The work therefore provides a more detailed and collective interpretation of this area of policing by analysing the perspectives of those involved, in conjunction with previous academic research. Using my knowledge of working in the MPS and my involvement in the *MPS Rape Review* (Stanko, 2007), together with the experience I have gained in my recent role as a policing academic, I will add the critical element of human agency to this narrative. I will also consider the complex interplay of these

factors within the context of rape investigation, the development and reinforcement of very different notions of professional knowledge and provide an analysis of what policing values as capital building, both within the occupational culture and by peers within the workplace.

Theoretical Approach

There are primarily three different theoretical perspectives utilised in the thesis drawing on a range of disciplinary areas including, organisational studies, gender studies and policing. Firstly, Bourdieu's (1990) concepts of the 'field' and the 'habitus' provides a useful framework within which to explore the wider social relationships operating within the policing field. This is considered in conjunction with Ackers' ideas on gendered organisations (1990) and the arguments presented by the organisational theorist, Sackmann (1991), on the development of differing forms of knowledge within organisations. Bourdieu (1991: 14) describes the field as 'a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or 'capital'. The social positioning of individuals within the field depends upon the maintenance and achievement of certain forms of capital. Most notably, for the purpose of my research, I will use his notion of cultural capital and the link this has to the establishment of symbolic capital. There is a clear relationship between these two forms in that symbolic capital is 'commonly called prestige, reputation, fame, etc., which is the form assumed by these different kinds of capital when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1991:230). Cultural capital relates to the valued knowledge and skills operating within the field which might be applied to achieve the symbolic capital required. Such capital, defines the state of the relations of power, institutionalised in durable social statuses that are socially recognised or legally guaranteed, between agents who are objectively defined by their position within these relations: this form determines the actual or potential powers in different fields and the chances of access to specific profits they procure (Bourdieu, 1991: 231).

He suggests that the habitus which operates within the field is 'a product of history and produces individual and collective practices – more history - in accordance with the schemes generated by history'. Furthermore, it can 'guarantee correctness of

practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms' (p. 54). The habitus can impact on certain individual and collective behaviours and actions. The application of particular thoughts and perceptions can historically certify a predetermined form of accepted practice which is recreated through the actions of the agents themselves. These concepts can be related and applied directly to the way in which officers actively reinforce the traditional police culture. In her analysis of policing and organisational change, Chan (1997) argues that much of the literature concerning police culture neglects the role of officers as active agents and as enablers of change and transformation. This thesis concurs and argues that a similar neglect of human agency and the relationships that exist within the policing field between the practitioners and the organisation leaves absent an analysis of how the police habitus or culture is recreated and confirmed in various ways. By using Bourdieu's ideas within the analysis, a more comprehensive explanation of why reform is so complex and challenging is provided.

I argue here that police officers are active in the reconstruction of gendered power relations within the organisation as they strive to achieve certain outcomes and gain organisational legitimacy within the 'field'. This may be through their involvement in particular roles and through distancing themselves from other tasks which are seen to be lower down the hierarchy in terms of status and capital attainment. The concept of policing as a gendered field is explored through the lens of Acker's (1990) theory on gendered institutions. Acker (1990) argues that gender is an integral part of any institution. Subtle gendered processes can impact on the division of labour, employees' accessibility to physical and working spaces within an institution and, consequently, their access to the type of tasks that facilitate the achievement of such capital described above. Acker also describes how certain images and symbols can reinforce gendered divisions operating within a workplace and can offer staff status within their environment.

Applying these ideas to the way in which policing rates certain tasks as more credible, is key for this thesis. I apply Acker's (1990) ideas to argue that practitioners play an active role in recreating, maintaining and preserving the dominant ideology that policing is primarily a masculine occupation and values certain action-based, masculine tasks more highly than other skills required in the field. Acker (p. 147) refers

to these symbolic actions as serving to preserve a certain 'organisational logic' that appears to be gender neutral in its approach. However, subtle frameworks, designed and produced by the organisation itself, can install particular notions of how to evaluate jobs, which remain grounded in gendered power dynamics. In relation to the policing of rape and the role of officers who investigate it, understanding this is vital. I argue that certain reforms implemented to promote change within the police around victim care paradoxically serve to reinstate the value of certain masculine outcomes in policing that are focused on attaining an arrest of an offender over the process of human interaction. Considering the research aim focused on the potential impact of a performance culture in this field, understanding this is fundamental. Using Acker's work within the analysis has allowed me to develop a rich understanding of the type of hegemonic masculine behaviours officers aspire to when establishing credibility within the workplace and how this can impact on levels of attrition.   Finally, in order to effectively consider the role that organisational structures have on instilling and maintaining the dominant policing discourse and limiting the success of reforms, I apply the works of the organisational theorist, Sackmann (1991). Sackmann's arguments are particularly relevant to my aim to better understand the processes of change and reform. She argues that workplace culture is recreated by practitioners and that cultural perceptions are 'socially created, maintained, changed and perpetuated' (p. 41).

Sackmann's notions of how differing forms of knowledge operate in organisations, and how they are applied in decision making, offers insight into the relationship between the structure of the police environment and individual agency. This is central to this thesis, particularly in order to explore officers' working schema in decision making. Sackmann explains how particular behaviours and actions can permeate cultural knowledge and affirm a particular form of social reality which is then, collectively, reproduced. Her notion of 'cultural synergism' (p. 92) explores how people working within an organisation may appear to be functioning at an individual level. However, workers can essentially apply the same processes to their work which results in their actions being similar. Sackmann's notion of axiomatic knowledge, which portrays organisational purpose and strategy, and dictionary knowledge, which is applied in order to achieve this purpose, is key to understanding change in organisations. In

terms of exploring that information and knowledge officers draw on to make decisions in rape investigations and how this becomes embedded, Sackmann's ideas have been imperative to exploring the aims of this research. Her analysis of different forms of knowledge which operate within different areas of organisations can further explain the complexity of reform in this area and the concept of professionalism more widely. What is considered as axiomatic knowledge at the top end of an organisation can dictate to the outside world what is being done to legitimise an organisational response to an issue: in this case the presentation of what is being done internally to improve the police response to rape. By further exploring the way that directory knowledge, retained in the culture, remains intact, the debate regarding inhibiters of change in this field can be developed. These notions of cultural construction provide a deeper level of analysis into this area of policing by considering how organisational norms are reinforced and sustained through organisational processes. When considered collectively, these theoretical approaches contribute to a deeper analysis of the concept of police professionalism and the constitution of valid knowledge within the policing field.

Thesis structure

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter Two and Chapter Three outline the current literature in the field of policing relevant to this work. Chapter Two documents what we know about the complex problem of attrition in rape investigations and provides detail about the scope and longevity of this problem. I outline the current debates and review the suggested reasons for its continuity. This chapter will summarise, in further detail, the research conducted in London around victim typologies and how those reporting rape to the police contrast with notions of the ideal victim. It addresses the literature concerning the problems with the policing environment itself and the links these factors have on the success of any potential change. Literature about the gendered nature of the police, and how it manifests itself in the organisation, will also be discussed alongside the debates about what matters in policing. This will further address issues such as credibility and what can facilitate the attainment of symbolic capital within policing. An examination of police discretion

and the type of information and knowledge that officers draw on is fundamental to this thesis and will be outlined here.

Chapter Three details the steps taken both previously and more recently in policing to reform and address the inconsistency and ongoing problems in this space. This includes an overview of the current, wider professionalisation agenda in policing and the move to embed evidence-based policing as a standard method to be applied in decision making within police business. The chapter provides some background relating to the complex relationship researchers have had with the police over time and the complexities with what is considered as legitimate knowledge in policing amongst the front line.

Chapter Four describes the chosen methodology for this work and the research aims. The evident gaps in the current literature shaped the decisions regarding the selected techniques and aims and the rationale for the chosen methodology is outlined here. The chapter reflects on both the strengths and weaknesses of the methods used. I also provide a more detailed overview of the impact that my own changing position, from an inside police researcher at the start of this investigation to my current role as an academic in a university environment, has had on this thesis and outline the ethical issues that arose during this research.

Chapters Five to Chapter Seven report the findings of this research. The first of these chapters will consider the crime of sexual violence within the context of police prioritisation and the way in which officers' perceptions of peer opinion interact with stereotypical notions of what policing is and what is an effective outcome. By drawing on both observations of response officers and interview data, I outline how these prioritisation processes impact on the way that the crime of rape is viewed by the organisation from the start of a police career, and the amount of credibility associated with delivering a service to a victim of crime effectively. The analysis describes the way in which officers construct their police identity based on perceptions of what counts as credible within the field and subsequently what provides them access to various forms of capital.

Chapter Six extends this analysis and explores the way in which organisational processes and structures reinforce notions of symbolic capital and legitimate police work. These processes may result from attempts to gain legitimacy from the external world about the change being implemented through the use of visible and transparent measures of performance. By supporting the perception that such achievements of capital facilitate organisational credibility and legitimacy, the police workplace plays as much of a role in reinforcing and sustaining a particular culture. Furthermore, this maintains the credibility of the knowledge operating within that culture. This is discussed in the context of the way in which these issues preserve the perception that certain roles within policing are more highly valued and legitimised by the organisation, and how this interacts with the development of a credible professional police identity. I use this to further the debate about ongoing issues with attrition, the knowledge applied in decision-making processes and the wider success of rape reform programmes.

Chapter Seven critically considers the role of knowledge and what constitutes credible and cultural knowledge within policing. This chapter explores how officers involved in the area of rape investigation glean information about such a complex area of police work and how the use of this knowledge constructs and influences their own sense of professional identity. This intersects with how officers feel they are valued by the organisation, based on the achievement of particular outcomes promoted in the workplace as a measure of success. The implications of this in terms of how an officer maintains their own credibility and accesses symbolic capital is also outlined. The role of the central Project Sapphire unit is pivotal to this chapter because of the responsibility it has for reviewing cases, decision making and ensuring accountability. This is presented alongside a discussion about professionalism and the organisational learning required for genuine institutional change to occur.

The final chapter concludes this thesis by relaying the key findings and relating them to the original research aims. The chapter locates the findings within the current debate around rape investigation and outlines the key and original arguments revealed in this research. The findings identified in this work significantly contribute to the current debate about attrition, change and police decision making. The chapter also considers

the implications of this research and offers some recommendations for the MPS in relation to embedding real change within this policing field.

The next chapter provides a review of the current literature available on the policing of rape.

Chapter 2: The problem of attrition and the problem of policing

This chapter provides an overview of the current literature on rape investigation and attrition. Exploring the extent to which the problem of attrition has remained consistent and constant over time is critical given the research aims of this thesis. This chapter is made up of two parts.

The first section focuses on the research exploring the complex nature of attrition in rape and the problematic relationship that exists between policing and successful criminal justice outcomes in allegations of sexual crimes. There is, and has been over many years, a considerable difference in the number of rape cases reported to the police and the number which culminate in a referral to the CPS for further review. Some of the complex reasons for this problematic relationship are outlined here. This includes the notion of what constitutes a perfect victim and how this contradicts and conflicts with the reality of those victims that report rape in London.

The second section considers this complexity in the context of the police organisation, which is characterised by a gendered occupational culture that places higher value on certain police work over others. The concept of police performance is outlined and notions of police legitimacy are introduced. This includes a discussion around the extent to which particular behaviours and outcomes are viewed as credible and exemplified as 'good policing' by the operational culture. Understanding the way in which officers prioritise their work in the area of rape investigation is key. The discussion is situated in the debate about policing being a gendered institution which reinforces particular cultural norms. This section also introduces the discussion about credible knowledge and how it is used by officers within decision making.

The Problem of Attrition, rape myths and the ideal victim

Taylor and Gassner (2010) highlight that in Australia, Europe and the UK sexual offences have the lowest conviction rates in comparison with other crime types. Research since the 1970s has repeatedly emphasised that the reasons for the continuing high levels of attrition in cases of rape are complex and long-standing

(Horvarth et al, 2011). Such complexities relate to the concept of rape myths, what constitutes real rape and depictions of a 'perfect victim'. This section begins by discussing the notion of rape myths, real rape and perfect victims and will illustrate that the typology of victims who report rape rarely meet that ideal. Hohl and Stanko (2015) highlight that the UK has the lowest conviction rate for rape cases in Europe and that rape is also one of the most under-reported crimes. One of the factors involved in the rate of attrition might be explained by the presence of rape myths, which present 'real' rape victims as those that report to the police as soon as the offence has occurred. These cases will also exhibit physical evidence of their assault (Hohl & Stanko, 2015). The idea of rape myths was first discussed as a concept by feminist academics in the 1970s. They were described as certain cultural beliefs which supported patriarchy and male sexual violence against women (Brownmiller, 1975; Kelly, 1988). Bohner (1998:14) defines rape myths as 'descriptive or prescriptive beliefs about rape (i.e. about its causes, context, consequences, perpetrators, victims and their interactions) that serve to deny, downplay or justify the sexual violence that men commit against women'. The result of such myths lead to victims being blamed for their own victimisation. Furthermore, the absence of convictions in cases of rape can support such myths and reinforce ideas that women fabricate narratives of assault. This is particularly important in a culture where storytelling and narratives form a large part of 'on the job' learning for officers (Chan, 1997).

Rape myths serve many purposes, including blaming the victim whilst exonerating the perpetrator from responsibility and intimating that the victim is to blame for their victimisation. They can also provide justification for rapes committed by men who are known to their victims (Parratt and Pina, 2017). Whilst there is limited research on the use of rape myths by the police during an investigation, Grubb and Turner (2012. cited in Parrett and Pina, 2017: 69) suggest that they could have a significant impact on (1) how victims of rape are perceived, (2) how victims of rape are treated, and (3) the dissemination of a cultural acceptance of rape and a rape-supportive society. These sorts of attitudes towards rape can confirm to women that they have been active within the violation and this can contribute to their reluctance to report (Brown and Horvarth, 2009).

In 1983 Chambers and Millar (1983. cited in Gregory and Lees, 1999: 5-6) interviewed seventy women who had reported rape to the police and found that the majority considered the techniques applied unsympathetic and tactless. The researchers highlighted that the techniques were inappropriate, were based on suspicion and notions of fabrication and that such treatment actively discouraged women from opening up and voicing accounts of what had happened. They concluded that the police were ultimately trying to prove that victims were wrong and training on interviewing skills was required along with more systematic methods to keep victims informed about the progress of their case. More recent research conducted for the MPS concluded that women were often encouraged to withdraw from the process due to particular difficulties that the context of the assault presented ('*Project Sapphire Report – Victim Withdrawal*', 2004). Taylor and Gassner (2010) report similar problems with victim withdrawal in Australia and how seriously it impacts on the progression of cases through the system.

The issue and strength of rape myths is also prevalent in the media's reporting of rape and campaigns aimed at trying to prevent rape (Kitzinger, 2009), rape investigation (Jordan, 2004; Gregory and Lees, 1999) and jurors' perceptions of credibility (Finch and Munro, 2006). A thread that seems to be consistent within this literature is the presence of complex characteristics that create challenges to the genuineness of the victim's story: a lack of physical evidence; the involvement of drugs or alcohol in the violation; the victim's previous history; whether the victim had been involved in a previous relationship with the suspect, and whether the victim had made a complaint to the police before (Gregory and Lees; 1999; Munro and Kelly; 2009). All of the women that I interviewed for the research in MPS (Williams et al, 2009) expressed doubts about even reporting the crime in the first instance. When the perceived reaction from the investigating officer involved was an allusion to their case potentially not culminating in a successful criminal justice outcome, their fears were confirmed. Subsequently, women actively 'chose' to withdraw their complaints. Considering the type of cases that challenge case credibility and, conversely, those viewed as credible is critical within this debate. Jordan (2008) found that the women interviewed for her research felt judged by dominant rape myths about gendered violence. Jordan goes on to explain that in the New Zealand context, police decision making can be

influenced by a range of subjective factors about a victim's perceived credibility. This may ultimately result in investigations being closed down at an early stage. This finding is in line with research by Taylor and Gassner (2010) that suggests that attrition is most likely to occur at the investigation stage. Jordan (2004:135) states that 'a dominant mind-set of suspicion underlying police responses to reports of sexual offence' continues to exist.

This mirrors research conducted by other scholars in this field who have studied the issue of what constitutes 'real' rape (Estrich, 1987; Jordan, 2004; Horvarth and Brown, 2009). In relation to the investigation of sexual crimes, research has consistently found that in cases where a form of relationship existed between the complainant and the suspect prior to the assault, a no-crimed outcome is more likely (Gregory and Lees, 1999). Moreover, victims' accounts of being disbelieved have included references to their dress code or to behaving in a way that suggested they 'asked for it'. Discussion in rape prevention campaigns now seem to focus more on safety and the inclusion of alcohol and/or drugs in the reporting of a rape (Munro and Kelly, 2009). However, it seems that these issues continue to be viewed in the context of what is, and what is not, gender appropriate behaviour and what constitutes a real victim of rape. Much is written in the media about date rape for example, where women are depicted as liars and, at the same time, there is regular discussion about innocent boys being ruined by such lies (Gruber, 2009; Kitzinger, 2009). In reality, 2-6% of rape allegations are defined as being false across Europe (Kelly and Lovett, 2009) and, more recently, the CPS (2013) confirmed that false allegations remain rare. Such discussions about allegations of rape involving a high level of false claims can reinforce a powerful narrative upon which rape mythology can be secured and recreated. Brown and Horvath (2009: 322) describe the impact of these myths on the criminal justice process and on victims, noting that 'rape myths become part of a self-supporting system whereby the absence of convictions supports the belief that women falsify claims or men's behaviour does not justify the charge'. McMillan (2018) found that whilst there was progress in how officers respond to rape allegations, gender stereotypes prevail. She described how rape myths are used to decipher different categories of rape. These are subsequently hierarchically ordered to consider whether an allegation is false.

Victims who have been assaulted by strangers report their experience with the police as more positive, particularly where there is a presence of physical injury (Harris and Grace, 1999; Frith 2009). Jordan (2004; 2008) found, in New Zealand, that it was predominantly well-educated, professional women who were attacked by strangers with no previous contact with the police that were considered by the police as 'ideal victims'. Therefore, these women were perceived by officers as possessing higher levels of victim credibility. Such findings are crucial to this study and are particularly pertinent in the context of understanding how officers make decisions about cases of sexual violence and how they 'weigh up' which cases are more credible. In reality, extensive research has shattered the myth of 'stranger danger' (Stanko and Williams, 2009) and has revealed that women are far more likely to experience assault from their own partners or from someone known to them (Stanko, 1984). Second, certain victim characteristics are considered "red flags" regarding victim credibility. O'Neal (2017) uses Jordan's (2004) notion of "red flags" in her research on rape myths and victim credibility to consider what issues impact on cases failing. She argues that 'character flaws' are comparable to notions of 'real rape' and states that such flaws can refer to the complainant's reputation, mental health or whether they provided a consistent statement. All of these impacted on officers' assessments of a victim's credibility.

The idea that there is an 'ideal victim' (Christie, 1986), who is seemingly justified as having a 'legitimate victim status' is similar to the argument made by Adler (1987) about 'deserving' and 'undeserving' victims. Such notions of 'idealness' and 'deservedness' ignore the complexity of the social and individual contexts that may influence the risk of victimisation to sexual assault. Some people are more vulnerable to victimisation and this is clearly evidenced in the literature on rape victim typologies (Stanko and Williams, 2009). The strength of operational, experiential learning and the extent to which practitioners rely on such external narratives about rape, and the categories of it, are central to this thesis. Considering what counts as 'evidence' to officers within this debate is worthy of note. Arguably, it appears that officers often commence investigations from the wrong starting point and may draw on established rape myths to explore worthy stories and victim 'types' (Stanko and Williams, 2009). Paradoxically, the reality is that the characteristics of rape victim typologies rarely match those outlined within the notion of the 'ideal' victim. O' Neal (2017) argues that

much literature on policing and rape myths has not taken into account officers perceptions of the factors that influence credibility and that interviewing officers would facilitate a more in-depth understanding. An analysis of statements of police records in the USA by Shaw et al (2017) found that officers had drawn on rape myths and justified the rape as a result of specific characteristics of either the case or the victim. They found evidence of victim blaming and concluded that rape myths were prevalent in decision making during investigations of this crime. This adds credence to the argument for a far more complex understanding of what constitutes evidence and knowledge in a police environment and, further, how this evidence interacts with, and is used within, the structure of the organisation. Conversely, these cases, and the victims involved present huge complexities for the police. The largest scale project to date conducted and commissioned to understand the characteristics of the victims who report rape to the police was commenced in 2004 by the Strategic Research and Analysis Unit within the MPS (MPS, 2004; 2005). The commission allowed for the production of a robust research study aimed at examining whether the characteristics of the victims and the context of the cases influenced levels of attrition in rape.

Victim Typologies in London

The original request in the commissioning of the *MPS Rape Review* was aimed at identifying best practice in rape investigations. This was to be based on researchers visiting those local command units in London that were more successful in achieving sanctioned detections following an investigation. However, the research team took the decision to explore the factors involved in different cases rather than assuming that command units, deemed as successful, were being effective in their decision making. An end-to-end case review methodology explored final case outcomes and allowed for an analysis of the victims involved in the cases experiencing attrition. The research team considered it more important to recognise that at each key point (allegation, crime record, investigation and charge) there is an active decision made by the police. The added information captured, as part of the analysis, ensured that the researchers could consider and assess what the key issues were that influenced the outcomes (Williams and Stanko, 2016). The team analysed 697 allegations of reported rape. This allowed for a more authentic account and understanding of the case types being

no-crimed in London, as well as which cases resulted in a sanctioned detection and referral to the CPS. The research concluded that the majority of cases involved complainants that had particular vulnerabilities which increased their exposure to the risk of being assaulted. The majority of complainants in the sample were under 18 at the time of the attack, had a noted mental health issue (within the police record), were currently or previously intimate with the suspect, or had consumed alcohol or drugs prior to the assault (Stanko and Williams, 2009).

The vulnerabilities attributed to the complainants had a significant impact on the probability of attrition and this was further dependent on the number of vulnerable factors present. For example, those with three or more vulnerabilities were 44.1% more likely to have their report noted as a no-crime compared to 23.8% with no reported vulnerabilities. Other scholars have illustrated that there may be particular risks for police officers attached to dealing with volatile and vulnerable individuals. With this can come an assumption about their very identity being risky and problematic (Stanford, 2012). Understanding this in the context of the police working with such individuals as victims of crime is important given the evidence presented above and the reality of those reporting rape to the police. The implications of this on potential limitations to accessing justice, and individuals' sense of fairness and distributive justice, is key in this context (O'Malley, 2006).

This MPS research highlighted that these identified characteristics make certain victims more vulnerable to both being raped in the first instance and having their cases result in attrition. Hence, they were largely disadvantaged in terms of being able to access justice as a result of the circumstances of the rape itself (Stanko and Williams, 2009). The authors concluded that 'legal decision making and outcome is dominated by the shadow of doubt cast by the vulnerabilities of the victims who report to the police' (p. 214). It is critical to note here that the issues presented within the findings of the *MPS Rape Review* are all impacted by the ability of the victim to appear credible in the eyes of the criminal justice system. The methodology applied in this original research has now been repeatedly carried out over a period of eight years and the findings have not changed significantly (Williams and Stanko, 2016; Hohl and Stanko, 2015). In the last analysis from 2012, victim withdrawal accounted for nearly half of the attrition in the sample of reported rapes to the MPS; however, where the case

involves a known 'credible criminal' (Hohl and Stanko, 2015: 12) the likelihood of withdrawal from the process is halved. This contrasts with other findings such as the complainant having had a previous relationship or consensual sex (outside of a relationship) with the suspect. In these cases, chances of withdrawal are doubled.

Findings regarding vulnerabilities are reflected in attrition studies in both the US and Australia. Heenan and Murray (2006. Cited in Taylor and Gassner, 2010: 245) found that in Australia charges are more likely to occur when a victim is visibly injured, not influenced by alcohol or drugs or if the offender was known the police previously. The US Rocher Institute (1994. Cited in Taylor and Gassner, 2010: 246) argue that the police more actively use their role as gatekeeper in cases of rape involving vulnerable victims, particularly those with mental ill health. They conclude that these cases are far less likely to achieve a criminal justice recourse when they report a crime to the police. If women are characterised by vulnerabilities, previously outlined, the reasons for attrition are more likely explained by the police decision-making process, not by the victim withdrawing. Hohl and Stanko (2015: 15) conclude that the 'intractable 'respectable woman' image is significant: voluntary alcohol consumption prior to the rape, a history of consensual sex with the perpetrator, mental health problems and learning difficulties, and a women's misunderstanding of the meaning of consent explain police decisions to discontinue a case'. As the gatekeepers to the criminal justice system, understanding the drivers of this discretionary judgement is crucial. As Williams and Stanko argue (2016), without a deeper and more qualitative understanding of how police actions, behaviour and decision making are derived during investigations of sexual violence, we cannot comprehensively understand or influence real changes to the level of attrition in cases of sexual violence.

This section of Chapter Two has explored the current literature concerned with the problem of attrition in rape investigations and rape myths. It clearly demonstrates how the reality of the rape allegations being made to the police in London can reflect the characteristics of the victim descriptions involved in wider rape mythology. The conclusions from the *Rape Review* need to be considered further in the context of police decision making as the reality of reported rapes fundamentally contradict the concept of the 'ideal victim'. The following section will discuss a number of issues

concerning the culture of the police organisation. Understanding the wider context surrounding these matters is critical, as decision making during an investigation does not operate within a vacuum. It would be naïve to assume that the decision is influenced solely by the individual officer involved. The potential wider organisational influences are discussed below.

The Problem of Policing and the Importance of Police Culture

Understanding the policing of rape cannot be effectively explored without an analysis of the organisation and the inherent occupational culture itself. This section of the chapter considers the organisational culture and processes which may hold elements of influence within the decision-making process of a rape investigation. This section considers the context of what is valued within police culture and what actions are recognised as 'proper' or 'good' police work, and how this interacts with notions of 'proper' victims. Following that, the gendered nature of the police organisation will be discussed and how stereotypes about feminine and masculine roles and behaviours might impact on the policing of sexual crime (Silvestri, 2003). How these stereotypes can reflect similar notions of gender appropriateness in rape mythology will be addressed.

This further relates to the way that organisations recreate normative ideals about gender (Acker, 1992) which can occur through both explicit and subtle methods and rituals. Exploring the type of behaviours, actions and police outcomes perceived as credible and valuable within policing is an important part of this thesis. Many writers have written about the way police culture can reinforce a hegemonic form of macho policing (Westmarland, 2001; Shelley et al, 2011; Loftus, 2010). As Reiner (2000: 89) argues, a core part of cop culture is a sense of mission. It is perceived as 'fun, challenging, exciting, a game of wits and skill'. Reiner calls this 'machismo syndrome' and states that the mundane reality of what policing entails can be 'boring, messy, petty, trivial and venal'. The value of action is core to cop culture and this illusion of police as pure thief takers, persists in current policing debates. Reviewing the strength and maintenance of this sense of mission, solidarity and perceived uniqueness of the police occupation is central to understanding the resistance to reform, particularly in the area of victim care.

As Shearing and Ericson (1991: 499) note, stories act as a 'hegemonic device, or counterhegemonic device for producing a way of seeing and being in the world'. Police behaviour is both guided and influenced by these stories, which describe certain officer responses to particular situations. This can influence the development of a cultural tool kit or what Sackmann (1991) refers to as dictionary knowledge, which officers can draw on to guide their decision making and actions when working in the field (Chan, 2003; Shearing and Ericson, 1991). Cultural Knowledge is central to this thesis. Understanding what counts as credible knowledge during decision making in a rape investigation forms a large part of the analysis. Reiner (1992: 109) notes that the culture of the police is not 'monolithic, universal or unchanging' and the dictionary knowledge that operates within policing at different levels of the organisation is not clearly visible or articulated. Indeed, some elements of the culture may be more likely to survive and maintain strength over time'. Understanding the elements of police culture and the organisational factors that sustain the problem of attrition is one of the research aims of this thesis. Generally, commentators agree that culture relates to a set of values, attitudes, police knowledge and working practices that guide the use of discretionary behaviour in policing, particularly at the level of the street-cop culture (Waddington, 2008; Reiner, 2010; Westmarland; 2001). Examining the multi-faceted relationship between police culture, valued work, discretion and indeed performance is important here.

What do the public want the police to do?

Crucially, all of the research on public confidence and police legitimacy (Bradford, 2014), victim satisfaction (Williams et al, 2009; Keenan, 2009) indicates that customers of the police want to engage with the police, experience fair treatment in their interactions and, in relation to being a victim of crime, they want to be believed and kept informed about what is happening with their case. Such research exposed the myth that crime levels are the key drivers involved in increasing public perceptions of the police. It is the process of engagement, specifically regarding fair treatment and the judgements that citizens make about police officers that impacts on the public support for police authorities, the legitimacy of that authority and an obligation to obey the law (Bradford, 2014). As Worden and McLean (2014) note, this process-driven

model contrasts with other, more crime focused and instrumental, models of legitimacy. Whilst notions of procedural justice may undermine the traditional roles and actions admired and valued by the police canteen culture (Reiner, 2010; Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009), they are vital to public perceptions and organisational legitimacy. Paradoxically, these interactions and softer skills of engagement and de-escalation are not explored and measured through quantifiable targets. Hence, masculine cultural ideals and discourse about what constitutes proper policing are upheld and reinforced through this current performance culture. As Kleinig (2008) postulates, the values held up by managerialism within policing need to also consider the aspects of fairness and respect so vital to the public's perception of the police. He goes on to argue that 'a culture whose dedication to measurement, outcomes and fiscal parsimony can eviscerate the human dimension of policing that, at least in liberal democratic communities, should be of pivotal consideration' (p. 1).

What equates to good policing

Part of the cultural narrative operating within policing relates to actions, tasks and behaviours viewed and valued as 'good' policing. The previous Home Secretary, Theresa May (2010), repeatedly asserted that policing should target criminal behaviour and serious offenders. This declaration indicates that the political rhetoric considers police officers primarily as crime fighters, no more and no less. Paradoxically, this rhetoric about police work has two challenging implications in relation to giving the police a professional status. Firstly, it contests much of the current and historical research (for example Muir, 1977; Millie, 2013). Such work has revealed that the majority of police work does not equate to crime fighting. When considering this in the context of measuring 'good' police performance, such notions can create a very narrow definition of what policing is and what professional actions are. As Millie (2013) suggests, it is more likely that the remit of police work has increasingly widened from a narrow crime-fighting model. The police are experiencing more social care, mental health and harm issues than ever before and this has been exacerbated by other public services being reduced through the current climate of austerity. Understanding the role and type of frameworks in place to assess how the police perform and how current methods impact on internal perceptions of what is considered

as 'good policing' to officers is key. Bittner (1978) argued that the concept and meaning of what is professional police practice remains intangible without an honest conversation and reflection about what is important within the police role. This discussion is pivotal in this thesis as the two issues are not mutually exclusive. What constitutes 'good' policing and how this is defined and subsequently measured can influence perceptions of what behaviour and outcomes are encouraged by the organisation. Moreover, there is an element of 'what gets measured gets done' (Berman, 2002:349) in police work. Hough et al (2002: 7) quote a senior officer in their research, 'everything that can be valued can't necessarily be measured but we're now a police service that subscribes to the philosophy that what gets counted gets done'. Indeed, as Maier (1997) argues, 'being hard-nosed and adversarial is taken for granted. Managers are expected to be single minded, devoted to the pursuit of organisational goals and objectives, to be competitive, rational, decisive, ambitious, efficient, task and results oriented, assertive and confident in their use of power' (cited in Silvestri, 2018: 7). This masculine display of valued police characteristics can only be achieved by visible displays of performing in certain tasks. Measuring against the softer skills required in policing is relatively absent and this absence immediately places such tasks at a lower scale on the police hierarchy of work. This is important in the context of what is considered as valued and credible in police work and relates to how the public perceive professional behaviour and how the police themselves interpret what is operationally good practice. The concept of what exactly policing involves has been widely debated over time. As Reiner (2015) notes, these notions can be easily contested. Historically there have been very different notions of what policing is and what officers should routinely be doing, both from an internal and external perspective.

For the purpose of this thesis, the role that performance cultures have in directing notions of what matters within police culture is key. Indeed, the extent to which performance indicators, influenced by the application of New Public Management (NPM) to policing, inform us about the 'quality' and/or 'process' of policing practice has been noted (Williams, 1985; Williams et al, 2009). As a result, these indicators are limited in their ability to provide detail about the impact of police behaviours on the

customer base or essentially any outcome on the public. As Fleming and Scott (2008: 329) states,

> Process is the way in which outcomes are achieved. For a professional the process will be an important aspect of the job. For management, the outcome may be given greater weight. Both perspectives are valid. The process gives meaning to the statistics. The interaction between process and product must be recognized in order to develop a broader picture.

Additionally, Williams (1985) argues that measurements and targets rarely recognise the knowledge that practitioners possess within organisations because they are removed from the real strategic aims of policing. Reiner (1998) argues that the application of 'new managerialism' within the public sector has had an impact on the way policing is researched. The quality of care and outcomes in cases of rape are critical and yet the current methods used to review effectiveness negate the importance of these issues within the investigation process. Garland (2001) raises similar issues in his work and concludes that the use of targets means that the police evaluate against a set of output criteria which are relatively easy to control (usually whether crime has gone up or down or, in the case of rape, sanctioned detections). This fails to consider wider, complex variables that the police cannot control. According to Garland (2001. cited in Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009: 529), 'the new performance indicators are designed to measure 'outputs' rather than 'outcomes', what the organisation does, rather than what, if anything, it achieves'. In addition, and perhaps more importantly for this research topic, the quality of any interactions involved are overlooked. What is important for this thesis is how the performance frameworks present in policing can further perpetuate the masculine characteristics associated with credible and legitimate police work. In formulating new arguments about the limitations of rape reform and the sustainability of the described police culture, analysing the way in which current performance structures devalue victim care and support skills is critical.

Williams and Stanko (2016) discuss how the MPS research team's challenge to such measurements for assessing good practice in rape investigations influenced the design of a more useful methodology for the *MPS Rape Review* (2005, 2007). As noted above, 'performance' is usually monitored in rape case through an exploration of the number of sanctioned detections achieved. The research team argued that the

organisation needed to know the types of victims whose cases were successful through the process to properly explore police performance in this area of police work. This is more crucial for furthering the debate than a review of numbers. Furthermore, the evidence from the small scale work with victims of rape (Williams et al, 2009) revealed that reviewing outputs (in this case detection rates) would not provide the information required to understand 'good' performance in relation to the investigative process. Indeed, the pressures of a performance culture within policing may impact on the classification of crimes and the use of mythological assumptions referred to above. It is within this debate that this thesis is so important.

The enduring problem of targets within policing is largely a consequence of the way in which the crime-fighting view of policing prevails in policy discourse. This is at the expense of non-crime policing functions. As Reiner (1998) states, the new managerial methodologies in place to assess performance can narrowly define the role of the police and, arguably, reaffirm certain legitimate policing tasks which are reflected in the police culture. This can negate and ignore the importance of recognising the growing breadth of issues that the police are involved in (Millie, 2013). Targets are generally focused on stopping, searching and arresting (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). The definition of what constitutes proper policing is reinforced. Indeed, this can reflect the values traditionally present within the police culture at the level of the rank and file (Reiner, 2010). Essentially, such crude measures can reestablish a sense of police work driven by efficiency. This becomes focused on crime reduction and clear up rates over what Sklansky (2007) and Kleinig (2008) describe as a police vision concerned with ethics, integrity and justice. The softer skills involved in engagement and negotiation, which are so critical to good police work (Muir, 1977), are ignored by the use of targets. Officers strive to deliver within the narrow frameworks prescribed by the performance measures. Fleming and King (2012:13) in their evaluation of a rape reform programme in Australia note the importance of changing internal 'structures, systems, policies and procedures in a way that will create an organisational environment and culture that is generally supportive of any desired changes'. This thesis aims to explore the reality of this in the context of rape reform in London.

This will feature further in Chapter Three when the growth in evidence-based policing and the reliance of quantitative methodologies are discussed. In policing, discretion is

used as a way of achieving the required results rather than perhaps 'doing what is best' in any given situation (Cockcroft and Beattie, 2009). Targets clearly lend themselves more readily to the simplistic crime-fighting police ideal over softer activities. Such methods are entirely focused on quantitative rather than qualitative measures and, when considering the importance of reflexivity in the role of a police officer, this is ultimately detrimental to organisational learning (Wood and Williams, 2016). Moreover, as Hirschfield et al (2014. cited in Heaton and Tong, 2015: 61) argue, 'the police subculture and organisational ethos has rarely encouraged positive learning from mistakes and failures and such salutary lessons are rarely sought out, disseminated or acted on'. Cockcroft and Beattie (2009) also note that performance measures can be justified as a means of standardising police behaviour and, arguably, standardising the use of discretion to obtain the required results. Policing is often criticised for operating under what is termed as a 'scared canopy' (p. 535) and yet these chosen performance methods are ignorant of what is done to achieve the figures. The fact that this 'sacred canopy' often leaves discretion invisible is important for this research. There is consequently a lack of understanding about what knowledge the police utilise when making their decisions.

Perhaps of more concern therefore, is the suggestion that officers operating within a performance culture can cut corners (Miller, 2003), or behave unethically (Guilfoyle, 2013), in order to achieve results. This may be of particular concern given the findings from a review conducted by the Metropolitan Police Federation (2014). The review found evidence of individual league tables for stops and arrests, officers having courses withdrawn for not hitting targets and competition being actively encouraged through the league tables in place. Cockcroft and Beattie (2009) argue that the use of discretion in these contexts might be applied to reduce the chances of any reprisal from managers. It is understanding what information this discretion relies on when making these decisions in the context of rape and sexual violence that will be explored in this thesis.

Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983. cited in Cockcroft, 2013: 28) note a differentiation in cop culture(s), particularly in the culture operating at street-cop level compared to a management level. They highlight the notion at street level of the professional cop who utilises discretion based on local context and local understanding of that environment.

Conversely, the management cop is likely to consider prioritisation as their main concern, especially with limited resources and a set of management statistics to achieve. Young's (1991) observations in Crime Investigation Departments (CID) are particularly relevant for this thesis. Young notes his move into a CID office and describes how he was introduced to 'the primacy of the statistical world' (p. 82). As Bryant et al (2015) articulate, it is the detective-level 'cop' who receives the least training and is therefore more likely to base discretionary decisions on their experiential learning. This finding is critical in the context of a rape investigation. The professional development of investigating officers has historically followed a craft model of learning and investigation is arguably one of the least visible areas within policing. Officers can use their discretion with limited oversight and supervision (Hobbs, 2008). Given the common-sense assumptions operating in detective roles and the lack of education in this area, officers may rely on other craft knowledge to make decisions on the prioritisation of rape allegations (Horvath et al, 2011).

For the purpose of this thesis, understanding the link between how culture is sustained and recreated, the values it upholds, police credibility and how performance is reviewed by the organisation is central. Performance measures and the inherent performance-based culture cannot be discussed without considering how it reinforces the cultural values outlined above. This further links to officer discretion and priorisation of work. Exploring how this interacts with public need and the drivers of police legitimacy outside of the organisation is revealing and the behaviours, actions and roles that 'count' within policing have been widely debated. Additionally, the current internal performance frameworks, and how they limit an understanding of the complexity of police work and the quality of the service delivered has been considered. As Williams (1985) explained, the current structure is limited in relation to the benefits and needs of the police customer base, i.e. the public. This seems paradoxical given that one of the rationales for applying the NPM approach to policing was to make officers more accountable to their 'customers'.

The relationship between culture, performance, what is viewed as credible in policing and how this impacts on the officers themselves is central to the arguments presented in my work. Chan (2003) suggests that there are certain actions, roles and values

which are held in higher esteem by both the organisation and officers themselves. Such hierarchies can offer individuals social standing and credibility amongst their colleagues. Understanding the extent of what is valued within the organisation, as well as what is actually 'done', is vital when considering police effectiveness and performance around the investigation of sexual violence. This notion relates to both the way that the organisation measures success and the way that officers congratulate each other about doing 'a good job'. As explained by Cockcroft and Beattie (2009), the customer focus side of policing within the framework of performance is neglected. Such a culture fails to account for the human dimension of policing, the values and behaviours of the rank and file, and the expectations of the customers they serve. Some officers interviewed in their research suggested that such performance schemes can challenge the notion of police professionalism because it drives officers to undertake the easily measurable tasks, as opposed to utilising their softer skills (p. 97). Neyroud (2009) argues that one of the most difficult challenges to the successful embedding of an evidence-based approach and the ability to be reflective as a police officer is the permanency of the performance culture. This can negate the importance of process and the need for reflecting on behaviour and interactions between the police and the public.

The gendered nature of the occupation is evident when considering both the value placed on certain roles within the police and the behaviours measured by the organisation to assess 'good' performance. Police culture is characterised by the rewarding of aggression, competition, rigid in-group and out-group distinctions and an acute heterosexist orientation. Hegemonic masculinity is,

> the dominant form of reinforcing men's power on the cultural and collective levels' through a variety of forms including, work in the paid labour force, subordination of women, heterosexism, uncontrollable sexuality, authority, control, competitive individualism, independence, aggressiveness and a capacity for violence (Prokos and Padavic. 2002. cited in Shelley et al, 2001: 7)

Similarly, Connell (1987) refers to hegemonic masculinity as an ideal form of masculinity which emphasises dominance, aggression, heterosexuality and a lack of emotion. This form of masculine behaviour promotes a particular form of behaviour/s that reinforces a certain gender order. This can provide men with a set of scripts that affect the way males deal with particular situations. As Fielding (1994, p. 47) argues,

police culture 'may be read as an almost pure form of 'hegemonic masculinity' which provides an occupational space in which to 'do gender' (Connell, 1987). Chan (1997) draws on the work of Bourdieu (1990) and his different forms of capital to explore the establishment of particular power relations in the field of policing. Within policing, the achievement of such capital operates within a gendered sphere (Silvestri, 2003). This reaffirms the value of traditionally masculine characteristics through the formulations of capital aspired to within the organisation. For example, the gaining of particular forms of symbolic capital is ultimately concerned with the achievement of a professional and legitimate reputation within the police field and the provision of social standing within the occupational environment.

As Chan (2003) articulates, it is through these forms of capital that the unique policing habitus is reinforced and upheld. Therefore 'good' arrests and the hitting of targets can provide officers with an effective route to achieving symbolic capital within the gendered habitus in which they operate. This can further link to notions of social capital, which within a police environment may relate to rank and supportive peer relationships with fellow officers (Chan, 2003). Linking this to what constitutes cultural capital in policing and the forms of information and knowledge held in esteem by officers is crucial to this research. In the context of decision making the sort of cultural capital defended by officers might relate to what type of knowledge will facilitate them achieving a good result. Loftus (2009) described officers' reactions to different policing tasks during her research. She argues that the sense of value attached to masculine, action-based areas of police work was far higher than that relating to community policing or assisting a vulnerable member of the public.

What is most relevant for the purpose of this research is the symbolic value placed on the extreme heterosexism that perpetuates 'patriarchal and misogynistic attitudes toward women' (Fielding 1994:47). Hence, gender in this context is 'done' through the occupational culture that condones policing as a masculine domain (Silvestri, 2003). As articulated above by Chan (2003), police officers are also likely to utilise categories and particular schema to assist with their decision making, and this is entrenched in a culture of cynicism, suspicion and pessimism (Reiner, 2010). Referring back to, and applying this to, the previous research on rape myths and credible victims, this idea might also be related to the way police officers deal with rape and the ensuing impact

this has on the sustainability of cultural perceptions of rape within the police. Generally, as Reiner postulates (2010: 121), 'police stereotyping is inescapable and the categories informing them reflect the structure of power in society. This serves to reproduce that structure through a pattern of implicit – sometimes explicit – class, race and gender discrimination'. Therefore, according to Page (2008), as active members within this culture, police officers import many values and beliefs from the broader society in which they live.

Within this context, the research on female police officers' experiences suggests that they are victims of harassment and discrimination (both implicit and explicit) by colleagues and by organisational structures (Silvestri, 2015; Shelley et al, 2011). Such behaviour is often justified and excused through jokes and the use of humour which tacitly serves to divide and segregate women from the dominant culture (Chan, 2003). Loftus (2009) explored the changes to police culture following a topdown reform agenda in a UK police force. She concluded that, whilst some form of transformation had occurred in relation to race issues, 'in defence to the threats to their increasingly beleaguered identity, white heterosexual, male officers have emerged as prime propagators of a resentful discourse that operates to devalue the revised accent on diversity and preserve the traditional culture' (p. 774). Furthermore, Loftus (2009) witnessed a sustained acceptance of a particularly dominant heterosexual culture which continued to undermine women by, for example, forms of male banter being used about sexual encounters. Moreover, such behaviour appeared to be tolerated by women in the workplace as they sought to establish a professional and accepted identity within that culture. Much of this behaviour serves to legitimise a hegemonic style of masculinity in the police or, as Bourdieu (1990) postulates, a sustained habitus that is diffused through that given field.

There is much evidence to suggest that officers maintain their social identity of being a police officer via the maintenance of the policing vision as masculine and focused on crime fighting (Loftus, 2009). Considering this in relation to Silvestri's (2003) work on gender and leadership, Silvestri argues that certain roles are more difficult for women to access. It is often these areas of work that are perceived as being more

credible and where officers can evidence their commitment to and credibility within the organisation. Westmarland's research (2001) reviewed gendered roles in policing. She explains how some areas are seen as 'rubbish work' as they do not encapsulate traditionally masculine tasks. The use of terms like service, soft, emotional, force and hard skills recreate a particular discourse about the gendered roles operating within policing. As Young (1991: 209) suggests, this can facilitate a divide in what he calls 'sematic rigid dualities'. Young uses this term to discuss the issue of women in the police. Despite the mentioned variations in the literature on police culture, most writers agree that the culture generally involves a range of, and a commitment to, certain macho action-orientated stereotypes.

It is worth considering how this relates to the value placed on certain police areas of work; for example, dealing with victims of crime and the social service aspect to the police role (Dick et al, 2014; Westmarland, 2001; Shelley et al; 2011). This is critical to the aims of this thesis. The strength of these subtle processes serving to reinforce gendered relations were identified in Chan's (2003) evaluation of the professionalisation agenda in New South Wales Police. Chan concluded that, despite the evidence about the reality of what policing involves being presented in the academy, once in the operational field the police recruits were highly influenced by the gendered norms in existence within policing culture. Silvestri (2003) uses Acker's work to explore how inequality and a power imbalance between men and women can be enhanced through organisational processes. Understanding policing as a gendered institution that can reinforce an ideal of hegemonic masculinity via the legitimisation of it; strengthen the control and segregation of women from particular police roles; and augment 'doing' and creating gendered personas is central to the analysis within this thesis. In reality, according to the analysis on the changing demands faced by the police, there should be less importance on the physical aspects of police work. Community policing emphasises communication and collaborative working as core attributes of good police work. Given this evidence, there should be less aspiration to achieve a crime fighter image. However, McCarthy (2014) suggests that such work remains devalued and can be actively disparaged by some police officers.

Police culture clearly places more value on certain roles in terms of the achievement of symbolic capital and credibility and can undermine some more traditional feminine duties (Silvestri, 2017). Cultural stereotypes about women's suitably for certain roles within the police and the idea of policing as a masculine occupation are subsequently reinforced though internal processes that serve to 'do gender' in a certain way (Westmarland, 2001; Shelley et al, 2011). Such informal practices provide agents, operating within that structure, with an amount of cultural capital beyond the level that any formal rules or codified knowledge can provide (Williams and Cockcroft, 2018). Officers are active within the construction of working rules through the use of stories, humour and narratives that serve to reproduce standardised and historical schema. Police work, according to officers, cannot be done by the book (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). Bayley and Bittner (1984) suggest that officers refer to case studies of successful or unsuccessful strategies which are located within previous experiences and built-up knowledge banks when making decisions. Indeed, there is no clear set of principles, rather a collection of anecdotal stories that function to assist with decisions based on their previous use (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). Hence, officers will 'fall back on the lore that experience generates' (Bayley and Bittner, 1984. cited in Shearing and Ericson, 1991: 488).

Shearing and Ericson (1991) argue that those involved in the craft of policing make decisions quickly and rarely with reflection. Police action is formulated via an assumption that a 'competent officer knows what to do' (p. 487). This further relates to the concept of cultural capital and credibility attached to the knowledge type applied within any given situation. Officers work within a complex and diverse environment and therefore the application of scientific rules with the decision-making process is considered as too simplistic (Bayley and Bittner, 1984) or thin (Gundus, 2012). Understanding how this operationalises itself within the decision-making process involved in rape cases is important, particularly given the complex typologies outlined within the evidence on rape. As Chan (2003) argues, rather than officers referring to other external knowledge or evidence alongside their own working experiences, they are more likely to rely on ready-made schemas and scripts that are passed on via police stories and previous situations. Such scripts assist officers as they categorise information which makes it readily accessible when they face a particular problem or issue. This may have intensified over recent years with the increased caseloads that

detectives involved in sexual violence cases are facing (Boag-Munroe, 2017). In the context of rape myths and what O' Neal (2017) refers to as the police considering 'character flaws' when making their assessments this is key. Indeed, as Fleming and King concluded (2012) future research exploring this is vital for understanding officers' 'focal concerns in decision-making in sexual assault cases' (p. 66).

Shearing and Ericson (1991) state that officers are not simply socialised into a culture that prepares them for action but rather they play an active role in objectifying the culture and making it 'factual'. The stories and anecdotes are transmitted over time. This needs to be considered in the context of rape and vulnerability and the debate about what, to officers themselves, equates to viable police knowledge. The communication and management of risk is a vital and core part of police work. The effective assessment of risk is not simply noteworthy in the context of understanding the risk of an individual offending but also in the prioritisation of police resources to those in need, such as victims.

Stanford (2012) considers how terms like 'risky' and 'vulnerable' are interpreted by the police and are then further constructed through a particular moral and political lens which might impact on decisions made by officers about credibility and access to justice. Reiner (2000) discusses how certain 'messy' and 'unworthy' cases, which are perceived by officers to be the complainant's fault, often involve vulnerable victims. Crimes falling within this category include rape, domestic violence and hate crimes. Arguably, all issues that are likely to include vulnerable people according to the evidence presented here. Such allegations present complex and awkward investigations for detectives as they may be deemed unworthy of attention, brought on by the victim, or just too complicated (Horvath et al, 2011). Hence, Bowling (1998) argues that the police have created a crime hierarchy of relevance which can impact on discretion through the use of common-sense judgements, natural agendas, and police interpretation of the law. Police stories, in a sense, allow officers to categorise such events and, furthermore, provide useful scripts (Chan, 2003) or meaning (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). This enables them to respond to events subjectively and yet via a style that Wittgenstien (1953. cited in Shearing and Ericson, 1991: 491) calls a 'family resemblance'. This involves the recognition of similar issues that might

arise in particular crime reports. Relating this to the long-term issues with attrition is important, as the complexity of the cases presenting themselves in London fundamentally match the concept of messy and complicated cases shrouded in the archetypal description of a non-ideal victim.

This chapter has overviewed the current literature available on the policing of rape and a number of cultural factors that have relevance in this field. The gaps in the current work are important to note in the development of this research project's aims. The next chapter will recount the extensive evidence available surrounding the change programmes and implemented reform which have attempted to address some of the complex issues with attrition discussed in this chapter. The longevity of the reform agenda and the evidence concerning its limited impact is indicative of the strength of the embedded culture outlined in the literature above.

Chapter 3: Police Reform: Attempts to Reduce Attrition

The previous chapter outlined the long-term and sustained problems with attrition in rape cases. Some of the potential internal and cultural factors prevalent in the organisation that might impact on decision making, work prioritisation and the achievement of symbolic capital in the workplace were also explored. This chapter discusses the work undertaken by the police organisation to change and improve this situation with attrition and examines the wider context of reform in this area. This focuses on the contemporary and wider notions of professionalism, what constitutes relevant knowledge in policing and the specific reforms implemented to improve attrition rates. The chapter is presented in three parts. Firstly, specific reforms aimed at improving rape investigation, delivered at both a local and central government level, allow for an exploration of why the issues with attrition may have remained the same over time. The problem of attrition in relation to the longevity of the problem is mirrored, it seems, in the problems with reform. Understanding the complexity of what constitutes 'professional knowledge' and the move to develop a professionalisation agenda within policing forms the second section of this chapter. Recognising the issues with different perceptions and definitions of professionalism is central to this debate, particularly in the context of exploring change programmes. Finally, the move towards the embedding of an evidence-based policing approach into core police business is outlined and discussed. The contradictions operating within some of the current methods of police research are introduced, as is an understanding of how these complexities may impact on successful change. Considering this in conjunction with what the police perceive as viable knowledge can enhance the debate around the challenges to successful reform and change within the police organisation as regards attrition.

The history of reform

There is a long history of legal reform around rape investigation and sexual violence. The police and wider criminal justice system has experienced a wealth of reform in relation to rape over the last thirty years. Much of this emerged from the rise in feminist criminology exposing the problems with policing and violence against women (Stanko, 1985). This was a key stage for understanding the policing of rape in the UK through

research and provided an evidence base to support the drive for reform. Many of the subsequent reforms and change programmes around rape arose from the development of the Sexual Offences Steering Committee in 1983 (Brown, 2011). This was established following the viewing of a 'fly on the wall' documentary series by Roger Graef in 1982 in which a Thames Valley Police detective is seen brutally interrogating a woman who had been raped[2]. This resulted in a number of Home Office circulars (25/83 and 69/86) recommending that officers dealing with rape be made aware of rape trauma syndrome and how this may affect victims' reactions. There were also recommendations made about the classifications of allegations made to the police. In order to improve victim care, the first Sexual Assault Referral Centre opened in 1987 and new training courses were delivered for officers involved in the investigation of rape (Horvath et al, 2011). However, despite these advances, research continued to find that, despite some positive changes to the way victims felt about police treatment, there remained a more sympathetic approach to victims assaulted by strangers than to those who knew their assailant (Gregory and Lees, 1999; Temkin, 1987; Harris and Grace, 1999).

Brown (2011) states that the re-emergence of national concerns about the level of attrition in cases of rape and victim care led to the establishment of the Sex Offences Review in 1999. This lead to further changes to legislation and definitions of rape.

The findings from the Her Majesty's Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate (HMCPSI) and Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) thematic inspections were published in 2002, and, in 2003, The Sexual Offences Act introduced a new definition of rape and clarified the definition of 'consent to sex' (Kohl and Stanko, 2015). The Act attempted to shift the onus from women having to prove that they had not given consent to sexual relations with the suspect towards men having to explain how they obtained consent. Therefore, in theory, this change would question the ability of a woman to give informed consent if drugs and/or alcohol were involved or if she was unconscious or asleep (Frith, 2009). In the context of the reality of rape typologies that are presented to the police, evidenced in Chapter Two, this Act was critical.

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[2] **Police** was a BBC Television documentary television series about Thames Valley Police, first broadcast in 1982. Produced by Roger Graef

Internally, within forces themselves, a number of police areas aimed to improve the service provision for rape victims by establishing rape suites, specialist units and dedicated officers to specifically deal with sexual offences. The aim of this was to allow officers to develop expertise in this area and to ring-fence them to these roles for consistency of service (Horvarth et al, 2009). It was from the recommendations made by an Independent Advisory Group in 2000 that the MPS developed Project Sapphire in 2001, which introduced ring-fenced, specialist trained Sexual Offences Investigative Officers (SOITs) and the increased provision of training on consent and vulnerability. The objective being that, by having specialist officers in place locally, victims of sexual offences would be seen within an hour of reporting and reviews by senior investigating officers would become more regular and systematic (Stanko, 2007). Deploying ring-fenced local resources for this crime would ensure victims had a dedicated contact and that they received information regularly about their case. As outlined in the previous chapter, the issues with attrition and cases being no-crimed continued. As a result, in London, the Project Sapphire Unit was centralised into the Serious Crime Directorate where case reviews to ascertain correct classifications of crimes were shifted from local accountability to a centralised function. In a further attempt to deal with the attrition problem, during a joint Association of Chief Police Officers (ACPO) and CPS conference in 2015, it was announced that the police service was to be issued with a 'toolkit' (Williams and Stanko, 2016). The toolkit provided detail for officers about situations where a potential victim may have been unable to consent to sexual relations due to incapacity brought on by drink or drugs, or where consent could not be reasonably considered as having been given freely.

Despite attempts both legislatively and locally in police areas to initiate changes in this area of police work, the same issues with attrition repeatedly arise, and a number of reviews continue to highlight the problem of local variation in the treatment of victims and attrition. As Horvath et al (2011) argue, despite the research recommendations, government enquiries and subsequent reform implementation, the picture has not changed significantly over time. In terms of reviewing the lack of impact on changes to rape investigation, Jordan (2011) has suggested, in the New Zealand context, that the implementation of the recommendations made from research has been incomplete. The MPS *Rape Review* (2005; 2007) provided substantial problem

identification around the typologies of victims reporting in London. By analysing the available data on rape victims, a number of recommendations about how to think more creatively when building up credibility for these victims were developed (Williams and Stanko, 2016). However, despite this, particular types of rape allegations remain vulnerable to attrition and the quality of service continues to be labelled as a lottery (Stern, 2010).

In another international context some more positive results have been reported on rape reform. As Powell and Wright (2012) explain, in Australia following the publication by the Victorian Law Reform Commission report in 2004, Victoria police implemented Sexual Offence and Child Abuse Investigation Teams. The report laid bare the concerns about low reporting, prosecution and conviction rates for rape in Victoria, and the high attrition rate. The report also documented police attitudes towards victims and a lack of coordinated response to their care. The Victorian Law Reform Commission recommended an increase in specialisation of investigators; further partnership working and a tailored response that took into account the individual needs of the victims. The evaluation of the programme involved interviews with all partners and it aimed to explore both any improvement in attitudes and quality of service delivered to victims of rape and to identify key issues for the organisation to reflect on which may assist with improvements. Taylor and Gassner (2009) highlight the evidence base that facilitated the development of this scheme. It involved effective collaborations with academics and thorough problem definition through the research conducted. Positive outcomes, particularly in relation to the organisational commitment to raising the profile of this area of work were also associated with higher levels of job satisfaction amongst officers working in this space and more effective partnership working. Staff reported that these outcomes reflected improved resourcing and specialist training, strong and genuine leadership, co-location with other service providers and the ring-fencing of teams to deal purely with sexual assault. These findings are important in the context of this thesis, particularly in relation to the organisational commitment to reform.

Whilst there is a wider context to the establishment of policing as a profession, much of the justification for the College of Policing's professionalisation agenda is driven by similar issues that have been highlighted from the UK evaluations of areas of rape

reform. Issues include inconsistency and variation in the delivery of service to the public and variation in training methods and content (College of Policing, 2015). The next section explores the notion of police professionalism and the complex way it interacts with and emulates reform agendas within the policing sphere.

Differing notions of professionalism

Holdaway (2017) argues that the drive to make policing a profession is not new. He points out that the 1970s witnessed a wealth of changes aimed at moving the artisan occupation of policing into a profession, and this occurred during a time when consensus and support for the police was decreasing amidst an array of scandals and accusations of discriminatory behaviour against certain groups. Chan (1997; 2003) challenges what she calls the ignorance of some academics to relate the relevance of the social and political context within which policing operates and how this impacts on police reform. Moreover, the notion that a non-contested relationship exists between the 'field', the 'habitus' and 'police practice' is naïve and provides only a partial understanding of the complexity of police work and how that translates into different notions of professionalism and professional behaviours.

Professionalism here is best viewed as a multifaceted and dynamic concept (Chan, 2003) which is rarely static (Holdaway, 2017). Indeed, it may have different meanings for different audiences and individuals. The term police professionalism has been widely contested (Sklansky, 2014; Fleming, 2014), as has the type of behaviour that makes officers themselves feel professional (Loftus, 2010; Miller, 1999). Norman and Williams (2017) argue that it is these complexities that contribute to reform within policing being so challenging. Whilst there are subtle differences in the definitions of professionalism, a theme that runs through the literature reviewed relates to the need for reflective practice and learning rather than an over-reliance on police intuition. Given the evidence outlined in the previous chapter concerning the cultural hierarchy and varying forms of capital and credibility, an analysis of what it means in terms of the development of a professional identify within police work is key. Manning (1979. cited in Chan, 2003: 5-6) states that different ideas of what professionalism is will be understood uniquely within and between different ranks and roles. To the rank and file, for example, professionalism is more likely to mean control over their own working

conditions and ensuring that they are protected from arbitrary punishment from higher ranks. Higher levels of the organisation are more likely to consider professionalism more politically and will be driven by ensuring higher standards of recruitment and efficiency and considering the use of technology within the organisation to facilitate enhanced effectiveness. Whether the latter will conflict with the sense of the professional identity of the rank and file remains to be seen. In addition to the subject of what is considered to be professional, methods to professionalise the police have been discussed over many years by a number of academics (James, 1979; Manning, 1977, 1979; Chan, 2003; Holdaway, 1979; Muir, 1977). Rowe (2015) states that there continues to be much ambiguity about the meaning of professionalism in policing and whether it should be considered in relation to the body of existing academic knowledge about police work, ethical qualities and the behaviour of individual police officers, or whether it should be routinely assessed via the measurement of 'good' officer performance. Understanding how officer success is measured and the assigned narratives they draw on to assist them in achieving in their area of work is paramount to this thesis.

The College of Policing's professionalisation agenda began in 2013 and it focuses predominantly on Neyroud's (2011) idea of professionalism. Neyroud's notion of professional 'has more to do with institutional autonomy than with high expectations: that is what he means when he contrasts a 'professional service' with a service that merely 'acts professionally' (2011. cited in Sklansky, 2014: 345). He advocates a drive for more academic and police partnerships and the embedding of an evidence based approach to policing. For the purpose of this literature review, understanding various notions of professionalism and how professionalism is constructed by officers themselves is pertinent. The College of Policing provides a formal platform to articulate a particular meaning of professional behaviour. However, those affected by this agenda - the officers - may view this programme of work with scepticism and perceive it as a method of controlling their behaviour rather than being a platform to assist them in their roles (Chan, 2003). Illich (1993. cited in Chan, 2003: 6) concludes that structures to make organisations more professional do not always result in a more effective service. Furthermore, top-down processes to define professional agendas can result in 'systematic disabling of clients'. This is interesting given the recent

findings on morale in the police and the lack of engagement with the rank and file. Hoggart et al (2014), for example, reported very low levels of morale in their national study on police identity and argue that this is impacted on by the lack of engagement and involvement officers feel they have in decisions about changes to policing that affect them directly in the current climate.

Many authors have explored the issue of employee involvement within reform agendas and the influence a sense of organisational justice has on their success (Myhill and Bradford 2014; Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe, 2011). All conclude that communication and consultation with staff is critical to the successful embedding of reform in organisations. Positive perceptions amongst employees that their organisation delivers fair treatment and engages with them on change and policy can play a vital role in officers having a sense of legitimacy and commitment to internal rules and instructed changes to their work (Myhill and Bradford, 2013). If they feel they have had a role within the development of change and new policy or, at the very least, had the change explained to them, reforms are more likely to be supported by staff (Sklansky, 2008). If we consider this in the context of differing notions of professionalism and how we assess and measure them, this argument is paramount within this debate. The notion of organisational justice can explain some of the wider problems around the fundamental characteristics of making the police a formal profession (Williams and Cockcroft, 2018). In relation to this thesis, the issues are directly concerned with the reliance on what constitutes expert knowledge and self-regulation.

Hoggett et al (2014) argue that the rank and file have a sense of disconnect from the political and change agendas currently facing policing. What officers perceive to be 'expert' in this context is noteworthy. Whilst the College of Policing agenda seeks to reform policing and offer the provision of 'professional status', the issue of resistance to these changes must be recognised. Professionalisation, as well as being concerned with reform, can also be perceived as an extra layer of governance (Holdaway, 2017) where the control of working practice becomes paramount through the setting of clear parameters about what constitutes expert knowledge (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). Using Sklansky's (2005) argument, an analysis of the agenda being promoted by the College around professionalisation to drive forward cultural change is important. Sklansky argues that in policing there is a need to capitalise on the 'diffused and

seminal intelligence of the rank and file' (p. 11). As Egon Bittner argued 'every individual officer has…substantive factual information about crime, people, social areas, conditions, etc., which are of use in getting the work of policing done.' (1983. cited in Sklansky, 2005: 11). The role of officers as active change agents can be restricted by top-down process and decision making that involves limited engagement with those involved in the role. Encouraging reflection on dealing with the ambiguity present in police work is key. Reflection and learning from work and actions is a core component of successful change. Indeed, some advocates of professionalisation would argue that there are risks to learning if the use of discretion is excessively limited (Wood and Williams, 2016). If top-down processes and the development of abstract guidance documents become the advocated outputs of police research in this model of professionalism, we may witness reduced discretion, reflection and critical thinking. Some would argue that these issues are central to police decision making, organisational learning and change (Wood and Williams, 2016). Kleinig (1996:2) states that ethical decision making is 'very complex, certainly not linear, involving judgement, not simple deductive inference'.

As Wood et al (2008) suggest, it is essential that human agency is recognised as a key driver to understanding the challenges to reform and the facilitation of its success in policing. The people operating within the police culture are integral to the impact of change and therefore understanding their role within that culture is central to exploring the limitations of reform. Officers need to be encouraged to work in an environment that embraces reflexivity in decision making and additionally, has in place methods to capture those decision-making processes for utilisation in the future. Having the opportunity to review individual decision making in rape investigations to improve learning and practice is central to this thesis. It is within this framework that it becomes acceptable to be innovative, to do things differently and to challenge what has always been done. Change can occur more effectively when individual officers at all levels start to see value in new ways of working. However, they need to feel empowered to do so and able to challenge the status quo (Wood et al, 2008). Kleinig (1996) suggests that reflexivity is one of the core attributes required of officers operating within democratic contexts that aim to foster a culture and ethos of human rights. It appears that it is routinely an aspect of policing that is essentially ignored in relation to the

measuring of what police officers do and what constitutes 'good' policing. Considering this within the context of the previous research conducted on rape reform, particularly the evaluation of the MPS' Project Sapphire, is vital. Indeed, local Borough Command Units' Sapphire teams were fundamentally measured via the rate of sanctioned detections they had achieved for rape cases with limited understanding of the process involved in achieving these project objectives (Williams and Stanko 2016). Given that the second objective was victim care, the understanding of the 'process' applied to achieving these figures is fundamental.

Sklansky (2008) suggests that fixed systems and expected, prescriptive behaviour can inhibit the identification of knowledge and, indeed, insight from the shop floor. Given that research clearly shows that not including or engaging with officers about reform agendas impacts on successful implementation (Myhill and Bradford, 2013), this has interesting consequences in the area of rape investigation and the limited success with reform over time. Perhaps the most recent change to be considered in relation to this area, as explored in Williams and Stanko (2016), is the joint ACPO (now National Police Chief Council (NPCC)) and CPS 'toolkit' which was issued to all prosecutors and police officers in February 2015. The toolkit provides a set of guidelines to be followed by officers to assist them when considering consent in cases of rape. It outlines when a rape victim is either too incapacitated through drink or drugs to consent or when they were manipulated as a result of a power relationship. For example, if the suspect is a teacher, employer, doctor or gang member.

Given the evidence outlined above, it seems unlikely that this will be enough to promote the structural and cultural changes required for the police to adequately utilise research knowledge on this subject within their operational roles. More importantly, such prescriptive options and outputs from research and their ramifications have been widely debated (Wood and Williams, 2016). The next section considers the notion of evidence-based policing within this wider debate on reform failure, professionalism and the development of 'expert knowledge' in the field of policing.

The Move to Evidence-based Policing within the Reform Agenda

Conducting research within the area of policing is not new (Reiner, 2010). The relationship between researchers and the police has not been uncomplicated and the success academics have had in embedding findings into practice has been inconsistent (Dawson and Williams, 2009). One of the major elements of the recent move to professionalisation is to increase the use of academic research evidence within police decision making. The aim being to minimise the reliance on police craft knowledge and ensure that decisions are driven by what is known to work in particular contexts and situations (Norman and Williams, 2017). This agenda therefore attempts to make police decision making more objective and more professional rather than reliant on experience and personal narrative. The extent to which this externally generated knowledge is valued by officers in terms of Bourdieu's (1990) notion of cultural capital will indeed influence the extent to which officers make reference to it in their work and this is a key part of the aims of this thesis. Gundhus (2012) suggests from her research that academic work, based purely on statistics is 'thin' knowledge and useful for managing elements of the police organisation. Conversely, experienced-based knowledge, intuition or 'thick' knowledge is perceived as not effectively understood or considered by academics.

Over time there has been much debate and disagreement as to what the definition of evidence-based policing is, what types of knowledge are included within it and what is meant by the term (Hesketh and Williams, 2017). One of the problems with the relationship between academics and the police relates back to the origins of police research. Early enquiries into policing (Muir, 1977; Banton, 1964; Holdaway, 1979) focused primarily on qualitative ethnographic methodologies to explore the working practices of the police. However, much of this early research focused on the conduct and behaviour of the police which did not make for an easy relationship between the two communities (Brown, 1997; Dawson and Williams, 2009; Reiner, 2010). Officers perceived researchers as spies, attempting to expose wrongdoing in the way in which the police undertook their business. There was a perceived lack of practical usefulness and they were seen, therefore, as removed from the real world of police work. This alone impacted on the credibility of the knowledge created by academics in comparison to the craft knowledge and informal working rules relied upon by officers

(Dawson and Williams, 2009). As Holdaway (1979:1) articulates, 'the self protectionism and distrust of all things sociological has preserved an unhealthy gap between academic and police worlds'. However, the discourse within both the policymaking environment and within the world of academics involved in policing has fundamentally changed. Indeed, over the past thirty years there has been a political drive to move research into a more practical forum where practical outputs are standard to ensure real operational change through learning (Dawson and Williams, 2009).

The 1980s experienced a new era in police research as the debate about crime levels rising, and the rhetoric about nothing working within crime policy became paramount. There was much disillusionment with the welfarism agenda and rehabilitation paradigm, and the rhetoric shifted politically to a more practical conversation of 'what works' (Garland, 2001). This involved the requirement of the police to evaluate practice and develop a more evidence-based approach to their work operationally and within policy development (Hough and Tilley, 1998; Pease, 1998; Maguire, 2004). As Sparrow (2016) claims this type of research can appeal to senior leaders as it relates to cost effectiveness and management decisions. Whilst Sherman (1998) suggests that evidence and scientific understanding can be applied to policing in a similar way to the medical profession, it is important to be mindful that the development of objective police knowledge (Cope, 2003; Bryant et al, 2015) can conflict with the perceptions of what constitutes knowledge for officers. This amounts to a reliance on the operational experience gained within the 'university of the streets' (Holdaway, 1979), or via the organisational reality that works to 'establish rules of thumb that in practice are the most enduring basis for Anglo-American policing' (Manning, 1979: 53). Pease and Roach (2017) argue that evaluations are not seen as reflecting the experience of practitioners. They often fail to capture the choices that officers have to routinely make as part of their daily business and the knowledge applied when doing so. Such ideas and concepts are also discussed by Chan (2003) in her research on the application of university-taught policing and the input of criminological knowledge following recruitment into the New South Wales police.

Chan found that when returning from the academy new recruits were more likely to utilise the advice and knowledge imparted from police colleagues than refer back to the learning they had received in the training college. This has more recently been confirmed by research with 'in service' police students (Norman and Williams, 2017; Hallenburg and Cockcroft, 2017). 'What works' research gathered pace during the mid-80s and 90s and became labelled by some as an administrative form of criminology. Young (2004), for example, argued that the role of criminological research as a method to consider 'what works' in crime prevention and reduction reinvented and narrowed the discourse of criminology. Considering this in the context of policing is important. Many academics (Punch, 2015; Stanford, 2012; Wood and Williams 2016) argue that for a more ethical and value based style of policing there needs to be increased support for critical reflection in police practice. The more standardised, scripted approach to dealing with crime, advocated by a pure 'what works' mentality, can hinder practitioners' critical reflection and value-based action and influence the development of 'storying' accounts about certain aspects of police practice to serve a protocol (Campbell, 2004).

The growth in this scientific, positivist approach to criminological enquiry seeks to find an objective and rational method to consider cause and effect, much like that which is present in the purest school of evidence-based policing in the current climate (Sherman, 1998). Given what we know about rape victims and the complexities of their needs (Stanko and Williams, 2009), the idea of a scientific approach, which may support a blanket approach to certain criminal contexts, lies in direct contrast to the tailored approaches required to improve the investigation of rape. Much 'what works', evaluative work relies on quantitative data to assess the success of any recommended initiatives. Considering this in the context of the way performance is measured in rape investigations and 'what might work' in rape cases, an exploration of how these issues interact with each other is crucial to a more complex understanding of decision making. This is particularly relevant given the complexities of needs and the vulnerabilities of the majority of rape victims (Williams and Stanko, 2016).

The widely contested debate about further police professionalisation through the use of research and education has been described by officers as a method to reinforce a

culture of conformity which essentially turns 'artisans into robots' (Sklansky, 2008). Fleming (2015) noted how police officers remain very wary of academic research as a starting point for developing their understanding of a problem. They are more likely to consider their own experiences within this process. Arguably, the dominant paradigm of what constitutes evidence-based policing, which seeks to test the validity of truth at a 'safe and sanitized distance from awkward human beings' (Stenson, 2010: 163), can perhaps compound these issues for officers. More worryingly, given the strong evidence available outlining the complexities involved in rape cases, we need to consider the 'what works' narratives when it comes to attrition. Such prescriptive and scientific approaches which are removed from the human and individual elements of research ignore the various variables involved. Part of the move to professionalisation is to ensure that officers are making their decisions based on the best available evidence. However, there has been wide debate about what constitutes knowledge and best evidence both within police circles and in academia (Williams and Cockcroft, 2018); Hallenburg and Cockcroft, 2017; Fleming and Rhodes, 2018). The current state of research in policing predominantly remains within the school of crime control, involving such issues as intelligence-led policing, predictive policing and the use of algorithms to guide various areas of policing. Research in this field primarily utilises randomised control trial methodologies which identify areas to 'treat', with the impact of such treatment being subsequently evaluated against a set of measurable criteria – the research is therefore predominantly quantitative and the extent to which the context of these treatments is explored is debatable (Weisburd and Neyroud, 2011). This method is considered to be the most robust 'gold standard' form of evidence and on the hierarchy of evaluation techniques is rated the highest on the Maryland Scale (College of Policing, 2015).

Conversely, qualitative work features very low down on this same scale. It is this hierarchy of research methodologies that can compound the lack of integration of officers' voices in studies, and, considering the research available, this appears to be the current situation with officers who investigate sexual offences. Given that implementation failure is one of the three suggested reasons for unsuccessful reform (Lewis & Greene, 1978) – the other two being the expectations of the programme being set to high and conceptual failure (Cited in Brown, 2011: 270) – capturing

officers' opinions on these issues is key to understanding why reforms fail, and this is where the evidence-based policing agenda, in its current format, is not fulfilling its potential to assist policing. Without undertaking a thorough process evaluation, we cannot explore whether policies have been operationalised appropriately. This literature review has identified deep rooted structural issues that inhibit the effective delivery of change when it comes to rape and sexual violence. Without a rich understanding of these complex factors the debate is not fully explored and officers' voices are left absent. The way that police work is valued by the organisation and what the police themselves value as credible and professional police work seems to conflict with what might be required to drive realistic success and behavioural change when it comes to rape (Williams et al, 2009; Chan, 2003). Rein (1977. cited in Brown, 2011: 270) adds that implementation requires practitioners to change their daily behaviour. Whilst we know that there remains a mind-set amongst police officers that continues to establish a disbelief of women who report allegations of sexual violence under particular circumstances, and that these assumptions influence the decision to proceed with an investigation or prosecution (Jordan, 2001; Brown, 2011, O' Keefe et al, 2009), we do not fully understand why.

Weisburd and Neyroud (2011) suggest that scientific knowledge can be far more flexible than a purist style of evidence-based approaches through, for example, the use of mixed methodologies that involve both aspects of knowledge creation. The recent publication of the College of Policing's definition of evidence-based policing recognises the importance of a range of methodologies and sources of knowledge, including the experience of the practitioner (Cockcroft and Williams, 2018). However, the current perception amongst some police officers is that evidence-based policing ignores critical context, views the world as static (Greene, 2014) and simply does not get the reality of their social world (Hesketh and Williams, 2017). Furthermore, there is a sense that practical outputs from research serve only the needs of the management and do not include the front-line (Thacher, 2009). What is considered to be legitimate knowledge within policing on the ground may differ from what is considered legitimate at the top, and this notion of legitimacy is central to this thesis. Legitimacy is a theme that is explored in many contexts here and, arguably, what is considered legitimate knowledge may also influence what constitutes legitimate action

in policing. The use of knowledge to control and focus police actions and ensure a professional approach is divided into two areas by Evetts (2006. cited in Gundhus, 2012: 179).

Occupational-based control of professions stresses the importance of discretion and autonomy. Conversely, organisational control is more likely to use abstract knowledge to manage policing. The latter is strongly linked to the new public management model described in the previous chapter as it emphasises control over particular forms of police practice rather than seeking to understand experience based knowledge and ethical behaviour (Evetts, 2006. cited in Gundhus, 2012: 179). This type of knowledge may negate the experiential information that police acquire in the field and subsequently rely on. A standardised approach to learning defines certain measurable experiences for the purpose of managing the organisation and its staff (Holdaway, 2017). Additionally, this standardisation can also hinder creativity and innovation which, when dealing with complex victims and needs, is fundamental to an investigation being successful (Stanko and Williams. 2009). This can undermine the craft or occupational professional knowledge that officers hold (Willis and Mastrofski, 2016). Understanding officers' reluctance to buy into the concept of evidence-based policing, and its outputs, needs to be considered in the context of personal professional identities. Professionalism at the individual and organisational level needs to be congruent and balanced. Occupational professional experience gives officers a knowledge set that guides their working day. However, the new notion of organisational professionalism (Gundhus, 2012) can be experienced by officers as a method of controlling practitioner behaviour and their discretion, through prescriptive outputs based on objective and abstracted knowledge.

Shearing and Ericson (1991) suggested developing a means of further understanding how officers utilise stories and experiences to make decisions based on informal rules, and methods of working, over scientific ones. Rather than negating officers' experiential knowledge as mythological or as 'bad conceptual thinking' (p.488), its inclusion may enhance the debate and view them as insightful and critical players in the conversation. This would move beyond the dismissal of this type of knowledge to a situation where experiences are used as 'figurative forms with their own logic' (p.

489). This idea was mirrored more recently by Braga (2016) who suggests that officers' local knowledge and expertise is rarely systematically analysed or considered next to other community or academic sources.

Since this type of reform or knowledge creation is generally top-down, it means less participation and exchange of views between different segments of the police organisation (Manning, 2007). As Sklansky (2008) states, the police service remains, in the main, a hierarchical organisation and even when there are local or individual attempts to include more engaging and participatory management styles, the views of the rank and file officers are often overlooked in planning and decision-making processes. Silvestri's (2003) research supports this notion. Silvestri states that rank mentality limits openness and honesty and that more transformational styles of leadership can facilitate a sharing of power, a more problem-orientated approach to police work and can ensure that solutions are developed in a collaborative way. The centralisation of the Project Sapphire Unit within the MPS resulted in a shift from local reviews to a more central accountability function to ensure reviews were completed and classifications were correct. A key part of this thesis will explore how senior officers interact with officers in Project Sapphire teams locally about their decision making and engage them in that process of learning and reflection. Without the development of critical police leaders, Vickers (2000. cited in Silvestri, 2003: 182) states that police organisations will miss out on the ability to identify and challenge unexamined assumptions, explore more innovative and alternative ways of working and indeed understand the importance of context in any situation. Essentially, what this refers to is the use of reflection in policing which is so critical within any review of police actions, particularly when dealing with such complex situations such as interpersonal crime.

Current performance management styles within the police service can also inhibit an honest review of police processes and behaviours. The application of NPM into the public sector was driven by the rhetoric of customer care, accountability and cultural change. Techniques applied in the private sector, which have subsequently been adopted in policing, include appraisal systems, tables of performance indicators and customer charters (Butterfield et al, 2004). Despite wide debate about their usefulness within the police, de Maillard and Savage (2018: 328) recently found in the MPS

continuing use of target setting which was focused on short-termist decision making governed by the concern to 'deliver on targets''. Patrick (2011. cited in de Maillard and Savage, 2018:315) suggests that this can lead to gaming amongst officers and the under recording of crimes. This subsequently brings integrity into question. Fitzgerald et al (2002) further argue that such measures can create a divide between officers and their supervisors as they are considered as tick box exercises and methods to review individual performance. Butterfield et al (2004: 409) argue for a 'seamless link between wider organisational objectives and those set in the individual appraisal process'. In reality the quantifiable focus on outputs can negate reflections on the longer term outcomes reflected in organisational strategy, inhibit professional flexibility, discretion and entrepreneurial practice and dilute the importance of a customer focus in reviewing performance. Fundamentally they can concentrate the focus on meeting the targets at the expense of other harder to measure factors such as customer care and public legitimacy (Bevan and Hood, 2006). De Maillard and Savage (2018: 320) argue that performance styles can send important messages to officers about what the organisation constitutes as 'good police work' which can compound a sense of mission. They argue that this can create a 'mixed economy' where some officers believe in collecting numbers and others who do not reduce policing down to targets alone. Indeed, they argue for a more creative performance regime where crime prevention, problem solving and community engagement are essential (p. 321).

In the context of the new professionalism in policing which focuses on the development of reflective practice, problem solving and evidence based practice (Fyfe, 2013), the continuing nature of such regimes can be very damaging. Indeed, as De Maillard and Savage (2018) argue, traditional styles of performance review can contradict with the ideals outlined in recent reforms to professionalising the service. Fryer et al (2009) highlight that a successful performance management system should use frameworks to improve practice and identify good work in certain contexts for further dissemination within the organisation. Furthermore, this would facilitate the reflective, learning culture of continuous improvement being driven by the current professionalisation agenda (Wood and Williams, 2016). The focus on hard outputs in any organisation can leave an effective performance process at the stage of data collection with no interpretation of such information alongside other qualitative measures or communication of the

results for learning (Fryer et al, 2009). Output collection and league tables can additionally ignore contextual difference such as financial and staff resources, different location demographics and staff training (de Maillard and Savage, 2018).

Potentially, some of the processes and structures in place within the police which form part of the professionalisation agenda may negate the success of any drive to encourage officers to think more critically about their actions. This is evident in the context of rape with performance, quantifiable-based methods. Sherman (1998) argues that research findings from internal evaluations about police tactics and operational work can be developed into operational outputs such as guidelines and measurements to continually assess the consistent success of the implemented change. However, as Greene (2014) articulates, this model is concerned with outputs and ignores the process of police actions and behaviour within the context of that work. Much of the justification for these methods is concerned with the minimisation of risk, accountability and the provision of an evidence bases for action and behaviour. As Stanford (2012) postulates, a risk-reduction model can devolve the responsibility of personal care and protection to the individual and, of particular pertinence here, can exert perceived control over practitioners. Considering this in parallel to the wicked problem of victim vulnerability, in the context of rape, more consideration and a creative problem-solving approach is required. Standardisation can de-professionalise and devalue innovation and new ideas (Campbell, 2004). Greene (2014) suggests that policing research should be primarily grounded in the social and behavioural sciences approach as opposed to the scientific medical model advocated by some academics. Given the complexities of human relationships and their environments within the field in which policing operates, this needs serious contemplation, particularly in this context (197).

Chan (1997; 2003) highlights that part of the challenge to embedding reform or any change programme in the police is dependent on how much capital the resulting reform is considered to have by the organisation and individual officers. It is not until external programmes about professionalisation (and what that professional agenda involves - including the use of research) are accepted as 'high value' or credible by both the organisation and the individual officer that the habitus and the mandate of policing will start to change (Wood and Williams, 2016). The evidence above highlights

how both explicit and implicit features of the police culture, and what that culture values, can limit the success of reform in policing. As Nonaka (1994) argues, problem-solving activity within an organisation is often assumed to be facilitated by information that is given to that organisation. This negates the value of information that is created within it by the employees themselves. It can only be through listening to employees, understanding decisions and, critically, revealing innovation that real learning can occur. 'Innovation is a key form of organisational knowledge creation and cannot be explained sufficiently in terms of information processing or problem solving. Innovation can be better understood as a process in which the organisation creates and defines problems and then actively develops new knowledge to solve them' (p. 14). This distinction between codified, more formal knowledge and tacit, personal knowledge is important for this thesis. Tacit knowledge is likely to be rooted in practice, experience and involvement in a specific context or event. Therefore, the single method for exploring this and making it less opaque is including officers in this conversation and acknowledging their own professional decisions.

The literature outlined in Chapters Two and Three highlights the long-term and related issues influencing this problematic area of police work. The problem of attrition and the characteristics of the cases that predominantly drop out of the process are clearly related to the type of work that the gendered nature of policing find 'messy' and complicated. Indeed, they transcend the descriptions of ideal victims and often involve the types of victims that are subject to assumptions about acceptable behaviours (Stanko and Williams 2009). In reality, the ideal victim rarely features in reported rapes in London and therefore the cases most likely to be perceived as credible and legitimate by officers remain rare. In a culture that values particular masculine behaviours and actions over more supportive roles and reflects this in organisational processes, the problems around reform and change are evident (Westmarland, 2001). The notions of credibility, legitimacy and what is worthy of gaining capital in policing threads throughout both chapters in terms of why attrition might occur. The reforms around rape have had limited success. They have been driven by knowledge created outside of practitioners' control with limited engagement about what they consider to be the issues inhibiting change. This will further impact on the success of any reform as it has ignored and negated the knowledge they consider as legitimate within their

own operational roles. As Wood and Williams (2016) suggest, some of the changes being imposed on policing in the current climate could have the reverse effect of positively transforming policing to become a more professional police service: a service that recognises reflection, critical thinking and a recognition of both quality and process. There is also clearly much resistance to change and evidence of officers attempting to re-establish cultural identities, through traditional behaviours, that may reinforce a sense of symbolic capital (Chan, 2003) within the field of police work. Paradoxically, it might be some of these very behaviours that the reform agendas are seeking to address (Loftus, 2009).

Understanding how the police develop their working values, shape their behaviour in line with these values and indeed interact with victims of crime is ignored by the current approaches to derive evidence for policing. A number of academics argue for other forms of knowledge to be incorporated into our understanding of evidence based policing (Fleming and Wingrove, 2017; Williams and Hesketh, 2017; Stanko, 2007). In relation to the study of rape and change in this area of policing, developing an understanding of the views and perceptions of practitioners is key. Officers are active participants within police culture and their ongoing stories perpetuate a particular lens within which they assess their role (Chan, 2003). The need for a wider range of methods to capture different kinds of data is crucial to understanding and advancing how real longer-term change can be embedded (Greene, 2014).

Chapters Two and Three reviewed the range of very diverse issues that affect police attitudes to sexual violence and allegations of rape. They also examined the way in which police culture and officers' identities interact with stereotypical beliefs about gendered violence and acceptable gendered behaviour, and how these play out in officers' use of discretion and subsequent decision making. This review has also explored the debate further by considering the value placed on specific areas of police work and the way the work is measured, both by colleagues and the organisation. It is timely to review officer decision making around the crime of rape within the wider context of police professionalism, evidence-based policing and the clear inhibitors that top-down processes have on successful change (Fleming, 2014). Most recently, Fleming (2015) suggests, from her research, that officers have a suspicion of academic research and of 'outsiders' becoming involved in the creation of police-

based knowledge. They are much more likely to refer to their peers in order to gain the relevant knowledge advocated by notions of what constitutes cultural capital. This review reinforces the importance of recognising officers as active participants in the co-production of knowledge as a way of understanding and including their social reality within that knowledge bank. Jordan (2011) states that we lack the effective evaluative research to firmly state whether the resistance to reform is concerned with individuals, systemic problems or incomplete implementation. This results in either policy failures or a lack of change in rape conviction rates. This thesis goes some way towards addressing these issues. My research questions, aims and research methodology have been generated from both the gaps in the current knowledge on decision making in rape investigation and the way that some officers view research and its' outputs. The next chapter outlines my research strategy, methodological reflections and discusses my experiences of doing research in the police organisation.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter outlines the research design applied within this study and reflects on the methodological and ethical issues experienced whilst undertaking research with the police. Due to the relevance of my own background and experiences during this research, I describe my own personal experiences in the world of policing and sexual violence and apply this within the context of my research. Research projects can often be vulnerable to change and uncertainty and, as a result of a number of personal and work-based factors, this research is certainly one of those examples. Although elements of the project evolved as I progressed through the research, the methods applied to its investigation remained consistent over time. The research methodology was designed to meet the research aims and contribute to the debate on rape investigation through the inclusion of officer voice. The design is very much aimed at capturing the voices of the participants and allowing for these perspectives to drive the development of the findings outlined in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Before exploring the research process in some detail, below is a reminder of the research aims:

- To explore the working schema operating in police decision making during rape investigations

- To further understand how officers, interpret different contexts of sexual violence

- To identify the barriers to successful reform aimed at reducing the level of attrition

- To consider the role of performance measures used in cases of sexual violence and how they might impact on officer decision making

- To understand officers' perceptions of reform programmes in the context of police organisational culture

- To understand officers' experiences of being involved in the reform agenda around rape investigation

The development of this thesis has been unconventional. I started this investigation in 2000 at North London University under the supervision of Professor Sue Lees. As a hugely knowledgeable scholar in this area of policing, Sue offered me invaluable insights into the policing of rape and the injustices experienced by women in the criminal justice system. Sue very sadly died in 2002. I transferred to Dr Janet Foster (LSE) at the end of 2001. It was during this time that I secured a full time position as an academic researcher at the MPS. Having completed my fieldwork in 2004-2005 I interrupted my studies to allow for two occasions of maternity leave. On return to work after the birth of my first child in 2006, I became involved in an internal research project concerned with the police investigation of rape. The internal *MPS Rape Review* (2007) was produced during my interrupted period. The findings of this piece of research together with mounting evidence on the lack of change within policing (as evidenced in Chapter Two), heavily influenced my decision to return to my thesis in 2014 under new supervision.

It became very clear to me that the original aims of my thesis were valid and that a return to the study would also afford an opportunity to reflect on possible change over time. The policing landscape itself had undergone considerable change, as evidenced in Chapter Three, and returning to the thesis almost a decade later, I was able to better reflect on the broader changes in relation to officers' views about change. Whilst the original research questions designed in 2001 remained pertinent, I was able to refine and build on these in light of broader organisational changes. The long-term analysis and subsequent findings from the data in London indicate limited change despite the research (Stanko and Hohl, 2015). The opportunity to restart my PhD gave me the chance to explore whether the officers I interviewed in the second phase of my research, during 2016 and 2017, had incorporated the local research-driven knowledge, from the *MPS Rape Review*, into the process of decision making. In order to explore officers' perceptions of local reform agendas focused on rape investigations following external and internal reviews the following research questions were developed. These questions are crucial to the development of knowledge around policing and rape investigation.

Research questions:

- *How do officers understand the different contexts of sexual violence cases?*
- *What working schema do officers draw on to assist them in their decision making?*
- *Which current performance measures used to assess police performance around rape and sexual violence impact on decision making and attrition?*
- *How do officers make sense of the lack of success of reform agendas involved in rape and sexual violence investigations?*
- *What impact does reform have on the professional identity of officers involved in this area of police work?*

In order to provide some extra context about my own personal research interest in this field of policing I would like to provide an overview of my background in this area.

My researcher 'status'

Throughout my undergraduate degree, in criminology and psychology, I became increasingly interested in the police investigation of sexual violence and feminist criminology. My final year dissertation focused on male rape and I followed this up during my Master's degree with an empirical qualitative study exploring officers' attitudes towards this crime. Whilst completing my studies I was employed at a women's rape crisis centre and I became increasingly aware of both the continued reform attempts to improve conviction rates and the ongoing academic research highlighting the problematic nature of rape investigation. I was also working at the rape crisis centre when I started this PhD and, as a result of this role, I was invited to attend the Sexual Offences Independent Advisory Group (IAG) in the MPS. This group was established following the Sex Offences Review (1999). This position provided me with a wealth of contextual information about the factors involved in attrition, the wider position of policing within the field and the operational demands faced by officers investigating this crime. The wide range of stakeholders involved in this IAG confirmed for me that sexual violence is not simply a police problem but that the involvement of such diverse partners could provide the police with a way of doing things differently as opposed to just doing different things (Abbott and Weiss, 2016). Prior to this realisation I had primarily considered and reflected more on the role of the individual officer and

the unique decision-making process applied during a rape investigation. These experiences offered insight into the role of officers as active participants who operate within a wider organisation and criminal justice system with its own processes, rituals, rules and culture.

In Chapter One I noted my position as an academic researcher within the MPS which led on from my involvement at the IAG. I was employed in this position when I transferred my PhD to the LSE in 2001. Indeed, the focus of this study was partially driven by the expansion in my own knowledge about the organisational influences on rape investigation and an awareness of the growing body of literature that failed to capture the voice of the practitioner and the wider context of the policing world. As King et al (2010) argue, organisational status results from various audiences' expectations of them. Subsequently, these audiences hold them to account for their actions. Considering this concept, it became clear to me, as an academic working inside the MPS, that there was a need to view the police organisation as having a key role in the decision-making process rather than individual officers being solely accountable. In this context I specifically refer to rape investigation.

Brown's (1996) well established typology of police researchers has much resonance for my own reflections here. In her analysis she defined four categories of police researchers: 'Insider insiders'; 'Outside insiders'; Inside outsiders', and 'Outside outsiders'. 'Insider insiders' are researchers who work and conduct, predominantly, operational research inside the organisation. External academics have criticised the outputs from such research stating that they lack objectivity, validate the work being undertaken inside the organisation and can be absent of criticality. 'Outside insiders' are usually made up of serving or retired officers who explore the organisation within which they work. Westmarland (2016) claims that these researchers have revealed, through the combination of their internal knowledge and academic research, a more nuanced understanding of the officers' world. Critics of insider research argue that 'member knowledge' (Greene, 2014) can leave the researcher overly close to and familiar with the study. This is discussed in more detail later in the chapter. 'Inside outsiders' consist of researchers with official access to the police such as researchers working within a dedicated unit within the organisation and consultants or market

researchers brought in to undertake an independent review of a particular police function. Finally, Brown describes the 'outside outsider' status. This is the category where academics predominantly fall. My research experience in relation to these differing forms of status changed throughout the process of undertaking my doctoral studies. Whilst as an employee I was an 'inside insider' working for the organisation, as a PhD student I shifted into an 'inside outsider' role. During the second phase of this work I had left the MPS and was then defined as an 'outside outsider'. These shifting research roles created considerable complexity and conflict for me. Hunt (1984) explains that even as an 'outsider' there is always a balance to be found between being entirely detached from the research participants and building the relationships required to undertake the research effectively. The access I had to previous knowledge of both the organisation and the subject matter facilitated this relationship building and enabled me to build the trust required for the research during stage two.

My own personal experiences and my position as an employee with 'inside outsider' PhD researcher status (Brown 1996), at the start of this thesis, shaped both my own research experience and how my participants viewed me. For example, understanding the role of the organisation as a social actor and the influence this has on its employees' actions meant I did not assume that decisions were isolated to the personal view of the individual officers (King et al, 2010). My experience of being 'inside' the police taught me that when officers make decisions they also consider the organisation's 'cause, rules etc., even if they do so begrudgingly' (King et al, 2010: 293). Therefore, it is relevant to the research design to acknowledge that the internal access I had whilst inside the police, as an employed researcher, further influenced my desire for a more complete approach to this debate which made officers central to the argument. Whilst the literature reviewed in Chapters Two and Three clearly identifies the gaps in knowledge around this subject area, specifically relating to the perspective of the practitioner, it was my internal role and involvement in the internal rape research projects that had additional influence in the development of my research aims and questions.

Research Design and Strategy

The fieldwork for this study was undertaken with the MPS – the largest police force area in the United Kingdom. The MPS is made up of thirty-two London Boroughs, each of which, at the time of the initial fieldwork, had recently established a dedicated Project Sapphire team to deal with the investigation of rape. The fieldwork for this research was conducted in two phases. Whilst this was not part of the initial methodological strategy I consider this to be one of the clear strengths of this research as it offers a distinct exploration into the long-term ongoing issue of attrition over time. The identification of dates of fieldwork is clearly marked within the findings chapters. This allows for consideration of difference and similarity in the perceptions of officers. Often, planned longitudinal studies are quantitative in their design (Bryman, 2012) and frequently referred to as quasi-experimental (Jupp, 2006). This long-term research, whilst initially not a planned decision, has allowed me to follow up initial interviews in the same force area and explore the same issues as I did in the initial fieldwork. I was not, however, able to use the same research participants from the first phase of the work. Over the two phases I interviewed forty-eight officers in total (thirty-four in phase one and a further fourteen in phase two). These officers were from various ranks and roles. Additionally, as detailed previously in this chapter, it was during the gap between the two phases of my research that the *MPS Rape Review* was commissioned. The second phase of my research enabled me to probe questions around the local evidence in the *Rape Review* and explore officer awareness of the work and its application in practice.

Given the nature of my topic and the aims of my research, this study adopts a qualitative approach. It was critical that the research design allowed for a participant centred approach that would help construct new academic knowledge in this previously under-researched field of study. As Creswell (2009) argues qualitative methods allow for the discovery of a complexity of viewpoints rather than narrowing meaning into a few categories (p: 8). Whilst qualitative research can be criticised for being too subjective and lacking generalisability (Jupp, 2006; Bryman, 2012), it can provide context and meaning to the behaviours typically explored in more quantitative

projects (Mason, 2002). More importantly, such methods can help explain contextual social processes, change, social organisation, social meaning and 'people's situational accounts and experiences, rather than a more superficial analysis' (Mason, 2002: 65).

Given the aims of my research it was important that I developed a framework for the study that allowed me to build up an understanding of this area from the ground. I initially considered a purely grounded theoretical approach. However, given one of the proposed aims of the research was to explore the gaps in the current academic debate, I decided to focus on a more integrated perspective. This was further influenced by the research being conducted over two time periods as the gap in the work allowed for the initial data and findings to be revisited alongside the literature in the second phase. Blaikie (2012) considers an abductive research strategy as being the closest methodology to acknowledging the integration of theory, with the data generated and the analysis being developed simultaneously. Bryman (2012) argues that in a qualitative research study, the views of the participants are the empirical data end point, and being entirely inductive suggests the researcher can derive a new theory based on that 'truth'. Indeed, even 'devoted practitioners have questioned whether grounded theory has fulfilled its promise to create new empirically based theories' (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012:168). Abductive reasoning or an abductive approach can address the claimed weaknesses of purely inductive approaches.

Critics of a pure grounded theory method argue that empirical data alone cannot create the building of a new theory (Dudovskiy, 2016). Therefore, abductive reasoning offers a more pragmatic approach. It allows for the development of ideas directly from the data but with a reliance on some form of explanation and understanding of the participants' views through social scientific knowledge already in existence. Using this approach, the researcher chooses the most appropriate and relevant explanations, among many alternatives, in order to explain the narratives identified through an analysis (Dudovskiy, 2016). Abductive reasoning therefore involves deciding what the most likely inference is from the collected data. Such perspectives result in the building up of new ideas through the process of moving between data analysis, explaining the presentation of the data in the write-up and theory construction (Mason, 2002). A pure grounded theory approach argues that theory building occurs with limited influence

from any other established theory and this may be particularly complex when interviewing the police. As Topping (2016) argues, police officers can ensure they present a particular version of 'truth' and there will invariably be different versions of events. Therefore, realistically, the discovery of an 'absolute truth' to be further defined as a theory in subjective, qualitative research can be very difficult to develop (Marks, 2004).

The methods chosen for this study are aimed at revealing a more nuanced and textured approach to the exploration of police practice and behaviour (Bryman, 2012). Qualitative methods are concerned with generating data as opposed to analysing that already in existence (Mason, 2002). As such methods are primarily concerned with the voice of the researched, they are often associated with feminist studies (Stanko, 1985). Many of the reasons I chose to use a qualitative approach mirror the reasons why feminist academics support such ideas. As Kelly (1988) argues, quantitative research can suppress voice and ignore the human reality which is not captured in hard data. However, qualitative data is often criticised for being too subjective and not generalisable. Specifically, police research has recently become predominantly focused on 'what works' research which primarily uses quantitative methods (randomised control trials) to explore the effectiveness of police crime reduction tactics (Hesketh and Williams, 2017; Wood and Williams, 2016). There are a growing number of police scholars who advocate the drive for a mixed method approach to research. There is however, an acknowledgment that researchers using such mixed approaches should ensure quality and rigour in their studies to further promote the work (Zitomer and Goodwin, 2014). The findings in this thesis are contextual and situationally specific and certainly cannot be applied to police culture as a monolithic concept. The thesis provides a thick description (Geertz, 1994) of a particular force, a particular unit and a certain group of officers about their perceptions of change. I sought 'textured information as an end in itself' (Cockcroft, 2013:10) as I wanted to reveal the depth and complexity of police decision making in this context.

Mason (2002) claims that semi-structured interviews can offer a style of consultation that is fluid and allows participants to provide accounts that are meaningful to them, thus yielding much rich data. I undertook semi-structured interviews in both stages of

the research to explore the complex issues outlined in the aims of this thesis. The questions were formally stated but as Fielding notes in his research with police (1996. cited in May, 1997:111), a thematic guide allows for 'probes and invitations to expound on issues raised'. Fielding argued that this style allowed for an analysis of the cultural impact on action, and of the working rules for police recruits in his study. Having the ability to probe and request expansion on certain issues was particularly important for me as a strategy to break down any perceptions of me as a 'management spy' in both phases. During the interviews I did not remain simply the listener (Jones, 2016). Rather, I engaged with officers on the subject matter in order to facilitate the establishment of rapport and trust (Loftus, 2009). Being an 'inside' researcher with knowledge of the topic, as a result of my insider role, meant I could ask meaningful questions. I had the depth of understanding of both the culture operating in the police and the actual topic of rape itself. In a sense, I felt this gave me increased credibility as a researcher given the historical factors involved in researcher and police relationships. I concluded from my own reflections on the research process that having insight into policing and what officers considered to be 'real knowledge of it', resulted in me being more readily accepted by the officers I selected for my study in both phases of the work. Given the findings about credibility and the literature concerned with credible knowledge, outlined in Chapter Three, this is noteworthy. As Charmez (2014. cited in Greene, 2014: 3) states, I was able to 'understand the cognitive, emotional, and/or psychological precepts of participants as well as possess a more profound knowledge of the historical and practical happenings of the field'. Greene (2014) postulates that inside researchers are also less likely to stereotype and judge members of the organisation being researched because of the familiarity of the setting. These factors relate to my own study and experience. I was able to establish a more engaged approach during the process and this allowed me to follow up themes that would not have naturally arisen had I not broadened the scope of the interview. Access was enabled as a result of my role, however, such knowledge of the field and context also granted me further access to the actual information I was seeking from officers during the research.

The idea of speaking to officers and observing them in their natural environment appealed to me over a process that distanced me from them as research participants.

Gearing and Dant (1990) argue that whilst there is a requirement for researchers to build a relationship with the participant, there needs to be a balance to ensure limited subjective bias in the data gleaned. Burgess (1984) describes such interviews as 'conversations with purpose' (p. 102) taking a relatively informal style in the approach. This study was built on the concept that the knowledge created from the interview process was derived from some dialogue between myself and the participants. There were a number of reasons, as a result of my researcher status, that this decision about the interaction was made. Mason (2002) argues that qualitative interviews construct and reconstruct context-specific knowledge rather than seeking to excavate it from the participant (p. 63). Therefore, rather than the researcher collecting data, the interview becomes focused on data generation through a process of co-production of knowledge between the researcher and their participant. Considering myself as active and reflexive within the construction of the data is key to subsequent decisions I made throughout my research journey. Through such reflexivity, researchers can be made aware of their influence on relationships with their respondents and how this might affect the research process and subsequent findings (Darawsheh, 2014). These factors influenced the design on my research in both stages of the work. What follows is a chronological insight into the research process.

Phase One: 2004-2005

The first phase of fieldwork was undertaken in 2004 and 2005 when I was employed by the MPS as a senior researcher in the internal research unit. At this time, the Project Sapphire Unit was relatively new and was locally driven by the Territorial Crime Operational Command Unit. Each Borough had a Sapphire team and local case reviews were managed within the BOCU as opposed to there being a central governance structure for the project.

Prior to starting the fieldwork, I secured ethical clearance at the LSE where I was enrolled for my PhD. In this phase of the research, I interviewed thirty-four officers. The sample was made up of twenty-nine white male officers and five white females with differing roles within the process of a rape investigation. This included specialist officers who predominantly attend to victim needs, investigating officers and first

response officers. The officers I interviewed had a range of experience both within the crime investigation department (CID) and in other roles in the police. All had served as response officers and the majority of the specialist investigative trained officers had come directly from the response role into the area of rape. Indeed, some saw this as a stepping stone into becoming a substantive detective. Others had experiences of neighbourhood policing and some were essentially career detectives who had no plans to move out of an investigative role. Ranks ranged from Police Constable to Detective Chief Inspector and the number of years they had been working within the police organisation ranged from three to twenty-five years.

Table 1: First phase of research (for a full list of officers interviewed see Appendix 1)

	Specialist sexual offence officer (SOIT)	Investigating officer	Response officer
1: Borough Croxley[3]	6	7	4
Borough 2: Charlton	5	8	4

Sampling

The reason I chose to select three different types of police, (response officers, detectives involved in rape investigations and SOITs), during the first stage of the research fieldwork was because I wanted to understand different perceptions of dealing with rape allegations. Therefore, interviewing first response officers, investigating officers and those specialist officers whose main function is to attend to the needs of rape victims specifically gave me access to these different perspectives. All of these officers have an important role in dealing with this crime and I wanted to explore the differences in these roles and the way that the varying stages of the

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[3] All borough names here are pseudonyms

process, from reporting to investigation, impact on each other. Furthermore, I wanted to explore the views that officers, in various and relevant roles, had of each other to give me a more rounded understanding of this area of the police. Understanding the process of dealing with and attending to calls was vital to this research as it allowed me to understand the crime within the wider context of police demand.

Examining issues around prioritising calls and officers' perceptions about whose responsibility it is to deal with rape victims at this level is key. Response was the entry level for all officers at this time and their experience in this role will have subsequently influenced their knowledge and their notions of particular crime contexts. As Charman (2017) recently found in her research, new recruits are most likely to be influenced by their fellow colleagues and the tutors they work with on the ground. My desire to spend time with and to understand response roles enabled me to consider how potential prioritisation processes, on-the-job learning and perceptions of crime and particular tasks become established in the infancy of an officer's career. Understanding how that working rule book, which formulates part of the habitus of policing, is developed was pivotal to this study. Indeed, it is also in these initial response roles that officers start to gain experience in decision making. Whilst the term police culture is in itself complex and descriptions can present an image of homogeneity (Chan, 1997), it was important for me in this research to understand the relationship between the way rape cases are dealt with on the ground by response officers and the way they are subsequently handled by investigative officers. I wanted to explore any similarities and reveal any influences that might occur at street cop level that could further impact on officers' decisions once they transfer into a detective role.

My research employed a purposive, non-probability sampling strategy in both phases of the fieldwork. Indeed, there was no intention of sampling on a random basis as I required active participants who would be able to meet the expectations of my research questions. The sampling decision was strategic as I actively chose the type of officers with my research goals in mind (Bryman, 2012). Strategic sampling offers the researcher a method of identifying a range of relevant contexts involved in the research topic. Here, I was able to identify different types of officers who had a role in the investigation of rape but with differing purposes. This enabled me to capture a

range of experiences and characteristics which provided a 'relevant range in relation to the wider universe' (Mason, 2002:124). Many qualitative researchers use versions of purposive sampling as, invariably, there are always specific samples that are relevant to an enquiry. Most qualitative research is complex and contextual. Choosing to sample specific participants who have distinct roles within the phenomenon being explored can ensure the research produces the relevant information and distinct versions of the issue. This can allow for a richer analysis and a wider understanding of the process involved (Mason, 2002). Given that my research evolved into two distinct phases, the sampling strategy formed what Teddlie and Yu (2007) refer to as a sequential approach to the sampling. This means that rather than the strategy being fixed at the beginning of the research journey, I sought out and added more respondents as the work progressed.

In the initial phase, I was working within the MPS and was fortunate to have support and permission from my line manager to use my own organisation for my research. I was also given a significant amount of time from my role to commit to the fieldwork. My line manager had a personal interest in rape investigation and research, having recently completed a strategic command course which involved input on the credibility of evidence in decision making. He was also a driver for the establishment of Project Sapphire. He subsequently became the MPS Commander leading on crime which included him being responsible for the area of rape. I was given a significant amount of freedom when choosing the research sites for this thesis and made a decision to sample two areas, both with relatively high allegations of rape and a relatively well resourced Project Sapphire team. Through negotiation with the central Project Sapphire team I was given the name of the local Sapphire leads and they became my gatekeepers. I gained access to a response team and a local Project Sapphire team whom I then shadowed for the period of my observational work.

Gatekeepers are central to gaining access in research and they either facilitate or hinder it. This may be influenced by their own perceptions of the research being conducted. Reeves (2010) noted that if access is gained through managers or supervisors, it can assist with giving the work credibility amongst their staff. She also notes that once in the research site a researcher may have to negotiate other informal

gatekeepers. In phase one of the research there were various levels of gatekeepers involved. Whilst I had a central sponsor and a local contact, I also had to develop rapport and trust with team leaders who essentially acted as secondary gatekeepers during the research. I had meetings with all the individual team leaders prior to the fieldwork and, during the six weeks I spent with the teams, I invited them to be interviewed alongside their staff to give them the opportunity to be further involved in the research. My key aim when approaching them was to be as open as possible about my work, to explain the methods I was using and why I had chosen them. More importantly, as an employee in the force, I was honest about my own role inside the organisation. Developing trust at that supervisory level and for that trust relationship to be witnessed by subordinating officers, assisted the support I received from the research participants.

Whilst I employed a strategy around the type of interviewees required for the research, within each different group of officer roles and ranks, the interview sample itself was based on opportunistic, convenience sampling. This was a result of my reliance on officers to come back to me once they had made a decision about further involvement in the research. Once the officers had agreed to be interviewed, I asked all participants to read an information sheet about the work and they were required to sign an informed consent form[4] which made clear their anonymity and promised confidentiality in the research. The interviews all took place within the officer's working area, at their assigned police station. I was allocated a room in each research site to conduct my interviews. I asked all the officers if they were content for me to record the interviews and assured them that the only people who would have access to the information they disclosed would be the transcriber and myself. All of the interview transcripts were held in my personal, locked filing cabinet and were not accessible by any other individuals. Skinns et al (2016) discuss the importance of confidentiality and anonymity in police research. When asking officers to discuss quite sensitive issues with you, as a researcher, it is essential that confidentiality is guaranteed. All the officers have been given a pseudonym within this thesis. Assuring confidentiality is fundamental in gaining trust and, in turn, for ensuring that the participants are as open with you as they can

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[4] Please see appendices

be. As a result of my role inside the organisation and the rank and position of my line manager, there were some concerns amongst participants about what might happen to the information they were imparting to me. This particularly related to disclosed experiences regarding risks, both to themselves and others. I did experience just two difficult situations during this phase of the research. These are discussed in more detail in the ethics section of this chapter

Observational Research

In addition to the interviews conducted during the first phase of the research, I undertook an additional three weeks' observational work in each of the Boroughs – Croxley and Charlton. I attached myself to one team of response officers for two weeks in each area and spent a further week within their local Project Sapphire investigation team following their shift patterns. This observational phase enabled me to build a rapport with the officers but also to observe the research participants before interviewing them, within the context of their own social world. As a participant observer I was able to gather data by participating in the research world. As Pearson (1993) states I was able to move closely between different individuals on the teams I was attached to and explore their interpretation of the context in which they work. Ethnography, as a method, aims to observe the research participants in their everyday routine life in order to see how they operate inside the organisation in which they work (Westmarland, 2016). I will reflect on my presence as an observer later in this chapter. As a result of my role in the organisation, I cannot claim that the situation was 'uncontaminated' by my presence (May, 1997). Whilst it offered me the most naturalist setting for observations, it would be disingenuous to suggest that my 'inside outsider' status, as an employee, had no impact on the behaviour of the officers I was shadowing. Therefore, when 'doing' ethnographic research there must be reflections as a researcher included within the field notes completed after time spent with respondents. As Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) state, recognition of the role and the personal biography of the researcher in the process of data gathering is important. Social research is not 'insulated from the wider society and from the particular biography of the researcher' (p. 16). (Westmarland, 2016). There are issues around

researchers conducting ethnography with the police, particularly regarding the extent to which officers will act naturally while researchers are around. Similarly to Rowe (2016), I made the decision to experience the policing world first hand as it would 'provide valuable insight into cultural and organisational practices that influence how policing is delivered in operational terms' (p. 179). Moreover, experience of the working context can assist with the understanding and interpretation of further data by broadly understanding elements of the context in which it was gathered (Westmarland, 2016).

As the research was aimed at understanding officers' decision making within the context of the organisational structure, immersing myself in it for a short time enabled me to produce a richer narrative concerning the situational-based knowledge that is developed and used within an officers' working day (Taylor, 2010). I wanted to observe officers doing things as opposed to simply listening to narratives about how they did them (Dixon and Maher, 2002). As Atkinson et al (2001: 4-5) argue, interview data is often 'indistinguishable from other forms of interaction and dialogue in field research settings'. My role as a participatory observer gave me a sense of 'police life in all its gritty realism' (Westmarland, 2016: 163).

Having significant amounts of time for rigorous data collection, effective data analysis and write-up, is often an issue when conducting research for the police. Senior police leaders often want research completed quickly to inform their decisions (Dawson and Williams, 2009). Therefore, as a researcher working inside the MPS during this fieldwork stage, the experience of conducting in-depth observations over several hours was not something I had been routinely involved with as part of my role. My engagement was ordinarily with officers at a more senior level who were involved in developing strategy rather than delivering operational responses. In this first stage of the fieldwork, the observations and interviews took place over two months, with me spending an average of one month at each site. I made my own fieldwork notes after every shift I spent with officers, noting events and indeed my own reflections of incidents I had observed.

Spending two weeks working directly with the response teams and a further week within the specialist unit in each BOCU gave me much insight into the type of issues that officers deal with on a daily basis. Whilst I have used some of my reflections and observations from my fieldwork in this thesis, in the main, this aspect of the research was used to assist the development of my interview schedule for all of the officers I spoke to. It enabled me to reflect on my fieldwork notes and explore some of the issues that arose when I was in the field. Innes (2003. cited in Westmarland, 2016:171) argues that conducting observational research can be complex for researchers as their participants can reveal very personal issues about their lives both inside and outside of work. The perception that the researcher is then betraying the trust of their participants is termed 'going native'. He argues that a sense of distance returns once the fieldwork is completed and this ensures that the analysis of the data remains effective. During my observations with officers at this stage of the fieldwork I witnessed some behaviours that complicated my status as an inside researcher because of the relationship I had with the organisation. As an employee I reported to a senior officer and during the observational stage some of the behaviours I saw should, potentially, have been reported within the organisation. I will discuss how I personally negotiated these experiences further in the ethics section of this chapter.

Skinns et al (2016) discuss the importance of the researcher negotiating their role when in the field and how their status this may be dependent on gender, age, appearance and competence. I think for any researcher conducting research in the police, the history of the relationship between the police and researchers needs to be carefully considered (Reiner, 2010). I was a relatively young woman with an academic background and I was being line managed by the senior officer involved in the strategic development of the subject area I was researching. Therefore, these issues for me were multifaceted. Manning and Van Maanen (1978. cited in Skinns et al, 2016: 191-192) describe how an observer's status and position can influence whether they decide to be covert or overt as a researcher. Covert researchers, or what Gold (1958. cited in May, 2007: 140) has called the complete participant, is where researchers do not make their intentions known to their participants due to the belief it will produce more accurate information and data (Young, 1991).

Overt researchers will be entirely open about their intentions and will recognise and reflect openly their role as being active within the process of data generation. My researcher experience could not be comfortably grouped into either of these defined categories. Ironically, I was not in the field as a covert spy. I was open with my participants about what I was trying to achieve and yet they considered me a spy of senior management. There were comments made, particularly in group settings during break periods, about what I might say to the senior officer about my observations. This never related to concerns about individual actions. More generally it was about group mentality and canteen behaviour. It was this that influenced my decision to be active and overt in my role as the observer and passive in terms of my actions in the field. Manning and Van Maanen (1978. cited in Skinns et al, 2016: 192) note that this style of observer is often termed, a 'fan' and suggest that most observations in policing are carried out as 'a fan'. However, I think the reasons for my active decision to take the form of researcher role that I describe are more aligned with Norris (1993). Norris actively hid his knowledge of policing from his participants in an attempt to earn credibility, break down the distance between himself and officers and gain rapport. As Skinns et al (2016) state, it is common for researchers in this area to negotiate their own identity in the field in order to further understand the social world they are researching – 'this is intrinsic to qualitative research' (p. 193). I negotiated my identity, or potential identities, as a result of reflecting on my participants' perceptions of me as a researcher spying on the wrongdoings of the police and also as a result of their perceptions of me as an informer working for the organisation's senior management team.

Analysis

All of the officers in phase one agreed to having their interviews recorded. I transcribed them myself and the subsequent transcripts where kept securely in my home. Miles (1979. cited in Bryman, 2012: 441) describes qualitative data as an attractive nuisance. In relation to the first stage of the analysis I would agree with this statement. The data I collected from the interviews was rich and produced a narrative which, as a standalone, could have created an informative and useful account of this policing field. The importance of enhancing the analysis and locating the findings within the

wider theoretical debate was critical and this was something that emerged as I repeatedly read over the data and considered my themes. Gibbons et al (1994) discuss how computer software is now much more commonly applied to qualitative data as a result of it being able to assist with the construction of theoretical models in a more systematic way. I, however, chose not to use analytical software for my coding and undertook what May (2007) refers to as thematic analysis. I utilised a thematic coding strategy within my analysis as it reduces the original data and turns it into meaningful information for the analysis (Rivas, 2012). Thematic content analysis is similar to the beginnings of grounded theory analysis. However, it allows the researcher to focus on particular phenomenon or interaction and how it is viewed by the research participants (Rivas, 2012). I immersed myself in the data over time, making notes about the themes and the connectivity between the different issues that were emerging.

I used an open coding framework to organise the analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This involved taking sections of the data and organising it into themes that I had identified. In qualitative research the process of analysis becomes focused on reading through the data and exploring symbols or themes which create patterns and regularities (see Appendix 4). I identified the top-level themes or conceptual categories (Punch, 1998) arising and, as I became more familiar with the data, the analysis began to recognise sub-themes and links between the concepts. Whilst this literal reading of the data (Mason, 2002) helped me to identify the issues, as a qualitative researcher it was not substantial enough for this thesis as 'the social world is already interpreted and because what we see is shaped by how we see it' (p.149). This issue is relevant in police research as the organisational values and cultures play a huge part in the way police officers make decisions, interpret the world and consider their roles and behaviours. I wanted to locate my analysis within a framework that attempted to understand the impact of organisational factors on decision making in rape investigation. This meant I had to be interpretive and reflexive in the approach to the analysis. Understanding how officers make interpretations about their social world through the interviews conducted (Mason, 2002) was qualified in a sense by my own reflexivity and ability to consider my knowledge of the organisation. Being abductive in

my approach to the analysis allowed me to draw on both the previous research that I had personally been involved in around this subject area and the current body of academic knowledge that I had used to frame my ideas. By moving away from the purist ideas of grounded theory and the reluctance such methods have to engage with already existing literature (Timmermans and Tavory, 2012), I was able to validate what I was deriving from my analysis. Through an ongoing process of reflection, I achieved an 'iterative dialogue between data and a combination of existing theories or propositions' (Rahmani and Leifels, 2018). Given my own background in and knowledge of the organisation, my awareness of existing literature and the timescale of the research, this combination of grounded theory analysis and abductive reasoning allowed my reflections to become an integral part of the analytical process. Kelle (1994. cited in Rahmani and Leifels, 2018:569) also points out how abduction can help 'to explain new and surprising empirical data through the elaboration, modification, or combination of pre-existing concepts. Within this context, the theoretical knowledge and pre-conceptions of the researcher must not be omitted'.

I had a previous relationship with this area of policing and therefore was able to reflect on that in my enquiries and in the reading of the data. This methodology enabled me to become more strategic in my approach and to become more considered with the search for broader and more theoretical phenomenon (Bryman, 2012: 453). Rivas (2012) highlights the importance of asking questions of your data during coding in order to test and validate the assumptions. My knowledge of the policing field, and the complexity of this area of investigation, assisted me when considering the relationships between the themes and the wider context within which they are situated.

2004-2014: Some Time Out

It was during the analysis period that I decided to interrupt my research due to personal circumstances. During the eleven years away from my thesis I had a family and continued my employment at the MPS as a researcher. I remained involved in police research until I left in 2010 on a secondment to the Ministry of Justice. On my projected return to the MPS I decided to leave the organisation and take up a role as a lecturer

in policing in 2012. It was in 2014 that I decided to return to my studies. I had always intended to return to my previous research as my interest in the area remained strong. However, being involved with a cohort of students who were all serving police officers brought me to a further realisation about the importance of the data I had collected around this area of police work. Some of the students, during classroom discussions, described the lack of change in this area, the complexities of the victims and the overload of cases they experienced as a result of historic allegations and austerity. This is one of the key reasons the longitudinal element of this work became such a positive, yet unintended, consequence of this study. Hearing this anecdotal information from students drove my interest to examine if anything had changed: Were the issues the same? Had the *Rape Review* (2007) had any impact on officers' perceptions? What did officers themselves think about the reasons for the continuity of limited change? What impact had austerity had? It was these driving questions that influenced my views on the possibility of making this research longitudinal, particularly relating to the enhancement of the long-term debate on the problem of attrition. Conducting lectures on this very subject, and the realisation about the lack of effective change, convinced me to return to my thesis in 2014 following the time out to bring up my young family.

Phase two: 2016-2017

In addition to my awareness of a lack of meaningful change to policing practice, I was also mindful of the importance of developing one's own credibility within an academic career. In the same way that police officers emphasise the importance of achieving cultural and symbolic capital in their careers, the need to develop one's academic career through doctoral studies is an important aspect of the occupational expectations and demonstrations of competence, commitment and credibility within academia. Many of my academic colleagues had asked me, during the time of my suspended studies, why I had never picked up my thesis and this questioning became more frequent once they became aware that I was now employed as a lecturer in an academic post. I returned to study with my current supervisory team at London South Bank University in 2014. After securing further ethical clearance, I began the second phase of fieldwork.

By this time, I was a Senior Lecturer in Policing and was in a very different research role as an 'outside outsider' (Brown, 1996). As a result, my researcher status had fundamentally changed. I decided early on to capitalise on this opportunity, revisit my fieldwork and conduct additional interviews with an extended sample. This afforded an excellent opportunity to develop this study into a longitudinal piece of work with the added inclusion of more strategic roles involved in change agendas. The decision to extend the sample was a direct result of my realisation about the lack of change in this area of policing. The gap in my study allowed me to explore a range of new issues that had arisen over time and affected the roles and responsibilities of the different officers involved in this area of policing. Initially I was concerned that the data I had already collected would be in need of updating. Following a number of recent reviews and their recommendations regarding rape investigation, it was clear that more fieldwork was necessary to assess the current picture and explore whether the original issues I had found in the data had remained the same.

I realised early on that the opportunity to revisit a subject that had been persistently problematic over a prolonged period, would be the ultimate strength and unique aspect of this new research. I had the opportunity to examine a phenomenon again eleven years on and to consider if there had been any differences in officers' experiences and perceptions of it over time. This enabled me to reflect on the internal changes, the academic evidence that had been created around this policing topic since the first phase of my fieldwork and the implementation of any recommendations that had arisen from the reviews. During this phase I carried out a further fourteen interviews with officers, two of which were with officers in more strategic roles. I considered it important to add an additional two officers with involvement and responsibility for change programmes. There had been various changes made to the policing of rape since the original work had been carried out and yet the impact of reform remained limited. I wanted to understand the role senior leaders, at the centre of the MPS, had in communicating these changes at a local level and what function they had in the governance of case reviews. During the break in this study, scrutiny and attention to the role of police leadership had increased apace. This is partly due to the Leadership Review (College of Policing, 2015) and a growing conversation about the role of

leaders in successful change. Having the personal knowledge about the limited impact of change and reform in this area of police work, I wanted to gain insight into the officers' perceptions, as change managers, about why progress might be challenging.

There were a number of issues with sampling in this second phase relating to the choice of force area, the Boroughs to be selected for the fieldwork and the type of officers I interviewed. The significant change in my researcher status meant I no longer had access to the organisation in the way I had previously. I was now a researcher removed from the police, an 'outside outsider', and yet still remained significantly involved in the police agenda through my new role. In addition, I am an active participant on police relevant topics on social media and through blogs that I write regularly on related issues. Furthermore, there was a growing conversation in policing about evidence-based practice and, as a result, there had been vast growth in academic police partnerships. These circumstances changed the role I had in the research as the perceptions of me as a spy for senior officers was removed. That said, new concerns emerged with officers now perceiving me as someone who knew nothing about the reality of their work. No longer someone who had, in a sense, 'walked the walk' but as someone who sat in the ivory tower theorising about police work (Dawson and Williams, 2009). On reflection this did positively impact on the discussions I had with officers who featured in this latter phase of the work. They opened up to me quite quickly about issues that were both fairly personal and, in terms of the subject of attrition and the reasons for it happening, somewhat controversial.

There had been some significant changes to the Project Sapphire command team at this stage as a result of a number of recommendations arising from numerous internal and external reviews. The Sapphire teams had been denounced of local accountability and a central Operational Command Unit was now responsible for overseeing the decisions and cases being dealt with at a local level. Consequently, the governance and review of both rape investigation practice and classifications made were now a central responsibility as opposed to accountability being locally owned. It is important to note that the willingness and openness to talk to me may relate to other abstract issues as opposed to it being about me and my role as the researcher in isolation. These second phase officers were working in an area that was regularly reviewed both

internally and externally. There was a sense that these officers wanted to speak about the reasons why this might be but had never been asked for an opinion. Therefore, the openness to disclose this opinion was perhaps also linked to the need to get their voices heard. Many of them, despite the reviews undertaken both inside and outside of the MPS, had never been asked for their perceptions of Project Sapphire, the way they felt it worked or the way success was measured.

In this second round I interviewed a total of fourteen officers – Response, CID and SOITs again for the research and two officers with central responsibility for the strategic direction of Project Sapphire. All officers were white and I interviewed eight males and six female officers.

Table 2: Second phase of research

	Specialist sexual offence officer(SOIT)	Investigating officer	Response officer	Central Strategic Lead
Borough 3: Longdale	5	3	4	2

Sampling

As detailed previously, during the second stage of the research my researcher status had changed. I was now an external researcher and yet still heavily involved with the police world through my students in the university environment. Canterbury Christ Church University (CCCU) runs several undergraduate and postgraduate programmes specifically aimed at serving police officers. I accessed all of the CID and SOIT officers in the second phase of this research through one of my students. All of the students I work with are serving officers and one of my current undergraduate cohort at this time was the strategic lead in the MPS for SOIT officers. He offered me access to his station over a period of two days and I was able to conduct additional interviews with members of his local Sapphire team – both investigators and specialist officers. I also used convenience sampling, via my students, to interview a number of response officers. I followed the same process as I had with the original research in terms of anonymity and

research detail, however, four of these interviews with the response officers were carried out over the telephone rather than face to face.

Whilst I have reflected above about the changing nature of my role as an outsider in this phase of the fieldwork, there remained similarities to my initial 'way in' in terms of my gatekeeper being a senior officer within the rape MPS command. It is within this context that I will reflect on my position as a researcher during this stage of the research. I am aware of the fortunate position my new role gave me for this research. Research in policing can be complex to organise at all levels (Jones, 2016) and I cannot deny the influence that my new role, as a lecturer to a number of these officers, may have had on my access opportunity during the second phase of the work. In terms of my relationship with the gatekeeper in the second stage, the power dynamic had reversed. I was now his tutor for the degree programme and it is possible that the officers I interviewed saw his compliance as being more about him appeasing me in that role. Interestingly he had not disclosed to the officers I interviewed that he was a student at CCCU and if he had they certainly did not make reference to it. As I detailed earlier, the interviews with CID and SOIT officers during this phase seemed generally welcomed. Given that the gatekeeper was aware of the issues these officers were faced with in the current climate (e.g.: reform, caseload, austerity and reduced resources), I wondered if the interviewees were grateful to have the opportunity to speak to someone about their experiences. Indeed, this process could have offered the gatekeeper, as a more senior supervisory rank within this field, a way of encouraging these officers to speak up about their perceptions.

In terms of their willingness to engage with me about their current situation, this may have been welcomed by his team. Harrison et al (2001) talk of a reciprocal relationship in research, particularly in qualitative research. They note that 'the give and take of social interactions, may be used to gain access to a particular setting' (p. 323). I felt that the process of accessing investigators for the second phase was reciprocal for all parties involved as, in a sense, we all gained something from the process. By providing the opportunity for the participants to be heard, there was an element of empowerment involved for them whilst I accessed rich data for my thesis. Innes (2003) states that access can be particularly difficult when researching detective roles. Researchers

have had to use innovative ways to explore investigator roles (Hobbs, 1988. cited in Hallenburg et al, 2016:113) and I was initially concerned that the officers I interviewed would be anxious that I would feedback their comments to their superior – my student. As Marks (2004) identifies, even when research is officially agreed by the police organisation, officers can be suspicious of their supervisors' intentions. Topping (2016) argues that the subjects of research can act as subsidiary gatekeepers themselves as they can object to outside researchers infiltrating their space and enquiring about values, culture and sensitive topics. During both stages of the work I was aware that there had been much communication about my presence in the station, what I was researching and who I was. Topping (2016) argues that this can impact on officer knowledge about the research agenda and lead to pre-considered answers which can skew the 'truth'. In an attempt to overcome this, particularly as there had been recent reviews both internally and externally on Project Sapphire (Angiolini, 2015; Stanko and Williams, 2009), I spoke at length to the officers about my work and the history of both the research and my previous role in the MPS.

Additionally, I referred back to the work I had observed during the first phase in an attempt to identify with the officers and make them aware of my understanding of the complexity of police work and demand. I did not feel that this impacted on their responses. Conversely, I felt that the information gave them a framework in which to consider organisational changes in this area of police work. It also appeared to assist in building rapport with the officers and helped me gain, not simply physical access to them, but also access to their thoughts on this sensitive area. As Rowe (2017) describes, in police research it is often easier to gain access at the macro and meso levels (chief constable and middle management) than it is at the micro level. I felt that discussing the previous research conducted in the MPS and reflecting on the lack of practitioner voice within it, assisted me in gaining some credibility from my participants. Jones (2017) states that the power of processes that encourage informal access should not be underestimated in police research. The second time around my access was more informal than in the first stage of the work. I was no longer an 'inside insider' and working for a very senior officer. Indeed, on reflection, the currency of conducting research within an operational culture which is focused on solidarity and mutual team support might have assisted with the speed in which I appeared to gain rapport with

the second phase officers. The officers I interviewed certainly had a very high opinion of my gatekeeper (their supervisor, my student) and this regard may have assisted me during this phase of the research.

Analysis

In terms of the analytical approach applied in this phase of the research, I followed the same process that I used in the first stage of my work to analyse the new data gleaned. However, this time I was trying to identify the differences, and indeed the similarities in the findings by comparing the two data sets and the themes I had identified in both stages of the analysis. Prior to both completing the interviews in the second stage and conducting the analysis I undertook a process of familiarisation with the data gleaned from phase one. I already had an established coding framework from the first stage analysis and whilst conducting and reflecting on the interviews in this second phase I soon became aware that the same issues were arising. Becoming familiar with the new interview transcripts was important as I did not want to make the assumption that over time the issues arising in the first stage of the research had not changed (Gale et al, 2013). My concerns were that by assuming the same coding framework would fit my second phase would risk my research becoming more deductive in its approach as the codes would have been predefined. However, whilst there were some key contextual differences arising from the second stage of the interviews, the analysis revealed very similar factors arising over time. If the analysis had assumed the same framework the process of coding would have potentially missed these important contextual differences. Following the analysis, I developed the original coding framework[5] to incorporate the additional issues raised by the officers about centralisation and the impact of austerity particularly. I was then able to continue my review of the data alongside the literature and further understand these phenomena.

The themes abstracted from both of the research studies were, therefore, compared through this analysis. Therefore, I was able to explore if the social phenomena identified differed over time (Brewer, 2003). I had to personally consider the changing

[5] Please see Appendix 4 for coding framework (combined for phase 1 and 2 analysis)

context of Project Sapphire as I undertook the analysis at this stage, both in terms of the expectations of it and recent negative feedback. In the first stage the project was relatively new, well-resourced and perceived as a ground-breaking unit both nationally and locally in the MPS. During the second stage, eleven years on, the organisation had experienced immense pressure to cut budgets, as a result of austerity, and resources had been reduced. Project Sapphire itself had received significant criticism, caseloads were higher and officer morale was generally low. This was reported to result largely from a lack of engagement, within policing, about change (Hoggett et al, 2014). This situational context was important to reflect on in the analysis as the officers were not in the same space as they had been in the first stage.

This study was not initially planned as a longitudinal or comparative study, and the decision was circumstantial as opposed to designed. However, it is important to note that as well as considering the difference in views between officers, during both stages of the research, these contextual variations must be taken into consideration. Bryman (2012) discusses this in the context of comparative qualitative research by using examples of case-study-based projects which explore different findings through the lens of understanding differing work environments, leadership styles and workplace relationships. This is relevant for this research as while I was exploring the same organisation, the situational factors had changed: there was a new commissioner, increased financial pressures, increased historical reporting in this area, a new location within the organisational structure for Project Sapphire and a drive for more evidence-based policing and officer professionalism. However, the lack of real change in this police area indicated that the dominant habitus (Bourdieu, 2000) operating within the policing field had remained unchanged and understanding why, is essential to this work. These situational changes were juxtaposed with other ongoing pressures to 'improve' as a result of the raised concerns about rape investigation. All of these issues had to be considered in the analysis and I tried to avoid simply looking at the different views without consideration of the specific and altered contexts. The way in which these complex factors impacted on officers' views of the changes occurring within this field is outlined in the findings chapters.

Ethical Considerations

Developing trust with my participants was of huge significance within this research and it is something that I would like to consider here in the context of the ethics of this study. The process I went through to gain ethical clearance in both phases of this research and the ways in which I tried to gain trust and rapport with my participants at all stages has been briefly discussed above. I had to apply for ethical approval at both stages of the fieldwork from the universities' ethics boards. All participants were provided with a consent form which I asked them to sign prior to the interview[6]. However, there were additional issues that caused me concern in terms of both building and subsequently maintaining trust in the context of assuring anonymity. This was particularly pertinent in the first stage of the fieldwork. There were several incidents that I could discuss here but I will focus on two – one of which related to my position in the organisation as a relatively senior member of police staff with a code of conduct to adhere to; The second incident was related to my gender.

The first incident occurred whilst I was conducting observations in one of the local Project Sapphire units. A young woman had reported a sexual assault in the local shopping centre and the SOIT officer I was attached to that day was due to conduct an ABE (achieving best evidence) interview with her that afternoon. It had become apparent to me that there was a drinking culture amongst this particular team of officers with much talk of after work drinks and indeed lunchtime visits to the pub during shift hours. I was invited to these events on a couple of occasions but I had decided not to attend. This particular day the SOIT in question had been to the pub and came back to the office quite clearly having consumed alcohol. I already had concerns about this officer regarding alcohol use and I was immediately anxious when he was asked to conduct the interview. Following the interview, I soon left the office and pondered for several hours on what I should do having witnessed an officer, under the influence of alcohol, interviewing a vulnerable young woman. I had decided to adopt an 'ethics in practice' stance to the research which recognised that ethics can be situational and can result from the complex human experiences of the participant (Cannella and Lincoln, 2012. cited in Jones, 2016: 212). However, this observation was about

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[6] Please see appendix 3 for a copy of the consent form

procedural ethics and related to organisational processes and behaviours that not only involved me as a researcher, but also as an employee. The following day I was due to interview the officer, and I decided to wait until after the interview had been conducted to make a decision on what steps to take next.

During the interview, which lasted for around one and a half hours, the officer disclosed to me that he had been moved to Project Sapphire in a non-operational role as a result of his mental state, his recent separation from his wife and children and indeed the problematic nature of his drinking. As a researcher, I found this interview very challenging as it both upset me, on a personal level, and made me angry. The organisation, as his employer, was letting this officer down but was also risking a failure to the victim and the investigative process. I eventually spoke to my former academic supervisor at the LSE about the incident, and we together decided that the best way to address this was to talk in confidence to the officer's supervisor. This joint decision meant that I had rightly raised the issues with the relevant person internally.

However, I had ultimately left it to them, as the officer's line manager, to attend to the issues and deal with any potential implications for both the officer and any victims. Skinns et al (2016) describe the notion of police researchers wearing many hats. For me in this very unique situation of conducting research within my own organisation but for my own research study, involved a considerable shifting of identities (p: 193). In relation to Manning and Van Maanen's (1978) categories I did move between researcher statuses and juggled my 'identities and responsibilities towards different groups participating in the research' (p: 193). I did not want to be viewed as the research whistle-blower (Westmarland, 2001) nor did I want to be condoning behaviour that could jeopardise an effective investigation or my own research.

This links to my second example which was related to my status as a woman who regards herself as a feminist. Gender issues thread through this entire policing area, both in this research and within the previous literature. It was the exploration of this theme that originally roused my interest in this field. During my time observing response teams, I found the process of being accepted easier in one Borough than the other. Indeed, in one of the Boroughs, it took nearly half of the time I was there to feel trusted by the officers. It was during the second week of fieldwork, on a late shift, that a male Inspector came and sat with us in the canteen. I had plans to interview the

officer but I had not observed him in this field context. The officer, on joining us, immediately made a rather derogatory comment about one of the very young female officer's breasts. Everybody laughed, including, albeit in rather an embarrassed way, the young female officer being targeted. The behaviour invoked many feelings in me both on a personal level as a woman and on a professional level. It confirmed all of my own stereotypes about canteen police culture. However, in this context I decided I would compromise both my own ethical code and my principles and join the tribe (Westmarland, 2016). I stayed quiet and said nothing. The other interesting issue here relates to the concept of officers never 'acting natural' while researchers are present (Punch, 1993. Cited in Westmarland, 2016: 172). Whilst there was part of me that wondered if this action was a test for me by the inspector, I interpreted it as an indication that this response team had grown to trust me. This, on reflection, is enough for me to justify challenging my own principles in this particular situation.

In the first phase of work and in order for me to consider my own subjectivity and limit any potential bias within the research process as an 'insider', I did use a reflexive approach in my research. Given my previous experience in this field this was particularly important as I carried some knowledge and therefore perceptions about the area of rape and the police. To ensure the credibility of the research, I participated in an introspective process of reflexivity through the use of both a research reflection diary, and through peer debriefing (Darawsheh, 2014). This has been suggested as a way of mitigating subjective influence (Greene, 2014). I used my previous supervisor in this process in addition to colleagues from work who had been involved in my previous research in this field. There is much contention about exactly what subjectivity is in research and the differing forms that reflexivity can take. In this study, I found that reflecting on my own decision to be, what would classically be defined as subjective (using my previous knowledge to guide interviews and using humour to gain trust with my participants), enabled me to see subjectivity as a positive thing and as a tool which was of benefit to this research project (Thurston, 2010).

This chapter has outlined the detail and context of the research study and the research strategy chosen to address the research aims of this project. The reasoning behind the design of the work and the methodology chosen is outlined in the context of the

theoretical framework adopted. Whilst I have detailed the specifics of the qualitative methodology and the modes of data collection, alongside my own personal experiences and reflections on this research journey, the changing status of my role as a researcher is not to be underestimated within this process. Writing this chapter has given me an opportunity to reflect on the way I think about my initial insider research status and how this facilitated and benefited so many areas of this research. It provided me with access, knowledge of the culture and subject matter and in turn it influenced the way I was able to ask informed questions and make observations about the context of this research area. My conclusions from these reflections are that my status during both phases of the research gave me some credibility within the field. I was seen as someone with job knowledge as opposed to someone fitting into the stereotype that officers have of academics.

In the following Chapters Five, Six and Seven I will discuss my findings and provide an overview of the important themes arising from this research study.

Chapter 5: Police Identity and Establishing Capital

Drawing on the interview data and observational field notes, as outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter describes the way in which officers establish a sense of personal credibility with their colleagues and how this interacts with their ability to achieve particular forms of symbolic capital through their work. The data reflects the aims of the research concerning the barriers to reform and starts to explore what schema and information drives officer decision making. The chapter is presented in three sections. Firstly, it explores the notion of 'capital' within the environmental context where officers begin their career. Considering the foundations of where officers start in policing is important for understanding how such perceptions about credibility can continue through into specialist roles. The hierarchy of police tasks, actions and roles which become valued, undoubtedly link to symbols which allow officers to 'do gender' in particular ways (Connell, 1987). This establishes a particular gendered power dynamic within the organisational habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). Secondly, the chapter explores how the use of categories assists officers when making decisions about prioritisation and how this links to a credible police identity. The notion of officers being active in reinforcing a particular set of working rules is unequivocal within these findings. This section also illustrates how hierarchies operate both between and within specific crime types. Finally, by analysing these findings alongside the specific aims of Project Sapphire, I examine how processes of officer specialisms within the organisation can contradict these aims and perpetuate certain gendered power dynamics within the organisation. This further propagates narratives about 'what counts' and the established parameters around who has rightful access to achieving a credible police identity in this policing field.

Achieving capital

Exploring how officers' construct social capital within policing through status hierarchies (Michalski, 2017) is important to this thesis. Whilst there is no rigid definition of what 'policing' constitutes there is evidence outlining the diversity of demand which police officers experience, particularly in the current climate (College

of Policing, 2015). Much of the reality of police demand is not within the confines of the 'crime fighting model' of policing or the type of work based tasks that this research found to be highly valued by officers themselves. The rise in more complex crimes involves some of the most vulnerable individuals in society (Stanford, 2012) and this knowledge should be shifting policing's preoccupation with the traditional crime model. To deal with such complexities requires advanced problem solving skills and collaboration with partners. Punch (1979) suggests that the workings of the occupational police culture can deny the legitimacy of these types of policing tasks (1979: 102). The lack of change in this area is further reflected in more recent work by both Silvestri (2017b) and Bradford (2011) who describe continuing issues with valuing the interpersonal skills so important within police work. The presence of a crime hierarchy which helps constitute officers' perceptions of their own internal worth was initially highlighted to me during the first fieldwork stage in 2004 and 2005. The interviews and observations revealed the significance of this process in the ways in which officers prioritise their workloads and the influence this has on how they construct, define and negotiate police work. In a culture firmly reliant on solidarity and support from peers there is a potential risk of marginalisation without this acceptance from your team (Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2009). Building social capital and gaining credibility amongst police peers becomes an important part of policing, particularly at street cop level (Reiner, 2010).

During the observational phase of this research in 2004 and 2005, the officers I observed spent the main part of their shift in response cars moving from call to call – often on a first come first served basis. The observations I made about job priorities were noted in my fieldwork diary.

> *There were lots of comments about rubbish calls tonight and again the feeling of driving around waiting for something to happen. 'We have had a lot of crap tonight'. Later at the last point of the evening we were called to an assault at a garage and there were already two officers there when Scott and Al turned up. Scott was on a complete high (the adrenaline was rushing) about being involved in a chase in Clapham, which he began to tell us in great detail. John stressed several chases in the past that he had been involved in and again the banter started! I am beginning to realise that crime is ranked and prioritised by officers and that is the reality of the work at response level.*

Where does rape fit into that, as it is the ultimate caring side of police work. (Fieldwork diary, 27/2/2004)

The freedom and lack of supervision on the street leaves much room for discretion and individual decision making about which crimes or situations officers choose to attend. During both the interview and observational stages of my research, in phase one, the issue of what took priority during day to day policing became apparent very quickly. During one late shift at my first research site, a call came out over the radio to an 'I' graded call[7] in close proximity to the station. The call involved a woman who was being assaulted by her partner in her home. Such a call should have been immediately prioritised. The driver of the car I was in took the call, however following that, a second call came out requesting an urgent response to a burglary. This involved a black male knocking down an elderly man at his front door and subsequently robbing him. The driver immediately turned around and went to this call, prioritising it over the domestic violence situation. When I interviewed this officer at a later date, I asked why he had made this decision. He explained:

> *It's a domestic, not like going to a suspects on where they might be a burglar in the house so the less glamorous call if you like, which you could call domestics cos they are more routine and run of the mill. I'm not making light of them but there is no kudos at a peerage level you know with your peers there is no kudos there. It is less of that for an assault than there is for a burglary. So yea everybody would rather go to a car chase or a burglary in a house or something like that. (Percy, first response officer, 2004-2005)*

During my observational fieldwork this process of priorisation became increasingly apparent and it clearly evidenced the status attached to certain types of crimes, calls and police tasks. I collected a huge amount of observational notes around this issue and they reflect how I identified very early on, prior to interviews, the explicit nature of this priorisation process.

> *Tonight confirmed to me what a game policing is. John and Neil were vocal about 'getting some bodies in tonight' and they were clearly up for that happening. Officers are quite selective about the calls they take and there is a definite hierarchy of calls, good ones, pants, rubbish. Suspects on is a good one as is a chase as they give the officers status to talk about on their return to*

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[7] An 'I' graded call refers to a call that requires an immediate response

> *the canteen or to add to their list of prisoners if they get a body from the call. Domestics are useless to them as they can win nothing and they rarely create much conversation in the canteen. (Fieldwork diary, 28/2/2004)*

The reasons for these decisions are complicated and result from a legacy of events that occur at various stages of the organisation. The types of calls, actions and outcomes that were valued by the officers in this research, align themselves with machismo, bravery and typical masculine characteristics. Indeed, this supports Acker's (1990) ideas about gender being an integral yet subtle part of organisational structures and the social relationships which exist within them. Therefore, such organisational messages are highly influential in the way in which labour markets remain gendered and how specific power dynamics are reinforced by the organisational culture or habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). The majority of my interview participants working in the response role were male. Moreover, the teams I observed were predominantly male. However, from the observational section of this work I did not identify any significant differences between male and female officers, in relation to the priorisation of calls. This section of my fieldwork notes highlights how the strength of certain values, within the police, influence the identity of officers regardless of their gender:

> *I sat with Helen who I really like. She is a graduate into the police – very professional and open to listening about research etc. She told me how she had made the same assumptions when first joining about the ranking of crimes and the point scoring but as she had become swallowed up by the organisation she tended to forget and not think about it. She asked me if there were any differences between the teams and between female and male officers. She made it clear that you just adjust and blend into the main of the team and if you are different you are ridiculed. (Fieldwork diary 14/3/04)*

Sackmann (1991: 144) notes that a set of beliefs about what 'organisational purpose' consists of can sustain common perceptions of the 'mission'. This promotes a commitment to certain actions and behaviours amongst the members of that organisation that align themselves with that mission. My research found that, in the context of policing, such an allegiance to certain tasks maintains a particular habitus that is grounded in a dominant gendered discourse about policing. Since my initial fieldwork for this study in 2004 and 2005, there have been many attempts to address

the cultural issues operating in policing. The College of Policing's professionalisation agenda has included a drive for policing to focus more on the customer service element and for interactions with the public to be grounded in the procedural justice model of fair treatment (Bradford et al, 2014). I was keen to explore with officers in the second phase of the research, if the perceptions of crime priorities had been maintained over time given the implemented reforms. The majority of officers I interviewed in 2016 and 2017, described the additional impact of austerity, the severity of the cuts to police resources on the prioritisation process and commitment to customer care. Discussions around austerity included the impact on their own individual decision making about what calls to attend. This involved further discussion about managing risk when a call comes into the police as there are less officers to respond. I had anticipated officers in phase two to use different methods when deciding which calls to attend as a result of this new context of less resources and professionalisation. Conversely, as Lionel highlights below, the concept of prioritisation based on the risk level attached to a call continues to result in the same outcome that I witnessed in 2004.

> *Resources and time often play a part in how well customer focus aims are achieved now and this is in addition to personal interest in the job at hand. Although organisationally there has been a push for officers to be more customer focused, peer influence plays a massive part where actions are determined by what officers think their colleagues will think of them like gaining greater respect for getting an arrest verses spending extra time with a victim and being seen as a person who takes too long to deal with something. (Lionel, first response officer, 2016-2017)*

This concept of time allowance was considered to impact on the periods officers had to spend with victims. This again linked to how certain tasks are viewed as higher up on the point scoring hierarchy. Rob, from phase two made the following observations:

> *Attending calls is always managed on risk, risk of harm to members of the public, the victim and themselves. Then we will look at the chances of catching the offender if they are close by. High risk will be treated as immediate calls and answered in 15 minutes. But the performance aspect of it is measured on making the I and S grades within their allocated times. I imagine that the service victims get will decrease because of this. (Rob, first response officer, 2016-2017)*

The findings suggest that certain informal and formal systems can promote a particular police mandate which places increased symbolic value on action, danger and excitement over human interactions. This firmly relates to what Acker (1990: 146) refers to as the notion of 'organisational logic' and how such logic can be re-established through the internal documentation and administration which is in place to evaluate working processes. The concept of organisational methods which serve to recreate this logic is discussed later in this chapter, however it is clear that such ideas are mirrored, more subtly, through informal officer task evaluation in the field. The logic of the policing culture, or what Sackmann (1991) refers to as dictionary knowledge, is continually reconstructed through the police habitus. Sackmann (1991) argues that such 'dictionary knowledge' presents employees with information about expected goals and accomplishments within the organisation. When applying Acker's (1990) ideas to police work, these valued action based tasks explicitly promote the maleness of the police organisation in relation to the workings of operational culture at this level. Certain tasks considered to be more feminine, such as the customer service elements of police work, remain lower on the hierarchy of importance than action orientated work. As Acker (1990) argues, such social processes, in this context, the informal practices within policing continue to subtly reinforce the importance of gender as a core part an organisation (p. 147). The credibility attached to such capital, dealing with arrests and particular crime types, continues to reproduce and reconstruct the established policing habitus which is saturated in masculine ideals. Through the presence of these informal processes, police officers themselves drive the reproduction of this credible hierarchy of tasks.

How the notion of a good or bad job is constructed in policing plays a major role in the construction of the police stories and narratives which get transferred between teams. Many academics have explored the notion of police storytelling. As Holdaway (1983: 56) stated, storytelling in policing is where 'the past is transformed into a vivid present'. Stories can further reconstruct the mythology of valued police work (Shearing and Ericson, 1991). This demonstrates how cultural norms are transferred and reconstructed in the canteen culture by the officers themselves. Canteen storytelling and received acclamation can facilitate what Sackmann (1991) refers to as processes

of 'task accomplishment' that influence certain 'theories of action' (p. 146). These can secure, for employees, a particular criteria of valued outcomes. In this context these relate to symbolic capital and enhanced credibility which are evidently entered on the masculine tasks present in police work. As Waddington (2009) states, these narratives have little in common with the actual reality of policing. Response officers interviewed for this thesis, across both phases, described the need for them to relay exciting action-based stories about their day. This was reliant on them being able to describe the experiences deemed to be more exciting. Giles talked about high value work and the informal peer review which occurs in the canteen, to validate certain working behaviours. As he states:

> *If you have an opportunity to go to see a victim or get involved in a car chase, you can imagine which would be more popular. Certain aspects of the job are more honoured than others. (Giles, first response officer, 2004-2005)*

These perceptions were clearly sustained over the period of time covered in this research. Lionel highlights the continuing role of peer affirmation:

> *Peer credibility can make or break an officer and I would say arrests and searches will improve your credibility. I have experienced first-hand how negative the peer environment becomes when you go against the grain of 'normal' to do what is worthwhile, necessary or important. If you are not doing what everyone else is doing – you must be doing something wrong or are lazy… Informally officers pay more attention to what their peers think, than to any formal recognition that may come through, say their PDR (Performance Development Review). PCs don't see any value in the formal processes of what counts. The value is in their peers' respect. (Lionel, first response officer, 2016-2017)*

Lionel's account indicates that the strength of the beliefs about purpose and mission in the canteen are sustained over time and, therefore, restrict the chance of any real paradigm shift in the organisation. The fact that such findings have been consistent over time is key here and provides further understanding about the limitations to the success of change and reform in policing. There has been a huge drive to embed a victim centred approach to policing over the timescale of this research and to change culture. This thesis argues that the prevailing informal methods so evident in my research findings sustain this machismo driven culture and compound the

organisational logic about 'what counts'. Sackmann (1991) uses the analogy of an iceberg to make the distinction between the visible, observable aspects of culture and the central cognitive components which are the values and beliefs operating below the surface. This equates to what Bourdieu (1990) refers to as 'habitus'. There is clear evidence from this thesis that certain values operating in the established habitus of policing are the core drivers for the behaviour witnessed in officers. The following quote from Giles describes further the criticality of kudos and peer credibility amongst the rank and file:

> *As an officer deals with certain situations, they like dealing with certain things more because they think there's more glamour attached to certain calls. Domestics, people don't like going into family matters because sometimes it's, you're dealing with somebody else's marital affairs. And not many people want to deal with it anymore. They'd rather go out and deal with burglars and robbers and murderers because that has more glamour attached. (Giles, first response officer, 2004-2005)*

Filtering out particular issues that officers deal with in this environment of the canteen was key to both the delivery of these narratives and the reconstruction of what matters. It is unlikely that what is relayed in the stories, jokes and narratives in the canteen reflects what actually happens in practice during an officer's day. This reflects what Waddington (2009) noted as, the rhetoric of police culture, and is firmly rooted in the submerged section of the iceberg referred to by Sackmann (1991). As Bacon (2014) argues, certain inherent values within an occupational culture are sustained through aspects of social interaction and relationships. It is argued here that officers use the resources available to them to reinforce a respected, credible yet self-constructed police identity of maleness. The process is dynamic and requires active commitment from members of the organisation. Robert's interview illustrates elements of this, from the first phase of the work:

> *If you arrest someone for a murder or having firearms, they get kudos. If you arrest a shoplifter, it's crap. If you're involved in vehicle chases and in catching the suspects after the foot chase, it's very good. So there is even grading in the nature of the arrest you've made. Obviously if you make a number of these arrests over time, then you're going to be considered to be quite I don't know you'd be respected, put it that way. If you're making a lot of good arrests, you do get respect. (Robert, first response officer, 2004-2005)*

The link to what is perceived as credible policing is clear. Kudos relates to the symbolic capital involved in any given policing event. Robert continued his interview by explaining that the points gleaned as a result of these stories and experiences could also influence officers' progress into new roles. Acker (1990) notes that organisations can compound gender distinctions through, what I will refer to in the policing context as, gendered access to certain tasks, spaces and subsequent credibility. As Silvestri (2003) found in her research on senior female police officers, higher levels of competency and credibility were perceived as being linked to promotion opportunities. Hence, there is a fundamental issue about officers' accessibility to involvement in such rated tasks. These tasks ultimately accomplish the status required. These factors are revisited in the following chapters within the context of investigative roles and gaining access to the investigation of particular crime types. Differential levels of credibility and experiences of acclaimed crime types, in many sections of the workplace, are linked to progression within the organisation. They also relate to what is organisationally considered as skilled and unskilled behaviour (Acker, 1990:146). Therefore, the purpose of these stories is multifaceted. As well as feeding into the idea of heroism they play a more implicit role in permeating up, influencing and informing decisions about who is deserving of particular courses and movement into new, acclaimed roles. This is regardless of gender. Again, this is accessed through the achievement of particular forms of symbolic capital and credibility building. The association and interaction between competence and credibility is also implicit in the roles of officers themselves. Access to high value jobs on the ground gives officers a door into achieving the associated capital they provide. Robert and Finn from phase one of the research explore these frustrations in their interviews:

> *This is the injustice of it all you know, that the PC making the arrest, he's going to make area car driver in three years but at the other end of the spectrum, the PC who is in a Panda, running around taking CRIS[8], CRIS, CRIS, CRIS, you know, 5-6 CRISs a day, is like not even considered. No, you're not bright enough, you're not this, you're not that, someone needs to take stock of the fact that the work pro-activity needs to be checked around all the time. You're not proactive, you're not doing this, you're not making stops, you're not looking for arrests. (Robert, first response officer, 2004-2005).*

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[8] CRIS is the Crime Reporting Investigation System within the MPS. Details of all cases are logged within this system

The Panda car is known as the shit giving car. You have to deal with things that come out that are shit… like some people are a bit funny with domestics but you'd have to go to them. So you can't really prioritise yourself. It depends on your driver classification, who you're with as well and sometimes you're with an older PC who is driving the IRV (immediate response vehicle) and they say no, we are not going to that. And if you are just a passenger it's their decision. I personally don't deem them as shit calls…it is not my view. (Finn, first response officer,2004-2005)

Finn was a probationary officer and was learning early on from his more established peers, what tasks were undervalued. The extent to which officers are concerned with the grading of a particular action, the calls deserving of police attention and the hierarchy of police roles was clear in the interviews I conducted with all of the response officers in the first phase. How much the organisation genuinely wants to promote a more service driven approach is challenged by the fact that officers who produce the required arrests are rewarded with driving courses which provide them with modes of access to making further arrests. Receivers of these courses, who eventually become 'area car drivers' as a result, were described as 'Gods' by a number of respondents in the first phase. This relates to the excitement of the role and the ease of access the status gives officers to deal with 'suspects on' calls. Indeed, as Robinson (2003) argues, the four dimensions of relationships that are impacted on by levels of social capital are: trust, cooperative exchanges and reciprocation, group cohesion and social support. This research reflected these notions and arguably, in a policing context, such team characteristics are fundamental. Ironically, the rhetoric coming from the top of the organisation about the service element of police work was undermined by what appeared to be institutional norms, a sustained habitus and symbolic value about what behaviour is rewarded and requiring of evaluation. Most striking here is the strong awareness officers have about the ways in which credibility is constructed and subsequently rewarded by supervisors. Jake, from the first phase of the research, describes this:

The best type of call is a major incident, particularly a more critical incident, like you get a serious stabbing or something or fire or bad accident, a) it's exciting and b) the quality of your work has got to be, especially if there's a crime involved you know, if someone's going to be going court, it's got to be you know, as good as possible. This looks good especially if supervisors are not around. That's the best, I mean when you get the bad deals, missing persons, those

calls are weary. I am sure everyone says the same thing, it's the exciting calls that are the ones that, you know, they are a bit more challenging. (Jake, first response officer, 2004-2005)

Explicit values are placed on certain tasks and what becomes culturally honoured within the context of cop culture are predominantly the stereotypical adrenaline led tasks that so many academics have already alluded to (Fielding, 1994; Reiner, 1992, 2000). One PC, Giles, from phase one, described what gained higher acclaim in the organisation:

Anything like a firearms incident or something like that or where you have chased somebody or you have had a car chase and you have caught them or you have caught a burglar and you have run across a roof and caught someone. Anything dangerous or exciting, anything where you are the sole person responsible. (Giles, first line response, 2005-2006)

As Van Dijk et al (2015) claim, to argue for and support the notion that police work is about control in relation to cutting crime, undermines what officers actually do on a daily basis. Jake's description of the crime fighting element of policing, presenting more challenges to officers, undermines the recognition of the extreme complexity and risks attached to dealing with vulnerable people. Such ideals of police work also negates the vast amount of research literature on the reality of tasks and this research spans many years. As Reiner (2013: 167) argues, this focus leaves officers striving for the 'quixotic impossible dream' of being solely responsible for reducing crime. The non-crime related nature of much of what I witnessed as an observer whilst in the field mirrored Bacon's (2014) ideas that officers may not be orientated towards the danger and excitement aspects of the role because of the reality of what they do. My research found that the dominant culture and the methods used to reinforce it are more likely to preserve its activity. As Jermier et al (1991) summarise, what the official culture of the organisation promotes externally, from a top management perspective for the purposes of legitimising certain practices and change, continues to be reflected very differently within the organisational culture. As Sackmann (1991) argues the ongoing stability of cultural beliefs underpin the challenges to change within organisations. This is certainly recognised in the analysis of the data here.

Categorisation of policing tasks

This thesis identified other factors which may impact both on the sustainability of certain practices in policing and subsequently upon change within the organisation. These relate to the cultural aversion to ambiguity. Many writers have observed police officers' need for processes of categorisation in their work and a desire to view a range of police associated events as oppositional and simplified. This is often explained and justified by the need for fast operational decisions in the policing field (Reiner, 2010). However, my research found that the use of such categories had a further implied purpose. They served to affirm a range of notions associated with gendered tasks and the maintenance of symbolic capital. This is critical to providing a broader understanding about what inhibits the effectiveness of change programmes. Tasks involving victim care and customer service are characterised by natural gendered distinctions. Hunt (1984) argues that such distinct groupings are founded on gender based symbols which relate to gendered space and gendered policing tasks. Hunt gives examples of: street/station; crime fighting/service role; public/domestic and dirty/clean (p. 294). Interestingly the types of situations that the officers I observed considered as non-credible were messy. They lacked clarity about notions of responsibility, and were highly complex. A common theme which arose in the narratives of all officers, across both phases of the research, focused on their need for a hard outcome and some form of conclusion from the event – again reinforcing 'outcome' over 'process' as a measure of success. Ben, illustrates this:

> *I think the biggest problem with domestics is you're unlikely to get any sort of conviction… people don't like dealing with it because you don't get a conviction from it, you do a lot of work and nine times out of ten the person withdraws the allegation. (Ben, first response officer (2004-2005)*

Making an arrest for officers provides them with tangible symbolic capital which can then enhance their sense of police identity with their peers, supervisors and in themselves. Arguably, this is easier to achieve for officers when there is a clear offender/wrong-doer and a victim. The need for some form of clarity of the wrongdoing is central to this exploration of rape investigation. By expanding on the notion of

'messy' this becomes clear. This has considerable relevance during a rape investigation, the decision making process and potentially attrition. The evidence outlined in Chapter Three regarding the complexity of rape cases and the victims involved clearly evidences the multiple vulnerabilities involved. These issues complicate simple dichotomies of victim(s) and offender and it is important to consider this specifically in the context of decision making in rape cases. The findings in this work indicate that hierarchies of rape are reinforced through processes of negotiation as officers make decisions about cases that might progress through the system and provide them with approval. Understanding this amongst response officers is key as all officers, during both phases of this research, entered policing at this level. This research found that the process of learning the art of categorisation begins here at grass root level. Acknowledging this fact is crucial to understanding how reform can take place effectively within policing culture. Charman (2017) found that it is within this environment where officers learn what matters, the working rules and essentially what tasks will provide them status and credibility. The following section discusses this further and how such learning might transfer into the detective role.

The previous section highlighted both the crime types and the outcomes deemed as worthy in policing and how ambiguous, messy tasks present complications for officers in terms of their access to achieving credible outcomes. Waegel (1981) explores how police decision making is often not based on the individual characteristics of an event. Rather, decisions can depend on the recognition by the person making the decision about something belonging to a typical category. I witnessed how officers rely on informal working schema to make quick decisions in the field. The 'messy' situations, so common within police work, are more complicated to assess. As Jake states:

> *We get a lot of regular missing people that the family call us about., I mean the one I went out to the other day, the boy, this 11-year-old had been missing for two nights but the parents had only just reported him missing. You ask them why they only just reported and they say well he'd done it lots of times before. So, it's going through all the information about how to get hold of that child, the child may be dead somewhere. It is weary because there's a lot of paperwork to do and loads of checks, hospitals, etc., it's weary. (Jake, first response officer 2004-2005)*

Many of the officers I interviewed, both in the first and second phases of the research, used the terms 'weary' and 'messy' to describe rape allegations. The factors involved in such events make them more complex to categorise within clear and distinct oppositional traits of offender and victim. The concept of some police work being 'messy' can be explored through the application of Kleinman's (1989) work on emotional labour in policing. He found that despite officers and victims allegedly being on the same side, detectives in his research felt burdened by victims and energized by criminals. The practical actions involved in dealing with criminals gave officers higher levels of status and credibility in terms of their ability to undertake real police work. This subsequently provided them with a method to reinforce their own social identity as a police officer. The unpredictability of victims and unclear parameters involved in certain allegations made to the police has been discussed at length in relation to the way the police investigate domestic abuse (Hoyle and Saunders, 2000). The complexity and multi-faceted variables involved in rape cases can compound the extent to which police officers can rely on simple categorisations. Indeed, during the process of a rape investigation the boundaries are often blurred by the very nature of the complexity of consent and the vulnerability present in the victims involved (Stanko and Williams, 2009). As Mike, a CID officer from the recent research described:

> *The thing is they [rape cases] vary so much as there are so many different types of relationships between people prior to the incident but you can never really put them into the categories. There are some very difficult scenarios from the start to try and work out how they have got to know each other… it is always a new experience dealing with every single one cos it is always something else that you hadn't quite thought of. There is another avenue there to go down. (Mike, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

The complexity of the issues involved for officers is clear in this statement. The degree to which officers found such complications problematic is illustrated in this comment by Rick, a CID officer from phase one, concerning the different types of rape allegations.

> *I mean the stranger rapes, although, you know, you don't get them – I've had three since I've been here, they're usually the easy ones to deal with. It's the ones that, you know, come down to consent, that's the problem. (Rick, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

This sense of ambiguity that officers can feel when dealing with victims of rape can be exacerbated by victims' lifestyles and their perceived life choices. This is reflected here by Brian, SOIT officer from phase one:

Well, I would suggest that the worst victim you can have is probably somebody with a record as long as your arm, mental health, drug addict, prostitute, and probably the worst victim you could ever have, because you'd never get her through the court door. And I would suggest that even if the CPS were willing to go to court with it, which is very unlikely, getting her physically through the court door … I think probably that society as a whole would suggest that if you're a prostitute and a drug addict then you're one of life's victims and you're going to have to accept what happens to you. (Brian, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

When describing the type of victims who report rape in London during more recent interviews, in phase two, the CID officers described the difficultly the victim characteristics present to the police and the potential of getting the case to court.

We have issues with mental ill health, drugs, alcohol and those who are repeat victims. These factors can be challenging for us. They have high expectations and they don't understand why they are not getting to court. Often these people are difficult, transient and have difficult personal lives. We try and keep on top of that but it is hard. (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)

The clear preference for allegations involving limited complexity and 'mess' was discussed by officers. Pat, a CID officer from phase one, describes the categorisation of rape cases:

Most of the rapes and indecent assaults reported to Police, well let's just say rapes, particularly on this ground, are rubbish. And when I say rubbish, what I mean by that is they are either retaliation type allegations or malicious allegations, and some are in between those people who've had sex and then regretted it afterwards, and their only way out they see is to make an allegation of rape. So taking that to the letter, if you really want to improve things for the public, then you should do something about those allegations and how you deal with those, so that more time can be dedicated to the proper victims, the stranger rapes, the domestic rapes where it's been many years of abuse, things like that. (Pat, CID officer, 2004-2005)

This quote clearly illustrates how the process of hierarchy creation is reflected between and within crime types and between the victims involved. Pat clearly reveals the use of hierarchies to create perceptions of credible victims in rape cases through the terminology 'proper victims'. What is worth reflecting on here is how the notion of victim credibility is intrinsically linked with the officers' own sense of credibility and the achievement of capital. Indeed, when officers use the terminology 'rubbish' it is often inherent to the concept of performance and the desire to ensure the allegation results in a conviction. This highlights how the type of outcomes rated within the street context amongst response officers, continues within specialist roles. Officers from CID Sapphire teams across both research phases illustrate that in their interviews:

> *Ultimately you get your motivation from locking up rapists. (Seb, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

> *A lot of officers, they look at things, policing, and what have you, and it is, as far as they can see it, it is out there in a fast car, nicking the bad guys … they don't actually see the victim. I don't say they, I don't think people actually see a victim before they join, as it were, you know, either, or a victim in the context of police victim interaction, we don't really see that. And certainly, it's not something I'd deeply considered when I joined. You see yourself nicking the baddie, you know, and that's frankly it. (Brian, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

The way in which the focus on arresting suspects is interlinked with motivation is important. As is described in Chapter Six, this is intrinsically linked to the motivational drivers and forms of task evaluation that are present in the organisational structure's performance frameworks. Acker (1990) talks of material forms of organisational logic and arguably performance indicators are examples of such forms. What is key here, however, is the way in which this logic or habitus relates to how officers evaluate their own merit, work and identity when dealing with rape. Whilst this is firmly interlinked with the values supported by the organisation it is clear that certain symbols also relate to what Bottoms and Tankebe (2012: 70) define as 'self legitimisation'.

Introducing specialists: Help or hindrance?

Berger and Luckmann (1991) argue that when individuals are engaged in a legitimisation process they are driving both their own self-legitimacy and the need for external audiences to consider them as legitimate. These findings indicate that

meanings of legitimacy promoted through organisational strategies, following reviews into rape investigation, are complex. This notion will be discussed further later in this thesis. Rape cases rarely feature high up on the organisational hierarchy despite the implementation of Project Sapphire. Acker (1990) argues that,

> every job has a place on the hierarchy, another essential element in organisational logic… Hierarchy is taken for granted, only its particularly form is an issue. Job evaluation is based on the assumption that workers in general see hierarchy as an acceptable principle. (p. 148)

Acker argues that in other industries, lower hierarchy roles are often filled by women. Within policing, there is clear evidence of the type of work involved in victim care being feminized and requiring of the softer skills which are undervalued by the organisation and unrecognised in performance frameworks. As has been documented previously, Project Sapphire had the aim of improving both the care of rape victims in London and the attrition problem. When I completed the first phase of research, the concept of specialist policing in this field was relatively new. It involved every BOCU having a Sapphire team consisting of SOIT officers and investigating officers who dealt only with rape allegations. This gave them the ability, through enhanced training, to deliver a more efficient service to victims of rape. As a result of both internal and external reports (*Rape Review*, 2007; Stern, 2010) that reported ongoing problems with incorrect classifications and victim care, the Sapphire team became a centralised function in 2011. Indeed, this occurred during the gap between the two phases of this research. One of the justifications for this decision was to improve the accountability and governance of the Project.

In the initial stage of my research the detectives I spoke to had, in many cases, chosen to move over to the dedicated Project Sapphire unit from the main office. It gave them the opportunity to continue to work on what they considered as 'the serious matters' that remained locally owned. Carl, a detective inspector from the original research, explained to me that many of the real and perceived serious crimes are removed from the local units on Borough and housed in specialist central areas. Project Sapphire offered local officers continued involvement in what was considered a 'serious offence':

As the Borough DI you don't keep very many investigations, and because my background has always been to investigate, you know, serious crime, nearly everything that a Borough DI deals with gets taken away. So if I was on call, tonight and I got called out to a murder I'm not going to be dealing with it. I might cover it for the first 24 hours. If there was an armed robbery and I got called out to it, I wouldn't be dealing with it, it would get handed over to the Flying Squad. So there's very little that really stays on Borough these days, apart from probably, you know, serious crime like attempted murders, and even then they have to be run past the SCD (serious crime directorate) teams.
So really rape is kind of, you know, for me an extremely serious crime, and it's one of the few crimes that stays on Borough. So I thought right, well I'll get involved in that. (Carl, CID officer, 2004-2005)

Perceptions of detectives as 'a glamorous crime-fighter engaged in the identification and chase of dangerous and malevolent criminals' affords them an air of heroism who generate admiration (Innes, 2003: 21). Maguire (2008) adds to this depiction by describing the mythology that has been created around the detective as a result of its perceived role in the apprehension of criminals. However, this perception and decision articulated by Carl appeared to be further influenced by and juxtaposed with other factors. These related to the implementation of dedicated SOIT officers which increasingly and legitimately removes investigating officers from dealing directly with the victims of rape. Therefore, by having dedicated teams on site and specialist officers in place, the investigators are distanced from the victim. Whilst this partially relates to the ambiguity involved in dealing with rape victims as opposed to the offenders, particularly the vulnerabilities involved, it further illustrates how the focus of 'what matters' continues within specialist functions. The key focus of Project Sapphire was to improve the care of victims and to take their experience more seriously. Paradoxically, the distance provided through this process of specialism can confirm to investigating officers that, in the context of their own role, victim care is not paramount. Whilst this issue is interlinked with many other factors, understanding how this side of police work interacts with officers' own sense of professional identity within the organisation is key. This is articulated clearly here by Tina, a SOIT officer from phase one.

Because you're seen just solely for the victim and I think they (CID) probably think it's a bit pink and fluffy. You're not dealing with the suspect, you're dealing with the victim, you're the victim's sort of own chaperone. (Tina, SOIT officer, (2004-2005)

Carole, a SOIT officer from phase two, provides confirmation of the ongoing impacts of specialist officers through the distancing between victims and CID officers.

> *With the SOIT work I think they're just really glad that we're there doing it, because it means that they don't have to, and so therefore they probably don't think of us quite so much as the shiny trousered one who sits in an office all day like some people who move from response. They know that when we do deal with one (a victim) we really do; they do get their money's worth out of us. (Carole, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

Given the gendered nature of the skills involved in this role it is notable that both of these SOIT officers are women. Whilst there was a gender mix, women made up the majority of SOIT officers interviewed across both phases. However male and female SOIT officers used the same language when discussing their experiences of working in this area of policing. This research has found that the value placed on factors that correspond with a legitimate police identity transcend an officer's gender. However, these valued traits are entrenched in maleness. As Miller (1999: 69) argues in her analysis of community policing, 'an adjustment may take place in which the feminine traits that characterise the objectives of the new approach will be masculinized in order to fit into traditional policing frameworks'. Therefore, in the area of rape investigation the SOIT support role has helped detectives redefine their own role expectations with the victims involved in this area of police work. Acker (1990) suggests that the logic in workplaces can 'assume a congruence between responsibility, job complexity and hierarchical position' (p. 148). In the policing of rape this work has found that despite the complexity presented in typical cases and the responsibility of risk management attached to the victims, this role is yet to feature at the top end of the crime hierarchy. McMillans' (2015) research found that specialist officers can find themselves working in isolation to the investigators. This perception was often presented alongside a wider issue concerning the level of value placed on the specialist officer role within the organisation. Partly this related to whether the officers were viewed, primarily, as a resource to support the victim or, conversely, the investigation. Considering this in relation to what Acker (1990: 148) terms as, 'job evaluation', this must produce conflict for SOIT officers. The legitimate aim presented to the external world about the role is

about its' focus on victim care. However, the way the role is perceived by officers themselves is more about supporting CID officers in assessing the worth of the victim.

This adheres to the organisational job evaluation techniques of achieving judicial disposals and ignores the process of the interaction. This is also linked to the assessment of the victims' truthfulness or credibility. Much research, including my own (Williams, 2004), has found that victims simply want someone to believe their account rather than requiring a criminal justice outcome when they report a rape to the police. However, similar to McMillan (2015), this thesis found that the specialists saw themselves as people who were there to 'establish the veracity of the account from the victim' (p. 632). As John, a SOIT officer from phase one voiced.

> *[I am asked] Virtually every single time. You will get the, what you think? I've been called in off the street by a very experienced detective sergeant who was acting DI, he was waiting for me in the yard I walked in and he said, look, I've got a woman in the interview room, come and chat to her and I want your opinion, your honest opinion as to what you think has happened. And you know, from somebody like him, I'd say that was a great compliment because he was someone I held in very high esteem. For him to want my opinion, made me feel pretty good and generally they act on that expertise as well. There have been a couple of times when I've gone in and you notice straightaway. So yeah, I think your own opinion is sought and they will act on it afterwards. Of course, our instructions are that no matter what we think, we act that we believe what we are being told by the victim. Well, that's what we're told. I think every human nature is that we are going to be different in our approach. (John, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)*

John's quote indicates that he quite valued these perceptions of his expertise from the CID officers. The interviews revealed that officers' understanding and interpretation of their own social reality both within the Sapphire team and externally, is dependent on particular symbolic activities. This was relevant for both the SOIT officers and the investigators. Matthew, a SOIT officer interviewed in phase one, described his reasons for why he felt he was perceived as a 'good' SOIT by the investigating team:

> *I like to think I've got a reputation for being a good SOIT Officer. I've certainly had phone calls at two in the morning from certain officers, where I've been paged and I've called back, and they've said, is that you B, and I've said, yes. And they've said, oh thank fuck for that. And to my mind that's a compliment. They say, I know you're going to come in, you're going to deal with it. If it's*

crap, you're going to come into the room, half an hour or two hours later, and you're going to say, it's crap, or you're going to say, we need to do that. And that's all, what they want, as a SOIT Officer I'm prepared to do that ... right, okay, she's ... this is crap, what do you want to do. (Matthew, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

These two male SOIT officers' perceptions of what provided them with symbolic value from the investigating team was placed on their ability to quickly assess a victim and advise the CID as to whether or not they should continue the case.

Previous scholars have written about the methods officers use to 'do gender' (Silvestri, 2017). This research suggests that this also plays out in the context of a rape investigation. In an organisation that has constructed maleness as core to a police identity, it is evidenced here that officers, despite their gender, have to negotiate their role and 'do gender' in specific ways. Therefore, this research found that traditional male skills are 'deemed an authentic and acceptable part of social relations (Messerschmidt, 1993. Cited in Miller, 1999: 67).

To the outside world Project Sapphire has been legitimised through the SOITs official focus on victim care, which involves caring and listening skills. Ultimately this process might create frustration for officers, particularly if the victim chooses not to progress with the allegation. However, the formal aim of the role is to support that victim regardless of the outcome. Primarily, for the officers interviewed in this thesis, their reputation from others was primarily grounded in the role they could have in assisting with the securing of a successful outcome, an arrest. This involves very different skills. Indeed, rather than listening to the narrative presented by victims, the informal sense of worth was based on specialist officers' ability to find flaws in the victims' stories. While the concept of officers drawing on a hierarchy of victim credibility when assessing rape cases has been widely discussed (Sleath and Bull, 2017), my research suggests an additional relationship between these notions of victim hierarchy and an officer's applied method to gain their own personal credibility. This is of greater importance when working in an area where access to this value may be limited. In relation to reform this point is crucial. This work has found that officers' pursuit of symbolic capital can surpass the original intention of the SOIT support role.

Such conflicting notions of role prioritisation for specialist officers can cause tensions for those dealing with rape as they consider whether their key role is to support the victim and their welfare needs or to assess the situation they are confronted with. Specialist teams may provide an internal space for officers to actively reconstruct and play out some of these gendered actions in practice and facilitate the accomplishment of this aspired masculine identity and the credibility attached to it. This research suggests that such issues occur regardless of the gender of the officer. Such factors reinforce the devaluing of tasks associated with women in the hierarchy of working roles. Officers involved in the victim aspect of police work therefore rely on what possibilities they have available to them to gain some form of credibility in an area which fails to present legitimate options. Once again, the habitus and cultural values remain intact within the policing field and particular theories of action are reproduced (Sackmann, 1991).

Considering this in terms of how officers negotiate their own position within the hierarchy of this area of police work is important. Having access to SOIT officers was perceived as functional in a number of complex ways for the CID officers I spoke to. This was evident across both stages of the research. Much academic research has documented the issues concerning the way investigating officers interview victims and this focuses on the way in which they attempt to glean information from victims and the manner in which they do this (Barrett and Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2013; Jordan, 2005). The implementation of the specialist SOIT role removed this element of the process from the CID officers. As Mike a CID officer, from phase one explains:

> *Rape investigations from our point of view are obviously very difficult in relation to the victim. We have a certain role as police officers to investigate and we can come across as slightly callous which is why the Sapphire team should be a very good thing as they will deal a lot more with victim care better than we can with the workload that we have. The first impression as it is starting up here is that it is working very well and the officers out there are very very competent and they are dealing with victim care. It is more focused towards that so we are allowed to get on with the investigation side of it. (Mike, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

The idea that the primary function for investigating officers was that of 'thief taker' and that 'handling criminals was real police work' (Van Manaan, 1974:97) is supported in this research. Kleinman (1989) found that detectives in his research required the

provision of a buffer to distance themselves from victim encounters. This thesis illustrates how the stratification of policing tasks as reflected in the hierarchy, is reinforced through the removal of victim care from the CID officers. Furthermore, the investigation and focus on offenders remains the principal route through which to gain capital and professional credibility during a rape investigation. The delivery of this buffer mechanism, as a result of the establishment of Project Sapphire, was described positively by some detectives in this research. These two quotes from officers in the first phase of the research exemplify this:

> *A lot of police officers don't like that sort of contact with victims they want to deal with the matter and have minimal contact with the victim. Then they can still deal with what they think is more important and that is the suspect but at the end of the day it is not. (James, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

> *I mean actually going and taking victim statements or taking reports from victims, I can't imagine sets anyone on fire really but. But generally, as regards dealing with victims, no, I would say it's easier to deal with a crime that hasn't got a victim or a sort of personal victim. (Pete, CID officer, 20042005)*

Officers were generally positive about the move to create a dedicated unit to improve victim care and acknowledged the importance of victim welfare. However, it appears that the values regarding what is considered important police work is powerfully reinforced through occupational practice and the organisational structures involved in the investigation of rape. Paradoxically, it appears from these findings, that the distancing of victim welfare from the investigating officers has, in part, been compounded by the changes implemented by Project Sapphire. The value of 'what counts' for credibility is established when officers are working within response teams. Paradoxically, this is perpetuated through subtle working practices and, unconsciously, through the organisation's processes established to drive forward change. Indeed, in the context of rape, the development of Project Sapphire as a specialist unit has reinforced the chasm between dealing with suspects and victims for investigating officers as has the way the staff involved are reviewed for their performance. Referring back to Acker's (1990) ideas about job evaluation, one could argue that even the organisational evaluation tools to assess tasks concentrates on judicial disposals over victim care.

Therefore, the required perception of what constitutes the policing mandate or habitus is preserved. In the current climate, when policing is littered with programmes of change and reform, understanding this further is critical. Schein (1990: 111) summarises that 'culture is what a group learns over a period of time as that group solves its problems of survival in an external environment and its problems of internal integration. Such learning is simultaneously a behavioural, cognitive, and an emotional process'. Therefore, the strength of organisational culture is enhanced by a number of categories such as group norms, certain skills and shared cognitions. This is clearly illustrated in this research. Therefore, the power of this culture strongly relates to its ability to remain intact and this is despite new recruits coming into the organisation (Chan, 1997; Cockcroft, 2013).

The way in which gender roles are demonstrated in the context of rape investigations is clear in this thesis. Whilst these issues are complex, the way that investigating officers described both their own role and the relationship they have with other local personnel was undoubtedly gendered and hierarchical. There were a number of factors that influenced officers' decisions to become a SOIT officer. These ranged from: personal circumstances and ill health; age and not feeling capable of the response work any longer; having a core commitment to dealing with victims of crime and having a sense of added value since the development of the specialist local teams. Predominantly however, regardless of the motivations for joining a specialist team, officers were in agreement that the role was not important symbolically for officers within the organisation. Indeed, the assumed association that the area of rape within policing is traditionally the domain of female officers was evident in the analysis for this thesis. Martin (1980) highlighted the dominance of male value systems in structuring the hierarchical division of labour within the police. This involved the softer skills being placed at a very low position on the officer role hierarchy. This reflects Ackers (1990) notion of task hierarchies and internal job worth within organisations. Whilst, in this research there was a mix of male and female officers involved in SOIT roles, the implicit feminine nature of the role and the type of crime and work it was focused on was reflected in the interviews. Jerry from the first phase of the research, confirms this when he describes his experiences of being a male SOIT officer:

> *This is such a gung-ho environment. You get far more kudos for being involved in a scrap and bringing in a prisoner, chasing a prisoner and bringing him in than you do sitting down and taking a very good rape statement because it's not something which they (CID) deal with, so they wouldn't appreciate what goes into it. They wouldn't really appreciate the end result because it's not something which they're involved in. All they know is that I've disappeared for 2 or 3 days and left them to do my bit of the work. Not many of the male officers on the team want to have anything to do with sexual assaults whatsoever. As far as they're concerned, that's women's job. They wouldn't, it wouldn't even come into their heads you know, so it's not really the in-thing. (Jerry, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)*

These perceptions extended into interviews with CID officers, highlighting the lack of kudos attached to investigation in this policing area. Don stated how he had experienced remarks about his decision to work within the rape command:

> *When I said I was going to Sapphire someone said to me they didn't see me as the fluffy sort. It's just a label isn't it. It's a label that's stuck. You know when you first join the job, before I joined there was like a primary, the primary function of the police service is the prevention and detection of crime, and the prosecution of offenders. And no it's not sexy policing, it's not chasing people in cars, but it's important. And each to their own I guess. It's like, you know, if you ask most DCs what they want to do or what you'd expect them to want to do in their career path, it's flying squad, this that and the other, you know, running around in fast cars with blue lights and guns, that ain't what I think. That doesn't appeal to me. (Don, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

How officers create their own sense of masculine legitimacy is central here. Masculinity was a central theme within the analysis for this thesis. The tasks associated with a professional and credible police identity are largely, traditionally male traits. The police identity is gendered as are the acclaimed tasks and symbols officers require in order to gain credibility. This is regardless of the officer's gender. Michalski (2017) explores masculinity within prisons and describes the symbols within the environment which seek to define meaningful guidelines about what constitutes masculinity. Interestingly, and of particular relevance to policing, he also states that this is often not feasible. Within the complex area of rape this is key. In a hierarchy of police roles, the difficulty of acquiring masculinity is embodied in the policing of rape and the care of victims – historically a role assigned to female officers (Silvestri, 2003; 2017). The officers interviewed here, across both phases of research, described the methods they used in an attempt to achieve this status and legitimacy in the eyes of

the organisation. This is discussed in more detail in the following two chapters, however, it usually related to officers forming opinions about the credibility of the victim and seeking out the rape allegations considered as genuine. The purpose being to assess which cases may result in a judicial disposal. As Bourdieu (1990) notes, a certain amount of social capital can be gained through the achievement of certain symbolic goals but this may be dependent on the power an individual has within a particular social setting. Within some police roles the achievement of this and the access to this power is more easily achieved. Hence, access to elements of credibility remains unequal across different roles and the specialist area of rape exemplifies this. This thesis clearly illustrates how these issues have remained constant over time, despite reform agendas aimed to adjust such beliefs. As one SOIT officer from phase two told me:

> *Officers don't want to do the touchy feely cushiony care. Victims are an aggravation, they are needy, and they take a lot out of you. Victims are a pain, because they are needy, they want answers, we can't always give them. They're emotional, we've got to calm them down. Dry them out sometimes, just the whole thing. It doesn't matter what it is. And domestic violence, again victims very much so often are needy. (Carole, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

The following quote from a male officer in the first phase outlines how other male officers viewed his decision to become involved in SOIT work and his frustrations of dealing purely with the victims:

> *No, I mean a lot of people said I couldn't do that job, no way could I do that, dealing with rape victim all day. I actually had one Sergeant said you can't do that, you're a man. And then the same Sergeant said to me what are you, some sort of pervert? The majority of it is a lot of blokes were certainly, mainly blokes were saying I couldn't do that job. But then in some ways it's no different. I think if I just did the job by the letter of the law and just did the victims then I'd be going off me head, but I do try and get involved with the CID on the investigation side, which helps a little bit. And if there's a chance of making an arrest I'll be there, because it's what we normally do, you know, it's more Police work as such. I find it very hard to be, for want of a better word, pink and fluffy eight hours a day, and sometimes I want to say to them you're bloody lying, you know, but I can't say that. But that's how you feel sometimes. Especially when you know you've got a 14-year-old girl round the corner that was raped sort of six or seven years ago and you want to give her 100% and you can't because you're wading through bloody rubbish really. (Terence, SOIT officer 2004 - 2005)*

What is evident in this quote is that the officer continues to negotiate access to elements of 'real' police work within his role as a SOIT. Essentially leaving the victim care as a periphery element to the policing habitus – this is despite him being a dedicated victim officer. Another SOIT officer, Tina, from phase one, voiced her frustration with how this very complicated aspect of policing, can be undermined in the organisation:

> *There is this Sergeant who says he buys his team a bottle of wine if they get a lot of good arrests in. And it's always kind of focusing on this - I mean I can understand it, but it's like this side of the work (dealing with victims) is negated a lot and considering that's generally associated with women, do you know what I mean? (Tina, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)*

As McMillan (2015) found, rape work does not fit well within the seemingly, dominant, representation of masculine police work. This thesis argues that both informal and formal processes serve an important function in re-establishing this notion in the policing of rape. Tina's quote makes evident the forms of capital attached to a rape investigation and the difficulty some officers who work within this area find to achieve it. As Acker (1990) states, job evaluation 'evaluates jobs not their incumbents' (p. 148). I argue that the methods utilised in order to ascertain good performance and a legitimate identity, undermines skills and roles classically associated with women. Therefore, the macho culture in operation within the police remains secure.

This chapter outlined the complexities involved when officers attempt to negotiate a credible police identity through their involvement in certain police functions. It explores how associated symbolic capital in policing is negotiated and validated through the involvement in certain high value tasks and by building subsequent credibility amongst peers. This begins when officers commence their career, in response teams, and operates through both explicit and implicit actions from both peers and the organisation itself. I have described how officers involved in the policing of rape negotiate a legitimate police identity through symbolic actions that facilitate that gain. The chapter has shown how officers acquire and affirm credibility amongst their peers through particular work based decisions. This process begins during an officers' time on response and continues in more specific ways within specialist teams, when

dealing with rape investigations. The findings presented here are critical to understanding the barriers to reform, which is a core aim of this research. The findings demonstrate that the successful achievement of Project Sapphire's aims may be negated by the strength of the police habitus which continues to place higher worth on certain gendered policing tasks and subsequent outcomes. Given this can legitimise an officer's self-identity as a professional cop, the capital attached to victim care is minimised further within the hierarchy. The following chapter addresses how such capital and negotiated credible status can ensure legitimacy within and from the organisation itself.

Chapter 6: Organisational Legitimacy

The previous chapter outlined the way in which officers acquire symbolic capital within their roles. The establishment of hierarchies, which operate implicitly between and within areas of policing tasks, are reformulated in more nuanced ways during a rape investigation. This chapter considers additional organisational factors of performance measurements and deployment strategies which reaffirm perceptions of what constitutes 'good' and valued police work. The data presented here responds to the aims of this project to explore the barriers to reform and to understand officers' perceptions about the role of organisational culture within this change context. The issues explored in this chapter have significant ramifications on the success of reform programmes, not exclusive to change around sexual violence. The chapter is presented in three parts. The first section discusses the paradox of formal performance measures within policing and illustrates how they serve to legitimise more informal methods that are applied by officers when striving for credibility. The way in which this contradicts, and leaves unexamined, the types of police behaviour the public view as legitimate will be addressed. The second section explores the continued use of these performance mechanisms in rape investigations and how they impact on what is considered as good practice in the policing of rape. This section also discusses the limitations and implied implications of these methods. The third and final section considers other subtler ways in which the current performance framework effects officers' perceptions of working in this area. Officers' personal choice to work within this area of policing and their perceptions of the legitimacy of internal change is discussed. The analysis reveals a number of significant problems with the way Sapphire teams are resourced and the validity of the organisation's commitment to change in this area. This is vital in developing the debate on the problem with attrition.

The Paradox of Performance: gaining organisational credibility inside and outside

Garland (2001) argues that the application of New Public Management (NPM) to policing has influenced organisational decisions to review and govern work through an

exploration of internal criteria that can be easily controlled, or as Guilfoyle (2013) suggests, 'manipulated'. Reiner (1998) argues that this results in the police measuring a response to a crime issue rather than providing any evidence about how officers actually interacted with the issue itself. Much has been written about how performance targets can impact on officer behaviour, the use of discretion and how such forms of performance can exacerbate what Manning (1977: 5) refers to as the 'sacred canopy being drawn over police work'. The way in which these methods provide meaning for officers about legitimate outcomes and how they leave decision making processes unexplored, is central to this thesis and the aims of this research.

Analysis from the interviews indicates a clear relationship between the methods used for the assessment of performance and how officers perceive their worth within the organisation. More crucially they contradict the higher value status of treatment and fair interaction, which is what victims value and require from the police (Bradford, 2011). As Acker (1990: 147) notes, forms of 'job evaluation' can 'rationalize the organisational hierarchy' and logically sustain a social structure that places more worth on behaviours which conflict with those the public perceive to be legitimate police actions. Furthermore, by stipulating to officers the need to achieve certain targets in areas of their work, the organisation effectively provides tangible symbols through which officers can acquire the symbolic capital required to achieve status. The achievement of particular outcomes provides credibility to previous decisions with limited understanding of what behaviour was actually involved. The implications of ignoring the type and quality of service delivered, in providing these outcomes, is vital to any exploration into change focused on the improvement of victim care. As Angus, a response officer interviewed in the first phase of the research articulated:

> *You see the problem we have now is that, you know, we are very much performance driven, or the staff are very performance driven, the senior management are. Senior management is only interested in figures, what they can prove to the public that they've done the work you know… I mean I've never been a figures man and, you know, how do you quantify them with the officer that spends an hour with an old dear you know, dealing with her and reassuring her. (Angus, first response officer, 2004-2005)*

The process and interactional elements of policing that individuals experience when they have contact with the police are not investigated through such methods and this is important for this research. One of the core aims is to explore officer decision making and what drives it. Without other more qualitative methods of reviewing performance, reflections on officer actions and behaviours that drive these figures are left unexplored. Genuine organisational learning is central to the professionalisation agenda. Without this understanding authentic notions of 'what works' will remain ignored. Despite officers in the more recent phase of the research describing a move away from the use of targets at the top of the organisation, locally they were still operating in some policing contexts. An interview with a response officer, in phase two of the work, described this change on his Borough.

> *On team we also used to be measured on arrests, stop searches, crime reports taken, but these have been dropped. This was because here stop and searches are no longer a priority any more along with arrests. With the reduced numbers and increased work load it's very hard to do any proactive policing, we go from one call to the next to the next to the next. (Kevin, first response officer, 2016-2017)*

This officer's view indicates that, rather than the measurement being genuinely based on improving quality, the assumed meaning placed on it by him was focused on the speed of the response. This can compound officers' thoughts on what is prioritised by the organisation as key to their role. Whilst the more recent interviews with first response officers made more of the organisational drive to focus on the victim care side of police work, this is not necessarily filtering down to supervisors, as noted by Lionel:

> *There has been a significant shift away from instructing officers on response teams to generate quantifiable results, gone are the days when officers were instructed to achieve a number of stop and search, process or arrests. So there is less focus on positive quantifiable outcomes. But there seems to be a limited understanding of 'dysfunctional behaviour' among supervisors in this regard, even if they can't define it. However, despite this, you are still far more likely to be recognised or commended for achieving a positive arrest or conviction than providing excellent care for a person with mental health issues. (Lionel, first response officer, 2016-2017)*

Considering this response, it appears that the drive for quantifiable targets from officers may be reducing at a senior level within the organisation over more recent years. However more implicitly, the symbolic value of this performance style and the dominant discourse concerned with what constitutes good policing remains unchallenged within the organisation. This suggests that the discourse around change remains largely rhetorical. As Hallam (2002) suggests, the responsibility for achieving the objectives and targets set for the police by the Government is pushed downwards. Therefore, while the language changes at the top of the organisation, to highlight the strength of the change climate to the external police community, subtle methods remain intact internally to reaffirm notions of credible practice and legitimate actions. Considering this in conjunction with Acker's (1990) notion of job evaluation and the way in which management systems provide rationale about workplace logic and worthy practice is key to this thesis. Acker uses this analysis to explore justifications of certain pay scales in organisations in relation to gendered tasks and roles. The modes of job evaluation that operate formally in policing, implies value to masculine characterised tasks. By focusing on measurable outcomes, a particular form of behaviour or dictionary knowledge (Sackmann, 1991) is established and reinforced. These organisational goals manifest themselves in the police performance frameworks which provide meaning to officers about what the collective organisational goals are in relation to rape. George, a strategic lead for an area of Project Sapphire[9], provided insight into this when he was interviewed for the second phase of the research. He relays his frustrations about the way in which the organisation visibly honours certain actions internally:

> *We celebrate when we get a charge and not at conviction and that is wrong. That is simply the initial bit of the work and might be simply because the officer is moving on to the next crime. We should be celebrating at court when the rapist goes to prison. A lot can go wrong between the arrest and trial and that is when the victim really needs to be kept on board and supported. We still have charts of red and green which I do not agree with and all the evidence says do not do this and yet we do. Things have improved from ten years ago, that was the bad old days where we had percentage target. People were allegedly no criming allegations to get that percentage target. Now you are set a target of*

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[9] The exact role cannot be revealed here as the number of officers in this position would give the identity of the officer involved

detections which is done slightly differently so there is no incentive to inappropriately no crime or fiddle figures. But there is still a target which in my opinion is wrong and it misses the bigger picture to really support the victim and sometimes in other ways. (George, strategic lead Sapphire, 2016-2017)

George refers directly to how performance methods can neglect any evaluation of how officers support victims within the investigation process. Coyle (1995. cited in Silvestri, 2003:65) suggests that the application of business models which condone 'creeping 'hard' managerialism' imply an alternative masculinity in the workplace. Achieving the targets set for officers provides them with a tangible method to realise displays of masculine credibility which stretches beyond the affirmation from their peers outlined in Chapter Five. Indeed, Bob, from phase two, describes other visible displays of praising such outcomes within Sapphire teams:

Everyone likes praise and to be told well done on a good job and our supervisors do praise us and we have good morale on our team and that does make a difference. The only thing is though, there is huge competition between the Sapphire teams here and yet we are meant to be working as a team. What happens is the best performing team gets a trophy and this is given based on who got the most detection.' (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)

These organisational structures leave the policing habitus uncontested and the capital required to build individual credibility unchallenged. This creates an environment based on competition, culminating in further prioritisation and hierarchy of tasks available. Sackmann's (1991: 92) reference to 'cultural synergism' can be enriched through rewards which exist to encourage certain results and to ensure staff 'identify with the company's major goal and strategies'. Moreover, Fleming and Scott (2008: 325) argues that performance frameworks 'can establish a counterproductive competition across an organization and reinforce existing compartmentalisation' (p. 325). This recent account from Jon, in phase two, evidences how perceptions of different victims and their potential likelihood of achieving success can impact negatively on productivity and levels of seriousness attached to certain cases, even at a local level:

If a job comes in at the end of shift another team will take it if it looks like a good job, if not, they won't take it. The banter we have here can turn to unhealthy competition. In my previous force detections is the main thing but they also look at how many jobs we take on so they compare the statistics. People here do

cream off the ones that will work. We all have a lot on our plate but they will take it if it is going somewhere. This also boosts morale and the team is boosted if we are working on a good job and that's why they take them it isn't recognised about the other side it is about the end of the financial year and the numbers. It is massively divisive and it bugs me. We are meant to be trying to achieve the same goals. I have never worked anywhere like this in terms of the disparity between the teams. (Jon, CID officer, 2016-2017)

This notion of competition encouraged through the figures provides another subtle, yet routine method for establishing the potency of the masculine culture and particular behaviours which become embedded in policing culture. As de Maillard and Savage (2018: 329) argue, managers who align themselves with a competitive team method clearly believe that a target culture can be essential to the police function. Others however, view it as distorting what real police is and should be. Despite the importance of the interactions between the police and the public within the process of gaining legitimacy outside of the organisation, these tasks remain conceived as lower status by the organisation in terms of the way they are accounted for. Simon, from the first phase of research articulated this frustration in his account:

I think the emphasis for the police officer is on getting suspects but at the same time it can be very satisfying yourself if you deal well with a victim, maybe they'll write a letter in or you'll get praise that way from the victim. It's always nice to deal with somebody and you feel good about yourself if you leave there and they're happy and they are saying thank you very much…You don't necessarily get the praise from the sort of supervising officers and that for the victims very often. (Simon, first response officer, 2004-2005)

In seeking to verify the experiences of front line officers and to understand more about what aspects of the job those in management roles emphasise as a priority, the research also interviewed those in a supervisory capacity, including team inspectors. Interview data with Stuart, a team inspector from the first phase, confirmed and corroborated the narratives about what counts in policing, noting that:

I think if someone goes out and gets a good body, they're actually scoring some brownie points, it's recognized as a good piece of work. And they've taken a suspect off the street for a crime or they've done a particularly good stop and found a vast amount of drugs or a vast amount of stolen property, there's credibility in that sort of work and kudos. You can't deny that. I think it comes back to basic police work, why did you join the job? You know did you come to

> *take victim statements or did you come to arrest people? Getting good arrests is a good way of quantifying what a good police officer you are and that's encouraged. (Stuart, first line response inspector, 2004-2005)*

This is a good example of how narrow performance indicators are oppositional and in conflict with what police officers at a higher level might be trying to achieve and, further, attempt to portray more publically. This research makes clears how this persists over time in policing and this was illustrated clearly by Belinda in the second phase of the work:

> *It is all down to figures, it's all down to how many bodies you get in and I mean personally I haven't had a body in for ages simply because the work has been in the wrong place at the wrong time. But I've taken x amount of CRIS reports you know, which as I said nobody, you don't get any points for that. It's not like well-done Belinda you've done twenty CRIS reports in you know, a week. If I'd had twenty bodies in, I'd be a major you know pat, well done. You've got all these things you do get more praise over than others, even though you are working just as hard. You know it could be done just stops on the street, you could stop twenty cars a day, you won't you know, if it's not bodies in, criminals off the street, you don't get any points for it at all. You're still working just as hard as everybody else. (Belinda, first response line officer, 20162017)*

The demonstration of credibility through certain actions which are aligned with the organisational social order is clear. The use of performance measures to symbolise forms of capital, reoccurs over the duration of the research - this is despite an apparent organisational move away from them. This embeds a clear message which filters down through the organisation about esteemed practice and subsequent outcomes which maintain a certain gendered social order. This has implications for the way in which we consider individual officer behaviour and decision making across many spheres of policing. This research has found that the organisational structures are themselves embedded in a particular gendered sense of order. In relation to the aims of the research this offers significant value to the debate about barriers to reform within the field of rape investigation. Indeed, it is not victim care or the associated skills which are evaluated through these methods. Given that these process issues become redundant and seemingly unimportant in performance frameworks, the reinforced logic indicates that feminine tasks, alluded to as 'not real policing' in Chapter Five, are confirmed by the organisation itself. As Bevan and Hood (2006) state, the problems

with performance measurements in the public sector are conceptual in that they indicate to external and internal audience what is evaluated as good performance, or in this case, good policing. Subsequently, the extent to which 'doing' a police identity becomes linked to gendered tasks and outcomes is clear in this thesis and was found across both of the phases. As Sackmann (1991) argues, established cognitions within organisations, guide perceptions and provide staff with meaning to their daily reality. In this context it is clear that a collective set of cognitions operates to drive a particular set of actions. This 'dictionary knowledge' (p. 36), provides descriptions about how to achieve the aspirations laid out as normative in organisations. The impact this has on officer decision making about roles and task outcomes is clear in this research and is exemplified here in Gordon's account from the first phase.

> *Well everybody thinks SOIT is a shit job, they wouldn't want to do it and they can't see why anybody else would possibly want to do it. I mean the SOIT Officers do all the direct face to face contact with the victim. I used to be a SOIT Officer, but I think generally, you might be seen as worthwhile, it was worthwhile having SOIT Officers. Probably because it meant that they were allowed to be removed from victims and on team that meant they could get out to doing real work and getting the arrests in. (Gordon, CID officer, 20042005)*

Decisions about what constitutes a priority in policing are dependent on a range of different factors from HMIC inspections, community and media influences, subsequent political drives focusing on particular criminal activity and individual responses to certain crimes. The fact that the strength of these perceptions about 'what counts' have endured significantly over the time of this research, indicates the vast power attached to the methods applied by the organisation to maintain these collective ideals. As Acker (1990) argues, organisational rules are 'the imagery of which managers construct and reconstruct their organisations'. Moreover, they maintain and regulate a social order which places limited value, officially, on victim care and the softer skills involved in policing. Understanding this in relation to reform, and the type of knowledge applied when making decisions about cases of rape, is critical to understanding attrition. Therefore, Sackmann's (1991) notion of social actors within institutions having a critical role in recreating the symbolic values that exist within an organisation, is evident here. However, it is the enduring rules, practices and structures that set the conditions for this action and the recreation of values occurring within that workplace.

By exploring the social order, subsequent social life operating within policing and the behaviours arising in that world, the understanding of limitations of change programmes can be widened. As Schein (1990: 111) states, culture can be defined as,

> (a) a pattern of basic assumptions, (b) invented, discovered or developed by a given group, (c) as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, (d) that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore (e) is to be taught to new members as the (f) correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems.

Underneath such a cultural framework are underlying assumptions about working rules, similar to the notion of 'habitus' articulated by Bourdieu (1990). This work argues that exploring the limitations of these factors on any reality of organisational change is imperative in moving this debate forward. Simon's account, from the first phase of research, illustrates how, despite the complex nature of police work, the priority work chosen by individual officers is likely to reflect those deemed valued by the organisation.

> *Workload prioritisation is quite a complex thing when you start to think about it, but yes it will boil down to the likelihood of a positive result... (Simon, front line officer, 2004-2005)*

It is clear throughout the analysis of the interviews that an unofficial hierarchy of police work has been sustained over the time period of this research and is enforced by the performance culture and valuing processes operating within the organisation. This is further strengthened through officers' own actions as they seek to achieve the kudos and credibility in their roles that are perceived as legitimate by the organisation. It is argued here that internal processes and structures play a core role in stabilising the strength of culture by positively reinforcing certain behaviours and outcomes. This problematises the 'what works' agenda as officers learn to decipher the cultural knowledge that will provide access to the intended outcomes expected within the organisation. The way in which these tangible performance measures reproduce and rationalise a sense of what counts as legitimate policing is evident and is developed further later in this chapter.

'Good' performance in the context of rape investigation

The Stern Review (2010) concluded that the political and media focus being simply on conviction rates as a way of measuring performance needed reviewing. This thesis has found little change to this during the eleven-year span of this research. There are multi-faceted reasons for victims reporting rape to the police (Williams et al, 2009) and the officers I spoke to were fully aware that current methods of performance might be incongruent with the needs of the victim, in terms of their required outcome. More critically, officers' frustrations about these contradictions and how they impact on their sense of role value were clear. Dave, a CID officer, from phase one of the research illustrates this:

> *It might be that a victim doesn't want to go to court and she doesn't want the trauma of all of that but what she needs is the support or a little bit of counselling maybe. She may want to be relocated to where her ex-boyfriend can't track her down you know. It is up to us then to give her that support. At the end of the day that doesn't enter in to any performance indicators. The SOIT could spend three weeks chaperoning a victim of rape where all the evidence is there and we could say to the girl we are confident that we could successfully prosecute this, the courts will support you, the CPS will support we will support you, the local authority will support you, victim support and all these other agencies and the victim will turn around and say well that is not my priority that is not what I want. (Dave, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

This officer recognises the welfare needs of the victim and how they might conflict with police outcomes but there is also an added sense of frustration about the time spent on supporting a victim and gaining the evidence for a case when the victim subsequently decides to disengage with the process. This time issue may be more relevant in the current climate given the cuts to budgets, increasing allegations of rape to the police and low police numbers moving into detective roles. However, there is also a strong sense in his narrative about 'what counts'. Within the context of rape, the victim is the embodiment of the evidence and yet officers appear to view the welfare and support of victims as secondary to the gathering of tangible evidence to support a prosecution. Focusing on the welfare elements of an investigation is lengthy, ambiguous and the outcome is uncertain. The link these factors have with organisational perceptions of effectiveness is important here. Performance

measurements are a tool of communication to external parties and many critics of police responses to rape refer directly to attrition rates. Whilst achieving convictions is central to a rape investigation, understanding what cases are leaving the system and why, is central to improvement, professionalisation and learning in this field. Currently, performance measures play a symbolic function in signalling to external audiences that, as an organisation, the police are 'doing something' about an internal issue. With a scheme such as Project Sapphire, established to legitimise the MPS' internal response to criticisms about rape investigation, understanding this is crucial. As De Brujin (2002) states the data can also play a key role in the organisation's acquisition of legitimacy from the outside world. This is important when trying to enhance one's organisational image to the public following criticism.

This research found that what is perceived as professional, in terms of case outcome, is not always congruent with the satisfaction of the victim. This sends a strong message to officers about what is valued organisationally and what is measured as an effective professional outcome. These performance structures are considered by the actors involved as a form of governance over their actions. The models of action become secured as legitimate as they are endorsed and mirrored by others within the organisation (Walker et al, 2010). Issues such as effective communication, the ethical use of discretion and the police relationships / interaction with the public remain unaccounted for. Paradoxically, these aspects of police work are emphasised in most conversations about police reform and are held up as being examples of what constitutes professional police behaviour externally. Conversely, this research found that the internal structural processes used to review and assess 'good' policing in rape investigations can reinforce and legitimise a dominant ideology of what is 'good' practice based on arrest figures, crimes solved, convictions and enforcement. This is to the detriment of the victim and potentially, attrition rates. Rick, a detective inspector from phase one, describes his frustrations with this method of reviewing performance:

> *Yes, judicial disposals get mentioned at the monthly Sapphire meetings, and I do think that, you know, we need to move away from that really. There are lots of other ways of measuring things that aren't there, and I don't think that's a particularly good way. They need to look at that really. But everything is performance-led isn't it, and with rape at the end of the day, you know, as long as you do your best and you give a good service to the victim if the evidence is*

> *there you charge and then you do your best to try and get them convicted. But it's not easy is it, it's very very difficult. (Rick, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

The reasons identified for implementing the majority of reforms in this area of policing resulted from ongoing problems with attrition rates and the subsequent impact this has on victims of rape. Similar to their application in response policing contexts, the continued use of performance measures in CID offices influences officers' perceptions about the way in which the organisation values aspects of their work. Qualitative, interpersonal skills, which play a fundamental role in rape investigation, can take second place as a result of the current measurements of performance in rape. As Bob argues in phase two of the research:

> *It is really just about outcomes. Supervisors will rarely say it was a no further action but you did a great job with the victim but a judicial disposal a well done is always given. It is a double edged sword for us – with the standard of ability across the MPS there are lot of lazy people who are here for an easy ride and they will take the easiest cases and not push themselves. (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

Exploring methods of performance in this context reveals the complex relationship between different layers of organisational legitimacy. I have discussed above the symbolic role Project Sapphire had in its function to legitimise organisational commitment to responding to external criticism concerning the treatment of victims. The evidence presented in this thesis reveals the multifaceted nature of the term legitimacy. Indeed, the methods applied by the organisation, to portray legitimate change to external audiences may further compound the assumed police behaviour that might facilitate officer legitimacy and credibility. This is exemplified in the use of performance targets for this crime. Acker (1990) described how perceived achievements, within organisations, can become separated from an understanding of the people doing it. Internal tools, in place to evaluate tasks, serve to review the significance of the job as opposed to the behaviour of the employees. This research found clear evidence of how methods of job evaluation in policing place certain tasks and outcomes in particular hierarchical positions but ignore the process factors. Acker relates this to the rating of certain job tasks. However, there is another layer of limitation exemplified in this thesis. By leaving the process issues unexplored through

the use of these performance measures, the attrition problem may be compounded. Any understanding of the ethics and information applied in decision making is currently absent from the rape investigation performance narrative. This recent interview from the second phase with Seb explores this:

> *It is just about outcomes they would rarely say if it was a no further action case, well done what a great job you did with that victim. As an investigator you could get a whole run of cases and they all get kicked back from the CPS and your colleagues are getting more and more cases through to charge, ding, ding ding and they are knocking up all these detections. I don't think it is fair reflection of a good job and will have a knock on effect on officers' morale. (Seb, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

As Suchman (1995) highlights, no organisation can appease all audiences. Relating this to legitimacy, this thesis has found that managerial decisions play an important role in the promotion of what activities within a Sapphire team are recognised as desirable. As Sackmann (1991) describes, task accomplishment 'refers to the processes by which organisational members accomplish tasks' (p. 92). How this links to what normative knowledge is applied in the drive to make decisions, is key in this debate. As Fleming and Scott state (2008: 324), 'pressure to achieve results may be a stimulus to strategic behaviour or 'process corruption' and innovative ideas or activities are deemed 'risky' in that PM (*performance management*) rewards the constant reproduction of the existing'. This is essential in widening the discussion about the limitations of reform within the context of rape. The internal values, even when they conflict with personal beliefs, become instilled as a social, or in this context, organisational, fact. Paradoxically, the communicated messages presented to the public about change around rape investigation is incongruent with both subtle informal processes (as discussed in Chapter Five) and the more formal symbolic communication given to officers through the use of numerical targets to evaluate job worth.

The way this impacts on the type of professional and credible knowledge used by officers to make the required assessment of cases will be further addressed in Chapter Seven. I argue here that the hierarchies operating within cases of rape are subtly reconfirmed by officers as they seek out the cases that are most likely to achieve the required detection. Crude performance methods can give confusing and mixed

messages to employees about what is important as they fail to address the actual human interaction and decision making involved in the achievement the assigned outputs. In this sense, the second objective of Project Sapphire, that of victim care, was not effectively measured. Crank and Langworthy (1992) argue that gauging success on quantifiable information such as arrests can assist with internal legitimacy in change programmes by 'identifying organisational structures that facilitate the production of outputs consistent with particular departmental goals' (p. 339). This research has found a further level of legitimacy relating to the way in which normative behaviours are legitimised as officers' attempt to meet these expected operational outputs. Conversely, the process of negotiating these outputs may rely on officers' assessments of legitimate victims. This can reproduce the hierarchies of rape outlined in the rape myth literature. As Weber (cited in Johnson et al, 2006:55) states, even when individuals do not hold the same beliefs and values, their actions can be driven towards the values operating within the culture. If it appears to them as being more accepted by relevant others this is more likely. Indeed, the value of the belief within that context becomes a valid social fact. The way that certain tasks are valued in this context was voiced by Sarah, a SOIT officer in the most recent research:

> *We should be commended on what we do regardless of outcome. But it is always more about outcome, if we get a good job we get a conviction and we can provide that outcome. It is only then that you will be seen as having done a really good job. (Sarah, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

This account indicates that what has become embedded as a social fact within rape investigation is the dominance of the judicial disposal over the victim care element. Indeed, Lind and Taylor (1988) describe how core elements of procedural justice involve respect, a lack of bias, fairness and trust. Particularly with victims of crime, they argue for judgements to be normative, based on 'what is right' and not judged on what the task evaluator is exploring as an outcome. There is clear evidence in this work of the presence of very strong messages, that transcend through the organisation over time, about what it values as good performance and what is viewed as legitimate, organisationally. These rational measures of what is valued, represent what Suchman (1995) describes as pragmatic forms of legitimacy. These performance structures become validated by officers as they consider the measures to be a form of

governance over their actions. Indeed, as has been established in this thesis, this has continued over the duration of the research and indicates that such continued patterns have become cognitively legitimate both within the culture and in the minds of officers themselves.

Applying Bourdieu's (1991) ideas here, the durability of the culture or habitus working within it can 'orient' (p. 13) individuals' decisions and give them a sense of intuition about natural ways of responding and behaving. The data for this thesis reveals that, in relation to the officers' involvement in this process, such models of action become secured as legitimate as they are endorsed and mirrored through the methods of work validation employed by the organisation. With reference to what victims consider legitimate, such objective and rationalized methods of measuring performance fail to recognise the other broader duties of the police (Gorby, 2013). Effective communication, the ethical use of discretion and police relationships with the public, are all aspects of police work that are emphasised in most police reform discourse. Moreover, these behaviours are exemplified, in the change narrative, as professional police behaviour. Conversely, I argue that the internal structural processes used to review and assess good policing of rape, can reinforce and legitimise a dominant ideology of what is 'good' practice based on arrest figures, crimes solved, convictions and enforcement. Therefore, the internal perspective of what constitutes credibility and a professional police identity is formulated through a dominant masculine ideology of law enforcement and outcome. Considering the evidence presented in Chapter Five, it appears that particular cultural values are reproduced both by the strength of the internal culture and by the organisational processes and structures. These, paradoxically, restrict it from being challenged.

Arguably part of the reasoning, as to why challenge is difficult, relates to the complexities of the cases involved. When restarting the second phase of this research, I had expected to witness some changes over the eleven years, particularly about the role of performance measures. Phase two, however, revealed no real change in their application to this field of police work. As one phase two interviewee explained, their continued use is now very much reflected in the way in which supervisors validate and view good police work:

People should be commended on what they do regardless of outcome. Always more about an outcome, if we get a good job, we get a conviction and we can prove it then we will get you have done a really good job. Never has someone say well done for anything else apart from one detective sergeant. (Karen, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)

Police work is, as Crank and Langworthy (1992) state, 'saturated in institutional values' (p. 341). Meeting arbitrary judicial disposal figures does not provide an effective method for reviewing actual police behaviour. Within the analysis of policing rape investigation this is essential to understand. Berger and Luckman (1991) call this the legitimation of informal status hierarchies. The findings from this thesis strongly suggest that this occurs in various forms within the organisation, both in relation to crimes, officer roles, tasks and affirmed theories of action (Sackmann, 1991).

The role of performance targets cannot be viewed in isolation. A broader understanding of what constitutes 'value' in the securing of social capital is required. As Suchman (1995) argues, there can be significant conflict for practitioners when they attempt to gain legitimacy during times of reform. This is made more complex when attempts to externally legitimise an organisation following criticism, conflicts with both peer legitimacy and the form of police identity acclaimed by the organisation. With rape this is perhaps more intense as the crime itself is not considered, by officers, to be uncomplicated or unambiguous. This research found that officers use culturally confirming methods to achieve the desired outputs presented in the management strategy. Blake et al (1990) argue that organisations can provide surface validity in their response to recommendations following a review. In rape investigation, the validation of the internal response by staff can conflict with the externally communicated aims. The repercussions of this was evident in this research as the contradiction between final outcome and process was emphasised strongly within both phases of the research. This was exacerbated by the amount of allegations coming in. Joe, from phase one of the research, highlights these conflicts for officers and explains how, despite understanding the importance of victim care, the methods for reviewing success intersected with the number of cases coming in to the MPS, limited the ability to deal with this sufficiently:

Sapphire is a new unit so it has to prove itself and in the past the only way to prove yourself is by the amount of JD's you get and unfortunately everyone is that way, well most people of management are that way inclined, that is all they

can use to show that a unit is working effectively so they have to push you know for JD's really. I don't agree with it I have never agreed with it I don't investigate things and think I am going to get a JD for this. At the end of the day I am investigating a crime and if at the end of that I get a result then that is good but if I don't get a result then at least I know I have given a service to the person that I am dealing with be it the victim or the suspect. I try and become as impartial as I can. But If the job does not fit the bill, then the victims suffer...... We give the victims 50% commitment or we give them a unit which hasn't got that many people in there but will give them 25% cos we have got so many things on the go. There are so many allegations coming in every day it is one of the busiest offices I have ever worked on. I get bombarded with reports every day so you are constantly chasing around speaking to people and almost as soon as you have finished with the last one you are back again talking to another one of the first one again. (Joe, CID officer 2004-2005)

This account provides a clear indication of the conflict involved for and between the different types of officers involved in rape investigations. Furthermore, it evidences how it can undermine the victim care side of the process based on the perceived organisational credibility of the type of outcomes of the case:

I am just thinking of a case I dealt with. It was a chap, they were friends and the gentleman had overstepped the mark and had forced sex on this female. The man was arrested, he was interviewed but according to the interviewing officer he gave such a convincing account that he obviously hadn't done it and he let him go. And I thought well I am with the victim who has given an equally convincing account of how she was raped by this individual. It really came down to the fact that the two guys felt that he was telling the truth and that was how the line of the investigation was going down. I thought, wow, so much for the needs of the victim. You know without even giving her the benefit of the doubt a decision had been made as to the outcome of this particular case which is naughty. It left me in the position where I had to go back to her and say it appears there is no evidence. I am the one who is meant to be going out there and getting the statement from her. (Caz SOIT, Sapphire 2004-2005)

Given the core aims of the Project Sapphire, it is clear from this research that little attention is given to formally assessing and validating the importance of victim care. The *Rape Review* in London consistently emphasised the need for police accountability in terms of improving victim care and involvement within the process when investigating rape complaints (Stanko and Williams, 2009). The next section discusses other organisational factors which may restrict the legitimacy of dealing with

the crime of rape and the status of the officers that work within that form of investigation.

Legitimising the importance of rape reform within the organisation

As described above, indicators of performance can provide a transparent method to ensure external accountability around rape allegations following critique and review. They assist the organisation in establishing organisational legitimacy to the outside world. However, as evidenced above, they clearly influence how the process of legitimisation is aligned, interpreted and reconstructed internally by the organisational culture and the attitude of employees. The narratives provided by the officers interviewed here identified other, more implicit, organisational influences separate to the current performance mechanisms used in rape investigation. Firstly, these relate to choice and officers' decisions to work in this policing field. These factors are interrelated to the procedures applied when posting officers into specialist rape teams and, as discussed earlier, officers' reasons for wanting to become involved in this work. In terms of perceptions of real organisational commitment to this field of police work, Fleming and King (2012) found that officers were aware that to really impact on culture and behaviour it is imperative that the right people are deployed in specialist rape units.

There are clear similarities across the two phases of research relating to the need for an officer having a choice in moving into this area of police work. This related to officers' individual desire to be involved and the organisational decision to suggest a move into Project Sapphire. The interviews I conducted over the two phases did reveal differences in the process of deployment to this role, over time, but the implied message of these deployment strategies remained consistent and related to the worth of the role. In terms of the investigating officers, there appears to have been more choice given to the CID officers in the first phase. Officers linked this to notions of professionalism and the potential thoroughness of an investigation.

> *I joined this unit cos I wanted to deal with investigations of rape. I wanted to deal with the sexual crimes. It is an interesting area and there is that victim support which I personally like dealing with. I like giving support to people. So*

you have got a unit where you have people in there, hopefully, who want to deal with this sort of thing so they are going to put a lot of effort into dealing with their victims and are doing that in the right way. I think Sapphire is a marvellous idea. You know Project Sapphire up at the yard, they have got an excellent team as well. They have put all the policies together and best practice. You have got these units they should be filled with people that want to do the job. I know there are probably rape units out there filled with people that don't want to do the job but that is unfortunate. (Jon, CID officer, 2004-2005)

Motivational factors regarding decisions to work in this command are key here and the link this has to perceived role professionalism is important and complex. Jon's account is very clear about his commitment to the role. He considered this to be important to his ability to deliver a professional service to victims. This following account from Jake, from the first phase of the research, indicates that for some officers, particularly for those with a longer service time, choosing a position within a rape team is considered fairly straight forward and relatively easy work compared to other 'proper' areas of policing.

There are some officers that like it and some that don't and this unit is meant to make that better. The other thing is you get lot of people that applied for the role who I personally thought were unsuitable cos they were sort of officers that manipulated people and maybe would have said to the person you don't want to go ahead. They are looking for an easy ride and maybe they had just ten or fifteen years left. As far as I am concerned they shouldn't deal with victims of a vulnerable nature as at the end of the day they deserve a far better service than they could ever give in the whole of their career. (Jake, CID officer, 2004-2005)

This notion of an 'easy ride' voiced by officers themselves was also found in the analysis relating to the organisation itself. Specifically, the decision making involved during a process of deploying officers into the rape teams. During the first phase there was a sense that officers may be moved into SOIT roles following a stressful incident at work. This notion of giving them a non-operational and, perceived, less stressful tasking was mentioned by Jeff, a SOIT in phase one of the research. This quote clearly exemplifies the level of priority placed on this area of policing compared to other police functions.

If you have had occupational health, I think it's frowned upon, particularly if you are doing a job which is a fairly stressful one, the fact that you've got on your file that you've been going for the last six months to occupational health, I think

people will have serious doubts about giving you another stressful job in the future. I think that's only a natural thing, a natural conclusion to come to. It's one that I would. You know, I don't want someone with a lot of occupational health, stress, depression on their record. If they come into me to become firearms officer, that would give me sufficient doubt to you know, to actually authorise them to carry a sub-machine gun. I don't really want people who are like that, that to me sounds reasonable. And I think most of our senior officers are reasonable people. It is an example of where somebody can cause an awful lot of damage to others as opposed to just getting screwed up themselves. (Jeff, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

Officers were being moved into these roles with identified welfare issues, Jeff himself being one of these. However, his perception was that the risk of dealing with potentially, some of the most vulnerable victims the police come into contact with, was deemed as lower on the risk hierarchy than other valued policing tasks. Paradoxically, in relation to valuing the staff working within this area, officers also raised issues around increased work stress and access to formal assistance through occupational health. Fatigue and welfare in this area of police work has been discussed by McMillan (2015) in her work with specialist sexual offence officers. She describes the lack of support officers feel they receive from the organisation and the perceived priority placed on this role. This was mirrored in my research at both stages and there was continuity in the findings around a lack of formal support.

This thesis has already discussed the notion of organisational moral legitimacy to explore decision making around rape allegations. The work further argues that the organisation lacks moral legitimacy in relation to the deployment strategy applied in this context. The message is that officers, with already identified stress, will be subject to less anxiety working with victims of rape. This provides further evidence about the value placed on the SOIT roles. During the first phase of this work some very vulnerable officers were being posted into positions where they would encounter the most vulnerable victims. In relation to gender dynamics, this evidences how the perceptions of value placed on traditionally feminine skills transcends officers' perceptions of work and is reflected within the organisation itself. The evidence of the level of stress attached to these roles is clear in the following account from Sarah, from phase two of the research:

There is a resourcing issue and we have got used to that. We do a good job for the CID and it takes the pressure off them slightly. The problem is the SOITs are under vast pressure as we are doing our job and helping them do theirs as well. We are expected to crack on until we break down with complete stress and then have time off. We have someone here who has been off for a number of weeks and we can't do all the extra work. (Sarah, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)

However, Jeff in the original research describes his more informal experiences of dealing with the stress of this crime and its victims:

We discuss things a lot amongst ourselves - it might not be quite as politically correct as it should be but it is the same sort of thing, it is us trying to bring in some humour to try and get you through a relatively tricky thing. And of course if you're in open places, people are listening all the time, and I think you should have your own little place where you can go and discuss these things without having to be conscious of someone overhearing what you're saying, maybe getting offended by it or maybe getting a kick out of it, you know because it does take all sorts. Um, I don't, I know I drink too much, there are places, you know, there's occupational health, I've only ever used them once. (Jeff, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

Whist welfare support varied across the two phases of the research and between the different BOCUs, this account from Tracey a SOIT officer from phase one, outlines the importance of a good supervisor to monitor officers' workload and ensure their welfare. This also acknowledges the stress attached to the SOIT role.

Our supervisor here is brilliant and does welfare checks. Takes us out for a glass of wine when we need it. No, she's brilliant. She's really good and she's been quite proactive in organising, trying to organise a day where we all go paint-balling or do something as a team. I don't end up going home and offloading it. I actually find it quite relaxed here. We are busy, but we also have a bit of down time and I think so long as you've got that down time and the work's spread out you can manage things. I think it's far more manageable and you know that, you know, I know that I can speak to my supervisor and sort of say look, you know, I'm getting a bit overloaded here, I need to kind of, you know, and she'll be absolutely fine with that. She speaks to people about their welfare, and sort of knows exactly who's doing what, how many investigations they've got and what stage they're at, so she's very good at monitoring that, and I think that's really important. You need a good supervisor who's going to do that. And she's very good at doing it and she sort of monitors the workload. (Tracey, SOIT, 2004-2005)

Arguably the ability to provide effective and sufficient support to SOIT officers is now affected by the austerity cuts and increased caseload. George, the strategic lead for

organisational learning in Project Sapphire, pointed out the difficulty at the current time around the workload and the impact this was having on officers:

> *I have a SOIT officer who slept in the office recently. She was dealing with a chaotic victim and she managed to put her up in a hotel. As it was near the police station and she was aware of staff shortages she put her up in a hotel next to the police station so she could respond quicker. That is not an isolated example – that is the goodwill of the officer. That is the type of officer we won't know is having a breakdown until they have one. We haven't got enough staff not at all. (George, strategic lead Sapphire, 2016-2017)*

This quote indicates that over time support has actually worsened for these officers. However, what is clear from the data is that the issues relating to stress around rape investigation are not viewed seriously across the organisation. Recuperating officers were, in the first phase, posted to SOIT positions as they were considered easier and less stressful roles by the organisation. The perceived limited access to support for officers, outlined in the second phase, may indicate that this type of work is viewed as not challenging enough to be considered a priority for support access. The issues about the perceived ease of the role are complex. Acker (1990), when discussing the role of job evaluation in organisations, describes how these methods can ignore the complexity of the task and the skills required to be truly competent in the role. As she states (p.148) 'a job is separate from people'. Certainly this analysis found that job evaluation in policing potentially voids the competency and skills attached to the achieved outcome. This is surprising considering the extent of vulnerability involved for victims and the seriousness of losing an offender. The previous chapter described how the skills attached to victim care were not generally perceived as proper policing tasks. Considering this in relation to the reaffirming of a gendered power dynamic in policing is important. Indeed, the lack of emphasis placed on valuing the complex skills and competence required when dealing with these victim types can compound these notions of 'easy' and 'simplistic' job tasks in this policing space. Fundamentally, the skills required to complete such low level tasks remain associated with women and feminized characteristics by the organisational culture. This leaves the real police work of outcome achievement within the domain of men and the masculine characteristics they require.

This quote from the first phase illustrates the importance of competency when dealing with rape cases, particularly in relation to the complexities involved:

> *You have got these units they should be filled with people that want to do the job. I know there are probably units out there filled with people that don't want to do the job but that is unfortunate. It is a victim focused unit at the end of the day as the people that we deal with a very very vulnerable. You will need police officers in there that have that victim focus as you are dealing with people that need a lot of support. If an officer likes to deal with this sort of investigation they will, take it on and deal with it to the best of their ability. If it is an officer that doesn't like dealing with that then they are going to start looking at and think oh maybe it is a false allegation, maybe she is lying. I mean rape is a difficult investigation to deal with because it is not clear cut, it is not like a punch where you have got a black eye or something and the other person hasn't got any injuries. (Jason, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

With reference to Suchman's (1995) differing definitions of legitimacy, this thesis has found that the pragmatic legitimacy and marketed changes portrayed outside of the police are valued more highly than moral legitimacy in this context. This is clear when considering the apparent void of understanding about any ethical decision making processes applied in rape cases. Given that the quote above suggests some indication that unethical decisions are being made in some situations, the implications this has on what knowledge officers utilise when making decisions in rape cases is important. The issue of police knowledge is addressed further in Chapter Seven.

The most recent interviews were undertaken relatively soon after internal decisions were made about increasing human resources within the Project Sapphire command. This was predominantly a result of the publication of The Angiolini Review (2015) which recommended that further resources be provided to rape teams. Two of the officers I interviewed in the second phase of the fieldwork had been moved, without choice, from Murder Investigation Teams (MIT) into Project Sapphire. Indeed, this issue of choice and officers' sense of organisational justice may be exacerbated by austerity and organisational need to resource teams. Whilst in the second phase, the deployment issues were different, both sets of findings over time indicate that organisational structures continue to delegitimise the importance of this area of policing in subtle ways. The seemingly lack of strategic thought into the resourcing of Sapphire teams can be linked to the work of Maquire et al (2015). In their analysis of

problem orientated policing specialist departments, they concluded that despite some visible changes occurring inside the unit, the influence over the majority or the 'technical core' of the organisation (p. 90) in terms of the symbolic value of the changes made, remained limited. Non-strategic, quick, organisational responses to deal with immediate external demands can result in 'symbolic reform at the edges' (p.90). This leaves the narratives of reform in this space largely rhetorical. The personal choice of where officers worked, within this stratified hierarchical investigative system, had been removed. The officers interviewed in phase two had opinions about this decision and their perceptions about their lack of agency was clear.

> *I didn't choose to work here I was working elsewhere. Due to problems with the way Sapphire was running and due to a lot of internal problems and a need to boost numbers they sort of stole a load of detectives. This was not one of my top ten places I wanted to work. A lot of this linked in to Dame Elish review, staffing issues and people being at breaking point. They needed some help. (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

Interviews in the second phase do indicate similarities with phase one, over time. However, the issues in phase two are clearly compounded by other more contemporary issues relating to austerity and a general issue with resourcing CID roles. As Paul noted:

> *So many officers are leaving because they are fed up with it. People who are shit at the moment it is too much to get rid of them. Here it is always the same people who bother and they want to work hard and there are other people who are lazy and they are still there doing the job just plodding along. We have to have the right people in the roles. if they are lazy they look for the simplest option out. (Paul, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

The idea that organisations can make managerial decisions to portray a particular image of change and reform to the outside world is evidenced here. As Suchman (1995) suggests, the gaining of organisational legitimacy to the outside world can be attempted by organisations through the establishment of particular symbolic actions. The implementation of and subsequent extra resourcing of Sapphire teams exemplifies this need to promote internal change to external audiences. Bob's view was that the organisation had made a quick tactical decision to shift human resources into the 'failing' unit. Interviews with officers at both stages of the fieldwork process revealed an agreement that Project Sapphire was required and would raise the profile

of victim care. There was though, a cynicism about the genuine reality of why it was established. This was seen in both phases of the research. However, internal reforms around the investigation of sexual offences serve a pragmatic purpose to deliver on external assumptions that its' actions are genuine and based on the acknowledgement of a need to change. Therefore, this sense of organisational legitimacy can make the workplace appear more credible to the collective audience looking in (Suchman, 1985; Bottoms and Tankebe, 2012). This final section has highlighted some of the perceived structural issues within the organisation which subtly reinforce perceptions of credible areas of policing and professional police identities. Indeed, this analysis clearly highlights how the systems operating within the police organisation are not conducive to the facilitation of real change. They offer a pragmatic strategy of change to external parties. As Walmsley (2011. Cited in Fleming and King (2012: 17) notes 'Without resources, not only will the staff be unable to carry out the changes but they will also be likely to put in less effort as they will undoubtedly feel that the senior managers are not sufficiently committed to the change that is being proposed'. As seen in this work the operationalisation of these policies remains tokenistic and the cultural habitus remains intact.

This chapter has indicated that despite there being eleven years between the two research stages the police structure continues to legitimise certain roles and tasks within the police environment. This influences officers' perception of themselves as legitimate cops within the workplace. The entrenched concern with priorities, performance, masculine ideals and credibility is sustained overtime which is critical to understanding the limitations to reform. The symbols and artefacts used to present legitimacy outside of the organisation can, conversely, result in the maintenance of what might negate this legitimacy inside the police. As is evidenced here this is to the detriment of rape victims.

Rather than encouraging the deconstruction of common notions of credible policing that is required for real change, explicit and implicit organisational symbols maintain the status quo. In terms of the research aims to understand the cultural and structural impact on rape reform this knowledge is significant. The perceived valued tasks and roles are reinforced through numerical based performance frameworks and a lack of

organisational commitment to effectively resource the specialist teams. The task of catching perpetrators and focusing on the outcome of the investigation remains intact as the priority over the time of this research. Therefore, both internally and externally, the stability of the dominant discourse about real policing is recreated. Officers play a significant role in this process as they seek to achieve credibility within the organisation.

The next chapter explores the issue of what constitutes credible knowledge and how this influences decision making and discretion in the context of rape investigation.

Chapter 7: The Complexity of being a 'Professional'

Chapter Six discussed the important role the MPS has in portraying to officers what constitutes credible working practice and, therefore, what actions will successfully influence the development of their own professional identity as a police officer. This chapter considers these issues within the wider context of 'police professionalism'. This is a term used routinely in recent times within any discussions about police reform College of Policing, 2015). In relation to the aim of exploring the working schema applied in rape investigations, this chapter is key. Much of the professionalisation agenda links to the application of knowledge. This chapter argues that, in relation to its definition, professionalism is perceived very differently by the distinct groups operating within the police professionalism domain.

The chapter is presented in four parts. The first section outlines officers' views on the complexity of the allegations they receive and the complications this presents for them when applying knowledge to decision making. How officers negotiate a sense of professionalism in this area of policing and what role knowledge has within this process is explored to further understand the schema involved. The second section, reviews the formal channels of taught, professional knowledge that currently exist in this area of policing and the perceived usefulness of this knowledge. Thirdly, I will discuss the way in which victim ratings are reaffirmed through the use of routine knowledge in decision making processes. This section considers the types of knowledge viewed as credible by officers and how this manifests itself in the multi-layered arena of police professionalism and the potential for change. The final section explores the methods used by the central Project Sapphire team to provide a professional governance structure around the process of rape investigations. I discuss how the review of rape cases, decision making and the classifications applied to allegations are key to developing an understanding of 'professional'. The important relationship this has with the success and development of any professionalisation agenda is addressed in this section.

Negotiating professionalism through the complexity of a rape investigation

Rape, its definition, contexts and the victims involved are complex. Moreover, the very notion of reviewing consent requires careful consideration (Stanko and Williams 2009). Nearly all of the investigating and specially trained SOIT officers interviewed for this research described the 'messy' nature of victim types who report rape and the complexities these present for the investigation. The type of contexts described by the officers across both phases of the work reflect the findings of the *Rape Review* (2007). Officers discussed the large volume of cases involving mental health factors, previous victim and offender relationships and the use of drugs and alcohol. However, the rich data provided here offers another layer of context to previous research by exploring the impact these issues have on decision making and the use of knowledge in an investigation of rape. There are a number of examples of this within the data, however the two accounts below offer particularly insightful examples of these complexities and the impact they have on officer perceptions:

> *If you have dealt with three or four on the trot it can't help but make you, tarnished you if you like. It does, you have to be very careful that you still keep an open view, because you can easily look, I mean for instance when I was on team I think at xxxx, I don't think I dealt with a genuine case in all that time. It's only when I went to an area with a clientele from a different sort of ABC bracket that I got some, had to deal with some genuine victims. And they were, you could tell, you could tell, there's just something about them. You know, stranger attacks in the park, things like this. And just the whole picture was there and it was just a completely different ball game. At xxxx there were people with alcohol problems and drug problems, I mean just extraordinary scenarios. I think I feel sorry for them, but I cannot help think that they were letting themselves in for the trouble that they get. You get sort of domesticated street sleepers, little groups of them and they're all drinking together. And they'll fall out over money or a bottle of scotch or something. And one of them will, you know, kick off and the next thing you know they're making an allegation of rape. (Caroline, SOIT Office, 2004-2005)*

This SOIT officer's account provides an excellent overview of her sense of what constitutes a genuine case of rape and the way in which problem identities impact on a case being viewed as not genuine. The use of the term 'genuine' is important here. This research found that officers have a clear preference for distinct categories in policing and dislike opaque situations which present complexity and a need for

reflection. Understanding how officers assess genuineness and what schema and working rules they use to understand this is a central aim of this work. This interview with Paul, from phase two, explores similar issues:

> *Sometimes the victim can stress you out – when you know it isn't true. The evidence is not there but you still have to do a load of work to disprove what she is saying to you. I will always say seventy-five per cent of cases I have dealt with have not been true cases of rape, in fact it seems to be a weapon now. People say he has raped me if he might have another girlfriend or he hasn't replied to a text message. Seventy-five percent are definitely not true. A handful are genuine and I would walk over hot coals for those victims but the others are just soul destroying. (Paul, SOIT, 2016-2017)*

Paul clearly explains here how the lack of tangible evidence in a number of these cases leads to the victims not being believed or perceived as genuine. This creates a hierarchy of rape victims whereby some are deemed as more worthy of officer time than others. Paul's account reflects the reality that there is rarely an ideal, perfect rape victim and physical evidence is often absent. Sleath and Bull (2017) identified, through a systematic review on research exploring officers' attitudes to rape, that victim credibility was clearly linked to particular characteristics which do not feature in the majority of rapes alleged to the police. They highlight the professional standing of the victim, their domestic situation, emotional state, ability to articulate the event to the police and recall events clearly and whether there were drugs or alcohol featured in the assault. If we compare these to the research evidence about victim typologies it becomes clear that the perceptions of the officers interviewed, over both phases of this research, continue to hold stereotypes about distinct types of rapes which do imitate a number of classic rape mythologies. These findings, when considered in conjunction with the strength of the official performance measures applied to Project Sapphire, suggest that these perceptions remain dominant in the decision-making process applied to rape investigation. The decisions being made as a result of these perceptions conflict with the drive for officers to apply more objective knowledge through the evidence-based policing and professionalisation agenda.

It is evident that officers make initial assessments about the narrative presented by a victim of crime. Venema (2016) describes how police officers use particular schema to formulate their interpretations and apply them to their decision making processes. Whilst my research findings concur with Venema, this work locates the issues within

the structure and processes present within the organisation. Furthermore, I argue that such structures indirectly support the perpetuation of the embedded schemas that serve to legitimate a particular criteria of victims. These perceptions remain consistently present within policing over the timescale of this thesis and reveal the extent of the power and sustainability of certain forms of credible knowledge. In terms of the professionalisation agenda, understanding this is critical. The esteemed cultural knowledge or capital in this area of policing clearly functions to recreate the objective relations operating within this field. Indeed, as Bourdieu (1990) suggests, cultural competence is not accepted as a valuable form of capital until it proves to sustain the system being upheld within the applied field. In relation to policing, this is key. By employing particular knowledge to rape contexts, in order to achieve the endorsed organisational outcome, the knowledge is confirmed to the user as being effective. This, therefore, confirms it as deserving of capital within the policing habitus. A more recent interview, from phase two, depicts how such working tacit knowledge acts as cultural capital for officers when faced with the ambiguity present in rape allegations.

> *Yes, you need to highlight which rape is and which isn't a priority and when you can't see the wood through the trees you need to draw on your experience to be able to prioritise certain jobs, so some people can struggle. You are being asked by the sergeant and inspector for updates, juggling between live and ongoing situations and yet many without this experience really are struggling through on our own. (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

This perceived professional knowledge operates as an unofficial experiential aide memoir for officers which can only be built up over time. As Suchman (1995) argues, there can be significant conflict for practitioners when attempting to gain legitimacy during times of reform. It is argued here that when there is conflict between the pragmatic forms of legitimacy presented in the change agenda and the esteemed behaviours that provide officers with individual legitimacy, the possibility for real reform to occur is curbed. Officers currently revert to what Sackmann (1991: 117) refers to as 'recipe knowledge' when evaluating the information, they might apply to produce the required outcome. Recipe knowledge is described by Sackmann (1991: 37) as similar to 'wisdom', by incorporating 'collective experiences and judgements'. Such knowledge can help formulate decisions when striving for success and survival in the workplace. In relation to policing this essentially constitutes craft knowledge or intuition. This work has found that for officers, doing what is considered as cognitively

legitimate within the bounds of the cultural social order, may conflict with an external audience's view on what is 'right'. The application of this cognitively, legitimate knowledge in the context of the drive for evidence-based practice and increased professionalism is considered here. It is argued that the hierarchical status placed on differing victim types is compounded by the application of certain knowledge. The hierarchy of 'good and bad jobs' present in officers' perceptions of rape allegations can rely heavily on mythical assumptions about victim genuineness and credibility. This can influence officers' willingness to comply with such order even if they 'privately disagree' (Johnson et al, 2006:55). As Bob, a CID officer from the second phase explained:

> It is a lottery but we are guilty, all of us. If we have two cases and we have one that looks like it might go through then that it is that one that we will look to do everything for. Everyone needs to manage their workload so you look at the ones that will go to court. If the other side of what the police do was more recognised, then I think that would make people give it a bit more. (Bob CID officer, 2016-2017)

This notion of a 'lottery' is important. In this context it relates further to officer decision making and the application of knowledge. Indeed, officers are making active choices to prioritise certain crimes of rape over others in order to achieve the organisation's dominant notion of legitimate order and action. Vulnerable victims are more likely to see their cases freeze in the system and not reach a criminal justice outcome and this has continued over time (Hohl and Stanko, 2015). The relationship between such decision-making methods and the crude performance measures embedded in the organisation cannot be ignored here. Guilfoyle (2013) argues that unsubstantiated targets can promote gaming and unethical behaviour. It appears from this analysis that officers often use this cultural recipe and craft knowledge to make these assumptions about what cases may culminate in success. My research has revealed a further layer of legitimacy which is achieved within this process of gaming. This relates to the way in which normalised theories of action serve to legitimate the identity of officers themselves. This plays an important part of maintaining the strength of the police culture and the associated police mandate around what counts. As Weber (cited in Johnson et al, 2006: 55) states, 'even though individuals may not always hold the same norms, values, and beliefs, their behaviour, nevertheless, becomes oriented to an order that is in accord with rules or beliefs that they presume are accepted by most

others'. Frohman (1997, cited in Fleming and King, 2012: 65) call this 'downstream orientation', where officers can use methods of prediction to judge how victims and types of cases will be evaluated by others in the criminal justice system. Indeed, as Fleming and King (2012) state, this can lead to the policing developing 'a perceptual shorthand that incorporates stereotypes of real crimes and genuine victims' (p. 65).

The next section explores the notion of what constitutes objective professional knowledge. I consider the extent to which officers are provided with academic knowledge from research produced around this area of their work. The definition applied to the term 'professional' used by the College of Policing is grounded in the use of academic expert knowledge' (Williams and Cockcroft, 2018). The conflict for officers, when considering external expertise alongside the organisational professionalism envisaged by the College of Policing is a significant part of this section (College of Policing, 2015). The College of Policing's definition of evidence based policing is based on the notion of using the 'best available evidence' in decisions. It states that,

> evidence-based policing does not provide definitive answers that officers and staff should apply uncritically. Officers and staff will reflect on their practice, consider how the 'best available' evidence applies to their day to day work, and learn from their successes and failures. The approach should mean officers and staff can ask questions, challenge accepted practices and innovate in the public interest (College of Policing, 2017).

This analysis suggests that contrary to the notions of professionalism outlined in the College's definition, how officers reconstruct their own individual professional identity is influenced far more by their ability to utilise recipe and experiential knowledge to meet the requirements of being a 'legitimate professional' promoted by the organisation.

Formal methods of transferring knowledge

Bayley and Bittner (1984) argue that experience and the build-up of knowledge through active participation in the field teaches officers what is effective in relation to their performance and career longevity. What culminates from the 'on the job' learning relates to the achievement of goals and the correct tacit knowledge that is applied to achieve them. This work explores what craft skills in the area of rape investigation influence decisions, tactics and outcomes. One of the core aims of professionalisation

is to standardise training. Indeed, through such standardisation, the agenda aims to prevent any sense of unfair justice for different groups, including victims of crime. The current professionalisation agenda is grounded in the idea that by gaining academic knowledge, police officers will become deeper and more critical thinkers and will apply objective, scientific research when making decisions. Christopher (2015) articulates how officers are regularly placed in very complex situations that require the application of professional judgement and interpretation by the officer involved. This complexity is particularly immersed in the policing of rape. The investigating officers, in phase two of this work, discussed the official training they had received prior to starting in post. Jon, who had entered the rape team from a MIT in another force noted this about his training:

> *When I joined I got one day, had no induction and the next day I was in the office – I did not even have teaching on how to use the systems. It is only because I had experience that I felt confident but if I had been coming in from a different area I would have been stuffed. On homicide you get a week full of training and it is good. It makes you want to join the unit. I didn't want to come here and then it was just like oh here is a real rape to deal with. (Jon, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

I asked him what he drew on for knowledge without sufficient training provision in rape investigation:

> *The premise is that everyone is telling the truth and therefore it is totally unrealistic. The training tries to make you see that we as officers all need to believe more and investigate all allegations equally. In reality we don't believe everything we are told and we instinctively question everything we are told. Our job is not to believe but to investigate. This NCALT [10] package was therefore not the best. It was trying to address a wider opinion on this outside of the police. It was not the reality of what we do. (Jon CID officer, 2016-2017)*

These officers themselves described how the training for homicide officers is more detailed and intense. These findings further question the organisational commitment in providing officers with more effective training in the context of rape. This had

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[10] NCALT is a regularly used on line training package used in many areas of police work

confirmed to them, that the organisation ranks certain crime investigations more highly by providing more detailed training for those involved in a homicide team compared to Project Sapphire.

The central push for evidence-based policing is aligned, in terms of timeframes, with the phase two research. Despite the established evidence base of research in London there was a stark lack of input on this research in officer training. This left officers uninformed of the findings. Bob described to me, when I asked about rape investigation training, that the on-line training package NCALT had not been revisited in many years. The fact that this was the case for officers within specialist sexual offence roles was unanticipated.

> *We don't get enough training. There is a SOIT course but they still use the same examples given eleven years ago… exactly the same examples. I did a course when I moved over from the Murder Investigation team and the input was half a day they ticked a box and that's it, I was here'. (Bob CID officer, 2016-2017)*

Stanko and Hohl (2018) believe that training in this field is often received more positively if it is delivered by another police officer. This relates to officers who are engaged in the training being more receptive to the content if it is aligned with the cultural values embedded within the police social world. Stanko and Hohl (2018:170) further argue that,

> professional skill development – especially for police officers seeking to learn a different operational role such as sexual assault liaison officers – takes place *inside policing,* and rests on internal police knowledge, taking little account of other sources of information (and particularly independent academic evidence.

The context and content remains invisible to outside scrutiny. Hence the opportunity that this training has to impact on embedded stereotypes about constructions of 'real rape' that police officers clearly rely on when assessing victims' narratives is limited. It is argued here that the attrition problem can reinforce such notions of 'real' and 'genuine' as it is the stereotypes of a credible rape that are less likely to result in attrition. As already highlighted, this is exacerbated by the performance targets in place to measure the 'good' outcomes. What formulates cultural knowledge within the habitus is central to this work. I found little if no challenge to the typical assertions about rape allegations operating in the habitus of the MPS. Paradoxically, it seems

that organisational blindness to using its own research on rape in training can influence the continued use of recipe knowledge which draws on rape myths about stranger rape, difficult and genuine victims. Online learning has been widely criticised for not engaging officers effectively within a learning environment and for providing limited context to the scenarios used in the training (O'Neil, 2018). This was mirrored in this research. As Paul, a SOIT officer, interviewed in phase two stated:

> *We do need more training and better training NCALT doesn't work. We need group training, courses or getting together once a month and being spoken to about what we do and how we did it. They throw resources at Sapphire but productivity is affected if we don't feel it is prioritised, the training is poor and some just simply don't want to be here. Plus, the fact I have never has a PDR (Performance Development Review) so they don't really care about what I might need to do my job better (Paul, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

There are several complex issues within these statements that provide much context about the limited change within this area and why reform remains at a surface level. These partially relate to issues identified in Chapter Six about the genuineness of the organisational commitment to embedding legitimate change. Moreover, Paul's account provides additional context about how officers themselves are reviewed in relation to their learning needs and development as rape investigation officers. Therefore, these findings offer insight into the level of complexity involved in the relative success of the professionalisation agenda. Whilst academics have written on the need for officer involvement and communication within these agendas (Fleming, 2014), this research highlights something more. The term professionalisation needs to be considered alongside the credibility, legitimacy and knowledge that is heralded and valued within the organisation in the context of rape. As Stanko and Hohl (2018) argue, there is currently almost total reliance on craft-based, police officer trainers who have had little exposure to the evolving academic knowledge about the impact of sexual violence on victims and their contact with the police. At present the influence of research and evidence-based practice is extremely limited (p. 5).   I argue that these issues are bound together within a three layered agenda: the perceptions and expectations of the external audiences, the paradox between the organisational values and change agenda promoted to the outside world and the subsequent perceptions of

professionalism by the individual practitioners. This is of particular importance when working in an area of policing that lacks organisational esteem in the crime hierarchy.

Whilst officers felt that improved training would make them feel more effective and professional in their role, their perceptions of the reasons why they were given even basic training were incongruent with any sense of personal professionalism or transferring of research knowledge. Officers in phase two of the work aligned the training with risk aversion and organisational concerns about external criticism following the reviews conducted on rape investigation. Seb, a CID officer from the 2016 research stated:

> *These packages can increase risk aversion. There is actually a declaration at end of the online training saying that if something happens the organisation can say we have done the training. There was one the other day where the objective was for officers to be aware of the SOP (Standard Operational Procedure) on the victim screen. This basically meant if we haven't followed this SOP and we mess up you will be in trouble. What a joke when they want to recruit people and say we want them to be more creative. (Seb, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

Another recent interviewee, from phase two, alluded to these issues:

> *They know if we have done the minimum they are covered. If there was an external investigation what message does that send out to people. We have had no input on any of the research evidence only the NCALT package. We are meant to running criminal investigations and yet all we need apparently is a tick box training package. It is so unprofessional. (Bob CID officer, 20162017)*

These interviews undermine the entire concept of the professionalisation agenda which is aimed at promoting creativity, innovation, learning and critical thinking. The perception of these officers indicates that the prescriptive methods of working as is advocated in the current training can, conversely, restrict officers' ability or desire to use any diversity of thought. The inherent message instilled for these officers about mistakes and potential failure are clear in these accounts. Gundhus (2012) explores the notion of professionalisation in the context of policing and the application of new expert knowledge. Notions of professionalisation can condone particular forms of legitimate knowledge. These can result in the development of new professional guidance about expected methods of operational practice. The result is a reliance on

a more systematic, codified and measurable type of knowledge which can simplify methods of management and performance. Rather than challenging embedded behaviours, such rational descriptions of practice may have the reverse effect as officers apply what they know will deliver on outcomes. Indeed, these rational outputs from research further restrict the understanding and development of any professional creativity and innovation occurring in practice as they provide a formal script to officers about 'what to do'. This can undermine the craft or occupational professional knowledge that officers hold and, furthermore, its value. As outlined in chapter three, Holdaway's (2017) suggestion that professionalisation and its methods might be viewed by officers as a form of control over their behaviour is worth revisiting here. The link this area of police work has with the development and use of codified knowledge in the investigation for rape is a good example of how evidence based outputs could be perceived as attempting to restrict the use of experiential knowledge and learning from previous investigations. This research makes clear the relationship between cultural capital and the individual sense of professionalism which can be negated and threatened through the implementation of toolkits and checklists.

It is evident from the findings that current training formats and local policy can actually result in the undermining of individual professionalism. This, in turn, has a negative impact on rape investigations and the experience of victims. When dealing with the complexities present in rape cases, critical thinking is central. It is argued here that change based on policy and standard procedures can risk officers feeling deskilled, over managed and restricted from using their professional experience during the rape investigation process. This negates the very purpose and aim of the professionalisation agenda. To the external world, stamping approval on such changes through the provision of extra forms of new knowledge can offer validation that the police are seeking to feel more professional. However, such narratives of change remain rhetorical. Moreover, the complexity of the relationships within the police professionalism discourse continue to have conflicting positions on what constitutes 'expert' knowledge. This is vital to consider in the context of the evidence base policing agenda. Furthermore, the data reveals that internal decisions made in an attempt to provide a sense of professionalisation to external audiences can undermine both

individual professionalism and compound the behaviour that the agenda is seeking to modify. George, a strategic lead for Project Sapphire interviewed in phase two, discussed his recent involvement in the development of new training for SOIT officers. This officer, at the time of the interview, was actively involved in his own research on stress amongst SOIT officers for his MSc degree. Subsequently he was very aware of the evidence-based policing agenda:

> *I am very passionate about the SOITs as they are dealing with the most important piece of evidence, the victims. If they do not get it right, it doesn't matter how good the detectives are, as you will never charge that suspect and never get them to court without the victim. They need to know that vulnerable people are being targeted and there is very little input on the evidence base in the training. City University have redesigned the SOIT course and it is being relaunched in February. It is part of the professionalism piece and I want to get it accredited and them to become more interested in CPD with refreshers courses and stuff. The College of Policing don't accredit but they need to be recognised for their professionalism. The crime academy will deliver it but we have been very involved in the design. (George, strategic lead, 2016-2017)*

My research has found that officers operating in this field of police work currently receive limited input on the academic research conducted on rape in London. However, the findings here suggest that the strength of what is considered legitimate experiential knowledge within the organisation, would likely hinder its application regardless. The cultural capital attached to experience inhibits the success of embedding evidence-based practice within this field of police work. Improving and increasing the level of training that officers receive has become a popular response to improving the police response to rape. Whilst better and more extensive training is an essential element of improving police practice, its impact is likely to be limited without a thorough consideration of the enduring nature of the police culture and habitus within which officers continue to work. Indeed, training itself remains symbolic rather than an effective method to deal with attrition. Sleath and Bull (2017) found in their systematic review of this area, that police officers who had received specialist training did not differ in their levels of blame attributed towards the victim when compared to those who had not received the training. Stanko and Hohl's recent work (2018: 6) provides some explanation for this. Their study on the limitations of current in-house training and the lack of evaluation to explore whether it 'is delivering 'good enough policing'',

goes some way to explain the longevity of the problematic nature of reform found in this research. As Donald, from the first phase of work stated:

> *When you go to training school they give you, I don't know what they give you now, they used to give us five manuals and go right, these are your notes, this is how you're going to do policing for the next 30 years. And the first thing they do when you walk out the door is they go right, forget everything you've learned there, you're learning now starts here. Yeah, it's a good guideline, as far as I'm concerned, I would say it's written for Inspectors and above who have never been detectives. As far as I'm concerned it's an idiot's guide to investigating a rape. Invariably a DC or a DS who's dealing with this sort of thing all the time doesn't need to be told how to investigate a rape. We've been treating it the same way as we are now being told to treat it since we've been investigating it. There is stuff that is not written for us, it's written for managers who've no experience. (Donald, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

This quote suggests that the knowledge officers need to deal with rape investigation effectively, comes from learning it on the job. The degrees of importance, in terms of knowledge and learning, is sustained over the time of this research and this provides further evidence about the power of the internal habitus within policing. Sackmann (1991: 41) states that socially created cultural cognitions are intrinsic to what constitutes recipe knowledge in organisations. It is argued here that this collective belief system is enhanced through processes of peer solidarity and commitment to symbols of capital which are structurally reinforced within the organisation. Considering this in relation to the commitment officers collectively have towards their profession is important for understanding the aims of this research and the debate about organisational change. The strength of informal modes of knowledge distribution within policing is evident here.

What knowledge counts?

The analysis presented in this work reveals the complex dynamics between the MPS' desire to address failings outside and the real delivery of this change by the actors involved at grass roots level. The lack of credibility that officers receive when dealing with victims as opposed to arresting a suspect is in complete contrast to the messages portrayed by the organisation to the outside world. In order to regain control over this and provide themselves with opportunities to enhance their professional identity and

self-legitimacy, officers fall back on a normative understanding of 'what works' when investigating rape. This is actively encouraged by a working culture that promotes a target driven regime and rewards those who achieve them. Understanding how officers apply and use knowledge to affirm their positon is central to identifying the ongoing problems with rape investigation and attrition.

Officers construct and reconstruct knowledge in this field by reviewing the details of the case. By exploring the genuineness of the victim, officers make decisions about whether or not to progress with the investigation. These assumptions are firmly grounded in language about distinct factors that produce a 'good case' and provide the victim with credibility. The application of this gendered, mythical knowledge base can present perverse opportunity for officers to regain credibility through an assessment of the credibility of the victim. Moreover, the opportunity exists to enhance their own credibility by challenging that of the victim. This problematises the reform agenda further as the two issues conflict.

During the first phase of this work some BOCUs had a high level of no-criming occurring in rape cases. My research with rape victims revealed the complex nature of what frames a police decision to no-crime a case (Williams et al, 2009). Practitioners' reasons for warning victims about court attendance and time delays was clear in the phase one interviews conducted for this thesis. However, they almost always related to an assessment of victim credibility. David summed this up clearly:

> *The credibility of the victim is one of the first concerns really as you have got so many issues where you might think, I have got to make this case stand up so it is a question of asking where am I going to lose this where is it going to fall apart? I think that it is really important for the SOIT officer to actually be honest with the victim and sometimes that honesty might hurt a little bit. I think in the longer term that pays dividends cos if the weaknesses in the circumstances are not exposed at an early stage and it all comes out weeks into the investigation that is far worse than actually looking at the whole scenario with all its weaknesses around it from the outset. We often say to the SOITs what are your feelings around the victim and where do you think they are trying to conceal stuff from us which would hinder the investigation itself. It doesn't mean that we are gonna disbelieve somebody or think oh well this is going nowhere but you get made aware that you are never going to convict the guy at court if you know the victim is a drug user or has been a prostitute. (David CID officer, 2004-2005)*

This rich account clearly evidences the reliance on experience during this victim appraisal process. There is a clear assumption from this CID officer that SOITs have the ability, through intuition and their previous dealings with victims, to forecast where and which cases might break down. This is essentially calculated through an assessment of the narrative provided by and the characteristics of the victim. The legitimacy of knowledge types is constructed and reconstructed within the confines of the officers' social reality. As Sackmann (1991) argues, the process of embedding cultural cognitions relies on repeat use and testing against established outcomes. Officers evaluate the success of their own applied knowledge within the framework of organisational legitimacy. Subsequently, a bank of 'what works' knowledge is created collectively within the culture of the police. Whilst these issues effectively play out through individual action it is the collectivity of the police habitus which presents this knowledge as a social fact.

Considering this in the context of police culture and the core characteristics present within it, these findings can provide an explanation as to why change is limited. They also present some challenging questions for the professionalisation agenda in policing. What is perceived as the imparting of professional knowledge from external learning brokers, such as academics, is not considered valid within the wider dictionary of cultural and credible knowledge. As Johnson et al (2006) argue, the legitimacy of knowledge becomes a social process which is reconstructed actively by the actors involved. This research has found that in the context of rape, where these concepts clearly play out, very vulnerable victims are often involved. Therefore, the legitimacy of rape schema about 'genuine' cases surpasses the importance of moral legitimacy and doing what is right. This is further impacted upon by the measures in place to monitor 'good practice'. To assume a direct correlation between the complexities of officer decision making about rape classifications and the current method of performance outcomes is not possible. However, the discussions I had with officers about the 'genuine' and the 'bad' jobs always culminated in officers disclosing stereotypical perceptions of real rape victims. These two quotes illustrate these issues and reflect many of the other interviews I undertook, in both phases of the research:

> *I am sure some people here don't believe that some people could be raped. I'm sure they don't. Unless they are messed up you know, they will categorise rape and they do tend to do it and they come into you and they go, is it a good one?*

> *They go, oh is she, is it a stranger rape? Cause they only see a good rape as a stranger rape where a woman has been battered and nearly knocked to unconsciousness or nearly murdered. That is a good rape. That is their, you know, categories of it. (Kate, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)*

> *I would do anything for a genuine victim but eighty per cent are lying. They think they can make allegations and it will go away in two weeks but it doesn't. We have to justify everything we do and it takes longer just to close down the job it is really frustrating. (Emily SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

How officers make these judgements about what constitutes genuine, legitimate and credible victims was firmly linked to the experience of the officer and to rape mythologies. In phase one of this research, such decisions also extended into drawing on knowledge about local estates and wards within their BOCU - locations where they had built up detailed knowledge about particular places and people. These were termed as a '(name of location) job'. David's quote, from phase one, exemplifies this:

> *Every where's got them. The typical (Croxley) job. It is heroin addict, alcoholic, someone - not a desirable member of society who turns around and says I've been raped. You wouldn't even keep prostitutes in that bracket, it's not even, I'd say it doesn't even include prostitutes, it's someone who is, who lives in a way that is not acceptable to ourselves. One reason or another, drug user, alcohol abuser, probably had kids taken away from them and put in care. Social housing if they're lucky, if not squatting, and they say they've been raped, by someone they know. That's their belief, they've been raped. It is just a typical (Croxley) rape. Everyone has them. (David, CID officer, 20042005)*

In reality and as is highlighted in the research evidence on rape typologies, sexual violence is not unique to specific areas. The vulnerable characteristics identified from the research are typical factors and are associated with allegations of rape generally. As Hohl and Stanko (2015) argue, these cases present variables that cannot fall within the normative assumptions about prescribed remedies for the police. Gundhus (2012) argues that one of the reasons officers may fall back on their experience and previous knowledge is because of the lack of evaluative, 'what works' research conducted on the investigation of individuals with the types of vulnerabilities present in cases of rape. This research project demonstrates that informal organisational definitions and depictions of 'what works', ultimately justify the use of such experience as expert based decision making. Officers apply their recipe and 'on the job', learnt knowledge in an attempt to achieve the required result that is valued and legitimised by the

organisation. The professionalisation agenda would argue that it is exactly these areas of policing that require the type of problem solving, critical thinking and innovation that is encouraged through the provision of more objective knowledge. Despite the eleven-year gap in the two research stages, the most recent interviews disclosed similar issues arising in Project Sapphire units. The one additional issue identified in phase two, related to the number of cases officers now face with reduced resources. Such practicalities compounded these issues as officers had higher numbers of cases to prioritise. Considering the strong reliance on experience, the perceived hierarchy of rape case seriousness, use of mythology and the cultural knowledge operating within the police organisation about rape, the fact that officers quickly apply these social facts to cases coming in, without reflection, is perhaps unsurprising. Jon, from the second phase, evidences this:

> *The jobs which are stranger attacks where they don't know the offender they are the rewarding ones because they reflect good detective work that's the rewarding side of things. They often don't get the attention because of the other rubbish jobs you are dealing with. We need to assess the jobs coming in and some get put on the back burner when you have to spend a lot of time on the ones going nowhere and the good jobs you want to spend time on you can't. (Jon CID officer, 2016-2017)*

What is interesting here is Jon's perception of what knowledge and decisions define good detective work and how this harmonises his own sense of being professional. Given the way in which this social order is reinforced through reverence from peers, supervisors and the organisation, the very complex notion of what professional means in a workplace should not be surprising. Rather than it relating to the successful delivery of a complex and challenging investigation involving very vulnerable victims, personal satisfaction and credibility is primarily based on the undermining of victim credibility using the knowledge depicted in rape mythology. Until this is accepted and explored in more detail, it is likely that the effectiveness of any evidence-based training approaches will remain limited. This point is key to the aims of this research.

The use of reflective practice and enhancing organisational learning is central to this debate. The next section argues that the current methods of accountability and review utilised by the central Project Sapphire team, are in conflict with what officers perceive

to be professional behaviour. This is central to understanding organisational change and for understanding the sustainability of working schema and reform.

The limits of organisational learning

This section outlines the conflict between the evidence on the facilitators of genuine change and the current methods used to communicate change about rape investigation within the MPS. Part of being a professional workplace involves having systems of accountability in place to review the work of staff. Relatively soon after I undertook the first stage of the fieldwork for this study, Project Sapphire came under severe scrutiny for wrongly classifying rapes as a no-crime. As a result, the process for no-criming a rape case has become far more rigid and is dependent on authority from a senior officer. As Seb articulated, this may not have shifted the problem effectively, rather shifted attrition into a different format:

> *No criming has reduced because it is an admin thing, they put so many obstacles for us to do a no crime. We have to write that up, see the crime management desk and then go to the DCI to DCI to Commander. Then the inspector needs to resend the case for the commander to agree for the case to be no-crimed. No one has time to do that so they are simply left as unsolved crimes. Easiest thing to do for everyone. It looks like no crime has gone down but it's the same thing, it is captured under something else. That is why no crimes have reduced the actual no crimes haven't. (Seb, CID officer, 2016-2017)*

Emily also described the changes to the process of no-criming:

> *'The process is in place to make it difficult for us and I get that…but they are not interested in ramifications. They want to see the picture being presented to the public so that they believe we are investigating properly – this is not a reflection of the reality of what is happening on the ground.' (Emily, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

These accounts are significant as they reveal the disparity about how performance and good investigation is being portrayed to the public in comparison to the reality in the organisation. These two officers' narratives indicate that despite classification changes and a more rigorous internal process locally, cases are still being prioritised and other victims being failed. The symbolic move to restrict the possibility of 'no criming' was implemented as a result of the reviews and criticism. However, it is clear that the process to discard certain cases remains. The decision to move Project Sapphire to a central function was to increase accountability in this area and to ensure

an accurate classification of cases. Given the drive for reflective practice and on-going learning from actions taken by officers, part of this process was to involve case reviews. This is central to gaining officers' buy in to change programmes and it needs to be considered in the context of personal professional identities. As noted above, some new forms of organisational professionalism can be experienced by officers as methods of controlling and governing practitioner behaviour through prescriptive outputs based on abstract knowledge. When applying the notion of organisational justice, particularly in change programmes, this work has found that officers' sense of professionalism is impacted on in two ways. Firstly, their own working professional knowledge about rape is largely absent from any reform and, subsequent review of reform. Furthermore, as outlined in Chapter Three, their voice is often negated in the research which forms the basis of change. This often results in the creation of more administrative, operational directives that aim to produce a very corporate form of legitimate order and behaviour to control its staff. Stuart, from the second phase of the research, described the importance of this process:

> *What we should be doing is going out to teams and looking at what they do to make sure they are complying with policy and standards. Essentially making sure there isn't a postcode lottery and there probably is. We have not been able to do that core business as there have been so many other reports coming in criticising us, the internal review, the HMIC inspections we just haven't been checking with the teams. We have been responding to them and helping them. There are huge risks there as, when we get complaints, we are not keeping to policy and making sure they are complying. (Stuart, Strategic lead, 2016-2017)*

I asked George if local teams were encouraged to undertake this review process locally:

> *No, they don't reflect or ever think about what they have done but they are so busy the scary thing is that rape has become a volume crime and it never used to be. They do not have time we respond to a crime and go home and then come in the next day and have another three crimes to deal with. It is becoming very much like a sausage factory as they don't have chance to spend the time they would like. (George, strategic lead, 2016-2017)*

The current lack of time that the central team have to conduct these reviews seems ironic when considered in conjunction with George's account. The reason for the

reviews being in place resulted from the recommendations outlined in external reports into rape in London (Angiolini, 2015). This functionality is meant to explore the use of discretion and officers' independent decision making and make it more regulated (Petersson. 2015. cited in Fleming and Wingrove, 2017: 188). This should lead to organisational learning, officer reflection and the identification of emerging good practice in some of the most complex of cases. Understanding this in more detail is critical in the current climate of police professionalism and what this involves in policing. Stuart, a senior leader involved in the central Project Sapphire team, pointed out the complexities of conducting reviews for learning:

> *It is a double edged sword because if you absorb this crime back into the usual CID office that deals with other crimes I think they can become lost. If it was back in a usual office there would be nothing to stop a DC from moving a case from the top to the middle of time pile if something else came in. So a specialist environment is good but then when you get compassion fatigue over time there may be a blurring of what is acceptable behaviour in victim suspect relations and a justifying of risk taking on decisions about jobs prematurely when we haven't done an effective investigation because of the victim account. It is almost like someone might second guess the CPS decision. Reviewing is the right thing but with austerity the inspection and audits by the central team is lip service – that and training have been the first to be cut. To be honest we knew what the Angiolini report would say it proved what we knew anecdotally. The review process we used to have isn't there. We did have a good internal team so limited postcode lottery. We do not have that anymore and that is where mistakes come and public enquires and postcode lotteries. (Stuart, strategic lead, 2016-2017)*

This account is important. In a sense, the term 'compassion fatigue' relates to officers enduring and dealing with, over time, the same complex issues that arise in cases of rape. Attrition can perpetuate the cultural knowledge applied when investigating this crime type. Officers observe and experience particular case typologies that consistently leave the system due to issues with victims. This becomes mainstream and normative for officers in this field. Whilst Stuart uses the term compassion fatigue to explain this notion, the analysis in this thesis unpicks that term further. The data exposes that experiences of certain cases during the investigation of this crime become engrained in officers working schema and cognitive normality. These cases present complex demands and challenges for investigating officers and the victims require high levels of support to keep them involved with the system. The following

quote from Jonti, interviewed in the first phase of the research, evidences how the longevity of being in a rape investigation team may lead to judgements about previous cases.

> *I don't use past experiences but certainly when you have got a victim's side of the story and a suspect's side of the story and you read it, you read it on a common sense nature you will always find flaws on it somewhere. Be it from the victim saying something or the suspects saying something. But you just have to look at it from the whole thing you know everyone has an opinion about a job I mean I may have an opinion about a job where I am backing what the victim is saying and someone else may look at it and say how can you say that if you look at this this and that this just don't add up but you know certainly every police officer I would say has his opinion of course they do they look at their jobs and they make their own opinions from it. You will draw upon past experiences. (Jonti, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

This study found limited opportunities within the rape investigation review processes to encourage a genuine climate of learning and reflection about the cases officers deal with. Stuart's quote above clearly recognises that change through reviews was not occurring, or even prioritised, at the central team level. Hence, there is an assumed level of permission protecting the current state of play. Considering this alongside the officers' perceptions of the low organisational priority placed on rape as a crime, the implications on this for further continuity of these problems are clear. Furthermore, these issues are compounded and reconstructed through the structures and processes in place to rank crime and role credibility, the way certain outcomes are commended for this crime and the way officers' decisions and preferred knowledge use is reaffirmed every time they achieve a successful outcome as a result of it being used.

Gundhus (2012) describes the distinction between 'thin' and 'thick' professionalism. The former relies more on a systematic approach to create standards, a scientific approach and an objective truth. Conversely, thick professionalism captures the gut feeling and intuition held by officers when decision making in the field. The merger of these two would incorporate the voice of the practitioner at the start of the process and produce contextual knowledge that could be more responsive to the diverse environment within which the police operate. This would assist with increased learning

in this area of police work. The perception of the highly skilled officer as articulated by Bittner (1983) would be recognised through this methodology and it would also secure the capture of the 'rarely codified', tacit knowledge that is generally experienced through police narratives (Willis and Mastrofski, 2016:4). The process of review and organisational learning in this area of policing could facilitate this. Undoubtedly, it is an officer's ability to recognise, categorise cases, access and utilise previous experiences that predominantly drives decision making during a rape investigation. It is learning from officers' perceived notions about 'expert' knowledge and 'what works' in achieving the organisational definitions of success, that requires further exploration if we are seeking legitimate change in this field. Such knowledge has contributed to further understanding the issues outlined in the aims of this research.

Considering the differing and complex definitions of professionalism is central to the findings outlined in this chapter, particularly in relation to the reliance on 'expert' knowledge and self-regulation as a door into accessing a professional police identity. Key to the debate about what constitutes a successful professional organisation, concerns the way in which that organisation applies and processes particular information to solve challenging problems. Indeed, these tenets are core drivers of the current drive for professionalism in policing and this is principally linked to the use of more effective and objective knowledge about 'what works'. The data presented in this chapter has revealed that the situational factors involved in rape present ambiguity for officers and their ability to categorise cases is commended by the policing habitus. Most importantly there is evidence of continuity over time despite reform and change in this space. Indeed, this cultural capital, which manifests itself in recipe knowledge about 'what to do' is formally evaluated as successful through the current methods of evaluation upheld in the organisation.

Therefore, the theories of action are condoned, embedded into officers' cognitive schema and applied repeatedly when faced with the same complex cases. Linked to these findings is the notion of how professional identities are legitimised through a commitment to and achievement of the acclaimed organisational outcomes in this field. The nature of gender, particularly, gendered language about what matters, radiates in this data. Acker (1990) describes how language can play a key role in

reinforcing gender relationships in organisations. As presented in Chapters Five and Six, the continued use of hard outcomes, notions of competition and the lack of perceived importance placed on the feminine associated softer skills all uphold a macho image of supposedly 'real' policing. The implications are that as a result of this desire to meet the criteria of a professional, the officers rely on gendered, mythical notions of genuine rape victims.

This chapter has focused on the complexity of rape allegations being made to the police and the way in which knowledge is developed and transferred to and among officers about such ambiguous cases. The lack of formal training and review by the central team can confirm for officers what credible knowledge can be applied in this area of police work to ensure success. This is particularly important when considered in relation to the apprised outcomes required by the organisation. The concept of professionalism, being promoted by the College of Policing, is undermined by the current methods applied by officers to achieve what the organisation values as professional. Therefore, the knowledge used to predicate these outcomes becomes further embedded and condoned by the organisation. This results in the continued development of credible, cultural knowledge that achieves capital in terms of the job outcome. This is vital to understanding the complexity of changing the schema involved in this policing context and the limitations of change.

The final chapter concludes this thesis by revisiting the research aims individually and considers the implications of the findings for the police service.

Chapter 8: Conclusion and Recommendations

This concluding chapter illustrates the potential impact of this study. The findings clearly enhance both the debate around attrition and the reasons for the continuing limitations to successful reform in this area of policing. This is achieved by drawing on the key theoretical concepts applied within the analysis and through a more comprehensive insight into the relationship between the role of individual officers and the structural dynamics inherent in the police organisation. The research makes a new and important contribution to the current evidence base regarding the problem of attrition in rape cases. The chapter demonstrates how this new knowledge about the complexity of decision making within this field of police work is strongly linked to how officers negotiate a personal sense of professionalism. This has a number of implications for the current professionalisation agenda and future police reform programmes.

This chapter summarises the major findings of the research in the context of the aims of and rationale of this thesis. I will revisit the research aims and restate the core findings and arguments made. Finally, I will critically consider the principal implications of these findings for wider notions of organisational change in policing. This will include a number of recommendations about the possibility of progressing real reform. The following section explores how the findings of this work meet the original aims. The pertinent issues related to the aims are not mutually exclusive of each other and often overlap. By exploring this subject in the context of the current police structure, this research has made transparent the problematised nature of police reform around rape investigation.

Revisiting the aims of the research

Despite a raft of new policies and internal change to rape investigation over the period of this research, my research has revealed that officers' reliance on experiential knowledge and credibility assessments based on typical rape mythology endures. The reasons for particular types of knowledge being present in investigating officers' working schema is complex, multi-faceted and links to the achievement of symbolic capital and subsequent assessments of individual professionalism. Chapter Five illustrated that, whilst this research refers to one specific area of policing, the evidence

of hierarchies and legitimate task negotiation are in abundance in the wider field of policing. These operate in many different contexts from the start of an officer's career. Indeed, as Sackmann (1991: 41) notes, members of organisations can pass commonly held cognitions on to new members 'through their verbal and nonverbal behaviour. As such these cognitions are likely to outlive their creators'. In the context of rape investigation, officers individually review 'what works' in achieving the organisational criteria for a 'good' job evaluation in this role.

Referring to aim one and two of this work, police knowledge is generalised and used to negotiate success through a hierarchical framework of victim credibility embodied in their cognitive schema. Decision making around rape allegations physically occurs within the CID office. However, the process does not occur in a vacuum. This research clarifies this issue and provides context around the organisational influences on decision making and reliance on esteemed cultural knowledge. As Manning (2007) argues, detective work, like other areas of policing, is ordered by status distinctions based on skill and the interactions officers have with offenders and victims of crime. The findings presented here reflect aspects of Manning's work, but they go beyond these arguments to allow for a greater understanding of what constitutes 'good work' and a 'clean case' than has been previously acknowledged within the field. Manning's work leaves unchallenged the role of organisational structures and processes which enable these aspirations of internal credibility and power to flourish. More critically, how this impacts on the knowledge present in officers' working schema has been overlooked until now.

The achievement of these motivational drivers of detective work are intrinsically linked to how officers utilise these cognitions, and this is something that is confirmed in both phases of the research, regardless of the eleven-year gap. It has been argued here that gaining forms of symbolic capital is an integral element of acquiring status, power and prestige in normative ways. It is evident that certain rape allegations are not perceived as a high status investigation. Therefore, negotiating credibility and status in this field through the 'messy cases' proves functional for officers as it leaves the cases more likely to result in a judicial disposal as their priority. This partly relates to the complexity of the victims involved and the complications this creates for officers

when striving to achieve the required outcome symbolised as successful by the organisation. These findings reveal that the knowledge officers apply when considering outcomes is grounded in rape mythology about 'perfect' victims. This is due to the fact that negotiating and prioritising these case types offers them more chance of achieving acknowledged measures of success in their professional environment.

Furthermore, this work has shown how high levels of attrition in cases where victim characteristics do not match these ideals can exacerbate and reconfirm to officers that this knowledge is working effectively in the context of organisational success. Indeed, it is deeply embedded into what Bourdieu describes as 'native theory' (1990: 107). This research found that the limited attempts to challenge current notions of victim credibility through objective and codified knowledge defy the personal opportunity of gaining status in this policing field. This has implications on the professionalisation agenda and the application of objective, expert evidence. By drawing on the recipe knowledge which has been developed repeatedly via previous experience, they were able to achieve both their own and the organisation's celebrated outcomes. The symbol required for officers to demonstrate a commitment to the job appears to adversely affect the needs of the victims. Indeed, these decisions and the use of mythology driven categories of real rape may conversely result in restricted access to justice and unethical decision making for some. The strength of this knowledge, both in terms of its use in decision making and in upholding the collective rituals and practices operating within policing, is key in the debate about change and professionalisation. The culturally symbolic power of tacit, normative, 'learnt on the job' knowledge sustains the powerful narrative of the police habitus over time. The findings from this research should facilitate a change to this traditional practice. It stresses the importance of shifting the notions of 'good' police work that are currently enveloped within measures of success operating within the police environment.

Acker (1990) describes how organisations subtly reinforce gendered power dynamics. This research argues for a more effective consideration of the gendered nature of what constitutes 'good' policing and what actions officers take in order to achieve this. Unless the knowledge deemed credible by officers working in the arena of rape

investigation shifts, any real operational change is likely to remain limited. As Silvestri (2017a) notes, 'it is through such a lens that we can begin to identify some of the more complex and multiple meanings that come to define the 'ideal' worker within policing' (p. 290). This research has found that these meanings are synonymous with the concept of the 'ideal' police worker being male. Furthermore, this is upheld by the structures and processes operating within policing itself. As this work has uncovered, rape constitutes a minefield of issues for officers when attempting to achieve their own organisational legitimacy. As Bottoms and Tankabe (2012) note, legitimation exists through a relationship between the acquisition of symbols or capital and perceptions of good performance. These factors link to the development of a legitimate self-identity for a power holder. It is argued here that negotiating identities through working schema is a core part of this process for officers and provides a stamp of legitimacy both organisationally and personally. By applying normative knowledge, officers can ascertain the symbolic capital that follows a successful case outcome. This process is recurrent, despite the longevity of this research, as the perceived success and associated rewards of the applied schematic knowledge confirms its strengths. Therefore, the associated actions attached to this truth further entrench themselves in culture as normative behaviours. Whilst these are active behavioural patterns, chosen by the officers, the decisions cannot be properly understood without considering how they intersect and are influenced by the wider organisational processes and perceptions of success. This is where the findings of this thesis offer a new and significant contribution to the debate.

The extent to which cultural knowledge can be relied on and defined as 'truth' is debatable. However, in the context of this research, understanding these issues and the relationship they have with the impact of change is central. Key to the professionalism debate in policing is the application of new research knowledge. This knowledge has been linked to effectiveness, efficiency and an assurance of delivering 'what works'. This research, however, offers new insights into how the view of 'what works' from an external standpoint may conflict with 'what works' internally for officers. Narratives about certain cases, victims and crimes are recreated by officers and internally such knowledge is asserted as effective and credible when operationalised in the field. The narratives presented in the findings chapters illustrate how this

negotiation works on a number of levels: they appease the requirements of the internal organisational evaluation standards, formalise the legitimacy of the individual officer and provide a transparent, rational approach to marketing success to external audiences. These findings provide a detailed exploration of aims one and two of this research. Furthermore, they add to the wider debate concerning the construction of gendered police identities and how officers 'do masculinity' within this area of police work and how credible knowledge features within this process.

Nonaka (1994) states that the prime influencer in the process of organisational knowledge creation is the individual. Within the narratives presented in this thesis, tacit knowledge is intrinsically linked to experiences in the field. As this research has shown, policing rape is layered with a consistent multiplicity of vulnerabilities which are presented by the victims. This work has found that an awareness of victim vulnerability has become the norm for these police officers. Moreover, the term vulnerable has seemingly replaced and softened the previous language applied to rape victims, which perhaps less subtly applied rape mythology about women. In reality what constitutes officers' perceptions of an 'ideal victim' remains unusual in actual allegations of rape. The usual and the routine side of policing in rape cases presents the most complexity and challenges.

It is argued here that routine tasks within policing mitigate against the development of new knowledge. Terms such as 'compassion fatigue' related more to these routine cases becoming monotonous to officers as they witness, over time, these cases continually leaving the system. Such factors have a huge influence on the recreation of working cognitions. Indeed, the genuine cases that require what officers perceive as high quality investigative work, in return for high quality gains, are more likely to need the time allowance for creative thinking and evidence gathering. In terms of understanding attrition, how and why these schema influence behaviour is fundamental. As Sackmann (1991) argues 'in the process of repeated applications, these cognitions become imbued with emotions and degrees of importance are assigned to them. Their users like them if they lead to successful results and dislike them if they lead to negative results' (p. 41). It is argued in this research that, through the negotiation process and delivery of legitimate outcomes, the way in which rape

cases are prioritised becomes habitual and remains unchanged. In understanding the continuity of the problem with attrition this is central to the debate.

The relevant findings surrounding the third research aim focused on barriers to reform in this area of policing and they interlink with the issues outlined above. This is particularly pertinent in the context of decision making, the applied cognitive schema and the internal governance frameworks in place for rape investigation. Certain operational decisions are impacting on the longevity of the attrition problem and this is despite the role of Project Sapphire and the subsequent changes made to the programme over time. Considering the authenticity of the organisation to commit to real change, and the need for an effective review of classification decisions applied in rape allegations, accountability is key to reform in this field. It is argued here that, given the central team rarely have the time to complete the reviews required, particularly during times of austerity, it should not be surprising that the types of knowledge application described above remains dominant. Austerity measures feature alongside a dramatic rise in allegations of sexual violence and, as a result, this becomes even more problematised. This may have impacted further on the prevention of reform as officers have become so overwhelmed with caseloads that they cannot dedicate efficient time to conducting these reviews. This creates a paradox internally in relation to what is presented to the outside world as a legitimate effort to change practice, and what influences decision making processes and undermines the change to attrition.

Throughout this work, I have described the strength of knowledge and the type of factors that play a role in the operating working schema in rape investigation. Recognising the complexity of this process is central to any analysis of organisational change. A multiplicity of police identities exists within policing, which link to gender and the multitude of different policing roles and tasks. These various operational contexts provide officers with access to differing levels of credibility. Therefore, the negotiation all officers have to undertake in order to place themselves within these organisationally valued positions is critical to the development of their legitimate police identity. This research argues that this identity is steeped in maleness. I argue here that the organisation itself plays a vast role in perpetuating these issues through its structures and the lack of governance around rape investigations. Whilst there are a number of

discrete findings presented here concerned with the use and type of knowledge applied during decision making, the relationship this has with the challenges to change is complex. Officers operate in an environment where, from the onset of their career, they learn what is valued as credible police work and which working contexts will provide them access to this verification.

This research found that specific policing roles were perceived of as higher value and this links to their own sense of professionalism. As Acker (1990) explores, gendered divisions of labour can be located in types of work within organisations and these are subsequently accessed in particular contexts of the job. This thesis found a strong association between the establishment of position and power within the organisation. The link this had to certain gendered tasks, which played out through notions of legitimate police work, was significant. These factors operated through particular tasks and their links to notions of personal and organisational legitimacy. Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) argue that legitimation amongst power holders is often achieved through cultural symbols. This thesis found that legitimacy and power within the organisation is related to more discrete factors which are reflected in officers' performance in their role and supported by the structures existing within the workplace. Theories of organisational justice suggest that when officers feel fairly treated by the organisation they are likely to experience an enhanced sense of self legitimacy (Bradford et al, 2013). Bradford and Quinton (2014) suggest that self legitimacy is linked to the internalisation of organisational goals and feeling supported within the workplace. Furthermore, they note that a sense of professional identity might influence officers' attitudes whilst doing police work and their behaviour 'on the street'. The findings evidence the relationship between identity and chosen officer behaviour. However, the research identified negative connotations of this relationship in the context of victims and rape investigation. This resulted from the type of behaviours and actions that officers aspire to in order to gain a sense of self legitimisation which is upheld in the methods applied to evaluate their work. The behaviour and values respected by officers, as they strive to achieve currency in the policing field, potentially led to certain behaviours that challenge the very notion of improving attrition. By achieving self-legitimacy through a commitment to certain internal working rules and being recognised organisationally for this, the hierarchy is sustained. This left notions

of external process and interactional priorities, or what is deemed as morally legitimate, as secondary to the police function. This is paradoxical given that organisational justice outcomes are linked to democratic policing, fair treatment and external legitimacy.

Suchman (1995: 585) notes, in relation to notions of legitimacy, that as 'one moves from the pragmatic to the moral to the cognitive, legitimacy becomes more elusive to obtain and more difficult to manipulate, but it also becomes more elusive, subtle, more profound and more self-sustaining, once established'. It is clear in this thesis that conflict exists between all three levels of legitimacy in the context of rape investigation. The forms of pragmatic legitimacy, presented to outside audiences about change, moral legitimacy, which equates to 'doing things right', and cognitive legitimacy present in cultural accounts about this crime. Paradoxically, whilst it is the latter form that drives the success of the others, it is this cultural knowledge that remains less scrutinised. Indeed, moral legitimacy is not effectively reviewed by current processes, either through the existing performance framework or an assessment of officer behaviour. Given the continuity of these issues reform currently remains symbolic and superficial. Suchman (1995: 587) argues that, when senior leaders develop strategies for achieving legitimacy they often 'find it easiest to simply position their organisation within a pre-existing institutional regime'. This work has found that, through the establishment of Project Sapphire, the MPS has offered a visible strategy to present a commitment to change. However, a genuine show of responsibility to pursue the moral legitimacy required for real change has not been pledged within current frameworks. To genuinely address this, Suchman argues that organisations must 'produce concrete, meritorious outcomes' (p. 588). Outputs, structures and new staffing processes can indicate to the outside world that change is occurring, however in reality the symbolic change amounts to little more than superficial actions (Goffman, 1967). This work argues that the outputs featured in rape investigation entirely conform to the established model operating inside the police. More importantly, this research reveals how sustaining the use of these outputs can commend the use of particular knowledge that conflicts with the professionalisation agenda being implemented by the College of Policing.

The notion of officers' individual legitimacy, and the relationship this has with change, is something rarely considered in police research on rape. It has been argued here that individual credibility has a significant role in officers favouring involvement in some police tasks more than others. Bacon (2014) points out that a negative consequence of internal role hierarchies is that the police then create categories of what is not real police work. The 'softer' elements of police business are often 'consigned to an inferior position' (p. 111). This research has found that the victim care side of policing remains associated with being in the domain of female officers and traditional, feminine skills. Presented alongside an organisational failure to formally recognise these skills within the performance frameworks, women, and these tasks, continue to be subliminally suppressed, along with their associated natural skills. The importance of acknowledging the way that the macho culture of policing values certain tasks and the impact this has on attrition in rape is not to be underestimated. The complex needs that vulnerable victims present to the police is clear and this, in turn, means reduced options to gain legitimacy from the hard outcome required. Therefore, this can exclude certain 'rape work' from the upper end of the job hierarchy.

I have discussed a number of subtle internal processes that implicitly communicate to officers' notions of what counts in the achievement of capital and status and the impact such issues have on the success of reform. Such messages are more obvious within the current performance frameworks operating within rape investigation and this is critical for exploring the fourth aim of this thesis. I have argued that the relationship performance measures have within the process of officer decision making is essential to furthering this debate and understanding why change remains superficial. The external communication about Project Sapphire focuses on two aims: improving both victim care and attrition rates. However, the organisation continues to evaluate the success of Sapphire teams simply through judicial disposals. The power of official performance frameworks, which represent success in rape allegations, was, until now, underestimated in the available research in this field. It is evident in the findings that such systems link to broader notions of what counts as credible police work. Crank argues (2003: 196) that, 'humans operate within social institutions, and personal meanings and goals are predetermined by the values, constructions of knowledge, rational forms, cultural predispositions and categorisations of social and moral reality

embodied in these institutions'. In the context of a rape investigation, these factors are fundamentally linked and interrelated.

As Acker (1990) noted, organisational logic is often presented as gender neutral. However, job evaluation, the skills associated with these jobs and the ranking system in place around jobs maintains a gendered power dynamic which devalues certain parts of the labour market. Rational systems create an image that obscures the gendered nature of organisations and yet the skills and responsibility attached to jobs at the upper end of the hierarchy are often those typically associated with men. Similarly, this research found clear gendered elements in operation within the hierarchies of the police. This related to the rating of crime types, behaviours and roles. It is clear from this research that the macho action based culture is peppered with masculine ideals about competitive performance styles. Such structures preserve the police identity as being about maleness and, more critically, these findings were maintained over the time of this research.

This thesis provides a wealth of evidence about the complexity of what is meant by the term professional and offers further explanation about the reasons for certain forms of knowledge remaining dominant and significantly valued. The professionalisation agenda supports the police being provided with forms of explicit knowledge that can be formally disseminated and systematically delivered. Namely knowledge 'that can be expressed in words and numbers' (Nonaka, 1994: 16). As Bourdieu (1990) argues, official knowledge will only drive practice if there is more opportunity of it achieving the required end. This was evident throughout this research. As was found in the narratives of the CID officers interviewed, they continue to utilise the recipe knowledge that they know works from their own individual evaluation of it. Paradoxically, such individual evaluation is reaffirmed through the formal job assessments conducted by the organisation. The narratives of these officers, across all ranks, roles and genders, clearly evidence Acker's (1990) ideas about operational, evaluation systems reinforcing underlying cultural norms. This is highly relevant to an analysis of policing. Indeed, performance in the police habitus clearly replicates existing structural patterns cooperating within the field. Silvestri (2003) has discussed the notion of women officers having difficulty accessing the roles most likely to validate officers' commitment to the job. Such tasks notably represent the action based jobs described

in Chapter Five of this thesis as valued by the organisation. In the context of these findings, the relevance this has on the specific area of rape investigation is clear for officers of both genders.

Understanding the limitations of current performance methods and the relationship they have with ethical behaviour has been revealed here. As Gorby (2013) argues, such objective and rationalised methods for measuring performance fail to recognise the other broader duties of the police. The officers interviewed for this work, across both research phases, clearly described how the organisation places limited worth on the process involved when interacting with victims. This is despite the fact that this was a core aim of Project Sapphire. Given the extent of reform in this area of policing, Johnson's (2006. Cited in Fryer et al, 2009: 484) suggestions are pertinent. He argues that constant change programmes and reorganisations, which often result from a negative review of business, can compound issues of long term data analysis and problem identification. This can prevent good practice being collected locally for further dissemination across the organisation.

Research by Bradford (2011; 2012) highlights the importance of going beyond a focus on 'successful outcomes' with greater attention placed on police and public interactions. In relation to victims of crime, this is pertinent for the formation of public satisfaction and perceived legitimacy of the police. Pragmatic legitimacy and the current outputs made transparent to the public serve to symbolise externally that 'things have changed'. Indeed, the visible presence of a focused programme of work can symbolise 'technical proficiency' (Matusiak, 2017:6).

This thesis found a clear paradox between what is being presented to the outside community about rape investigation and what is occurring inside the organisation. Indeed, these issues are compounding the challenges to real change. This work concludes that the changes implemented have offered a form of 'ceremonial conformity' to change (Meyer and Rowan, 1977. cited in Blake et al,1990:181). The narratives analysed in this thesis offered real insight into drivers of legitimacy for officers themselves and how this impacts on valid legitimate change. At an individual level, the gaining of symbolic capital through organisational evaluation was indeed reciprocal within that relationship of gaining self-authority. This conflicts with the symbolic requirements that the public have of the police. The public ultimately want

fair treatment and decent interactions with the police and this is grounded in the model of procedural justice. Given that neither the processes or the organisational structure itself supports the importance of such behaviours, these findings present a number of challenges to notions of organisational justice outcomes in this context.

The final two research aims relate to officers' perceptions of reform in the context of police culture and their involvement in reform in the realm of rape investigation. It was clear in Chapter Six that officers themselves viewed many of the changes implemented as symbolic to a commitment to 'do the right thing' in rape investigation. They were considered as reactive and rarely responding to a defined problem impacting on attrition. This links to the perceived legitimacy internally amongst the officers about reform and the genuine commitment the organisation has, to driving policy into changing practice. Certain operational decisions from the centre of the MPS about resourcing Sapphire teams and the skill required to undertake these roles did not equate to legitimate assurances about improving the attrition problem. Whilst Project Sapphire has brought what was previously centrally invisible under 'official control' (Zucker, 1989. cited in Suchman, 1991: 589), the need for formalisation of these changes to ensure effective change has largely been absent. Some of this has been documented above.

Various processes currently operating within the MPS hinder the possibility of new knowledge creation about good practice examples, and learning, from the officers themselves. Regardless of the performance frameworks operating in policing, other outputs arising from the professionalisation agenda and evidence-based research are perceived by officers to be prescriptive and undermining of their identity as 'professionals'. Moreover, the central team and their lack of functionality around rape reviews, hinder any real reflection about case outcome. Therefore, current, local practice is left unchecked. This work argues that both organisational and academic ignorance of the habitual, tacit knowledge which is highly valued inside the organisation serves to destabilise the very agenda of professionalisation that external stakeholders are advocating. The impact this has on the ability to implement change is clearly evident as a result of the research presented here.

Exploring officers' perceptions of reform and the relationship they have with the organisational processes, structures or artefacts surrounding rape investigation has emerged as a key finding of this research. Moreover, I wanted to explore where and how these concepts link in to officers' own sense of professional standing and behaviour. Through the observations and the narratives from officers at response, specialist and a strategic level, I was able to understand much about the development of knowledge within the policing field. This further allowed me to understand how knowledge relates to the formation of a professional police identity and how it is applied in gaining symbolic capital within the situational and operational context. The officers who participated in this research discussed a number of innovative methods used to access this capital. At times this could occur in quite adverse situations. Therefore, the research revealed that what is likely to be perceived as a professional police culture from outside the organisation is not reflected in the way professionalism manifests itself within it.

Similar to Chan's work (2003), the findings here suggest that organisational definitions of what constitutes a professional identity can reaffirm a culture which perpetuates some of the issues the reforms have attempted to address. As Schein (1990) argues, the culture of an organisation is powerful in differing ways and can be pervasive as it is recreated and learned repetitively within the collective group. Indeed, Schein suggests it can go largely ignored until an external examination is undertaken to call attention to it. This thesis found that the processes in place within the central Project Sapphire team, to review investigative practices, as opposed to simply outputs, rarely occurred. Therefore, the patterns of dictionary knowledge, collectively guiding messages about what is important in the workplace, continue to drive certain behaviours which are failing to be investigated. Such processes should provide a check for moral or ethical legitimacy and fair process.

Conversely, a strong set of collective beliefs become normalised within the culture and these influence customary behaviours that enable officers to deal with unpredictability and complexity more easily. Rape was described by officers as a messy crime, and as Kleinman (1989) suggests, these types of situations can produce an emotional response which does not necessarily fit with the dominant discourse of masculinity

within policing. As other scholars have noted, this is likely to influence the reasons why certain police tasks are associated with women. Paradoxically, this work argues that, through the development of specialist units, investigating officers could justify removing themselves from the role of victim care as it became the responsibility of a specialist SOIT role. Regardless of the gender of the SOIT, this limits the individual's ability to access the opportunity to undertake tasks viewed as valued in policing, those predominantly characterised by maleness. As Acker (1990) argues there are elements of organisations that can segregate certain individuals based on divisions of labour. This provides more evidence about the gendered nature of the tasks involved in rape investigation and the limited reality of change to the status quo.

Despite the fact these findings present a pessimistic picture about the limitations to reform, there are positives to be gleaned from the narratives of the officers. Indeed, their ability to actively negotiate their status by applying particular forms of knowledge, illustrates the extent to which officers are dynamic within the reconstruction of the working rules implicit within police work. Therefore, there is hope that change can be achieved in rape investigations with a genuine commitment to move beyond the symbolic displays and perceived measures of success evident in this work. However, it is the structure of the police organisation that restricts change as officers operate and are expected to deliver, within the constraints of those structures. Goal achievement (Sackmann, 1991) and the delivery of the internal and external strategy for rape investigation improvement is incongruent. The information systems, accountability frameworks and regular forms and styles of human resourcing into rape units does not link to a drive of real change in this area of policing. These officers were aware of the reactionary decision making process operating internally to deal with criticism, and these perceptions linked to fairness and a sense of internal justice about deployment and choice. These officers felt aggrieved about being moved from more worthy areas of investigation. In order to deal with the lack of choice they used their own working knowledge to ensure they maintained some legitimacy by meeting the expectations of performance targets set for them by the organisation.

Official measures to review performance can justify the perceived legitimacy of a hard outcome over the care of the victims. Officers were aware of this as is noted in Chapter

Six. This does nothing to address the deeper issues required for change, rather it confirms the current habitus which is recreated through the interactions of the social actors in the field. By applying the work of Sackmann (1991) and Schein (1990) it is clear that the organisation itself also acts as a social actor within this interaction. It is the organisation that relays the core mission (rape reform) to the external world and outlines its functionality within that mission, in terms of what it will do to achieve it. Specific goals are communicated through a strategy or policy, in this case around rape. Finally, they articulate the methods applied for reviewing success (performance indicators) and outline the strategy if these proposals fail. Conducting internal reviews to explore the mechanisms driving decisions about classifications of rape allegations was a core aim of the most recent change to Project Sapphire. In the context of professionalism, they potentially provide opportunities to create new knowledge, particularly in complex and changing environments.

Investigative officers arguably have to deal with two sets of complex knowledge sets, scientific knowledge concerned with technology and forensic information and the extensive and changeable knowledge that is required to be an effective social problem solver (Kleinig, 1996). This latter formulation of knowledge is associated with the tacit, experiential knowledge that is alluded to frequently in the narratives of the officers. The current systems in place to check the process of applying this recipe knowledge is failing. As a result, attempts to change attitudes towards rape and the implementation of change in the area of rape investigations have stalled. Officers concerns about prescriptive tools being introduced in an attempt to change behaviour undermine their sense of professionalism and their ability to try innovative ideas when faced with new and complex issues. These operational toolkits are perceived as yet another management tool which aim to manage risk, prescribe behaviour and weaken officers' expertise in the field. This is opposed to the notion of capturing and disseminating new information and recognising the professionalism of the officers themselves. In the context of understanding moral legitimacy this equates to identifying when officers are 'doing the right thing'. As Kleinig (1996) argues, in recent years policing has witnessed a drive to make police officers increasingly value driven as opposed to rule driven. This move is grounded in the principles of moral legitimacy and theories of procedural justice.

The toolkits undermine this notion. They are perceived as formulaic by officers, and offer little scope for officers to move beyond the prescription for fear of reprisal. Paradoxically, they often result from the findings of academic knowledge which is sold to officers as a method of facilitating professionalism as opposed to denying it amongst experienced practitioners. The tension between what is professional and processes of professionalisation is evident in this thesis and, coupled with the lack of any real, in-depth reviews into rape classifications, the values that drive police discretion in this space is left hidden. Organisations can use professionalisation agendas to create a sense of legitimacy by outwardly signing up to externally defined versions of competent behaviour. Whilst the police themselves have had limited input into the agenda outlined by the College of Policing, this research found that aspects of this programme of work are considered by officers as attempts to control their behaviour as opposed to driving individual professionalism.

Self-regulation within a professional organisation is about 'quality control' (Kleinig, 1996:39). This research found that in one sense the organisation governs behaviour through the development of rule based procedures and documentation about rape investigation. These are perceived as controlling of officers' expertise and knowledge. Conversely, in terms of really exploring the behaviours and ethical values that drive police decision making in this space, the system to check the autonomy exercised by officers remains in the hands of the individual officers themselves. This is opposed to there being any real organisational checks in place to review discretion and behaviour. Therefore, the current systems in place are rhetorical and opposed to each other's aims. This has implications for the development of new knowledge in this field of policing as, rather than checking the moral judgements behind the use of information within the process of decision making, a certain form of police expertise is allowed to institutionalise itself as truth. Kleinig (1996) argues that the more the collective members become tied in to this form of truth, the more difficult it becomes for new knowledge, produced outside the organisation, to be taken seriously and willingly applied by the officers. This was evidenced here as the narratives produced indicated the power of work experience when working in this area. Rather than encouraging what Van Dijk et al (2015: 181) define as the 'generating of a virtuous circle of an

intelligent, reflexive, responsive service that fosters consent from the public', the critical role of reflexive practice is undermined by both the lack of reviews and the toolkits implemented in an attempt to ensure behaviour is 'as expected'.

The way in which the processes behind professionalisation in policing undermine the professional is clear. Indeed, effective organisations who seek genuine professionalisation should identify problems efficiently and subsequently recognise innovative ideas to help solve them. Through the internal review option there is an opportunity to recognise good and bad practice when dealing with and classifying rape allegations. Indeed, this is what may have a real impact on change in this space. The perceived reality for officers working within rape teams is that the current, standalone evaluation tool for assessing the performance in this field are outcome measures. Other systems in place, as laid out within the Project Sapphire strategy, remain rhetorical in terms of their application to review quality of service over the numbers. This is absolutely essential to understanding the MPS' commitment to driving change and shifting the current paradigm operating in policing.

Research Implications

The research presented here demonstrates that, despite a long-term reform agenda with regards to rape investigation, the lack of change to the policing habitus results in an environment hostile to reform. To achieve change it is the officers themselves that must facilitate reform as they are the active agents within this process. This will only occur with engagement and further understanding of their role in attrition, together with a genuine revisiting of what organisational structures value as successful in rape investigation. Conversely, as this research argues, officers are key to reaffirming certain values within an organisation that provides the barriers for change. The use of symbolic, yet externally visible, activities to evidence a shift in organisational priorities was considered as figurative by officers. They did not consider such changes to offer an authentic paradigm shift in policing. This work challenges the assumption that the underlying problems with reform relate to police culture, its characteristics and the beliefs that operate within it. This thesis has clearly evidenced how the structures and processes which are operating within the police have equal influence on the

sustainability of the schema influencing decision making in rape investigation investigations. This has not been considered previously. In light of this important finding the next section offers some recommendations from this research.

Changing performance structures and reviewing decisions: The notable lack of credibility that officers gain by dealing with victims of crime over suspects is clear and pertinent to this debate. Currently the applause is given to officers who may actually 'sort out the wheat from the chaff' as opposed to developing methods of support to keep a victim within the system. The vulnerable victims, who are present in attrition figures, problematise the opportunities for officers to achieve status and credibility within the current framework. Moreover, the lack of investigation or review into their behaviour from the central team minimises opportunities to explore good practice in this space. The limitations to the review procedures are key to the debate about professionalisation and real change to the habitus. This thesis has found it is unlikely to change the cognitive legitimacy that operates within the logic bank of the organisation. Understanding the experience of the victims would provide a better understanding of their needs and the problems they face when attempting to stay on board with the system. If victims withdraw from the process, they should complete a withdrawal statement. Conducting these effectively and using the narratives they produce would provide an excellent opportunity for the organisation to develop an evidence base about why victims withdraw and to develop strategies to maintain their support, based on that need. Furthermore, gathering feedback from all victims who report rape about their experiences would allow for local supervisors to identify good areas of practice and commend those officers who build effective rapport with victims, regardless of their decision to continue with the allegation. This would provide real tangible evidence that the organisation is recognising the moral legitimacy needed to move reform from being rhetorical to impactive.

Having such frameworks running alongside the traditional styles of performance would signify to officers, over time, that the process involved in the receipt of a judicial disposal is as important as the numbers achieved. By changing performance and governance structures within this field of police work, and actively engaging officers within that change, officers may willingly buy into this paradigm shift about 'what

matters'. The credibility placed on this work may expand and the dictionary knowledge that forms the organisational logic in this area may begin to convey how the victim care side of Project Sapphire is as important as the quantifiable numbers. Recognising the role that officers have in recreating the recipe knowledge required to meet the logic of the organisation is key to facilitating and unlocking change. It is worth noting, however, that further issues impact on the realistic prospect of this happening at the current time in light of austerity, a lack of resources and increased numbers of rape allegations being made.

Encouraging a bottom up evidence base: This research argues that current perceptions of 'what works' for officers working on rape investigations relies on sifting out victims who may present difficulties for them. At present there is no organisational incentive to recognise good practice in this area. This is exacerbated by the lack of review into the process of classifications, austerity measures and the current organisational systems of job evaluation. This research reports at a time when allegations of sex crimes are increasing and workloads for detectives are growing as a result. This presents added challenges for both officers and the organisation, when sufficiently resourcing this space. This change can only be achieved in the long term by recognising officers' individual professionalism through robust reviews and the identification of good practice. Currently, as evidenced in this research, the internal structures in place for rape do not allow for examples of good work to be officially recognised or valued. Developing an evidence base, founded on practitioner narratives and good practice, might influence the development of an organisational informal dictionary about what might work for these most problematic victims.

Currently the reverse is true. Producing different types of recipe knowledge which supports victims rather than finding ways to discount their claims may start to incentivise value in an area of policing not currently seen through that lens. This thesis challenges the notion that cultural reform alone is required as it is the current performance and review structures that require reform first. Such changes to the internal field of police work would unlock the power of the practitioners. Officers would, in turn, seek to gain personal legitimacy, value and worth from other more morally

legitimate tasks as opposed to striving towards hard outcomes and classic notions of enforcement policing.

Supervisory roles: Currently the role of supervisors is critical in local reviews, particularly given the strategic leadership team are restricted in their time available to undertake these from a central perspective. Given the lack of change to rape investigation it appears that such classification reviews remain a rarity. This research also found inconsistent approaches to supporting SOIT officers and the majority felt undervalued in their victim support roles. They felt that they were perceived as more effective when they helped drive forward a conviction or provided a victim evaluation to the investigating officers about their credibility. The role of sergeants and inspectors is key to driving change in this area by formally recognising when officers have supported victims well. This research found BOCUs with trophy rewards for significant judicial disposal rates yet limited praise was provided for process work with victims. Introducing informal methods to praise local staff for their work and recognising the emotional labour attached to the SOIT role would raise the status of such work and in time the credibility of the role. This has wider ramifications on the status attached to a role traditionally aligned with female officers and may influence more worth being placed on less action based macho tasks.

Central Leadership: The notion of dictionary knowledge accounts for the messages portrayed internally about what matters to the organisation, and these are communicated through structures and processes. The strategies presented externally may differ in their messages. However, the systems in place to genuinely influence change are the real drivers of change and they need to be fit for purpose. Therefore, the recipe knowledge and subsequent actions applied to rape investigation are selected and delivered in order to meet the requirements of the detail outlined in the dictionary knowledge of the organisation. These structures are loaded with notions of what constitutes internal legitimacy and professional identity. Therefore, what becomes embedded as good performance internally throughout the process of a rape investigation does not match what the public value as legitimate in policing. Nor does it discourage officers from using behaviours that the reform attempts to change. In relation to strategic leadership within the police this finding is critical. The longevity of

these problems and the high number of reviews which repeatedly identify the same issues with rape investigation are damaging for the police in the eyes of the public. Responding with reactive, symbolic change is perpetuating failure, both in terms of the impact it has on officers' perceptions of organisational genuineness to change, and, despite officers' self-awareness in this area, the behaviour they display to meet the dictionary knowledge present in the organisation. Senior leaders need to develop a more effective longer term strategy which takes into account all of the issues outlined in these recommendations. Unless they review the nature of the problem sufficiently and develop a systematic change programme which looks at this more holistically, the failures will remain.

College of Policing: Understanding the conflicts between the current professionalisation agenda and what constitutes a professional police identity amongst officers is central to this area and reform more broadly. Current external changes happening to the police are entering a field which structurally remains unchanged. As a result of the structural features operating within policing, an informal, internal set of criteria around 'what works' has been established. This has become deeply engrained in the working knowledge of the culture due to practitioner actions within the habitus of policing. As Fleming and Rhodes (2018: 31) argue, the many different types of knowledge utilised by the police are evaluated 'through the lens of an officer's own experience. Officers use their experience to determine which information they will act on'. This is ironic in the context of the current 'what works' research agenda in policing and the perception of police professionalism being based on objective research knowledge. This work argues that some prescriptive tool kits that are derived from research are considered as further mechanisms of control over officers. The College of Policing needs to consider more research aimed at capturing the expertise of the practitioner in the agenda of 'what works', particularly in capturing practice that might look promising with complex victims. By raising the profile of professional knowledge there may be more congruence between what the professionalisation agenda defines as professional and what individual officers perceive individual professionalism to be. Additionally, by more formally recognising this area of police work as professional, as opposed to crime reduction and evaluation processes, the status of this policing arena would be raised.

Such recommendations are made with an awareness of the current climate of austerity and the impact this has on the resources and time to focus on such issues. However, this work is not relevant simply to reform in rape investigation. The findings about practitioner involvement are relevant for understanding any reform to policing and therefore focusing on these issues in the longer term would be beneficial for the police.

In conclusion, this research has met all of the original aims it set out to explore and has revealed new knowledge that contributes significantly to debates on attrition. It provides a unique exploration into the impact of organisational structures on the success of reform and how such structures maintain embedded notions of what is legitimate policing.

The work concludes by stressing the importance of grass roots reform generated by the voices of police officers themselves. This can only occur effectively by acknowledging that officers are not passive or unconscious in their decision making. Rather, they are active in the process and are the key drivers of change. Change is particularly difficult during times of austerity. The long term nature of this research study has provided an important opportunity to really explore the issue of change over time. As a result, it has provided an in-depth analysis about the contextual factors involved in this very complex area of police work. Given the successful changes to policing in other contexts, reform is not impossible. However, if the experiences of rape victims are to be genuinely improved and the problem of attrition resolved, there needs to be a recognition of the central role of the practitioners in this process.

Accessing the central influence of officers alongside a real strategic change in the dominant discourse about what constitutes good policing, what matters and what is valued within this field is critical for converting rhetoric into practical change.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Officers participating in this research

Name	Role	Rank	Phase	Time in Police
Percy	Response	PC	Phase 1	4
Jake	Response	PC	Phase 1	6
Robert	Response	PC	Phase 1	8
Giles	Response	PC	Phase 1	5
Angus	Response	PC	Phase 1	4
Simon	Response	PC	Phase 1	16
Ben	Response	PS	Phase 1	9
Stuart	Response	Inspector	Phase 1	23
Brian	CID	DC	Phase 1	11
Carl	CID	DC	Phase 1	15
James	CID	DC	Phase 1	16
Pete	CID	DC	Phase 1	13
Don	CID	DC	Phase 1	6
Pat	CID	DC	Phase 1	12
Gordon	CID	DC	Phase 1	12
Dave	CID	DC	Phase 1	10
Rick	CID	DC	Phase 1	12
Jon	CID	DC	Phase 1	8
Joe	CID	DC	Phase 1	11
Jason	CID	DC	Phase 1	15
Donald	CID	DC	Phase 1	11
David	CID	DC	Phase 1	10
Jonti	CID	DC	Phase 1	15
Terence	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	15
Brian	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	6
Matthew	SOIT	PC	Phase1	10
John	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	7
Jerry	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	18
Caz	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	9
Jeff	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	26
Tracy	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	6
Caroline	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	6
Kate	SOIT	PC	Phase 1	8
Tina	SOIT	PS	Phase 1	18
Kevin	Response	PC	Phase 2	3
Rob	Response	PS	Phase 2	22
Belinda	Response	PS	Phase 2	12
Lionel	Response	PS	Phase 2	15

Mike	CID	DC	Phase 2	15
Seb	CID	DC	Phase 2	17
Bob	CID	DS	Phase 2	10
Carole	SOIT	PC	Phase 2	18
Sarah	SOIT	PC	Phase 2	12
Karen	SOIT	PC	Phase 2	13
Paul	SOIT	PC	Phase 2	8
Emily	SOIT	PC	Phase 2	9
Stuart	Strategic Lead	DCI	Phase 2	17
George	Strategic lead	Superintendent	Phase 2	25

Appendix 2: Interview schedule (phase two questions in italics)

**Interviews with Sexual Offences Investigative Techniques (*SOIT) officers*

- How long have you been in this role?
- What made you interested in being a specialist officer in this area?
- What are the main functions of your role?
- Can you tell me a little about the process of how you are assigned to a victim of sexual violence?
- What sort of contact do you have with the senior investigating officers?
- Explore with interviewees - what are these changes / how did they come about / what methods were used to try and embed this change?
- How do you think the role of the SOIT is perceived by other members of the CID?
- How are specialist officers utilised by investigators – what do they see their role as (responsibility etc.)
- What type of issues are considered as good performance in the role of a SOIT?
- Are these issues addressed in your annual PDR?
- What sort of training do you have access to?
- *The most recent review into sexual offences has highlighted on going issues with attrition in rape cases - what do you think influences this?*
- *There is now a national decision making model for the police – how useful is this for cases of sexual violence? (explore why not and what do they use to make decisions if it is not applicable)*
- *Are there any changes that you think could be useful in reducing the rate of attrition at different stages of the process?*
- *Since being in post do you think there have been any changes in the investigation of sexual violence? (prompts: this relates both to the practical OCU issues and centrality of the unit and also to training etc.)*

Investigators (Crime Investigation Dept)
 How long have you been in this role?
- What made you interested in becoming an investigating officer in the area of sexual violence?
- Can you tell me a little about the process of how you and the SOIT officers work together?
- What do you consider the main role of the SOIT to be both in terms of with the victim and their role in assisting yourselves?
- When dealing with cases of rape what type of issues are considered as good performance?
- Are these issues addressed in your annual PDR?
- What sort of training do you have access to for these types of investigations?
- *The most recent review into sexual offences has highlighted on going issues with attrition in rape cases - what do you think influences this?*
- *There is now a national decision making model for the police – how useful is this in cases of sexual violence? (explore… why not and what do they use to make decisions if it is not applicable)*
- *Are there any changes that you think could be useful in reducing the rate of attrition at different stages of the process?*

- *Since being in post do you think there have been any changes in the investigation of sexual violence? (prompt: this relates both to the practical OCU issues and centrality of the unit and also to training etc.)*
- Explore with interviewees - what are these changes / how did they come about / what methods were used to try and embed this change?

Strategic Command (second phase only)

- What made you interested in becoming involved in the rape command/OCU?
- Have you had much experience of dealing with rape cases directly?
- There have been a number of reviews in the attrition rate and low conviction rate for rape cases – can you tell me a little about why you think this happens?
- What has been put in place to try and change this following recommendations from these reviews?
- How successful do you think they have been?
  (prompt: if not why not and if yes what have the enablers been)
- What training have you received in this area? – particularly in relation to managing change?
- To whom are you accountable and how is your portfolio of work managed in terms of performance?

Response team officers?

- How long have you been in the job?
- Can you tell me a little about why you joined?
- How does the reality meet those expectations?
- How often do you attend a call to an allegation of sexual violence?
- When a call comes in can you tell me a little about the process of how that call is attended?
  (prompts. Deployment, prioritising calls)
- Have you had any training in this area? Do you feel adequately trained to deal with calls to rape allegations?
- What did you think of the methods used for the training? (prompt. NCALT)
- *Have you seen any changes to the way in which these types of cases are dealt with? (prompt. Can you tell me a little about this – enablers, barriers etc.)*

Appendix 3: WRITTEN CONSENT FORM:

Title of Study: Exploring Police decision-making in rape investigations

Name of Participant:

Please tick to consent.

- I have read the attached information sheet about the research I am involved in. I have been given a copy of this form to keep. I have had the opportunity to discuss details and ask any questions I have concerning the work.

  ☐

- The Researcher has explained the nature and purpose of the research and I believe that I understand what is being proposed   ☐

- I understand that my personal involvement and my particular data from this study will remain strictly confidential. Only researchers involved in the study will have access

  ☐

- I have been informed about what the data collected will be used for, to whom it may be disclosed, and how long it will be retained   ☐

- I have received satisfactory answers to all of my questions   ☐

- I hereby fully and freely consent to participate in the study which has been fully explained to me   ☐

- I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a
     reason   ☐

- I consent to have the have the interview audio recorded using a digital recorder and transcribed
  ☐

- I consent to having anonymised direct quotations from the interviews used in publications
  ☐

Participant's Name:(Block Capitals)   ……………………..

Participant's Name: Signature   ……………………..

Participant's Witness' Name: ………………………..

Witness' Signature: ………………………..

As the Researcher responsible for this study I confirm that I have explained to the participant named above the nature and purpose of the research to be undertaken.

Researcher's Name: Emma Williams

Researcher's Signature: ………………………..

If you wish to speak to someone not directly related to the research, please contact the Chair, London South Bank University Research Ethics Committee (ethics@lsbu.ac.uk).

Appendix 4: Coding Framework (combined for phase 1 and 2)

Coding Framework

Core Themes	Sub Themes and examples of quotes
Police Identity – scene setting. Where does it all start? What establishes it (peers / supervisors etc.)	**Valued work by peers** *Resources and time often play a part in how well customer focus aims are achieved now and this is in addition to personal interest in the job at hand. Although organisationally there has been a push for officers to be more customer focused, peer influence plays a massive part where actions are determined by what officers think their colleagues will think of them like gaining greater respect for getting an arrest verses spending extra time with a victim and being seen as a person who takes too long to deal with something. (Lionel, first response officer, 2016-2017)* *Domestics are useless to them as they can win nothing and they rarely create much conversation in the canteen. (Fieldwork diary, 28/2/2004)* **Valued work from organisation** *If you arrest someone for a murder or having firearms, they get kudos. If you arrest a shoplifter, it's crap. If you're involved in vehicle chases and in catching the suspects after the foot chase, it's very good. So there is even grading in the nature of the arrest you've made. Obviously if you make a number of these arrests over time, then you're going to be considered to be quite I don't know you'd be respected, put it that way. If you're making a lot of good arrests, you do get respect. (Robert, first response officer, 2004-2005)* **Police mission** *If you have an opportunity to go to see a victim or get involved in a car chase, you can imagine which would be more popular. Certain aspects of the job are more honoured than others. (Giles, first response officer, 2004-2005)* *A lot of officers, they look at things, policing, and what have you, and it is, as far as they can see it, it is out there in a fast car, nicking the bad guys … they don't actually see the victim. I don't say they, I don't think people actually see a victim before they join, as it were, you know, either, or a victim in the context of police victim interaction, we don't really see that. And certainly, it's not something I'd deeply considered when I joined. You see yourself nicking the baddie, you know, and that's frankly it. (Brian, CID officer, 2004-2005)* **Performance measuring**

	You see the problem we have now is that, you know, we are very much performance driven, or the staff are very performance driven, the senior management are. Senior management is only interested in figures, what they can prove to the public that they've done the work you know… I mean I've never been a figures man and, you know, how do you quantify them with the officer that spends an hour with an old dear you know, dealing with her and reassuring her. (Angus, first response officer, 2004-2005) Ambiguity *The thing is they [rape cases] vary so much as there are so many different types of relationships between people prior to the incident but you can never really put them into the categories. There are some very difficult scenarios from the start to try and work out how they have got to know each other… it is always a new experience dealing with every single one cos it is always something else that you hadn't quite thought of. There is another avenue there to go down. (Mike, CID officer, 2016-2017)* Perceptions of specialists 'not my area' *With the SOIT work I think they're just really glad that we're there doing it, because it means that they don't have to, and so therefore they probably don't think of us quite so much as the shiny trousered one who sits in an office all day like some people who move from response. They know that when we do deal with one (a victim) we really do; they do get their money's worth out of us. (Carole, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)* *Rape investigations from our point of view are obviously very difficult in relation to the victim. We have a certain role as police officers to investigate and we can come across as slightly callous which is why the Sapphire team should be a very good thing as they will deal a lot more with victim care better than we can with the workload that we have. The first impression as it is starting up here is that it is working very well and the officers out there are very very competent and they are dealing with victim care. It is more focused towards that so we are allowed to get on with the investigation side of it. (Mike, CID officer, 2004-2005)*
Organisation and value placed on police work (legitimacy)	Commitment to change from the organisation Performance measurement for rape *Everyone likes praise and to be told well done on a good job and our supervisors do praise us and we have good morale on our team and that does make a difference. The only thing is though, there is huge competition between the Sapphire teams here and yet we are meant to be working as a team. What happens is the best performing team gets a trophy and this is given based on who got the most detection.' (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)* *Support for officers in SOIT roles*

We discuss things a lot amongst ourselves - it might not be quite as politically correct as it should be but it is the same sort of thing, it is us trying to bring in some humour to try and get you through a relatively tricky thing. And of course if you're in open places, people are listening all the time, and I think you should have your own little place where you can go and discuss these things without having to be conscious of someone overhearing what you're saying, maybe getting offended by it or maybe getting a kick out of it, you know because it does take all sorts. Um, I don't, I know I drink too much, there are places, you know, there's occupational health, I've only ever used them once. (Jeff, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

Value on victim care

There is this Sergeant who says he buys his team a bottle of wine if they get a lot of good arrests in. And it's always kind of focusing on this - I mean I can understand it, but it's like this side of the work (dealing with victims) is negated a lot and considering that's generally associated with women, do you know what I mean? (Tina, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

Complex victims

Well, I would suggest that the worst victim you can have is probably somebody with a record as long as your arm, mental health, drug addict, prostitute, and probably the worst victim you could ever have, because you'd never get her through the court door. And I would suggest that even if the CPS were willing to go to court with it, which is very unlikely, getting her physically through the court door … I think probably that society as a whole would suggest that if you're a prostitute and a drug addict then you're one of life's victims and you're going to have to accept what happens to you. (Brian, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

Role value and skills

I think if someone goes out and gets a good body, they're actually scoring some brownie points, it's recognized as a good piece of work. And they've taken a suspect off the street for a crime or they've done a particularly good stop and found a vast amount of drugs or a vast amount of stolen property, there's credibility in that sort of work and kudos. You can't deny that. I think it comes back to basic police work, why did you join the job? You know did you come to take victim statements or did you come to arrest people? Getting good arrests is a good way of quantifying what a good police officer you are and that's encouraged. (Stuart, first line response inspector, 2004-2005)

Link between performance and victim assessments

There are some officers that like it and some that don't and this unit is meant to make that better. The other thing is you get lot of people that applied for the role who I personally thought were unsuitable cos they were sort of officers that manipulated people and maybe would have said to the person you don't want to go ahead. They are looking for an easy ride and maybe they had just ten or fifteen years left. As far as I am concerned they shouldn't deal with victims of a vulnerable nature as at the end of the day they deserve a far better service than they could ever give in the whole of their career. (Jake, CID officer, 2004-2005)

The right people

There are some officers that like it and some that don't and this unit is meant to make that better. The other thing is you get lot of people that applied for the role who I personally thought were unsuitable cos they were sort of officers that manipulated people and maybe would have said to the person you don't want to go ahead. They are looking for an easy ride and maybe they had just ten or fifteen years left. As far as I am concerned they shouldn't deal with victims of a vulnerable nature as at the end of the day they deserve a far better service than they could ever give in the whole of their career. (Jake, CID officer, 2004-2005)

Officer deployment

Second stage of research

Perceptions of reform

'The process is in place to make it difficult for us and I get that…but they are not interested in ramifications. They want to see the picture being presented to the public so that they believe we are investigating properly – this is not a reflection of the reality of what is happening on the ground.' (Emily, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)

Austerity

On team we also used to be measured on arrests, stop searches, crime reports taken, but these have been dropped. This was because here stop and searches are no longer a priority any more along with arrests. With the reduced numbers and increased work load it's very hard to do any proactive policing, we go from one call to the next to the next to the next. (Kevin, first response officer, 2016-2017)

What counts?
There has been a significant shift away from instructing officers on response teams to generate quantifiable results, gone are the days when officers were instructed to achieve a number of stop and search, process or arrests. So there is less focus on positive quantifiable outcomes. But there seems to be a limited understanding of 'dysfunctional behaviour' among supervisors in this regard, even if they can't define it. However, despite this, you are still far more likely to be recognised or commended for achieving a positive arrest or conviction than providing excellent care for a person with mental health issues. (Lionel, first response officer, 2016-2017)

Deployment

I didn't choose to work here I was working elsewhere. Due to problems with the way Sapphire was running and due to a lot of internal problems and a need to boost numbers they sort of stole a load of detectives. This was not one of my top ten places I wanted to work. A lot of this linked in to Dame Elish review, staffing issues and people being at breaking point. They needed some help. (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)

	Caseload *There is a resourcing issue and we have got used to that. We do a good job for the CID and it takes the pressure off them slightly. The problem is the SOITs are under vast pressure as we are doing our job and helping them do theirs as well. We are expected to crack on until we break down with complete stress and then have time off. We have someone here who has been off for a number of weeks and we can't do all the extra work. (Sarah, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)* *I have a SOIT officer who slept in the office recently. She was dealing with a chaotic victim and she managed to put her up in a hotel. As it was near the police station and she was aware of staff shortages she put her up in a hotel next to the police station so she could respond quicker. That is not an isolated example – that is the goodwill of the officer. That is the type of officer we won't know is having a breakdown until they have one. We haven't got enough staff not at all. (George, strategic lead Sapphire, 2016-2017)* ***Training*** *When I joined I got one day, had no induction and the next day I was in the office – I did not even have teaching on how to use the systems. It is only because I had experience that I felt confident but if I had been coming in from a different area I would have been stuffed. On homicide you get a week full of training and it is good. It makes you want to join the unit. I didn't want to come here and then it was just like oh here is a real rape to deal with. (Jon, CID officer, 2016-2017)*
Being a professional officer – what forms this sense of professionalism	Experience v knowledge *I don't use past experiences but certainly when you have got a victim's side of the story and a suspect's side of the story and you read it, you read it on a common sense nature you will always find flaws on it somewhere. Be it from the victim saying something or the suspects saying something. But you just have to look at it from the whole thing you know everyone has an opinion about a job I mean I may have an opinion about a job where I am backing what the victim is saying and someone else may look at it and say how can you say that if you look at this this and that this just don't add up but you know certainly every police officer I would say has his opinion of course they do they look at their jobs and they make their own opinions from it. You will draw upon past experiences. (Jonti, CID officer, 2004-2005)* Negotiation of role *Well everybody thinks SOIT is a shit job, they wouldn't want to do it and they can't see why anybody else would possibly want to do it. I mean the SOIT Officers do all the direct face to face contact with the victim. I used to be a SOIT Officer, but I think generally, you might be seen as worthwhile, it was worthwhile having SOIT Officers. Probably because it meant that they were allowed to be removed from victims and on team that meant they could get out to doing real work and getting the arrests in. (Gordon, CID officer, 2004-2005)*

[I am asked] Virtually every single time. You will get the, what you think? I've been called in off the street by a very experienced detective sergeant who was acting DI, he was waiting for me in the yard I walked in and he said, look, I've got a woman in the interview room, come and chat to her and I want your opinion, your honest opinion as to what you think has happened. And you know, from somebody like him, I'd say that was a great compliment because he was someone I held in very high esteem. For him to want my opinion, made me feel pretty good and generally they act on that expertise as well. There have been a couple of times when I've gone in and you notice straightaway. So yeah, I think your own opinion is sought and they will act on it afterwards. Of course, our instructions are that no matter what we think, we act that we believe what we are being told by the victim. Well, that's what we're told. I think every human nature is that we are going to be different in our approach. (John, SOIT officer, 2004-2005)

Victim assessment

Sometimes the victim can stress you out – when you know it isn't true. The evidence is not there but you still have to do a load of work to disprove what she is saying to you. I will always say seventy-five per cent of cases I have dealt with have not been true cases of rape, in fact it seems to be a weapon now. People say he has raped me if he might have another girlfriend or he hasn't replied to a text message. Seventy-five percent are definitely not true. A handful are genuine and I would walk over hot coals for those victims but the others are just soul destroying. (Paul, SOIT, 2016-2017)

Performance assessment

Yes, judicial disposals get mentioned at the monthly Sapphire meetings, and I do think that, you know, we need to move away from that really. There are lots of other ways of measuring things that aren't there, and I don't think that's a particularly good way. They need to look at that really. But everything is performance-led isn't it, and with rape at the end of the day, you know, as long as you do your best and you give a good service to the victim if the evidence is there you charge and then you do your best to try and get them convicted. But it's not easy is it, it's very very difficult. (Rick, CID officer, 2004-2005)

Categorisation of victims

Most of the rapes and indecent assaults reported to Police, well let's just say rapes, particularly on this ground, are rubbish. And when I say rubbish, what I mean by that is they are either retaliation type allegations or malicious allegations, and some are in between those people who've had sex and then regretted it afterwards, and their only way out they see is to make an allegation of rape. So taking that to the letter, if you really want to improve things for the public, then you should do something about those allegations and how you deal with those, so that more time can be dedicated to the proper victims, the stranger rapes, the domestic rapes where it's been many years of abuse, things like that. (Pat, CID officer, 2004-2005)

Ability / training

Yes, you need to highlight which rape is and which isn't a priority and when you can't see the wood through the trees you need to draw on your experience to be able to prioritise certain jobs, so some people can struggle. You are being asked by the sergeant and inspector for updates, juggling between live and ongoing situations and yet many without this experience really are struggling through on our own. (Bob, CID officer, 2016-2017)

Second stage

Lack of time for review

No criming has reduced because it is an admin thing, they put so many obstacles for us to do a no crime. We have to write that up, see the crime management desk and then go to the DCI to DCI to Commander. Then the inspector needs to resend the case for the commander to agree for the case to be no-crimed. No one has time to do that so they are simply left as unsolved crimes. Easiest thing to do for everyone. It looks like no crime has gone down but it's the same thing, it is captured under something else. That is why no crimes have reduced the actual no crimes haven't. (Seb, CID officer, 2016-2017)

What we should be doing is going out to teams and looking at what they do to make sure they are complying with policy and standards. Essentially making sure there isn't a postcode lottery and there probably is. We have not been able to do that core business as there have been so many other reports coming in criticising us, the internal review, the HMIC inspections we just haven't been checking with the teams. We have been responding to them and helping them. There are huge risks there as, when we get complaints, we are not keeping to policy and making sure they are complying. (Stuart, Strategic lead, 2016-2017)

Evidence in training

The premise is that everyone is telling the truth and therefore it is totally unrealistic. The training tries to make you see that we as officers all need to believe more and investigate all allegations equally. In reality we don't believe everything we are told and we instinctively question everything we are told. Our job is not to believe but to investigate. This NCALT [11]package was therefore not the best. It was trying to address a wider opinion on this outside of the police. It was not the reality of what we do. (Jon CID officer, 2016-2017)

Risk aversion and toolkits

These packages can increase risk aversion. There is actually a declaration at end of the online training saying that if something happens the organisation can say we have done the training. There was one the other day where the objective was for officers to be aware of the SOP (Standard Operational Procedure) on the victim screen. This basically meant if we

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[11] NCALT is a regularly used on line training package used in many areas of police work

	haven't followed this SOP and we mess up you will be in trouble. What a joke when they want to recruit people and say we want them to be more creative. (Seb, CID officer, 2016-2017)
Credibility and what matters	Perceptions of credible work *It's a domestic, not like going to a suspects on where they might be a burglar in the house so the less glamorous call if you like, which you could call domestics cos they are more routine and run of the mill. I'm not making light of them but there is no kudos at a peerage level you know with your peers there is no kudos there. It is less of that for an assault than there is for a burglary. So yea everybody would rather go to a car chase or a burglary in a house or something like that. (Percy, first response officer, 2004-2005)* *Anything like a firearms incident or something like that or where you have chased somebody or you have had a car chase and you have caught them or you have caught a burglar and you have run across a roof and caught someone. Anything dangerous or exciting, anything where you are the sole person responsible. (Giles, first line response, 2005-2006)* Credible role delivery *Informally officers pay more attention to what their peers think, than to any formal recognition that may come through, say their PDR (Performance Development Review). PCs don't see any value in the formal processes of what counts. The value is in their peers' respect. (Lionel, first response officer, 2016-2017)* *If you arrest someone for a murder or having firearms, they get kudos. If you arrest a shoplifter, it's crap. If you're involved in vehicle chases and in catching the suspects after the foot chase, it's very good. So there is even grading in the nature of the arrest you've made. Obviously if you make a number of these arrests over time, then you're going to be considered to be quite I don't know you'd be respected, put it that way. If you're making a lot of good arrests, you do get respect. (Robert, first response officer, 2004-2005)* Organisational performance tools *We should be commended on what we do regardless of outcome. But it is always more about outcome, if we get a good job we get a conviction and we can provide that outcome. It is only then that you will be seen as having done a really good job. (Sarah, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)* Hierarchies *The Panda car is known as the shit giving car. You have to deal with things that come out that are shit… like some people are a bit funny with domestics but you'd have to go to them. So you can't really prioritise yourself. It depends on your driver classification, who you're with as well and sometimes you're with an older PC who is driving the IRV (immediate response vehicle) and they say no, we are not going to that. And if you are just a passenger it's their decision. I personally don't deem them as shit calls…it is not my view. (Finn, first response officer,2004-2005)*

	Tonight confirmed to me what a game policing is. John and Neil were vocal about 'getting some bodies in tonight' and they were clearly up for that happening. Officers are quite selective about the calls they take and there is a definite hierarchy of calls, good ones, pants, rubbish. Suspects on is a good one as is a chase as they give the officers status to talk about on their return to the canteen or to add to their list of prisoners if they get a body from the call. Domestics are useless to them as they can win nothing and they rarely create much conversation in the canteen. (Fieldwork diary, 28/2/2004)
Connotations of gendered roles	Gendered language *When I said I was going to Sapphire someone said to me they didn't see me as the fluffy sort. It's just a label isn't it. It's a label that's stuck. You know when you first join the job, before I joined there was like a primary, the primary function of the police service is the prevention and detection of crime, and the prosecution of offenders. And no it's not sexy policing, it's not chasing people in cars, but it's important. And each to their own I guess. It's like, you know, if you ask most DCs what they want to do or what you'd expect them to want to do in their career path, it's flying squad, this that and the other, you know, running around in fast cars with blue lights and guns, that ain't what I think. That doesn't appeal to me. (Don, CID officer, 2004-2005)* *Because you're seen just solely for the victim and I think they (CID) probably think it's a bit pink and fluffy. You're not dealing with the suspect, you're dealing with the victim, you're the victim's sort of own chaperone. (Tina, SOIT officer, (2004-2005)* *Officers don't want to do the touchy feely cushiony care. Victims are an aggravation, they are needy, and they take a lot out of you. Victims are a pain, because they are needy, they want answers, we can't always give them. They're emotional, we've got to calm them down. Dry them out sometimes, just the whole thing. It doesn't matter what it is. And domestic violence, again victims very much so often are needy. (Carole, SOIT officer, 2016-2017)*

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