



Police Research Series
Paper 107

Career Progression of Ethnic Minority Police Officers

*Nick Bland
Gary Mundy
Jacqueline Russell
Rachel Tuffin*

Police Research Series
Paper 107

Career Progression of Ethnic Minority Police Officers

*Nick Bland
Gary Mundy
Jacqueline Russell
Rachel Tuffin*

*Editor: Barry Webb
Home Office*

*Policing and Reducing Crime Unit
Research, Development and Statistics Directorate
50 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1H 9AT*



© Crown Copyright 1999
First Published 1999
Published under section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991

Policing and Reducing Crime Unit: Police Research Series

The Policing and Reducing Crime Unit (PRC Unit) was formed in 1998 as a result of the merger of the Police Research Group (PRG) and the Research and Statistics Directorate. The PRC Unit is now one part of the Research, Development and Statistics Directorate of the Home Office. The PRC Unit carries out and commissions research in the social and management sciences on policing and crime reduction, broadening the role that PRG played.

The PRC Unit has now combined PRG's two main series into the Police Research Series, containing PRG's earlier work. This series will present research material on crime prevention and detection as well as police management and organisation issues.

Research commissioned by PRG will appear as a PRC Unit publication. Throughout the text there may be references to PRG and these now need to be understood as relating to the PRC Unit.

ISBN 1-84082-261-9

Copies of this publication can be made available in formats accessible to the visually impaired on request.

Foreword

The report of the Inquiry into the Death of Stephen Lawrence and the HMIC report 'Winning the Race-Revisited', both of which were recently published, have given heightened focus to the long recognised need for greater attention to be given to the recruitment, retention and career development of ethnic minority police officers.

A small number of studies have previously looked at the reasons why ethnic minority officers leave the police service. Most forces have some proactive recruitment measures in place. In contrast, comparatively little is known about the development and progression of officers within the police service in the UK.

This study seeks to determine whether and in what way the careers of ethnic minority and white police officers differ and to establish the underlying reasons which might explain any differences.

Dissatisfaction with career management in the police service generally was found amongst officers across all ethnic groups. Concerns included: the quality and perceived lack of consistency in line management; the standard of performance appraisal and its role in informing selection decisions; and perceived unfairness in the way individual officers are selected for specialist posts and appointment on promotion. Ethnic minority officers, however, faced additional pressures and different experiences as a result of reactions by other officers to their ethnicity. Taken together, these issues were found to exert a negative impact on the careers of ethnic minority officers - in their experiences of both promotion and employment in specialist posts - in comparison to those of white officers.

The study forms part of PRCU's programme of work covering key equal opportunities issues in the police service and should provide a useful addition to our knowledge of this sensitive area.

Dr Gloria Laycock

*Head of Policing and Reducing Crime Unit
Research, Development and Statistics Directorate
Home Office
April 1999*

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the police officers and support staff within each of the 43 forces, and in other organisations, who contributed to this research.

Our particular thanks go to the officers and staff in each of the eight forces that contributed in detail to the study. Special thanks go to the contact officers within each of those forces. Every one of whom gave freely of their time and afforded the authors generous assistance and access to relevant records.

We would also like to expressly acknowledge the significant contribution of Angela Strathern to this study. Our thanks also go to John Southgate whose design of the databases used throughout the project proved invaluable. Jennie Thorpe of the Policing and Reducing Crime Unit provided helpful advice at all stages of the project.

The Authors

Nick Bland, Gary Mundy, Jacqueline Russell, Rachel Tuffin and Angela Strathern are members of the Home Office Policing and Reducing Crime Unit.

PRCU would like to thank Dr Ben Bowling of the Institute of Criminology, University of Cambridge for acting as independent assessor for this report.

Executive summary

In recent years the position of ethnic minority police officers has been under ever increasing public scrutiny. Both Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) have stressed the need for further attention to be given to the career development and promotion of ethnic minority police officers. In response, the Home Office commissioned this study. More recently, the report of the Inquiry into the Matters Arising from the Death of Stephen Lawrence highlighted the need for further attention to be given to the recruitment, retention and progression of ethnic minority police officers.

As previous research has concentrated on recruitment and retention, comparatively little is known about the progression of officers once in service. The research on which this report is based therefore aimed to examine the career profiles of white and ethnic minority officers and to establish the extent of any differences. It looks at the representation of ethnic minority officers in both promoted ranks and specialist departments. The study also seeks to identify the factors which influence, both directly and indirectly, the careers of ethnic minority officers.

The study was undertaken between August 1998 and January 1999. Eight forces participated in the detailed phase of the study.

Key findings

Personnel records

On several occasions in this report our ability to draw definitive conclusions has been limited by the quality and completeness of personnel and career records maintained by police forces. These gaps limit the ability of forces to monitor the fairness of personnel policies and practices.

Recruitment and retention

- The number of ethnic minority applicants to join the police service is consistently lower than might be expected from their representation in the economically active population. Ethnic minority applicants are also less likely than white applicants to: be offered an interview; receive a formal offer of employment; and be appointed on probation.
- Retention figures (excluding retirements and transfers) for ethnic minority officers have deteriorated over the past four years. In contrast, those for white officers have improved slightly.
- Ethnic minority officers are twice as likely as white officers to resign from the police service. The rate of dismissal (including the requirement to resign) for

ethnic minority officers is two to three times higher than that for white officers. In contrast, white officers are two to three times more likely to leave the service through medical retirement.

Promotion

The findings suggest that ethnic minority officers' progress through the promotion process was on average slower than that of their white colleagues. Differences in the rate of promotion were also apparent for officers from different ethnic minority groups.

- Only a small difference was found between white and ethnic minority officers on the average time between joining the service and first attempting promotion to Sergeant (51 months and 53 months respectively).
- On average, ethnic minority officers took 12 months longer than their white colleagues to reach the rank of Sergeant. Compared with white officers, Asian officers took, on average, an additional five months, whereas black officers took, on average, an additional 18 months. There was some evidence that this gap had closed in the past 5-10 years. For officers in their first 10 years of service, the difference between white and ethnic minority officers was, on average, five months.
- There were no significant differences between white and ethnic minority officers in the average number of attempts made before passing the Sergeant's exam.
- For promotion to Inspector, black officers were found, on average, to take 23 months longer and Asian officers 16 months longer than their white colleagues to reach the rank of Inspector. (The number of officers of Inspector rank or higher in our sample was comparatively small. Results should therefore be viewed with some caution.)

Representation in specialist policing functions

The percentage of white and ethnic minority officers who have worked in specialist departments was generally similar. Differences were however found in some key posts. The most significant difference was experience gained in traffic departments.

- 9.9% of white officers and only 3.1% of black and 1.9% of Asian officers, had some experience of working in traffic departments.

Although the percentage of **any** officers who had experience of some specialist posts was very small, differences between white and ethnic minority officers were still evident. The small number of officers concerned precludes any definitive conclusion. White officers appeared on average to be gaining specialist experience **sooner** than ethnic minority colleagues.

- Whereas 13% of white officers with up to five years of service (in our sample group) had gained some CID experience, only 5% of ethnic minority officers with the same length of service had CID experience. (When broken down further by specific ethnic groups the number of officers was too small to reach any definite conclusions.)
- For officers with between 5-10 years service, the numbers with CID experience were found to be very similar across all ethnic groups. Amongst those in the 10-15 year range, a higher percentage of ethnic minority officers than white officers had CID experience.

Accounting for differences

A general level of dissatisfaction with career management was expressed by officers in all ethnic groups. However, some of these issues were raised by ethnic minority officers more than by white officers. Ethnic minority officers generally believed there were additional problems as a result of reactions to their ethnicity from other officers. However they were often unable to identify the extent to which this may have directly or indirectly influenced their career.

We looked at a range of issues to help explain the differences found in the career profiles of white and ethnic minority officers.

- Length of service, age, and gender profiles of both white and ethnic minority officers in the study were similar, so differences could not be attributed directly to these factors.
- Some differences in the academic achievements of officers were apparent. Asian officers were more likely than white officers to have higher education and A-level qualifications, yet continue to progress through the ranks at a slower rate than their white colleagues. Fewer black officers held higher education or A-level qualifications.
- There was little difference between white and ethnic minority officers both in terms of how they viewed promotion and selection procedures and in their perceptions of line management received. A degree of cynicism towards these

issues was found, but did not appear to be particularly prevalent amongst any specific ethnic group. Similarly, little difference was found in the career aspirations expressed by officers. Ethnic minority officers did however have concerns about the level of support from family and friends.

- Interviews with all officers revealed a perceived need for officers to ‘prove themselves’ as a Constable before progressing up the ranks. This did seem to disproportionately affect ethnic minority officers. There was some evidence to suggest that ethnic minority officers took longer before achieving promotion or posts outside of mainstream uniform policing.
- A theme to emerge from interviews with all officers was a general perception that management training for supervisors was inadequate. Systems in place to help in line management responsibilities, such as annual appraisal forms and career development departments, were generally felt to be ineffective. Consequently the quality of line management was seen to be variable. The disparities we found in the careers of white and ethnic minority officers, may suggest that weaknesses in management disproportionately impact on the careers of ethnic minority officers.

The study points to differences in the careers of ethnic minority and white officers - in recruitment, retention, promotion and selection for specialist posts. According to the definitions used in the Lawrence Inquiry, this is enough in itself to conclude that institutional racism has played a part in defining the careers of ethnic minority officers.

Recommendations with respect to monitoring, recruitment, promotion and selection procedures, and line management are outlined for consideration by the Home Office, HMIC, ACPO, and individual forces in Chapter 8.

Contents

	Page
Foreword	(iii)
Acknowledgements	(iv)
Executive Summary	(v)
List of tables	(xi)
List of figures	(xii)
1. Introduction	1
Aim	1
Methodology	2
Definitions	6
The report	7
2. Profiling a police career: recruitment and retention	8
Recruitment	8
Retention	12
3. Profiling a police career: promoted ranks	15
Time taken to be promoted	16
4. Profiling a police career: specialist departments	21
Analysis of study data	22
Length of service	24
Impact of ethnicity	25
5. Individual and attitudinal factors	27
Age	27
Educational achievements	27
Career aspirations	29
Personal control	32
The role of family and friends	33

6. Structural factors	35
Equal opportunities policies	35
The role of line managers	36
Are selection procedures open and fair?	38
Training	42
7. Cultural factors	43
Race and racism	43
A credibility gap?	45
Support networks	46
8. Conclusions and recommendations	48
Key findings	48
Points for action	51
References	54
Appendix 1: Categories of specialist departments	56
Recent Police Research Group and Policing and Reducing Crime Unit Publications	58

List of tables

Table No.	Caption	Page
1	Forces participating in the study: summary characteristics	2
2	Characteristics of sample by ethnicity and length of service	3
3	Rank and ethnicity of interviewees	4
4	Representation of ethnic minority applicants at each stage of the recruitment process: 1994/95 - 1997/98	8
5	Participation in the APSG recruitment process by ethnic classification: 1996/97	11
6	Ethnic minority officer strength by rank: 1990 – 1997	15
7	Proportion of officers by ethnic group at each rank: 1994/95-1997/98	15
8	Average number of attempts to pass exam	18
9	Experience in specialist posts for white and ethnic minority officers	23
10	Proportion of officers with CID experience by length of service bands	24
11	Officers with experience of traffic, taskforce and training posts, by ethnic classification	25
12	Educational qualifications of sample by ethnicity	28
13	Experience of race and racism within the police service	44

List of figures

Figure No.	Caption	Page
1	Classification of ethnic groups	7
2	Wastage rates and ethnic minority strength: 1994/95-1997/98	12
3	Wastage (not including Retirement and Transfers)	13
4	Leavers (controlled for Death, Transfer and Retirement): 1997/98	13
5	Reasons why ethnic minority officers left the service, as a proportion of all leavers: 1994/95-1997/98	14
6	Time served before sitting first Sergeant's exam	17
7	Length of time to be appointed to Sergeant	17
8	Time taken to be promoted to Inspector	20
9	Proportion of officer strength in CID: 1990-1997/98	21
10	Proportion of officer strength in traffic: 1990-1997/98	22

1. Introduction

Available studies of various professions show that ethnic minority employees tend to form a small proportion of the work force. This is a feature, for example, of the legal and medical professions, in higher education and in elements of the criminal justice system (CRE 1996c; Heward & Taylor, 1992; NACRO, 1992). Studies also show that the progression of ethnic minority employees in these professions seems to be 'blocked', either at a basic supervisory level or at lower management levels. A Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) study in 1995 found, amongst other things, that few companies monitored their staff levels. In those companies that did monitor, ethnic minority staff were disproportionately concentrated at lower grades in the hierarchy and in lower status areas of work (CRE, 1995a; Ollerearnshaw & Waldeck, 1995).

Since 1981 and the report of the Scarman inquiry into the Brixton Disorders, the position of ethnic minority police officers has been under public scrutiny, but particularly so in recent years. Reports by both Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) and the CRE have stressed the need for the development and promotion of ethnic minority police officers to be given further attention (CRE, 1996a; HMIC, 1996). More recently, the report of the Inquiry into the Matters Arising from the Death of Stephen Lawrence, highlighted the need for further attention to be given to the recruitment, retention and progression of ethnic minority police officers.

In 1998 the position of ethnic minority police officers was still, however, broadly reflective of the more general trend found in other occupations. Ethnic minority officers represent only 1.9% of total police officer strength in England and Wales. Only 12.4% of all ethnic minority officers, compared with 22.4% of white officers, are in the promoted ranks.

Early in 1998, the Home Office Police Personnel and Training Unit (PPTU) in partnership with the Policing and Reducing Crime Unit (PRCU) put in hand research which would examine in greater detail the career experiences of ethnic minority police officers.

Aim

This study aims to:

- determine whether and in what way the career profile of ethnic minority officers differs from that of white officers; and
- identify those factors, structural, cultural and attitudinal, which influence both directly and indirectly the career progression of ethnic minority officers.

Methodology

The research on which this report is based was conducted in three sequential phases between August 1998 and January 1999. First, information collected by HMIC was used to provide a broad picture of the representation of ethnic minority officers throughout England and Wales.

Second, eight forces, chosen primarily to provide a sufficient sample size of ethnic minority officers, were examined in greater detail. The broad characteristics of these eight forces are shown in Table 1. Third, semi-structured interviews were held with individual police officers in five of the eight sample forces.

Table 1: Forces participating in the study: summary characteristics

Force	No. of officers (at 31/03.97)	Other characteristics	No. of records collected ^(a)
1*	More than 2,000	Non-metropolitan	58 (5.1)
2	More than 3,000	Metropolitan	200 (17.7)
3	More than 2,000	Non-metropolitan	179 (15.9)
4*	More than 3,000	Metropolitan	171 (15.1)
5*	More than 2,000	Non-metropolitan	128 (11.3)
6*	More than 2,000	Non-metropolitan	60 (5.3)
7*	More than 3,000	Metropolitan	200 (17.7)
8	More than 3,000	Metropolitan	133 (11.8)

* Denotes forces that also participated in the interviews (Phase 3)

^(a) Numbers in brackets represent the percentage of the total sample provided by each force.

In this second phase of the study, each of the eight forces were asked to provide details of the career history, academic qualifications and age of a proportion of its ethnic minority officers. Five forces were asked to provide information on all their ethnic minority officers; the remaining three forces, because of the total number of ethnic minority officers in the force, were asked to provide information on a selection of ethnic minority officers. This selection was based on the overall length of service profile for each individual force. Forces were also asked to provide the same information for a similar number of white officers, controlled so as to match, as near as possible, the length of service and gender profile of the ethnic minority officer sample group.

A total of 1131 career profiles were collected. Forty-seven profiles were excluded because of poor and incomplete data. A further 94 profiles representing officers with more than 20 years service were also excluded from detailed analysis: the overwhelming majority of these officers were white, resulting in an imbalance in the ethnic classification of the sample¹. Thus the analysis on which this report is based was carried out on the career profiles of 990 officers, of which 47.8% (473) were white and 52.2% (517) were of ethnic minority origin. Table 2 provides information on the ethnicity and length of service of the sample.

¹ In two forces more records than were requested (or needed for the study) were provided. In these cases, we included only complete records, which resulted in a greater number of records for white than ethnic minority officers with more than 20 years service. To balance the sample, these officers were therefore excluded.

Table 2: Characteristics of sample by ethnicity and length of service

Service length (years)	Ethnic Group			
	White (%) (n=473)	Asian (%) (n=208)	Black (%) (n=193)	Other ethnicity (%) (n=116)
0-5	28.3	33.6	24.9	28.4
6-10	35.3	33.2	44.0	38.8
11-15	23.5	26.0	22.8	23.3
16-20	12.9	7.2	8.3	9.5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Of the 990 career profiles examined 63% were of male officers and 17.3% of female officers. In the remaining 19.7% of cases gender could not be identified from the information provided by forces². The number of women officers in the sample was small: 17.4% (82) of white officers; 11.1% (23) of Asian officers; 22.2% (43) of black officers and 19.8% (23) of other ethnic minority officers in our sample were women. At a very simple level however this points to fundamental differences in the experiences of employment in the police service by white, Asian, black and other ethnic minority women. Other studies have shown that women police officers, as a group, are disproportionately concentrated in lower ranks and lower status specialist units; often as a result of direct career discrimination (Holdaway & Parker, 1998; see Walklate, 1995). **It was not possible, within the timeframes or terms of reference for this study, to adequately explore issues of discrimination that may have applied differentially to ethnic minority women.**

² Reasons for this varied. For example, in some forces the data was not held on the same system as career information and there was no automated link between systems. In another force, provision of gender information would have enabled the identification of individual officers, resulting in concerns of confidentiality and data protection.

In the third phase of the research, officers in five of our sample forces were asked to participate in a semi-structured interview about their career. Forces were chosen to provide a range of sizes and sufficient variation in the rank and specialist distribution of ethnic minority officers. In each force the equal opportunities officer

INTRODUCTION

³ Our original intention had been to interview about 100 officers, controlled for the rank and gender of ethnic minority interviewees. Operational requirements, sickness, training absences and the intended voluntary nature of interviews worked to limit the total number of interviews conducted.

or human resources department generally facilitated this process. A total of 79 interviews were conducted.³ A breakdown of the ethnicity and rank of interviewees is shown at Table 3. A fifth of officers interviewed were female, almost half of whom were white.

Table 3: Rank and ethnicity of interviewees

Rank	Ethnic classification ^(a)				
	Asian	Black	Other	White	Total
Constable	8	13	0	17	38
Sergeant	2	7	0	8	17
Inspector	1	1	1	6	9
Chief Inspector	2	1	0	3	6
Superintendent	1	3	0	3	7
ACPO	1	0	0	1	2
Total	15	25	1	38	79

^(a) Ethnic classification was either extracted from force records or self-nominated by the interviewees.

Supplementary interviews were also held with equal opportunities officers and human resource managers in all eight forces. Information collected in these interviews was used primarily as background in forming questions for the 79 career interviews. Representatives of the National Black Police Association (NBPA) and the chair of the ACPO Equality Working Group were also interviewed.

Interpreting the data

The research drew on a range of information to examine a variety of issues impacting on career progression. The following caveats about the nature of data collected and our interpretation of them should, however, be borne in mind.

The intention in gathering career information was to bring together a representative sample of ethnic minority officers, and for **comparative** purposes, to define a matched sample of white officers, controlled for both length of service and gender.

The interview sample was designed to capture the full range of officers' experiences and opinions rather than to be representative of the service as a whole. Consistent findings produced from a sufficiently diverse sample group are likely to be

suggestive of similar results in the police service as a whole. We therefore deliberately sought to include officers in all ranks, specialist employment areas, and of various lengths of service and ethnic backgrounds. The interviews were aimed at providing an insight into the perceptions of officers themselves on the range of key factors that have influenced the direction of their career.

Personnel records varied widely between individual forces in terms of quantity, breadth and detail of information held. Where this has impacted on our ability to draw valid conclusions from the study it has been acknowledged in the relevant section of this report.

Throughout this report we do not make specific reference to the ‘statistical significance’, or otherwise, of results. In interpreting our findings we sought instead to identify general patterns or trends. Where differences are marked these have been highlighted.

Institutional racism

Since April 1981 and the inquiry by Lord Scarman into the Brixton riots, the existence and extent of ‘institutional racism’ within the police service has been the subject of ongoing public debate. At the time this study was underway, this debate gained particular prominence in the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, chaired by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny. The Inquiry defined institutional racism as:

“The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.” (Macpherson, 1999)

The report of the Inquiry was published after the research on which this study was based was completed. Officers were not explicitly asked about the existence or otherwise of institutional racism within the police service. We specifically sought not to structure interviews exclusively around the issue of race, but sought instead to elicit information, on the full range of issues influencing an officer’s career, which might include race. Our conclusions on racism are based on officers’ voluntary contributions on their experience of racism and reactions, positive and negative, to their ethnicity within the service and the impact, perceived or otherwise, on their career measured against any differences identified in our sample of career profiles.

INTRODUCTION

In making our conclusions we have used as a benchmark contributions to the Lawrence Inquiry, which highlighted amongst other things the overriding importance of the effect of actions and / or behaviour, rather than the acknowledgement or awareness of them. For example:

“The term institutional racism should be understood to refer to the way the institution or the organisation may systematically or repeatedly treat, or tend to treat, people differentially because of their race. So, in effect, we are not talking about the individuals within the service who may be unconscious as to the nature of what they are doing, but it is the **net effect** of what they do”. (emphasis added) (Metropolitan Police Service BPA cited in Macpherson, 1999)

and

“Institutional racism is the **process** by which people from ethnic minorities are systematically discriminated against by a range of public and private bodies. If the results or **outcome** of established laws, customs or practices is racially discriminatory, then institutional racism can be said to have occurred.” (Bowling cited in Macpherson, 1999)

These definitions should be borne in mind when reading subsequent sections of the report. Ethnic minority officers’ experience of racism within the service, with respect to its impact on their career, is discussed explicitly in Chapter 7.

Definitions

Ethnic origin classification

Police personnel records, particularly those for officers joining the service before the mid-1990s, continue to reflect past variations in the recording of ethnic classification data. None of the eight forces participating in this study have retrospectively re-classified the ethnic classification of their personnel records. More recent records are however consistent with the nine-point census system used by the CRE. The CRE has accepted that categories can be aggregated as necessary for the purpose of analysis. Census data, for example, are often presented using a modified four-point scale – white, black, Asian and other. For the purposes of this study, information supplied is grouped within the following broad categories: white, black, Asian, other and not known (see Figure 1). Use of these five categories is also consistent with existing Home Office guidance to forces.⁴

⁴ *Extension of Ethnic Monitoring of Police Activity: Guidance for police forces (Attachment to Home Office Circular 3/96, 21 Feb 1996).*

Figure 1: Classification of ethnic groups

Four -point system	Categories used in police personnel records	
White	White	
Black	Afro-Caribbean Black Caribbean	Black African Black Other
Asian	Indian Pakistani	Bangladeshi Asian Other
Other	Chinese	Other

The report

The findings of this study are presented in six substantive chapters:

- Chapters 2, 3 and 4 focus on the points of similarity and difference in the representation of white and ethnic minority officers. Chapter 2 discusses recruitment and retention; Chapter 3 focuses on promoted ranks; and Chapter 4 discusses employment in specialist departments.
- Chapters 5, 6 and 7 discuss respectively the attitudinal, structural and cultural issues which help to influence the direction of an officer's career. Differences between white and ethnic minority officers, where they exist, are drawn out in discussion.

The concluding chapter summarises the main findings of the study and presents recommendations for consideration by the Home Office, HMIC, ACPO, and individual forces.

2. Profiling a police career: recruitment and retention

The last decade has seen a steady but slow increase in the overall ethnic minority officer strength in the police service - from 1.1% in 1990, to 1.7% in 1994/95 and to 1.9% in 1997/98.

Calculations of overall police strength, and the strength of particular groups within the service, are based on the relationship between current officer numbers, recruitment levels, and retention rates. An increase in ethnic minority officer strength can result from either increased recruitment, improved retention rates for serving officers, or a combination of both. This chapter presents findings based on analysis of information held by HMIC and which is collected routinely in annual returns by individual forces.

Recruitment

Of those who apply to join the police service each year only a small proportion are eventually successful. Table 4 illustrates the representation of both white and ethnic minority applicants at each stage of the recruitment process across all 43 forces.

Table 4: Representation of ethnic minority applicants at each stage of the recruitment process: 1994/95 – 1997/98

	1994-95		1995-96		1996-97 ^(b)		1997-98 ^(c)	
	White (%)	EM (%)	White (%)	EM (%)	White (%)	EM (%)	White (%)	EM (%)
Number of formal applications	n=50,989		n=43,353		n=42,774		n=44,434	
Percentage of formal applications broken down by ethnicity	96	4	97	3	96	4	96	4
No. interviewed as a percentage of applications	24	19	29	26	28	23	25	20
Offers of employment as percentage of applications	^(a)	^(a)	^(a)	^(a)	17	15	14	9
Appointments on probation as percentage of applications	9	9	13	15	13	10	13	9

^(a) Data not available

^(b) Total applications not known for one force

^(c) No data available for one force

The proportion of applicants from an ethnic minority background has remained fairly constant over the past four years, at around 4%. The 1991 census reported that people in ethnic groups other than white comprised 4.9% of the economically active population, compared with 4.6% of the total population aged 16 and over as a whole. In spring 1995, nearly 6% of the population of working age in Great Britain were from ethnic minority groups (Social Trends 21 and 26). The number of ethnic minority applications to join the police service is lower than might have been expected from their representation in the economically active population.

In the last three years, the proportion of both white and ethnic minority applicants advancing to subsequent stages of the process has declined slightly. Looking at subsequent stages, ethnic minority applicants are less likely than white applicants to be: offered an interview; to receive a formal offer of employment; and to be appointed on probation. Despite year on year fluctuation, this relationship has remained constant over the period examined.

Efforts to increase the number of applicants

Activities to increase the number of suitably qualified ethnic minority applicants are already in place in many forces.⁵ These include:

- advertising on local radio stations, especially those with a high proportion of listeners from an ethnic minority background;
- print advertising, including billboards, local and national newspapers and magazines with a high proportion of readers from ethnic minority backgrounds;
- open days;
- participation in recruitment fairs;
- the use of Special Constables to widen the base of ethnic minority people who might consider applying to join the service full-time; and
- working with local community groups to promote a positive image of the police, both as a service and as a career.

⁵ It should however be noted that some forces rarely solicit applications and rely on a constant level of interest amongst potential applicants in joining the force.

Although considerable resourcing has gone into such campaigns, some forces that have monitored the results reported only a small, and sometimes negligible, increase in the number of applicants from ethnic minority communities. We were

able to explore the apparent impact of recruitment initiatives on the applications of the officers interviewed in the third phase of this study. Slightly more ethnic minority than white officers mentioned police advertising. Its impact was most often expressed in terms of encouraging them to overcome their initial reluctance to join, suggesting that they had been already considering a police career. The most frequently cited reasons for joining the police service across all ethnic groups were: 'always wanted to do it'; 'had tried other work which was found not to suit'; and the perceived opportunity for 'interesting, exciting and varied work within the police service'.

Accelerated Promotion Scheme

The Accelerated Promotion Scheme for Graduates (APSG) provides an alternative to standard entry for those considering a police career. According to its own literature, the APSG exists to attract and secure the employment of quality graduates into the police service. Actual numbers of candidates recruited onto the scheme each year are relatively small (about a dozen).

The percentage of applicants of ethnic minority background has increased since 1993/94. However, the number of ethnic minority graduates entering the service via this scheme remains extremely low. No ethnic minority graduates have been appointed to the APSG since 1994/95. Table 5 shows the stages at which candidates either withdrew or were rejected from further consideration for the APSG. Results at each stage are expressed as a percentage of the number of applications, broken down by ethnicity.

A number of key trends, as well as some limitations in interpreting the data, are immediately identifiable:

- Applications by ethnic minority graduates are more likely than applications by white graduates to be withdrawn or rejected pre-interview. There is a marked variation between ethnic groups at this stage. Black and other applicants are more likely to withdraw or be rejected (71%) at this stage than Asian applicants (53.6%). Unfortunately, it was not possible from available data to split this group further by separating those applications rejected from those that were withdrawn. Nor was it possible to examine the reasons why applications were rejected at this stage.

Table 5: Participation in the APSG recruitment process by ethnic classification, 1996/97 ^(a)

	White (%)	Ethnic minority (%)				All applicants (%)
		Asian	Black	Other	All ethnic minority applicants	
Percentage of applications	93.5	3.6	1.6	1.2	6.5	100.0
Rejected/Withdrawn pre-interview	47.4	53.6	71.0	71.4	61.3	48.3
Rejected on basis of force selection board	27.3	33.3	18.4	14.3	26.0	27.2
Suitable for standard entry	20.4	13.1	10.5	14.3	12.7	20.0
Recommended to Extended Interview (EI)	4.0	1.2	2.6	3.6	2.0	3.9
Withdrew pre EI	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Failed EI	2.8	1.2	2.6	3.6	2.0	2.8
Passed EI	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5

^(a) Calculations are based on figures reported in Appendices C and E of the APSG 1996/97 Report. At the time of compiling this information, figures for 1997/98 were still pending.

- While similar proportions of white and ethnic minority applicants (27.3% and 26% respectively) were rejected on the basis of force selection boards, there is substantial variation in the experience of Asian, black and other ethnic minority applicants at this stage. Thirty-three percent of Asian applicants were rejected. Of black and other applicants, 18% and 14% were rejected respectively.
- Only a small number of applicants are ultimately recommended for appointment on the APSG (0.56%). However, 20.4% of all white and 12.67% of all ethnic minority applicants are rated as suitable for standard entry. The APSG is advertised as offering a fast-track police career. Expectations are naturally raised. The extent to which graduates accept offers of standard entry, and the subsequent progression of those who do accept, is of interest, but is beyond the remit and timeframe of this study.

The subsequent progression of officers participating in the scheme was not included in this study. The small number of ethnic minority graduates on APSG does not allow any valid comparisons to be made.

Retention

Previous studies of those resigning from the police service (eg. Holdaway & Barron, 1997) do not provide any clear evidence of a formal link between ethnicity and a decision to resign, but do suggest that it is a compounding factor.



⁶ For the purpose of this study wastage rates are based on a simple calculation of the number of leavers in any one financial year as a proportion of strength of the force in the same year separated further into white and ethnic minority classifications. So, for example, white wastage=no. of white leavers/no. of white officers.

When comparing retention (or wastage rates) for white and ethnic minority officers a degree of caution is needed. At first glance, general wastage rates⁶ appear to have remained fairly steady since 1994/95 (see Figure 2). This picture is however deceptive.

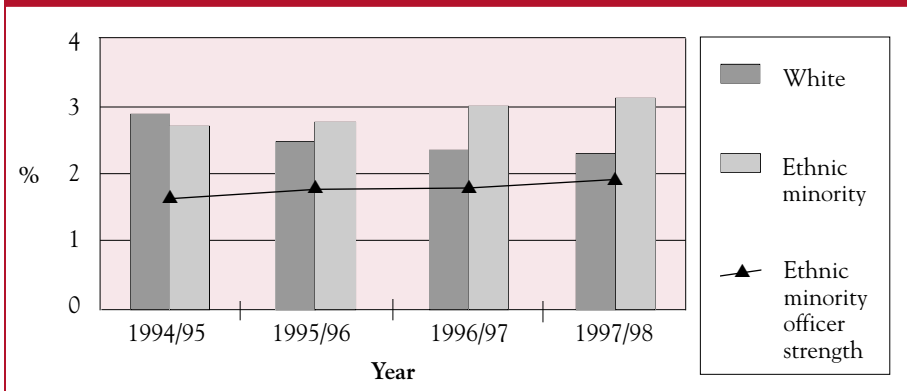
Reasons why officers left the service are generally broken down into six categories: medical retirement; dismissal (which also includes officers required to resign); retirement on completion of 30 years service; transfer; and death. From 1994 to 1998 retirement accounted for between 36% and 45% of white leavers. Only a small number of ethnic minority officers are so far eligible for retirement after 30 years service. While officers transferring from one force to another are a loss to individual forces, they cannot be seen as a loss to the police service generally.

⁷ These findings are based on information provided by individual forces for all officers leaving the service in any one year. Other than the exclusion of retirement data, findings are not controlled for length of service.

When controlled for retirement and transfer, clear differences emerge in the wastage rates⁶ of white and ethnic minority officers (see Figure 3). While the retention of white officers has improved over the past four years the retention figures for ethnic minority officers have steadily deteriorated.

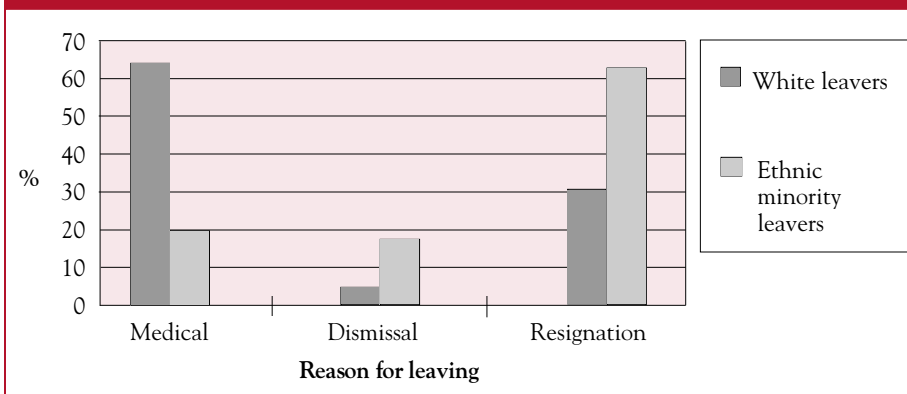
Differences are also apparent when the categories of leavers are examined by ethnicity.⁷ In 1997/98 for example, the largest proportion of white leavers (45%)

Figure 3: Wastage (not including Retirement and Transfers)



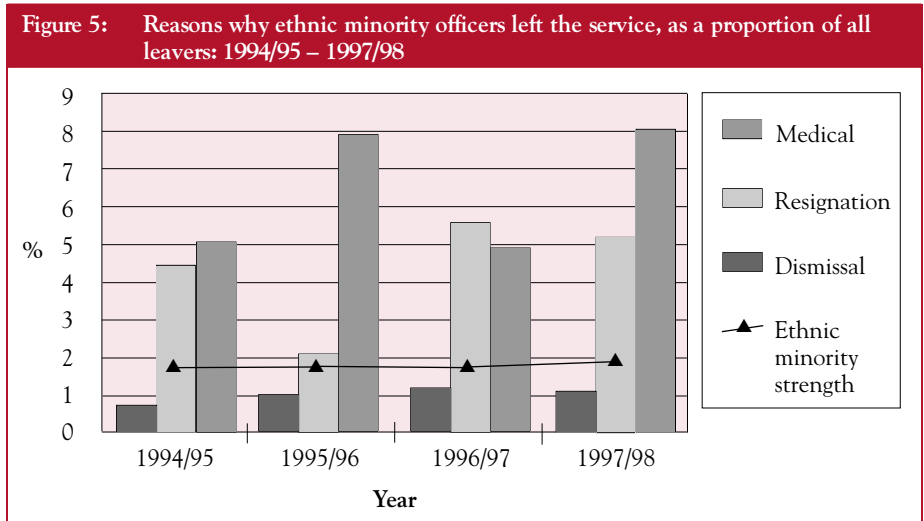
retired from the service, whereas **resignation** accounted for the largest single group of ethnic minority leavers (53%). In direct contrast, only 13% of white leavers resigned from the service. When controlled for retirement, transfer and death (which is beyond the control of the service) - see Figure 4 - over 60% of ethnic minority leavers, compared with 31% of white leavers, resigned. In the same year the rate of dismissal or requirement to resign amongst ethnic minority leavers was twice that for white leavers.

Figure 4: Leavers (controlled for Death, Transfer and Retirement): 1997/98



This pattern remains constant over time. The rate of dismissal for ethnic minority officers is about two to three times more than the rate of dismissal for white leavers. Ethnic minority officers are twice as likely to resign. On the other hand white

officers are two to three times more likely to leave the service through medical retirement. In comparison to their strength within the service, ethnic minority officers are over-represented in numbers of officers leaving through resignation and dismissal. Analysis of the total number of officers leaving by category shows that ethnic minority leavers represent between 5% to 8% of all officers leaving through dismissal and between 4% and 5% of all officers resigning from the service. Both these findings are higher than would be expected given the level of ethnic minority strength within the service (see Figure 5).



3. Profiling a police career: promoted ranks

Reflecting the overall increase in the proportion of officers from an ethnic minority background, information held by HMIC (based on annual reports by forces) shows a slight rise across all 43 forces in the level of ethnic minority officer representation at every level of the police service (see Table 6). Notwithstanding a gradual improvement, ethnic minority officers continue to be over-represented at the level of Constable, and under-represented at all promoted ranks.

Table 6: Ethnic minority officer strength by rank: 1990 –1997

	1990 (%)	1991 (%)	1992 (%)	1993 (%)	1994 (%)	1995 (%)	1996 (%)	1997 (%)
Constable	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2
Sergeant	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.2
Inspector	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6
Chief Inspector	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.5	0.6	1.2
Superintendent	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3
ACPO	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.5

An alternate way of determining whether ethnic minority officers are moving up through the rank structure at a similar rate to their white colleagues is to examine the proportion of officers at each level of the organisation. Over recent years, the proportion of ethnic minority officers at Constable level has gradually declined, while the proportion of white officers in this rank has remained more or less steady (see Table 7).

Table 7: Proportion of officers by ethnic group at each rank: 1994/95 – 1997/98

	1994-95		1995-96		1996-97		1997-98	
	White (%)	EM (%)	White (%)	EM (%)	White (%)	EM (%)	White (%)	EM (%)
Constable	76.33	90.13	77.10	90.73	77.23	88.99	77.61	87.64
Sergeant	15.51	7.10	15.18	7.47	15.18	8.79	15.01	9.72
Inspector	5.32	2.10	5.10	1.30	5.02	1.65	4.92	1.62
Chief Inspector	1.52	0.48	1.40	0.40	1.37	0.45	1.30	0.81
Superintendent ^(a)	1.16	0.19	1.07	0.09	1.05	0.09	1.01	0.17
ACPO	0.17	0.00	0.16	0.00	0.16	0.04	0.16	0.04

^(a) Includes Chief Superintendent prior to the abolition of that rank

While the figures show that, over the period, more ethnic minority officers are achieving promoted rank, they are not yet approaching the promotion level of white officers. In 1990, 9% of white officers were in ranks above Sergeant, compared with only 2% of ethnic minority officers. By 1997/98, the difference in representation had narrowed, with 7% of white officers and 3% of ethnic minority officers above the rank of Sergeant.

In this chapter we seek to explore in greater detail some of the characteristics of promotion for white and ethnic minority officers drawing on the 990 career profiles collected in the second phase of the study. By contrasting the achievements of these groups it may be possible to identify potential points for action.

Time taken to be promoted

The upper limit of a police officer's length of service is normally 30 years. Consequently, time taken to achieve first, and then subsequent, promotions can be a significant limiting factor in the final rank an officer can realistically expect to achieve.

Promotion to Sergeant

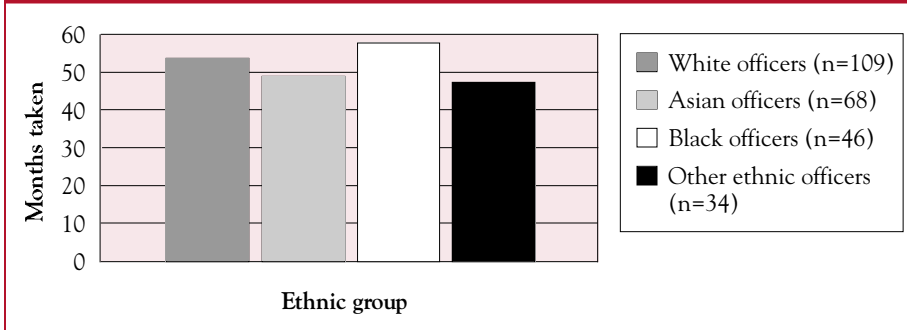
We examined the length of time taken by officers in the eight forces studied to reach the rank of Sergeant and then Inspector. Calculations are based on the number of months from an officer's **entry into the service** and achievement of various milestones. Several aspects of promotion are considered:

- first attempt at Sergeant's exam, irrespective of the result;
- number of attempts before passing promotion exams; and
- appointment to the rank of both Sergeant and Inspector.

The time an officer serves before first attempting the Sergeant's exam can be seen as an indicator of when they first consider themselves to be 'ready' for promotion. Of those officers in our sample who had been promoted to the rank of Sergeant or higher, no significant difference was found in the average time served before sitting the first Sergeant's exam. Both white and ethnic minority officers served on average just over four years (51 months and 53 months respectively) before sitting the exam for the first time. When ethnic groups are considered separately (see Figure 6), Asian and other officers tend to attempt promotion exams slightly sooner (49 and 48 months respectively) than white officers (51 months), while black officers serve longer than all other groups (57 months) before attempting the exam⁸.

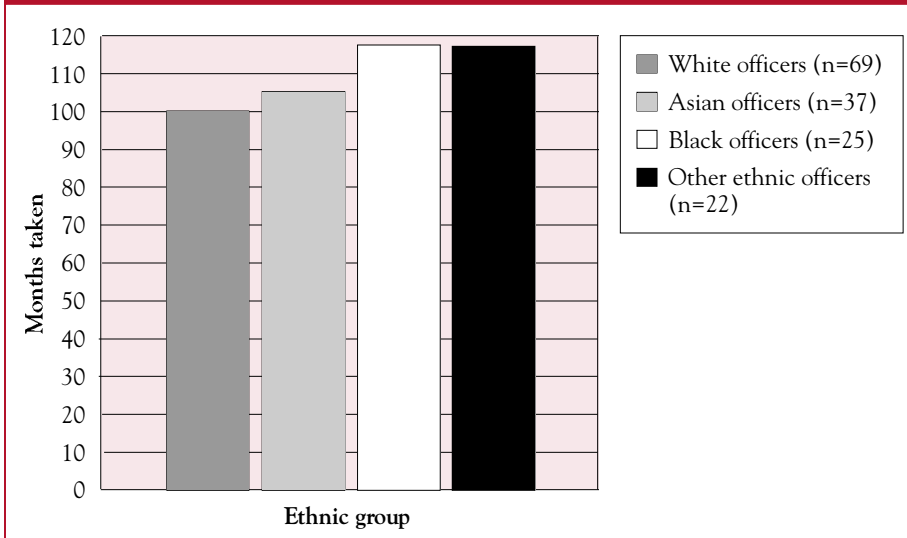
⁸ Figures include both OSPRE Part 1 and the one stage Sergeant's exam it replaced.

Figure 6: Time served before sitting first Sergeant's exam



If all things operate equally, it is logical to assume that only the small difference in time taken to sit the Sergeant's exam would be reflected in the length of time from date of joining the service before officers are subsequently appointed to the promoted rank. This is not the case. On average, ethnic minority officers in our sample appear to be taking 12 months longer than their white colleagues to reach the rank of Sergeant. As Figure 7 illustrates, whereas Asian officers are averaging only five months longer than white officers (100 months, or 8 1/4 years), black and other ethnic officers are taking on average 1 1/2 years longer.

Figure 7: Length of time to be appointed Sergeant



To try to account for this disparity, we looked at the average number of attempts by officers before passing the Sergeant’s exam, including both OSPRE and the old style (pre-1992) single stage exam. Table 8 shows little or no apparent difference between officers in the pre-OSPRE exam. For OSPRE, the difference between ethnic groups is not great and unlikely to account for the longer time taken by ethnic minority officers to be promoted.

Table 8: Average number of attempts to pass exam					
	Ethnic minority				
	White	All ethnic minority	Black	Asian	Other
Sergeant exam (pre-1992)	2.08 (36) ^(b)	1.96 (30)	2.14 (7)	1.62 (13)	2.30 (10)
OSPRE 1 ^(a)	1.17 (18)	1.46 (37)	1.50 (12)	1.31 (16)	1.16 (9)
OSPRE 2 ^(a)	1.19 (16)	1.29 (31)	1.33 (9)	1.23 (13)	1.33 (9)

^(a) These averages are for the number of attempts at OSPRE stages, they do not include previous attempts which officers may have had at the old sergeant’s exam.

^(b) Numbers in brackets represent the number of records on which calculations are based.

The data on promotion shows: only small differences between officers in the time served before first sitting the Sergeant’s exam; small differences in the number of times officers sit exams before passing. Yet the data still revealed that black and Asian officers take on average 18 and five months longer respectively than white officers to be promoted. This tends to suggest that selection processes **after** officers are qualified for promotion (‘hold their ticket’) are currently or have previously discriminated against ethnic minority officers.

It proved difficult to explore this in detail. Only one force was able to provide information on the time between an officer passing their Sergeant’s exam, and the officer being subsequently promoted. As a result, we are unable to say whether the apparent delay is or has been a result of force selection boards, or of the speed at which officers are selected for posts from the pool of available qualified officers. One reform which is in place in one of our sample forces may go some way to addressing this concern. In that force, officers are now listed in an order of merit based on exam results. They are subsequently appointed to promoted posts according to this order of merit. Individual departments no longer select which officer they take from the pool of qualified officers.

Length of service impact

The results presented on the average time taken to be promoted to Sergeant cover a period of 20 years. It therefore includes officers who will have experienced different promotional procedures. The switch from a single to two stage system (OSPRE) is the most obvious change, but there are also others. Line managers' role in the promotion process, the composition and role of the post-examination interview board, and the methods of appointing officers to particular posts on promotion once they have successfully completed all selection stages, will also vary over time.

We looked at those officers currently in the first 10 years of their service to identify any differences, compared to those longer in service, in terms of speed of promotion. Ethnic minority officers with between 0-10 years in service were still progressing slower than their white colleagues. The difference however was less marked than for ethnic minority officers with 10-20 years service. Whereas the average difference for all ethnic minority and white officers was 12 months, for officers with 0-10 years service the difference was reduced to five months.

We would caution that the number of officers in our sample who have progressed to Sergeant in the first 10 years of their service is relatively small. It is therefore difficult to draw conclusive findings. However, it is at least suggestive that while ethnic minority officers may still advance to promoted ranks slower than white officers, some improvement has been made.

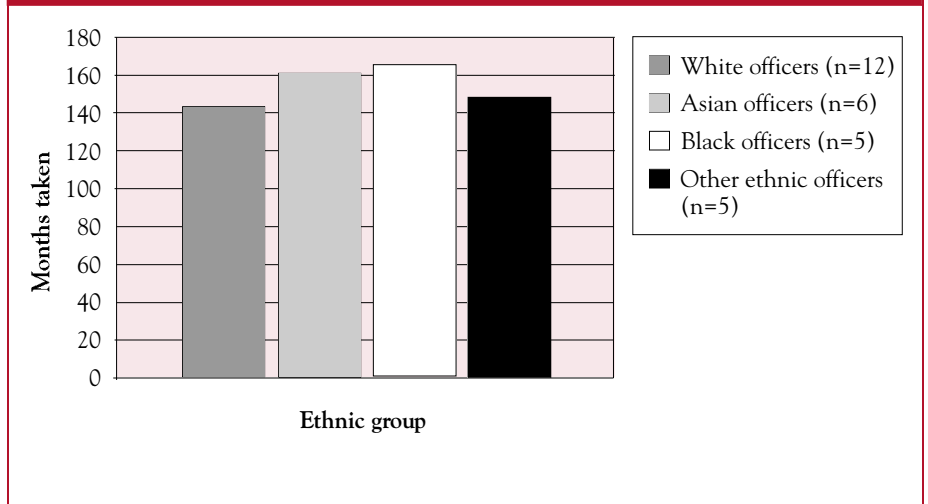
Promotion to Inspector

We looked at the effect, if any, the delay in promotion to Sergeant would have on the length of time taken for subsequent promotion to Inspector.⁹ Figure 8 shows continuing disparities in the average time from joining for officers in the sample to be promoted to Inspector. White officers are, on average, appointed Inspector within the shortest period of time of all ethnic groups (139 months or 12.6 years). Asian, black and other officers were found to take on average 21, 28 and nine months longer respectively.

As with promotion to Sergeant, we were unable to explore the impact of selection procedures after officers are qualified for Inspector. This issue should be further examined. In chapters 5, 6 and 7, we discuss in more detail those factors (individual and attitudinal, structural, and cultural) which may account for the differences identified.

⁹ A word of caution is needed as the number of Inspectors in our sample was small (with information on this aspect available for only 28 officers). For this reason we do not examine the average number of attempts at Inspector promotion exams.

Figure 8: Time taken to be promoted to Inspector

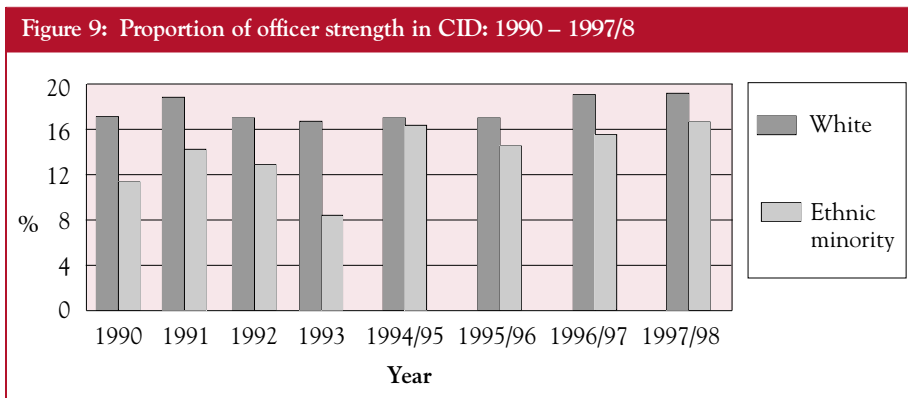


4. Profiling a police career: specialist departments

Progression within the police service includes not only promotion, but also lateral movement into specialist departments and posts. Specialising is a career path in itself, but can sometimes also be a potentially useful experience in maximising an officer's competitiveness when applying for promotion.

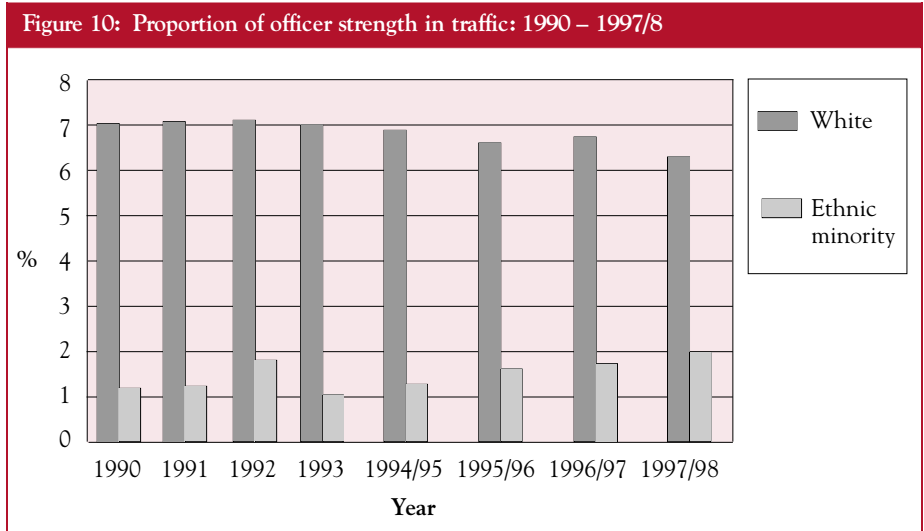
The small number of ethnic minority officers serving in specialist departments has been cited for over a decade by academic commentators, individual forces, HMIC and the CRE (see for example CRE, 1996a; HMIC, 1996). In the first instance we examined information held by HMIC, which is based on annual returns from individual forces, to gain a quick picture of ethnic minority representation and how it has changed over recent years. For this exercise we focused on the two departments most often discussed: CID and traffic.

Our findings suggest that, at a national level, the experience of officers in CID show little ethnic difference. Particularly in recent years, the percentage of all ethnic minority officers working in CID has been approaching the percentage of all white officers working in CID (see Figure 9).



Data up to 1995/96 is based on the HMIC matrix crime category, which was similar but not identical to the CID category used from 1996-7 onwards. Recording practices changed in 1993, when HMIC moved to recording information in financial years. Previously, data was collected in calendar years.

Again at a national level, differences in representation are far clearer with respect to traffic (see Figure 10). White officers are consistently at least three times more likely than ethnic minority officers to be in traffic departments.



Analysis of study data

The sample of individual career records collected for this study included details of all postings that officers had experienced. Analysis of this information confirmed the broad pattern identified at the national level. Table 9 shows that in general, across the range of posts, there are some differences, albeit generally small, between white and ethnic minority officers in the proportion of officers with time in any particular post. Similarly, for many posts the apparent difference in the average time that officers spend in a post is also small.

The sample data revealed an important exception:

- There is a clear difference between white and ethnic minority officers’ experience of working in traffic. More than twice as many white officers in our sample had worked in traffic, with on average about 60% longer in post than their ethnic minority colleagues.

Although the percentage of **any** officers who had worked in some specialist posts was very small, differences between white and ethnic minority officers were still evident. The small number of officers concerned precludes any definite conclusion. For example, in planning and performance posts, and in national secondments, there is some indication that fewer ethnic minority officers have experience of these. In Special Branch, white officers appear, on average, to have spent longer periods of time in post.

Table 9: Experience in specialist posts for white and ethnic minority officers

Posts ^(a)	Officers with time in post (%)		Average length of time in post (months)	
	White (n=473)	Ethnic minority (n=517)	White (n=473)	Ethnic minority (n=517)
Shift patrol	100.0	100.0	77.7	72.8
Divisional CID	21.6	22.2	33.9	35.3
CID specialist, inclusive of:	13.0	12.5	24.0	26.4
CID – Special Branch	1.3	1.2	31.0	18.0
CID – Drugs, Fraud, Robbery, Vice	9.4	7.9	17.5	21.9
CID aide/support	16.7	18.2	9.9	7.8
Indirect operational support	19.0	19.3	25.2	22.8
Community beat	15.2	13.7	25.5	28.6
Task force	11.2	11.8	31.1	25.2
Traffic	9.9	4.1	53.7	33.2
Training	7.6	9.7	15.2	21.3
Custody suite	5.9	6.0	14.2	12.4
Planning/performance	3.0	1.7	12.4	16.1
National secondments	2.1	1.0	32.8	42.0
Functional support	0.4	1.7	2.5	15.3
Dogs/horses	1.5	0.8	54.7	28.2

^(a) A list of posts included in these categories is given at Appendix 1

Distinctions within CID

For specialist CID, we made a further distinction in our data collection between different types of roles. Although we found little difference in the percentage of white and ethnic minority officers who had experience in these roles, we did identify a large difference in the length of time officers spent in Special Branch. White officers, on average, had spent 31 months, whilst ethnic minority officers had, on average, spent only 18 months in this department.

We also looked at what might be considered to be the ‘key’ specialist CID roles. These include drugs, fraud, vice and robbery. Table 9 shows that, within our sample, there did not appear to be major differences between white and ethnic minority officers in these areas. The data in Table 9 were examined in greater detail to determine:

- when officers gained experience in other posts, with respect to length of service; and
- whether the experiences of white and ethnic minority officers differed in relation to specific specialist departments.

Length of service

From our sample, it was not possible to determine the precise point in an officer’s career when experience in specialist posts was gained. The proportion of officers in three length of service bands (0-5 years, 5-10 years, and 10-20 years) with specialist experience was examined as an alternative. The only significant difference in the employment experience of white and ethnic minority officers was for those in CID in the 0-5 year length of service band. No significant difference was found in other posts. In some posts (eg. traffic), once figures had been broken down, the total number of officers in any one service band was too small as to allow any definitive conclusions to be drawn.

CID

Within CID, Table 10 shows that as length of service increases the proportion of ethnic minority officers with experience in the department approaches and eventually overtakes the proportion of white officers.

	0-5 years ser vice	5-10 years ser vice	10-20 years ser vice
White officers (n=473)	13%	35%	47%
Ethnic minority officers (n=517)	5%	32%	61%

A note of caution is needed. For those officers in the 5-10 and 10-20 year service band we could not identify from the information provided by forces the precise time in an officer’s career when they first worked in CID. Nor can we say with certainty that ethnic minority officers are less likely than their white colleagues to gain CID experience in the early years of their service. However, the difference in the 0-5 years service band is suggestive of this.

Indirect operational support

A similar trend to that found in CID was found in indirect operational support posts. Overall, the percentage of white and ethnic minority officers in our sample with experience of these posts was roughly similar (19% and 19.3% respectively). For those officers in the 0-5 years service band however, 6.1% of white officers compared to 4% of ethnic minority officers had gained experience in this role.

There were also disparities when comparing specific ethnic minority groups: 7.2% of Asian officers, and only 2.1% of black officers had experience in these departments. No officers from other ethnic minority backgrounds had similar experience.

Impact of ethnicity

So far we have considered the experiences of ethnic minority officers generally. The experience of officers within this group can however vary. The three departments that showed the largest variation in the experience of officers from different ethnic minority backgrounds were traffic, taskforce and training (see Table 11)¹⁰. This section focuses on postings to these specialist areas. In other departments the difference in representation of white, black and Asian officers was small. Its importance should not however be underestimated.

¹⁰ Taskforce posts include: Special Patrol Groups; Territorial Support; Operational Support; Tactical Support; and Firearms Unit. The classification of posts used in this study is included at Appendix 1.

Table 11: Officers with experience of traffic, taskforce and training posts, by ethnic classification			
	White (n=473)	Black (n=193)	Asian (n=208)
A. Traffic			
Experience of traffic (%)	9.9	3.1	1.9
Average time spent in traffic (months)	53.7	51.5	11.0
B. Taskforce			
Experience in taskforce (%)	11.2	15.5	8.7
Average time spent in taskforce (months)	31.1	30.3	20.9
C. Training			
Experience in training (%)	7.6	9.8	5.8
Average time spent in training posts (months)	15.2	23.8	19.1

Traffic

The proportion of white and ethnic minority officers in our sample with experience in traffic, and the length of time they spent in the department, was found to be

significantly different. Further examination also revealed marked variation in the experiences of black and Asian officers. Black officers are less likely than their white colleagues to have experience in traffic. Asian officers are even less likely to have worked in the department. Black and particularly Asian officers also spent less time on average in post than their white colleagues did.

Taskforce

The proportion of white and ethnic minority officers with experience in taskforce posts were almost the same (11.2% and 11.8% respectively). Further examination found that a greater proportion of black than Asian officers had spent some time in taskforce posts and that on average, Asian officers spent less time in post than all other officers.

Training

A slightly higher proportion of ethnic minority officers had spent time in training departments when compared with their white colleagues (9.7% and 7.6%). The difference between black and Asian officers is more marked, than is the comparison with white officers. Black officers are more likely than both their white and Asian colleagues to have experience in training posts, spending on average the longest period of time in post. Asian officers are the least likely group to have experience in training posts, although on average they tend to spend slightly longer in post than white officers.

Factors which may account for the differences outlined in this chapter are examined in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

5. Individual and attitudinal factors

The following three chapters attempt to identify and examine the key underlying reasons which might explain differences in the careers of individual officers. In particular, we sought to identify the factors that might help explain some of the differences we found in the career progression of white and ethnic minority officers. Information is drawn from the 990 career profiles and 79 interviews conducted for this study. For the purpose of discussion we have divided these reasons into three broad categories: individual and attitudinal, structural, and cultural.

This chapter presents findings on individual and attitudinal issues, which we have defined to include those attributes specific to individual officers: age; educational qualifications; career aspirations; personal control; and the role of family and friends. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss structural and cultural issues respectively, which we have defined to include those issues peculiar to the police service.

Age

Valid data on the age of officers was available for 68.7% (679) of the career profiles we collected. No data were available in two non-metropolitan forces and data were available for only 3.5% of officers in one metropolitan force. Valid information was available in four forces for all records and for 72% of records in one other (non-metropolitan) force¹¹. Overall, valid data on age was available for: 66% of white officers; 71.6% of Asian officers; 74.2% of black officers; and 65.5% of officers in other ethnic groups.

The average age of officers in our sample showed no significant deviation: Asian officers were slightly younger (32.34 years) than officers in other groups. The black officer group were, on average, older (33.76 years) than both white officers (33.72 years) and officers from other ethnic minority backgrounds (33.08 years). The differences are however small.

Length of service of the ethnic minority officer sample was used as a control variable in identifying the career profiles required for the white officer group (see page 2). Consequently, we would not expect the average age of white and ethnic minority officers in our sample to show much variation.

As a result we **discounted age-related factors as a possible explanation for the differences we found in the careers of our sample group** .

Educational achievements

Educational qualifications are often seen to be a useful indication of an individual's career potential. Higher educational qualifications were perceived by officers in our

¹¹ As with information on gender in some forces information on age was held on a different system to that of career information. The lack of automated links between the two systems limited the ability to collect valid information. One force was also concerned that the provision of information may have led to breaches of confidentiality and data protection.

INDIVIDUAL AND ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

interview sample to be an important, if not essential, attribute for promotion, particularly for those officers aspiring to higher rank. In his work on Chief Constables, Reiner (1991) noted that these officers were more likely than others to have higher educational qualifications, either on entry to the service or as a result of study undertaken during their career.

The CRE has recently pointed to some clear variations in the experience of education amongst young people from different ethnic groups (CRE, 1998). Amongst 16-24 year olds of all ethnic minority groups, 25% held at least one A-level, but white young people were more likely to hold GCSE and A-level qualifications. Black 16 year olds were more likely to be pursuing vocational rather than academic qualifications in 1996. The reverse was true for white and Asian 16 year olds. In 1996/7, 13% of students entering higher education were from ethnic minority groups, and in 1995/6 9% of graduates were from ethnic minority groups. Reporting on previous studies, the CRE found differences in the experience of employment on completion of studies between ethnic minority and white graduates. The former group were less likely to be in permanent employment two and a half years after completing their studies, and more likely to be unemployed at some stage during that period.

For the purpose of this study, forces were asked to provide the educational qualifications **on entry** for the officers included in our sample of career profiles¹². Unfortunately, this information was not recorded in approximately one quarter of cases. Some differences, broadly reflective of the findings reported by the CRE, were identified, as shown in Table 12.

¹² While forces were asked for qualification on entry they were often unsure whether records also included qualifications gained whilst in service. This uncertainty however applies equally to records for white and ethnic minority officers. Data collection was also hampered by the weaknesses in recording data noted at footnote 11 on age.

Table 12: Educational qualifications of sample by ethnicity

	White (%) (n=355)	Asian (%) (n=154)	Black (%) (n=127)	Other (%) (n=86)
GCSE	52.1	40.9	52.8	40.7
BTEC / Vocational	15.5	18.2	26.8	22.1
A Levels	18.5	17.5	12.6	20.9
Higher education	13.0	21.4	5.5	16.3
Post graduate	0.8	1.9	2.4	0.0
Total ^(a)	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0

^(a) Due to rounding, figures may not add up to exactly 100%.

Whilst not conclusive, these may be reflective of broader trends. For example, the Asian officers in our sample were more likely than all other groups to have degree level qualifications, and black officers the least likely. That aside, black and Asian officers were equally likely to have post-graduate qualifications, and slightly more likely than white officers. Black officers and officers from other ethnic minority backgrounds are more likely than both white and Asian officers to hold BTEC and vocational qualifications.

Our findings are slightly at odds with the hypothesis that officers with higher educational qualifications progress at a faster rate than other officers. No consistent relationship was identified. For example, while Asian officers were more likely to have A-levels and graduate qualifications, they took longer than white officers, on average, to reach the rank of both Sergeant and Inspector. Findings for black officers showed a more direct correlation. A lower percentage of black officers than officers in all other ethnic groups had A-level or graduate qualifications. Black officers also progressed slowest of all officer groups to Sergeant and Inspector. **This is suggestive, but not necessarily conclusive, that educational qualifications alone are not predictive of career achievement**, at least advancement to Inspector. Beyond this we could reach no definite conclusions.

Career aspirations

One explanation for differences in career achievement might be that aspirations differ according to the ethnicity of officers. We sought to examine this hypothesis by asking officers in our interview sample about: their aspirations on joining the service; the extent to which their aspirations had been met; and whether they held any specific aspirations for the future.

Previous studies have found that the majority of police officers, irrespective of their ethnicity or gender, generally give similar reasons for choosing a career with the police service. The most common reasons include: an expectation of varied and interesting work; job security; a good rate of pay; and opportunities for advancement. Expectations are however dynamic. Officers' aspirations for their career are influenced by their experiences in the service, rather than by any predetermined expectation on entry. For example, Reiner's work on Chief Constables (1991) found that it was early success and encouragement which tended to raise officers' expectations for promotion, rather than any aspiration from the beginning of their service that they might achieve the highest rank.

Aspirations on joining

Less than half the officers we interviewed in the five sample forces reported that they had held specific aspirations when they joined the service. No variation was identified in the responses of white and ethnic minority officers. Indeed, few officers from any ethnic group reported aspiring to a specific rank or specialist department or post early in their career. A more common response was that officers simply wanted to 'get through' probation and to be a 'good officer'.

Those who did express such early aspirations were questioned on the degree to which they believed these had been met. A majority of officers who said they had aspired for rank reported that these aspirations had not been met. This was characteristic of both white and ethnic minority officers. A similar number of white and ethnic minority officers said that their initial aspiration for a particular specialist department had not been met.

Notwithstanding this response, most officers we interviewed (both white and ethnic minority) were happy, or fairly happy, with the direction their career had taken. This was equally true for officers whose initial aspirations may or may not have been met as for those officers who had held no specific aspiration on joining. The reason offered most frequently by officers to explain this characteristic tended to confirm our original hypothesis: that aspirations tend to develop only **after** officers have entered the service. There were several features of this view:

- There was a general perception that awareness of the full range of employment opportunities offered by the police service develops only after officers have been in the service for a while.
- Aspirations for rank tended to manifest themselves only after officers had achieved their first promotion. With each promotion, officers then focussed on the next promotion. Only a small number of officers in our sample said they currently held, or had previously had, an aspiration to achieve a particular rank by a certain date or within a specific time from joining the force. This was characterised by comments such as: "Promotional aspirations developed as I went along" and "I had very few initial aspirations. I changed to a promotion focus only after I had a career development chat with the Divisional Commander, who took to me".

It should, however, be acknowledged that an officer's apparent contentment with their career to date, is not necessarily an indicator that there are no differences in progression between white and ethnic minority officers. In some areas, and as we showed in Chapters 3 and 4, differences in career profiles do exist.

'Forced postings'

A key issue raised in the interviews was that of **'forced postings'**. Most officers accepted that postings driven by the requirements of the force would not necessarily always coincide with the preferences of individual officers. It was generally accepted that this was part of the police service, and would continue to be so. While some officers were able to interpret this experience to their benefit, presenting the 'forced posting' as an opportunity to gain experience in different types of policing (eg. inner city, rural and community beat policing), others remained unhappy with the impact this had on the direction of their career. In either case, officers expressed a reluctance to challenge the basis of the posting, because of the risks of being seen as 'difficult' and the possible negative consequences on their career.

Both women and ethnic minority officers perceived that occasionally the 'forced posting' had **possibly** been for other than operational reasons. For example, a black women officer with 12 years experience commented: "When my Inspector was made a Community Beat Inspector, I was forced to go as well. I came to work one day to discover I was going so that my Inspector could 'keep an eye on me'. I couldn't do anything about it and I felt marginalised. I felt under pressure." Also in relation to a community beat role, a white woman officer commented that "I'd said I didn't want to be one, I preferred to work in a normal uniform role. The two men who refused to do it were told 'OK then' [ie 'you don't have to']". The women were told 'tough'".

Some ethnic minority officers mentioned explicitly that ethnicity was an underlying explanation of why their career aspirations had not been realised. This was true for those who aspired for promotion and for those aspiring to specialist posts. For example, an Asian officer said "in the three year period after my [CID] aideship, only three out of 23 applicants were refused, myself and two others (both ethnic minority officers)." The numbers who explicitly mentioned ethnicity were however few and it was not raised specifically in the interview. Differences in career progression however suggest that reactions to an officer's ethnicity have some impact on their career.

Future aspirations

Officers in our sample were also asked whether they had clear aspirations for the rest of their career. A slightly higher number of ethnic minority than white officers spoke of clear expectations for the future. There was, however, no discernible pattern to these aspirations between officers from different ethnic groups.

Just over half of all officers interviewed held aspirations for promotion; one quarter of those interviewed held aspirations to specialise. However, these tended to be short to medium term, rather than longer-term aims. For example with promotion, officers were usually focussed on attaining the next one or two ranks; while aims for specialism tended to be looking towards a particular department. Officers who held more long-term or specific ambitions tended in general to be longer in service (about 20 years).

A number of factors which seemed to limit officers' own aspirations were raised during the interviews.

- Doubts about whether they would be successful in the promotion process. The factors most often raised as contributing to this questioning of ability were: length of service (too long, too short); a lack of educational qualifications; and a lack of familiarity or confidence with some parts of the promotion process (eg. exam, interview).
- The perceived need to gain experience rather than specialise or seek promotion too early in service. This response was particularly characteristic of all officers in the first 5-10 years of their service.
- Lack of perceived financial benefit of some positions (eg. promotion from Inspector to Chief Inspector), coupled with an added need to reconcile increased job pressure and life outside the force.

Personal control

We sought to determine the extent to which officers perceived they had exercised personal control over their careers, or whether force policies or actions had resulted in perceptions of careers having been 'blocked', thus diminishing a sense of personal control over career choices.

Slightly more than half the officers believed they exercised at least partial control over the direction of their career, presently and in the past. Slightly more ethnic minority than white officers said they had **not** had personal control, but ethnicity did not play a large part in the reasons given for this view.

- Officers believed they were 'hostage' to the time taken to complete the component parts of the promotion system (exam, assessment centre and often a force selection board or interview). Movement was restricted during the process. The time taken for officers to be promoted once they had successfully

negotiated the process is also driven by force demands. For example, in one force in this study a decision to suspend force selection boards, enabling officers already holding a 'ticket' for promotion to be appointed to the rank, resulted in a two year delay for promotion to Sergeant.

- 'Forced postings' were often raised. Personal control was often felt to have been lost as a result, particularly in instances where officers had had more than one such posting. For example, one male officer said that "It [the beat manager post] wasn't the direction I would have chosen to go in. I would have given my career a lot more thought if I hadn't been chopped and changed around all the time".
- A related issue is the perceived 'blocking' influence of line managers and senior officers. Divisional Commanders were seen to be particularly influential in this respect, as their support was needed for applications for both specialist posts and promotion.

The **perceptions** of personal control by ethnic minority officers were similar to that of white officers. Ethnic minority officers were however generally unsure of the extent to which decisions had been made by others either solely or in part because of their ethnicity. 'Blocking' of an individual's career is seldom **overt**. It can manifest itself in less obvious ways, which may not impact on officers' perceptions.

The role of family and friends

Studies of career orientation tend to suggest that friends and families are the most important influences on individual decision making (eg. Bucke, 1994). Nearly half the Chief Constables in Reiner's (1991) study mentioned a family member as an influence on their choice of police career, suggestive of an environment of positive attitudes and support. In an earlier study (Reiner, 1978) 30% of officers in all ranks cited the influence of a friend or relative as a deciding factor in their career choice. This suggests a level of positive attitudes and support for many officers.

Other studies on ethnic minority community views of the police suggest the organisation is seen to be racist, and one which would be unwelcoming (eg. Bradley, 1998; Bucke, 1994; Smith and Gray, 1985). Recent opinion polls (see for example *The Guardian*, 9 Feb 1999) point to continuing perceptions that the police service and some individual officers are racist. We sought to explore the potential impact of these views and to examine whether the level of support from friends and families differed for ethnic minority officers.

INDIVIDUAL AND ATTITUDINAL FACTORS

Support from family and friends was agreed to be crucial by the vast majority of officers we interviewed, irrespective of ethnicity. The responses can be split into several groups:

- Ethnic minority and white officers were equally likely to encounter initial shock from friends / relatives when raising their decision to join the police service. For all officers, safety concerns had been paramount. Asian and black officers also reported additional familial concerns not reflected in comments by white officers. These included a disregard for the professional status of the police vis-à-vis other occupations, and, perceptions of racism within the police.
- Only a few officers spoke of negative reactions from friends. All agreed that in instances where friends had drifted away, others had been made. Ethnic minority officers were clearer than white officers that this was linked with their choice of the police service and not just a natural separation.
- Approximately three-quarters of the officers interviewed said that whatever their original concerns, family and friends were now supportive of their career and future aspirations. Any residual concerns focussed on safety, particularly the risks associated with certain jobs (eg. firearms). Few officers reported that their families remained unsupportive, but this was more likely from ethnic minority officers, a few of whom remained alienated from their families.

6. Structural factors

In the previous chapter we looked at some differences in the attributes of individual officers to see if these could be linked directly with the differences in career progression identified earlier in the study. We found few.

In this chapter we examine whether features of the police structure, particularly management systems and organisational arrangements, might be working disproportionately to 'slow down' the careers of ethnic minority officers. We discuss, in turn, the impact of line managers, selection procedures, the role of career development departments, and access to training. Findings in this chapter are predominantly based on the 79 interviews conducted for this study.

Equal opportunities policies

All forces in England and Wales had an equal opportunities policy statement in place in some form. In addition, the majority of forces have an equal opportunities department or employ a member of staff with specific responsibility for equal opportunities issues in the force.

The main areas of responsibility for these departments and staff members, in addition to dealing with instances of harassment and discrimination, include:

- recruitment;
- support networks;
- monitoring of job and person specifications for specialist posts;
- selection and promotion procedures;
- monitoring of ethnic minority staff; and
- training on equal opportunities issues.

As we discussed in Chapter 2, forces have introduced positive action measures to boost the number of suitably qualified ethnic minority applicants to join the police service. Some forces have also introduced initiatives which ultimately aim to increase the number of officers from minority groups in specialist departments in which they are traditionally under-represented. Initiatives are limited to invitations for applications from women and ethnic minority staff, but do sometimes extend to 'open-days'. This latter activity has so far been limited to women officers. For example, several forces in our study have introduced 'open-days' for women officers considering the firearms or traffic unit. However, no force in our study had introduced similar activities for ethnic minority officers. No forces had introduced schemes which went beyond this, such as the 'Guaranteed Interview Scheme' which some employers run for disabled applicants.

The role of line managers

The influence of line managers and supervising officers in an officer's career can be inferred from many studies of the police service and the workforce more generally. Key attributes of a good manager are seen to include: praise and encouragement; appraisal of skills and aptitude; assessment of ability for the next job; fair treatment of all officers; and support in tackling difficult situations. This includes intervention in instances of harassment or discrimination on the basis of race, gender, or any other improper ground.

Officers require the support of line managers if they are to successfully participate in force promotion and selection procedures. Not surprisingly, all of the officers we interviewed who were in line management positions (including those at Constable level with staff responsibilities) claimed to be fulfilling all the requirements of appraisal, review, supporting and advising their staff. When asked about the line management they had **received** throughout their service, responses by officers were far less homogenous.

The quality of line management within the police service was generally seen to be variable. Ethnic minority and white officers expressed this view equally. The number of officers in each group who said line management was either consistently good or consistently bad was also equal. Two issues were raised more than any others:

- Increased devolution of operational responsibilities - as well as financial, administrative and personnel functions - to middle and lower ranking supervising officers was seen to limit the time available for personnel management, including the development of officers in their section / area / department. This concern was expressed by both managers and staff alike.
- Training for managers on how to be a good supervisor was believed to be deficient. That which did exist was believed to focus on operational authority and responsibilities, as well as financial and administrative delegations, rather than providing guidance and information on the qualities needed to be a good manager of people. Despite the inclusion of wider competencies in assessment centre exercises, promotion was still seen by officers to be based predominantly on policing skills. The achievement of promotion itself was seen as evidence that officers possessed the necessary management skills.

However, similarity of **experience**, does not necessarily result in similarity of **outcome**. Given the disparities between white and ethnic minority career profiles we outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, it may be that poor management has an unequal impact.

Officers in all ethnic groups were more likely to mention the positive influence of an individual officer, not necessarily within the line management chain, at a specific point or time in their service.

Sponsors, backers and mentors

A recurrent theme throughout our interviews with officers was the role played by senior colleagues during a **particular period** of the officer's career. Few officers discussed the influence of mentors, backers or sponsors over the length of their career. The focus was on directed assistance at a particular point in time. Where they were raised in a more long term context, it was by more senior officers. Examples included: identifying opportunities to experience different types of police work; 'putting in a good word' with specialist departments; providing advice on possible career paths, including the kinds of posts needed in order to move careers in a particular direction; and pushing officers to go for promotion. Chief Constables have previously emphasised the importance of patronage, and the support of an informal mentor or sponsor in determining an officer's progression (Reiner, 1991).

On occasions an officer in a direct line management role had clearly acted as 'patron'. However, it was more common amongst our interview sample for influential senior officers to have acted independently of the line management relationship: either a previous supervisor, a social contact, or more simply an officer within the force who had taken an interest through some previous contact. In some instances the support of a patron runs the risk of 'short-cutting' established procedures, which may not be fair on other staff (eg. "My old Chief Inspector got me the post...he just gave me a call one day and said 'do you want to come and work for me.'"). However, this is not necessarily the case (eg. "He just called me one day and said, 'there's a job going which I think would be perfect for you.' He didn't actually get me the job, but he certainly pushed me to apply for it".). Whilst the contact did not appear to occur over long periods of an officer's career, it was nonetheless considered to be instrumental in advancing their career in some way.

Both white and ethnic minority officers said that they had benefited at some point from some kind of patronage, although some senior ethnic minority officers questioned how easy it would be for ethnic minority officers younger in service to 'tap into' an influential relationship of this nature. Questions still remain about the

quality of patronage received. Access to ‘career posts’, such as staff officer, or strategic planning, is dependent on the sponsorship of senior officers and is arguably different to the sponsorship needed for moves into training school (for example).

Notwithstanding the influence of individuals at particular points or particular periods of an officer’s career, there was little evidence that officers were formally ‘mentored’ throughout the length of their careers.

Are selection procedures open and fair?

Procedures for promotion and selection for specialist posts have changed considerably over the past few years: the increased emphasis on objective assessment for promotion with the introduction of OSPRE and skills-based assessment centres; the advertising of vacancies for specialist departments; and the introduction of person and job specifications; are all designed to increase the equality and transparency of selection decisions.

We sought to examine whether these changes have affected officers’ perceptions of selection procedures. Do views of the selection procedures help to explain differences in career development?

A majority of both white and ethnic minority officers acknowledged that systems now in place for both promotion and specialist posts were an improvement on those they had replaced. An equally important message, however, is that officers were able to point to shortcomings in the implementation of policies. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many policies continue to be circumvented in practice. This perception has contributed to a ‘culture of cynicism’ surrounding selection decisions.

During our interviews we asked officers about their knowledge of promotion and selection procedures and the extent to which these were seen to be ‘open and fair’.

Promotion

Just under half of officers interviewed said they had a basic understanding of the promotion process within their force. Very few officers claimed detailed knowledge of procedures.¹³ About one third of both white and ethnic minority officers believed the promotion system to be open and fair. The proportion of officers who thought the system, while better than before, continued to lack both openness and fairness was however slightly higher. Ethnic minority officers were more likely to hold this view.

¹³ *This is not perhaps surprising. Most interviewees were PCs, many of whom were not yet considering promotion. Of those officers in promoted ranks, some had been promoted pre-OSPRE and so had no direct experience of current procedures. However this lack of knowledge should not be dismissed, as it may undermine a manager’s ability to pass on accurate information to officers within his or her remit.*

Views on the strengths and weaknesses of the system now in place were often contradictory.

- The introduction of OSPRE (for promotion to Sergeant and Inspector), with the move away from paper sifts and ‘lots of forms’, and an increasing emphasis on objective knowledge and skills testing was generally welcome.
- In direct contrast, promotion to higher ranks was still seen to be overwhelmingly subjective. The perceived importance of the selection interview, at all levels, was seen to increase the possibility of nepotism, and also the influence of senior officers within the force.
- Line managers continue to have a crucial role in influencing promotion. Ethnic minority officers more than white officers in our sample perceived this as a potential stumbling block in gaining promotion. The ‘blocking role’ of managers was raised throughout interviews, encapsulated in responses such as: “ethnic minority officers have found that recommendations can be a real barrier” and “I couldn’t get promoted on my own Division, a lad on the Commander’s cricket team managed to stay”.

By far the most common concern was the perceived lack of consideration given to appraisal in the promotion process, in tandem with a perceived over-reliance on knowledge based tests (OSPRE I). This view, at its extreme, is captured by comments such as: “Promotion is not open and fair nowadays. It used to be based on merit, now it’s what you can read out of a book”.

Selection for specialist departments

Notwithstanding an overall acceptance that selection procedures had improved, almost a third of all interviewees, and proportionately slightly more ethnic minority than white officers, perceived that selection processes continue to be bypassed on a regular basis. As a result, a majority of ethnic minority officers, and just less than half the white officers, thought that selection for specialist posts was not yet **consistently** open and fair. Black officers in particular expressed this view.

An increase in the formality of the selection process for specialist posts together with increased scrutiny of selection processes and decisions by equal opportunities departments were seen as the two most significant reforms to the selection system. The net result of both was to weaken the traditional ‘old boys network’, which often saw managers choose officers without advertising posts: eg. “Things are definitely better now than they were in the past ... it used to be all based on whom

you knew. At least now we have to evidence our skills ... it's not perfect, but it's a definite improvement." There were however exceptions to this view. Formalisation was commonly perceived, even by those who favoured the current procedures over previous more informal decision making processes, to be at the expense of performance on the job. As with promotion, interview-performance was seen to be over-valued in the selection process.

Acknowledgement of improvements to selection processes and procedures aside, almost one third of all interviewees believed that these continue to be bypassed on a regular basis. Overall, ethnic minority officers mentioned these views, and the potential implications, more frequently. They were however by no means exclusive to ethnic minority officers. Commonly cited shortcuts included:

- A belief that the selection result is pre-determined before it commences. This would appear to have the result of influencing officers against applying for a post. Black officers in particular gave this response. For example, "I had been told another person had been identified for the post, so I withdrew my application" and "The system is flawed. You see the advert and know who will get it. Black officers deselect themselves because of that." This perception tended to be confirmed by instances where officers "get calls from heads of department saying they should apply for the position." White officers reported that they had benefited from this personal approach more than either black or Asian officers, characterised as patronage or mentoring.
- All forces currently require vacancies to be advertised. An important exception highlighted during the study is that this does not necessarily occur for vacancies filled within a Division / Basic Command Unit.
- Some examples were given of job specifications being altered between different advertisements for the same job, the perception being that this was designed specifically to recruit 'the people they want'. Continuity and consistency of supervision by headquarters, notably equal opportunities and career development departments, are designed to prevent such occurrences.
- The composition of interview boards was still seen to be anachronistic and male dominated, with questions characterised as 'old-fashioned'.

Attachments and aideships

Attachments to specialist departments were seen by the officers we interviewed to generally be important for three related reasons:

- showing interest in a particular department;
- establishing a track record in dealing with the sorts of issues the department is responsible for; and
- being known to officers in the department.

The opportunity to assist or be involved in specialist units while in uniform, normally for a finite period of time or to tackle a particular problem, was held to be important for similar reasons.

Just over half of the officers interviewed had had at least one attachment to a specialist unit. Of those, about one quarter had experience of more than one attachment, although this was slightly higher amongst white officers. Selection for both attachments and opportunities whilst in uniform to experience specialist roles was generally seen to be informal, with the ability to ‘shout the loudest’ or ‘knowing the right people’ often being rewarded.

Appraisal

Most of the officers we interviewed had a degree of cynicism about the annual appraisal process. The introduction of Personal Development Plans (PDPs), which are evidence based, and require assessment of ability to be related to specific events were generally acknowledged as an improvement. However, officers continue to believe that appraisal reports depend on line managers being committed to their value. Both white and ethnic minority officers equally felt that appraisal was of little value, highlighting a perceived lack of honesty in the process which ultimately devalued both the assessment and guidance received.

A general perception was that line managers were more concerned with avoiding confrontation than they were with giving open and honest appraisals: “Managers would rather just tick all the boxes and say ‘this person’s neither bad nor brilliant’, rather than go in to detail about real weaknesses”. In a similar vein, another officer commented, “unless you are either absolutely brilliant, or an absolute shambles, you just get the standard mark”.

Officers acknowledged that appraisal forms are time consuming for line managers, and that it would be difficult to dedicate more time to them. However, there were concerns that they could give officers unrealistic aspirations: “if you don’t tell somebody that they are not very good, then they wonder why when somebody else tells them the truth. They want to know why they didn’t get the posting they wanted, or why they failed to be promoted, when, as far they were concerned, they were doing fine”. The issue of **raised expectations was a particular concern for**

ethnic minority officers , and was shared by senior officers interviewed: “If you are told you are good by your line managers, but you fail to be promoted or get the posting you want, then it’s not surprising that you begin to wonder whether your ethnicity had some bearing on the decision”.

Training

The 990 career profiles collected for this study contained insufficient data on the training officers had completed throughout their careers to enable us to reach any definitive conclusions about access to training on the basis of ethnicity. Only two forces in our sample were able to provide this information; even then it was patchy and incomplete. We would have had to go through individual officers’ personnel files manually to collect this information; the timeframe available for this study did not allow this.

From interviews with equal opportunities officers we learned that structured processes for reconciling training needs, demands and availability, together with advertising available courses have been introduced in some forces. For example, Divisional Skills Sergeants have been introduced in one force in our sample group, to identify training opportunities and to oversee applications for and allocation of training.

Approximately half the officers we interviewed believed access to training was fair and open. Almost one third stated that they thought this was not always the case. There was little difference in the views of white and ethnic minority officers on the availability and fairness in allocation of training opportunities. Reasons for these views also showed little variation between officers in different ethnic groups. For example, some thought that it was down to personality of the individual officer and their willingness to make their feelings known: “If you shout loud enough you have more chance of getting what you want” and “I’ve popped into personnel and said ‘can I have it?’ They say ‘get your inspector to authorise it and it’ll be ok.’ You have to be forthright and a bit pushy”.

Other officers felt that it was down to individual achievement against certain performance measures, together with their perceived value amongst senior officers: “It’s performance related. Officers with the most arrests or stop and search reports get the courses”.

7. Cultural factors

The police service has its own rules and regulations, as well as its own unique operating procedures and internal values. Previous studies have identified the latter as including: pragmatism; conservatism; male dominance; group solidarity; and intolerance of minority groups (Smith and Gray, 1985; Bowling, 1998). These features have been linked with the under-representation of minority groups in the police service (Holdaway & Barron, 1997).

Awareness amongst both managers and officers themselves of the importance of equal opportunities and the need for all officers to be treated equally, irrespective of race, gender or other considerations has increased over the past decade. Similarly, the service has given increased emphasis to the need to tackle these issues.

Officers in our study saw this growing emphasis on equal opportunities as a tendency to treat all officers as if they were the same and facing similar issues. However, there has been a growing awareness amongst the police service that officers from minority groups, such as women or ethnic minority officers, face additional pressures. This view was most clearly expressed by a senior police officer during the course of this study: “Ethnic minorities have two obstacles to overcome: the culture of the police service and white culture. For white officers, they only have to adapt to police culture, which is different to what goes on elsewhere. But for ethnic minorities, there are two cultures to adapt to. This can hold officers back, especially early in their service. We should be identifying ‘vulnerable’ officers and giving them the support they require”.

In this chapter we examine issues which intuitively might be unique to the experiences of ethnic minority officers within the police service. These include the experience of racism and its impact on officers’ careers, the perceived need to have credibility amongst peers, and the use of formal and informal networks within the service.

Race and racism

In previous chapters, we have alluded to the impact of ethnicity on both career profiles and officers’ perceptions of their experience in the service. Where we thought it relevant, we have indicated when, and in what way, ethnicity was a factor.

No specific questions on race and racism were included in the structured interview. Instead, findings in this section reflect the breadth of comments offered by officers themselves throughout the interview. All of the 41 officers from an ethnic minority background participating in the interviews, raised the issue of race and racism and

CULTURAL FACTORS

its impact on their own career at various stages of the interview. Table 13 shows the full range of comments according to ethnic classification. The main purpose of this table is to illustrate the full range of responses, rather than focussing on detailed numerical analysis. The diversity of the sample group of officers interviewed, makes it possible that responses would be indicative of views held by a larger group of officers.

	No. of officers ^(a)		
	Black	Asian	Other
A. Identified race or racism as having an impact, or probable impact, on career			
As an ethnic minority officer it is necessary to work harder for the same achievements	3	4	0
Have specific experience of racism in the past, with a probable impact on subsequent career	8	0	0
Racism is part of the canteen culture - both past and present	5	2	0
Officers restrict themselves in their career because of their ethnicity	2	1	0
Have received poor treatment from the service	1	0	0
Unfair treatment is a feature of the police service, and not just as a result of reactions to my ethnicity	1	0	0
It's hard to tell if racism has impacted on my career, but I suspect it may have	2	4	0
B. Mentioned race issues, or racism, with no perceived impact on career			
You are treated differently as an ethnic minority officer, but this does not necessarily impact on your career	4	3	0
Difficult to tell generally	3	1	1
C. Race and/or racism not a problem			
Never had any problems	5	3	0

^(a) Some officers gave more than one response, reflecting different perceptions at various points in their career. The number of responses (53) therefore exceeds the number of officers interviewed (41).

Of ethnic minority officers interviewed almost 60% reported having had negative experiences during their service, with some real or perceived impact on their career achievements. A further 20% of ethnic minority officers were conscious that their experiences were different, but did not perceive that these experiences had necessarily had an adverse impact on their career development. In both cases,

officers perceived their experience as resulting from the attitudes and reactions of others to their ethnicity. Race and racism was not seen to have been a problem during their career by 20% of ethnic minority officers.

Comments relevant to each response were provided by both black and Asian officers. The number of interviewees from other ethnic minority backgrounds was too small to reach any conclusions. While experience and perceptions vary, a majority of those who had experienced problems could not definitively say what impact if any this had made on their career. These comments are however suggestive of additional pressure as a result of the attitudes and reactions of others to their ethnicity, the impact of which officers are at the very least unsure.

A credibility gap?

A recurrent theme throughout our interviews in determining **when** officers went for promotion was the experience they felt they required before they would be seen to be 'credible' in a supervisory role. This issue was also mentioned in relation to working in areas other than uniform patrol. The need to 'prove themselves as constables' or to have 'more general experience' prior to diversifying into specialist areas or seeking promotion was raised by the majority of officers.

This is partly attributable to the internal culture of the police service. Many officers voiced suspicion about colleagues who had been 'promoted too quickly...before they knew what they were doing', or who were 'career butterflies', moving from one post to another, placing their personal development / advancement above operational effectiveness. We cannot say whether either of these are valid observations, merely that they were common themes throughout our interviews, irrespective of ethnicity, and would appear to be part of a police culture in which many view rapid promotion and/or specialisation with some suspicion. Indicative of this is the negative reaction faced by some officers on the APSG scheme (referred to sometimes as 'carrying the APSG flag'). A number of interviewees on APSG mentioned that it was a barrier between them and their colleagues that they have had to overcome.

Notwithstanding the general culture of suspicion of rapid promotion and/or specialisation, our interviewees revealed that this culture **might** be having a disproportionate, although not exclusive, impact on ethnic minority officers. Occasionally, this was articulated explicitly. For example one officer said: "I think that I did hold myself back a little longer than I should have because of my ethnicity. I wasn't really aware of it at the time, but in retrospect I think that this happened. You feel a sense of having to prove yourself...it puts doubts in your mind

as to whether colleagues would find you credible. I was unaware of this at the time, but now, I would say that my ethnicity definitely was a factor in my decision not to go for promotion sooner”.

Ethnic minority officers in more senior ranks also stated that they felt ethnic minority officers may need more encouragement to put themselves forward for opportunities, particularly early in their service. Too many line managers may be accepting of a culture that holds some officers back, rather than showing preparedness to challenge and change assumptions and perceptions. One senior officer commented: “I think that [ethnic minority] officers do hold themselves back, maybe only for a short amount of time, but, cumulatively, the consequences can be quite serious for the rest of their careers”.

This may help us to understand some of the disparities between the career histories of white and ethnic minority officers shown in Chapters 3 and 4. We could not find anything about the systems of promotion or selection to specialist posts *per se*, which appeared to be holding some officers back, eg. there was no significant difference in the number of times taken before passing promotion assessments. Both white and ethnic minority officers held similar views about the validity and fairness of these procedures. However, experiences of ethnic minority officers with respect to race and racism, coupled with the views on credibility, and the need for it, may bear directly on the process after examinations and consequently on the speed of advancement to promoted ranks. It may also help to account for apparent disparities between white and ethnic minority officers as to when they gain specialist experience.

It is important not to view officers’ perceptions of their need to gain credibility as an issue independent of all others. Line managers have a responsibility to encourage officers to develop their careers as rapidly and as effectively as possible. The failure of officers to put themselves forward may also tell us something about the quality of the line management they receive.

Support networks

Support is available in many forms, formal and informal, from different parts of the organisation. We looked for sources of formal support officers would draw on in career terms as distinct from social support that each taps into in an informal way.

Staff associations, in particular the Federation, were not seen to play a role in an officer’s career, nor was this deemed to be either desirable or appropriate.

Black Police Association

The Black Police Association (BPA) is emerging as an influential organisation within the police service. Local BPAs are in place in about a dozen forces. November 1998 saw the launch of the National Black Police Association (NBPA). Increasingly, the NBPA is expanding its role to include advocacy of policy reforms and changes, as well as support and advice.

Of the forces that participated in the interview phase of this study, only two (both metropolitan) currently have a local BPA.

We asked ethnic minority officers for their views on the role played by the BPA and how the organisation might best contribute to the careers of ethnic minority officers in the future. Just over half of all ethnic minority officers interviewed felt the BPA, either on a national or individual force level, had a role to play in an officer's career. Slightly less than half the ethnic minority interviewees disagreed. The largest number of ethnic minority officers saw the BPA as a valuable support organisation and as a source of advice independent of line managers both on career choices and the handling of difficult situations.

Views on the role to be played by the BPA did however vary amongst ethnic minority officers. By far the greatest divergence was on the need and desirability for a prominent role for the BPA in advocating reforms to policies and procedures, and to be involved in the implementation of these changes. Officers with longer service, and in the rank of Inspector and above, were more likely to be supportive of an advocacy role for the BPA than officers with less service. Similarly, officers in a force with a BPA in place were also more likely to be supportive of an expanded role than were those in a force without an established BPA.

Despite the overall positive response to the contribution of the BPA some ethnic minority officers perceived such an organisation as possibly leading to isolation from their white colleagues and, as a result, unnecessary. This was generally raised in the form of a question paraphrased as: "What would the reaction be, and how would officers feel, if a white group was established?" In the context of these concerns we asked white officers about their perceptions of the contribution of the BPA to the police service. A majority of white officers were supportive of the BPA, although some expressed the sentiment: "it's a shame it's needed".

8. Conclusions and recommendations

In previous chapters we outlined the differences and similarities between the career profiles of white and ethnic minority police officers. We also attempted to identify the underlying reasons that might explain these differences. These explanations were grouped under broad headings of: individual and attitudinal factors; structural issues; and cultural considerations. In this concluding chapter we draw together these findings and present some key recommendations for consideration by the Home Office, HMIC, ACPO and individual forces.

Key findings

Personnel records

On several occasions in this report our ability to draw definitive conclusions has been limited by the quality and completeness of personnel and career records maintained by police forces. While this is likely to improve as forces introduce improved computerisation in their record keeping systems, gaps in existing information limit the ability of forces to monitor the careers of their officers. More importantly, these gaps limit the ability of forces to monitor the fairness of personnel policies and practices.

Recruitment and retention

- The numbers of ethnic minority officers entering the service is steadily, but slowly increasing. The eight forces in our sample had been, and were continuing to be, generally proactive in their attempts to recruit ethnic minority officers, adopting various recruitment strategies. Where monitoring information on specific recruitment initiatives had been conducted, there was little evidence of a direct impact on the number of applicants.
- On a global level, the percentage of ethnic minority officers leaving the service year on year is lower than the percentage of white officers leaving. However, this result is deceptive. When controlled for retirement and transfers between forces, ethnic minority officers are: twice as likely to resign from the service; and two to three times more likely to be dismissed (including those officers required to resign). In contrast, white officers are twice as likely to leave on medical grounds as are ethnic minority officers.

This study did not examine underlying reasons for these differences.

Promotion

We found that, on average, ethnic minority officers appear to be taking longer than their white colleagues to progress to the ranks of Sergeant and Inspector. There was

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

however some indication that this disparity has reduced in the last five to 10 years. Asian officers appear to be progressing at a faster pace than black officers.

Representation in specialist posts

We concluded that there was little difference between white and ethnic minority officers, both in terms of experience in the majority of specialist departments and the average amount of time spent in them. The number of officers in our sample who had experience of at least some specialist posts was however small and it was therefore difficult to draw definitive conclusions on these posts.

Two significant differences were however identified:

- White officers were three times more likely than black officers, and five times more likely than Asian officers to have experience in traffic. No obvious explanation for this difference was identified. Ethnic minority and white officers gave similar reasons for not wanting to work in traffic departments, although a lack of role models for ethnic minority officers may contribute to this ongoing picture.
- White officers were almost three times more likely than ethnic minority officers to have gained some experience in CID during their first five years of service. Experience of CID was similar for white and ethnic minority officers with longer lengths of service. This suggests that white officers may be gaining experience in CID earlier in service than their ethnic minority colleagues.

For some posts, whilst no significant difference in representation between white and ethnic minority officers was identified, there were important differences in the representation of Asian, black and other officers.

Underlying explanations

- The **age, length of service, and gender** of officers for which information was collected for this study were similar for all ethnic groups. As a result we discounted these factors as explanations for the differences identified in the report.
- There was little or no apparent difference between white and ethnic minority officers in the time taken to sit the first Sergeant's exam, or in the **average number of attempts at the Sergeant's exam**. These factors were therefore unlikely to account for the longer time taken by ethnic minority officers to be promoted, suggesting that subsequent application and selection procedures play

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

a part. However, monitoring information held by forces, did not allow any analysis of the potential impact of force selection boards on the pace of promotion.

- **Promotion procedures** , although generally perceived to be an improvement on previous systems, are viewed with cynicism by white and ethnic minority officers equally.
- **Career aspirations** tend to develop after an officer has entered the police service. The aspirations expressed by white and ethnic minority officers were similar. Differences related to personal goals and areas of interest, rather than ethnicity.
- White and ethnic minority officers said that **support from family and friends** was crucial. Ethnic minority and white officers were equally likely to encounter initial shock from friends and relatives when joining the police service. For Asian and black officers this included concerns on the professional status of the police service and perceptions of racism. Few officers reported that their families remained unsupportive, but this was more likely for ethnic minority officers.

For some issues, the impact on career progression was not always consistent: for example, **educational qualifications**. Asian officers were more likely than white officers to have A-levels and graduate qualifications, yet took longer, on average, to reach the rank of both Sergeant and Inspector. Findings for black officers showed a more direct correlation. A lower percentage of black officers than officers in all other ethnic groups had A-level or graduate qualifications. Black officers also progressed slowest of all officers to promoted ranks.

All officers, irrespective of ethnicity, perceived line management to play an influential role in their career progression. The **quality of line management** in the police service was seen to be, at best, variable and dependent on the attributes of individual managers. There was some concern that this disproportionately negatively impacted on ethnic minority officers. For example:

- Line managers generally were felt to be more reactive than proactive.
- It was generally felt that line managers give advice and assistance, but this was felt to be more directed at those officers who were themselves more proactive about their careers.

However, other factors can mean that this has different implications for ethnic minority officers than it does for white. A number of ethnic minority officers mentioned that they felt that they had needed to stay longer in rank, in order to **gain credibility** amongst their colleagues, before they put themselves forward for a promotion. Some, though by no means all, explicitly mentioned their ethnicity as being an underlying factor in this decision. Whilst this issue of credibility was not exclusive to ethnic minority officers, it did seem to be of greater concern to them. In conjunction with the reactive nature of line managers, this could be a possible reason to explain differences in the time taken to reach promoted ranks.

The issue of credibility and perceived need to ‘prove yourself’, identified as a possible factor in explaining differences in time taken to be promoted, may be also be an issue with specialist postings. Again though, this cannot be separated from the responsibility of line managers.

Institutional racism

The study points to differences in the careers of ethnic minority and white officers - in recruitment, retention, promotion and selection for specialist posts. According to the definitions used in the Lawrence Inquiry (outlined in Chapter 1), this is enough in itself to conclude that institutional racism has played a part in defining the careers of ethnic minority officers.

A general level of dissatisfaction with career management was expressed by officers in all ethnic groups. Some issues were raised by ethnic minority officers more than by white officers. Although ethnic minority officers generally believed there were additional problems as a consequence of negative reactions by others to their ethnicity, they were often unable to identify the extent to which this may have directly or indirectly influenced their career. Central to the findings of this report is that although officers had common concerns, the effect on the careers of ethnic minority officers has been unequal.

Points for action

During the course of this study, the Home Office has announced the introduction of targets for the recruitment, progression and retention of ethnic minority police officers. Our recommendations are made with this in mind.

Monitoring

- The quality and completeness of personnel information recorded by forces should be improved. Information on gender, age, and educational qualifications (both on entry and gained after joining the service) should be recorded as a matter of course.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- The capacity and capabilities of forces to monitor the careers of all officers should be improved. Procedures and systems should be established which would enable forces to **monitor and analyse all aspects** of recruitment, promotion, appointment to specialist departments, and retention. For example, this should routinely include the time between officers passing promotion exams and subsequently being appointed to a post at the promoted level, including reasons for selection for individual posts. Improvements will be essential if forces are to demonstrate progress towards achieving specified recruitment, progression and retention targets.
- Monitoring information should routinely be used to inform the decisions of policy makers, operational officers and senior officers. This information should be widely disseminated throughout the police service. For example, exit interviews should be conducted as a matter of course and the information they provide used to inform policies and practices.

Research

- Research should be conducted to identify ways to increase the potential benefit of recruitment activities aimed at increasing the number of suitably qualified ethnic minority applicants to join the police service. In particular, this research should examine the attributes sought by potential recruits in prospective employers.
- The Police Leadership Working Group under Home Office chairmanship is to conduct a thorough review of the APSG recruitment effort. This review should specifically examine reasons for the continuing lack of ethnic minority candidates appointed to the APSG.
- The experiences of ethnic minority women in the police service should be examined as a separate issue.
- Research should be conducted to identify and examine the reasons why ethnic minority officers are more likely than white officers to leave the service as a result of dismissal and resignation.

Line management and appraisal systems

- Management training for officers in line management positions should be given greater emphasis. This training should include the responsibilities and attributes of good line managers, with specific reference to career development responsibilities. Such training should include information on issues faced specifically by ethnic minority officers.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

- The utility and role of annual appraisals and personal development plans should be re-examined. In particular, the responsibilities of line managers, officers themselves and more senior supervising officers for ensuring consistency and integrity in appraisals should be stressed. Consideration should be given to the role, if any, appraisal might play in informing selection decisions.
- The police service as a whole should consider the introduction of schemes to identify the potential of high calibre officers and to facilitate their further development.

Promotion and selection procedures

- The development of competency frameworks for all posts and ranks should be further developed and their use expanded in all forces.
- Equal opportunities departments should continue to audit compliance with force policies in selection decisions.
- Structured feedback, relevant to job and person specifications, should be offered to **all applicants** on completion of selection processes and decision making.
- Understanding of promotion and selection procedures appears to be fairly limited. Forces should ensure a higher and consistent level of knowledge amongst all officers on the procedures in place for both promotion and appointment to specialist posts.

References

The Brixton Disorders, 10-12 April 1981 (The Scarman Report). Cmd 8427
London: Home Office. (1981)

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny. Cmd 4262-I London: HMSO. (1999)

Bowling, B. (1998) *Violent Racism: Victimisation, Policing and Social Context*
Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Bradley, R. (1998) *Public Expectations and Perceptions of Policing*
Police Research Series Paper 96. London: Home Office.

Bucke, T. (1994) *Equal Opportunities in the Fire Service*.
Research and Planning Unit Paper 85 London: Home Office.

CRE (1995a) *Large Companies and Racial Equality* London: CRE.

CRE (1996a) *Race and Equal Opportunities in the Police Service: A Programme for Action* London: CRE.

CRE (1996c) *Appointing NHS Consultants and Senior Registrars: Report of a Formal Investigation*. London: CRE.

CRE (1998) *Young People in Britain* London: CRE factsheets.

Dizaei, A. (1997) *The Thin Black Line: A Study of Racial Discrimination within the Police*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Uxbridge: Brunel University

Heward C. and Taylor P. (1992) Women at the top in higher education: equal opportunities in action, *Policy and Politics*, Vol 20, No 2, pp.111-121.

HMIC (1996) *Developing Diversity in the Police Service: Equal Opportunities Thematic Inspection Report 1995*. London: Home Office.

HMIC (1999) *Wining the Race: Policing Plural Communities: A Follow-Up to the Thematic Inspection on Police Community and Race Relations 1998/99*
London: Home Office.

Holdaway, S. and Barron, A. (1997) *Resigners: The Experience of Black and Asian Police Offices* London: Macmillan Press.

Holdaway, S. and Parker, S. (1998) 'Policing women police: uniform patrol and representation in CID', *British Journal of Criminology* vol 38, No1, pp. 40-60.

NACRO (1992) *Black People Working in the Criminal Justice System*
London: NACRO.

Ollerearnshaw, S. and Waldeck, R. (1995) 'Taking action to promote equality',
People Management, 23 February, pp.24-29.

Reiner, R. (1978) *The Blue-coated Worker*.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reiner, R. (1991) *Chief constables: bobbies, bosses, or bureaucrats?*
Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, D. and Gray, J. (1985) *Police and People in London: The PSI Report*.
Aldershot: Gower.

Walklate, S. (1986) 'Equal opportunities and the future of policing' in Leishmen
et al (eds) *Core Issues in Policing*. Harlow: Longman.

Appendix 1: Categories of specialist departments

The categories are taken from 'HMIC notes for guidance. Annual Statistical Return 1997/1998. Forms HMIC 1-8'. In some cases categories of similar postings have been merged as the numbers were too small in the existing groupings to allow for statistical analysis.

Classification	Departments
Indirect operational support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Community relations ● Juvenile liaison ● Warrants ● Air support unit ● Front desk inquiries ● Football liaison ● CCTV ● Communications ● Technical support
Functional support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Career development ● Personnel ● Equal opportunities ● Welfare ● Finance ● Staff associations
Taskforce	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Special patrol groups ● Territorial support ● Operational support ● Tactical support
CID specialist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Firearms unit ● Drugs ● Fraud ● Vice ● Stolen vehicles ● Asset confiscation ● Burglary ● Sexual violence ● Child protection ● Domestic violence
CID aide/support:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Aides and trainees ● HOLMES ● Intelligence/surveillance ● SOCOs
Planning and performance:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Fingerprints ● Operational or strategic planning ● Research and development

Some postings will be missing from this list and from Table 9. This is because either no officers or very small numbers of officers in our sample were found to have worked in these posts.

RECENT POLICE RESEARCH GROUP AND POLICING AND REDUCING CRIME UNIT PUBLICATIONS:

Police Research Group

Crime Detection and Prevention Series papers

88. **The Nature and Extent of Light Commercial Vehicle Theft.** Rick Brown and Julie Saliba. 1998.
89. **Police Anti-Drugs Strategies: Tackling Drugs Together Three Years On.** Tim Newburn and Joe Elliott. 1998.
90. **Repeat Victimisation: Taking Stock.** Ken Pease. 1998.
91. **Auditing Crime and Disorder: Guidance for local partnerships.** Michael Hough and Nick Tilley. 1998.
92. **New Heroin Outbreaks Amongst Young People in England and Wales.** Howard Parker, Catherine Bury and Roy Eggington. 1998.

Policing and Reducing Crime Unit

Police Research Series papers

94. **Child Abuse: Training Investigating Officers.** Graham Davies, Emma Marshall and Noelle Robertson. 1998.
95. **Business as Usual: An Evaluation of the Small Business and Crime Initiative.** Nick Tilley and Matt Hopkins. 1998.
96. **Public Expectations and Perceptions of Policing.** Russell Bradley. 1998.
97. **Testing Performance Indicators for Local Anti-Drugs Strategies.** Mike Chatterton, Matthew Varley and Peter Langmead-Jones. 1998.
98. **Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical theory for crime prevention.** Marcus Felson and Ronald V. Clarke. 1998.
99. **Sex Offending Against Children: Understanding the risk.** Don Grubin. 1998.
100. **Policing Domestic Violence: Effective Organisational Structures.** Joyce Plotnikoff and Richard Woolfson. 1999.
101. **Pulling the Plug on Computer Theft.** Paula Whitehead and Paul Gray. 1999.
102. **Face Value? Evaluating the Accuracy of Eyewitness Information.** Mark R. Kebbell and Graham F. Wagstaff. 1999.
103. **Applying Economic Evaluation to Policing Activity.** J.E. Stockdale, C.M.E. Whitehead and P.J.Gresham. 1999.
104. **Arresting Evidence: Domestic Violence and Repeat Victimisation.** Jalna Hanmer, Sue Griffiths and David Jerwood. 1999.
105. **Proactive Policing on Merseyside.** Alana Barton, Roger Evans. 1999.
106. **Tenure: Policy and Practice.** Gary Mundy. 1999.

