

# **The Three Aspects of Police Culture**

Werner Gowitzke

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Professional  
Doctorate in Criminal Justice Studies of the University of Portsmouth

November 2019

## **Declaration**

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

Word Count: 50,648

## **Abstract**

For many years police culture has been a subject of interest for researchers across the world, with the underlying assumption that police culture is the same, irrespective of the country. Research primarily focused on often negative characteristics of what was referred to as ‘occupational police culture’. The aim of this thesis is to critically examine the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values (primarily acquired early in life on national or societal level) and practices (learned through socialisation processes within the occupation and organisation).

This study reports findings from a mixed-methods research, which administered an online questionnaire targeting an international sample of police officers as a quantitative method, and which also included semi-structured interviews conducted with European police officers as a qualitative instrument. The questionnaire responses from 206 primarily European police officers and the results from 20 semi-structured interviews show similarities and differences between police officers from various countries. The findings indicate a close link of their values and practices to their national culture.

What has been described as ‘police culture’ so far, is a conglomerate of national culture, the culture created by and within the various organisations police officers work for and in, and of the actual occupational culture of the police profession, which is in fact the first major finding of this research. Cultural values and practices are acquired during different stages of the socialisation process, on national, occupational and organisational level. The second major finding of this research is the lack of a sharp divide between occupational and organisational socialisation in the police, caused by the early exposure of police recruits to the policing environment.

The ‘Three Aspects of Police Culture Model’ was developed from the analysis of the findings. There are three cultural aspects, on a national, occupational and organisational level, which determine the values and practices of police officers and influence the development of police culture. The model allows for the identification of the source of negative cultural characteristics, helps to better understand police culture and provides new opportunities for change. This is an important, fresh and unique contribution to the existing body of published research exploring police culture.

## Acknowledgements

My thanks go to my wonderful wife Jill and our fantastic son James, who provided me with constant support throughout this adventure of studying for a professional doctorate, as well as to my extended family, in particular to my parents.

Special thanks to my friends and proof-readers Ms Gill George, Dr Danielle Kitover, Ms Debbie Ruff, Ms Karen Thomas and Mr Morgan Jackson and all other friends and colleagues who supported me in this for many years.

I am grateful to my colleagues from so many countries, who participated in the interviews, and also to those who completed the questionnaire.

Appreciation and thanks to my supervising tutor, Dr Sarah Charman, for her guidance and support, and to Dr Alison Wakefield who introduced me into this intriguing topic.

“Basically the comparison of countries belongs to political science or to anthropology, the comparison of organizations to sociology, and the comparison of individuals to psychology. If the students of our social environment remain locked within one of these disciplines, they will miss essential information available next door.”

Geert Hofstede (2001, p.415)

# List of Contents

Declaration.....	i
Abstract.....	ii
List of Contents.....	v
List of Abbreviations .....	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables .....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Motivation.....	1
1.2 Thesis Aim & Objectives .....	7
1.3 Thesis Structure.....	8
Chapter 2: Culture & National Culture.....	11
2.1 The Origins of Culture .....	12
2.2 Conceptions of Culture & Sub-Culture.....	15
2.3 National Culture .....	24
2.4 Hofstede and His Cultural Dimensions.....	27
Chapter 3: Organisations and Occupations.....	33
3.1 Organisational Culture .....	34
3.2 Police Organisations.....	42
3.3 Occupational Culture.....	46
Chapter 4: Police Culture.....	51
4.1 A Brief History of Police Culture Research.....	52
4.2 The Occupational Cop-Canteen-Sub-Culture .....	57
4.3 Roles, Groups and Memberships .....	66

Chapter 5: Methodology .....	72
5.1 Mixed Methods .....	73
5.2 Questionnaire Survey .....	76
5.3 Semi-structured Interviews .....	80
5.4 Insider Issues .....	84
5.5 Ethics.....	85
Chapter 6: Results – Occupational Aspects .....	87
6.1 Learning and Training.....	89
6.2 Perceptions of a Common Police Culture .....	92
6.3 Solidarity .....	96
6.4 Analysis.....	100
Chapter 7: Results - Organisational Aspects .....	105
7.1 Organisational Differences and Influences on Police Culture .....	105
7.2 Management.....	110
7.3 Organisational Structures and Change .....	112
7.4 Analysis.....	116
Chapter 8: Results - National Aspects .....	120
8.1 Police Masculinity .....	121
8.2 Isolation of Police Officers .....	124
8.3 Police & Society .....	128
8.4 Analysis.....	133
Chapter 9: Discussion & Conclusions .....	138
9.1 Cultures, Values and the Socialisation Process .....	138
9.2 Contributions to Knowledge .....	140
9.3 Conclusions to the Thesis .....	150
Reference List.....	154

Appendices.....	168
Appendix 1: Survey questionnaire.....	169
Appendix 2: Interview schedule .....	187
Appendix 3: Survey codebook.....	189
Appendix 4: Nominal survey data .....	194
Appendix 5: Ethical approval .....	197

## List of Abbreviations

ANOVA	One-way analysis of variance
Europol	European Police Office
GLOBE	Global Leadership and Organizational Behaviour Effectiveness
IDV	Individualism
IRIC	Institute for Research of Intercultural Cooperation
ITIM	ITIM International
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer plus
MAS	Masculinity
PDI	Power distance index
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UAI	Uncertainty avoidance index

## List of Figures

- Figure 6.1: ‘Police culture exists’ showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key p.92
- Figure 6.2: Solidarity showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key p.96
- Figure 6.3: ‘Mistakes made while on duty’ showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key p.98
- Figure 6.4: Balance of values and practices looking at the national, occupational and organisational cultural level related to the place of socialisation p.101
- Figure 7.1: ‘Influence of organisational aspects on policing’ showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key p.107
- Figure 7.2: Organisational Change 1 showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key p.114
- Figure 7.3: Organisational Change 2 showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key p.115
- Figure 8.1: Means for the individual Likert-items from the scale labelled ‘Masculinity’ for the clusters German-speaking and Southern European; on the left axis 5 represents strong agreement, 1 strong disagreement and 3 neither agree nor disagree (neutral position) p.122
- Figure 8.2: Means for the individual Likert-items from the scale labelled ‘Isolation’ for the clusters Anglo-Saxon, German-speaking and Scandinavian; on the left axis 5 represents strong agreement, 1 strong disagreement and 3 neither agree nor disagree (neutral position) p.125
- Figure 8.3: Means for the individual Likert-items from the scale labelled ‘Outside Relations’ for the clusters German-speaking and Scandinavian; on the left axis 5 represents strong agreement, 1 strong disagreement and 3 neither agree nor disagree (neutral position) p.129
- Figure 8.4: Uncertainty Avoidance Index for selected German-speaking and Southern European countries; index is based on scales with a high index suggesting that members of society feel uncomfortable with ambiguity and uncertainty p.135
- Figure 9.1: The Three Aspects of Police Culture I – Cultural influences on national, occupational and organisational level determine the culture of the police p.147
- Figure 9.2: The Three Aspects of Police Culture II – Established characteristics of police culture shown within (or across) the main sphere of cultural influence p.148

## List of Tables

Table 2.1: Definitions and conceptions of culture since Tylor (1871)	p.22
Table 2.2: Hofstede's four cultural dimensions with examples for low and high index scores	p.28
Table 5.1: Effect size using eta squared (following Cohen, 1977/2013)	p.80
Table 5.2: Interviewed police officers from 13 countries	p.82
Table 6.1: Means on the Likert-item 'Education influences police behaviour' for various groups of respondents	p.90
Table 7.1: Basic police work by uniformed officers and detectives is not sufficiently valued by top managements and politicians	p.111
Table 8.1: Group sizes of cultural clusters for the Likert-scale labelled 'Police Masculinity'	p.122
Table 8.2: Overall means for all cultural clusters for the Likert-scale labelled 'Isolation' consisting of 4 items; groups with significant p-values in bold	p.125

## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1 Motivation

Police culture, and its various aspects, is a recurring subject of academic research and publications. So far empirical research was primarily of ethnographic nature, where researchers entered the field putting findings on police behaviour into context with existing literature on culture. Governed by an anthropological inductive approach, letting the findings emerge, research lacked a clear agenda or consistency between studies. Nevertheless, such research, often a so-called ‘insider account’, provided conceptual insight into the police, including negative traits such as solidarity, the police’s resistance to change and isolation of police officers from the social world (Marks & Singh, 2007; McLaughlin, 2007; Waddington, 1999). Researchers argued that a lot of police malpractice was part of an internal socialisation process (Manning, 1977, pp.158-159) and ultimately linked this to their culture. Eventually the term ‘police culture’ became almost a synonym for police officers with negative attitudes and deviant behaviour within the police organisation. Even difficulties experienced during periods of organisational change within the police, and failure of police reform, were often attributed to the existence of a strong and persistent police culture (Chan, 1996, pp.109-110).

Particular attention was paid to negative aspects and characteristics of the ‘police culture’, which were, first in 1984, summarised by Reiner (1984/2010). Many of these were used to explain racism in the police, failed attempts to reform police organisations or other unwanted aspects identified within the police. From there on it was only a small step for trying to find explanations with the obvious aim to ultimately change police culture: if unwanted behaviour of police is caused by police culture, changing the culture should therefore amend the behaviour and actions of police officers. After major reforms within the British police during the 1980s, inspired by the Scarman Report (1982) as a response to the Brixton riots, the desired effects for the police were not achieved. The police culture could not be changed “to incorporate quality of service values” (Reiner, 1992, p.778). In the 1990s Chan researched reform of an Australian police force. She focused on the occupational aspects of policing using Bourdieu’s views on culture to develop a re-conceptualisation of police culture (Chan, 1996). However,

the outcome was not as hoped for: changes introduced to the police in New South Wales had no lasting effect.

Loftus suggested that while some authors challenge the orthodox interpretations of police culture, there are still good reasons to retain the more traditional conceptualisation. She also referred to organisational issues, but to her “they are only part of the story” (Loftus, 2009, p.16). To her police culture is an occupational culture linked to the police role. However, in a recent article Campeau (2015), who otherwise focused on accountability and public visibility, argued that many aspects of police culture were still not sufficiently captured and proposed to employ cultural sociology and institutional theory to unravel, at least some aspects of, police culture.

Others, in particular Waddington, denied the existence of ‘a police culture’, which sets the police apart from society. However, Waddington (1999) compared some of the identified characteristics to professions similar to police. This is important, because he does not take the ‘phenomenon’ of police culture for granted but uses a different approach by tackling the characteristics, identified by Reiner (1984/2010), and by providing individual explanations, some might say rationalisations. Also, he acknowledged a certain role of society in addition to the need for improved training for British police (Waddington, 2012). Interestingly, because this will be discussed more in-depth in following chapters, Waddington’s argument about the non-existence of a singular police culture was supported in particular by Soeters, Hofstede and Van Twuyver (1995). Then again, there are many publications on police culture in various countries. For most authors the existence of a police culture is a given fact and many refer to Reiner and other Anglo-Saxon researchers (Baker, 2007; Cauchi, 2004; Nickels & Verma, 2008; Punch, 1979). Nonetheless, there are variations. In Germany for example, the ideas on ‘*Polizeikultur*’ slightly deviate from those in the English-speaking literature (Behr, 2006) also linked to a broader meaning of the term *Kultur* (culture).

There is no consensus among researchers and academics. Few believe there is no real police culture, many say there is. It is difficult to understand how such a police culture develops and to conceptualise this phenomenon. Also, many questions remain unanswered. Is it really possible that there are socialisation processes within police forces all over the world, which are so powerful that they can cause racism, sexism, or resistance to reform? If so, this would indeed support the existence of a ‘police occupational culture’ as named by Chan (1997) and others.

In such a case it would be no surprise that police culture is seen as a monolithic problem by some. Alternatively, it could be asked whether there is simply just a slightly wrong focus, a missing link or a little detail in the huge amount of information on (police) culture, which prevents an understanding?

Within this research the development of police culture is considered to be influenced by aspects of the police occupation and organisation (Chapters 3 & 4), as well as by the culture in which both, occupation and organisation develop, the national culture (Chapter 2). However, Waddington argued that researchers are focused on often interview-based ethnographic research, when drawing conclusions on the explanations for police action (Waddington, 1999, p.288). He suggested that the police, when interviewed for research, talk more about what they believe people expect them to say than about their actual work, which is filled with boring or administrative tasks. Waddington inferred, somewhat neglecting the findings of insider accounts, that this ‘police canteen talk’ creates police culture. Consequently for him, the application of police culture as a tool to analyse police behaviour was delusive. Chan, however, argued, like other scholars, that police culture as such is not “primarily negative” (Chan, 1996, p.111) but also that the conceptualisation of police culture is confusing (Chan, 1997, p.12). In her opinion theories on police culture did not consider cultural differences, neglected that police officers themselves contribute to “the reproduction or transformation of culture” (Chan, 1997, p.12), failed to consider the social and political context of policing and did not say anything about the possibilities for cultural exchange. Consequently Chan provided a new conceptualisation of police culture. Drawing from the work of Bourdieu she first of all put a focus on the more occupational aspects of policing. According to her, police practices are the sum of cultural knowledge of police officers, i.e. Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’, and the structural conditions of police work, i.e. Bourdieu’s ‘field’ (Chan, 1997, pp.67-76). The important aspect here is that, in this, Chan is focusing on the occupational side of police culture. The value of her conceptualisation of police culture is that it acknowledges the changing conditions of policing. However, Chan’s study of reform and racism within an Australian police force resulted in a solution-oriented approach. Chan suggested to change the field by using tighter, possibly more democratic control measures, even Total Quality Management or performance indicators, while she actually could not provide a guarantee, or rather a recipe, for police reform.

In the following years further ethnographic studies were conducted. Again, they focused on single characteristics of police culture, such as gender roles, most notably Westmarland (2002), and Silvestri (2003). However, supported by public pressure towards new management techniques, researchers' interests moved towards organisational as well as occupational aspects of police culture (Davies & Thomas, 2003; Manning, 2007; McLaughlin, 2007, p.59). Internationally, police culture was even used as "both the object of policing and political reform in developing democracies and a barrier to such reforms" (O'Neill & Singh, 2007, p.1).

It remains that traditional thinking about police culture, based on the findings of early ethnographers, still depicts a shared, monolithic and reactionary mindset within the police force, as described by Waddington (1999, p.287). Nonetheless, this does not make sense anymore in a world of civilian oversight, where attempts of participatory management are made (Sklansky, 2007, pp.30-34). In addition, as Manning (2007, pp.50-51) pointed out, such thinking focuses only on the interaction between police and citizens, ignorant to the wider organisational and political dynamics affecting the police. Skolnick, one of the early police ethnographers, also suggested (2008) that new demographic developments, such as increased recruitment of police officers from ethnic or gender minorities, might have an impact on police culture (similar O'Neill & Holdaway, 2007). Police unions and associations as a collective voice of their members and without the traditional respect to ranks and grades are also influencing police organisations, and most likely police culture (Marks, 2007; O'Neill & Holdaway, 2007).

Much of the research was highlighting particular characteristics of police culture and how it can be changed, also indicated by Cockcroft (2005, p.374), Marks (2003), and Punch (2007, pp.107-108). Marks argued (2003, pp.255-256) that even if change is accomplished by legislation and police training policies, it might be inconsistent, in particular if it is not accompanied by a change of values and attitudes (Loftus, 2010, p.16). Still, police culture remains difficult to grasp, it "is a kind of patchwork quilt" (Marks and Singh, 2007, p.363) with evidently more need for research.

I worked as a police officer in different police agencies and authorities in Germany and internationally at the European Police Office (Europol). In some way I was always aware of what is called 'police culture' but without really having thought about it much. However, many of the research findings mentioned before are in one way or another known to me. Whilst

reading Waddington (1999) for the first time, I felt strong agreement with his arguments. Like the reflective practitioner described by Schön (1983) I engaged in reflection-on-action comparing arguments on and claims regarding police culture with situations I experienced in my own career, in fact I compared it against the sum of my experience. After 30 plus years of police service I do believe that there is a kind of police culture, and that not all of its aspects are positive from my personal point of view. Nevertheless, I felt that many of the negative characteristics attributed to this, effectively also my 'own' culture, are actually not 'caused' by the police.

For nine years I was employed at Europol in The Hague, working with police and other law enforcement officers from a multitude of EU and Non-EU countries on a daily basis. Working for this multi-agency organisation brings a number of interesting and unique law enforcement challenges: with a body of staff coming from a variety of backgrounds, issues like police and the greater law enforcement community culture, occupational culture and international aspects, converge. Consequently, one of the first tasks for anybody working there is to gain an understanding of how to cope with this cultural environment. In 2004 I participated in a Europol training course on 'Cultural Management', wherein Hofstede's cultural dimensions (1980/1984) were used to explain different national cultures. The course also offered coping strategies as well as a self-administered questionnaire on values to identify one's national background. The result of this 'quasi-experiment' was amazing: of around 15 participants the questionnaire failed only once, where the British participant was actually of Welsh origin. While heavily criticised (Baskerville, 2003; Earley, 2006; McSweeney, 2002; Nakata, 2009) Hofstede's conceptualisation of culture is, in particular, popular for management and business studies of culture (Kirkman, Lowe, & Gibson, 2006), which will be discussed in Chapter 2.4 and 3.1.

When I began to study police culture I remembered Hofstede's theories on national culture, values and cultural dimensions. Embarking on a small-scale research project, I aimed to explore not only the police culture at Europol but also possible links to Hofstede's cultural dimensions. As one of the main findings, my pilot study revealed that there appear to be three important levels in relation to police culture: nationality, occupation and organisation. Based on values and practices, these three aspects of national culture, occupational culture and organisational culture determine what is commonly known as 'police culture'.

In further reflection of my own career and my experiences (Dewey, 1910/1997) I identified primarily two important facts, which are not always differentiated by researchers of police culture. First, there was the before-mentioned organisational aspect. The differences of the occupational culture in the various German agencies I worked in were rather distinct. From an occupational and professional standpoint it made a big difference whether I worked on 'state level' in the riot police, a State Criminal Investigation Office, an urban police, a rural police force or on international level for Europol. My years at Europol also provided me with in-depth insight into policing activities and habits in many European countries. In an organisation such as Europol, police and the greater law enforcement community culture, occupational culture and international aspects, come together. I noticed many similarities, and many differences, primarily on organisational and national cultures.

Whilst reflecting on police culture I realised that there must be a connection. Yet, I was not able to conceptualise this any further just based on experience and reflection. However, the desire to understand this particular part of the police world created the plan to research police culture with a view to different national systems but also with a view to different organisations. At the time I was not aware of the fact that this is exactly what Kolb called the 'process of experiential learning' (Kolb, 1984) and that to him such "learning is the process of creating knowledge" (Kolb, 1984, pp.36-38). This paved the way for my further studies, the pilot research and finally my thesis, which will not only explore conceptions of police culture but also take a more in-depth look into culture and cultural conceptions as such, be it on national, organisational or occupational level. The necessity for this rather broad approach stems directly from the consideration that certain aspects in relation to culture might have been overlooked, when researchers conceptualised police culture.

## 1.2 Thesis Aim & Objectives

The ‘cultural dimensions’ mentioned in Section 1.1., developed by Hofstede (1980/1984, 2001), provide a theoretical framework for comparing cultures, which will be outlined in detail in Section 2.4. The same concept was used within the pilot study to this research, which investigated the culture at Europol. As mentioned in Section 1.1 this small-scale research revealed that police culture might be determined by three different cultural aspects: a national, an occupational and an organisational aspect – the ‘Three Aspects of Police Culture’.

By partially drawing on Hofstede’s dimensions this research explores the concept of police culture. The overall aim of this thesis is to:

**Critically examine the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values (primarily acquired early in life on national or societal level) and practices (learned through socialisation processes within the occupation and organisation).**

For this, two important factors need to be considered. First, similar practices do not imply the existence of similar values (Hofstede, 2001, p.394), which will be further addressed in Chapters 6.4 and 9. Second, the consideration of culture on the level of a society or nation requires an international perspective, because differences on this level will only become evident if compared to each other (Hofstede, 2001, p.14) as outlined in Chapter 2.1.

To achieve this aim the following objectives were set:

1. To critically examine and synthesise existing theoretical perspectives on police culture as well as wider associated literature related to culture, organisational theory and sociology.
2. Using a mixed methods approach, to identify and explore the main values and practices contributing to the ‘Three Aspects of Police Culture’, to conceptualise them into a model and to assess the impact of this model in relation to changing police culture.
3. To situate the research findings within existing conceptualisations of and literature on police culture in order to contribute to academic knowledge.

As explained in detail in Chapter 5.1, this research applied an interpretivist approach using Weber's concept of *Verstehen*. The theoretical perspective taken was essentially pragmatist philosophy, which influenced the choice of methodology, a mixed methods research. The mixed methods approach included the administration of an online questionnaire, to which 206 police officers from 24 different, primarily European countries responded. In addition to this quantitative survey the qualitative research component was provided by 20 semi-structured interviews conducted with police officers from 13 European countries (Chapter 5). Considering the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture' model as a source influencing police culture development will provide an opportunity to gain valuable insight into the mechanisms influencing police culture, and enhance the existing literature, which relates to police culture internationally, and explore opportunities to change police culture. This will help to identify different aspects of police culture, which in turn will be used to discuss existing conceptualisations also looking into particular circumstances under which they might be applicable.

### **1.3 Thesis Structure**

This introductory chapter outlines the motivation for and the aim and objectives of this research. The former also includes some reflective elements, which were crucial for picking this subject and explain how the idea of the "Three Aspects of Police Culture" as a possible model was developed. It also illustrates how the aim of this thesis, to critically examine the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values (primarily acquired early in life on national or societal level) and practices (learned through socialisation processes within the occupation and organisation) was conceived. The following chapters will look into the various origins and definitions of culture in general, and on national, organisational and occupational level. This is important in order to understand the historical context within which researchers of culture and police culture were operating.

Consequently Chapter 2 introduces the concepts of culture and national culture. It starts with the origins of the conception of culture as developed by Tylor (1871/1958) and addresses some of the difficulties researchers from various disciplines faced in trying to understand culture. The focus will then move on to actual conceptions and definitions of culture and sub-culture. The relevance of nations for the development of culture within societies, i.e. national cultures,

will then be highlighted. This inevitably also leads to an outline of the research and findings of Hofstede and his cultural dimensions (1980/1984, 2001), which concludes Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 addresses the importance of culture in relation to organisations and occupations. First the general concept of organisational culture will be introduced and discussed. Next to conceptualisations of organisational theorists and other researchers this will also include relevant research conducted by Hofstede (2001), linking organisational culture to culture on national level. The following section will explain and discuss particularities of police organisations within an international context, also looking at organisational differences between nations. The chapter finishes by looking at the culture of the individuals employed by organisations, the professional or occupational culture.

The culture of the police is the subject of Chapter 4, beginning with a brief history of police culture research. It outlines how research developed from an initial focus on the occupational culture of the police, to incorporating organisational aspects into conceptualisations of police culture. After this introduction the occupational ‘cop canteen sub-culture’ of the police and its core characteristics will be discussed. Following this the relevance of roles, groups and group memberships in relation to police culture will be explained.

The methodology for this research is outlined in Chapter 5, beginning with the research strategy and the instruments used to conduct this mixed methods research using quantitative and qualitative elements. The design and administration of the online survey will be outlined. This is followed by explanations on how the semi-structured interviews with 20 police officers from across Europe were conducted. Afterwards possible insider issues will be addressed before the chapter concludes with considering ethical aspects of the research.

Chapter 6 presents the results in relation to occupational aspects of police culture, addressing the most relevant themes as identified through both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The first section describes the findings in relation to learning and training of police officers. This is followed by a section on police officers’ perceptions of an overarching ‘common police culture’. Also highlighted will be findings in relation to the cultural characteristic of ‘solidarity’. The chapter concludes with an analysis section on those results.

Results on organisational aspects of police culture are presented in Chapter 7, again by using quantitative and qualitative findings, beginning with organisational differences and their

influence on police culture. This is followed by describing the research results related to police management. The third theme of this chapter addresses research findings on organisational structures and change. The chapter finishes with a discussion and analysis of the findings.

The findings from both survey and interview research instruments presented in Chapter 8 concern national aspects of police culture. This first includes a section on police masculinity, a cultural characteristic traditionally associated with occupational police culture. Similarly, the second theme identified as being important on the level of national culture, isolation of police officers, is also typically considered as characteristic for the occupation. The third theme shows results related to police and society, before the chapter finishes with an analysis of the results.

Finally, Chapter 9 concludes this thesis first with a discussion of the findings before using them to conceptualise the “Three Aspects of Police Culture Model”. The chapter then summarises the research and addresses limitations as well as opportunities for future research. The thesis finishes with highlighting its unique contribution to the literature on police culture.

## Chapter 2: Culture & National Culture

The purpose of this and the next chapter is to consider the wider literature related to culture from a multi-disciplinary angle and beyond one single discipline to avoid missing ‘essential information available next door’ (Hofstede, 2001, p.415). After briefly addressing the relevance of looking into conceptualisations of culture in general but also organisational and occupational culture, the first section will outline the origins of culture, how the idea of culture developed. Section 2.2 will, in addition to presenting various conceptions of culture, address the phenomenon of sub-culture. Also with a view to cultural values and practices this will be followed by a discussion on the relevance of national culture (Section 2.3). The chapter finishes with Section 2.4, an outline of Geert Hofstede’s ‘cultural dimensions’ (2001).

Researchers of police culture entered the field putting findings on police behaviour into context with existing literature on culture (Chapter 1.1). Cockcroft suggested (2012, p.4) that any work on police culture begins with a review of literature on organisational culture before it is linked to sociological or criminological work and findings. He then shifted his focus to organisational – and occupational – culture. The difference between these two cultures, is discussed in more depth in Chapter 4. The conceptual ideas on occupational police culture, however, date back to the early ethnographic researchers (e.g. Banton, 1964; Cain, 1973; Westley, 1953) who used an anthropological interpretation to explain police behaviour and linked it with the occupational collective of the police. Only after Reuss-Ianni (1983/2017) had identified a fragmentation of culture into ‘street cop culture’ and ‘management cop culture’ within police organisations, did researchers develop the concept of organisational police culture (e.g. Farkas & Manning, 1997; Manning, 2007). Occupational and organisational cultures are discussed in Chapter 3, however, within the literature of police culture there is not always a clear divide between the two different contexts.

If the police is seen as an organisation with its own culture or sub-culture, namely occupational police culture, Cockcroft (2012) used an understandable approach. Chan (1997, p.67/68) started with a somewhat broader perspective, looking at the literature of culture in general but quickly moved on to organisational cultural theories. This, however, might already narrow down the view on the problem: to understand police culture it is certainly important to look at the occupation as such as well as at the organisation, wherein the culture is found. It is likewise important, though, to have a clear understanding of ‘culture’ without being constrained by

considerations of organisation or occupation. For the research of culture it is also important to understand what culture actually is, how it might manifest itself, whether and how it can be observed, maybe even measured. In fact, there is a need to clarify the conceptual usage (Williams, 1976/1985, p.91). Therefore this chapter will look into how the idea of culture developed and how it was conceptualised.

## 2.1 The Origins of Culture

In his 'Vocabulary of Culture and Society' Raymond Williams dedicated more than six pages to culture, "one of the most complicated words in the English language" (1976/1985, pp.87-93). From the Latin word *cultura* he traced the historical developments of the word in different European languages over the centuries. In all early uses the noun culture referred to tending, usually crop or livestock, before it was used in context of human relationships and even more importantly for general, abstract processes. In particular, German philosophers used the French-based word *Cultur* (nowadays spelled *Kultur*) as a more modern substitute for the noun 'civilisation' (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, Part I). A similar view was taken by E.B. Tylor:

"CULTURE or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (1871/1958, p.1).

Tylor's definition of culture was not appreciated by everybody. Blumenthal for example criticised the fact that Tylor referred to human society to define culture, whereas both terms are equally difficult to define (Blumenthal, 1940, pp.572-573). Much later Greenblatt (1987/1995, p.225) elaborated that Tylor's use of the noun is vague and all-encompassing. However, Williams (1976/1985, pp.90-91) suggested that Tylor's view merely described one category of the usage of the noun 'culture' related to the way of life of a nation, a group, a period or all of humankind itself. There are further meanings attached to the term. The noun culture also describes the development of processes and practices of intellectual activities on a spiritual, aesthetic or artistic level. Culture can also be understood as a social phenomenon indicating the way of life of people, a group, or a period. As such culture can refer to material production such as in archaeology and anthropology. In cultural studies, however, the noun culture refers to symbolic systems (Williams, 1976/1985, pp.90-91).

The German sociologist and philosopher Ferdinand Tönnies (1897) described *Cultur* by referring to agriculture, the *Cultur des Bodens*, but also to human culture (*menschliche Cultur*) referring to history and civilisation of man and even to the culture of cities, *städtische Cultur*. Nevertheless, archaeologists and (cultural) anthropologists typically focus on the material meaning, whereas in history and cultural studies, the afore-mentioned immaterial, symbolic meaning prevails. There are overlaps: material archaeological findings such as ancient vases provide insight not only into the technological advances of a civilisation but ideally into its immaterial social life and organisation. This is very much in line with what Durkheim referred to in explaining society as being distinct from the animal kingdom (1917/1985, p.248) simply because society transforms the world. In fact, Boyd and Richerson only recently argued that the evolution of human cognition is directly linked to the development of culture:

“Our interpretation of the evidence is that human cognition mainly evolved to acquire and manage cumulative cultural traditions. This capacity probably cannot be favored when rare, even in circumstances where it would be quite successful if it did evolve. Thus, its evolution likely required, as a preadaptation, the advanced cognition achieved by many mammalian lineages in the last few million years.” (Boyd & Richerson, 2005, p.79)

The idea of ‘culture’, similar to social theory, was beginning to be debated in the late eighteenth century, basically a reaction to enormous, often confusing changes in social life and a product of philosophical debate dating back to Kant and Hegel (Jenks, pp.2-7). As early as 1869, Arnold recommended culture as “the great help out of our present difficulties” (p.viii). However, scientists with an interest in sociobiology linked the actual origin of culture or rather the capacity for it, to the development of human cognition, the ability to imitate and to use social learning and teaching to acquire, and preserve, information during the Pleistocene (Boyd & Richerson, 2005, p.3/8/79). Essential to this kind of development of a social system is some form of communication. In addition, humans transform their world through symbolic representations (Jenks, 2006, p.8) within social units such as families, clans, tribes, or civilisations.

While symbolic representation and communication are important cultural elements, it is debatable whether language is part of culture (Sarangi, 2009, pp.95-96). There is an interrelationship between language and culture, as a cultural resource: language is “rooted in

the reality of the culture” (Malinowski, 1923, p.305). According to Darnell, the anthropologist Franz Boas saw language as a symbolic form through which culture becomes accessible to study (Darnell, 2009, p.43). Sapir and Boas were convinced that language helps to conceptualise social reality (Vermeulen, 2009, p.238). For Whorf and Malinowski language is a form of behaviour (Senft, 2009, p.9). In his discussion of the language-culture interface Sarangi suggested that it is in fact language which provides the intellectual capacity for complex social behaviour (Sarangi, 2009, pp.81,84,95-97). Triandis (1989) went a step further, introducing the phrase ‘subjective culture’ including for example language and behaviour as aspects of culture which should be distinguished from objective cultural artefacts created by human societies (Triandis, Vassiliou, & Nassiakou, 1968). Language will be addressed again in in relation to sub-culture (Chapter 2.2).

Stemming from ‘culture equals civilisation’ the idea of culture can also be extended to ‘cultured’ or rather ‘cultivated’ groups or individuals (Jenks, 2006, pp.8-9). Individuals and their characteristics are the outcome of inherited and learned aspects, where learning is basically the socialisation process facilitated by the environment (Hofstede, 2001, pp.2-3). In a social context the environment and the surrounding culture are identical. Importantly, for Hofstede (2001, p.14) culture is only visible when compared to another culture, which he illustrated with examples of national character and culture. Only comparing one culture to an ‘other’ enabled anthropologists such as Boas or Malinowski to ‘see’ culture. Consequently Lewellen suggested that culture is understood as something which differentiates groups from each other, “an identification of otherness” (Lewellen, 2002, p.50), when promoting the idea of global or globalised culture.

Williams pointed out that the complex, and still further developing meaning of the term practically invites one to pick one particular, fitting meaning and to ignore the rest, depending on the discipline. Nonetheless the need for a conceptualised usage of the word within a discipline is obvious. This, of course, suggests that researchers will most likely use the perspective of their discipline to decide which conceptual meaning or sense of ‘culture’ is most appropriate for their research (Williams, 1976/1985, p.91). Such an approach does not come without problems though, because much more than within physical sciences, social scientists have to deal with systems in which they are embedded. Scientists are part of the system

(Hofstede, 2001, p.2). This makes it particularly challenging to understand and define culture. In the following, a number of conceptions of culture, and sub-culture will be explored.

## 2.2 Conceptions of Culture & Sub-Culture

As mentioned before, Tylor was the first to provide a definition on culture using the terms 'civilisation' and 'culture' synonymously (1871/1958, p.1). Sapir (1924, p.403), used the word civilisation only in so far as ethnological culture was concerned. Boas initially also used both, repeatedly referring to the "advance of civilization" (e.g. Boas, 1901, p.288) when he actually meant 'culture'. By 1911 though, he had introduced the phrase "advance of culture" (Boas, 1911, p.197). Stocking Jr. found several direct exchanges of those two words in Boas' works (Stocking Jr., 1966, pp.870-871) also suggesting that the ideas of 'culture' were in a flux, moving on from a humanist and evolutionist use to an anthropological one. For a long time the conception of culture was indeed primarily theorised by anthropologists (Gordon, 1947, p.40). In 1944 Malinowski defined culture as "a vast apparatus, partly material, partly human and partly spiritual by which man is able to cope with the concrete, specific problems that face him" (p.36). As far as possible cultural changes are concerned, Benedict (1934/1989, pp.36-37) remarked that minor and disputed changes can end in a changed pattern of culture, if through tradition they are treated as important and valuable by other generations. Kardiner hypothesised about a 'basic personality structure' which are common for individuals of the same national culture (Kardiner & Linton, 1965).

By 1946 culture was identified as an important concept not only for anthropology but also for sociology, psychology and psychoanalysis, as well as for public and private organisations (Green, 1946). Regardless of the heightened interest from multiple disciplines, further ideas on the links between the individual or at least large segments of a population, or the consideration towards the longevity of cultural representations for a long time conceptualisations of culture did not have much to offer for practical research. There was a dilemma between the understanding of the almost all-encompassing aspects of culture and the defining of a conceptualisation, which also offers pragmatic tools for research. One idea to make the 'disorganised complexity' of culture more manageable was to handle this problem with 'organised simplicity' (Kluckhohn, 1951a, p.101) and to look at certain key elements, such as

traits or patterns. Somewhat simplified culture is comprised of the shared values of a collectivity (Kluckhohn, 1951b, p.388; Rokeach, 1973, p.5). Values, or beliefs and attitudes, are therefore not only held by individuals but also by collectives (Kluckhohn, 1951b).

After reviewing more than 160 definitions of culture Kroeber and Kluckhohn summarised that

“culture is a product; is historical; includes ideas, patterns and values; is selective; is learned; is based upon symbols; and is an abstraction from behaviour and the products of behaviour” (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p.157).

Both considered not only society but also the individual: "Culture is part, though only part, of the personality" (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p.114). In consequence all individual personalities therefore contribute to a given society's culture. Nonetheless, there was criticism towards their understanding of culture. Weiss (1973, p.1377), for example, claimed that all definitions provided are partial and consequently all the views on culture have to be partial as well. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, p.181) admitted that there was no full theory of culture but just a concept, which needed to be developed into testable theory. Nonetheless, by 1958 Kroeber and Parsons were proposing a narrower definition of culture. Seeing an obvious need for a conceptual separation they suggested restricting culture to “transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour and the artifacts produced through behaviour” (Kroeber & Parsons, 1958, p.583). For everything else, the use of the terms ‘society’ or ‘social system’ was proposed for the specific relation system of interactions between individuals and collectives.

In advocating a ‘scientific concept of culture’ Weiss tried to point out differences and similarities between the words ‘culture’ and ‘society’. While his main anthropological concern was with societies and their organisation he defined culture as a list of terms and definitions (Weiss, 1973, pp.1384-1405), which arguably might narrow down what culture is or is supposed to be. However, the term culture itself was also addressed and defined comparatively widely as the generic term for all that is humanly social plus any and all human nongenetic, or metabiological, phenomena (Weiss, 1973, p.1386). The issue is clearly finding an acceptable compromise, which acknowledges the complexity of culture and ideally provides a demarcation line between the possible non-cultural, society-related activities of individuals, while still allowing practical application for research. Hence, simplifying or narrowing down

culture to behaviour-based concepts focusing on values, beliefs and symbolic meanings, as suggested by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), might indeed be a solution. Such concepts provide opportunities for observation, measurement or interpretation and are useful tools at least for practitioners in the field.

A somewhat different view was introduced by Bourdieu with his ideas on 'habitus' and 'field' in relation to social theory, first published in French in 1990. For his conceptualisation of culture he used the complex interrelationship between, for example, behaviour and the surrounding environment (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.127). Habitus is developed by individuals and is based on experience, thought processes, ways of perception, dispositions learned through the family, even the ability to act. The development of habitus is influenced by the (social) field, which in turn is affected by the individual. The social field can encompass any social activity, be it everyday life, politics or economy. Culture, however, is primarily used to describe capital, be it social, symbolic, economic or cultural capital, which also includes education. The concept of habitus, field and capital takes place on a rather abstract philosophical level, which might inhibit access to Bourdieu's ideas. On a practical level, researchers of culture have to find suitable indicators first before they can actually measure habitus and field.

More recently Sarangi (2009, pp.81-99) reminded of the still elusive nature of the culture concept and the ongoing not only anthropologic but interdisciplinary debate on the concept of culture. Sarangi contributed to the debate by categorising existing conceptualisations. Using Kroeber and Kluckhohn's definition (1952) Sarangi (2009, p.84) pointed out that definitions are often inclusive. He identified three relevant issues: the culture concept includes every aspect of social life, culture is seen as a synonym for the social system, and the interdependencies between individuals and society. If culture is equated with thoughts, beliefs, values and feelings as originally claimed by Tylor, there is a dilemma, a dichotomy as far as analysis is concerned: observable activities of individuals shall be explained with unobservable cultural dispositions. If culture is understood as "the most fluid, unconstrained and least observable category of 'non-behavior'" (Sarangi, 2009, p.85), at a theoretical level explanations will be either too rich or too poor, while at methodological level this will not provide analytical significance and will consequently be deemed unhelpful by researchers. Sarangi highlighted the behaviourist approach to examine the relationship between the human

actor and their culture, which allows for observing behaviour as a social action to investigate the otherwise invisible aspects of culture. The semiotic view on culture was presented as a compromise to see social practices in context as symbolic meanings instead of either being a ‘super-organic reality’ or learned behaviour. Shared ideas, standards and values provided another, interpretive framework to define culture but this view was criticised as not being useful for understanding class-based societies and it does not explain where the homogeneity within a group comes from or what is shared and why (Sarangi, 2009, pp.85-88). Sarangi did not however provide a solution for the issues he identified. While his arguments were not directly taken into consideration in formulating the research approach, Hofstede (1998, p.2) similarly labelled observable practices as the visible and values the invisible part of culture (Section 3.1). Cultural values and practices are the core of the research aim (Section 1.2) and will be revisited throughout Chapters 6 to 9.

As a concept ‘culture’ is commonly used to describe societies, be it nations or ethnic and regional groups, even across nations. However, it can also be applied to any human collective such as organisations, families, occupations, even age groups and genders. Hofstede concluded: “Culture is to a human collectivity what personality is to an individual” (2011, p.10). In fact culture differentiates one group from another and helps to identify ‘otherness’ (Lewellen, 2002, p.50). ‘Otherness’ could be identified through, for example, observed behaviour, a product of socialisation, values and beliefs, if ‘culture’ is accepted as being value-based. However, in this case judgement on values of other groups or societies needs to be suspended, because humans are at the same time source and instruments of values (Hofstede 2001, 15). Therefore a relativist approach is essential to avoid mis-interpretations. Another important aspect of immense practical relevance is related to the comparison of groups, which will be relevant not only for the discussion of sub-culture later on in this section but also in Chapters 3 and 4. Thus, as long as cultural relativism, experiencing “the world through the eyes of others” (Lewellen, 2002, p.45), is applied, researchers can accurately identify differences between compared samples. The aspect of comparison in relation to identifying cultural differences, was essential for designing this research (Chapter 5.1).

Similar to Benedict (1934/1989), Nunn was of the opinion that culture evolves. Consequently any changes will develop slowly, unless a ‘historical shock’ has a long-term impact on culture and alters costs and benefits of existing traits (Nunn, 2012, p.108/122). He referred to Boyd

and Richerson (2005) and decision-making heuristics manifested “as values, beliefs, or social norms” (Nunn, 2012, p.109). After analysing a number of studies Nunn concluded that cultural differences across societies are reflected even in decision-making processes of individuals. According to Nunn cultural differences within the USA are often illustrated through institutions established by early European migrants using the cultural values and beliefs of their countries of origin. Institutions are usually though not necessarily shaped by cultural values and beliefs. Nunn saw an important interrelationship between domestic institutions and culture. In this context institutions, legal, political or otherwise, can be anything from secure property rights to structures and formal courts or commissions (Nunn, 2012, pp.112-122). Interestingly, and importantly, this suggests that legislation, government and the whole economic environment of communities are shaped by culture. Conversely, institutions and their structures are a reflection of the culture which created them, typically groups of individuals with a similar background. In extension the same should be applicable to police organisations (Chapter 3).

Green suggested that individuals do not usually participate in the total cultural complex but primarily in a number of population segments grouped by “sex, age, class, occupation, region, religion, and ethnic group” (Green, 1946, p.534). Gordon (1947, pp.40-41) built on Green’s argument and proposed to use the term ‘sub-culture’ to distinguish sub-divisions of a national culture. According to Gordon an individual can be a member of several different sub-cultures and should also have a ‘sub-cultural personality’. He also theorised about easy indicators to identify participants of a particular sub-culture and suggested speech patterns as the most revealing ones. Language was already identified either as a means providing the capacity for complex social behaviour or as actual part of a ‘subjective culture’ (Chapter 2.1). Clarke (1974, pp.428-431) in his more general discussion on culture identified two perspectives, namely what is said and thought by people and what they actually do or what is done to people, before turning towards the concept of sub-cultures, giving preference to a model where sub-culture is a sub-set of a given dominant culture in a society. Similarly, British and American social theorists applied culture as a concept of differentiation within a collective rather than a way of gathering: “A subculture is the way of defining and honouring the particular specification and demarcation of special or different interests of a group of people within a larger collectivity” (Jenks, 2006, p.10).

Gordon (1947, p.40), saw sub-cultures as sub-divisions of national cultures. Potential members of a sub-culture are motivated to adopt the characteristic of the sub-culture and to join a group by continually revised identification with this group (Fine & Kleinman, 1979, p.18). By 1960 the concept of sub-culture was widely used, be it for the description of cultural variations within parts of society or to describe groups displaying deviant behaviour. In general, there are many groups in each society, which can form a sub-culture, differentiated for example by religion or language; some might be long-lasting and exist for generations, others might be based on migration or occupation. According to Jenks a “subculture is the way of defining and honouring the particular specification and demarcation of special or different interests of a group of people within a larger collectivity” (Jenks, 2006, p.10). Nevertheless, Yinger (1960, pp.627-628) warned not to confuse sub-culture with (social) roles, a concept which will be addressed in Chapter 4.

A last aspect on sub-culture is linked to social identity theory. The self-image of an individual gained through learning during socialisation processes is commonly understood as social identity, usually influenced by learned social roles, occupational or otherwise. Social identity can be expressed in interaction with the surrounding environment, through group memberships or, most prominently, through behaviour (Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, p.18). According to social identity theory, individuals perceive whether they belong to a particular group or not (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.40). Social identity theory will be addressed again in Chapter 4.3. For individuals who are members of such a group though, this is the so-called ‘ingroup’ (Straub, Loch, Evaristo, Karahanna, & Strite, 2002, p.18). The ‘ingroup-outgroup’ distinction is important and can determine social behaviour (Triandis, 1989, p.517). The most important factor is the focus on the individual. The key aspect is the move away from the traditional understanding of culture towards modern aspects, as also indicated by Eagleton (2013, pp.30-31). The question then is whether modern sub-cultures really hold cultural attributes as those noted before, such as beliefs and values. Alternatively, they are more superficial, leaning towards popular culture, based on moods and trends and might not qualify as a proper sub-culture in the eyes of many. However, as far as sub-culture as a concept is concerned, its application typically depends on the perspective of the observer: an ingroup can be understood as a sub-culture, as well as particular parts of society exhibiting, in part, different behaviour from the larger collective, which can also include the police.

Looking at culture from a multi-disciplinary viewpoint, Baldwin, Faulkner and Hecht (2006, pp.11-22) identified some limitations of Kroeber and Kluckhohn's summary on culture, simply because science, and in particular social science moved on. They suggested that the various definitions can be categorised first of all into more traditional definitions, which look at culture as a system or as a function. Some of the contemporary definitions still fall into this category. More recent definitions have a more interpretivist angle and look at culture as a creation (e.g. through linguistic structures). Others focus on the intergroup perspective including social identity theory, culture as an instrument of and for ideology and something simply called the post-modern approach. They concluded that the definition of culture is illusive and "a moving target" and cautioned those who seek to define it to consider the multi-disciplinary and historical background of the term (Baldwin, et al., 2006, p.24). Nevertheless, many conceptualisations of culture arguably share quite a few characteristics and common elements and are not completely incompatible. An overview of some of the more influential characteristics of definitions and conceptions of culture are chronologically listed in Table 2.1 below.

<b>Definitions and Conceptions of Culture</b>	
Author	Characteristics (milestones)
Tylor (1871)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture and civilisation used synonymously</li> <li>• Ethnographic approach:</li> <li>• Complex whole incl. knowledge, belief, art, moral, custom; any other capabilities, habits acquired by humans</li> <li>• Humans as members of society</li> </ul>
Boas (1901/1911)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Initially both words, culture and civilisation, used like Tylor</li> <li>• Preferred 'culture' (anthropological sense) by 1911</li> </ul>
Sapir (1924)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 'Civilisation' used instead of culture in its ethnographic senses (avoiding confusion with other meanings of the word 'culture' at the time)</li> </ul>
Benedict (1934)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture has patterns transferred through tradition</li> <li>• Patterns can be changed</li> </ul>
Malinowski (1944)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture is a vast apparatus</li> <li>• Partly material, human, spiritual</li> <li>• Enables humans to cope with concrete, specific problems faced by them</li> <li>• Reference to the environment</li> </ul>
Green (1946)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture identified as important concept beyond anthropology: sociology, psychology, psychoanalysis, organisation (public and private)</li> <li>• Individuals participate in segments of the population and grouping by sex, age, class, occupation, region, religion, ethnic group (though not in the total culture)</li> </ul>
Gordon (1947)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Building on Green:</li> <li>• Sub-divisions of national culture are sub-cultures</li> </ul>
Kluckhohn (1951)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complexity of culture made more manageable through focus on key elements:</li> <li>• Patterns or traits – values (beliefs, attitudes)</li> <li>• Shared values of a collectivity</li> </ul>
Kroeber & Kluckhohn (1952)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture is a product</li> <li>• Historical</li> <li>• Includes ideas, patterns, values</li> <li>• Selective, learned, based on symbols</li> <li>• Abstraction from behaviour and its products</li> <li>• On individual level: part of the personality</li> </ul>

Kroeber & Parsons (1958)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More narrow, restricted definition</li> <li>• Transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, other symbolic-meaningful systems: factors in shaping behaviour</li> <li>• Artefacts produced through behaviour</li> <li>• Proposal of using the words 'society' or 'social system' for relation system of interactions between individuals and collectives</li> </ul>
Weiss (1973)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anthropological interest in societies and their organisations</li> <li>• Wide definition of culture: all that is humanly social, any and all human nongenetic or metabiological phenomena</li> </ul>
Bourdieu (1990)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural conception based on habitus, field and capital (and class)</li> <li>• Habitus: developed by individuals; experience, thought processes, ways of perception, dispositions learned (family), ability to act</li> <li>• Habitus development influenced by (social) field, which is influenced by the individual</li> <li>• Field: any social activity</li> <li>• Culture used to describe 'capital': social, symbolic, economic, cultural (e.g. education) capital</li> </ul>
Sarangi (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identified 3 issues:</li> <li>• Culture concept includes every aspect of social life; seen as synonym for social system; equated with thoughts, beliefs, values, feelings (as claimed by Tylor)</li> <li>• 3 possible approaches for researchers: behaviourist (observing behaviour as social action), semiotic (social practices in context of symbolic meanings), interpretative (shared ideas, standards, values)</li> <li>• No theoretical explanation, no solution for the issues</li> </ul>
Nunn (2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture evolves, changes slowly</li> <li>• Culture based on decision-making heuristics manifested as values, beliefs, social norms</li> <li>• Interrelationship between culture and institutions (shaped by values, beliefs)</li> <li>• Institutions: legal, political; property rights, formal courts etc.</li> </ul>

*Table 2.1: Definitions and conceptions of culture since Tylor (1871)*

Most scientists, regardless of their discipline, see an interdependent relationship between the individual and the collective, nation or group. Values and beliefs seem to be at the core of culture, and maybe behaviour as an expression of those values and beliefs. Even considering

the more recent focus on cognitive and symbolic aspects, where culture is understood as systems of meaning (Lewellen, 2002, p.50), values and beliefs remain relevant. They are influenced by tradition, gained through socialisation and, in consequence, education. The environment, including the ability to respond to it, constitutes another important factor in many definitions of culture. It is quite likely that culture as a concept evolves, given the numerous research attempts focusing on it and with a view to the increasing importance of 'culture' in a globalised world with countless multi-national enterprises and organisations. However, before shifting the focus to organisations and culture or cross-national aspects, as outlined before, many conceptualisations of culture and sub-culture refer to a 'national culture' or the culture of a society. Nations, or rather nation-states represent arguably the highest level of an independent social structure. Consequently there is need to look at the national level of culture first.

### **2.3 National Culture**

The expression national culture is a comparatively recent one and was preceded by the 'national character concept' (Hofstede, 2001, p.12). This concept was based on the assumption "that 'dominant' themes can be identified in any social system" including on a national level (Nett, 1958, p.297). The interest in national character is at least centuries old and the use of collective characteristics to describe populations or parts of them dates back to Julius Caesar and his description of the Gallic tribes (Hofstede, 2001, p.12). In 1947 Gordon (p.40) criticised the concept of culture not extending beyond national borders.

During the 1940s and 1950s, national character was debated but outside of psychoanalytic theory there were no empirical studies available on the subject (Hofstede, 2001, p.13). Certain links to 'culture' were seen but mainly as far as 'nation-culture confusion' was concerned. Nations were understood as a geo-political concept, suggesting that a nation does not have to correspond with certain cultural groups, and that cultural groupings tend to spill over borders (Nett, 1958, pp.299-301). To date 'national character' is occasionally used synonymously with 'national culture' or there is no clear distinction made (Clark, 1990).

Green (1946, p.536) suggested that while Protestant Ethic provided a common background for social structures and value systems in Germany, Britain and the USA, national cultures in all

three countries deviated over time due to changes within those cultures. Initially there was likely a strong cultural ‘tribal influence’ caused by historical processes. The most prominent example is probably Germany with the long-lasting competition between Bavaria and Prussia. Easthope (1998, p.42) suggested that state and culture do not always occur together and that a culture can be larger than a state, such as the German culture, one of many in a polity like the Roman Empire, or congruent in the nation-state, for which he gave the USA and France as examples. Initially, though, the USA did not have a very homogenous culture (Nunn, 2012). At least in African countries without ‘grown borders’ or countries with strong immigration flows, national culture can be seen as a construct (Easthope, 1998, p.42). Still, as Said pointed out, “culture comes to be associated ... with the nation or the state” (1993; cited by Sarangi, 2009, p.88).

Nations, and thus societies, are the most ‘complete’ human groups that exist, representing a social system. Over time societal norms helped to develop numerous structures such as institutions, education and political systems, even legislation, which was often linked to the creation of nation-states (Hofstede, 2001, pp.10-11). In many instances this is accompanied by ethnic, nationalist and cultural conflict. In particular in divided or multi-ethnic countries such as India or Nicaragua, more or less successful attempts were made to ‘create’ a national culture after the decolonisation period (Lewellen, 2002, pp.116-117). Some argued that even in many parts of Europe national cultures were most likely reinforced through the establishment of national schooling and education systems, in particular after WWII (Soeters, Hofstede, & Van Twuyver, 1995, p.3). In fact, after entertainment, education “is a long-standing feature of national culture” (Edensor, 2002, p.85). This links in to conceptualisations of culture based on values and attitudes, which develop through socialisation processes, be it in the family, at primary school or in secondary education, which will be addressed again throughout this thesis.

Hofstede (2001, p.373) was convinced that national cultures mainly differ in their values. He also suggested that cultural patterns, and by extension national cultures, might be stable for rather long periods of time if there are no outside influences impacting on the societal norms, the values systems of the major population groups (Hofstede, 2001, pp.11-13). Some research indicates that this assumption might be right. Stedham and Yamamura (2004, pp.240-241) for example studied gender differences in cultural characteristics in countries with distinctive cultures, Japan and the USA. Using Hofstede’s cultural dimensions, which will be explained

shortly, they only found small changes after a period of 30 years. Others engaged similarly in cross-cultural research, which is interestingly mainly understood as a discipline of psychological research. While there are distinct differences to Hofstede, the common denominator is the emphasis of attitudes, values or beliefs (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006).

To some, national, as well as organisational and occupational cultures are merely specific sub-cultures (Straub, et al., 2002, p.19), which obviously is a matter of perspective and dependant on the point of reference. National culture remains an important topic, despite, or maybe because of, globalisation. Following Hannerz (1996, pp.65-69) there is a global trend of 'creolization', where old cultures are increasingly mixing to create new ones or where they simply change due to globalisation. Others are concerned about core values, which could become less nation-specific thereby furthering a fear of losing national identity (Ester, Mohler, & Vinken, 2006, p.5).

For many, globalisation refers first and foremost to trade and economy. Notably business activities of multi-national corporations are affected by increasing globalisation. The actors are consequently well advised to bear national culture concepts in mind (Kogut & Singh, 1988), if only for marketing purposes (Clark, 1990). Arguably one of the first truly globally-acting multi-national corporations was the technology company IBM. IBM managers were concerned with employee morale which resulted in employee attitude surveys in differing parts of the organisation since the 1950s. The surveys were administered by consultants and each survey used different methods and questions. Standardisation of surveying was only achieved after IBM standardised its surveys in 1965 by appointing its own personnel researchers, one of whom was Geert Hofstede. In 1966 IBM began to fund two standardised personnel research projects, which provided the initial data for Hofstede (2001, p.43), whose work will be looked at next.

## 2.4 Hofstede and His Cultural Dimensions

Between 1966 and 1973 the Dutch social psychologist Hofstede conducted two international employee attitude surveys for the multi-national corporation IBM (previous section). In analysing answers to more than 116,000 questionnaires from 72 countries he discovered important aspects in relation to national culture, so-called cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 2001). National culture was an integral part of the small-scale research project (Chapter 1.1), which preceded this thesis as an assignment within the professional doctorate course and which investigated the culture within Europol. One of the main findings was that national culture impacted on the behaviour of police and other law enforcement officers. The results suggested an interrelationship between national culture and police culture. In addition, research participants exhibited behaviour and opinions very much in line with Hofstede's theories on national culture. As outlined in Chapter 1 this actually triggered this research project. Hofstede's theories on national and later organisational culture are a central element of this thesis and need to be explained more in-depth in this section.

Hofstede used the IBM material together with data from later studies for his book "Culture's Consequences" published in 1980, followed by a Second Edition in 2001, wherein he developed a new conceptualisation of culture. For Hofstede "culture is defined as collective programming of the mind" (1980/1984, p.13). To him values are at the core of culture. Since practice is driven by values, culture also influences practice. From this outset Hofstede initially developed a framework of four cultural dimensions, which are prevalent in each country or nation to varying degrees: power distance index (PDI), uncertainty avoidance index (UAI), individualism (IDV) and masculinity (MAS). For each dimension a country or index score, effectively a mean score derived from scales, was calculated based on questionnaire items and factor scores (Hofstede, 2001, p.65). Table 2.2 below provides a brief overview including a selection of opposing key differences for each dimension divided into low and high index measurements. For each low/high dimension an example country with a particular low or high index score was listed as well (Hofstede, 2001, *passim*).

<b>Hofstede's 4 Cultural Dimensions (examples)</b>		
<b>Dimension (Index)</b>	<b>Low Index</b>	<b>High Index</b>
<b>Power Distance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents treat children as equal</li> <li>• Decentralised decision structures; less concentration of authority</li> <li>• Subordinate-superior relations pragmatic</li> <li>• Example: Austria (11)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents teach children obedience</li> <li>• Centralised decision structures; more concentration of authority</li> <li>• Subordinate-superior relations polarised, often emotional</li> <li>• Example: France (68)</li> </ul>
<b>Uncertainty Avoidance</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents control their emotions</li> <li>• Weak loyalty to employer, short average duration of employment</li> <li>• Tolerance for ambiguity in structures and procedures</li> <li>• Example: Denmark (23)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parents behave emotionally</li> <li>• Strong loyalty to employer, long average duration of employment</li> <li>• Highly formalised conception of management</li> <li>• Example: Greece (112)</li> </ul>
<b>Individualism</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hiring and promotion decisions take employees in-group into account</li> <li>• Management is management of groups</li> <li>• Security by social control</li> <li>• Example: Portugal (27)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hiring and promotion decisions should be based on skills and rules only</li> <li>• Management is management of individuals</li> <li>• Security by home and life insurance</li> <li>• Example: USA (91)</li> </ul>
<b>Masculinity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weak gender differentiation in the socialisation of children</li> <li>• Larger share of women in professional and technical jobs</li> <li>• Engine power of cars irrelevant</li> <li>• Example: Sweden (5)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strong gender differentiation in the socialisation of children</li> <li>• Smaller share of women in professional and technical jobs</li> <li>• Engine power of cars important</li> <li>• Example: Italy (70)</li> </ul>

*Table 2.2: Hofstede's four cultural dimensions with examples for low and high index scores*

The PDI relates to inequality in society and was taken from Mulder's Power Distance Reduction theory (Mulder, Veen, Hijzen, & Jansen, 1973). The UAI is concerned with uncertainty about the future and indicated by rule orientation, employment stability and stress (Hofstede, 1980/1984, p.110). The third dimension of national culture, IDV, "describes the relationship between the individual and the collectivity which prevails in a given society" (Hofstede, 1980/1984, p.148). MAS is the opposite of 'femininity' and has "the predominant socialization pattern...for men to be more assertive and for women to be more nurturing" (Hofstede, 1980/1984, p.176).

Of course, such a focus on four dimensions of culture can be seen as "excessively reductionist" (Nakata & Izberk-Bilgin, 2009, p.72) and many are still arguing whether Hofstede's approach, and his focus on values, is legitimate (Baskerville-Morley, 2005; Baskerville, 2003; Earley, 2006; McSweeney, 2002). Williamson, however, recommended using the valuable insights provided by Hofstede's and similar models at least until "more satisfactory models have been developed" (2002, pp.1390-1391). Others still see shortcomings in relation to cultures, which span more than one country, such as Arab or Latin American cultures, or those national cultures with known internal cultural or regional differences or for multi-lingual countries (Straub, et al., 2002, p.16).

Hofstede's pioneering work, grounded in anthropology, sociology and psychology, remains one of the most successful and influential classifications of culture. Even after the systemic changes around 1990 in Central and Eastern Europe the validity of Hofstede's dimensions endure for the affected countries, at least for the time being (Kolman, Noorderhaven, Hofstede, & Dienes, 2003, p.86). Hofstede's dimensions provide the means to describe all national cultures, not just a subset. They allow for the scoring of cultural values to differentiate countries or rather nations and to compare them against each other. In reverse it is also possible to use individual scores to indicate the individual's cultural background. Some see Hofstede's dimensions as "major advances for the field", also because of the scale of the underlying research (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006, p.235). Several studies and research projects linked up to Hofstede's data and theories (Naumov & Puffer, 2000), including the GLOBE research programme (Hofstede, 2006; Maseland & Hoorn, 2008; Smith, 2006). Kogut and Singh (1988, p.427) used Hofstede's data and were surprised at the strength of the results. Nonetheless, they advised that the findings should be interpreted with care considering that the UAI in particular

was defined with organisational and managerial context in mind (Kogut & Singh, 1988, p.427). UAI is possibly the most criticised of Hofstede's dimensions but it is still consistent with the works of others (Newman & Nollen, 1996, pp.756-757).

Hofstede's conceptualisation of culture is still popular for management and business studies of culture. It is understood as a mediator at various levels such as change management, individual behaviour related to group processes or work-related attitudes (Kirkman, et al., 2006). The organisation and the management of multi-national teams in international companies is not only studied but often also based on the more pragmatic findings of such studies. Nonetheless, it seems that the mostly business-related interaction between members of different cultures triggered the creation of numerous guides (e.g. Hofstede, Pedersen, & Hofstede, 2002; Overbeek, undated, ca. 2004; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997/2011), which – one way or another – all focus on 'cultural dimensions' and the impact of values and practices on culture. Hofstede introduced the term 'mental programming', which is essentially predictable behaviour: under particular circumstances a particular behaviour of people can be expected or even predicted (Hofstede, 2001, pp.1-2). This reminds of aspects of social identity theories, Tajfel and Turner (1979) for example, which will be further discussed within Chapter 4.3.

In addition to his cultural dimensions, some of Hofstede's findings, or rather theories, appear to be somewhat overlooked. He asserted, for example, that like shared identities need a shared 'Other', particularities of a given culture can only be seen in comparison to another culture. As outlined before he also claimed that national cultures remain stable over long time periods (Hofstede, 2001, pp.10-13); therefore his cultural dimensions should be valid for the foreseeable future. Hofstede's empirical research does not only illustrate the impact of national culture on values of a society and in extension its members, but also provides a new definition, using Kluckhohn's (1951a) conception (Chapter 2.2) with systems of values as a core element, by treating culture as

“the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (Hofstede, 2001, p.9).

Hofstede's findings are particularly relevant for so-called cross-cultural management. Managing multinational organisations is a particular challenge, if employees with different

national backgrounds are present and if various subunits of the parent organisation are located in different countries (Adler, 1983, pp.11-13).

Regardless of the criticism, Hofstede's 1991 book 'Cultures and Organizations: Software of the mind', written for practitioners and students (Hofstede, 2001, p.xvii), was, according to Google Scholar, cited more than 29,000 times. In the literature there is wide support for the use of Hofstede's conceptualisation of culture for its dimensions provide an operational approach to tackle culture "in a simple, practical, and usable" way (Soares, Farhangmehr, & Shoham, 2007, p.283). This position is more or less in line with Hofstede's view, he cautions that dimensions should not be reified from an epistemological point of view. Dimensional models are constructs, which do not exist in the tangible world. They are useful, if such models or rather categories within such models do not exceed the human capacity for processing information (Hofstede, 2006, pp.894-895). Success and practical relevance of Hofstede's cultural dimensions might be based on its 'reductionist' approach, at least as far as the study of culture is concerned.

This chapter began with an overview on how the idea of 'culture' has developed since the late eighteenth century when Tylor (1871/1958) published his conception of culture. Although his primarily ethnographic definition of culture encompassed all activities of humans within society, for a long time, the cultural concept was used mainly by anthropologists like Boas or Malinowski. Certain elements related to culture such as habits and patterns were identified. The importance of culture for sociology or organisational studies was recognised and Green (1946) began to realise that individuals only participate in social segments of a society. From Green's conception, Gordon (1947) developed the idea of sub-cultures as sub-sets of national culture. Kluckhohn (1951a) eventually focused on shared values of a collective and their beliefs and attitudes, making the complexity of culture more manageable. While others added further aspects to the cultural concept or developed new conceptions, the relevance of values and beliefs expressed through behaviour at the core of culture remains. Values and beliefs are influenced by tradition and socialisation including education, but also by the environment to which humans must respond.

It was further outlined that culture develops out of the interdependent relationship between the individual and a collective, group or nation. Nations represent the most complex human groups with a social system and Chapter 2.3 described how the comparatively recent concept of

national culture was established. Over time societal norms led to the creation of social structures: institutions, educational and political systems and even nation-states (Hofstede, 2001). National cultures are based on the value systems of the major population groups, gained and transmitted through socialisation processes and thereby linked to the conceptualisations of culture. Hofstede (2001, p.373) claimed that national cultures mainly differ in their values (Chapter 2.3) and developed a complex conceptualisation of, initially, national culture, as described in this last section. In the context of this research the importance of national culture stems from the fact that national cultures and their value systems provide the overall framework for all social activities within a nation-state. As indicated in the previous section, culture can change through immigration (Easthope, 1998, p.42; Nunn, 2012). However, all cultural subsets within a society are sub-cultures, which are at least influenced by national culture and which should therefore include certain values of the parent culture. To what extent this is applicable to the cultures of organisations and occupations will be addressed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 3: Organisations and Occupations**

Values and beliefs, the core of culture, influenced by tradition and gained through socialisation and education determine the behaviour of the individual and the collective (Chapter 2). Thus, each collective, group or nation may have its own culture. Such a 'specialised' culture is based on ethnicity, religion, profession, occupation or organisation (Straub, et al., 2002, p.18). In terms of the overall aim of this thesis, exploring the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values and practices, it is important to understand the underlying mechanisms. There are arguments for both, that police culture is primarily an occupational or an organisational culture. While those arguments will be discussed in Chapter 4, it is necessary to understand how occupational and organisational culture develop within a social system.

According to Hofstede (2001, p.394) individuals will be influenced, almost embossed by the values of their national culture during their early socialisation. Later in life they learn an occupation or a profession and acquire values and practices associated to the trade; they are subjected to occupational culture. Once the trained individuals begin to work in organisations, they have to adjust to the cultural values and practices of the organisation through socialisation at the workplace. With a view to organisational culture and the international component of this research it is important to gain an understanding of how police forces are organised. This chapter will explore the culture of organisations before the distinct organisation of the police. Following the views into organisations, occupational culture will be examined at the end of this chapter.

### 3.1 Organisational Culture

In the 1930s the US management pioneer Chester Barnard looked into the culture of organisations, long before the term organisational culture became common (Hofstede, 2001, p.392). Within any given organisation Barnard (1938/1968, p.116) distinguished between the ‘formal organisation’, driven by conscious processes, and an ‘informal organisation’ or society, comprised of unconscious processes. He pointed out that

“...one will hear repeatedly that ‘you can’t understand an organization on how it works from its organization chart, its charter, rules and regulations, nor from looking at or even watching its personnel.’ ‘Learning the organization ropes’ in most organizations is chiefly learning who’s who, what’s what, why’s why, of its informal society.” (Barnard, 1938/1968, p.121)

Barnard suggested that the culture of a society or nation provides the framework within formal organisations to develop. Within the formal organisation “certain attitudes, understandings, customs, habits, institutions” (Barnard, 1938/1968, p.116) will be established, which are so strong that, in the event of a conflict between a formal legal act and an informal custom the latter will typically prevail. Barnard also addressed habits, acquired skills and language in relation to the need for constant communication. While this is required if the team members cannot see each other, experienced team members will be able to reduce time spent on communication based on their habits and acquired skills or by using a special language. For Barnard (1938/1968, pp.88-108) each participant in an organisation has an individual personality as well as an organisational one, which he referred to as ‘organisational personality’. This constitutes the corresponding concept of organisational culture (Gabor & Mahoney, 2010, p.13; Hofstede, 2001, p.392).

While Barnard was primarily concerned with ‘functions of the executive’ Elliot Jaques published a book on changing the whole culture in a metal factory in London (Jaques, 1951/2001). In his investigation of the factory setting Jaques described culture as the “the customary traditional way of thinking and doing things, which is shared... by all its members, and which new members must learn... in order to be accepted into the service of the firm” (Jaques, 1951/2001, p.251). This culture is created by a wide range of behaviour, covering methods, skills and technical knowledge but also attitudes, customs, habits, values and beliefs.

All of this contributes to the ‘culture of the organisation’. While describing the personality of individual organisation members, Jaques pointed out that they can have numerous opposing or inconsistent beliefs they might not be aware of. At the end such beliefs cause policies not to be carried out in practice. He also stated that an organisation needs a wide range of different personality types with different skill sets and interests. The organisation itself is created through the interaction of organisational structure, culture and personality of individuals. In addition he noted due to external forces there is constant change of requirements and therefore also constant change or modification of the culture, which can be caused already by minor procedural adjustments to handle day-to-day problems (Jaques, 1951/2001, pp.251-252).

Both, Barnard and Jaques, see strong cultures with shared values at the core of an organisation. Following the publication of their books a vast amount of literature targeted the same topic, even internationally (Hofstede, 2001, p.392). However, Waterman Jr., Peters and Phillips found that even the “most innovative work in the field is descriptive” (1980, p.17), not giving a manager sufficient tools to make the organisation more effective.

Peters and Waterman Jr. surveyed 62 US companies among which they found so-called ‘excellent’ companies (Peters & Waterman Jr, 1982/2006). Those particular ‘successful’ companies seemed “to have developed cultures that have incorporated the values and practices of the great leaders and thus those shared values can be seen to survive for decades after the passing of the original guru” (Peters & Waterman Jr, 1982/2006, p.26). They did not explain how much these values are ‘shared’ but maintained that the chief executives are the ones who manage the organisational values. While they initially started their work with a framework of seven elements, they then identified 22 ‘attributes of excellence’ which they later distilled into eight (Peters & Waterman Jr, 1982/2006, pp.15-24). Soeters suggested their book included “implicit sociological theory” (1986, p.300), albeit not from the discipline of organisational sociology. He saw a strong analogy between the ‘attributes of excellence’ and social movement theory.

While social movement theory seeks explanations for social mobilisation as a mechanism for alleviating psychological discomfort, deriving from structural strain, it also studies collectives and mobilisation frames rooted in symbols, discourse, practice and therefore culture (e.g. Wiktorowicz, 2003). Soeters (1986), however, noticed that the companies flagged up as being ‘excellent’ by Peters and Waterman Jr. exhibited rather strong cultures. Those, however, were

using a collectivistic cultural approach and based responsibilities and identities of individuals around the social unit (Soeters, 1986, p.310). Referring to Hofstede's book on national cultures (1980/1984) and cultural dimensions (Chapter 2), Soeters suggested that the individualism-collectivism dimension identified by Hofstede is a prominent aspect of organisational cultures (Soeters, 1986, p.310), which will be further examined in this section.

Other scholars tried to understand organisational culture from the different perspective of social exchange theories. Such theories suggest that social behaviour is the result of exchange processes, verbal or non-verbal transactions. The purpose of exchange theories is to explain why certain exchanges take place, and to reveal reasons why people engage in them, why exchanges happen in a particular form, why they are successful and others not (Thomas & Iding, 2011, p.8). Jones (1983, p.454) saw principal problems due to the ontological status of organisational culture. It is debatable whether culture is only a construct based on evaluations of humans in a social context or whether it is an organisation's attribute similar to technology or structure. Leaning towards concepts from exchange theory, Jones used two specific terms. Firstly 'transaction costs', such as the effort to negotiate balance of incentives and contributions between members of the organisation for performance enhancement (Jones, 1983, p.456). To reduce coordination and control costs, exchanges between team members need regulation through exchange contracts between the members of the organisation. Second, there are 'property rights' for the use of resources allocated to team members through the mentioned exchange criteria. Team leaders for example may need rights to monitor activities of the team. The team members though, may be reduced to the right of quitting the team.

In short, organisational cultures are the sum of different structures of property rights caused by different transaction costs (Jones, 1983, pp.456-457). Jones argued that norms and values emerge because team members would try to actualise their rights and enact obligations. He saw this as an articulation of different sets of property right, resulting in different cultures (Jones, 1983, p.458). In fact, and this will be of interest below, Jones (1983, pp.461-464) identified three ideal-typical cultures: production, bureaucratic and professional culture. As mentioned before, Jones was looking at (organisational) culture from a different angle. The issue here is not the use of exchange theory but the different understanding of norms and values compared to other authors. Whereas the ideas and concepts of Barnard, Jaques or Peters and Waterman Jr.

are more or less in line with each other, Jones' approach to culture at first appears to be incompatible to them and suggests a different conception.

Wilkins and Ouchi (1983, pp.469-472) provided their own theory of transaction costs albeit by adopting previous ethnographic findings. Referring to local organisational cultures they posit that most organisations employ three governing mechanisms: a market-form of governance with contracts between the parties, not unlike those suggested by Jones, which might fail, for example due to higher costs; bureaucracy, again similar to Jones, governing transactions through employment contracts while employees submitting to supervision might fail when uncertainty or complexity increase. Their third mechanism is the clan, one of four organisational culture types grounded in organisational theory; the other three being 'adhocracy', 'hierarchy' and 'market' (Deshpande, Farley, & Webster Jr., 1993, pp.23-27). The clan socialises parties in such a way that objectives are seen as congruent instead of mutually exclusive and provides a paradigm for an ideal relationship making close monitoring dispensable.

The paradigm includes sharing of values and general orientations in the interest of the collective rather than specific knowledge. The clan mechanism will even be efficient under highly uncertain and complex conditions but will require greater social understanding related to the methods, objective and values of the collective, the organisation, so that the local culture is an analogue to 'anthropological culture'. Wilkins and Ouchi (p.478) suggested that clan control is cultural control, but also that organisations will hardly ever be able to reach the same level as 'anthropological culture' with the socially shared values. Ultimately organisational culture is learned during adulthood and only one of many other influences on the organisational members (Wilkins & Ouchi, 1983, p.479). Combined with the assumption that many organisations are socially fragmented and that some of the organisational culture may not be relevant to the performance of the organisation, Wilkins and Ouchi (1983, pp.469-480) believed that under certain conditions cultural changes can be achieved. This is relevant for police culture and its characteristic of 'resistance to change' (e.g. Chan 1996), which will be addressed in Chapter 4. The possible fragmentation of culture within an organisation as well as the lack of cultural depth are important aspects, which will be revisited later in this section.

After reviewing contemporary studies of organisational culture Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p.462) found some studies of change or case descriptions, where environmental factors were

examined to explain the results and where organisational culture was seen as a dependable variable. Interestingly these studies have found it is not easy to alter organizational cultures intentionally (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985, p.476). Ouchi and Wilkins concluded (1985, p.477) that business firms and organisations are merely a particular case of ‘complex social structures’ and suggested that research should draw from the findings resulting from the studies of other social organisations. In consequence police organisations, as discussed in the following section, are also complex social structures to which said findings should be applicable.

For Smircich, organisation and management scholars were interested in the “intersection of organization theory and culture theory” (1983, p.341). Smircich (1983, pp.345-346) also noticed that many researchers were primarily interested in shaping and changing an organisation to be in line with ‘managerial purposes’. Culture within organisations is an important topic not only to researchers but also to management theorists. A particular challenge for them is growing multiculturalism in organisational settings, not only for multinational companies but also domestically, where businesses increasingly manage staff with different national backgrounds (Adler, 1983, pp.41-43). Nonetheless, many scholars were studying organisational culture, with the intention to achieve change, often to reduce costs or improve corporate efficiency. The only common denominator was that culture has something to do with values, often those of the founders or chief executives, which are shared with the staff (Peters & Waterman Jr, 1982/2006). Another accepted idea referred to social fragmentation within larger organisations, resulting in different (local) organisational cultures (e.g. Wilkins & Ouchi, 1983). This is in fact what Reuss-Ianni (1983/2017) found in relation to the police and police culture (Chapter 4).

Hofstede’s cross-national research for IBM between 1966 and 1973 (1980/1984), outlined in Chapter 2, enabled him to develop his theory on cultural dimensions, “(p)aradoxically... did not reveal anything about IBM’s corporate culture” (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, & Sanders, 1990, p.289). This is in line with his claim that culture is only visible, if compared to each other (Hofstede, 2001, p.14). Consequently, for his empirical study on organisational culture, conducted between 1985 and 1986, using his previous research as a model, instead of studying one company in many countries he studied several different organisations in two countries only (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.289). Being pragmatic his team accepted whole and parts of organisations and received access to 20 units, with a size ranging from 60 to 2,500 persons, in

ten organisations, half of them each in the Netherlands and in Denmark. The units were private manufacturing companies and service providers as well as public institutions, including the police. The research did not find shared values at the core of an organisation's culture but shared perceptions of daily practices (Hofstede, et al., 1990, pp.289-311). The researchers suggested that 'practices' can be labelled differently, be it customs, habits, or traditions, and referred to Tylor and his understanding of culture (1871/1958, p.33), as outlined in Chapter 2. This is an important finding, which will be discussed again further in this section and revisited throughout the following chapters of this thesis.

Similar to the IBM study, Hofstede et al. detected six practice-based dimensions of culture for the corporate level, P1 to P6 (1990, p.303). While the dimensions P1 (process-oriented vs. results-oriented), P3 (parochial vs. professional), P5 (loose vs. tight control) and P6 (normative vs. pragmatic) reflect the relevant industry culture, dimensions P2 (employee-oriented vs. job-oriented) and P4 (open vs. closed systems, i.e. communication climate) were independent of the industry. Those last two reflect the (transformed) values of the top managers. Many aspects of those dimensions of corporate culture correspond to issues covered by the body of previous organisational literature (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.287). The authors concluded those six dimensions are practice-related and admitted, the values of founders and leaders indeed shape the culture of organisations, but maintained those values would only affect the shared practices of the organisation's members, not their own values, be it national or otherwise (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.311). In their assessment the authors felt encouraged by Weber, who already suggested (1968, p.60) that leadership charisma ideally, is transformed into routine structures. Those structures or practices are part of a socialisation process, which happens in the workplace at a time when the bulk of the values acquired in family or school is already in place (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.312), similar to the above argument of Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p.462) about the achievable 'richness' of organisational culture compared to the 'paradigmatic anthropological cultures'.

Van Maanen (1978, p.22) identified seven dimensions of socialisation strategies within an organisational context. However, the 'culture' he and later on Schein (1990, p.12; 1995) were talking about, is different insofar as organisational culture, with a focus on practice, differs from culture, i.e. fitting sets of assumptions, beliefs, and values, 'presocialized' members bring into an organisation (Schein, 1990, p.12). Such values and beliefs stem from the socialisation

process in the early years of an individual, can only enter the organisation through the hiring process (Hofstede, 2001, pp.394-395) and are therefore part of their national culture (Chapter 2). Hofstede et al. believed that national and organisational cultures are “phenomena of different orders” (1990, p.313), so that the use of the term ‘culture’ for both is, to some extent, misleading. This does not rule out that organisations and their cultures will be strongly influenced, if not predetermined, by national culture, as well as by the industry and the tasks (Hofstede, 2001, p.401).

Hofstede (1998, p.2) labelled practices as the visible and values the invisible part of cultures. Therefore, organisational culture is about differences in values and practices among people from different organisations as long as they are within the same national context (2001, p.373) and with an emphasis on different practices rather than values (Hofstede, 2001, pp.394,411). Values of employees with the same national background stay the same as well. This differs in multi-national companies with employees from different countries, who might hold different values (Hofstede, 2001, p.384). Consequently, when professional firms from different countries are merged the cultural differences are not eliminated but survive within the new multinational company (Hofstede, 2001; Salama, 2011, p.100). That is important for this research as well and will be addressed again in relation to the “Three Aspects of Police Culture”. With a view towards the importance of national culture in relation to corporations, Hofstede argued that most US-American literature is not directly applicable in other environments of national culture. In fact, even scholar’s conceptions of organisation models can be influenced by their cultures. The theories, models and practices are culture specific, only some of them might be valid in other countries (Hofstede, 2001, pp.374-380). Other researchers came to similar conclusions (Inzerilli & Laurent, 1983; Laurent, 1983).

Hofstede (2001, p.393) saw organisational or corporate culture as a construct with no consented definition. Still, he suggested a number of aspects to describe organisational culture, which included that they are relatively stable and therefore difficult to change (Hofstede, 2001, p.393). As noted above, how to change an organisation’s culture is the research agenda for studies of corporate culture (Smircich, 1983, p.346). If indeed practices, learned late in life at the workplace, comprise the core of an organisation’s culture instead of values acquired during the earliest socialisation processes (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.311), this would still increase opportunities for change. Hofstede (2001, pp.381-384) already assumed that planning, control

and accounting have a strong impact on organisations, their norms and symbols. He saw opportunities for change, primarily through adaption of the organisation's strategy, structural rearrangements or change of control systems. Additionally, he pointed at particular occupational values, which are acquired during socialisation taking place in schools and universities creating a distinct occupational culture (Hofstede, 2001, pp.394,408-415). This, however, will be readdressed in a different section in this chapter.

Already in 1988 Hofstede's Institute for Research of Intercultural Cooperation (IRIC) was asked by a large Danish insurance company to conduct another survey study in relation to sub-cultures within the organisation (Hofstede, 1998). Using the already mentioned six dimensions of organisational culture they found three different sub-cultures within the company, named 'professional', 'administrative' and 'customer interface'. For Hofstede this fitted amazingly well with the, previously mentioned, three ideal-typical cultures by Jones. Hofstede saw similarities between the production culture and the administrative sub-culture, bureaucratic and customer interface and, of course, the professional or occupational (sub-)cultures (Hofstede, 1998, p.9). Nevertheless, at least in this context his conception of sub-culture is limited to culturally different departments of an organisation, which result in units with organisational sub-cultures (Hofstede, 2001, pp.395,405). Occupational cultures and sub-cultures will be addressed again (Chapters 4, 6-9). As far as Hofstede is concerned, he provided a useful theoretical framework for understanding cross-cultural differences in organisations (Silverthorne, 2005, p.23), which is to date applied by researchers (e.g. Erthal & Marques, 2018).

Like national culture the culture of organisations is complex and difficult to understand, typically only through constructs like social dimensions. The phenomenon of organisational culture is linked to individuals and groups, their values and deeper cultural background, and often seen as the informal structure of a company. It is influenced by the environment, mostly of the country, but potentially as well by strategies or the formal structure around it. As the result of a social process it is not limited to corporations but will, eventually, be found in most organisations, commercial or administrative. With a view to the claims that police culture is an organisational culture, which will be addressed in-depth in Chapter 4, it is important to understand the particularities of police organisations.

### 3.2 Police Organisations

Police organisations are not business-driven companies producing goods or offering services. They are partly a response of states to the requirement to safeguard law and order within them (Caless & Tong, 2015, p.28; Skolnick, 1966/2011). To maintain order, states need to have the monopoly on the directed use of force. They legitimise a part of their administration and thereby extend such monopoly to police agencies. The actual word ‘police’ originates from the Greek words *polis*, city (Manning, 1977, pp.39-41) and *politea* (Mawby, 1999, p.20) and was historically applied to describe the use of civic authority and instruments of government. The police of the Roman Empire or those to be found in Europe in the seventeenth century had a wider mandate than is common today. The modern conception of policing incorporates a primary focus on maintaining order and enforcing norms (function), carried out by organised specialists (structure) and legitimised by a political authority, which adds the third element, legitimacy. Obviously all three elements can vary between societies (Mawby, 1999).

Caless and Tong (2015, pp.31-56) identified six different types of police forces, which have evolved alone in Europe over the last 250 years, ranging from the Napoleonic combination of armed national police and paramilitary gendarmeries, the Anglo-Saxon model of unarmed and locally accountable police, through exported models of gendarmerie or armed militia for colonial policing, and a Soviet- and Gestapo-style repressive model of extrajudicial secret police, to a decentralised policing model in modern Germany and the generically democratic EU model adopted by Eastern European former Soviet-Bloc countries. There are many minor national interpretations of the police concept, illustrating individuality of the countries. This is applicable for police in communist societies or in Asia (Cao & Hou, 2001; Wang, 2000), where for traditional or systemic reasons accountability and legality are perceived differently. There can be as many variations between countries which share the same policing models as between countries with different ones. Even more so, there can be differences within the same country (Leishman, 1999; Mawby, 2008).

One of those differences, for example, is the police in England and Wales remaining largely unarmed since the inception of the ‘New Police’ in 1829 (Villiers, 2009, p.35). Due to the ‘principle of legality’ (Legalitätsprinzip) German police developed different policing and legal practices compared to their counterparts in Belgium and the Netherlands (Soeters, et al., 1995, p.7). In some countries, citizens fear their police as being brutal and corrupt, while in others,

citizens have high levels of trust in the police, as is the case in Norway. To some degree there might be slight structural differences even between districts of the same local force (Filstad & Gottschalk, 2011, p.487).

Whether the police are seen as ‘civilians in uniform’ or as a paramilitary-style armed force, the state mandate to deliver coercive force, if necessary, makes it a mixture of the civilian and the military, even in England and Wales (Mawby & Wright, 2008, pp.233-234). Police organisations have a hierarchy, a rank structure typically referred to as ‘chain of command’ and some sense of obedience, often giving it a paramilitary character (Skolnick, 1966/2011). Nonetheless, the police are largely understood as a bureaucratic organisation (Banton, 1964, pp.108-109; Skolnick, 1966/2011), which, with the possible exception of some countries, has to follow the rule of law for its actions to be seen as legal. Skolnick (1966/2011) even understood the police as an official social organisation with the task to control misconduct, and reflects cultural, political, social and economic contexts. To enhance understanding of what police forces organise, it is important to illustrate further details, in particular the work of front-line officers. Those activities are intrinsically linked to police behaviour and culture and will also be addressed in Chapter 4.

It became common for police agencies to employ civilian staff for a large number of tasks not directly linked to ‘policing’ for example clerical support, IT or forensic work. For police officers there is a wide array of functions although the public usually only come into contact with territorially based uniformed officers (Metropolitan Police Policy Committee, 1988, pp.8-9). Those are the patrol officers working in shifts typically in marked radio patrol cars and spend large amounts of their time on assigned patrol work. This type of policing is almost entirely determined by driving around assigned beats, waiting for tasks from radio dispatchers responding to calls received (Bayley, 1996, p.17; Neyroud & Beckley, 2001, p.29). There are other tasks, as patrol officers might be involved in preventing and investigating crime just as detectives might sometimes be on patrol. In addition, there are numerous ancillary tasks usually given to the police by convenience, ranging from the licensing of firearms to the operation of prisons (Bayley, 1996, pp.31-32). However, those tasks, as with policing, vary enormously from country to country due to use of weapons or force, recruitment and training standards (Bayley, 1999, pp.6-7). Patrolling, however, remains a principal task of policing, both of which

have hardly changed during the last hundred years (Waddington, 1998, p.9) and there is little reasoning that this practice differs much between countries.

As far as policing by patrol is concerned, this usually happens, as Klinger (1997) explained in the case of the USA, by subdividing areas into manageable districts, or beats. With increased size of jurisdictions patrol areas are grouped into territorial units with separate managerial structures, which are, depending on size, connected by the police agency's superordinate administrative structure (Klinger, 1997, p.259). Under the conditions of such a 'territorial division of labour' officers additionally enjoy a rather high degree of autonomy from administrative control, due to the fact that patrol and control are only loosely coupled (Klinger, 1997, p.286). Such a police force is not restricted to the USA. In the following police organisations from two European jurisdictions, England and Wales as well as Germany, will be presented to illustrate the similarities regardless of the cultural differences between the countries.

In most police forces in England and Wales a chief constable is in charge of the police agency, supported by a deputy chief constable, heading the department for performance management, professional standards and legal services, an assistant chief constable for territorial policing and operations, and a civilian assistant chief officer for finance, resources and administration. Territorial policing and operations are split into various divisions called basic command units with their police stations and specialist divisions for crime services or communications. Large forces have more territorial divisions and a wider range of specialist divisions. On local level the police force is held accountable by the Police and Crime Commissioner (since the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act 2011) while nationally the Home Office influences police with legislation, policies and special funds (Rogers & Lewis, 2007, pp.7-9). Even in federal Germany with state (*Länder*) based police forces the local setup is similar. A politically elected police president is heading several departments, typically administration, criminal police and uniformed police with the territorial divisions. The role of the Police and Crime Commissioner equivalent (*Polizeibeirat*, police advisory council) is reduced though and the police department of the State Ministry of Interior has a stronger role than the Home Office in the UK. In addition there are supporting agencies in the various German *Länder*, for example State Criminal Police Offices, *Landeskriminalämter* (Frevel & Kuschewski, 2009; Taschenmacher, 1982, pp.1-19) similar to the National Crime Agency in the UK.

Policing arrangements and systems still differ between societies (Mawby, 1999, p.14), which all have unique histories, social structures and national cultures. In particular the culture might well determine a country's nature of policing (Bayley, 1999, pp.6,9). Overall, however, the superficial formal structure of management, administrative support and operational divisions for territorial work or specialised tasks must be, in principle, extremely similar, if not the same, considering they are all part of the same 'industry', i.e. maintaining law and order in various shapes. In fact, the 'formal' structure exhibited by police forces everywhere is not unlike complex private sector organisations, such as the Danish insurance company, examined by Hofstede's team (1998). This company had various central departments, including management, human resources, data processing and administration operating at remote locations, such as sales offices and damage appraisers (Hofstede, 1998, pp.7-8). However, police organisations are indeed particular and differ in many ways from companies or administrations, not least because of the level of discretion given to junior staff compared to other organisations. Police agencies are still a representation of social groups in a structure, which is, leaning towards Barnard (1938/1968) as cited in Chapter 3.1, influenced by conditions created by a society or nation resulting in a formal organisation. In conclusion, from this perspective many aspects of police forces are neither more nor less than other given organisation.

Police agencies must have an organisational culture too, in addition to the element of national culture, which shapes the policing system and the individual police officers and employees. Unsurprisingly, researchers of organisational culture included the police in their surveys on organisational culture, which even enabled Hofstede et. al (1990) to develop organisational culture dimensions. The important conclusion is what was said about the culture of organisations in Chapter 3.1, must be applicable to the police too. Patrol officers, and in extension police officers, are, like in any other organisation, not free from the phenomenon of informal organisations (Klinger, 1997, p.285), and therefore the police will also have informal structures. While much was written on 'organisational police culture', this will be summarised and reflected on in the following Chapter.

First, however, the focus is on a different aspect. Employees of the operational core do have particular and specialised knowledge. In the police are specialists in the use of legitimate coercive force (Reiner, 1992, p.762). With a view to culture the question to be addressed now

is the culture of the individuals, who are employed by police. As outlined in Chapter 2 police officers will be influenced by the values of their national culture during their early socialisation. Later in life, whilst serving the police, they will be exposed to the culture of the organisation they work for. The question is, whether there are values or practices, which can develop in-between, for example while police officers are learning their occupation. For this reason, the more generic subject of occupational culture will be discussed next.

### **3.3 Occupational Culture**

Traditionally police culture was understood as an occupational culture, which developed around particular job and work environments, but there are also claims that it is an organisational culture. Before both types of culture are discussed in Chapter 4, after looking at organisational culture and the police organisation it is important to understand occupational culture.

As discussed before, Jones (1983, pp.461-464) already theorised that one of the three ideal-typical cultures found within organisations is a professional or occupational one. The six dimensions of organisational culture detected by Hofstede et al. (1990) included the Factor P3, parochial versus professional, suggesting that members of 'professional cultures' have different attitudes and expectations as employees than those from 'parochial cultures'. This implies that some employees identify themselves primarily with their organisation (parochial culture), while members of 'professional cultures' derive their identity mainly from their occupation (Hofstede, 2001, p.414). The use of the term 'professional culture' is thus not limited to members of the so-called traditional professions. 'Parochial versus professional' needs to be seen similar to 'local versus cosmopolitan' in sociology, as contrast between internal and external frames of reference. Japanese companies for example are often associated with 'parochial' culture, where employees identify more with the organisation than with their occupation (Hofstede, 2001, p.399).

When Hofstede analysed some of the data again with a view to the individual level, one of the six identified values was 'professionalism' (Hofstede, et al., 1993). When his team investigated a Danish company (Chapter 3.1) they found three different sub-cultures not unlike those described by Jones before, one of them also a 'professional culture' (Hofstede, 1998). Hofstede

placed occupational culture halfway between national and organisational level, due to the primary acquisition of both values, through socialisation in family and school, and practices, acquired in schools and workplaces. Depending on the nature of the job and the type of occupation, including time spent for school, apprenticeship, or university, which all shape the occupational identity, individuals 'decide' whether they have a stronger affinity to their occupation or to the organisation they work for (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.312).

Similarly, Van Maanen (1978b, pp.35-36) saw 'occupation' as something which can be professionalised, which has nothing to do with the debate about professionalisation and profession. The view Van Maanen and Barley (1982, pp.3-7,12) later took on organisations and their culture used the occupational perspective, focusing on the fact organisations as well as societies are occupationally stratified. To them 'occupational communities', groups of people engaged in the same line of work, developing their distinct work cultures, are more relevant for individuals than organisation culture. In such an occupational culture 'work identities' develop that could clash with the culture of other groups in the organisation, such as management or production. The shared values of the occupational group, however, will be determined by socialisation processes and possibly the practices applied during this phase.

Occupational communities inevitably develop a distinct work culture, resulting in members, who never met before and have completely different backgrounds, able to talk on a wide range of topics, without any chance for outsiders to understand them due to the use of jargon, even if observer and observed have the same language or nationality. This occupational culture is based on meaning. Occupational and organisational culture penetrate each other, the impact of the former on the individual is more severe. Employees may participate in an organisational culture at work, but the effect this culture has on their lives outside of the job environment is small (Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, pp.23-34). Similar arguments were highlighted before in Chapter 3.1. Organisational culture is acquired later in life during adulthood, at the far end of the socialisation process during which most values and other cultural traits have been acquired already (Hofstede, 2001, p.394; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985, p.478). Organisational culture does not reach the same level as paradigmatic culture (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985, p.479), such as national or occupational culture.

The role of traditional professions, such as medicine or law, was highlighted as being state-protected: the state grants them a high degree of self-control, resulting in a more self-

perpetuating culture. Trade and other unions are seen in a similar way. However, Van Maanen and Barley maintained that a profession is not by default an occupational community, simply because there might be sub-division or specialisation. For them professionalisation is a means for occupational communities to gain self-control and is applicable to unions and professional associations; in conclusion there is no fundamental distinction between an occupation or a profession (Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, pp.35-50). Hofstede likewise used the terms 'profession' and 'occupation' in his publications synonymously in a similar way.

While looking at organisational efficiency and culture Wilkins and Ouchi (1983, pp.475-478) suggested that organisations only develop limited distinct cultures but more often within functional or professional groups. Those group members (see Chapter 4.3), specialists with common occupational background and training, perform related functions and regularly communicate over similar problems. Their already shared occupational culture is reinforced within their organisational unit. Within the wider organisation there is potential for the development of sub-cultures within those units, but it is less clear whether there are resemblances to change-resistant, paradigmatic communities (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985, p.479). However, said sub-cultures might develop around occupations, or departments or other groupings (Wilkins & Dyer Jr., 1988, p.524). Others simply stated that people with particular functions within organisations share particular occupational and ethical orientations and attitudes they summarised as occupational culture, a third level next to the national and corporate or organisational (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1997/2011, p.7). Schein broadened the concept even further by adding "community culture" (1985/2004, p.xi) but otherwise insisted that any occupation with longer periods of education or apprenticeship leads to acquisition of shared values, norms and attitudes. Those remain, even if group members work in different organisations, and are reinforced through meetings or training sessions (Jex & Britt, 2014, p.496; Schein, 1985/2004, p.20; Schein & Schein, 2016, p.212).

More generally it was suggested that different occupational cultures could even be treated similarly as long as they function in a similar organisational context (Shaw & Faulkner, 2006, p.45). Such an organisational context is essential for the study of modern occupations, most of which are entangled in a web of bureaucracy, and therefore the relevant occupational cultures (Manning, 2007, p.48). Only few scholars distinguish between traditional professional culture and a broader occupational culture. Also, members within an organisation can hold

membership in several cultures of this organisation, such as occupational, managerial or other social groupings (Johnson, Koh, & Killough, 2009, pp.319-322). All those different cultures represent different levels. Within an organisation those levels are representing the culture of the job the individual is doing: worker culture, department culture, professional culture and managerial culture. Occupational cultures within an organisation are functional sub-cultures; outside of it, though, it can be understood, from the organisation's perspective, as a macro-culture within the wider culture of the industry, region or society in general (Alvesson & Berg, 1992, pp.64-69).

Hofstede (2001, p.415) predicted, based on the sparse literature available on occupational culture and some guesswork, that a cross-occupational study might find six dimensions of occupational culture, similar to those he identified for national and organisational cultures, also by suggesting exemplary job combinations. On the level of occupational culture he expected to find stronger associations with practices than within the national dimensions and stronger associations with values than within organisational dimensions of culture. This refers back to the beginning of this section and the socialisation process, part of which is to learn a trade or an occupation. In both instances the individual becomes a member of a social community, which comes together by acquiring values and beliefs as well as practices needed for carrying out the occupation on a daily basis. Some might become freelancers or self-employed and remain within the sphere of occupational culture. Many, however, will seek employment in an organisation, where they will be subjected to new values and practices. As far as values or assumptions are concerned this might lead to a blend of values, those of the founder and those of the occupational community (Schein & Schein, 2016, p.212), and the creation of corporate or organisational sub-cultures.

In Chapter 2 culture was identified as a set of shared values and assumptions, expressed through practices and behaviour, and acquired through socialisation processes beginning with earliest childhood. Consequently, this will be influenced by the immediate environment, be it parents and family, or the larger society or nation into which the family is embedded. With age the individual will be less and less subjected to new values and assumptions but instead, will increasingly acquire practices, for life in general but also in preparation of committing to an occupation. Further values and practices relevant for the job are learned once the individual enters an occupation. At the end the educated and trained individual joins an organisation,

where further work-related socialisation takes place. Importantly, whatever new cultural influences the individual experiences, they cannot exceed the cultural values acquired already.

This chapter first considered the culture of organisations, which develops as a response of employees to the work environment. Compared to national culture (Chapter 2.3), however, it is a phenomenon of a different order and dominated by the acquisition of practices rather than values. Organisations might develop sub-cultures around functions, roles (see Chapter 4.3) or, as outlined in this section, profession or occupation. In the second section it was argued that police organisations must develop an organisational culture as well, even though their function and purpose differ from business-driven companies. This is important with a view to the aim of this research and the examination of cultural values and practices. Organisational culture within the police would then, similar to other organisations, primarily concern cultural practices and not the deep-rooted values of paradigmatic culture (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985, p.479). However, within the socialisation process Hofstede (2001, p.394) situated occupational culture, as discussed in the third section of this chapter, in-between national and organisational culture. On occupational cultural level he saw more room for the acquisition of values than on the level of organisational culture. With a view to police organisations, it needs to be examined what type of culture police officers acquire, which is a main topic of the following chapter on police culture.

## Chapter 4: Police Culture

Janet Chan (1997, p.12) found that there was confusion about 'police culture'. Even the number of different terms used, such as police sub-culture, police occupational culture or police corporate culture, seems to support this claim. To date there is no common definition. The previous chapters have explored the concept of culture and how it developed, how it can separate and unite groups, societies and nations. The set of values, assumptions, rules and practices among other characteristics, which contribute to the development of culture also influence groups of individuals: organisations, corporations, and occupations. All these aspects of civilisation may develop their own cultures.

In its first section this chapter will explore how ideas of a culture within the police were developed and what these ideas and concepts are, providing a brief overview of the history of research related to police culture as a phenomenon, identified in many countries. Considering it as an almost global phenomenon, police culture will be referred to in the singular within this thesis. The second section will then address the various findings of research on and conceptions of police culture, including Reiner's 'core characteristics' (1984/2010, pp.118-132). The third section will also look into the concept of roles, groups and memberships. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, culture is a social construct relevant for any group or collective, be it based on nationality, organisation or occupation. Chapter 3.1 showed that groups are an important element for the development of organisational culture. With regards to police culture it was suggested (e.g. Skolnick, 1966/2011) that it is also the police officers' role which contributes to their culture.

#### 4.1 A Brief History of Police Culture Research

Towards the end of the 1940s many cities in the USA experienced severe and ongoing issues in the way the police were treating minority groups, in particular their use of brutality and violence to coerce confessions. Law enforcement agents actually breaking the law constituted a serious problem (Westley, 1953, p.34). Before this point, most accounts on or about the police focused solely on their administration or their history of local policing but did not offer anything substantial about police behaviour. In 1950, Westley, a prospective sociologist with a particular interest in culture and how it influences behaviour from an anthropological perspective (though not focusing on policing), was tasked with carrying out an almost year-long study on the police in Gary, Indiana (Greene, 2010, pp.454-458). Westley concluded that the police have their own understanding of their occupation, which justify the illegal use of coercive powers. This provided insight into the social nature of the police occupation, pointing towards the existence of occupational goals and patterns of conduct (Westley, 1953, pp.34,41). He linked police malpractice to a presumably internal socialisation process, not unlike the one highlighted in Chapter 2 for organisational and occupational cultures (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.312). It was argued that Westley's work set the intellectual stage for the next 10 or 20 years, because he identified police sub-culture, in-group solidarity, use of force as a result of group norms, racism, police decision-making and ethics (Greene, 2010, p.458). Westley was the first to use an anthropological interpretation to explain police behaviour, linking it with the occupational collective of the police. This combined sociological, anthropological approach, with culture as a central topic of interest, influenced all subsequent sociological studies of the police (Skolnick, 1966/2011).

Outside of the USA it took until the early 1960s before somebody used a similar, anthropological approach to study the police from within. Between 1960 and 1963 Banton researched police forces in Scotland, the USA and briefly in Sweden to understand relations between the police and the public and how they are affected by the occupational culture of the police (1964, pp.x-xii). Since Westley (1953) did not publish his findings in book form until 1970 (Greene, 2010, p.458), Banton's book was the first to provide a sociological, hence qualitative, study of the police and in addition, one of the first comparative sociological police studies (McLaughlin, 2007, p.27). At the time it was common for writers to refer to police officers as policemen. Within this thesis the term police officer will be used to better reflect

today's language. As well as more typical surveys and interviews Banton collected observational data of the actual activities of police officers, sense-making, authority of police officers, use of discretionary powers, police-public relations, the working personality of police officers and characteristics of the occupational police culture (Banton, 1964; McLaughlin, 2007; Ch.2). Banton's work, albeit not free from criticism (e.g. Skolnick, 1966/2011, loc1863-1929), provided the knowledge base for future sociological research and probably paved the way for the theory of community policing (McLaughlin, 2007, pp.27,48). Meanwhile in the USA, Jerome Skolnick (1966/2011) had constructed the idea of the police 'working personality' as a socially generated culture rather than an individual psychological trait.

The 1960s were troublesome times globally but in particular for the Western world, with opposition against the Vietnam War and the rise of a counterculture of young people and the 'social revolution'. Unrest and riots, political activists and extremists required actions from and by the police for which they were not prepared. Official demands to provide the police with new methods, to improve their operations and practices or to reform their organisation led to a whole wave of researchers investigating the police in Western society (McLaughlin, 2007, p.49). These are some of their findings, which will be further addressed in the following section: Reiss studied the interaction between citizens and police officers in several US-American cities in the 1960s (1971); Van Maanen examined the organisational socialisation in a large urban US police department (1972); Cain focused on the organisation of rural and urban police in the UK (1973); Manning aimed to uncover the social organisation of police work and its underlying principles and symbols (1977); Punch carried out intensive field work in a difficult district of Amsterdam (1979) and serving police sergeant Holdaway undertook a long-term study using covert observation within his own police station (1983). Like Banton (1964, p.113) before, they all concentrated on patrol or beat officers, a function, which, as mentioned in Chapter 3.2, is the entrance level into most police organisations and a common background for all police officers, even for the highest ranks, because every senior officer must serve an apprenticeship within the rank-and-file (Skolnick, 1966/2011, loc1410). Importantly, patrol officers might also exercise the greatest level of discretion (Wilson, 1968/1978, p.8). The researchers all uncovered, one way or other, the 'occupational culture' at the core of the police (Holdaway, 1983, p.2). Many of them either knew, were in contact with, or referred to the others (e.g. Punch, 1979, p.x).

While referring to the occupational culture of the police, Punch used the shortened term ‘police culture’ (1979). Young did the same (1991, 1993) when he provided his accounts as a police insider. To some extent Young broadened the perspective. Firstly, his book on an urban police force was not restricted to patrol officers but also included detectives and their work; secondly, in his book about a police force in the countryside he pointed out cultural differences between policing in a rural and an urban setting by using the term ‘rural police culture’ (Young, 1993, p.232). Differences between urban and rural policing were certainly obvious to researchers, as a result of which, they typically aimed to study the former, with higher population density and presumably more social conflict and higher crime rates. Punch already suggested a potentially weaker, i.e. different, police culture in Amsterdam than in the Dutch provinces (1979, p.40).

The argument of working-class police officers was brought up by Elisabeth Reuss-Ianni (1983/2017; Ch.1,para.1), who together with Francis Ianni, completed a two-year study in New York City. They identified a ‘street cop culture’, whose members originated from the working classes, and a ‘management cop culture’, mainly occupied by middle-class officers. Nevertheless, they suggested that both developed out of a monolithic departmental police culture and put the split into two cultures down to social and political change. The police manager as the policy-deciding commanding officer, was already seen before as an important factor, who could influence the ‘police style’ of the department (Wilson, 1968/1978, pp.57,140). The police chief is therefore the police organisation’s equivalent to the founder (Peters & Waterman Jr, 1982/2006), who creates the environment for organisational culture, as sketched out in Chapter 3.1. However, Wilson did not see the fragmentation of the organisation culture in the same way as Reuss-Ianni. Others though, partitioned occupational police culture into three segments, namely command, middle management, and lower participants (Farkas & Manning, 1997, p.58); Manning (2007, pp.71-72) added a fourth segment, the investigator or detective, later on. Again, these are distinctions or sub-cultures within the organisation. Some researchers assumed that in addition to organisational structure there might be individual elements contributing to police culture and developed typologies of different police styles. Muir (1977/1979, pp.55-57) found four different types of police officer, as did Reiner (1984/2010, p.133), albeit using different labels. The differences among police officers suggested by those typologies indicate the existence of sub-cultures within an occupational culture. Maybe more importantly, when looking at police culture there are two

contexts to consider, the occupational as well as the organisational context (Paoline, 2003, pp.207-208), as already discussed in Chapter 3.

Chan found the conceptualisation of police culture confusing (1997, p.12) because police culture was often described as monolithic and typically referred to Reuss-Ianni's street cop culture only without considering a possible management culture. She criticised a lack of definitions which could account for internal differences as well as for those across jurisdictions. In her opinion "a theory of police culture should account for the existence of multiple cultures within a police force and variation in cultures among police forces" (Chan, 1996, p.111). Further criticism was raised because of the implied passivity of police officers during the socialisation process within the police and a lack of consideration for the larger, social, political and organisational context of policing (Chan, 1996, pp.111-112). Chan shifted the attention of scholars more towards occupational socialisation. She applied Bourdieu's conception (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) of 'habitus' and 'field' (Chapter 2.2), to distinguish between structural conditions of police work and the cultural knowledge used by police officers (1996, pp.112-113).

More recently further ethnographic studies were conducted, for example on the relationship between gender roles and police culture (Silvestri, 2003; Westmarland, 2002), but this type of study became less popular. Supported by public pressure towards new management techniques, researchers expanded their interests in organisational as well as occupational aspects of police culture (Davies & Thomas, 2003; Manning, 2007; McLaughlin, 2007, p.59). Internationally, police culture was used for policing and political reform in developing democracies but also as a blocker for such reforms (O'Neill & Singh, 2007, p.1). While there are arguments for the stability of the traditional concept of police culture developed by early ethnographers (Loftus, 2010), by now, it appears to be no longer applicable to some (Manning, 2007; Sklansky, 2007). As Chan suggested this would mean that police culture is subject to change and can in fact be changed, something also indicated by Cockcroft (2005, 2007) and Punch (2007). Some policing scholars even suggested that new demographic developments might have an impact on police culture (O'Neill & Holdaway, 2007; Skolnick, 2008): not only the increased number of female recruits but also recruiting more police officers from ethnic minorities. At the same time the newly professionalised police managers discovered police organisational culture as a topic, trying to facilitate cultural change to overcome all kinds of organisational problems, from

improving communication to enhancing motivation, and to leadership models primarily derived from the private sector (Cockcroft, 2014; Silvestri, 2012).

While a substantive body of literature targets police culture in Anglo-Saxon countries, similar research was also carried out elsewhere, the most prominent being the afore-mentioned account of the police in Amsterdam (Punch, 1979). Some accounts were written by academic researchers, others by police practitioners; some wrote about ‘occupational police sub-culture’, others about the ‘organisational police culture’, policing styles and similar variations. Klockars, Ivkovich, Harver and Haberfeld (2000) for example focused primarily on ‘police integrity’, in principle only one aspect of police culture, which will be outlined in the next section. Nonetheless, as presented in Chapter 2, the concept behind the English word *culture* is not always the same when translated into other languages, so that research of ‘police culture’, i.e. values, beliefs and norms of the police, is sometimes conducted under different labels, such as police integrity, police ethics, or legitimacy of police activity (Behr, 2006; Rakar, Seljak, & Aristovnik, 2013).

There are numerous studies and accounts, obviously of varying depths and quality, confirming the existence of police culture or its equivalents around the world: police integrity and a police culture shaped by war experience in Croatia (Ivkovich & Klockars, 2004); low-level corruption in the Finnish police linked to a particular police culture (Puonti, Vuorinen, & Ivkovic, 2004) whereas police culture in Hungary appeared to be largely tolerant to this crime (Kremer, 2004); van Hulst found the Dutch police culture potentially ‘softer’ compared to Anglo-Saxon counterparts (Hulst, 2013); Norway was trying to control police culture through police reform (Gundhus, 2017); a study in Sweden, drawing heavily from Anglo-Saxon literature, confirmed police culture as being pervasive and persistent (Fekjær, Petersson, & Thomassen, 2014); a South African study likewise concluded that irrespective of changes, which occurred in the organisational and occupational environments of the police, some aspects of the ‘traditional’ police culture endured (Steyn & Mkhize, 2016). Noteworthy are the cultural distinctions Banton (1964) pointed out between different Anglo-Saxon police forces. In comparing British with US-American police officers, he reported that British officers found it easier to maintain a relationship with a person whilst keeping a distance, appeared to generate more respect and might have a different attitude in behaviour (Banton, 1964, pp.190,227,237). Skolnick

(1966/2011) even suggested differences between police officers in Scotland and the rest of Britain.

The existence of a distinct culture within police organisations, police culture as a phenomenon, is widely accepted throughout the Western world (Alain, 2001, p.22; Tyler, 2011, p.263). Nonetheless, a cross-national study using exploratory factor analysis on occupational attitudes of police forces in Canada, India and Japan found several converging and some rather national attitudes within the countries' respective police cultures (Nickels & Verma, 2008). Baker's account of police practice in three African countries illustrates the existence of police culture in a very different part of the world (Baker, 2007). The current Russian police culture appears to be influenced still by historic Soviet elements such as particular forms of pro-active policing (Reynolds & Semukhina, 2013, p.251). Regardless of the different cultural environment, scholars, looking onto police culture from the 'macro-perspective' of the society, described police practice in Thailand (Haanstad, 2013), Taiwan (Martin, 2013), and even China (Jiao, 2001) primarily as influenced by the culture of the respective country. As already suggested in Chapter 3.2, certain aspects of policing appear to be represented in almost any police force. This includes the fact, that the police need an organisational structure, which by extension makes the development of informal structures in addition to the formal ones more likely. After this brief portrayal of how the phenomenon of such a police culture was discovered and conceptualised, the next section will illustrate the most important characteristics attributed to police culture and its various labels, occupational, organisational or other.

## **4.2 The Occupational Cop-Canteen-Sub-Culture**

Police culture, first described from a primarily anthropological perspective by Westley (1953) and Banton (1964) as outlined in the previous section, is a phenomenon linked to culture and consequently the values, beliefs, rituals, and norms which come with it (Chapter 2). Typically it depends on the observer and their perspective to classify whether police culture is an organisational culture or an occupational one, a combination of those, something completely different, or not existing at all, as claimed by Waddington (1999, p.302). This, however, is a discussion for later; for now, after the brief historical sketch on police culture research, it is important to highlight the various findings of the research on police culture, if only to

understand why, after almost 70 years of research, it remains an area of interest to researchers, scholars and practitioners.

Police violence and racism in the USA provoked Westley's study on the police as an occupational group in 1950. He found that the illegal use of violence was based on occupational experience, a result of being criticised as inefficient by a hostile public. Police officers who used violence or exhibited racist behaviour were protected through secrecy and in-group solidarity (1953). Ten years later much of his findings were confirmed by Banton's (1964) research into the occupational culture of three US-American police forces, primarily racism, in-group solidarity, also directed towards the own supervising officers and violent or coercive behaviour to gain respect or information.

Approaching the topic from a more psychological perspective (Galliher, 1971, p.308), albeit not on an individual level but as an "occupational grouping" with "distinctive cognitive tendencies" (Skolnick, 1966/2011, loc1384), Skolnick examined the 'working personality' of patrol officers in the USA, with similar findings. He described a number of police culture characteristics such as the element of danger, often linked to police solidarity, constant suspiciousness, but also racism, suggesting danger and authority as defining features of police officers, who are under constant pressure for efficiency (Skolnick, 1966/2011, loc1417). Over time many researchers and scholars contributed to identifying the same and other features attributed to policing; some of those characteristics appear to be stable and long-lasting (Loftus, 2010, pp.16-17; Skolnick, 2008, p.35). Reiner felt there was a lack of political dimensions reflecting the social structure of police culture in Skolnick's conception and developed 'core characteristics' (Reiner, 1984/2010, pp.118-132), which were then regularly used to describe police or 'cop' culture or police sub-culture (Chan, 1996, pp.110-111; Waddington, 1999, p.287; 2012, p.90). Some of the more striking characteristics described by Reiner will be described in the following.

It was suggested that the police are not always guided by legal procedures (Waddington, 1999, p.287). The varying degrees of disregard to the rule of law observed between British and US-American police officers were attributed to differing social settings (Skolnick, 1966/2011; Ch.3,sec.8). Reiner (1984/2010, pp.83-84) summarised the implied common view within rank-and-file as well as police management: sometimes rules need to be violated in order to get the job done. This, however, also created concerns about police misconduct, abuse of physical

force and brutality and in extension the often-problematic exercise of discretion, i.e. the police officer's legal authorisation to decide whether and how to handle an incident (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.19). Nevertheless, police organisations still allow "enormous discretion in practice" (Bayley, 1996, p.64). Discretion and the 'code of silence' can be linked to authoritarianism and discriminatory use of police power (Mastrofski, 2004, p.102; Wortley, 2003, pp.553-554).

Even though everyday policing can be a rather mundane job, police officers see themselves as the 'good guys', action-oriented, with a sense of mission to fight crime, being guardians of the social order so that being a police officer is perceived more as a way of life than a job, which allows them to enjoy the action and the challenge of policing (Cain, 1973, p.190; Holdaway, 1983, p.100; Reiner, 1984/2010, pp.119-120; Silvestri, 2012, p.237). In the masculine domain of police (Young, 1991, p.191) organisations struggle to accept female colleagues (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.128). Behaviour towards female victims is likewise predisposed by the primarily masculine police culture (Loftus, 2009, p.10). Some of those traits are less pronounced in the present than they used to be, however, Waddington supposed that the police are influenced by patriarchal beliefs as part of the wider culture (1999, p.291). Only through equality legislation were female police officers able to escape the confines of dedicated policewomen's sections (Brown, 2007, pp.209-210; Fielding, 1994, p.56; Silvestri, 2003, p.47). The masculine values of police officers and their sometimes exaggerated stories are discussed where they feel at home, be it in the patrol car or in the canteen, hence the phrase 'canteen culture' (Fielding, 1994, p.52; Hulst, 2013, pp.637; Waddington, 1999, pp.295,297).

Some of the action experienced in the real world lived on in 'police stories', a regular "story book of police culture" and shared "practical knowledge *qua* practical knowledge" (Shearing & Ericson, 1991, pp.489-497). While the comparatively recent introduction of new operational strategies such as use of new information technologies and intelligence-led policing were expected to shift the emphasis away from action-driven police work, the police maintained their collective masculine persona (Brown, 2007, p.207) and discrimination against policewomen still starts at the beginning of their uniformed career (Westmarland, 2002, p.107) and continues even if they reach management positions (Brown, Fleming, Silvestri, Linton, & Gouseti, 2019). Sexism within the police, and therefore police culture, remains institutional

(Westmarland, 2008, p.267). Such discrimination naturally also affects LGBTQ+ officers as well as those from ethnic minorities (Loftus, 2009, p.11).

The racism described by Westley in his early depiction of occupational police culture (Westley, 1953) was certainly of a different quality compared to the almost subtle racism described by Cain years later. Still, her account (Cain, 1973, pp.117-119) on immigrant discrimination, prejudices and racist tendencies of police officers towards ethnic minorities, predominantly but not necessarily linked to persons with different complexion, was revealing. Nowadays racial prejudice is less openly expressed by the police, in part as a consequence of Macpherson's report (1999), the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, which called for a cultural change. Members of ethnic minorities have been recruited into the police service, but racial prejudice still exists (Shiner, 2010; Shiner & Delsol, 2015, pp.54-55). However, having prejudices does not mean that police officers will automatically express those in their behaviour (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.130). To some, racism is not necessarily a characteristic of the occupational police culture; it is also linked to stereotypical perceptions of the police (Holdaway, 1997, p.25). According to Rowe (2004, p.75) the problems of stereotyping and prejudice sit within an individual but develop in a broader organisational framework. Police officers apply stereotyping in daily routines as shown by Van Maanen in "The Asshole" (1978a) or Skolnick's 'symbolic assailant' (1966/2011; Ch.3,sec.1). While stereotyping as opposed to prejudice is an invaluable tool for real-life policing (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.121), there is a thin line in-between both.

The aforementioned orientation to and desire for action and excitement when danger and fast car chases interrupt the boring daily routine also extends to the use of force (Holdaway, 1983, pp.130-133). Although the use of coercive force is by default part of policing and the police's representation of the state (Manning, 1980, p.136), Westley illustrated how the legitimate use of violence can turn to illegal police brutality (1953). But the police also have to cope with violence directed against them (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.119) or others (Waddington, 1998, p.8). What remains is a celebration, even glorification of action, excitement and violence as an expression of the masculine police culture (Silvestri, 2012, p.237; Waddington, 1999, pp.297-298).

Cain wrote about "an 'us-and-them' view of the police in relation to the criminal sub-culture and other 'rough' groups" (1973, p.190), which reminds of social identity theories (Chapter 4.3). Nevertheless, this 'us-and-them' feeling is not limited to criminals but comprises

the social world outside of the police in general. Working in shifts, an often uneasy relationship with citizens and other tensions make it difficult for police officers to interact with civilians outside of the job and result in their isolation from the social world (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122). Reiner claimed that the division into 'us' and 'them' might also apply within the police: there can be tensions between uniformed officers and detectives, patrol officers and police managers (1984/2010, p.122). In fact, through covert investigations police organisations have introduced a concept, in which officers operate remotely from uniformed colleagues and are even more isolated (Loftus, Goold, & Giollabhui, 2016, pp.643-644).

Authority, a defining feature of policing (Waddington, 1999, p.302), is typically seen as being instrumental in causing the characteristic of social isolation. Issuing speeding fines and all activities around maintaining public order are adding to the uneasy relationship with citizens (Skolnick, 1966/2011; Ch.3,sec.5) as highlighted in the paragraph before. Perceived threats to a police officer's authority can lead to police violence (Westley, 1953, p.41). Violence, or rather the legitimate use of force, is in turn an important aspect of police authority. The police are authorised and obliged to use force, if justifiable, and has the exclusive 'monopoly on force' in civil government, which gives them a "unique role in society, one which, ... neither the government nor the citizenry could presumably do without" (Bittner, 1970, p.34). Police is an authority that can intervene in the lives of others, with legal coercive force if necessary, and is therefore authoritative, as is policing as a vocation. Due to the fact that the police represent the state authority, they can be exposed to danger when they have to enforce the law (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.219). Reiner understood danger and authority as interdependent, environmental elements contributing to the creation of police culture (1984/2010, p.219).

Defensive solidarity is what Westley described as 'covering-up' police misconduct such as excessive use of violence, not only individually but as a collective (1953, pp.39-40). Cain explained this group solidarity with the patrol officer's need for mutual trust and secrecy to avoid negative sanctions for minor violations like drinking whilst on duty or infringements such as use of undue violence (1973, pp.190-192). To avoid disciplinary actions against them police officers develop a covering-up perspective, inherent in all patrol work (Van Maanen, 1973, pp.51-52). This form of rank-and-file solidarity is first and foremost directed towards supervisory officers. In general, though, solidarity is essential for officers: when they are physically attacked on the job or end up in other difficulties, police officers need to rely on

their colleagues (Cain, 1973, pp.192-194; Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122). The isolation they experience from the rest of the social world further strengthens this internal solidarity among officers (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122). While solidarity can also be seen as a positive aspect of police culture, in combination with secrecy, the 'code of silence' paves the way for bending or breaking the rules, prevents officers from stopping colleagues who engage in deviant behaviour (Westmarland, 2004, p.84), and can ultimately be seen as a facilitator for corruption (Punch, 2009, pp.37,41).

Suspiciousness is a further characteristic of police culture which can be identified from the policing literature and which requires further discussion. Banton (1964, p.207) quoted an officer saying that everybody can be suspect, even one's grandmother. Suspiciousness is essential for the police in many ways; witness statements, for example, cannot be accepted as being true, just because someone made a statement first or appears to look more credible (Banton, 1964, p.208). Police officers learn to perceive risks, look out for potential danger or signs of trouble, register the normal and the abnormal (Johnson, 2007, p.278; Loftus, 2009, p.12; Manning, 1977, p.117; Reiner, 1984/2010, p.121; Skolnick, 2008, p.36). Nevertheless, the ability to raise suspicion might be experienced as unfriendly in a social environment outside of work (Banton, 1964, p.208), which thus potentially contributes to social isolation. Suspiciousness is also attributed to officers developing stereotypes of potential offenders (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.121; Young, 1991, p.108), which in itself is linked to prejudice.

Seeing and dealing with all the negatives in the social world surrounding them – essentially in opposition to the sense of mission – creates a pessimistic outlook, which has been described as 'cynical'. In practice officers might exhibit detached or unsympathetic behaviour (Loftus, 2009, p.14). Another result of their cynical outlook is the display of black humour, which in turn helps to cope with a difficult or dangerous work environment (Charman, 2013, p.162; Loftus, 2009, p.14). In addition, officers may become cynical towards senior management (Waddington, 1998, p.231) as well as the law and the legal process, when they experience a perceived unjust handling of cases within the criminal justice system (Loftus, 2009, p.14; Waddington, 2012, p.101).

In the context of professionalisation of the police, Holdaway expected difficulties to effect a change due to resistance from the lower ranks, who were always able to subvert and modify patrolling systems thereby sticking to their own understanding of police work (1983, pp.163-

164). Similarly, although not primarily led by rank-and-file, resistance to change was observed regarding the introduction of community policing (Bayley, 2008, p.10; Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux, 1990, p.18; Zhao, He, & Lovrich, 1999, pp.155-156) or changes to the organisational hierarchy (Bayley, 1996, pp.63-64). At the core of this resistance lies the occupational or organisational culture of the police (Chan, 2007a, p.342; Christmas, 2013, p.240; Dijk, Hoogewoning, & Punch, 2015, p.18; Fleming & Rhodes, 2005, pp.197-198; Loftus, 2010, p.2; Marks, 2003, p.256). Importantly, Chan (1997, pp.166-168) found that implementation of change within a police force can be a complex endeavour which would attract resistance: as well as attempts to undermine reform by street-level police officers, Chan's study also unveiled resistance in several pockets of the police organisation including bureaucratic resistance, lack of organisational commitment and even adverse inter-agency politics.

These descriptive cultural characteristics or features develop under particular conditions, some of which were mentioned before. One of these conditions is the formal hierarchy typical for the police organisation (Chapter 3.2), with its chain of command and labelled rank structure borrowed from the military indicating the distribution of formal power and authority in the police force (King, 2005, pp.101-102). Another conditional variable is the ongoing pressure to produce results, be efficient (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.121; Skolnick, 1966/2011, loc1417). The strong push for more arrests, effectiveness and productivity is problematic in combination with the demand to comply with the rule of law, because it might invite officers to bend or break the rules whilst covering up such misconduct to avoid strictly enforced internal discipline regulations in particular in hierarchical bureaucratic or military organisations (Bittner, 1970, pp.57-58). Then there is the element of danger or, part of the storytelling culture, perceived danger, because most of the routine work is not dangerous (Holdaway, 1983, p.19). Still, police officers must bear in mind that any standard situation can take a violent turn, so they scan their environment for potential danger, primarily for sudden attacks from other persons (Crank, 1998/2004, p.156; Reiner, 1984/2010, p.119; Skolnick, 1966/2011, loc1433-1450). To some extent the danger exists due to the police's representation of authority and their obligation to face and handle risky situations (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.119). Another previously mentioned feature helps police officers to make risk and danger more predictable: being suspicious of potential danger (Crank, 1998/2004, p.61; Reiner, 1984/2010, p.121; Skolnick, 1966/2011, loc1418). To support this, officers tend to use stereotypes (Reiner, 1984/2010, pp.122-125),

which includes the assessment of the likelihood of danger when they engage with members of the public. Potential danger is part of the policing job (Crank, 1998/2004, p.157) and once it turns into actual danger, police officers need each other's support and solidarity (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122) as indicated before.

So far characteristics such as masculinity, sexism and prejudiced behaviour towards minorities, isolation from the social world, defensive solidarity or resistance to change were identified as important features of police culture. However, those characteristics are primarily considered as part of the traditional conception of occupational culture feeding off and reinforcing each other, creating a culture police officers use to make sense of their work (Reiner, 1984/2010, pp.109,121). Now this section will turn to cultural aspects related to the police organisation in order to understand the organisational police culture.

Sense-making in organisations is an interesting part of the literature and relates to 'recipe knowledge' as described by Sackmann (1992, pp.141-142) and Chan (1996, p.113). The web of interwoven characteristics, mainly originating from anthropological and ethnographic research depicting police culture as an occupational phenomenon (Paoline, 2003, p.207), describes the core of 'the police culture', which, as already indicated in the previous section, is only loosely defined (Chan, 1996, p.111). A further complication is the variation of culture in different departments in the police organisation, explained as 'organisational culture' by organisational analysts (Paoline, 2003, p.207). In fact, some authors on police culture decided, presumably based on their outlook, to use primarily one term, either 'occupational culture' (Brown, 2007, p.206; Fielding, 1994, p.46; Loftus, 2009, p.3; Paoline, 2003, p.199) or 'organisational culture' (Brough, Chataway, & Biggs, 2016, p.28; Shim, Jo, & Hoover, 2015, p.755; Steyn & Mkhize, 2016, p.16). The important role of the police organisation in relation to police culture was, however, acknowledged (Chan, 2004, 2007b; Charman, 2017, Ch.2; Manning, 2007; Paoline, 2003). Also, Klinger (2004, p.127) found that the size of police organisations and other structural aspects might affect the behaviour of police officers and therefore impact on their culture.

There are other aspects to consider such as that the 'street cop culture' (Reuss-Ianni, 1983/2017, Ch.1,para.1), as mentioned in the section before, is still the main focus in describing police culture (Chan, 1996, p.111; Manning, 2007, p.49) concentrating on patrol officers and thereby neglecting the existence of a variation of cultures among police forces such as the other

three sub-cultures identified by Manning (2007, pp.68-72). This preoccupation with the rank-and-file might be caused by the fact that they are more easily accessible for researchers, and that most police managers begin their careers as front-line officers. Nevertheless, once they become part of the higher hierarchy with different tasks and responsibilities, they no longer participate in the street cop culture (Sklansky, 2007, pp.37-38).

The interest in organisations, corporate and organisational culture was shared by researchers as well as police management, who intended to improve organisational performance (Chan, 1996, pp.110-111; Glomseth, Gottschalk, & Solli-Sæther, 2007, p.106). Reform attempts were accompanied by tremendous changes in policing and the social environment affecting recruitment, selection and the demographics of the police, changes of leadership style and structural reform of police organisations (Campeau, 2015, p.671; Chan, 2004, pp.329-330; Newburn, 2008, pp.824-825; Paoline, 2003, p.208; Silvestri, 2012, pp.240-241). While Reiner (1984/2010, p.137) assured that police culture is neither monolithic nor unchanging, its recalcitrance, claimed to be inherent in occupational and as well as organisational cultures (Paoline, 2003), appears to prevail to date. Only a few scholars see this differently, suggesting that new developments, like the introduction of intelligence strategies (Gottschalk & Gudmundsen, 2009, pp.175-176), and the professionalisation of the police, such as through training (Glenn et al., 2003, p.30), indeed have led to a change in policing culture (Chan, 2004, pp.329-330; Charman, 2017, pp.146-149; Christmas, 2013, p.180; Loftus, 2009, pp.2-3). Many will argue that some change has been achieved (Campeau, 2015, p.671) but, nonetheless, the core characteristics of police culture have hardly been affected (Loftus, 2010, p.16; Waddington, 2012, p.90; Willis & Mastrofski, 2017, p.96).

In conclusion, and importantly, this means that the core characteristics, some of which were already described by Westley (1953) as mentioned in the previous section, are still relevant to date. The reason might be that the police is still working under similar conditions, faced with potential danger whilst acting, ideally efficiently, on behalf of the authority of the state (Hendriks & van Hulst, 2016, p.162). However, if the core characteristics remain relevant, this is an indication that much of the set of values, beliefs, assumptions and practice, therefore the police culture, has indeed not changed very much, regardless of the changes in society, across time as well as across national borders, and regardless of police organisations and the professionalisation of policing. These characteristics of police or occupational cop culture, be

it as a canteen or sub-culture, or police organisational culture will be further investigated within later chapters of this study. Before, though, one of the possible reasons given for the endurance of occupational police culture needs to be addressed, namely the function or rather role of the police and its unique task to enforce the law (Loftus, 2010, pp.16-17). The next section will look into how role and police culture relate to each other. The research aim is to examine the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values and practices. As outlined in Chapter 2.2 shared values appear to be at the core of culture and they are expressed through behaviour. Behaviour, however, is at the core of social role theory (Cain, 1973, p.3).

### **4.3 Roles, Groups and Memberships**

At the core of culture (see Chapter 2) are shared values, expressed through behaviour, and practices (Hofstede, 2001, pp.9-10). Consequently, such values and practices can be found in the cultures of organisations and occupations (Chapter 3). The discussion in the previous sections on the various dimensions of police culture, be it occupational or organisational, highlighted several features and characteristics as being at the centre of police culture. In describing those characteristics, attributed to the police and in extension its culture, several scholars referred to the function and role of the police as well as the police officers (Bittner, 1970; Cain, 1973; Charman, 2017; Manning, 1980; Skolnick, 1966/2011). Some researchers, as pointed out before, realised that the division of labour within the police organisation causes segmentation (Manning, 2007; Reuss-Ianni, 1983/2017), which can be understood as sub-cultures within the police culture. However, in particular Manning's account (2007, pp.68-72) of the uniformed patrol officers, middle management, top command and detectives not only highlighted the existence of different groups within the police but also pointed towards the 'roles' of the members of such groups within the police. This section will briefly address the relationship between roles, groups, their members and police culture.

According to Biddle (1986, p.68) authors continue to differ over definitions for role as a concept, over assumptions in relation to roles, and over explaining role phenomena. To some a role defines a set of behaviours which are highly likely to occur between persons in a particular relation, e.g. between a labourer and the line manager (Triandis, et al., 1968, p.40). More specifically, within society a role is a particular part of the culture assigned to a given

position occupied by a role-holder or actor, which includes rights and obligations of that role (Yinger, 1960, pp.627-628). The role of police officers, for example, is to maintain law and order and to help people, if necessary with force (Manning, 1977, p.117). The rights and obligations of a role are linked into a system of actors in other positions. While role was traditionally understood as a property of an individual, to look at it as a property of a social system is considered to be a more modern interpretation (Cain, 1973, pp.3-9). However, all who share the overarching culture know and accept these rights and duties, hence, the role. This way every participant of the culture is aware of the role, be it a police officer, nurse or lawyer (Yinger, 1960, pp.627-628). Consequently, roles could be understood as an intrinsic part of society and therefore of culture. As outlined in Chapter 2.2 values and beliefs appear to be at the core of culture and they are expressed through behaviour. Nevertheless, the mere expectation for a role-holder to act in a certain way as required by the overarching culture of the society in which a role is embedded, does not inevitably result in such behaviour.

The expectation for a person to behave in a particular way, combined with the actual responding behaviour to this expectation is basically at the core of social role theory (Cain, 1973, p.3). Discrepancies between the behaviour expected by the role-definer and actual behaviour of the person who has to enact the role became known as 'role conflict' (Cain, 1973, p.3). However, it is not always the whole of society defining a role: certain parts or groups of a society, even individuals, can define roles to influence behaviour more or less effectively. The effectiveness will depend on the importance of the role-definer and the meaning of the role to the actor (Cain, 1973, pp.4-6). The latter aspect is largely derived from reference-group theory (Cain, 1973, pp.4-5), which is, like role theory, concerned with the reasons of persons for conforming to or deviating from norms and standards of others; key is the relationship between the actor as a focal person and the relevant reference group (Cain, 1973, pp.4-5), or, in other words, the relationship between the role-holder and the relevant part of the social system, be it the whole society or a part or group of it.

According to Maureen Cain (1973, p.5) the role concept is closely related to, even overlapping with reference-group theory, or the concept of groups in general be it "ingroups" or "outgroups", membership or non-membership groups. In particular a functional approach to role, where the focus is on the distinguished behaviour of a person occupying a social position within a social system, can provide insight into groups, organisations or whole human

communities, even though there might be roles, which are not related to social positions or functions (Biddle, 1986, pp.70-71). In fact, roles are not exclusive to individuals: A police organisation, for example, has the role to provide the grounds for the functioning of the state (Walker, 1996/2000, p.83) and to represent the authority of the state in addressing human problems, if they need to be solved with means of coercion, even if the use of physical force, e.g. to arrest offenders, might be rare (Bittner, 1970, pp.37-38,41,44). Researchers of organisational roles are not limited to roles of formal organisations, though, they also focus on whole social systems with a certain task-orientation and hierarchy, including the roles of the individuals within them (Biddle, 1986, p.73). Those roles are typically occupational ones, which are a defining feature of occupational communities. An occupational community is a group of people engaged in the same line of work, sharing a set of common values and norms, which are not restricted to the work environment but extend into private life (Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, pp.11-12). Importantly, each occupational community is marked by its own distinct work culture (Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, p.7), which is by and large the occupational culture discussed in Chapter 3.3, be it as a sub-culture within an organisation or as a macro-culture within an industry, region or society as suggested by Alvesson and Berg (1992).

Occupational community group members derive at least a significant part of their valued self-images from their roles (Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, p.18). The roles, however, in particular those in organisations need to be learned by acquiring knowledge and practical skills needed for a job, typically with the help of the social environment; peers, line managers, own staff, if there are any, even customers will help with the socialisation process of becoming familiar with the position (Van Maanen, 1978b, pp.19-20). This relates to formal and informal learning processes within the police. However, the socialisation typically starts with a formal process, such as introduction programmes, which often include acquiring peripheral skills not essential for a particular position, before the practices actually needed for the job are learned, usually informally and in the work place in a learning by doing style (Van Maanen, 1978b, p.22). Nonetheless, both settings, classroom as well as local police units, can include elements of formal and informal learning (Charman, 2017, pp.93-94).

Since the formal socialisation can also take place outside of the organisation at universities or professional schools including police academies, roles are not restricted to organisations, they can also be attributed to occupations (Van Maanen, 1978b, p.23). The self-image from a role

thus learned is commonly understood as a social identity, which is shared by most members of the group. The social identity will be expressed not only in interaction with the workplace but also with the world outside, most prominently through behaviour (Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, p.18). The underlying socialisation process, however, is basically the same as the socialisation process described previously (Hofstede, et al., 1990) for organisational and occupational culture in Chapter 3 and is as well applicable to police culture (see Chapter 4.1).

Nonetheless, a social identity might not only be influenced by occupational roles and related group memberships. According to social identity theory, individuals perceive themselves based on whether they belong to a particular group or not (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.40). Interestingly, if the perception of similarities can cause an “ingroup” feeling on individual level, there must be a perception of differences in comparison to other groups (Charman, 2017, p.42; Tajfel & Turner, 1979, pp.35-40). Each person has a personal identity, with individual features progressively developing over time, which differs from social identity needed for social interaction (Charman, 2017, p.41). In fact, most individuals have separate social identities at their disposal, which are, deliberately or not, used in different social contexts (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.40). Social identities are group-based and things are seen from the perspective of the group. This should not be confused with role identity, which concentrates on fulfilling the expectations of the role, with no considerations for uniform perceptions or actions of group members (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.226).

There are obvious links between the concepts of group, role and culture. The group-based social identity might not be the same as the sub-cultural personality assumed by Gordon (1947, pp.40-41) but there are similarities. Likewise, the concepts of occupational groups and communities remind of sub-cultures as a sub-set of the dominant culture within a society (Clarke, 1974, pp.430-431) as highlighted in Chapter 2.2. The importance of culture to role (Yinger, 1960, pp.627-628) has also been mentioned. Cain (1973, pp.7-8) used role theory as a tool to understand the organisation and behaviour of the police. What she found was, although she did not use this expression, police culture.

In summary this chapter started to look into how the concept of police culture developed historically, beginning with Westley (1953). Similar to the conceptualisation of culture (Chapter 2), early researchers of the social nature of the police had an anthropological perspective and related their findings to the nature of the police occupation. Drawing from

other research and conceptions of culture (Chapter 2) researchers investigated values, attitudes and practices exhibited primarily by front-line officers. Certain elements were repeatedly found and eventually summarised as ‘characteristics of police culture’ (Reiner, 1984/2010), which feed off and reinforce each other. Some of those characteristics were linked to the socialisation and in particular informal learning processes, police recruits are exposed to when entering the occupation (Chapter 3). Research on police culture quickly widened, covering particular settings such as rural and urban (Cain, 1973; Young, 1993) or different countries or jurisdictions (e.g. Banton, 1964; Punch, 1979). Cain, interestingly, used the role concept, albeit mainly as a tool for her research. Importantly, differences between countries were noticed and noted, for example by Banton. However, the similarities between police officers from different countries and the repeated identification of similar characteristics led obviously to a continued concentration on the occupational aspects of police culture.

The focus on the occupational level of police culture changed after Reuss-Ianni (Reuss-Ianni, 1983/2017) identified a police management culture in addition to the culture of front-line officers. This fragmentation at an organisational level caused further research and interest on organisational culture. The culture of organisations, however, might be based, like culture in general, on values and practices (Chapter 2), but develops on a different level (Chapter 3), at a different stage in the socialisation process (Hofstede, 2001; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985) and might be easier to change. Change and reform of the police was of significant interest to not only for scholars but also police managers interested in improving police organisations, for example by introducing new management techniques (Cockcroft, 2014; Silvestri, 2012). Janet Chan (1996), however, noticed a lack of consideration for the larger social and political context of policing. Using conceptions from Bourdieu on ‘habitus’ and ‘field’ (Chapter 2) she provided a conceptualisation of police culture, which, to some extent, included environmental aspects. Research continued looking into organisational aspects or the more ethnographic relationship between gender roles and police culture.

The potential relevance of roles and group membership as an important factor for the social identity of police officers and was highlighted by Van Maanen and Barley (1982) when they developed their concept of occupational communities. Much later Charman (2017) used the concepts of social identity, group identity and membership for a new conceptualisation of police culture. However, what was understood as occupational police culture is currently

referred to as ‘traditional’ police culture (Loftus, 2009). As with the concept of culture itself (Chapter 2), to date there is no agreed definition on police culture, nor is there agreement on whether police culture is primarily an occupational or an organisational phenomenon. An answer to this question needs to be postponed until it is addressed again in Chapter 9. The next chapter will address the research for this thesis, how it was set up and which scientific methods were used.

## Chapter 5: Methodology

The idea to investigate police culture by examining it from a different perspective than previous researchers was the outcome of a pilot research undertaken as part of the Professional Doctorate Programme, which tried to identify an organisational culture within Europol. The findings suggested that not only the national culture of a society, but also the organisation a law enforcement officer is working within, can have as much influence on culture as the occupation. Consequently, for this thesis, the previous chapters were concerned not only with culture, and national culture, but also with organisations and occupations and their culture. In further providing the grounds for this work, conceptualisations of police culture were presented in Chapter 4, as well as important tools such as the concepts of social identity and role theory.

The aim of this study is to critically examine the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values (primarily acquired early in life on national or societal level) and practices (learned through socialisation processes within the occupation and organisation). One objective is to use a mixed methods approach, to identify and explore the main values and practices contributing to the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture', to conceptualise them into a model and to assess the impact of this model in relation to changing police culture.

The three different cultural levels discussed so far refer to national, organisational and occupational culture. Looking at those different forms of culture within the police will provide an overview on which cultural level(s), if any, is (are) prevalent to what is commonly understood as police culture. It will also inform about possibilities to influence, perhaps reform, police and its culture in the future. This chapter will outline the chosen research design and methods used to examine the values and practices on these three cultural levels. It will also address the insider-outsider problem as well as ethical issues.

### **5.1 Mixed Methods**

During the planning phase for this research there was a consideration to follow Hofstede's approach (2001). However, as discussed in Chapter 4, police culture research is primarily qualitative research, while Hofstede's research had an exclusive focus on quantitative instruments. As outlined before (Chapter 3.3) Hofstede studied culture on national and organisational but not on occupational level. The research of three different police forces in Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands conducted by Soeters, Hofstede and Van Twuyver (1995) used his approach. The results showed considerable differences between police forces on organisational and national level but no evidence for an international or occupational police culture. With a view to the research question, a freshly developed design, still partially drawing on Hofstede's dimensions, appeared to be more suitable.

Following Crotty (1998, pp.2-9) the development of a research should consider four elements: epistemology, a theoretical perspective, methodology and the chosen methods. Crotty recommended to address those elements in reverse order by describing the research methods first. With a view to the research aim, examining influencing and dependencies of cultural values and practices on police culture, two issues were identified. First, there was a need to gain rich, in-depth information on police culture also considering that most of the previous research was of a qualitative nature. Second, it was necessary to generate a large amount of data to be analysed to be able to generalise research conclusions. The challenge was that the research had to be conducted by one researcher only within a limited period of time. As a compromise two methods were chosen. An online questionnaire with Likert-items was designed and administered to many police officers internationally. In addition, semi-structured interview schedules were used to retrieve more in-depth data than the questionnaire could provide, albeit from a limited number of officers only. The restriction to semi-structured interviews ensured that interviewees could directly address themes relevant to the research question while keeping the amount of data manageable.

Methodologically such a combination of quantitative and qualitative instruments is known as mixed methods research (Bryman, 2008, pp.603-604). In particular for organisational research surveys, utilising questionnaires and interviews can be the best option to investigate organisations efficiently (Hofstede, et al., 1990, pp.290-291; Schein, 1985/2004, p.206). This is similar for cross-cultural studies, for example in relation to national culture (Clark, 1990,

p.77). Considering the cross-disciplinary character of this project, mixed method research provided the necessary range of methods (Brannen, 2005, p.6) to investigate the culture of the police from a new angle. The necessity for mixing methods, emerging from the research project itself, is characteristic for a “bottom-up” approach (Creswell & Tashakkori, 2007, p.306).

The theoretical perspective in relation to mixed methods research is problematic, as is the inherent epistemology, considering that quantitative and qualitative research strategies are fundamentally different (Bryman, 2008, pp.21-23). However, Crotty (1998, pp.14-15) insisted that the divide between qualitative and quantitative methods into opposites with different epistemological orientations is not justified. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, pp.16-17) suggested pragmatism as “philosophical partner” for mixed methods research. They argued that epistemological differences should not prevent quantitative researchers from using methods associated with qualitative, and vice versa (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p.15). For this research pragmatist philosophy provided the theoretical perspective. The view on culture and the police as part of society taken within this thesis is essentially progressivist and optimistic, looking to explore a particular part of the world (Crotty, 1998, p.74).

This research intends to better understand and explain police culture using substantial empirical evidence, which is in line with Weber’s concept of *Verstehen* (Crotty, 1998, pp.69-71). The focus on people and aspects of the social world requires a strategy, which enables social scientists to understand the “subjective meaning of social action” (Bryman, 2008, p.16). This strategy is provided by interpretivism. Epistemologically this research therefore applied an interpretivist approach.

For the research a sequential design was employed, typical for mixed methods research (Creswell, 2009, pp.14-17), using a questionnaire-based survey first for quantitative analysis. It was followed by semi-structured interviews as a qualitative method to gain more insight but also to potentially test survey findings. The mixed methods research strategy is particularly useful for ‘applied research’ concerned with problem solving (Hagan, 2006, p.10). One of the problems for this research was, to achieve a large and diverse sample size: many police officers from many countries, and ideally with different organisational backgrounds. The mixed methods approach further provided the opportunity to triangulate data, which is frequently used for mixing methods (Harden & Thomas, 2005, p.267). This helped to ensure the credibility of

the research (Semmens, 2011, p.60) and corroborate the quantitative and qualitative data (Bachman & Schutt, 2011, p.17; Bryman, 2006, p.105).

The initially preferred sequential design is typical for a mixed methods research (Creswell, 2009, p.17), where the quantitative part comes first, to be followed by a qualitative research phase. Such a sequential approach serves to enhance the interpretation of significant findings (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004, pp.780-782). Because the quantitative data was not fully analysed before the semi-structured interviews took place, both research instruments were used and analysed in parallel before the two sets of data were compared to each other. According to Creswell (2009, pp.213-214) this is a traditional mixed methods research strategy using a concurrent triangulation design, where the strengths of one instrument offset the weaknesses of the other method.

This research utilised self-completion questionnaires in an internet-based survey followed by semi-structured interviews with selected police officers. Both research instruments will be presented in the following two sections of this chapter. All questions, both for the survey and for the semi-structured interviews, drew from literature as well as from the pilot study findings. The researcher's knowledge on the subject was sufficient to employ semi-structured interviews as a qualitative method (Bryman, 2008, p.439). Also, the semi-structured interviews helped to keep the interviewees focused, while it still provided opportunities to expand depending on given answers. The hybrid design further ensured internal and external validity. With a view to the hypothesis and the assumed interrelationship of national, organisational and professional culture, the design helped to look at culture as a dependent variable. In particular, research of organisational culture tends to ignore the environment which actually shaped the culture by treating culture as an independent variable (Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985, p.462). Using different methods and collecting data from numerous cultures, i.e. countries, and sub-cultures, i.e. police organisations, the mixed methods approach follows the recommendations of Straub et al. to conduct cross-cultural research in an adaptable, flexible and inventive way (Straub, et al., 2002, p.21).

For both research instruments Europol was used as a hub providing access to a network of police contacts across Europe and beyond to draw from. Although the organisation's management agreed with the research, Europol had no further role in it. However, with the large number of police officers visiting the agency or working there, it served as a convenient

place to conduct interviews in person, thereby avoiding travel time and budget on administering interviews (Bryman, 2008, pp.217-219). The nominal data for each research part covered information on current and former jobs within the police but there was no focus on uniformed or front-line officers. Most detectives and investigators were uniformed officers at one point in their career and therefore it was assumed they could provide ‘representative’ answers as self-selected experts. The survey was completed by 206 police officers from 24 countries (Appendix 4); 16 male and four female police officers from 13 countries (Chapter 5.3) participated in the semi-structured interviews.

## **5.2 Questionnaire Survey**

Quantitative research, or “scientific” social research (Shipman, 1997, pp.22-32), is primarily concerned with measurement. The quantitative approach will find details such as variables and possible correlations between them, following common practices of the natural sciences, constantly testing theories and deducing hypotheses from existing theory. This survey as part of a mixed methods research, though, concerned with understanding police culture as a phenomenon, follows a strictly pragmatic approach (Creswell, 2009, pp.10-11). The actual research was done in a linear process (Francis, 2000, pp.39-42) using a cross-sectional design to acquire quantitative or quantifiable data at a ‘single point in time’.

In this research the concept considered is police culture and is not readily quantifiable or measurable. Hence, there was a need for indicators allowing for indirect measuring, which could be coded to quantify “police culture”. In social research, multiple-indicator measures are common for questionnaires or structured interviews. They allow for better distinctions or asking questions. The statement “Police work is primarily guided by legal procedures”, for example, could be a simple ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ question. By allowing the respondent to provide a more specific answer on a scale of 1 to 5, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, with 3 naturally being the neutral value, better insight in the respondents’ views is given. At the same time such a Likert-item provides the necessary coding. Naturally, the Likert-item as such only works when statements are used. A potential issue is the alleged response set, where respondents might, almost mechanically, tick the same box. Using a combination of neutral, positive and negative statements provides the potential to identify possible response sets (Dixon, Bouma, & Atkinson, 1987, pp.87-94).

Crucially, definitions need to be first reliable but also valid. One suitable method for measuring multiple-indicators to prove coherence is the correlation of scores, for example parts of the data. This, of course, can only work, if there is an overall score for related indicators (Bryman, 2008, pp.149-150). Those calculations can be applied to Likert-scales and are often done by computer software for quantitative research such as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The validity of the operational definition shall indicate whether a certain concept is really measured. Again, there are several ways to establish validity. The simplest way is to use face validity, for Bryman (2008, p.152) a process of intuition. In most instances there will be only minimal effort put into asserting reliability and validity, for example by testing internal reliability for a Likert-scale followed by examining face validity.

The questionnaire aimed at measuring opinions of self-selected experts in relation to police culture. These opinions were meant to be measured within this research (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, pp.74-75; Scott, Brown, Lunt, & Thorne, 2004, p.152) and there are no alternative explanations for those opinions. Consequently, construct and internal validity are high. The study is also externally valid, if the hypothesised interrelationship of national, occupational and organisational culture also holds in other settings and is generalisable. This will be further addressed under sampling method and size. Nonetheless, triangulation with the data from the interviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, p.77) as well as with existing literature can be used, to some extent, to test whether the study is externally valid. While reliability and validity testing are often criticised the same is true for sampling in quantitative research (Bryman, 2008, pp.151-162).

The questionnaire (Appendix 1) was designed based on experience from the pilot study and included revised versions of the questions, which were used before and which were related to those going to be used in the semi-structured interviews. Most of the questions were related to established characteristics of police culture (Chapter 4.2). The themes addressed through the questions were: action orientation, police behaviour, change and time, impact on policing, isolation, legal precepts, masculinity, minorities, national/international, organisation, outside world, professionalism, sexism, suspicion, and training.

Researchers, particularly those conducting survey research such as self-completion questionnaires (also used in this study), have to decide on the segment of the population finally targeted by the research, i.e. the sample (Rowntree, 2000, pp.23-27). The sample for this study

was police officers only, aiming at as many potential respondents as possible by using a ‘snowball system’ on the Internet, utilising international professional police contacts. However, it had to be ensured that only police officers were responding. The sampling frame therefore started with a list of email addresses of police officers, all of them professional contacts of the researcher, who were considered able to complete a questionnaire in English language. The strategy to initially only involve personally known officers was successful, because only three out of 209 responses had to be dismissed.

Effectively, this leans towards probability sampling: since only police officers were targeted there was no risk of over- or underrepresentation of any population and therefore no threat to internal validity. Issues with external validity, however, could not be fully ruled out. Considering the research objective, a large number of police officers from as many countries as possible had to be targeted. It was anticipated that the responses for some countries might not be very high, for example due to the country size. Nevertheless, each potential response, even if it would be only one from a country, was considered to be valuable. Initially, all potential respondents were asked for their objective opinion and experience as policing experts and thereby assumed to give a response, ‘representative’ for police officers of their country. Secondly, countries with low response rates could, collectively, always serve as control group and thus minimise the selection threat to external validity. In general, the need of a high response rate was a priority, which also led to the particular design of the present study.

Snowballing online surveys is an established method to explore populations otherwise difficult to access (Christopoulos, 2009; Fish, 1999; Hunter, 2012; Monrouxe, Rees, Dennis, & Wells, 2015; Yildirim & Correia, 2015) although not without effectiveness issues (e.g. Beauchemin & González-Ferrer, 2011, pp.125-126). Here, this collection method was only part of the sampling and distribution strategy and was, considering the response rate below, not particularly relevant. The questionnaire began with a brief explanation of the research aim and also provided Chan’s definition of police culture (2007b, p.148). This was followed by a tick box allowing the respondents to request information on the outcome of the research, which was considered as an incentive and potential encouragement to complete and return the questionnaire (Hagan, 2006, pp.165-165). The actual questionnaire began with the collection of nominal data, followed by 59 questions or rather statements related to police culture and a “Comment” field. The questionnaire concluded with two free text questions. With such a high

number of questions, in addition to the potential language challenge, it was decided to avoid any further questions, for example to distinguish officers who received an email invitation directly from those who responded to the snowballing approach.

The whole questionnaire was provided in English only, which might have limited the response rate to some extent. SurveyMonkey was used as the survey platform. The survey was open for response for a period of 8 weeks from early December 2015 to the end of January 2016. On December 2nd, 2015, 1,592 requests for participation were sent out by email, also asking to forward the questionnaire to interested colleagues.

All in all, 193 persons completed the online questionnaire, 16 police officers returned the completed questionnaire by email (Appendix 4). Three online responses had to be dismissed due to incomplete or faulty data, leaving 206 completed questionnaires. This resulted in a hypothetical response rate of 12,9%, if all 1,592 emails had reached the potential participants, and if none of the recipients had forwarded the invitation to others who were not invited by email. Considering the potential language issues and the high number of questions, this hypothetical rate appears to be more than satisfactory. Also, for analytical purposes the absolute size of the sample matters more than the relative size. In addition, the questionnaire comprised only one part of the study.

For the quantitative analysis of the mentioned scales, SPSS was used to analyse the data. The creation of scales allows the ordinal variable of Likert-items to be treated as continuous. The sample size of 206 (or 203 in a few cases where respondents decided not to choose any of the five options) was sufficiently large to reduce distribution issues (Pallant, 2005, p.52). Since the mean scores of more than two groups were compared, one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was chosen to test for significant relationships. Using SPSS, an ANOVA reveals whether there is a significant effect from any of the predictor variables and allows for post-hoc comparisons to show which groups, if any, are significantly different from each other. The p-value at the commonly accepted .05 level was used. In addition, the effect size was calculated using the formula:

$$\text{Eta squared} = \frac{\text{Sum of squares between-groups}}{\text{total sum of squares}}$$

to test for the strength of the difference between groups. When using this formula an eta squared value of .01 would be considered a small effect size, .06 as a medium effect and .14 as a large effect (Cohen, 1977/2013; Pallant, 2005, p.219) as shown in Table 5.1 below.

<b>Effect Size Using Eta Squared (following Cohen, 1977/2013)</b>	
.01	Small effect
.06	Medium effect
.14	Large effect

*Table 5.1: Effect size using eta squared (following Cohen, 1977/2013)*

To explore differences between groups post-hoc comparisons were calculated. A number of different post-hoc tests are available, with Tukey's Honestly Significant Different test (HSD) being one of the most commonly used tests (Pallant, 2005, pp.200-201). Tukey's HSD assumes equal variance for two groups. For cases without equal variance Tukey's HSD can be replaced with Tukey's Least Significant Difference test (LSD). The use of the second research method, interviews, is explained in the following section.

### **5.3 Semi-structured Interviews**

Many consider quantitative research methods traditionally employed by natural sciences with their focus on numbers and statistics as insufficient as they do not help to understand human beings and their problems (Robson, 2011, p.18). Because meaning is constructed by people and their engagement in interpretation, qualitative methods with different instruments are needed to research the social world, the 'real world' (Robson, p.16/24). For that reason, this research was further elaborated by employing semi-structured interviews, where the predefined structure given to the interviewees provided more focus on the subject (Holloway, 1997, p.95), following a purposive strategy.

Again, the sample included police officers only, some identified through the survey, other approached by the researchers directly. The sample frame was almost identical to the one used for the survey. As opposed to the survey sample a 'proportionate' balance of nationalities was aimed for, loosely applying Hofstede's (2001) theories to cluster countries with similar cultural traditions: Centrally Governed, Eastern European (formerly Communist), Anglo-Saxon, German-speaking, Scandinavian, Southern European (see also Overbeek, undated, ca. 2004 - Overbeek worked for Hofstede's company ITIM). Different groupings would have been also possible. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

It is important to point out that the cultural clusters only served as a rough guidance. As already mentioned in Chapter 2 the cultures of the UK and the USA, for example, are different. Nonetheless, following Hofstede (2001; 1980) and in consequence Overbeek (undated, ca. 2004) they are more similar than the cultures of Germany and Austria or Sweden and Denmark. Using similarities of national cultures in clusters helped to establish a balanced representation of cultural backgrounds and minimised the selection threat to external validity.

While there are no agreed rules for qualitative interview studies a minimum number between 20 and 30 interviews seem to be required (Warren, 2002, cited by Bryman, 2008, p.462). Considering that the interviews were only one instrument of the mixed methods research, 20 participants were selected from a list of 43 volunteers. Not all the interviewees worked in uniform, but they all have an operational background and diverse police careers. All participants will be informed of the research outcome (Dixon, et al., 1987, p.164). Another important criterion was 'gender' with 21% female as an average of the number of women police officers in the European Union according to Eurostat (2018): 20% of the interviewees were female.

Sampling was purposive on several levels (Bryman, 2008, p.375), but also, with the beforementioned view on the inclusion of nationality clusters and gender, using elements of quota sampling (Collins, 2010, p.359). By applying the cluster concept and aiming for some gender balance researcher bias was reduced. The potential threat to external validity was considered during the interpretation of the results, which were also cross-referenced with the questionnaire results and the literature (Lincoln & Guba, 1986, p.77). Table 5.2 below provides an overview of the interviewees together with the codes used for citations.

<b>Interviewed Police Officers (N=20)</b>				
Cluster/Country	Male	Female	Forces	Percentage
<b>Centrally Governed</b>				
Belgium	1 (P16)		Federal Police	5
France	2 (P07/P15)		National Police, Gendarmerie	10
<b>Eastern European</b>				
Latvia	1 (P14)		Criminal Police	5
Poland	2 (P02/P11)		Organised Crime CID, Police	10
Slovakia	1 (P04)		CID	5
<b>Anglo-Saxon</b>				
UK	1 (P18)	2 (P01/P19)	Merseyside Police, Metropolitan Police	15
<b>German-speaking</b>				
Austria	1 (P03)		Police	5
Germany	2 (P05/P09)	1 (P20)	Police, CID, Federal Police	10
<b>Scandinavian</b>				
Norway	1 (P06)		Police	5
Sweden	1 (P08)		National Police	5
<b>Southern European</b>				
Italy	1 (P13)		Carabinieri	5
Portugal	1 (P17)	1 (P12)	Immigration Police, Judicial Police	10
Spain	1 (P10)		National Police	5

*Table 5.2: Interviewed police officers from 13 countries*

For the actual design of the schedule (Appendix 2) questions relating to the police as a profession, to police organisations, police training and the perception of police in other countries were used. In addition the participants' opinion on a number of characteristics of police culture as referred to by Chan (1997) and Waddington (1999) were inquired, not unlike

Chan (2007b). In her research on police stress and occupational culture she directly asked officers about police culture and their understanding thereof. Marks and Singh (2007, p.370) considered such an approach a potentially valuable contribution to the understanding of police culture.

All interviewees were informed about the interview guide at least a day before the interview, although they did not receive the questions in advance. Interviews took place face to face at Europol (14), by phone (5) or by Skype (1) between 03<sup>rd</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2016. There was no fundamental difference perceived between these three methods, neither in dynamic nor in relation to the amount or type of data. None of the participants had a problem with a recording of the interview and they all agreed to potential further use of the anonymised interviews for research. All 20 interviews were transcribed by the researcher, which helped to familiarise with the data. The Austrian and two German interviewees preferred to be interviewed in German language, which resulted in transcriptions in German language as well. Translations to English were provided by the researcher and limited to sections which were cited in this thesis.

For the analysis NVIVO, a qualitative data analysis software package, was used first as a tool to generate initial codes, roughly following the thematic analysis approach recommended by Braun and Clarke (2012). Thematic connections were established manually on paper supported by Excel lists which also included the survey data. In another phase the thematic connections of some of the codes were clustered into themes, which were to some extent related to the themes of the questionnaire (Chapter 5.2). Only after reviewing all potential themes the most important ones were identified. Before the results of both research instruments are presented insider-outsider issues as well as ethical aspects of the research will be explained.

#### 5.4 Insider Issues

This research on police culture was conducted by an active police officer. If the researcher is familiar with the research subject, this could be understood as a threat to the research due to potential conflicts of interest. Research undertaken by so-called insiders is not new, though. In fact, Merton (1972, p.13) described how black sociologists were expected to research interracial problems while female sociologists were expected to investigate issues of women. This view is still taken by some with regard to cultural studies, where the researcher ideally is an insider familiar with the culture involved (Zhang, 2009, p.49). One of the underlying assumptions is that both, insiders and outsiders, belong to different groups and therefore have different interests (Merton, 1972, p.16). This and further issues in relation to insider research, such as a not sufficiently critical approach or beneficiary relationships, were summarised by Shaw and Faulkner (2006, pp.46-47).

Nonetheless, active police officers conducting police research are so-called 'inside insiders' (Reiner & Newburn, 2008, pp.355-356). An inside-insider will have an advantage in overcoming first barriers to gain access to police officers and the research site. Typically, formal permission from authorities is needed, which in turn might impact on the good relationship with individuals. Official approval might cause suspicion towards the researcher and underlying motivations. For this research no research site was needed, nor formal approval. At the time of the research Europol management was aware of the research (Chapter 1.1), though, as were many staff members. The research did not include any covert aspects as with Holdaway (1983) or Young (1991). The snowball method used for the questionnaire specifically aimed for police officer who were acquainted to the researcher (Chapter 5.2) to benefit from previously established relationships. During the interviews the researcher occasionally noticed some of the "inevitable suspiciousness" (Reiner & Newburn, 2008, p.356) towards the dual status as researcher and police colleague. However, there was a feeling that most of it could be overcome by going through questions on nominal data; this way the researcher indeed influenced the social interaction. During the analysis phase no bias was noticed, which might have affected the research question.

---

## 5.5 Ethics

This final section of the methodology chapter will investigate the ethical aspects of this research, which concerns the samples. Most police officers from the initial sample frame were in one way or other known to the researcher through work. Only a few of them were managed or trained by the researcher prior to the study with no realistic expectation to be in a similar position again in the future. Some participants were the researcher's former or current line managers. There was no identifiable role conflict, which was most likely linked to the comparatively abstract topic. Also, as confirmed through interview contents, most officers who participated in the research were intrigued by the subject of police culture. There were no dilemmas regarding the research outcome (Schein, 1985/2004, pp.213-214). Even if the study would conclude that police culture is as bad as some scholars might think, there would be no harm to any particular police organisation.

The researcher further established early on his academic interest and the wish to approach the topic from a neutral perspective. It was assumed that this was appreciated by the participants, who were aware of the researcher's relative position as inside-insider and the fact that this provided access to privileged data, i.e. values, opinions and sources, probably inaccessible for outsiders. Due to the expected honesty it was obligatory to conduct both research phases anonymously, also to avoid any potential risks for respondents or interviewees. Both, survey respondents and interview participants were informed about this. Already answers provided within the questionnaire survey might have been harmful for participating individuals, if only for their reputation. This was even more of a concern in relation to the interviews. All interviewees had opened towards the researcher by providing comparatively intimate details about their own police careers and their feelings about policing and the police as such. Even though some interviews lasted up to one hour it was early on decided not to outsource the transcription process, essentially because the researcher would have perceived this as a breach of confidentiality.

The process for ethical approval began with the design of a Consent Form for the interview participants. Additionally, an invitation letter and a participant information sheet were drafted. The draft survey document with the questionnaire was amended by adding a field for consent at the end of the survey. After seeking approval from the supervising tutor those documents together with a completed Ethics Self-Assessment Form, a completed Protocol Template as

well as the interview schedule and the Research Proposal were submitted to the Ethics Committee. The application for ethical approval was awarded with a favourable ethical opinion by the Ethics Committee (Appendix 5).

Undertaking the research as an insider did not have any further effect or influence on the study, except for easier access (Chapter 5.4) and a better position to understand responses. There was no funding or expectation from the outside, which might have caused bias. Europol as an organisation was aware of the project but was not in an active support role. For the researcher it was important to finalise this research on police culture professionally and ethically, also with a view to his own reputation as an academic and professional as well as the reputation of the University of Portsmouth. Except for personal reputation risks for the researcher were small: there was no focus on a single police agency, which could object against potentially negative findings. From an ethical point of view this research is consistent, followed a moral imperative and applied moral rationality, meaning the use of critical thinking and personal discretion (Gensler, 1998, pp.84-137). Foucault interpreting Kant suggested (Foucault, 1983, p.252) that the subject of knowledge demands an ethical attitude. This study, researching for new knowledge in relation to police culture, used, as illustrated above, such a categorical ethics approach as a measure throughout the project.

After addressing the concept of culture in general as well as organisational and occupational culture and in particular police culture in the previous chapters, this chapter outlined the methodology used for the research. It addressed the actual need for employing mixed methods. To establish a certain level of generalisation and the necessary external validity quantitative and qualitative research instruments had to be used as explained in the respective sections. The effects of the researcher's inside-insider position were outlined, and ethical principles respected. In the following chapters the focus will shift towards the collected data, beginning with a presentation of survey and interview results related to the occupational part of the "Three Aspects of Police Culture".

## **Chapter 6: Results – Occupational Aspects**

In this chapter, the primary data of this research will be introduced in relation to occupational aspects of police culture. Chapter 7 and 8 will do the same for the remaining two of the “Three Aspects of Police Culture”. In all three chapters the quantitative and qualitative findings will be presented and analysed together, if possible, with respect to the mixed methods approach used for this research. This improved the opportunities for triangulation without having to refer to previous sections or chapters. The findings will also be considered against the body of relevant literature discoursed in Chapters 2 to 4.

To begin with, the transcripts of the 20 semi-structured interviews of police officers from six cultural clusters as defined in Chapter 5.3, were coded using NVIVO and thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Thematic connections were established by also considering the survey data for more general themes related to those three aspects mentioned above. The 206 completed questionnaires administered through the online survey to a sample of international police officers included data from 59 Likert-items asking for opinions on characteristics of police culture such as cynicism, suspiciousness, us-and-them feeling, or questions linked to them and policing as such, i.e. social activities or the need for officers to be suspicious. All items had a response range from 1-5 with 1 for strongly disagree to 5 for strongly agree with 3 allowing for a neutral position (neither agree nor disagree). The Likert-items served to create different scales of related items. The nominal data (Appendix 4) was used to group respondents into three categories matching the previously mentioned occupational, organisational and national aspects.

While further details will be provided in the respective results sections/chapters, it is important to highlight that statistical calculations, for which more details will be presented below, were administered to all the scales with all three categories. Only in six instances could significant differences be found. The statistical results and the underlying themes of the relevant Likert-items were then used to inform further analysis of the qualitative interview data. However, the quantity of data generated by both, the online survey and the interviews, made it necessary to filter the findings for presentation. For each of the three assumed aspects influencing police culture, only the three most relevant themes in terms of available evidence, be it in form of

significant statistical findings or strong agreement found within the interviews, were selected to be presented within this thesis.

This chapter will explore the impact of occupational cultures on police values and practices. The first section will present findings related to the learning and training of police officers addressing the lengths of initial police trainings, how well officers felt prepared afterwards and their opinions on further learning whilst doing their jobs. This is followed by a section on the results with regards to ‘perception of a common police culture’, which refers to how police officers themselves believe in the existence of a police culture across police forces, even across jurisdictions. The last theme presented is ‘solidarity’, which also addresses defensive solidarity and responses to mistakes. The chapter finishes with an analysis of the findings in relation to the occupational aspect of the “Three Aspects of Police Culture” by discussing initial training of police officers, the idea of a ‘shared police culture’ as well as solidarity and loyalty.

As far as characteristics of police culture are concerned (Chapter 4.2), they are typically associated with the traditional, occupational police culture (e.g. Loftus, 2010). Within this research, however, they are split into the “Three Aspects of Police Culture”, which requires an explanation. The calculations of the questionnaire statistics provided, partially unexpected, significant differences or no differences at all, where they had been expected. Some of those results could be explained by looking into the data from a different angle. For some characteristics, such as resistance to change, sexism, or masculinity the calculated significant differences could not be explained that way. For resistance to change the significant differences were measured on organisational level, for masculinity and sexism on national level. Considering the discussions on organisational culture (Chapter 3.1) and national culture (Chapter 2.3) and the underlying values and practices on those levels, it became apparent that those results could not be discussed within the occupational aspect of police culture but had to be presented and further analysed within the presentation and analysis of the more fitting aspect of police culture.

## 6.1 Learning and Training

All respondents of the online survey were asked to provide information on the forces they worked for, i.e. uniformed police force, criminal police or other, such as central offices or police academies. Most of them had worked for more than one type of force, in which case the primary force was used to establish three groups. The purpose of this grouping was to reflect different occupational backgrounds without looking into specific functions or roles of the responding police officers. As discussed in Chapter 4, police culture on occupational level is very similar. Consequently, there was an expectation that no significant differences were found between the respondents.

A statistically significant difference in relation to the occupational group was only found for the scale labelled 'Impact on Behaviour'. The Likert-items combined to this scale suggested that differences of police forces and organisations, of professional training, in level of education, age and resourcing impact on police behaviour (Questions 31/33-35/48): Depending on the type of police force or organisational unit, police officers behave differently; Police behaviour depends very much on the type and level of professional training of the officers; The level of education of police officers influences their behaviour in the police; The age of police officers influences their behaviour in the police; The provision of resources and budget and the setting of priorities has an impact on the behaviour of the police as such. Respondents could choose between strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) with 3 as a neutral option, neither agreeing nor disagreeing.

There was a statistically significant difference at the  $p < .05$  level in survey scores for the three membership groups [ $F(2, 202) = 3.1, p = .05$ ]. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the groups was quite small. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .03, a small effect size. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey LSD test (Chapter 5.2) indicated that the mean score for Uniformed Police ( $M = 19.13, SD = 2.78$ ) was significantly different from Group 2, Criminal Police ( $M = 19.98, SD = 2.27$ ). Group 3 ( $M = 20.24, SD = 2.88$ ) did not differ significantly from either Group 1 or 2. However, the group sizes (104,84,17) are unequal.

Still, there is a different view on theme-related items between uniformed and criminal police. The actual means for the grouped items did not vary much, except for the item 'Level of

Education influences the Behaviour of the Police’. As shown in Table 6.1 the mean score on a scale from 1-5 for the uniformed police (3.2) leans towards neutral (3), while the one for the criminal police is 4.0, indicating a general agreement to the statement that the level of education influences police behaviour. A closer look at the data shows that the mean for this Likert-item is 3.2 for respondents of the Anglo-Saxon cultural cluster as the largest group in the sample (40%). The overall mean for this item is 3.7, therefore leaning towards agreement for this statement. The Anglo-Saxon opinions on education, being more in favour of a neutral than an agreement position, may have caused a distortion.

<b>Education Influences Police Behaviour</b>	
	Average Mean (1/2 disagree; <b>3=neutral; 4/5 agree</b> )
Respondents	<b>3.2</b>
Uniformed Police	<b>3.2</b>
Criminal Police	<b>4.0</b>
Other	<b>3.9</b>
Anglo-Saxon Cluster	<b>3.2</b>
Overall Mean	<b>3.7</b>

*Table 6.1: Means on the Likert-item ‘Education influences police behaviour’ for various groups of respondents*

Similarly, differences between the interviewees were only obvious in relation to training, even for officers from the same country. Learning and training are essential for the socialisation process and the acquisition of values and practices (Hofstede, 2001, p.394) and therefore of interest for the discussion following later in this chapter. As far as the initial police training is concerned, it ranged from 10-15 weeks up to five years. However, the 10-15 weeks were reported by the three Anglo-Saxon officers, who received further training within their two-year probation period. The outlier of five years was reported by an Eastern European participant and included extensive practical training periods as well as studies for a bachelor’s degree. The initial training for the Anglo-Saxon cluster appears to be the shortest, which might explain the beforementioned quantitative results in relation to education levels. For eight of the remaining participants, the training lasted between 6 and 18 months, often followed up with additional trainings. Nine participants reported that their training lasted between two and three years, albeit for some that included studies to become a commissioned officer. During the training all of them had extensive periods of practical training with experienced mentors in the field.

Afterwards, seven interviewees, including all three Anglo-Saxons, did not feel sufficiently prepared for the job. Eight felt well prepared and five had ambiguous thoughts, making distinctions between theoretical and practical aspects of their trainings. Most felt well-prepared on a theoretical level but lacked practice. Nearly all interviewees suggested that it took up to several years before they felt confident and experienced. However, this was also dependant on how often a situation was dealt with, their job assignments, or the setting:

“And probably after four years, that’s when I really did feel I was ready to do that. But I would say that’s influenced by the fact that I worked in a particular busy city centre police force. And if you’re working out of the country it would take longer probably before you’ve dealt with all the incidents which might come your way.” (P01/UK/Police)

“I would say it took me quite a few years. I would say it took me maybe 10, 15 years. I would think something like that.” P05/Germany/Police

“Well, you are always involved in learning as a police officer (laughs) but perhaps it took 2, 3 years to be ... to feel comfortable ... with decisions you have to make and so on – in addition to the 3 years of training.” P08/Sweden/National Police

“Completely fit until I could work in my area without accidents? That means I didn’t have to ask how to deal with something like that. That was, if you consider the time, roughly three years after my police training.” P09/Germany/CID

Nonetheless, while the general lack of differences supports the claim of a more universal police culture based on the occupation, there appear to be differences based on the initial training with what the police officers had to confront.

## 6.2 Perceptions of a Common Police Culture

As far as characteristics of police culture are concerned, not all of all them appear to be directly linked to the occupational work environment of police officers. Elements such as resistance to change, sexism, or masculinity will therefore be addressed later. Other characteristics seem to be more directly related to policing like isolation, solidarity, sense of mission or being authoritative in representing the state. They, however, are a representation of the practices.

A few questions of the online survey (26,27,45) referred directly to occupational culture in the police. Overall, a majority of 75.2% of the respondents agreed that there is a distinct police culture in the forces they worked for, and 67% agreed with the reverse-code version. To the statement ‘Internationally, occupational (technical) aspects of police work are still very similar due to the similarities of the tasks and how they can be fulfilled’ 65.5% of the respondents agreed. Figure 6.1 below illustrates the responses with Question 27 (‘I work(ed) in a police force where there was no particular/distinct culture’) being reverse coded into ‘I never worked in a police force with no particular/distinct culture’ or ‘Police culture exists in my force’. The other two Likert-items were summarised into ‘Police culture exists–Yes’ and ‘Policing is internationally similar’. A large majority of the respondents did not only agree on the existence of a police culture in their force(s) but also on the fact that technically-speaking, policing is similar on an international level due to the similarities of the tasks and their fulfilment.

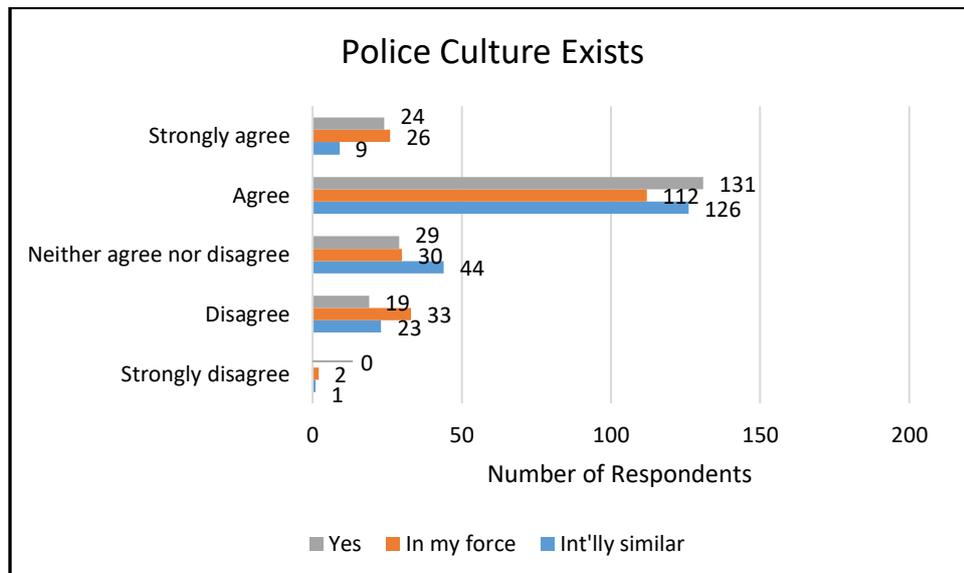


Figure 6.1: ‘Police culture exists’ showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key

Interestingly, the overall means on the individual Likert-items are all very similar regardless of the grouping. There are only small differences across the cultural clusters, the countries with high numbers of respondents (UK, Germany and the Netherlands), and groupings into gender, types of police force, different policing jobs as well as ‘length of service’.

This general response from the survey is supported and in part explained by the interview findings. Almost all interviewees (95%) shared the feeling that there is a distinct culture in the police. Professional cultures are not limited to policing and are the product of situations and issues to which professionals are exposed and their response to those (Paoline, 2003, p.200). This was also indicated by an interviewee:

“I suppose you could say that there is a similar culture, for example, with the nursing profession or the banking profession or the teaching profession. I imagine they all have their particular cultural aspects.” P01/UK/Police

Still, four participants explicitly stated that neither police work itself nor police culture are comparable to the work and culture of other professions. The police can be understood as a unique group, maybe a clan, a community, or even a family:

“And we have a group culture.” P17/Portugal/Judicial Police

“We are our own clan.” P09/Germany/CID

“...sort of a brotherhood, you know, we’re all law enforcement brothers. That just defines culture to me. When people think that they are part of a group and they know it and they act accordingly.” P15/France/Gendarmerie

“When you’re part of the police family, you’re part of that, a family, and ... it sets you aside from the rest of society.” P01/UK/Police

The aspect of being set aside from society was substantiated by others. Police officers developed an ‘us-and-them-view’ towards rough and criminal sub-cultures (Cain, 1973, p.190) and rarely deal with the general public:

“We live without strong connections to the external world. We always are connected to the margins of society. We don’t deal mainly with the regular people. Mostly we perceive the people we are dealing with as potential future criminals.” P02/Poland/Police

The us-and-them-view and the related isolation will be addressed further in Chapter 8. Nevertheless, a large minority of the interviewed officers (40%) believed that this furthers the development of a specific culture including the use of language (30%). Many officers stated that they identify each other through those professional circumstances, which were traditionally described as characteristics of the occupational police culture, such as black humour, cynicism and a certain frustration concerning legal and practical aspects of their work. The respondents of the online survey had similar opinions: 82.4% agreed with the statement that police officers often cope with their stress through humour and banter, and 49.1% agreed with the statement that officers are often sceptical and cynical in relation to law and legal provisions. The interviewed officers similarly agreed on other characteristics of police culture as referred to by Chan (1997) and Waddington (1999). Almost all agreed on the police being authoritative, even more so, that the police must be authoritative. Only one German-speaking interview participant believed that this is primarily featured within the police and not in relation to the public. Four participants from different countries thought that the police had lost some authority and respect from the public:

“When I was in the police, I think that the police did have quite a lot of respect from the public. Whereas now, I don’t really think they do. And I don’t think that I’m as respectful of a police officer now, because some of the police officers that I’ve had dealings with, they’ve been a bit wishy-washy.” P19/UK/Merseyside Police

All interview participants agreed to some extent that there is a certain form of ‘desire for action’ not limited to car chases or catching burglars. It can just as well be conducting a difficult investigation simply from the office, which feels exciting, or searching premises on action day. A quarter of the officers suggested that this desire is related to age as well:

“In the beginning, when you just finished the academy, the police academy, you go and you want to arrest the whole world.” P17/Portugal/Judicial Police

Issues of loyalty and solidarity were also raised by the research respondents and will be addressed again in the next section. Nevertheless, like the survey respondents (Figure 6.1 above) an occupational police culture was reported by a marginal majority of the interviewees across the police forces even in rather hierarchical military-style forces, and in other countries regardless of different legal systems:

“When I met a colleague from the US or Canada or Britain or Germany or even Iran (laughs) - we had the same ideas, the same method of thinking. That was strange.” P06/Norway/Police

“I think, we all think similarly. I think there is a common police theme and I have experience with Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe, Asia.” P17/Portugal/Judicial Police

However, at the same time most of the interview participants explained that there are differences as well. Perceived similarities were often reduced to the actual police work, on a practical level, which was illustrated by this police officer:

“The culture of the ‘come out’ of the things that we have to deal with are extremely similar, I would say, across police forces. If you have to deal with a violent situation, then we’re all doing the same job, basically.” P01/UK/Police

The cultural differences reported by the participants were related to regions such as Eastern and Western Europe, to common and civil law countries or between their own country and other countries. Such national influences will be further addressed in Chapter 8.

### 6.3 Solidarity

Coping strategies like black humour or cynicism and other characteristics of police culture such as the potentially dangerous work environment generate the formation of bonds and loyalty which can reinforce defensive solidarity (Chapter 4.2). Two statements of the online survey (23,24) referred to solidarity. Figure 6.2 illustrates the opinions of the survey participants on “Police officers often engage in solidarity” and “Police officers reject unjust or unjustifiable solidarity”.

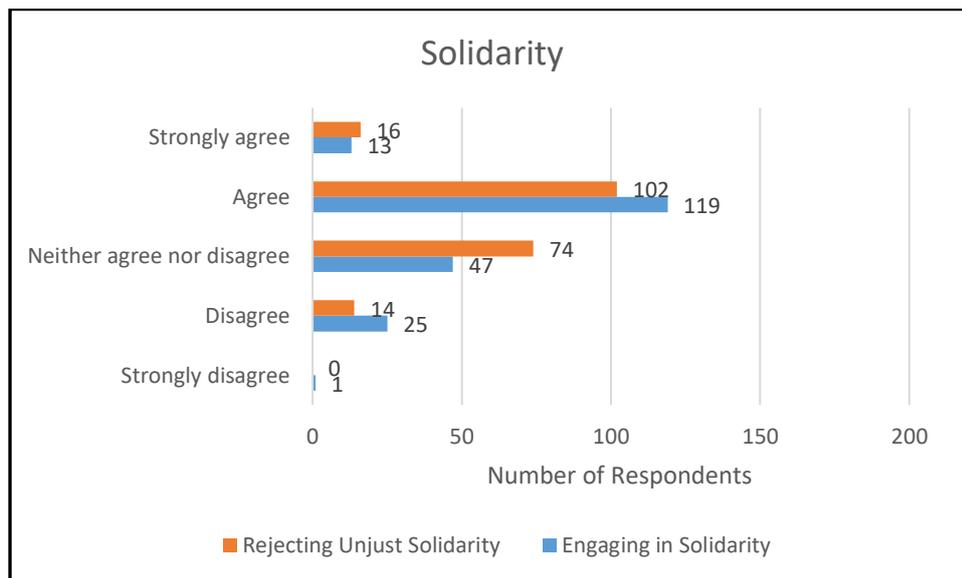


Figure 6.2: Solidarity showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key

A majority of 64.4% of the respondents believed that officers engage in solidarity, while only 12.7% disagreed with that statement and 22.9% had a neutral stance. As far as a rejection of unjust solidarity was concerned 57.3% of the survey respondents believed that officers would reject solidarity if it is not justifiable. Only 6.8% did not think that police officers would reject such a form of solidarity and 35.9% kept a neutral position.

Interestingly all interviewed police officers agreed that there is solidarity within the police, and except for one Scandinavian officer, even defensive solidarity. However, 65% of the interview participants clearly expressed that there are limits to loyalty and solidarity. Unlawful and illegal behaviour in general will not be tolerated or supported by other police officers:

“In general, there is solidarity in the beginning, until you know the facts. Once the facts are out...well, a normal person can change his or her mind.” P05/Germany/Police

“When you feel that a colleague did something against the law, then he will be dropped very soon, and even by his own boss, I think. He will, for sure, defend him until a certain moment. When it is really clear that something was wrong or wrongly conducted, then we have to say ‘Goodbye’.” P16/Belgium/National Police

A large minority of the interviewees (35%) explained why police officers would ‘cover up’ for colleagues. It is in the nature of the work and the work amount, which has to be managed with the resources given, that mistakes happen. Police officers, often armed, authorised to use coercive force to defend the public peace, can overreact in risky, potentially dangerous situations, which typically develop unexpectedly. Such overreactions or mistakes need to be explained and justified:

“We have a tendency to explain not only our mistakes but also those of our colleagues and cover them, because we understand how difficult the work is, how much we are isolated from the regular society.” P02/Poland/Police

“...when you are in the front line, you can make mistakes. And because you have a gun, you have the right to use violence, to defend public peace and this stuff, you might make mistakes. Okay? Also, you are in physical danger. You are in situations where you are running into a risk, but you didn’t even know how risky the situation is. So, you might overreact. Yes, I think, there is a kind of common understanding that we can do wrong things and that we will support each other, because this can happen to everyone and we have to defend each other.” P10/Spain/National Police

Defensive solidarity “is a consequence of team spirit which you develop when you team up against an outside enemy. So, you tend to become...to have solidarity towards your colleagues, unless the colleagues do really something completely absurd, you know. You tend to justify their mistakes, even though they make mistakes. You tend to justify the riot policeman that hits a civilian on the head, because you tend to say: ‘Yeah, but maybe he has been pushed around and has been insulted. Yes, he was wrong, but should we act?’ Because that’s how you develop team spirit.” P13/Italy/Carabinieri

Those quotes evidently show how much has changed since Westley (1953) wrote about police officers covering up for colleagues who actually broke rules, even laws. By now there appears to be a real concern among police officers about being made accountable for mistakes and decisions they make under the pressure of difficult work or difficult or unclear circumstances.

Solidarity with colleagues seems to be kept if misbehaviour can be explained reasonably. However, if wrong behaviour was obviously not adequate to the situation, solidarity will end.

Making mistakes was also addressed in the online survey (Q58/59): ‘Mistakes are seen as a normal consequence of daily operations’ and ‘Mistakes can result in punishment/punitive reactions (blame culture)’. Figure 6.3 illustrates the responses of the research participants.

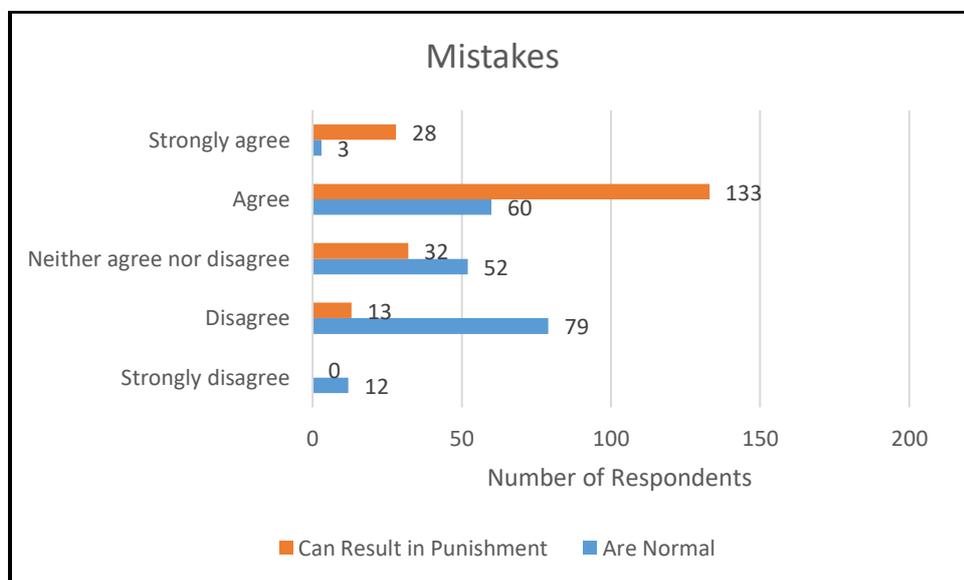


Figure 6.3: ‘Mistakes made while on duty’ showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key

Only 30.6% of the respondents believed that mistakes are normal, whereas 44.2% disagreed with that opinion and 25.2% were indecisive about it. However, 78.2% of the survey participants believed that there is a form of blame culture within the police. Only 15.5% had a neutral position on this item and 6.3% disagreed.

Mistakes made by the police are increasingly under the scrutiny of internal administration and the media. The critical views from the outside and attempts to search for tiniest mistakes can generate a feeling of unfair treatment, which in turn ends in the reinforcement of defensive solidarity:

“The more I am critically watched from the outside and people try to find mistakes among us, the stronger is the urge for solidarity to protect each other from illegitimate criticism. And I’m talking consciously about illegitimate criticism. Unfair criticism. That is what it’s about. The more...when you begin to feel being treated and observed

unfairly, so that everybody is just waiting for you to make a wrong blink of the eye at the wrong moment. This fosters defensive solidarity. At the moment when we have the feeling that...we are observed and treated comparatively fairly also by the courts after, I don't know, the use of firearms or similar, the chances for defensive solidarity decrease." P20/Germany/Federal Police

While there are still occasional cases of unjust solidarity, this has changed over time. This was highlighted by a small minority of the interviewees (20%) without being prompted. Corruption, for example, is no longer tolerated not even informally, and police officers will be arrested and charged, even high-ranking officers:

"The director of my police himself was arrested. Several police officers in my country were arrested. So, it's changing. People are investigating the cases internally and bringing it to the judge." P12/Portugal/Immigration Police

"We are not so very critical of the black sheep, but we are the first ones to accuse a colleague that is doing something wrong or should not do, because you don't want to be...you don't want a stain in your police corporation, because we identify as a group and you don't want to hear: Okay, that guy's corrupt - all police officers from the police are corrupt." P17/Portugal/Judicial Police

Corruption as such, though, was addressed only by a small minority of interviewed officers. The change of attitude towards solidarity and loyalty was a key topic of discussion. Another key element, related to the importance of making and avoiding mistakes and how this is linked to blame culture within the police, will require further analysis (Chapter 6.4). So far, this chapter has considered the research results with regards to the learning and training of police officers when entering the occupation. It has also considered officers' perceptions of a common police culture across police forces as well as countries, with a view to police culture characteristics in general and to loyalty and solidarity in particular. The following section will analyse the significance of some of the points raised.

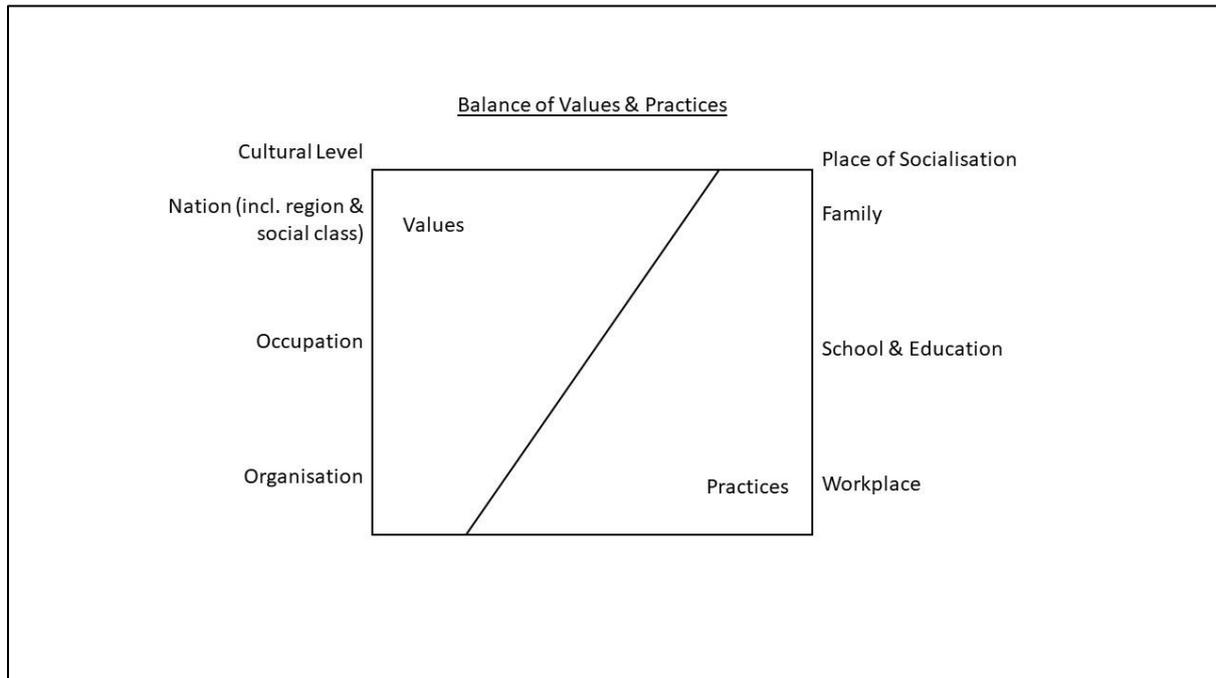
## **6.4 Analysis**

This section will analyse the research results with regards to the occupational aspects of police culture presented in the previous sections. Gaining insight into the influencing mechanisms of police culture is part of the research question. Considering the importance of the occupational socialisation process for the development of police culture (Chan, 1996; Charman, 2017; Van Maanen, 1978b) the analysis will begin with the initial training as the first stage of the career of police officers.

### **Initial Training**

Police recruits entering the occupation are subjected to a socialisation process as discussed in Chapter 4. The initial training of recruits is comprised of a formal and an informal component (Van Maanen, 1978b). The formal training provides the basic knowledge for policing, while the practical skills needed for the job are acquired in the workplace, usually under the guidance of elder officers (Brown, 1988). However, the social environment of the workplace is from where police culture originates (Skolnick, 1966/2011) and where many of the underlying cultural themes and values are developed (Brown, 1988, p.85; Crank, 1998/2004, pp.63-65).

Values are an invisible core element of culture, which becomes evident through behaviour or rituals (Hofstede, 2001, p.10). As outlined in Chapter 2 most values, centred around societal norms such as traditional assignment of social roles or obedience towards authority, are acquired early in life stemming from the family and the immediate social environment, like the neighbourhood and later the school. The development of practices, though, is primarily part of the adult life at the workplace and at a time when most of an individual's values are already firmly in place. Depending on the place of socialisation cultural differences, compared to other people, reside more in values (family), in practices (work), or they balance each other out during the phase of education (Hofstede, 2001, pp.393-395). Figure 6.4 below (adapted from Hofstede, 2001, p.394, amending or omitting labels on the left and right) suggests that during the educational phase, which includes entering an occupational area, both values and practices are acquired. For the police environment, this means that during their training period recruits also acquire both occupational values as well as practices. These are then carried over into the workplace, where further practices are conveyed.



*Figure 6.4: Balance of values and practices looking at the national, occupational and organisational cultural level related to the place of socialisation*

This research confirmed that police recruits are already exposed to the work environment for practical periods in police stations and other units long before their training is finished. While the periods of training differed between about 3 months and 3 years, such differences do not imply that recruits with longer training periods are subjected much later to the work environment of policing than those with shorter training. Important, however, is that police recruits do not only start their career with gaining at least some experience as a frontline officer (Chapter 3.2) but also that there is only a short period of time before they are subjected to the policing workplace. On a cultural level, the acquisition of values and practices cannot be clearly divided between ‘occupational’ and ‘organisational’ levels. This is an aspect which will be addressed again in Chapter 9.

### **Shared Police Culture**

Occupational cultures can be understood as sub-cultures (Jenks, 2004) as discussed in Chapter 2. An important characteristic of sub-culture is the perception of the individuals, who share certain interests, values and attitudes and form a group of people within a larger collective. The group members derive a part of their social identity from their membership, occupation or otherwise (Straub, et al., 2002). It is evident from this research that police officers feel as such a group with its own culture. Both, the quantitative and the qualitative research results indicate that most of the participants believe in the existence of a shared police culture. Notably, and as pointed out by some interviewees, the common denominator is the occupation: being a police officer is already sufficient to feel like and effectively be a member of this distinct sub-culture.

Many scholars believe that traditional conceptions of occupational police culture, often described as monolithic shared mindset within the police force (Waddington, 1999), and its core characteristics (Reiner, 1984/2010) are no longer applicable (Chapter 4). A few researchers argued against this, because some characteristics appear to be stable and lasting for a long time (Loftus, 2010; Skolnick, 1966/2011), which corresponds with Hofstede's suggestion (2001, pp.11-13) that cultural patterns might indeed be stable for long periods of time, if no outside influences impact on the underlying value systems. Loftus (2010) found evidence suggesting that the occupational culture of the police endured and remained intact, regardless of the social changes, which occurred since police culture was originally investigated. Charman's (2017) more recent research produced similar findings.

This research provided comparable results. Many interviewed officers identify each other through some of those characteristics, for example the use of black humour, a certain level of frustration with legal and practical aspects of police work and even cynicism. To some extent they engage in solidarity and perceive themselves as part of a police 'family'. While the survey respondents overwhelmingly agreed to the use of humour and banter as coping mechanism, only 49.1% believe that police officers are cynical towards the law and legal provisions. Almost all interviewees agreed on the need of the police to be authoritative. All interview participants saw a certain form of desire for action, which was, however, put into perspective. Action and excitement are not limited to car chases or action days but can also be acted out on an

intellectual level, e.g. through conducting complicated investigations. In addition, 25% of the officers suggested a link of such a desire for action to the age of police officers.

Interestingly those findings in relation to cultural characteristics as well as the mutual feeling of being part of a shared ‘police culture’ across the forces were not limited to police officers from one or two countries but similarly shared by officers from multiple jurisdictions. This suggests the existence of a form of police culture across jurisdictions, which is based on the occupation of being a police officer. The positive response to the survey item on similarities of policing internationally due to the technical nature of the job and the statements of some interviewees regarding the similarities of policing and the police culture in different countries, however, suggests that this shared culture is, except from sharing the same occupation, primarily based on exactly those technical similarities. The challenges of dealing with a violent situation (P01/UK/Police) or how to approach a particular situation (P06/Norway/Police) are everywhere the same. While practical solutions will be similar and might be consequently understood as similar practices, it is questionable whether the underlying values are always the same or to which extent. In fact, Hofstede (2001, p.394) argued that similar practices do not imply the existence of similar values. This factor will be addressed again (Chapter 9).

### **Solidarity and Loyalty**

Early researchers such as Westley (1953) and Banton (1964) already noted that the police show a higher degree of loyalty and solidarity than other occupational groups. According to Skolnick (1966/2011) this shared measure of inclusiveness is heavily influenced by the working environment, which is sometimes dirty and dangerous. Police officers share the need to rely on colleagues in tight situations (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122), which furthers in-group solidarity. Such occupational loyalty is often used to conceal minor infringements and misconduct from the attention of line management (Cain, 1973, p.37). It can also be abused to ‘cover-up’ (Westley, 1953) actual offences committed by police officers.

The findings of this research first of all confirm that a majority of police officers themselves believe that they engage in solidarity, less though in defensive solidarity. A majority of the interviewees rejected support for police officers involved in unlawful or illegal behaviour. Nonetheless, a large minority also referred to ‘covering-up’ as a form of solidarity not in

relation to obvious illegal actions but rather with regards to mistakes and overreactions in difficult, unexpected situations. This is a serious concern and not part of ‘storytelling’ of individual police officers. Obviously, the researcher could be conceived as part of a ‘culture of denial’. Nevertheless, mistakes or overreactions can constitute severe problems for police officers, now more than ever. In the time and age of social media, it is, for example, easy to ‘evidence’ inappropriate behaviour with photos or video sequences out of context. Whether a police officer should have the freedom of allowing to be provoked or not or to which extent is a different matter. This research outcome supports Waddington’s (1999) claim that defensive solidarity is also a result of severe punishments within the police for improper or unlawful behaviour. However, it might take a long time before it becomes apparent whether a certain challenged behaviour of an officer was lawful or not. Consequently, this research also found evidence of a blame culture within the police, across the jurisdictions.

This research provided further important findings. First, the strong link between solidarity and isolation was confirmed, a relationship which was already identified by researchers (Charman, 2017, p.332; Paoline, 2003; Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122). Second, solidarity within the police has changed since Westley (1953) or Banton (1964) researched police culture. Loyalty and solidarity are no longer provided without limitations or conditions. While slight misdemeanour might be tolerated by other police officers, severe unlawful behaviour will not be tolerated, which confirms research findings by Charman (2017, pp.268-271). Third, especially defensive solidarity is used by the rank-and-file to shield themselves not only from public scrutiny but also from their own management. The officer’s loyalty is directed horizontally towards their colleagues, not vertically towards their organisation (Charman, 2017, p.329). The ‘defensive solidarity’ could therefore also be understood as something which is more relevant in relation to organisational cultural aspects rather than occupational ones. While the cultural characteristic of isolation will be discussed more in-depth in Chapter 8, the following chapter will address the organisational aspect of police culture, including change.

## Chapter 7: Results - Organisational Aspects

Police culture is influenced by occupational aspects of the police working environment, as concluded in the previous chapter. Nonetheless, police forces are organisations and, within that context, research was also conducted on the organisational culture of the police (Chapter 4). Organisational police culture therefore includes elements such as different roles, ranks and organisational structures, and the response to structural change as well as the influence of the setting, i.e. urban or rural, on the police organisation and its culture. It is also important to remember that culture developing in organisations is mainly based on practices rather than values (Chapter 3.1). The relevant findings from the online survey and the interviews on the three main themes of ‘organisational differences and influences on police culture’, ‘management’ and ‘organisational structures and change’ will be presented before they are further analysed.

### 7.1 Organisational Differences and Influences on Police Culture

Akin to the investigation of occupational cultural aspects in Chapter 6, the data analysis began by looking into the survey data with SPSS conducting one-way between-groups analyses of variance (ANOVA). To investigate organisational differences, the survey respondents were grouped according to their organisational roles, i.e. front-line officer, investigator, operational support, non-operational support, line manager and other. The main difference to the grouping used for Chapter 6.1 was that those different roles and functions can be found in any type of police force. Even a uniformed police organisation might have specialists who investigate traffic offences, for example. However, the group sizes were too unequal (Appendix 3) for meaningful statistical calculations. Consequently, the grouping was reduced to three only: front-line officer, investigator, and other.

As was the case with the results on occupational culture, only one scale showed significant statistical differences. The scale was labelled ‘Factors Impacting on Policing’ and combined the Likert-items, suggesting that the organisation of police forces, as well as resources, budget and priority setting, impact on policing, whereas trade unions impact on policy and police organisations but not directly on policing itself (Questions 46/47/49): The organisation of a

police force has an impact on how policing is done; The provision of resources and budget and the setting of priorities has an impact on policing; Trade unions have an impact on policy and police organisation but not directly on policing itself. Again, respondents could choose between strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) with 3 as a neutral option, neither agreeing nor disagreeing.

In contrast to the occupational aspects tested before, the outcome was unexpected. A possible explanation for the lack of more significant differences in relation to organisational aspects may be found in the sampling method. One of the main aims for administering the survey was to receive a large number of responses from many different countries. Considering that the questionnaire was already rather comprehensive, no further measures were taken to improve the collection of nominal data in relation to organisational aspects.

For the Factors-Impacting-on-Policing scale, an ANOVA was conducted to explore the impact of organisational police roles on their opinions, as measured by the survey. Subjects were divided into three groups according to their police roles (Group 1: Front-Line Officer; Group 2: Investigator; Group 3: Other). There was a statistically significant difference at the  $p < .05$  level in survey scores for the three groups [ $F(2, 203) = 3.7, p = .03$ ]. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the groups was quite small. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .04. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey LSD test indicated that the mean score for Group 1, Front-Line Officer ( $M = 11.97, SD = 1.29$ ) was significantly different from Group 2, Investigator ( $M = 11.47, SD = 1.43$ ). Group 3, Other ( $M = 12.33, SD = 1.44$ ) did not differ significantly from either Group 1 (front-line officer) or Group 2 (investigator). However, the group sizes (55/136/15) are unequal. Police officers in the roles of front-line officers and investigators have significantly different opinions on what has an impact on policing: the organisation, resources and trade unions. The actual means for the grouped items did not vary much with the exception of the Likert-item “Trade unions have an impact on policy & police organisation but not directly on policing itself”, where the mean score on a scale from 1-5 for front-line officers was 2.9 while the mean for investigators was 3.4.

A few further questions in the online survey (28/30/31/50) referred to organisational aspects of the police. On the difference between police and other public administrations or organisations from an organisational point of view, respondents had divided opinions: 56.9% agreed that

police organisations are similar to other public administrations, while 30.4% disagreed, with 12.7% in a neutral position. Most of the respondents were in agreement on the other three items (Figure 7.1): 80.4% agreed that the type of police force or organisational unit influences police behaviour; 93.1% agreed that specialised units have different characteristics compared to others; and 86.8% agreed that there were different characteristics in urban and rural areas.

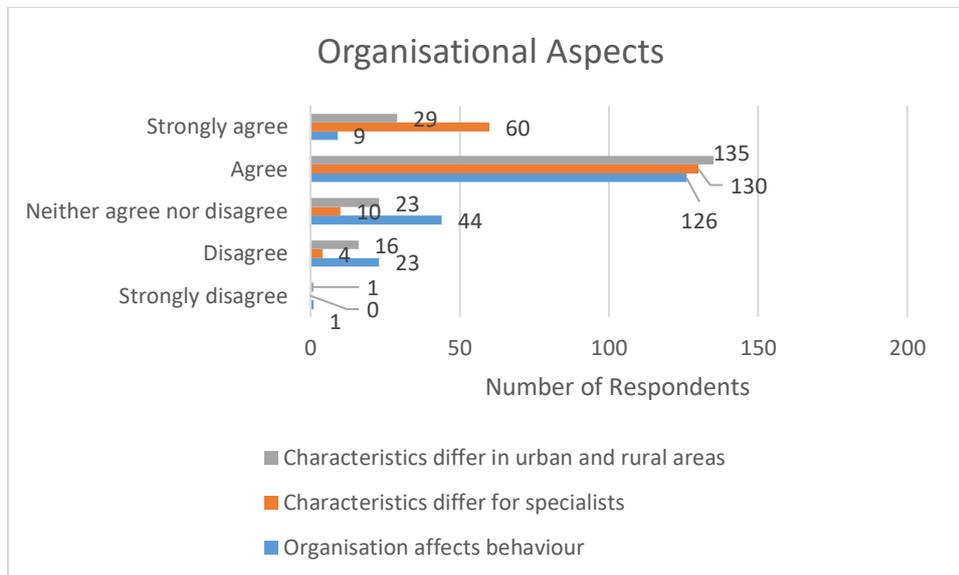


Figure 7.1: 'Influence of organisational aspects on policing' showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key

Police forces are organised to enable their police officers to safeguard law and order (Chapter 3.2). One interviewee (P01) stated that the type of organisation is vital for the development of a positive police culture, which in turn is needed for the organisation to function well. Several officers confirmed that different types of police organisations, such as gendarmeries, judicial or municipal police forces, are differently structured, some more hierarchical than others:

“I would say that departments have a strong influence on how we behave, what we are actually doing. So there is a type of, like uniformed police, or prevention; there is a type of traffic police officer, there is a type of criminal police officer and so on.”  
P02/Poland/Police

“The Gendarmerie developed from a para-military unit. They had a different culture than the police, who was at home in the cities.” P03/Austria/Police

“As I mentioned, for example, I am judicial police. Our culture is completely different from gendarmerie...” P17/Portugal/Judicial Police

“Whether you are in an intelligence unit, in the judicial unit, in a public order unit, there will be very different rules, very different ways of behaving and very different cultures.” P07/France/National Police

“We have four different police forces. We don’t have exactly the same culture. So it’s different in the police forces. Also, we are organised in different ways. Some are more hierarchical; some have a bit of a military background.” P12/Portugal/Immigration Police

As a consequence, the culture police organisations develop differs slightly depending on the type of force. In total, 90% of the interviewed officers believed that the structure of police organisations affects policing and the behaviour of the police. For most officers the behaviour within the organisation is affected by organisational hierarchy and background and associated levels of discipline and control by line managers. Those elements influence how groups interact. Some interviewees suggested that police forces with a military background or specialised units, for example within the riot police, exhibit a different, firmer behaviour compared to other police officers. While a large majority of the interviewed officers also highlighted how different police work is from other professions, as far as police organisations are concerned, 35% of the participants saw certain similarities to the private sector.

The interviewees identified three key roles within most police organisations: managers, front-line officers and investigator. From there on there will be further specialisation depending on the organisation’s needs to fulfil its mandate (Chapter 3.2). For uniformed branches, that includes primarily front-line officers for patrolling areas assigned to police stations as well as riot police, mounted branch or helicopter squad. The criminal police are usually structured into units working on different specialist areas of crime, such as robberies or homicide. In recent years the need for specialisation has increased. Police officers are working in areas, which are not associated with their traditional role, as illustrated by one interviewee:

“When I look at all those diverse activities and specialisations in our organisation, can you really say that this is still a police officer? Some are sitting all day in front of a computer to do IT forensics. Then I have others who do [academic] research or internal investigations or public relation work.” P20/Germany/Federal Police

All officers agreed that the team members who are working in those different specialised units develop their own cultures. They share the same work and the same problems. Specialisation creates different roles with different sub-cultures (Chapter 2.2) beyond the divide into uniformed and plain-clothed officers. Many participants used the word sub-culture, because those different cultures are perceived as a part of their over-arching police culture; the identity of being a police officer remains. They explained that the divide stems from adapting to the demands of their working environment, to different rules, even to different behaviour, which becomes visible outside of the immediate workplace:

“We’ve got a very strong culture within the judicial police, also in the intelligence unit. They are very secretive. You never know who they are, they won’t even tell you the time because it’s too sensitive!” P07/France/National Police

“I noticed that one of my colleagues used to work for the traffic police... When you go with him for a walk, he has the tendency to look at each tyre on a car, you know. While for us it’s constantly scanning the environment (chuckles) and the surroundings and people, for strange behaviour.” P11/Poland/CID

“After five years on patrol I realised that it influenced my language. I had picked up this slang, unknowingly, but still... Friends told me, it’s funny how you’ve changed.” P03/Austria/Police

However, as a Scandinavian interviewee (P06/Norway/Police) noted, officers also bring their own values, experience and attitudes, not only into their training but also into every new police workplace. As already discussed (Chapter 2.3), most values are acquired early in life (Hofstede, 2001, p.394) and later on brought into the organisation (Schein, 1990, p.12), where they learn organisational practices and behaviour (Chapter 3.1).

## 7.2 Management

When Reuss-Ianni (1983/2017) identified a ‘management cop culture’ next to a ‘street cop culture’, the fragmentation of the organisational police culture became apparent (Chapter 4.1). The role of police management has remained an enduring topic within the literature on organisational police culture. During the interviews within this research there was broad-based consent (70% of the interviewees) that the police needs strong leadership and management. A majority of 55% of the participants, most of them line managers themselves at one point in their career, commented further on the management role, which they perceived as a different job altogether. The work environment of police managers is different to rank-and-file officers, and a large minority of interviewees indicated that managers exhibit different behaviour and develop their own sub-culture:

“When you’re promoted you do something different and you have different concerns and you have to...weigh completely different things than as front-line officer...then your culture is completely different.” P10/Spain/National Police

“...that continues with investigation units and management officers, who also exhibit – this is actually similar to the private sector – manager behaviour, which in itself represents a separate culture.” P09/Germany/CID

“...cops who are used to have contact with the public, they have a way of dealing with the public. People who are managers, have never contact with the public, because there are three or four layers that separate them from the external. They are only used to work with lower police officers. They have a different way of interacting; maybe more assertive, more direct, less polite maybe...” P13/Italy/Carabinieri

Nonetheless, the direct police managers are in some respect still part of the overall group, from which they originate, and they are familiar with the work done by rank-and-file officers (P07-France/P09-Germany/P10-Spain/P13-Italy). Eight officers (40%) highlighted the importance of hierarchy in particular within police forces with a military-based background, which influences organisational structures and interpersonal behaviour and furthers respect.

A large minority of interviewed officers (45%) differentiated between middle- and top-management. They saw a strong influence of top-managers on the structure and the behaviour within police organisations:

“It’s mostly about the people who are on top of the organisation or the structure. They have some ideals or something they believe is good. The people under them, they start to pick up from them.” P04/Slovakia/CID

“Well, the police chief in Belgium is a woman. It for sure gives another élan to the police, if the number 1 is a woman...She did [change the structure and organisation] but maybe not in a good way.” P16/Belgium/National Police

Top-managers are even more distanced from rank-and-file than the middle-management:

“They have less and less...the same culture compared to the rest of the force. They are highly educated police managers and I see quite a distance between the cultures, between the culture of top-managers and the culture of the rest of the force.” P12/Portugal/Immigration Police

The online survey included one question (42) directly related to top management: “Basic police work by uniformed officers and detectives is not sufficiently valued by top managements and politicians.” As shown in Table 7.1, 153 out of 206 respondents (75.3%) agreed with that statement.

<b>Police Work not Sufficiently Valued by Top-management</b>	Number	Percentage
Strongly disagree	1	0.49%
Disagree	27	13.30%
Neither agree nor disagree	22	10.84%
Agree	91	44.83%
Strongly agree	62	30.54%

*Table 7.1: Basic police work by uniformed officers and detectives is not sufficiently valued by top managements and politicians*

### 7.3 Organisational Structures and Change

Police officers recognised good and bad organisational structures and changes thereof. A small minority of interviewees were of the opinion that bad structures will eventually be identified and amended.

The interviewees reported differing responses to organisational change. Younger police officers might be more appreciative of change than older ones (P04-Slovakia/P05-Germany/P06-Norway/P09-Germany), but it is often the case that change initiatives come from younger managers as illustrated by one interviewee:

“Naturally, young line managers want to do everything different and better. Therefore, they are obviously more open to introducing organisational change.”  
P09/Germany/CID

A few participants had a calm, pragmatic, maybe cynical view on structural change attempts:

“Well, the first reorganisation, you are excited about, it might bring something. But when you’ve seen the 5th or the 6th you get quite relaxed and you say, ‘okay, another one; let’s wait what it brings; let’s not get over-excited because we had already 5 and the 5 didn’t work out, now let’s see if the 6th does work out’.” P05/Germany/Police

In Sweden there was the “attempt, years ago, to abandon specialised units and to work on all types of crime. Now we move back a bit towards specialised units again – difficult...Sometimes nobody really knows why they are changing [structures].”  
P08/Sweden/National Police

Except for one officer, the interview participants believed that police officers will try to resist change, a well-established characteristic of police culture (Chapter 4.2). Twelve police officers (60%) provided reasons as to why officers resist change attempts. One of the more common reasons was the creation of additional, bureaucratic work (P01-UK/P07-France/P18-UK). Organisational changes of rules and structures are not well explained and therefore not understood (P05-Germany/P08-Sweden/P19-UK). A quarter of the interviewed officers (P09-Germany/P10-Spain/P11-Poland/P15-France/P16-Belgium) referred to police officers being conservative as a potential reason for such resistance.

Large structural change initiatives are not always judged as being negative (P03-Austria/P04-Slovakia/P05-Germany/P09-Germany/P10-Spain/P11-Poland/P15-France/P16-Belgium).

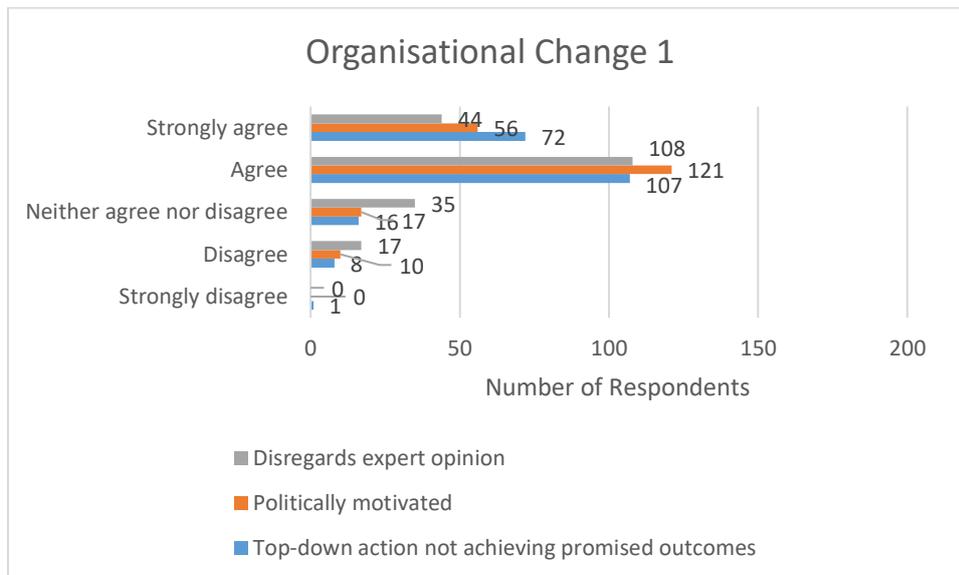
Even though some of the changes might not be appreciated, they are understood as necessary. This was the case, for example, when merging three competing Belgian police forces into one (P16-Belgium/P15-France). It was similar, albeit sometimes with initial resistance, to the large-scale introduction of female officers across European countries (P04-Slovakia/P05-Germany/P19-UK). It remains the case that big changes always affect police work, such as the change from socialist to democratic police forces (P02-Poland/P04-Slovakia/P11-Poland/P14-Latvia) or the introduction of community policing or nationwide intelligence models in the UK and in Latvia, which led to confusion (P01-UK/P14-Latvia). Police officers involved in the implementation were overwhelmed by whole sets of new processes and procedures and sometimes “did not know what they were doing” (P01/UK/Police).

A small minority of officers (20%) suggested that it takes a long time to achieve change within the police and that particularly large changes in the organisation will affect work and culture. To some, this effect on police culture was an important aspect. In one case (P16/Belgium/National Police) there was an underlying fear that, through change, the own organisational culture would disappear after the comparatively recent merge of several police forces into one. While P16 still identified with the police occupation and the officer’s role, like most of this officer’s colleagues it was expressed as feelings of cultural loss towards the now defunct police force.

The online survey also included six Likert-items addressing organisational change and the police. Although no significant changes between the different groupings could be measured, the overall response provides additional insight with regards to the police characteristic ‘resistance to change’. Three statements (Questions 20/21/22) suggested that organisational changes within the police ‘are usually top-down actions and often do not achieve the predicted or promised outcome’, ‘are often politically motivated’ and ‘often disregard the opinion of experts in the field’. Figure 7.2 below illustrates the results: 179 respondents (87.8%) across the jurisdictions believed that organisational change in the police is often a top-down action not achieving the predicted outcome; only 4.4% disagreed and 7.8% could not decide on either position.

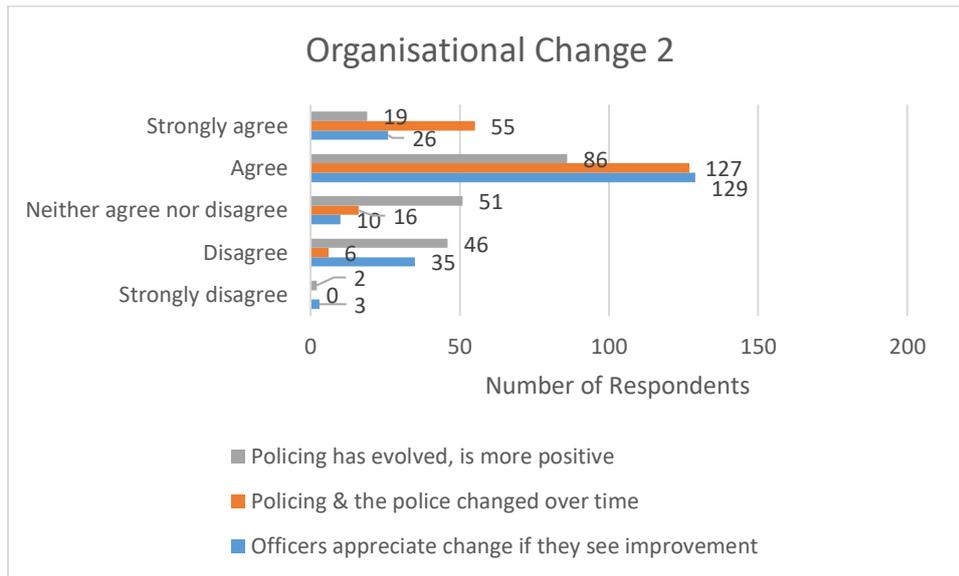
The statement that changes are often politically motivated was agreed by 177 survey participants (86.8%) while 4.9% disagreed and 8.3% kept a neutral position. 152 respondents (74.5%) agreed with the statement that the opinion of experts in the field is often disregarded

in relation to organisational change; 8.3% of the participants disagreed and 17.2% neither agreed nor disagreed.



*Figure 7.2: Organisational Change 1 showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key*

The three related Likert-items remaining addressed whether police officers appreciate change if they see improvement (Question 19), that policing and the police have changed over time, and that policing has evolved in a positive way during the last decade or so (Questions 36, 37). The responses are illustrated in Figure 7.3 below.



*Figure 7.3: Organisational Change 2 showing levels of agreement or disagreement of survey respondents to the items in the chart key*

A large majority of 155 respondents (76.4%) agreed that officers appreciate change if they see improvement in their work. Only 4.9% kept a neutral position, while 18.7% disagreed. 182 out of 204 survey participants (89.22%) agreed that policing and the police have changed over time, with only 2.94% disagreeing and 7.84% remaining neutral. However, the statement that policing has evolved over the last decade and is more positive now only found agreement with 105 participants (51.5%). The neutral position (25.0%) and the number of disagreeing officers (23.5%) were comparatively strong.

## 7.4 Analysis

This section will analyse the research findings in relation to organisational police culture, with a focus on the themes from the previous results sections. Before the discussion of ‘management’ and ‘change’, the theme of ‘organisational differences’ will be addressed.

### **Organisational Differences and Influences on Police Culture**

As discussed in Chapter 4, police culture is not only considered to be an occupational culture. The main work of the police occupation, policing, needs to be organised (Chapter 3.2) so that states and their administration have a tool, in the form of police organisations, to maintain order (Mawby, 1999). Reuss-Ianni (1983/2017) identified that police culture is fragmented into a culture of front-line officers and a culture of police managers on an organisational level. Her conception of an organisational police culture was later expanded by splitting management into top-command and middle-management (Farkas & Manning, 1997) and by adding investigators as a fourth element (Manning, 2007). As discussed in Chapter 3.1, most organisations develop their own cultures (Barnard, 1938/1968). Caless and Tong (2015) identified six different types of police forces alone in Europe, which raises the expectation that there might be different organisational police cultures. Nonetheless, the ANOVA tests used to analyse the data from the online survey within this research revealed significant differences only in relation to one Likert-scale related to the impact on policing through the police organisation. This difference was caused by different opinions of front-line officers and investigators on the impact of police trade unions.

The respondents predominantly agreed on a few statements related to organisation: police officers behave differently depending on the organisational unit; policing has different characteristics in specialised units; and police work has different characteristics in urban areas compared to rural ones. Such differences, however, were already established before (e.g. Loftus, et al., 2016; Reuss-Ianni, 1983/2017; Young, 1993). The perceived influence of the organisation on behaviour is important, though, considering the link between behaviour and values (Hofstede, 2001, p.10). The fact that most respondents saw a difference between characteristics of policing in specialised units, such as traffic police, organised crime or cybercrime, and differing characteristics of police work in urban and rural areas does not prove

the existence of an organisational police culture. Nonetheless, it can be inferred that aspects related to the organisation of the police influence its culture.

The interview results also corroborate an influence on policing and police culture not only depending on how a police force is organised but also depending on the type of police force. The interviewed officers themselves recognised and highlighted such differences. Distribution of work leads to the establishment of management and working level as well as specialisation and the creation of roles. The organisational structure mirrors the tasks or mandates through the creation of departments and units. As within the private sector, different cultures develop in all areas (Chapter 3.1) creating organisational sub-cultures (Hofstede, 2001, pp.395-405). In fact, there was agreement on the existence of police sub-cultures within the larger police culture. The fragmentation of police culture into sub-cultures (Farkas & Manning, 1997; Manning, 2007; Reuss-Ianni, 1983/2017) is characteristic of organisational police cultures.

### **Management**

As mentioned above, managers are an important element of organisational police culture. Police managers are at the core of the ‘management cop’ (Reuss-Ianni, 1983/2017) sub-culture. As this research confirmed, in some respects they are still part of the overall group, even though they have different tasks, are separated from the others and exhibit different behaviour towards the rank-and-file. However, there are differences between middle- and top-management, which were identified before (Farkas & Manning, 1997). The strong chief police executive or top-manager, described by some interviewees in this research, with the ability to influence staff, is the equivalent to the founders of organisations (Peters & Waterman Jr, 1982/2006). They share their own values with the members of the organisation. By transforming those into routine structures (Weber, 1968, p.60), they shape the organisational culture at least to some extent. The values of the founders and key leaders become the practices of the members (Hofstede, 2001, pp.394-395). Nevertheless, survey respondents across the jurisdictions believed that their top-managers do not value police work sufficiently.

The aspect of hierarchy mentioned by some interviewed officers indicates the distribution of formal power within the police force, which is allocated by formal structure, whereas culture is considered to be informal (King, 2005, pp.102-104). Culture, and certainly not the rank-and-

file culture of the police, cannot be derived from hierarchy. Nonetheless, as an important part of the formal organisation, hierarchy can influence the culture of an organisation (Barnard, 1938/1968). The mentioned hierarchical aspects, like interpersonal behaviour and respect, can be understood as the result of a successful transformation of founder values into practice. As attitudes, customs or habits, they are as much part of the organisational culture as methods, skills or technical knowledge (Jaques, 1951/2001) as outlined in Chapter 3.1.

### **Structures and Change**

The various core and ancillary tasks police officers might be involved in (Neyroud & Beckley, 2001) are usually organised within police forces by establishing formal structures, i.e. an organisation (Chapter 3.2). In particular, in times of budget constraints and sparse resources police management often intends to improve the organisational performance of the police (Chan, 1996). As far as change of the police organisation and its structures and resistance towards it are concerned, Waddington (1998, p.102) suggested this to be an expression of police cynicism directed towards the police organisation. This may be the case, considering, for example, the quote from interviewee P05 (Germany/Police) on the topic, claiming that after a number of, typically not very successful, reorganisations no-one is particularly excited about new attempts anymore.

The cultural characteristic of ‘resistance to change’ was also understood by researchers as resistance to the reform of police culture (Chan, 1997, 2004; Reiner, 1984/2010) and therefore considered as part of the traditional conception of (occupational) police culture (Loftus, 2009). This research indicates that there might indeed be concerns about culture, as illustrated by P16 and the concerns about losing the culture of the ‘old’ police organisation after the introduction of a nation-wide police reorganisation. Primarily, though, police officers are concerned about doing their job well, as the given answers revealed.

Three main reasons for resistance were provided by the interviewed officers. One of them was the anticipation of additional, often bureaucratic work along with upcoming changes. Another reason provided was a lack of explanations for and understanding of the organisational change. Depending on the individual case, such a form of resistance to change ascribed to or including lack of managerial support for, be it through insufficient resources or communication, was

already described in other research reforms (Chan, 1997, pp.166-168; Reiner, 1984/2010, p.136). The third argument referred to an inherent police conservatism; the preference to keep the job as it used to be. With a view to another cultural characteristic, that policing is more a mission than a profession, this is similar to resistance not being self-serving but rather an attempt to safeguard established practices (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.120).

This chapter presented the research findings related to organisational aspects of police culture and discussed the results. Chapter 6 already presented research results in relation to the occupational police culture, together with a first analysis of the findings. The final results chapter will now address police culture and cultural influences on a national level by presenting and discussing the most relevant results of this research for the national aspect of police culture.

## Chapter 8: Results - National Aspects

Previous research on police culture starting with Banton (1964) observed variations of culture in different countries (Chapter 4). Culture is a phenomenon of social groups and systems, and nations represent the highest level of independent social structures (Chapter 2). Police culture as the subject of research in many countries was found to have comparatively similar characteristics even in societies very different from the Anglo-Saxon Western world, where the initial research began (Chapter 4.1). Occupational or organisational dimensions of police culture received the most attention while national influences were addressed only occasionally (e.g. Banton, 1964; Nickels & Verma, 2008; Soeters, et al., 1995). The previous chapters already indicated a particular role of national aspects in relation to police culture including, for example, the perception of police officers that police culture is internationally similar.

To investigate the online survey data for national differences the survey respondents were grouped into six cultural clusters based on nationality (Chapter 5). The clusters being: Anglo-Saxon, Centrally Governed, Eastern European, German-Speaking, Scandinavian, Southern European. As with the other groupings in Chapters 6 and 7, ANOVAs were conducted for all scales to explore different attitudes based on national culture. The analysis of the data showed, albeit with unequal group sizes (Appendix 4), significant statistical differences for five Likert-scales (Appendix 3). This is important because it reveals the potential impact of national culture on issues associated with police culture. Some of the significant differences directly referred to characteristics of police culture. Consequently, those characteristics were not discussed in Chapters 6 or 7.

This chapter will address the most relevant themes identified through the survey and the interviews, which are the traditional police characteristics ‘police masculinity’ and ‘isolation of police officers’. A third important theme emerging from the data, labelled ‘police and society’, will also be presented, then the findings on national aspects of police culture will be analysed.

### **8.1 Police Masculinity**

Masculinity is one of the enduring themes in the literature on police culture and one of Reiner's (1984/2010) characteristics, which remains highly topical (Brown, et al., 2019). The online survey for this research included a number of questions related to masculinity (4-6/9/39): Police work provides a sense of mission (linked to glorification of violence and masculinity by Waddington, 1999, p.299); The working environment of police is primarily male-oriented; Female colleagues are underrepresented within the police; The police working environment has the potential for sexism; Minority groups (with a view to sexuality and race) still have difficulties in the police and are not fully accepted. These Likert-items were combined into the scale 'masculinity', for which a statistically significant difference was found.

Subjects were divided into six groups of cultural clusters based on nationality as explained in Chapter 5 (1: Anglo-Saxon; 2: Centrally-Oriented; 3: Eastern European; 4: German-Speaking; 5: Scandinavian; 6: Southern European). There was a statistically significant difference at the  $p < .05$  level in survey scores for two of the six groups [ $F(5, 200) = 2.7, p = .02$ ]. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the groups was quite small. The effect size, calculated using eta square, was .06, a medium effect. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for German-Speaking ( $M = 20.22, SD = 3.14$ ) was significantly different from Group 6, Southern European ( $M = 23.00, SD = 3.02$ ). The other groups did not differ significantly from these two. The group sizes are unequal as shown in Table 8.1 below. Police officers from Southern Europe have significantly different opinions compared to German-speaking officers in relation to police masculinity, as will now be further discussed.

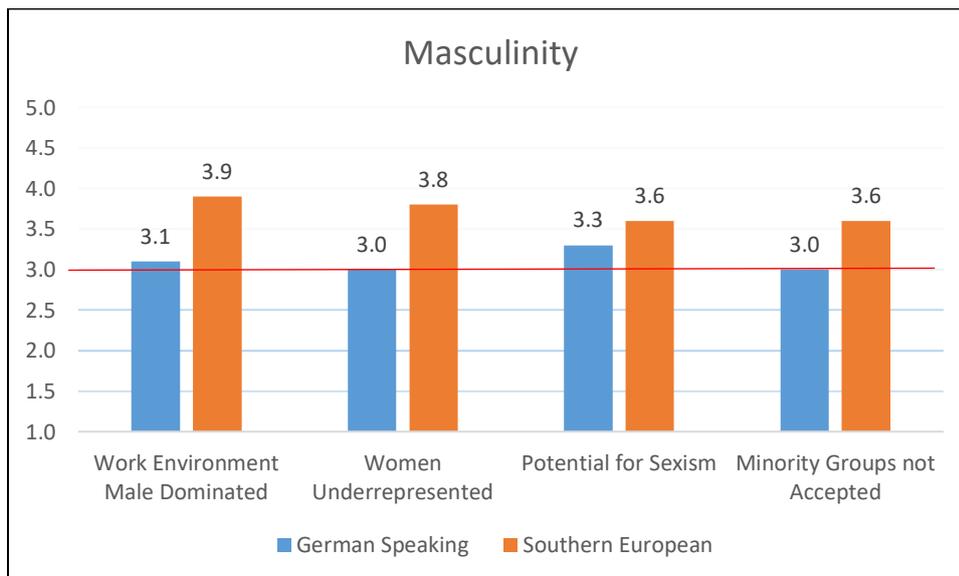
### Group Sizes 'Police Masculinity'

Tukey HSD

ClusterCoded	N
German Speaking	45
Eastern European	9
Scandinavian	38
Anglo-Saxon	82
Centrally-Oriented	15
Southern European	17

*Table 8.1: Group sizes of cultural clusters for the Likert-scale labelled 'Police Masculinity'*

The means for the Likert-item related to 'sense of mission' are very close for both clusters: 4.0 for the German-Speaking one and 4.2 for Southern European. The means for the other four items are shown in Figure 8.1 below. High numbers (4 and 5) represent agreement, low numbers (1 and 2) disagreement with 3 (indicated by the red line) for neither agree nor disagree.



*Figure 8.1: Means for the individual Likert-items from the scale labelled 'Masculinity' for the clusters German-speaking and Southern European; on the left axis 5 represents strong agreement, 1 strong disagreement and 3 neither agree nor disagree (neutral position)*

The respondents from the German-Speaking cluster tend towards a neutral position on all four items. Those from the Southern European cluster by trend agree with the statements that the police working environment is male dominated and has the potential for sexism, which shows awareness but not whether it is perceived as problematic. They also believe that women are underrepresented in their police forces and that minority groups within the police are not fully accepted.

The interview participants were also asked about the police culture characteristic ‘cult of masculinity’ including sexism. Four officers interviewed were from German-Speaking and four from Southern European countries (Chapter 5). Both groups also included one female police officer. All four German-speaking participants (03/05/09/20) agreed that there is hardly any particular masculine or related sexist behaviour anymore in their countries:

“In my units that was less the case... I noticed this in the past while on duty, but I have to say that, in general for the police service it’s not a big thing.” P03/Austria/Police

“That was correct in the time before they hired women, which was in ‘94 in Baden-Württemberg. And then it changed drastically. So sexism and bragging has decreased.” P05/Germany/Police

“I cannot say whether there is a more or less, that the police are more affected or express this more than somebody in a civilian work environment. Of course, you can find it occasionally in special units with a focus on physical strength.” P09/Germany/CID

“Yes. I think that is the aspect I talked about earlier, that this was massively reduced because of the percentage of women in the police.” P20/Germany/CID

Two of the interviewees (P02-Poland/P09-Germany) suggested that this might still be different in special response units. The cause for the strong decrease of masculine behaviour was traced back by three interviewees to recruiting women into the police (P05-Germany/P09-Germany/P20-Germany).

Three of the Southern European officers agreed that the police is rather male-oriented, even sexist:

“Yes, I agree. Maybe even more, I see that policewomen have the tendency to imitate masculine partners.” P10/Spain/National Police

“Probably yes, still, yes... It’s still quite male dominant and male-oriented.” P12/Portugal/Immigration Police

“Cult of masculinity, I think there is one. It’s not nice, but I think there is a little bit of a macho-culture in the police. And I agree, there is potential for sexism, and for bragging in informal environments, I agree on this.” P13/Italy/Carabinieri

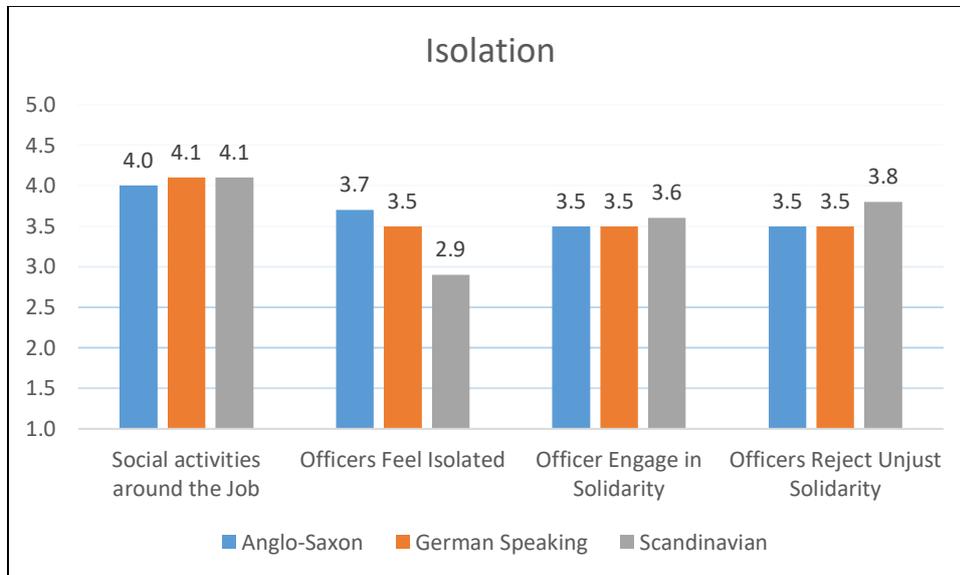
The fourth interviewee (P17/Portugal/Judicial Police) from that group referred to increasing numbers of female colleagues and managers first, then suggested that typical male behaviour might still exist in police units working on particular crimes, before finishing with a sexist statement.

## 8.2 Isolation of Police Officers

Another recurring theme and characteristic of police culture is the isolation of police officers from the rest of the social world (Reiner, 1984/2010). Four Likert-items from the online questionnaire, which can contribute to a perceived feeling of isolation, were selected (Questions 13/14/23/24): Social activities take place around the job; Police officers often feel isolated from their social environment (us-and-them feeling); Police officers often engage in solidarity; Police officers reject unjust or unjustifiable solidarity. The Likert-items were combined into the scale ‘isolation’ for an ANOVA test. As in Chapter 8.1 subjects were divided into the same groups of cultural clusters (1: Anglo-Saxon; 2: Centrally-Oriented; 3: Eastern European; 4: German-Speaking; 5: Scandinavian; 6: Southern European).

There was a statistically significant difference at the  $p < .05$  level in survey scores for three of the six groups [ $F(5, 197) = 2.5, p = .003$ ]. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the groups was small. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .09, a medium to large effect. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for Anglo-Saxon ( $M = 14.07, SD = 1.92$ ) was significantly different from the German-Speaking group ( $M = 13.00, SD = 1.95$ ) and Group 5, Scandinavian ( $M = 12.70, SD = 1.78$ ). However, the significance value ( $p = .003$ ) was only measured for the differences between Groups 1 and 5. The value for Group 1 and the German-Speaking cluster was .05.

There was no significant difference between the German-Speaking and the Scandinavian groups. Anglo-Saxon police officers expressed stronger opinions related to the isolation of police officers than their counterparts in German-speaking countries and countries with a Scandinavian culture, which is illustrated by Figure 8.2 below.



*Figure 8.2: Means for the individual Likert-items from the scale labelled 'Isolation' for the clusters Anglo-Saxon, German-speaking and Scandinavian; on the left axis 5 represents strong agreement, 1 strong disagreement and 3 neither agree nor disagree (neutral position)*

The differences between the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian clusters were caused by the particularly different Likert-item on 'officers feel isolated'. Police officers from Scandinavian cultures feel less isolated than their colleagues from the other two groups. The difference between the Anglo-Saxon and German-Speaking clusters were caused by their overall means of the Likert-scale as shown in Table 8.2 (groups with significant p-values in bold).

Cluster Means		
'Isolation'	N	Mean
<b>Anglo-Saxon</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>14.0732</b>
Centrally-Oriented	14	13.7857
Eastern European	9	13.6667
<b>German-speaking</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>13.0000</b>
<b>Scandinavian</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>12.7027</b>
Southern European	16	14.1250
Total	203	13.5517

*Table 8.2: Overall means for all cultural clusters for the Likert-scale labelled 'Isolation' consisting of 4 items; groups with significant p-values in bold*

The interview questions targeted the us-and-them feeling as a cultural characteristic. All three Anglo-Saxon participants had considerations similar to the survey respondents:

“There is a definite us-and-them. When you’re part of the police family you’re part of that, a family, and there is a...it sets you aside from the rest of society.” P01/UK/Police

“I think in the early days that was quite acute for me, when I was a young cop doing the race riots in London...Yeah, I think it’s there, definitely.” P18/UK/Metropolitan Police

“I do think that is an us-and-them feeling. And particularly now there is. Why really? Because I think there’s so few police officers. I think there is an us-and-them feeling because the public aren’t seeing the police like they used to.” P19/UK/Merseyside Police

The two Scandinavian officers had a different view on whether police officers in their countries feel isolated:

“No, that’s not at all happening in my service time and I don’t know any police officers here in Norway that has that statement or behaviour. They are in the society.” P06/Norway/Police

“There is some we-and-them feeling within the force. That is also slowly fading away, I think. Many still think that we are doing good work, and that we are serving the

public. In some way I think there is a feeling of us-and-them regarding the police and the criminals.” P08/Sweden/National Police

The officers from German-speaking cultures had similar considerations:

“I cannot confirm this. In the Austrian police this doesn’t really exist.“  
P03/Austria/Police

“Not in general. Of course, if you go to demonstrations and you have to face that part that is violent and that starts throwing sticks at the police, there is of course an ‘us-and-them’, but in general I cannot say ‘Yes’. That is not my experience.“  
P05/Germany/Police

“I wouldn’t say it like this anymore. Maybe it was like this in the old days, but as you can see...what is the saying: we are a mirror of society...[colleagues] are now within the society, not apart from it saying that’s us and those are them. They belong to society. They are integrated and understand themselves as part of society.“  
P09/Germany/CID

“In our job we have the right to limit someone’s rights and that creates a separation effect between the occupational profile of being a police officer and...certainly a particular awareness, but isolated? To speak of isolation? No.“ P20/Germany/Federal Police

The three Anglo-Saxon interviewees confirmed a strong us-and-them feeling between the police and society. One Scandinavian participant would only use a phrase like us-and-them for the relation between the police and criminals in the way Cain (1973, p.110) described it, while the other one saw the police in the middle of society and rejected an us-and-them feeling for police officers. The German-speaking officers did not recognise an us-and-them feeling as a problem either.

### 8.3 Police & Society

The relationship between the police and the public is linked to the cultural characteristic of perceived isolation from the social world, as addressed in the previous section. The online questionnaire included three related questions (Q25/29/32): Professionally, ‘outsiders’ who are not police cannot be completely trusted; There is a gap between police and society, particularly in urban areas; Particular in urban areas, both uniformed police and detectives primarily have to deal with poor or socially deprived persons. The responses were grouped into a Likert-scale labelled ‘Outside Relations’. Respondents could choose between strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) with 3 as a neutral option, neither agreeing nor disagreeing.

To investigate differences on a national culture level, the six cultural clusters were used (Anglo-Saxon, Centrally Oriented, Eastern European, German-Speaking, Scandinavian and Southern European). For this scale there was a statistically significant difference at the  $p < .05$  level in survey scores for two of the six groups [ $F(5, 200) = 2.5, p = .03$ ]. Despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the groups was quite small. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .06, a medium effect size. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for Group 4, German-Speaking ( $M = 9.76, SD = 1.97$ ), was significantly different from Group 5, Scandinavian ( $M = 8.50, SD = 1.66$ ). The other groups did not differ significantly from these two.

Police officers from German-Speaking countries ( $N = 45$ ) showed different opinions in relation to society than those from countries with a Scandinavian culture ( $N = 38$ ). The mean differences on the individual Likert-items were similar in all three cases as illustrated by Figure 8.3 below. The German-Speaking group had less trust towards outsiders (i.e. persons who are not police officers) than the Scandinavian group. The German-speaking respondents agreed more to the existence of a gap in society and to the fact that police officers primarily have to deal with poor or socially deprived people compared to the Scandinavian cultural group.

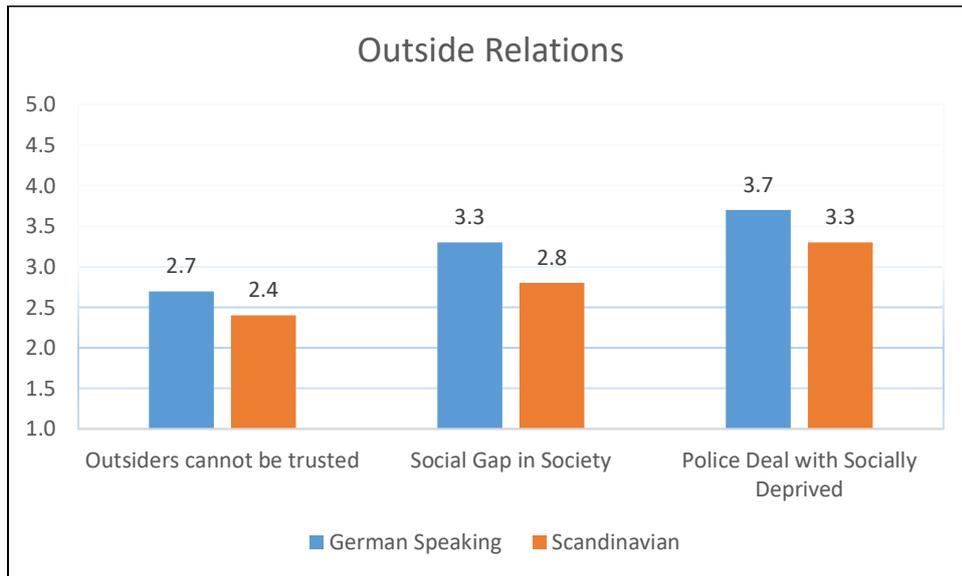


Figure 8.3: Means for the individual Likert-items from the scale labelled 'Outside Relations' for the clusters German-speaking and Scandinavian; on the left axis 5 represents strong agreement, 1 strong disagreement and 3 neither agree nor disagree (neutral position)

While the questions raised during the interviews did not directly relate to the relationship between the police and the public, the two Scandinavian officers had a remarkably positive attitude to the culture of the police and made statements to this effect. One interviewee believed that most of the negative characteristics attributed to police culture have largely disappeared in his country:

“It has been changing for some years now...Since we have more female colleagues, female officers as front-line officers and in investigator teams and leadership as well, it has changed a lot for the better. Not only because of female colleagues: It has also been changed because of better leadership, better selection of officers, better selection for the police academy.” P08/Sweden/National Police

A similar opinion was expressed by the second Scandinavian colleague. He also referred to a generally mutual respect between the police and society and suggested that policing is done the “Norwegian way”:

The “police force in general in Norway have a big respect from the people. They feel that they can rely on them [the police].” P06/Norway/Police

The four German-speaking officers also noticed many improvements in relation to the police and its culture over the last 20 years and more:

“In my opinion, when I started, there was hardly any [excessive] violence in the police service. I know it from stories. Before I joined the police, it was certainly a recurring theme, but I believe that it’s hardly happening anymore nowadays.” P03/Austria/Police

“In France, they micro-manage. It’s not just the police, it’s also the prosecutors that tell the police exactly what they are supposed to do. So there is a difference but it used to be exactly the same in Germany when I started. It changed with my generation.” P05/Germany/Police

“Yes, I believe that a lot has developed over the last few years. When I was recruited, almost 30 years ago, much of [police] life happened in barracks and everybody was brought together even in private life.” P20/Germany/Federal Police

They also admitted that several issues remained:

“Cynicism caused by the job; I do know that. The older colleagues get, the more cynical they become, not trusting the authorities at all. Yes, I know this.” P03/Austria/Police

“It is the expectation of the public that we throw us into the hail of bullets, if necessary. Then again, we are the enemy, because we might hold a mirror in front of their eyes.” P20/Germany/Federal Police

“Cynicism, yes. Yes, in many ways, but that’s also a coping mechanism to prevent utter frustration with certain processes.” P05/Germany/Police

Overall, they exhibited a more neutral attitude towards culture and the police than the Scandinavian officers. The interviews revealed differences in relation to national issues for two other cultural groups. All three Anglo-Saxon police officers identified certain issues between the police and society:

“Currently, as we are right now, I would say that the government are not particularly behind the police in the UK. And this is having an effect on the cultural behaviour of police forces.” P0/UK/Police

“I think that from, again, listening to the public and the people I work with, they feel that it’s not worth reporting an incident to the police because, well, they just got their own thing to do, really.” P19/UK/Merseyside Police

“I think it’s changed now...our paying conditions have been mucked around in the UK in recent years. So, where we used to be able to retire after 30 years, now you’ve gotta do 40. Our pension isn’t as protected like it used to be and it’s not such an attractive profession now.” P18/UK/Metropolitan Police

Three of the four interviewees from Eastern Europe reported effects on the police and policing caused by system change in their countries from socialist to democratic:

“Because of the years of communism and oppression towards the society using the police as one of the main tools, the police in my country is just a kind of public enemy, in the background of course, not officially but in the background.” P02/Poland/Police

“There is a problem with closing the door with the whole old regime we were under. Depending on the people above, we still think we haven’t solved this problem completely. So, there were big changes in 1989, we got rid of most of those people from law enforcement. There are still some of them working.” P11/Poland/CID

“There are special habits, which are typical for police officers, because in our country we had a very strong background in the time of the socialism. There was a special group of people who were untouchable. They could do whatever they wanted to do. So it was very difficult to fight against a police officer when you lived in socialism. After the revolution I think the situation changed for a lot of these people. But it’s typically the young officer also who learns something from older ones.” P04/Slovakia/CID

As noted previously (Chapter 3.2), police forces in Eastern Europe were very much modelled on those in the Soviet Union. When the societal systems changed during the 1990s, this had a tremendous social, economic and cultural impact on the post-communist societies including on the police (Mawby, 2008, pp.28-29).

Importantly, as mentioned as a finding in Chapter 6, a small majority of the police officers interviewed highlighted similarities in police culture between and across countries. At the same time 95% of the participants believed that there were differences between police officers from different countries because of the different national cultures:

“I think, our nationalism, the culture that comes out as being British, or the culture that comes out as being Spanish, has a greater influence on the culture within the job. That means, if you are going to do some international training for example, you have to take that into consideration.” P01/UK/Police

“I have a lot of criticism towards other police cultures, most of all because I don’t understand them fully, from the top to the ground. In my country, to understand the police culture as a whole, it’s a very difficult task, but if we are talking to organisations outside, it’s even more difficult. It’s not only their language, but also the cultural issues. The differences of the cultures, of the societies.” P02/Poland/Police

“It’s interesting to see, at Europol, the different countries, and how they affect the behaviour of the colleagues.” P03/Austria/Police

“There is a very strong difference between common law countries and civil law countries. It’s especially the way of having a proceeding or dealing with intelligence. This shapes very different police officers.” P07/France/National Police

Police culture “varies depending on political and societal attitude...In general, each police force and each country have their own culture.” P09/Germany/CID

“I think, and you can see that at Europol, there is something that unites us all. Some point that unites most law enforcement around the world. But then we do have different cultures, depending on the country itself. Probably many factors will apply. You probably see the same things that I do within Europol, the Latin Americans [language context] would have probably some point in common, that would be completely different from the German, Dutch, from the Nordic countries even. I think it does change among the countries, depending on the culture of the country itself.” P12/Portugal/Immigration Police

“Of course, in the Mediterranean countries Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, the culture is more like I described in my own country. Being a policeman is a little bit of a status.” P13/Italy/Carabinieri

The apparent contradiction between these two positions, police cultures being very similar but also very different will be addressed later.

#### **8.4 Analysis**

This section will consider the results relating to national aspects of police culture. As well as the relationship between the police and society (8.3), police masculinity (8.1) and the isolation of police officers (8.2) will also be included. In this respect it is important to remember that masculinity and isolation are typical characteristics of the ‘traditional’ or ‘occupational’ conception of police culture (Loftus, 2010; Reiner, 1984/2010) as discussed in Chapter 4.2. Although these characteristics, like the others, were found in police forces across the board and in a number of countries, albeit with cultural influences of the respective countries (Chapter 4.1), they primarily represent the occupational culture of the police. However, the use of ANOVA to test for significant relationships did not reveal any significant relationships for the Likert-scales attributed to masculinity and isolation on an occupational level. This was different when the same scales were tested against the clusters of similar national cultures (Chapter 5).

Why those differences could not be measured for all clusters needs to be addressed. As outlined in Chapters 5 and 6 the survey was targeted at police officers from many countries, with no influence on the self-selection of the experts. Although the respondents originated from 24 countries, the response frequency only exceeded 10 in three countries. The grouping into culturally similar clusters using Hofstede’s (2001) theories has limitations, since not all of Hofstede’s cultural dimensions (Chapter 2.4) can be considered for this grouping. This became evident through the interviews with the Eastern European officers. The four participants saw some cultural similarities, based on their shared socialist history, which impacted on their cultures. However, within single dimensions, such as ‘Uncertainty Avoidance’, which is associated with a preference for traditional gender roles, scores are not necessarily similar (Hofstede, 2001, pp.161-163,500-502). It has to be assumed that similar variations affected the grouping and in extension the results, preventing the finding of further differences.

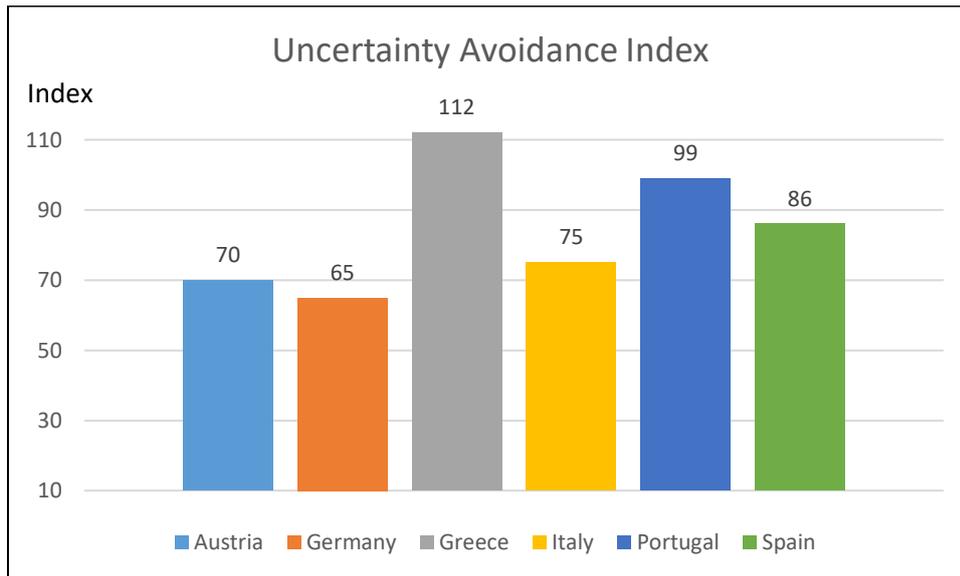
---

## Police Masculinity

Many of the cultural characteristics attributed to the police are considered to be an expression of police masculinity (Silvestri, 2012, p.237; Waddington, 1999, pp.297-298), which in itself is one of the core characteristics of police culture (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.128). Policing has been traditionally described as male-dominated (Young, 1991, p.191) and sexist (Westmarland, 2008, p.267). Female police officers were underrepresented until equality legislation began to change this (Brown, 2007, pp.209-210; Fielding, 1994, p.56; Silvestri, 2003, p.47). This was similar for LGBTQ+ officers and those from ethnic minorities (Loftus, 2009, p.11), although there was a gradual increase in numbers of female, minority-ethnic and homosexual officers in some police forces (Loftus, 2009, p.193). All of this was and still is attributed to the occupational culture of the police (Brown, et al., 2019; Loftus, 2010; Reiner, 1984/2010).

This research evidently shows that these elements of police masculinity are also influenced by national culture at least as far as German-speaking and Southern European cultures are concerned. In both of these cultural groups the numbers of female officers have increased, whereas in the police forces of the Southern countries some form of macho-attitude and masculinity remains. This corresponds with Waddington's considerations (1999, p.291) that masculinity and sexism are part of the wider culture wherein patriarchal beliefs are shared.

The underlying "masculine values in the occupational culture" (Fielding, 1994, p.52) are in the terms of Hofstede (2001, p.10), less values than rituals or symbolic behaviours, making the otherwise invisible values visible. The definition of 'masculinity' used by Hofstede (2001, pp.279-284) describes a dimension on a national cultural level (Chapter 2.3) and is not congruent with the use of the term in the literature on police culture. The masculine behaviours observed and the 'macho-culture' are not reflected by Hofstede's dimension of 'masculinity'. They are an expression of a preference for traditional gender roles and should indicate a high score for Hofstede's dimension of Uncertainty Avoidance (Hofstede, 2001, pp.161-163). Indeed Southern European countries score higher on this index (Chapter 2.4) than German-speaking ones as illustrated by Figure 8.4 below (Hofstede Insights, 2019).



*Figure 8.4: Uncertainty Avoidance Index for selected German-speaking and Southern European countries; index is based on scales with a high index suggesting that members of society feel uncomfortable with ambiguity and uncertainty*

While Italy is a particular case due its distinct cultural divide between North and South (Overbeek, undated, ca. 2004), the overall country score is still higher than the score for the German-speaking countries. The scores of the countries are based on national culture and values acquired early in life (Hofstede, 2001, p.394), suggesting that these values must have a strong influence on the development of further cultures, including occupational or organisational cultures. Again, it needs to be remembered that these differences were not found when the same Likert-scales were tested with ANOVA against occupational and organisational groupings.

### **Police, Society & Isolation**

The relationship between the police and the social environment is important for the development of police culture (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122). Clearly this relationship is not always easy, taking into account that if necessary, police officers are tasked to act against members of the public (Skolnick, 1966/2011; Ch.3) and represent the authority of the state (Waddington, 1999). There are further arguments that police officers have difficulties fitting into normal social life due to the working conditions of the job, such as shift work, all of which can contribute to increased solidarity and isolation (Reiner, 1984/2010, pp.120-122). Solidarity, as discussed in Chapter 6, develops primarily out of the occupational environment and can strengthen the isolation of police officers.

Isolation itself was initially described by Cain (1973, p.190) as an us-and-them feeling of police officers towards criminals. Nonetheless, Reiner (1984/2010) found that this us-and-them view was not limited to criminals but expanded to the whole social world around the police. The representation of authority mentioned above contributes to this: the police have the ‘monopoly on force’, a unique role within civil society (Bittner, 1970, p.34). Due to their role the police often have to deal with members of the lower and working-class (Wilson, 1968/1978), are even involved in class conflict (Galliher, 1971, pp.314-316).

The research findings related to national aspects of police culture revealed important differences between officers from different cultural clusters. Anglo-Saxon officers felt more isolated from society than their German-speaking or Scandinavian colleagues. This was also illustrated by the critical view towards their society of the officers interviewed. The Scandinavian police officers in turn felt more in tune with their national cultures than those from the German-speaking group. This could also be related to public satisfaction levels in those countries. People are more likely to be supportive of a police force they ‘see’ and the police is more likely to want to engage with a supportive public. The Eastern European officers interviewed saw, albeit to varying degrees, impacts on their national and police culture due to the change from a socialist to a democratic societal system.

As discussed in Chapter 2.3, nations develop their own distinct cultures, which are reflected in the culture of each society. Social roles develop within a society (Yinger, 1960, pp.627-628), which is also the case for police officers (Manning, 1977, pp.117-122). Roles however, as

discussed in Chapter 4.3, can also develop from groups (Cain, 1973, pp.3-6), including occupational groups such as the police. Nevertheless, they develop under the conditions of the overarching culture of society and are effectively sub-sets or sub-cultures of the national culture (Alvesson & Berg, 1992; Clarke, 1974; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982) as addressed in Chapter 2.3.

In consequence, changes to the national social environment, for example in relation to demography (Chapter 4.2), will affect the culture of the police. Similar effects were described previously in relation to the police culture in a number of countries (Haanstad, 2013; Jiao, 2001; Martin, 1992). Berkley (1969, p.197) found that the US-American society and its police are very different to any other democratic country with respect to the use of violence. Banton (1964, pp.86-126) already described remarkable differences between police officers in Britain and the USA. Consequently Charman (2017, p.133) urged not to generalise findings from one jurisdiction by transferring them to other societies.

Culture, as described in Chapter 2, is the sum of values, attitudes and practices. In particular a large number of values will be acquired early in life (Chapter 6.4). Those cultural values are kept and brought into the occupation (Hofstede, 2001, p.394) and will exert influence on the behaviour of the individual. As far as police culture is concerned the research findings show the relevance of national culture on core characteristics and the influence of the wider society. Chan (1997, p.66) insisted that police culture must be understood within the social and political context of policing. While neither solidarity or other characteristics of police culture are caused by the society and its culture, they can be heavily influenced. Each society or country creates the cultural conditions under which organisations are created (Barnard, 1938/1968, p.121) and this includes police organisations (Chapter 3.2). The influence of national culture on the police is therefore an important aspect for the development of police culture on a national level. Changes to national culture will eventually be reflected in police culture. How these three different aspects of police culture fit together and will be addressed in the final chapter.

## **Chapter 9: Discussion & Conclusions**

This final chapter will further discuss the research findings with regards to the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values and practices, as stated in the research aim. In doing so, the model of the ‘Three Aspects of Police Culture’ is presented and discussed as the major contribution to knowledge made by this thesis. To do this, the chapter will first revisit the phenomenon of culture (Chapters 2 & 3), the acquisition of values (Chapter 6) and the socialisation process (Chapters 2-4). The discussion will then address the new knowledge derived from the research in relation to the development of police culture (Chapter 4) on occupational (Chapter 6), organisational (Chapter 7) and national level (Chapter 8) before the “Three Aspects of Police Culture Model” is developed. The chapter finishes with conclusions to the thesis, addressing the aim and objectives of this and opportunities for future research.

### **9.1 Cultures, Values and the Socialisation Process**

Police culture is often understood, depending on the position of the observer, as either an occupational or an organisational culture, for which there is no common definition (Chapter 4). In fact, in the academic world there is no consensus on how to conceptualise and define the phenomenon of culture itself. However, most scientists, regardless of their discipline, see culture as an interdependent relationship between the individual and the collective, nation or group, with values and beliefs at its core and behaviour as an expression of those values and beliefs (Chapter 2.2; Table 2.1).

The acquisition of values and beliefs is a result of the socialisation process (Hofstede, 2001, p.394; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985, p.478; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, p.28). During socialisation, values and practices are acquired (Hofstede, 2001, p.394; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982, pp.3-12). Early in life individuals primarily learn values within family, the neighbourhood and primary school, rather than practices (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.312), as addressed in Chapter 6.4 (Figure 6.4). Most basic values have been acquired by the age of ten; occupational values will be learned in schools or universities, during the change from childhood to young adult (Hofstede, 2001, p.394). Afterwards the trained individuals will bring their already acquired values and beliefs into the organisation (Schein, 1990, p.12). Within the

organisation, individuals will mainly acquire organisational practices through socialisation in the workplace at a time when most of the individual's values are already firmly in place (Hofstede, 2001, p.394).

The acquisition of values, therefore, happens within the social environment and the surrounding culture through socialisation, within society, the chosen occupation and the organisation of employment. However, as far as culture is concerned there are two important elements to consider. First, culture is only visible when compared to another culture (Hofstede, 2001, pp.13-15). In fact, values are the invisible part of culture, whereas practices should be visible (Hofstede, 1998). Cultural differences between countries or groups can only be identified through comparison (Hofstede, 2001, p.14; Lewellen, 2002, p.50). Only through comparing cultures were anthropologists like Boas or Malinowski able to 'see' culture (Chapter 2.1). They looked at culture at the level of societies, what Hofstede called 'national culture' (2001, p.394). Second, the 'cultures' of nations and organisations, and in extension occupations, are not the same but 'phenomena of different orders' (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.313). Consequently, using the term 'culture' for example in an organisational context, can be misleading:

“Using the word culture in reference to both nations and organizations suggests that the two kinds of culture are identical phenomena. This is incorrect: A nation is not an organization, and the two types of culture are of different kinds.” (Hofstede, 2001, p.393)

In summary, and important for the further discussion and the “Three Aspects of Police Culture”, culture is based on values and practices acquired during the socialisation process at different stages in life on three cultural levels: national or societal level, occupational level and organisational level. During the socialisation process invisible values are acquired and visible practices learned to different degrees. National culture is therefore primarily based on values, organisational culture is mainly based on practices, whereas occupational culture is situated in-between.

## **9.2 Contributions to Knowledge**

The purpose of this section is to explain contributions to and advancements in knowledge made by this research. At first the themes from Chapters 6 to 8 need to be revisited and discussed within a broader context. In doing so, some of the major findings from the results chapters will be re-addressed albeit from a different angle before the model of the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture' is developed. The section concludes with considerations on the limitations of this thesis.

### **Occupational Culture**

Occupational cultures can be sub-cultures within an organisation or macro-cultures within an industry, region or society (Alvesson & Berg, 1992, p.92). As outlined in Chapter 4.1, when early researchers of police culture observed behaviour of the police they associated this with the occupation and the occupational environment (e.g. Banton, 1964; Skolnick, 1966/2011; Westley, 1953). Soon, core characteristics of the occupational police culture were identified (Reiner, 1984/2010), most of which were found in numerous countries (Chapter 4.1). One of the characteristics commonly attributed to occupational police culture in general is 'defensive solidarity'. A potentially dirty and dangerous work environment (Skolnick, 1966/2011) furthers the need of police officers to rely on each other in tight situations (Reiner, 1984/2010, p.122).

The findings of this research in relation to solidarity (Chapter 6) show that 64.4% of the international survey population of police officers agreed to its existence. While 57.3% believed police officers would reject defensive solidarity, 65% of the same international sample of interviewed officers also expressed that there are limits to solidarity, such as unlawful behaviour. This confirms above-mentioned existing literature. Covering-up, albeit not necessarily in the sense of Westley (1953) but rather in a self-protective way as suggested by Van Maanen (1973, pp.51-52) or Bittner (1970, pp.57-58), was mentioned by 35% of the interviewees, which will be addressed again below.

A minority of the interview participants also indicated that rejection of unjust behaviour appears to be more recent and that solidarity within the police has changed over time with regards to the defensiveness. This is interesting, as 'resistance to change' is another established

characteristic of police culture (Chan, 2007a; Reiner, 1984/2010, p.120). A finding from the interviews is that 95% of the officers agreed with the police being resistant to change, to some extent (Chapter 7). However, 76.4% of the survey respondents agreed that police officers appreciate change, although only if they see improvement in their work and more than 85% agreed that organisational changes are often top-down actions not achieving promised outcomes and effectively politically motivated. They also confirmed that the police have changed over time. Importantly, this resistance concerned organisational change.

### **Organisational Culture**

Since Reuss-Ianni (1983/2017) identified a segmentation of police culture into one of 'front-line officers' and one of 'police managers', the concept of organisational police culture has developed (Chapter 4.1). Organisations, however, are usually established within the framework of a national culture (Barnard, 1938/1968, p.16) and over time develop their own organisational culture (Jaques, 1951/2001; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985), similar to national culture, with shared values and practices at its centre. As mentioned above though, organisational culture differs from national culture. By the time individuals enter an organisation most of their values will be firmly in place, be it based on nation or occupation, and brought into the organisation through hiring processes (Hofstede, 2001, pp.394-395). Hence, organisational culture is less based on shared values but mainly on shared practices (Hofstede, et al., 1990, pp.289-311). In fact, organisational culture is not as rich as 'paradigmatic anthropological culture' and in consequence easier to change (Wilkins & Ouchi, 1983, p.479). The (national) culture of a society is comparatively stable over long periods of time (Hofstede, 2001, pp.11-13).

This is important, because it suggests the feasibility of change and reform for practices related to organisational culture. At the same time, it provides an explanation for the durability of practices, which are based on underlying national cultural values. With a view to the findings of this research in relation to change, the three main explanations for resistance referred to rejection of additional bureaucratic work, insufficiently explained or understood reasons for reform or a conservative attitude. Only conservatism appears to be linked to basic values. Consequently, the cultural characteristic of 'resistance to change' as such is only in part attributable to actual values. As far as the changes described in relation to solidarity, which

indeed seems to be linked to occupation, are concerned, the data of this research is inconclusive. The recently changed approach to solidarity across the countries of origin of the interviewed officers could be linked to a more general cultural change in the Western world. This is hypothetical though and would require a separate research on the topic. Important is that change can be achieved easier, if it concerns the phenomenon of organisational culture and its practices only.

There are two further relevant elements to organisational culture. First, there was the notion that chief executives share their values with the staff (Peters & Waterman Jr, 1982/2006). The strong role of top managers was identified before (Farkas & Manning, 1997) and confirmed by a large minority of interviewed officers in this research, suggesting an influence on organisational structure and behaviour (Chapter 7). Values of top-managers indeed shape the culture of organisations, but only affect the shared practices of the organisation's members, not their own values (Hofstede, et al., 1990, p.312; Weber, 1968, p.60). Second, larger organisations will be fragmented into different sub-cultures (Wilkins & Ouchi, 1983, p.479). Such a fragmentation of police organisations due to division of labour and roles was also established previously (Loftus, et al., 2016; Manning, 2007; Reuss-Ianni, 1983/2017; Young, 1993) and confirmed by the research findings, particularly the different behaviour of officers and different characteristics of specialised organisational units or the differences in policing urban and rural areas (Chapter 7) or across the different types of police organisations (Caless & Tong, 2015) mentioned in Chapter 3.2.

In the context of organisational culture research, fragmentation within the organisation into functional groups can lead to the development of a separate professional or occupational sub-culture next to, for example, a management culture (Hofstede, et al., 1990; Jones, 1983; Wilkins & Ouchi, 1983). The police equivalent was already described by Reuss-Ianni (1983/2017) and further developed by others (Farkas & Manning, 1997; Muir, 1977/1979). While some researchers conceptualised the culture of the police as an occupational one, regardless of organisational or even national differences, others understood it primarily as an organisational culture, in which occupational police culture elements are embedded. There is indeed confusion about police culture as remarked by Chan (1997, p.12).

Paoline (2003) synthesised existing theories into a model of police culture, where the occupational culture with 'traditional cultural values' provides a frame under which

organisations and the various roles of police officers are placed. He argued that the divide between organisational and professional depictions of culture stems from the respective emphasis of the source of cultural influence. The previously mentioned socialisation process, which is also applicable to police officers, suggests that individuals enter the occupation first before they are hired by organisations (Chapter 6). This would require a process of hiring already trained professionals into the organisation, typical for most organisations (Schein & Schein, 2016). With the exception of police recruits who join the police with an academic degree or those with a previous vocational training, this step is omitted in police organisations. There is an interdependency of occupation and organisation, as in most cases recruits join the police profession and at the same time a police organisation, where they are exposed, rather early, to their future workplace.

Early exposure to the police environment was an evident major finding of this research (Chapter 6). During initial training all 20 police officers interviewed had extensive periods of practical training, usually with experienced mentors in the field. Consequently, values and practices for both occupation and organisation can almost develop simultaneously. Van Maanen and Barley (1982) looked at organisations and societies from an occupational perspective and developed the concept of ‘occupational communities’, which are based on a strong occupational identity (Chapter 3.3).

It is debatable whether police culture is an equivalent of an occupational community or based on occupational or organisational cultures. What remains is the mixture of occupational and organisational aspects, which influence the nature of police culture. The results of this research indicate the relevance and influence of both aspects. The case of interviewee P16 (Belgium/National Police) illustrated how the two aspects can impact on an individual police officer. On the one hand the officer identified with the police occupation and the officer’s role like most of the officer’s colleagues. On the other hand, P16, now being an officer of a comparatively recently created Federal Police, expressed feelings of cultural loss towards the defunct police force:

“In a few years the judicial police will disappear. All the mentality, all the culture of the judicial police will disappear.” P16/Belgium/National Police

In this context it is helpful to realise the lack of a sharp divide between occupational and organisational police culture. With a view to the web of interrelated core characteristics, many of them indeed influenced by the occupational working environment, others by the organisational (Paoline, 2003, pp.200-202), the above-mentioned differences between practices and underlying values need to be remembered.

### **National Culture**

The visible expressions of police culture, observed behaviour, patterns, customs, rituals and attitudes are primarily shared practices. Similar practices however do not imply the existence of similar values developed on national cultural level (Hofstede, 2001, p.394). This explains the significant differences between police officers from different cultural clusters found within this research. Two core characteristics of the more traditional, occupational conception of police culture, ‘masculinity’ and ‘isolation from the social world’, but also the wider relationship between the police and the surrounding society were distinct between some of the cultural clusters (Chapter 8).

This is important, because it suggests, for example, that the relationship between the police and the public in a country can impact on the perceived isolation of police officers, which in turn can result in increased solidarity, exhibited by officers. Also, as presented and discussed in Chapter 8, the masculine behaviour of police officers in German-speaking cultures has changed, once the previously male dominated work environment was entered by increasing numbers of female recruits, which was not the case for Southern European cultures. Although there was a strong increase in the number of female police officers for both cultural groups, the underlying values of national cultures in relation to traditional gender roles, what Hofstede (2001, pp.161-163) saw as part of ‘uncertainty avoidance’, are different. As discussed in Chapter 3, organisational and occupational cultures develop under the umbrella of national cultures, characterised by distinct values on national level.

Interestingly, in their research on police cooperation in three neighbouring European countries from different cultural clusters (Chapter 3.2) Soeters et al. found considerable differences between police forces on organisational and national level (Soeters, et al., 1995, p.9) but no evidence for an international police culture. The related relevant findings were addressed in

Chapter 6. A majority of 65.5% of the survey participants agreed on policing being similar internationally due to similarities of the tasks and their fulfilment. A small majority of the interviewed officers believed in the existence of a police culture across jurisdictions, while at the same time most interviewees also pointed out cultural differences between countries, potentially affecting cooperation. Similarities were seen based on technical elements such as dealing with violent behaviour but also included the way of thinking. Both seem to relate to occupational aspects of police culture and more on practices rather than values. The perceived similarities might also be based just on the role of being a police officer, the part of the social identity derived from occupational membership (Straub, et al., 2002). Nonetheless, in this respect the data of this research is in part inconclusive.

National differences in relation to police culture were mentioned before (Chapter 4.1) but typically not considered as a consequence of the culture provided by the immediate social environment, which sets the stage for the social, even political context required by Chan (1997, p.66). This research found evidence of the influence national cultural values have on the development of police culture in the Western world. National culture is a phenomenon different to occupational or organisational culture (Hofstede, 2001, p.394). Occupational culture (Van Maanen, 1973, p.3) and organisational culture (Hofstede, 2001, p.401) will be influenced by the national culture.

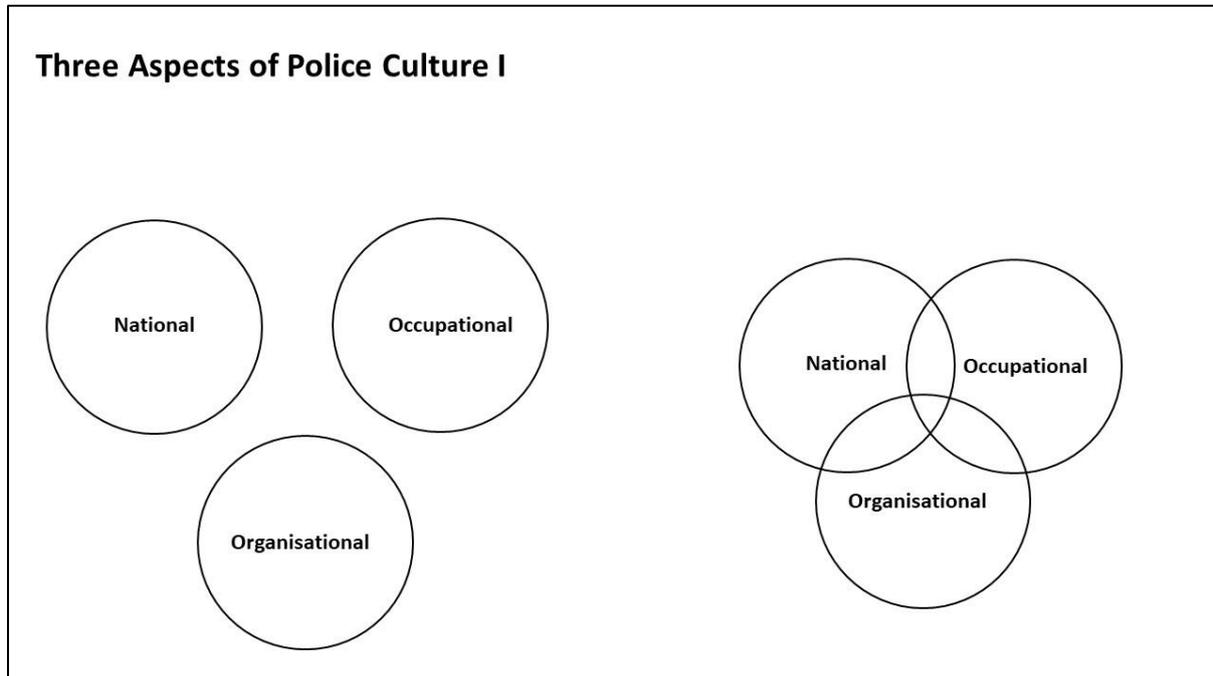
### **The Three Aspects of Police Culture**

The research findings provide further evidence that police culture is influenced on three distinct cultural levels, those of national, occupational and organisational culture. The three levels of socialisation, national, occupational and organisational, refer directly to the sources which influence and shape police culture. The national aspect concerns police culture characteristics, which are associated with values acquired early in life, like a macho and sexist attitude, even discriminatory and racist behaviour. Early or prolonged exposure to the police work environment may act as a reinforcing element. National culture can determine and influence behavioural patterns of police officers, be it through said values, legislation, political decisions or education. Police training as well as the relationship between the police and the public are likewise primarily determined by the surrounding national culture. The relationship between the police and the wider society can influence professional characteristics like solidarity and at the same time affect the self-image and in extension the professional identity of police officers.

The occupational aspect of police culture relates to most of the remaining characteristics recently described as traditional police culture (Loftus, 2010; Paoline, 2003). Many of them can be summarised as shared practices, often linked to the difficult working environment. The occupational aspect of police culture includes further shared practical and technical practices and can provide the grounds for police officers to develop a professional identity linked to their occupational role. Practices, identity and role can provide the frame for the perceived international police culture.

The organisational aspect of police culture first provides the structural frame in which the actual policing activities take place. Second, it can influence behaviour of police officers through practices, hierarchy or internal regulations. The organisational structure is the place where change is implemented and resistance to it provoked, where police management is located and where functional specialisation of police officers is endorsed. The organisation is the place where (further) police sub-cultures develop based on specialisation, which can also contribute to the perception of a more specific professional identity and role. The organisational structure itself is dependent on the locational setting and the larger national cultural and political environment.

The interdependence of those three levels of culture impacts on the development of police culture. These three cultural levels are the ‘three aspects’ determining the culture of the police. This is the major finding of this doctoral thesis, based on the analysis of the research results and a unique contribution to the literature on police culture. Figure 9.1 illustrates the three aspects of police culture in a schematic. The three aspects on the left will overlap, as suggested in the Venn diagram on the right.

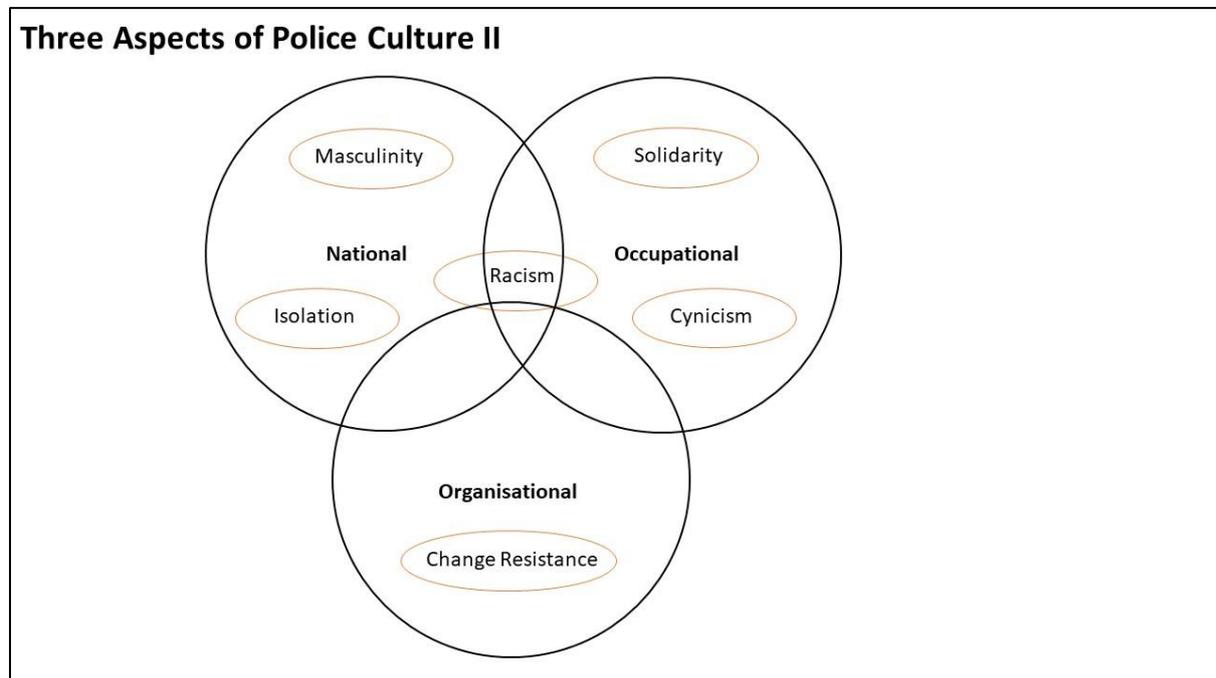


*Figure 9.1: The Three Aspects of Police Culture I – Cultural influences on national, occupational and organisational level determine the culture of the police*

However, the degree of overlap will vary depending on the setting, up to the point where a particular aspect dominates the others. If only one country is assessed for police culture, the national aspect might not be visible or replaced by regional cultural aspects. However, it is important to remember that this aspect still exists. If high levels of prejudiced and discriminatory behaviour towards ethnic minorities, for example, are detected within an average police force without any explanations for this on organisational level, an influence from the wider society, such as racial bias or other sentiments, is likely.

Figure 9.2 below includes some established cultural characteristics within the diagram: masculinity and isolation are generally more an expression on national cultural level, while

police solidarity or cynicism are primarily associated with occupational police culture. Resistance to change and reform is linked to the organisational aspect of police culture. The label ‘racism’, though, is in the centre. While a value-based orientation towards discrimination is learned on national cultural level, racist behaviour as such is not necessarily value-based and can be caused by occupational, even organisational circumstances.



*Figure 9.2: The Three Aspects of Police Culture II – Established characteristics of police culture shown within (or across) the main sphere of cultural influence*

The principle of the three aspects applies to small local police forces as well as to big, complex police organisations. For police officers meeting internationally, the organisational aspect will become irrelevant and almost disappear, while the officers utilise their shared role identity to establish communication and to overcome possible national differences. This is different for situations where new structures are created, be it a temporary joint investigation team between two or more countries or an international police mission, or a long-term structure like an international police organisation. Europol is one of those organisations (Chapter 1.1). While the small-scale pilot project for this research did not reveal a fully developed ‘own’ police culture within the organisation, elements of police culture were brought in by police officers from the member states, similar to the merging of international companies. Like the company

employees, police officers will keep their culture and the cultural differences will remain (Hofstede, 2001, p.384; Salama, 2011, p.100).

### **Limitations**

Nevertheless, there are limitations to this thesis and its research, most of which became apparent during the analysis phase. The questionnaire was rather extensive and, due to available time and resources, not translated into other languages, which might have improved the response rate even more also with a view to grouping countries into culturally similar clusters. Considering the later analysis, some of the nominal data requested could have been more specific, which was avoided due to ill-conceived considerations of anonymity, and the design of the Likert-items did not fully anticipate the creations of Likert-scales for the use of ANOVA. Similarly, the research might have benefitted from conducting a third interview with a police officer from the Scandinavian cultural cluster, even at the cost having only three interviews with members from German-Speaking, Eastern or Southern European cultural clusters.

More generally, this research is based ‘only’ on comparatively small samples of police officers, chiefly from European countries. As far as generalisation, particularly beyond Europe, is concerned, this needs to be done with caution. However, for a research of this size the analysis of 206 returned questionnaires from 24 different countries combined with 20 semi-structured interviews with officers from 13 countries is in line with existing recommendations (e.g. Bryman, 2008; Creswell, 2009; Pallant, 2005).

Also, it was not within the scope of the present study to explore or analyse the ways in which factors from different cultural categories (e.g. national, organisational and occupational) intersect with each other.

### 9.3 Conclusions to the Thesis

The aim of this research was to

**Critically examine the impact of occupational, organisational and national cultures on police values... and practices.**

The objectives for this research (Chapter 1.2) were:

1. To critically examine and synthesise existing theoretical perspectives on police culture as well as wider associated literature related to culture, organisational theory and sociology.
2. Using a mixed methods approach, to identify and explore the main values and practices contributing to the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture', to conceptualise them into a model and to assess the impact of this model in relation to changing police culture.
3. To situate the research findings within existing conceptualisations of and literature on police culture in order to contribute to academic knowledge.

This final section of the thesis will revisit the objectives and summarise the major contributions this thesis has made in advancing knowledge regarding police culture. In completing objective 1, Chapters 2 to 4 examined literature on the wider area of culture, on organisational and occupational culture as well as on police culture itself from a multi-disciplinary angle, considering early and contemporary works on anthropology, organisational theory and the social sciences in general. Those theoretical perspectives, in particular Hofstede's 'cultural dimensions' (2001), helped to understand the findings of the empirical research conducted for this thesis.

The overall research was conducted using a mixed-methods approach with quantitative and qualitative instruments. The experiences and opinions of 206 police officers from 24 countries gained through an online survey and those from another 20 officers from 13 countries through semi-structured interviews were explored (Chapter 5). By completing objective 2, valuable insights into the mechanisms influencing police culture were gained and values and practices contributing to the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture' were identified and explored. The acquisition of cultural values and practices is closely linked to the socialisation process. The

second major finding of this research is that police recruits are exposed early to the policing environment and that there is a lack of a sharp divide between acquiring occupational and organisational cultural learning.

Research objective 3 was achieved by a number of contributions to knowledge in relation to police culture made within this thesis (Chapter 6-9). The unique major contribution to knowledge and therefore to the body of academic literature made by this thesis, is the bringing together of the three levels of cultural socialisation (national, occupational, organisational) to conceptualise the model of the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture' as a source of influence for police culture. The impact of national cultural values onto police culture was freshly developed. The 'Three Aspects of Police Culture' are an addition to the existing body of literature on police culture, which outside of this thesis have not been considered before. It clearly shows that many of the 'organisational values' are in fact practices, which might be easier to influence, maybe even to change, than stable values rooted in national culture. It also highlights that new police recruits will bring their own, existing values into the police, which might in turn influence occupational and organisational elements of police culture. In addition, it is an important contribution to professional practice. First, for researchers and practitioners with an interest in police reform, the model provides insight into the relevant cultural level and the underlying values. This will help to avoid using unsuitable tools or measures and support the assessment of their feasibility. Second, the research findings can be used for police training, e.g. by making teachers and trainers aware of the impact cultural values and practices have on police culture, and finally the research results in relation to management can help current and future police top-managers to enhance their leadership even more.

This research used a unique approach by including an online survey into the research setup, which enabled the researcher to collect data from experienced police officers from 24 jurisdictions. This is already unique in itself, in particular if the high number of questions (59 Likert-items plus nominal data) is taken into account. The 'Three Aspects of Police Culture Model' does not contradict other attempts to explain police culture as such. In fact, Chan's (1996) conception using Bourdieu's 'field' and 'habitus', for example, is not affected. On the contrary, in many ways it adds to the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture'.

This research is linked to the existing body of literature on national (Chapter 2), occupational, organisational (Chapter 3) and in particular police culture research (Chapter 4). However, it is also important to look to the future and for possibilities for future research. It would be useful to identify whether the perception of an international police culture is indeed based on a superficial, technical level or just of a similar understanding of the police role, which might to some extent help to demystify the idea of a ‘universal police culture’. It would be helpful to research what the actual values of the identified core characteristics of police culture are, if only to provide easier access on the topic to practitioners. For similar reasons it would be important to understand how the relationship between the police and the public actually affects police culture and to which extent.

This thesis has shown that the ‘Three Aspects of Police Culture’ indeed influence the culture of the police irrespective of the jurisdiction. Many previous findings on police culture were confirmed by this research. More important, though, are the links between the ‘three aspects of police culture’. If police culture, for example, is seen as being racist and discriminating because of certain practices, is this caused by the occupation only or should we not look at the national culture as well? Might the, often cited, resistance to reform not be caused by organisational aspects of police culture rather than by occupational ones? Without identifying the actual cause of undesired characteristics of police culture, there is little room for achieving change simply because the wrong action might be taken. The ‘Three Aspects of Police Culture’ provide new unique ways of looking at an old problem. There is impact of this research to professional practice in national and international cooperation, investigation and training. The research findings are helpful in indicating causes of ‘negative characteristics of police culture’ and revealed that changing police culture at the underlying ‘assumption level’ (Schein, 1985/2004) rather than at a more superficial level is complex. However, the ‘Three Aspects of Police Culture’ also revealed that observable police behaviour is not necessarily based on underlying values but can be caused by more superficial practices acquired through socialisation in the occupational and organisational police environment, which provides new opportunities for understanding and change.

For the first time, police culture has been explored by looking at the literature from a multi-disciplinary angle beyond one single discipline to avoid missing ‘essential information available next door’ (Hofstede, 2001, p.415) and by using a mixed methods research on

international level with a particular focus on values and practices and the socialisation process. The research also considered the wider social context of policing as demanded by Chan (1996, p.112). The outcome is the conceptualisation of the 'Three Aspects of Police Culture Model'. As Reiner assured (1984/2010, p.137), police culture is neither monolithic nor unchanging. This model confirms his claim and provides a different access to the topic and a deeper and better understanding of the culture of the police.

## Reference List

- Adler, N. J. (1983). Cross-Cultural Management: Issues To Be Faced. *International Journal of Management & Organization*, 13(1-2), 7-45.
- Alain, M. (2001). 'The trapeze artists and the ground crew' police cooperation and intelligence exchange mechanisms in Europe and North America: A comparative empirical study. *Policing and Society*, 11(1), 1-27.
- Alvesson, M., & Berg, P. O. (1992). *Corporate Culture and Organizational Symbolism: An Overview*. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Inc.
- Arnold, M. (1869/2003). *Culture and Anarchy* [Electronic Book]. Oxford, MS, USA: Project Gutenberg.
- Bachman, R., & Schutt, R. K. (2011). *The Practice of Research in Criminology and Criminal Justice (4th ed.)*. London, GB: SAGE Publications.
- Baker, B. (2007). Conflict and African Police Culture: The Cases of Uganda, Rwanda and, Sierra Leone. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 321-347). Amsterdam, NL: JAI Press.
- Baldwin, J. R., Faulkner, S. L., & Hecht, M. L. (2006). A Moving Target: The Illusive Definition of Culture. In J. R. Baldwin, S. L. Faulkner, M. L. Hecht & S. L. Lindsley (Eds.), *Redefining culture: Perspectives across the disciplines* (pp. 3-26). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Banton, M. (1964). *The policeman in the community*. London, GB: Tavistock.
- Barnard, C. I. (1938/1968). *The Functions of the Executive*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard University Press.
- Baskerville-Morley, R. F. (2005). A research note: the unfinished business of culture. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 30(4), 389-391.
- Baskerville, R. F. (2003). Hofstede never studied culture. *Accounting, Organizations and Society*, 28(1), 1-14.
- Bayley, D. H. (1996). *Police for the Future*. Cary, NC, USA: Oxford University Press, USA.
- Bayley, D. H. (1999). Policing: The World Stage. In R. I. Mawby (Ed.), *Policing Across the World - Issues for the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 3-12). London, GB: Routledge.
- Bayley, D. H. (2008). Police reform: Who done it? *Policing & Society*, 18(1), 7-17.
- Beauchemin, C., & González-Ferrer, A. (2011). Sampling international migrants with origin-based snowballing method: New evidence on biases and limitations. *Demographic Research*, 25, 103-134.
- Behr, R. (2006). *Polizeikultur* (Kindle Edition). Wiesbaden, D: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Benedict, R. (1934/1989). *Patterns of Culture*. Boston, MA, USA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Berkley, G. E. (1969). *The democratic policeman*. Boston, MA, USA: Beacon Press.
- Biddle, B. J. (1986). Recent Developments in Role Theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 12(1), 67-92.
- Bittner, E. (1970). *The Functions of the Police in Modern Society*. Chevy-Chase, MD, USA: National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency.
- Blumenthal, A. (1940). A New Definition of Culture. *American Anthropologist*, 42(4), 571-586.
- Boas, F. (1901). The Mind of Primitive Man. *Science*, 13(321), 281-289.

- 
- Boas, F. (1911). *The Mind of Primitive Man, by Franz Boas. A Course of Lectures Delivered Before the Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass., and the National University of Mexico, 1910-1911*: Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*. Chicago, IL, USA: University of Chicago Press.
- Boyd, R., & Richerson, P. J. (2005). *Origin and Evolution of Cultures*. Cary, NC, USA: Oxford University Press, USA.
- Brannen, J. (2005). *Mixed Methods Research: A discussion paper*. Southampton, GB: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2012). Thematic analysis. In H. Cooper, P. M. Camic, D. L. Long, A. T. Panter, D. Rindskopf, K. J. Sher (Eds.), *APA Handbook of Research Methods in Psychology (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.)* (pp. 57-71). Washington, DC, USA: American Psychological Association.
- Brough, P., Chataway, S., & Biggs, A. (2016). 'You don't want people knowing you're a copper!' A contemporary assessment of police organisational culture. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 18(1), 28-36.
- Brown, J. (2007). From Cult of Masculinity to Smart Macho: Gender Perspectives on Police Occupational Culture. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 205-226). Amsterdam: JAI Press.
- Brown, J., Fleming, J., Silvestri, M., Linton, K., & Gouseti, I. (2019). Implications of police occupational culture in discriminatory experiences of senior women in police forces in England and Wales. *Policing and Society*, 29(2), 121-136.
- Brown, M. K. (1988). *Working the street: Police discretion and the dilemmas of reform*. New York, NY, USA: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Bryman, A. (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done? *Qualitative Research*, 6(1), 97-113.
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods (3rd ed.)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cain, M. (1973). *Society and the policeman's role*. London, GB: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Caless, B., & Tong, S. (2015). *Leading Policing in Europe: An Empirical Study of Strategic Police Leadership*. Bristol, GB: Policy Press.
- Campeau, H. (2015). 'Police Culture' at Work: Making Sense of Police Oversight. *British Journal of Criminology*, 55(4), 669-687.
- Cao, L., & Hou, C. (2001). A comparison of confidence in the police in China and in the United States. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 29(2), 87-99.
- Cauchi, J. A. (2004). *Police Culture in Malta [Thesis]*. University of Leicester, GB.
- Chan, J. (1996). Changing Police Culture. *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(1), 109-134.
- Chan, J. (1997). *Changing Police Culture: Policing in a Multicultural Society*. Cambridge, GB: Cambridge University Press.
- Chan, J. (2004). Using Pierre Bourdieu's Framework for Understanding Police Culture. *Droit et société*, 56-57(1), 327-346.
- Chan, J. (2007a). Making sense of police reforms. *Theoretical Criminology*, 11(3), 323-345.
- Chan, J. (2007b). Police Stress and Occupational Culture. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 129-151). Amsterdam, NL: JAI Press.
- Charman, S. (2013). Sharing a laugh: The role of humour in relationships between police officers and ambulance staff. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 33(3/4), 152-166.

- 
- Charman, S. (2017). *Police Socialisation, Identity and Culture: Becoming Blue*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan US.
- Christmas, R. (2013). *Canadian Policing in the 21st Century: A Frontline Officer on Challenges and Changes*. Montréal, CA: McGill-Queens University Press.
- Christopoulos, D. (2009). *Peer Esteem Snowballing: A methodology for expert surveys*. Paper presented at the Eurostat conference for new techniques and technologies for statistics.
- Clark, T. (1990). International Marketing and National Character: A Review and Proposal for an Integrative Theory. *Journal of Marketing*, 54(4), 66-79.
- Clarke, M. (1974). On the Concept of 'Sub-Culture'. *British Journal of Sociology*, 25(4), 428-441.
- Cockcroft, T. (2005). Using oral history to investigate police culture. *Qualitative Research*, 5(3), 365-384.
- Cockcroft, T. (2007). Police Culture(s): Some Definitional, Methodological and Analytical Considerations. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 85-102). Amsterdam: JAI Press.
- Cockcroft, T. (2012). *Police Cultures: Themes and Concepts*. New York, NY, USA: Routledge.
- Cockcroft, T. (2014). Police Culture and Transformational Leadership: Outlining the Contours of a Troubled Relationship. *Policing*, 8(1), 5-13.
- Cohen, J. (1977/2013). *Statistical Power Analysis for the Behavioral Sciences (revised edition)*. New York, NY; San Francisco, CA; London, GB: Academic Press.
- Collins, K. M. T. (2010). Advanced Sampling Designs in Mixed Research. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *SAGE Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research (2nd ed.)* (pp. 353-377). London, GB: Sage Publications.
- Crank, J. P. (1998/2004). *Understanding Police Culture (2nd Ed.)*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches (3rd ed.)*. London, GB: SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Tashakkori, A. (2007). Editorial: Differing Perspectives on Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 1(4), 303-308.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. London, GB: Sage.
- Darnell, R. (2009). Franz Boas. In G. Senft, J.-O. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and Language Use* (pp. 41-49). Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Davies, A., & Thomas, R. (2003). Talking Cop: Discourses of Change and Policing Identities. *Public Administration*, 81(4), 681-699
- Deshpande, R., Farley, J. U., & Webster Jr., F. E. (1993). Corporate Culture, Customer Orientation, and Innovativeness Japanese Firms: A Quadrant Analysis. *Journal of Marketing*, 57(January 1993), 23-27.
- Dewey, J. (1910/1997). *How we think*. Mineola: Dover Publications.
- Dijk, A. v., Hoogewoning, F., & Punch, M. (2015). *What Matters in Policing? - Change, Values and Leadership in Turbulent Times*. Bristol, GB: Policy Press.
- Dixon, B. R., Bouma, G. D., & Atkinson, G. B. J. (1987). *A Handbook of Social Science Research*. New York, NY, USA: Oxford University Press.

- Durkheim, E. (1917/1985). *Society* (1917) (W. D. Halls, Trans.). In S. Lukes (Ed.), *The Rules of Sociological Method (by Emile Durkheim)* (pp. 31-248). New York, NY, USA: The Free Press.
- Eagleton, T. (2013). *The idea of culture*. Hoboken, NJ, USA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Earley, P. C. (2006). Leading Cultural Research in the Future: A Matter of Paradigms and Taste. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 37(6), 922-931.
- Easthope, A. (1998). *Englishness and National Culture*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge.
- Edensor, T. (2002). *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Oxford, GB: Berg Publishers.
- Erthal, A., & Marques, L. (2018). National culture and organisational culture in lean organisations: a systematic review. *Production Planning & Control*, 29(8), 668-687.
- Ester, P., Mohler, P., & Vinken, H. (2006). Values and the Social Sciences: A Global World of Global Values? In P. Ester, M. Braun & P. Mohler (Eds.), *Globalization, Value Change, and Generations: A Cross-National and Intergenerational Perspective* (pp. 3-29). Boston, MA, USA: Brill Academic Publishers.
- Eurostat (2018). *Police, court and prison personnel statistics (2016)*. Retrieved 2018, December 1, from [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Police,\\_court\\_and\\_prison\\_personnel\\_statistics&stable=0&edirect=no](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Police,_court_and_prison_personnel_statistics&stable=0&edirect=no)
- Farkas, M. A., & Manning, P. K. (1997). The occupational culture of corrections and police officers. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 20(2), 51-68.
- Fekjær, S. B., Petersson, O., & Thomassen, G. (2014). From legalist to Dirty Harry: Police recruits' attitudes towards non-legalistic police practice. *European Journal of Criminology*, 11(6), 745-759.
- Fielding, N. (1994). Cop canteen culture. In T. Newburn & E. A. Stanko (Eds.), *Just Boys Doing Business? Men, Masculinities and Crime* (pp. 46-64). London, GB: Routledge.
- Filstad, C., & Gottschalk, P. (2011). Becoming a learning organization: The espoused values of police managers from two Norwegian districts. *The Learning Organization*, 18(6), 486-500.
- Fine, G. A., & Kleinman, S. (1979). Rethinking Subculture: An Interactionist Analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(1), 1-20.
- Fish, J. (1999). Sampling lesbians: How to get 1000 lesbians to complete a questionnaire. *Feminism & Psychology*, 9(2), 229-238.
- Fleming, J., & Rhodes, R. A. W. (2005). Bureaucracy, Contracts and Networks: The Unholy Trinity and the Police. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 38(2), 192-215.
- Foucault, M. (1983). On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress. In H. L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics (2nd ed.)* (pp. 229-252). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Francis, P. (2000). Getting Criminological Research Started. In V. Jupp, P. Davies & P. Francis (Eds.), *Doing Criminological Research* (pp. 29-53). London, GB: SAGE Publications.
- Frevel, B., & Kuschewski, P. (2009). Police Organization and Police Reform in Germany: The Case of North Rhine-Westphalia. *German Policy Studies/Politikfeldanalyse*, 5(2), 49-89.
- Gabor, A., & Mahoney, J. T. (2010). *Chester Barnard and the systems approach to nurturing organizations*. Retrieved 2015, September 13, from [http://www.business.illinois.edu/Working\\_Papers/papers/10-0102.pdf](http://www.business.illinois.edu/Working_Papers/papers/10-0102.pdf)

- 
- Galliher, J. F. (1971). Explanations of police behavior: A critical review and analysis. *The sociological quarterly*, 12(3), 308-318.
- Gensler, H. J. (1998). *Ethics: a contemporary introduction*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Glenn, R. W., Panitch, B. R., Barnes-Proby, D., Williams, E., Christian, J., Lewis, M. W., et al. (2003). *Training the 21st Century Police Officer: Redefining Police Professionalism for the Los Angeles Police Department*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.
- Glomseth, R., Gottschalk, P., & Solli-Sæther, H. (2007). Occupational culture as determinant of knowledge sharing and performance in police investigations. *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 35(2), 96-107.
- Gordon, M. M. (1947). The Concept of the Sub-Culture and Its Application. *Social Forces*, 26(1), 40-42.
- Gottschalk, P., & Gudmundsen, Y. S. (2009). Police Culture As a Determinant of Intelligence Strategy Implementation. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 11(2), 170-182.
- Green, A. W. (1946). Sociological Analysis of Horney and Fromm. *American Journal of Sociology*, 51(6), 533-540.
- Greenblatt, S. (1987/1995). Culture. In F. Lentricchia & T. McLaughlin (Eds.), *Critical Terms for Literary Study (2nd ed.)* (pp. 225-232). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Greene, J. R. (2010). Pioneers in police research: William A. Westley. *Police Practice and Research: An International Journal*, 11(5), 454-468.
- Gundhus, H. O. I. (2017). Discretion as an Obstacle: Police Culture, Change, and Governance in a Norwegian Context. *Policing: A Journal of Policy & Practice*, 11(3), 258-272.
- Haanstad, E. J. (2013). Thai Police in Refractive Cultural Practice. In W. Garriott (Ed.), *Policing and Contemporary Governance: The Anthropology of Police in Practice* (pp. 181-205). New York, NY, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hagan, F. E. (2006). *Research Methods in Criminal Justice and Criminology (7th ed.)*. Boston, MA, USA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Hannerz, U. (1996). *Transnational Connections - Culture, People, Places*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge.
- Harden, A., & Thomas, J. (2005). Methodological Issues in Combining Diverse Study Types in Systematic Reviews. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 8(3), 257-271.
- Hendriks, F., & van Hulst, M. (2016). Shifting repertoires: understanding cultural plurality in policing. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 29(2), 161-176.
- Hofstede, G. (1980/1984). *Culture's consequences: international differences in work-related values (abridged ed.)* (Vol. Cross-cultural research and methodology series). Newbury Park, GB: SAGE.
- Hofstede, G. (1998). Identifying Organizational Subcultures: An Empirical Approach. *Journal of Management Studies*, 35(1), 1-12.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Hofstede, G. (2006). What did GLOBE really measure? Researchers' minds versus respondents' minds. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 37(6), 882-896.

- 
- Hofstede, G. (2011). Dimensionalizing cultures: The Hofstede model in context. *Online readings in psychology and culture*, 2(1), 8. Retrieved 2018, December 3, from <http://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/orpc/vol2/iss1/8/>
- Hofstede, G., Neuijen, B., Ohayv, D. D., & Sanders, G. (1990). Measuring Organizational Cultures: A Qualitative and Quantitative Study Across Twenty Cases. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35(2), 286-316.
- Hofstede, G. J., Pedersen, P. B., & Hofstede, G. H. (2002). *Exploring Culture: Exercises, Stories and Synthetic Cultures*. Boulder, CO, USA: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Hofstede Insights (2019). Compare Countries. Retrieved 2019, May 27, from <https://www.hofstede-insights.com/product/compare-countries/>
- Holdaway, S. (1983). *Inside the British police: A force at work*. Oxford, GB: Blackwell Oxford.
- Holdaway, S. (1997). Constructing and sustaining 'race' within the police workforce. *British Journal of Sociology*, 48(1), 18-34
- Hulst, M. v. (2013). Storytelling At The Police Station - The Canteen Culture Revisited. *British Journal of Criminology*, 55(5), 624-642.
- Hunter, L. (2012). Challenging the reported disadvantages of e-questionnaires and addressing methodological issues of online data collection. *Nurse researcher*, 20(1).
- Inkeles, A. (2015). *National Character: A Psycho-Social Perspective*. New Brunswick, NJ, USA: Transaction Publishers.
- Inkeles, A., & Levinson, D. J. (1954). National character: The study of modal personality and sociocultural systems. *Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2, 977-1020.
- Inzerilli, G., & Laurent, A. (1983). Managerial Views of Organization Structure in France and the USA. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 13(1/2), 97-118.
- Ivkovich, S. K., & Klockars, C. B. (2004). Police Integrity in Croatia. In C. B. Klockars, S. K. Ivkovic & M. R. Haberfeld (Eds.), *The contours of police integrity* (pp. 56-74). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage.
- Jaques, E. (1951/2001). *The Changing Culture of a Factory* (Vol. 7): Routledge.
- Jenks, C. (2004). *Subculture: The Fragmentation of the Social*. London, GB: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Jenks, C. (2006). *Culture*. Florence, KY, USA: Routledge.
- Jex, S. M., & Britt, T. W. (2014). *Organizational Psychology: A Scientist-Practitioner Approach*. Somerset, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated.
- Jiao, A. Y. (2001). Police and Culture: A Comparison between China and the United States. *Police Quarterly*, 4(2), 156-185.
- Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14-26.
- Johnson, R. R. (2007). Race and police reliance on suspicious non-verbal cues. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 30(2), 277-290.
- Johnson, S. D., Koh, H. C., & Killough, L. N. (2009). Organizational and Occupational Culture and the Perception of Managerial Accounting Terms: An Exploratory Study Using Perceptual Mapping Techniques. *Contemporary Management Research*, 5(4), 317-342.
- Jones, G. R. (1983). Transaction Costs, Property Rights, and Organizational Culture: An Exchange Perspective. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28(3), 454-467.
- Kardiner, A., & Linton, R. (1965). *The individual and his society*. New York, NY, USA: Columbia University Press.

- King, W. R. (2005). Toward a better understanding of the hierarchical nature of police organizations: Conception and measurement. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 33(1), 97-109.
- Kirkman, B. L., Lowe, K. B., & Gibson, C. B. (2006). A quarter century of Culture's Consequences: a review of empirical research incorporating Hofstede's cultural values framework. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 37(3), 285-320.  
doi:10.1057/palgrave.jibs.8400202
- Klinger, D. A. (1997). Negotiating Order in Patrol Work: An Ecological Theory of Police Response to Deviance. *Criminology*, 35, 277-306.
- Klinger, D. A. (2004). Environment and organization: Reviving a perspective on the police. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593(1), 119-136.
- Klockars, C. B., Ivkovich, S. K., Harver, W. E., & Haberfeld, M. R. (2000). The Measurement of Police Integrity. Retrieved 2011, April 23, from <http://www.ethicsinstitute.com/pdf/Measurement%20of%20Police%20Integrity.pdf>
- Kluckhohn, C. (1951a). The Study of Culture. In H. D. Lasswell, D. Lerner & H. H. Fisher (Eds.), *The policy sciences: Recent developments in scope and method* (pp. 86-101). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Kluckhohn, C. (1951b). Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification. In T. Parsons & E. A. Shils (Eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (pp. 388-432). Cambridge, MA, USA: Harvard University Press.
- Kogut, B., & Singh, H. (1988). The Effect of National Culture on the Choice of Entry Mode. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 19(3), 411-432.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, USA: Prentice Hall.
- Kolman, L., Noorderhaven, N. G., Hofstede, G., & Dienes, E. (2003). Cross-cultural differences in Central Europe. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 18(1), 76-88.
- Kremer, F. (2004). Police Integrity in Hungary: How the Police Have Adapted to Political Transition. In C. B. Klockars, S. K. Ivkovic & M. R. Haberfeld (Eds.), *The contours of police integrity* (pp. 116-129). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage.
- Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). *Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.
- Kroeber, A. L., & Parsons, T. (1958). The concepts of culture and of social system. *American Sociological Review*, 23(5), 582-583.
- Laurent, A. (1983). The Cultural Diversity of Western Conceptions of Management. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 13(1/2), 75-96.
- Leishman, F. (1999). Policing in Japan: East Asian Archetype? In R. I. Mawby (Ed.), *Policing Across the World - Issues for the Twenty-First Century*. London, GB: Routledge.
- Leung, K. (2007). Foreword. In J. S. Chhokar, F. C. Brodbeck & R. J. House (Eds.), *Culture and Leadership Across the World: The GLOBE Book of in-Depth Studies of 25 Societies* (pp. xiii-xvi). Mahwah, NJ, USA: Routledge.
- Lewellen, T. C. (2002). *Anthropology of Globalization: Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21st Century*. Westport, CT, USA: Greenwood Press.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1986). But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and authenticity in naturalistic evaluation. *New directions for program evaluation*, 1986(30), 73-84.

- 
- Loftus, B. (2009). *Police Culture in a Changing World*. Oxford, GB: Oxford University Press.
- Loftus, B. (2010). Police occupational culture: classic themes, altered times. *Policing and Society*, 20(1), 1-20.
- Loftus, B., Goold, B., & Giollabhui, S. M. (2016). From a Visible Spectacle to an Invisible Presence: The Working Culture of Covert Policing. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(4), 629-645.
- Macpherson, W. (1999). *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*. London, GB: Home Department.
- Malinowski, B. (1923). The problem of meaning in primitive languages (Supplement I). In C. K. Ogden & L. A. Richards (Eds.), *The Meaning of Meaning* (pp. 296–336). New York, NY, USA: Harcourt Brace & World.
- Malinowski, B. (1944/1961). *A Scientific Theory of Culture, and Other Essays*. New York, NY, USA: Oxford University Press.
- Manning, P. K. (1977). *Police work: The social organization of policing*: MIT Press Cambridge, MA, USA.
- Manning, P. K. (1980). Violence and the police role. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 452(1), 135-144.
- Manning, P. K. (2007). A Dialectic of Organisational and Occupational Culture. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 47-83). Amsterdam, NL: JAI Press.
- Marks, M. (2003). Shifting Gears or Slamming the Brakes? A Review of Police Behavioural Change in a Post-Apartheid Police Unit. *Policing & Society*, 13(3), 235-258.
- Marks, M. (2007). Police Unions and their Influence: Subculture or Counter-Culture? In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 229-251). Amsterdam, NL: JAI Press.
- Marks, M., & Singh, A.-M. (2007). Conclusion: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead in Police Culture Studies. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 349-367). Amsterdam, NL: JAI Press.
- Martin, J. M. (1992). *Cultures in Organizations: Three Perspectives*. Cary, NC, USA: Oxford University Press, USA.
- Martin, J. T. (2013). Police as Linking Principle: Rethinking Police Culture in Contemporary Taiwan. In W. Garriott (Ed.), *Policing and Contemporary Governance: The Anthropology of Police in Practice* (pp. 157-179). New York, NY, USA: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Maseland, R., & Hoorn, A. v. (2008). Explaining the negative correlation between values and practices: A note on the Hofstede–GLOBE debate. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 40(3), 527-532.
- Mastrofski, S. D. (2004). Controlling Street-Level Police Discretion. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 593(1), 100-118.
- Matsumoto, D., & Yoo, S. H. (2006). Toward a new generation of cross-cultural research. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 1(3), 234-250.
- Mawby, R. C., & Wright, A. (2008). *The police organisation*. In T. Newburn (Ed.), *Handbook of Policing (2nd ed.)* (pp. 224-252). Cullompton: Willan Publishing.
- Mawby, R. I. (1999). Approaches to Comparative Analysis: the Impossibility of Becoming an Expert on Everywhere. In R. I. Mawby (Ed.), *Policing Across the World - Issues for the Twenty-First Century* (pp. 13-22). London, GB: Routledge.
- Mawby, R. I. (2008). Models of Policing. In T. Newburn (Ed.), *Handbook of Policing (2nd ed.)* (pp. 17-46). Cullompton: Willan Publishing.

- McLaughlin, E. (2007). *The New Policing*. London, GB: Sage Publications.
- McSweeney, B. (2002). Hofstede's Model of National Cultural Differences and their Consequences: A Triumph of Faith - a Failure of Analysis. *Human Relations*, 55(1), 89-118.
- Merton, R. K. (1972). Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78(1), 9-47.
- Metropolitan Police Policy Committee (1988). *A Force for Change: A Report on the Corporate Identity of the Metropolitan Police*. London, GB: Wolff Olins.
- Monrouxe, L. V., Rees, C. E., Dennis, I., & Wells, S. E. (2015). Professionalism dilemmas, moral distress and the healthcare student: insights from two online UK-wide questionnaire studies. *BMJ Open*, 5(5), 1-13.
- Muir, W. K. (1977/1979). *Police: streetcorner politicians*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Mulder, M., Veen, P., Hijzen, T., & Jansen, P. (1973). On power equalization: A behavioral example of power-distance reduction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 26(2), 151-158.
- Nakata, C. (2009). Going Beyond Hofstede: Why We Need to and How. In C. Nakata (Ed.), *Beyond Hofstede - Culture Frameworks for Global Marketing and Management* (pp. 3-15). Basingstoke, GB: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nakata, C., & Izberk-Bilgin, E. (2009). Culture Theories in Global Marketing: A Literature-Based Assessment. In C. Nakata (Ed.), *Beyond Hofstede - Culture Frameworks for Global Marketing and Management* (pp. 61-77). Basingstoke, GB: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Naumov, A., & Puffer, S. (2000). Measuring Russian Culture using Hofstede's Dimensions. *Applied Psychology*, 49(4), 709-718.
- Nett, E. M. (1958). Evaluation of the National Character Concept in Sociological Theory, *An. Social Forces*, 36, 297-303.
- Newburn, T. (2008). *The future of policing*. In T. Newburn (Ed.), *Handbook of Policing (2nd ed.)* (pp. 824-840). Cullompton: Willan Publishing.
- Newman, K. L., & Nollen, S. D. (1996). Culture and congruence: The fit between management practices and national culture. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 753-779.
- Neyroud, P., & Beckley, A. (2001). *Policing, ethics and human rights*. Milton, GB: Willan.
- Nickels, E. L., & Verma, A. (2008). Dimensions of police culture: a study in Canada, India, and Japan. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 31(2), 186-209.
- Nunn, N. (2012). Culture and the Historical Process. *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 27(sup1), S108-S126.
- O'Neill, M., & Holdaway, S. (2007). Black Police Associations and the Police Occupational Culture. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 253-274). Amsterdam: JAI Press.
- O'Neill, M., & Singh, A.-M. (2007). Introduction. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Direction* (pp. 1-16). Amsterdam: JAI Press.
- Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2004). Enhancing the Interpretation of "Significant" Findings: The Role of Mixed Methods Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 9(4), 770-792

- Ouchi, W. G., & Wilkins, A. L. (1985). Organizational culture. *Annual review of sociology*, 457-483.
- Overbeek, Y. v. (undated, ca. 2004). *Intercultural Management Course* (unpublished training material). ITIM and Europol.
- Pallant, J. (2005). *SPSS Survival Manual (2nd ed.)*. Crows Nest, AU: Allen & Unwin.
- Paoline III, E. A. (2003). Taking stock: Toward a richer understanding of police culture. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31(3), 199-214.
- Peters, T. J., & Waterman Jr, R. H. (1982/2006). *In Search of Excellence*. New York, NY, USA: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Punch, M. (1979). *Policing the inner city: A study of Amsterdam's Warmoesstraat*. London, GB: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Punch, M. (2007). Cops with Honours: University Education and Police Culture. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 105-128). Amsterdam, NL: JAI Press.
- Punch, M. (2009). *Police Corruption: Exploring Police Deviance and Crime*. Uffculme, Devon, GB: Willan Publishing.
- Puonti, A., Vuorinen, S., & Ivkovic, S. K. (2004). Sustaining Police Integrity in Finland. In C. B. Klockars, S. K. Ivkovic & M. R. Haberfeld (Eds.), *The contours of police integrity* (pp. 95-115). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage.
- Rakar, I., Seljak, J., & Aristovnik, A. (2013). Steuerung des polizeilichen Handelns durch Grundsätze am Beispiel Sloweniens. *Kriminalistik*, 67(5), 307-313.
- Reiner, R. (1984/2010). *The Politics of the Police* (4th ed.) [Electronic version]. Oxford, GB: Oxford University Press.
- Reiner, R. (1992). Policing a postmodern society. *The Modern Law Review*, 55(6), 761-781.
- Reiner, R. & Newburn, T. (2008). Police research. In R. D. King & E. Wincup (Eds.), *Doing Research on Crime and Justice (2nd ed.)* (pp. 343-374). Oxford, GB: Oxford University Press.
- Reiss, A. J. (1971). *The police and the public* (Vol. 39): Yale University Press.
- Reuss-Ianni, E. (1983/2017). *Two cultures of policing: Street cops and management cops* [Electronic version]. New Brunswick, NJ, USA: Transaction Publishers.
- Reynolds, K. M., & Semukhina, O. B. (2013). *Understanding the Modern Russian Police*. London, GB: CRC Press.
- Robson, C. (2011). *Real World Research (3rd ed.)*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Rogers, C., & Lewis, R. (2007). *Introduction to Police Work*. Uffculme, GB: Willan Publishing.
- Rokeach, M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. New York, NY, USA: Free Press.
- Rowe, M. (2004). *Policing, Race and Racism*. Uffculme, Devon, GB: Willan Publishing.
- Rowntree, D. (2000). *Statistics without Tears: An Introduction for Non-Mathematicians*. London, GB: Penguin Books.
- Sackmann, S. A. (1992). Culture and Subcultures: An Analysis of Organizational Knowledge. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37(1), 140-161.
- Salama, A. (2011). *Creating and Re-Creating Corporate Entrepreneurial Culture*. Farnham, Surrey, GB: Ashgate Publishing Group.
- Sapir, E. (1924). Culture, genuine and spurious. *American Journal of Sociology*, 401-429.
- Sarangi, S. (2009). Culture. In G. Senft, J.-O. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and Language Use* (pp. 81-104). Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Scarman, L. G. (1982). *The Scarman Report: the Brixton disorders 10-12 April 1981: report of an inquiry*. London, GB: Penguin Books.

- Schein, E. H. (1985/2004). *Organizational Culture and Leadership (3rd ed.)*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Schein, E. H. (1990). Organizational Culture. *American Psychologist*, 45(2), 109-119
- Schein, E. H. (1995). The Role of the Founder in Creating Organizational Culture. *Family Business Review*, 8(3), 221-238.
- Schein, E. H., & Schein, P. (2016). *Organization Culture and Leadership*. New York, NY, USA: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated.
- Schön, D. A. (1983). *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. London, GB: Temple Smith.
- Scott, D., Brown, A., Lunt, I., & Thorne, L. (2004). *Professional Doctorates: Integrating Professional and Academic Knowledge*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Semmens, N. (2011). Methodological Approaches to Criminal Research. In P. Davies, P. Francis & V. Jupp (Eds.), *Doing Criminological Research (2nd ed.)* (pp. 54-77). London, GB: SAGE Publications.
- Senft, G. (2009). Introduction. In G. Senft, J.-O. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and Language Use* (pp. 1-17). Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Shaw, I., & Faulkner, A. (2006). Practitioner Evaluation at Work. *American Journal of Evaluation*, 27(1), 44-63.
- Shearing, C. D., & Ericson, R. V. (1991). Culture as Figurative Action. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 42(4), 481-506.
- Shiner, M. (2010). Post-Lawrence Policing in England and Wales: Guilt, innocence and the defence of organizational ego. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 50(5), 935-953.
- Shiner, M., & Delsol, R. (2015). The Politics of the Powers. In R. Delsol & M. Shiner (Eds.), *Stop and Search - The Anatomy of a Police Power* (pp. 31-56). Basingstoke, GB: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Shim, H. S., Jo, Y., & Hoover, L. T. (2015). Police transformational leadership and organizational commitment: Mediating role of organizational culture. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 38(4), 754-774.
- Shipman, M. (1997). *The Limitations of Social Research (4th Ed.)*. London, GB: Longman.
- Silverthorne, C. P. (2005). *Organizational Psychology in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York, NY, USA: NYU Press.
- Silvestri, M. (2003). *Women in Charge: Policing, Gender and Leadership*. Uffculme, Devon, GB: Willan Publishing.
- Silvestri, M. (2012). Managerial Masculinity. In D. G. Barrie & S. Broomhall (Eds.), *A History of Police and Masculinities, 1700-2010* (pp. 235-254). Florence, GB: Routledge.
- Sklansky, D. A. (2007). Seeing Blue: Police Reform, Occupational Culture, and Cognitive Burn-In. In M. O'Neill, M. Marks & A.-M. Singh (Eds.), *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions* (pp. 19-45). Amsterdam: JAI Press.
- Skolnick, J. H. (1966/2011). *Justice without trial: law enforcement in democratic society (4th ed.) [Kindle version]*. New York, NY, USA: Wiley.
- Skolnick, J. H. (2008). Enduring issues of police culture and demographics. *Policing & Society*, 18(1), 35-45.
- Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of Culture and Organizational Analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28(3), 339-358.
- Smith, P. B. (2006). When Elephants Fight, the Grass Gets Trampled: The GLOBE and Hofstede Projects. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 37(6), 915-921.

- Soares, A. M., Farhangmehr, M., & Shoham, A. (2007). Hofstede's dimensions of culture in international marketing studies. *Journal of Business Research*, 60(3), 277-284.
- Soeters, J. (1986). Excellent Companies as Social Movements. *Journal of Management Studies*, 23(3), 299-312.
- Soeters, J., Hofstede, G., & Van Twuyver, M. (1995). Culture's consequences and the police: Cross-border cooperation between police forces in Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands. *Policing and Society*, 5(1), 1-14.
- Stedham, Y. E., & Yamamura, J. H. (2004). Measuring national culture: does gender matter? *Women in Management Review*, 19(5), 233-243.
- Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory. *Social psychology quarterly*, 224-237.
- Steyn, J., & Mkhize, S. (2016). 'Darker shades of blue'. *SA Crime Quarterly*(57), 15-26.
- Stocking Jr., G. W. (1966). Franz Boas and the Culture Concept in Historical Perspective. *American Anthropologist*, 68(4), 867-882
- Straub, D., Loch, K., Evaristo, R., Karahanna, E., & Strite, M. (2002). Toward a Theory-Based Measurement of Culture. *Journal of Global Information Management*, 10(1), 13-23.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In M. J. Hatch & M. Schultz (Eds.), *Organizational identity: A reader* (pp. 56-65). Oxford, GB: Oxford University Press.
- Taschenmacher, R. (1982). *Polizeidienstkunde: Leitfaden für Theorie und Praxis - Ergänzungsband NW*. Hilden/Rheinland, D: Verlag Deutsche Polizei GmbH.
- Thomas, R. M., & Iding, M. K. (2011). *Explaining Conversations: A Developmental Social Exchange Theory*. Northvale NJ, USA: Jason Aronson, Inc.
- Tönnies, F. (1897). *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Abhandlung des Communismus und des Socialismus als empirischer Culturformen*. Leipzig, D: Fues's Verlag.
- Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review*, 96(3), 506-520.
- Triandis, H. C., Vassiliou, V., & Nassiakou, M. (1968). Three Cross-Cultural Studies of Subjective Culture. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 8(4, Pt.2), 1-42.
- Trojanowicz, R., & Bucqueroux, B. (1990). *Community policing*. Cincinnati, OH, USA: Anderson.
- Trompenaars, F., & Hampden-Turner, C. (1997/2011). *Riding the waves of culture: Understanding diversity in global business*. Naperville, IL, USA: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.
- Tyler, T. R. (2011). Trust and legitimacy: Policing in the USA and Europe. *European Journal of Criminology*, 8(4), 254-266.
- Tylor, E. B. (1871/1958). *Primitive Culture: The Origins of Culture*. New York, NY, USA: Harper (1958).
- Van Maanen, J. (1972). *Observations on the making of policemen [Working Paper]*. Retrieved 2015, September 15, from <https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/48714/observationsonma00vanm.pdf?sequence=1>
- Van Maanen, J. (1973). Working the street; a developmental view of police behavior. Retrieved 2018, December 10, from <https://dspace.mit.edu/bitstream/handle/1721.1/1873/SWP-0681-14451100.pdf>
- Van Maanen, J. (1978a). The Asshole. In J. Van Maanen & P. K. Manning (Eds.), *Policing: A View from the Streets* (pp. 302-328). New York: Random House.

- Van Maanen, J. (1978b). People Processing: Strategies of Organizational Socialization. *Organizational Dynamics*, 7(1), 18-36.
- Van Maanen, J., & Barley, S. R. (1982). *Occupational Communities: Culture and Control in Organizations*: Sloan School of Management, MIT.
- Vermeulen, J. (2009). Edward Sapir. In G. Senft, J.-O. Östman & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *Culture and Language Use* (pp. 234-247). Amsterdam, NL: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Villiers, P. (2009). *Police and Policing: An Introduction*. Hook, GB: Waterside Press.
- Waddington, P. A. J. (1998). *Policing Citizens: Authority and Rights*. London, GB: Routledge.
- Waddington, P. A. J. (1999). Police (Canteen) Sub-Culture: An Appreciation. *British Journal of Criminology*, 39(2), 287-309.
- Waddington, P. A. J. (2012). Cop culture. In T. Newburn & J. Peay (Eds.), *Policing: politics, culture & control*. Oxford, GB: Hart Publishing.
- Walker, N. (1996/2000). Transnational contexts. In F. Leishman, B. Loveday & S. P. Savage (Eds.), *Core Issues in Policing* (pp. 83-104). Harlow, GB: Pearson Education Ltd.
- Wang, Z. (2000). The police system in the People's Republic of China. *Comparative and international criminal justice systems: Policing, judiciary, and corrections*, 171-182.
- Waterman Jr, R. H., Peters, T. J., & Phillips, J. R. (1980). Structure is not Organization. *Business Horizons*, 23(3), 14.
- Weber, M. (1968). *On charisma and institution building*: University of Chicago Press.
- Weiss, G. (1973). A Scientific Concept of Culture. *American Anthropologist*, 75(5), 1376-1413.
- Westley, W. A. (1953). Violence and the police. *American Journal of Sociology*, 34-41.
- Westmarland, L. (2002). *Gender and Policing - Sex, Power and Police Culture*. Uffculme, GB: Willan Publishing.
- Westmarland, L. (2004). Policing Integrity: Britain's Thin Blue Line. In C. B. Klockars, S. K. Ivkovic & M. R. Haberfeld (Eds.), *The contours of police integrity* (pp. 75-94). Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage.
- Westmarland, L. (2008). Police cultures. In T. Newburn (Ed.), *Handbook of Policing (2nd Ed.)* (pp. 253-280). Cullompton, GB: Willan Publishing.
- Wiktorowicz, Q. (2003). Introduction: Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory. In Q. Wiktorowicz (Ed.), *Islamic Activism: A Social Movement Theory Approach* (pp. 1-33). Bloomington, IN, USA: Indiana University Press.
- Wilkins, A. L., & Dyer Jr., W. G. (1988). Toward Culturally Sensitive Theories of Culture Change. *Academy of Management Review*, 13(4), 522-533.
- Wilkins, A. L., & Ouchi, W. G. (1983). Efficient Cultures: Exploring the Relationship between Culture and Organizational Performance. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28(3), 468-481.
- Williams, R. (1976/1985). *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York, NY, USA: Oxford University Press.
- Williamson, D. (2002). Forward from a Critique of Hofstede's Model of National Culture. *Human Relations*, 55(11), 1373-1395.
- Willis, J. J., & Mastrofski, S. D. (2017). Understanding the culture of craft: lessons from two police agencies. *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 40(1), 84-100.
- Wilson, J. Q. (1968/1978). *Varieties of police behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- 
- Wortley, R. K. (2003). Measuring Police Attitudes Toward Discretion. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 30*(5), 538-558.
- Yildirim, C., & Correia, A.-P. (2015). Exploring the dimensions of nomophobia: Development and validation of a self-reported questionnaire. *Computers in Human Behavior, 49*, 130-137.
- Yinger, J. M. (1960). Contraculture and Subculture. *American Sociological Review, 25*(5), 625-635.
- Young, M. (1991). *An inside job: policing and police culture in Britain*. Oxford, GB: Clarendon Press.
- Young, M. (1993). *In the sticks: cultural identity in a rural police force*. Oxford, GB: Clarendon Press.
- Zhang, X. (2009). *Focus on Civilizations and Cultures: Values, Expectations, Ad Hoc Rules, and Culture Emergence in International Cross-Cultural Management Contexts*. New York, NY, USA: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Zhao, J., He, N., & Lovrich, N. P. (1999). Value change among police officers at a time of organizational reform: a follow-up study using Rokeach values. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 22*(2), 152-170.

## **Appendices**

1. Survey questionnaire including invitation
2. Interview schedule
3. Survey codebook
4. Nominal survey data
5. Ethical approval



**Institute of Criminal Justice  
Studies**

Researcher: Werner Gowitzke, [icj31295@myport.ac.uk](mailto:icj31295@myport.ac.uk)

Director of Studies: Dr Sarah Charman, [sarah.charman@port.ac.uk](mailto:sarah.charman@port.ac.uk)

Head of Department: Dr Phil Clements,  
[phil.clements@port.ac.uk](mailto:phil.clements@port.ac.uk)

<b>Survey Questionnaire</b>
-----------------------------

**Study Title:** The Three Aspects of Police Culture

**Invitation**

Dear Potential Participant,

Dear colleague,

Thank you for reading this. I would like to invite you to participate in a research study on police culture. This means that my research aims at police men and women only. If you are not a serving or retired/former police officer I would kindly like to ask you to forward this invitation to any police contact you might have.

I am a German police officer for over 30 years. Most of the time my work had an international dimension and my contacts to colleagues from many countries had made me more aware of

cultural and professional differences. When I read about 'police culture' I developed my own ideas. With this research I intend to prove those ideas and ideally provide more adequate and practical explanations on this particular aspect of the world of police.

This letter has been sent by email to people I worked with in the past and hopefully it has been forwarded by some of them because I or they have identified that you might be a suitable participant in my research. I have also forwarded this letter by means of social media to networks with active police members, who might want to support my research as 'self-selected experts'.

If the letter was passed on by a third party, please note that there are no consequences either negative or positive with regard to any service that the third party might be providing for you. I neither need your name nor any identifying details; the questionnaire can be completed anonymously and all reasonable steps will be taken to ensure confidentiality. Responses from completed questionnaires will be collated for analysis; once this is complete the (anonymous) questionnaires and the data set will be retained for possible future research. Completed questionnaires will be stored electronically on an encrypted USB stick. If you wish to learn more about the results of the research please visit <https://thepolicecultureproject.wordpress.com>

### **Questionnaire instructions**

You will find the actual questionnaire on the following page. I would prefer if you complete all questions. However, you may skip a question if you choose to do so.

By clicking on the link below to the survey or by completing the questionnaire below you confirm that you read the invitation and that you are agreeing that data collected during the study, may be looked at by individuals from University of Portsmouth, or from regulatory authorities. You also agree to take part in this study voluntarily. If you received the invitation at your workplace and you cannot or may not use the links provided, please use a personal device for your response.

## Survey on Police Culture

This questionnaire is part of my Professional Doctorate research at the University of Portsmouth. My research aims at exploring police culture with an emphasis on three aspects I identified during a small scale research at Europol a couple of years ago.

The questionnaire is designed for police officers only, current and former, as 'self-selected experts' on the subject. This also includes special constables (auxiliary or honorary part-time police officers). The aim is to receive as many responses as possible. Spreading out this questionnaire or the link to it to your colleagues will be very much appreciated.

All responses will remain anonymous.

If you have any questions regarding this survey, please contact me directly: [icj31295@myport.ac.uk](mailto:icj31295@myport.ac.uk)

Please also indicate if you would like to receive feedback on the outcome of my research. The process of answering the questions involves tick box answers and should not take longer than approximately **20** minutes.

Thank you very much in advance for supporting my research.

Werner Gowitzke

Professional Doctorate Student, University of Portsmouth

“Police culture refers to the set of assumptions, values, modes of thinking, and acting that a group of police officers developed as part of their shared understanding” (Chan 2007).

I will provide further information on the research and its outcome online: <https://thepolicecultureproject.wordpress.com>

## Statistical Information

The following questions aim at establishing the background of the participants. The information provided will only be used in such a way that the participants cannot be identified. You may tick more than one checkbox where appropriate.

Gender

- Male
- Female

Type of police force(s) you work(ed) for - Other might be Border Police, Coast Guard or military police such as Gendarmerie. If you work(ed) for the police and another law enforcement agency (LEA) please indicate this by putting in the typing in this LEA under Other (e.g. customs or immigration services). Please tick all boxes applicable to you.

- Uniformed police
- Detective (criminal police)
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)

Length of service in the police

- up to 10 years
- 11-20 years
- 21-30 years
- 31 years and more

Nationality (according to your passport; if you have more than one, please provide the nationality you feel closer to, or both if you like):

[\_\_\_\_\_]

Type of jobs/posts you have worked in the police. Please tick all boxes applicable to you.

- Front line officer (shifts and beats, incl. riot police)
- Investigator (criminal police, traffic police)
- Operational support (e.g. analysis, forensics, surveillance, intelligence)

- Support officer/staff (incl. admin, coordination, IT)
- Line manager
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)

Do you have international experience as a police officer?

- Yes, through information exchange by Europol, Interpol or other
- Yes, through business trips to other countries
- Yes, through being posted on police missions to other countries
- Yes, through secondments to international organisations (Europol, Interpol, other)
- No

You are currently

- a member of a police force/agency
- not a (serving) member of a police force/agency

### Questions on Police Culture

The following information is on the research subject. Please note that I ask for your own personal opinion and experience. On a scale of 1 to 5, the lowest score (1) means strong disagreement; (2) means disagreement; (3) means cannot decide; (4) means agreement; (5) as the highest score means strong agreement.

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

1. Police work is primarily guided by legal procedures

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

2. Police officers exercise extensive discretion in how the law is applied

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

3. Police officers are often sceptical and cynical particularly in relation to law and legal provisions

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

4. Police work provides a sense of mission

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

5. The working environment of police is primarily male oriented

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

6. Female colleagues are underrepresented within the police

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

7. Women are underrepresented within other governmental agencies

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

8. Recruiting female officers has a positive influence on policing

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

9. The police working environment has the potential for sexism

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

10. Police officers cope with their stress with (black) humour or by exchanging their exploits in informal environments

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

11. Police officers have a desire for action and excitement more than with other occupations

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

12. Police officers, even if trained to use physical force, generally try to avoid its use

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

13. Social activities take place around the job

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

14. Police officers often feel isolated from their social environment (us-and-them feeling)

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

15. Police officers need to be more ‘suspicious’ than ‘normal citizens’

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

16. Profiling and similar police work strategies can support the development of discrimination, even racism, e.g. as far as specific ethnic offender groups are concerned

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

17. Police officers have to be authoritative

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

18. Police officers are conservative

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

19. Police officers appreciate change, if it means they see improvement to their work

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

20. Organisational changes within the police are usually top-down actions and often do not achieve the predicted or promised outcome

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

21. Organisational changes within the police are often politically motivated

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

22. Organisational changes within the police often disregard the opinion of experts in the field

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

23. Police officers often engage in solidarity

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

24. Police officers reject unjust or unjustifiable solidarity

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

25. Professionally, ‘outsiders’ who are not police, cannot be completely trusted

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

26. There is a particular/distinct culture in the police force(s) I work(ed) for

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

27. I work(ed) in a police force where there was no particular/distinct culture

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

28. Police work has many different characteristics in urban areas than in rural ones

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

29. There is a gap between police and society, particularly in urban areas

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

30. Policing has many different characteristics in specialised units for example traffic police, organised crime or cybercrime units

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

31. Depending on the type of police force or organisational unit, police officers behave differently

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

32. In particular in urban areas both, uniformed police and detectives, primarily have to deal with poor or socially deprived persons

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

33. Police behaviour depends very much on the type and level of professional training of the officers

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

34. The level of education of police officers influences their behaviour in the police

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

35. The age of police officers influences their behaviour in the police

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

36. Policing and the police change over time

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

37. Policing has evolved in the last decade or so and is far more positive and constructive

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

38. In the 'old days' you had to fit in to achieve, which is different now

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

39. Minority groups (with a view to sexuality and race) still have difficulties in the police and are not fully accepted

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

40. Minority groups (with a view to sexuality and race) still have difficulties in many other professions in my country

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

41. It is fashionable for politicians and (national) media to be critical about police

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

42. Basic police work by uniformed officers and detectives is not sufficiently valued by top managements and politicians

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

43. Generally speaking, in my police force(s) the right people are recruited for the right positions

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

44. Internationally, policing is different due to different national legislation

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

45. Internationally, occupational (technical) aspects of police work are still very similar due to the similarities of the tasks and how they can be fulfilled

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

46. The organisation of a police force has an impact on how policing is done

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

47. The provision of resources and budget and the setting of priorities has an impact on policing

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

48. The provision of resources and budget and the setting of priorities has an impact on the behaviour of the police as such

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

49. Trade unions have an impact on policy and police organisation but not directly on policing itself

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

50. From an organisational point of view police is very much like other public administrations/organisations

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

51. Policing is very different, though, to private sector organisations/companies

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

52. New skill sets needed for investigations such as knowledge on economy, finances or computers have an impact on policing in general

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

53. The income of a police officer is appropriate in my country compared to other professions

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

54. Integrity is important

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

55. Professionalism is important

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

56. Promotion is based on (earlier) performance and discipline

1 2 3 4 5

strongly disagree	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	strongly agree
-------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	----------------

57. Policing is helping the people

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

58. Mistakes are seen as a normal consequence of daily operations

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

59. Mistakes can result in punishment/punitive reactions (blame culture)

1      2      3      4      5

strongly disagree	()	()	()	()	()	strongly agree
-------------------	----	----	----	----	----	----------------

**Free Text Questions**

Do you have any comment on police culture or this survey/questionnaire?

\_\_\_\_\_

If you would like to receive feedback or if you are potentially available for a more in-depth (anonymous) follow-up interview on this subject, please provide contact details (name, phone number or email address):

\_\_\_\_\_

Please tick if you would like to receive feedback

( )

Please tick if you would be happy to be interviewed by the researcher at a suitable time and

( )

location or by phone/Skype

Please note that I seek to interview you in relation to your profession and your own personal interpretation of your profession. In no way does the interview relate to your current organisation or function.

If you have checked the box above:

I agree that I have permission from my employers to take part in a research interview

( )

### **End of the Questionnaire**

Thank you very much again for your participation.

If you did not aim to complete the online version, please return this questionnaire to me by email (your actual email and your address will be deleted, only the questionnaire will be stored):

[icj31295@myport.ac.uk](mailto:icj31295@myport.ac.uk)

If you have any concerns regarding this research please contact me or my supervisor ([sarah.charman@port.ac.uk](mailto:sarah.charman@port.ac.uk)) in the first instance.

If you are not entirely happy with a response, please contact the Director of Studies ([phil.clements@port.ac.uk](mailto:phil.clements@port.ac.uk)).

### Semi-structured Interview Questions

There are two distinctive parts to this interview, preceded by some 'personal' information related to the subject. Any information that would reveal the identity of the information source, including all personal details, will remain anonymous. The questions in Part 1 seek personal assessments and opinions on police culture. This is followed by a 'briefing' on discussions within the literature, and the request to provide opinions on those literature findings.

The participants have been informed in advance about the two different parts. However, they did not receive the questions before the actual interview.

At the beginning of each part, explanations will be provided and questions for further clarification can be asked. Such questions or requests will become part of the interview and its protocol.

All participants will be informed of the outcome of this research.

1. Please provide some 'personal' details: gender, age, nationality (ethnicity if deemed important), work background: length of service, type of police agency, former and current jobs, possible experience with police in other countries

#### Part 1

2. What are your thoughts on police as a profession (occupation) with its own 'culture'?
3. With a view towards various organisational structures within the police, do they have an influence on professionalism and culture of the police?
4. With a view to different tasks (e.g. front line officer, specialist, line manager) or different parts of the country etc., what are your thoughts about different (sub-) cultures in the police?
5. What are your thoughts about the police and its culture in your country?
6. What are your thoughts about the police and its culture in other countries?
7. How long was your police training?
8. Did the training prepare you sufficiently for your job?
9. As of when did you feel that you are a 'professional'?

Part 2

10. Research has identified a number of characteristics applicable to police culture: sense of suspense, conservative, racist, resistance to change, us-and-them feeling etc. (see attached list). To what extent do you agree that these characteristics are part of police culture?

11. Would you like to add anything else in relation to this research and its subject?

List: Characteristics applicable to police culture

Non exhaustive list with characteristics referred to by Waddington (1999) and Chan (1997):

- The Police is rarely guided by legal procedures, and exercises extensive discretion in how the law is enforced
- Sense of mission, cult of masculinity (incl. potential for sexism and bragging in informal environments)
- Desire for action and excitement, including the glorification of violence
- Isolation from the social world: 'Us and them' feeling
- Use of prejudices and potential for racism
- Authoritative
- Conservative
- Resistant to change
- Suspicion and cynicism, particularly in relation to law and legal precepts
- Defensive solidarity

Researchers also believe that they found different characteristics for different jobs and functions within the police: front line officers, line managers and possibly others such as detectives.

## Survey Codebook

Variable	SPSS/Excel name	Coding instructions
Identification number	ID	Assigned response number
Gender	Gender	1 = Males 2 = Females
Type of police force	Force	1 = Uniformed police 2 = Detective 3 = Other
Length of police service	ServiceLength	1 = up to 10 years 2 = 11 to 20 years 3 = 21 to 30 years 4 = 31 years and more
Nationality	Nationality	
Type of jobs/posts	PolJobs	1 = Front line officer 2 = Investigator 3 = Operational support 4 = Support officer/staff 5 = Line manager 6 = Other
International experience	IntlExp	1 = Information exchange 2 = Business trips 3 = Police missions 4 = Secondments 5 = No
Currently serving in the police	Active	1 = Serving member 2 = Not a serving member

59 scale items on culture		<p>1 = Strongly disagree</p> <p>2 = Disagree</p> <p>3 = Neither agree nor disagree</p> <p>4 = Agree</p> <p>5 = Strongly agree</p>
Comments	Comments	
<b>Created variables</b>		
Cluster	Cluster	<p>Grouping of “Nationality” (roughly following ITIM):</p> <p>1 = Anglo-Saxon</p> <p>2 = Centrally Oriented</p> <p>3 = Eastern European</p> <p>4 = German Speaking</p> <p>5 = Scandinavian</p> <p>6 = Southern European</p>
Total Masculinity	TotalMasc	Items 4-6, 8-9, 39; scores can range from 6 to 30 with high scores indicating higher levels of ‘police masculinity’
Total Outside Relations	TotalOutEtc	Items 25, 29, 32; scores can range from 3 to 15 with high scores indicating higher levels of (negative) ‘police outside relations to society’

Total Isolation	Totallisolation	Items 14-15, 24-25; scores can range from 4 to 20 with high scores indication higher levels of 'isolation of police officers'
Total Sexism	TotalSex	Items 5-9; scores can range from 5 to 25 with high scores indication higher levels of 'sexism in the police'
Total Behaviour Influence	TotalBehave	Items 31, 33-35, 48; scores can range from 5 to 250 with high scores indicating higher levels of 'influence on police behaviour'
Total Impact Policing	TotallImpact	Items 46-47, 49; scores can range from 3 to 15 with high scores indicating higher levels of 'factors impacting on policing'

### 59 Likert scale items

1. Police work is primarily guided by legal procedures
2. Police officers exercise extensive discretion in how the law is applied
3. Police officers are often sceptical and cynical particularly in relation to law and legal provisions
4. Police work provides a sense of mission
5. The working environment of police is primarily male oriented
6. Female colleagues are underrepresented within the police
7. Women are underrepresented within other governmental agencies
8. Recruiting female officers has a positive influence on policing
9. The police working environment has the potential for sexism
10. Police officers cope with their stress with (black) humour or by exchanging their exploits in informal environments
11. Police officers have a desire for action and excitement more than with other occupations
12. Police officers, even if trained to use physical force, generally try to avoid its use
13. Social activities take place around the job
14. Police officers often feel isolated from their social environment (us-and-them feeling)
15. Police officers need to be more 'suspicious' than 'normal citizens'
16. Profiling and similar police work strategies can support the development of discrimination, even racism, e.g. as far as specific ethnic offender groups are concerned
17. Police officers have to be authoritative
18. Police officers are conservative
19. Police officers appreciate change, if it means they see improvement to their work

20. Organisational changes within the police are usually top-down actions and often do not achieve the predicted or promised outcome
21. Organisational changes within the police are often politically motivated
22. Organisational changes within the police often disregard the opinion of experts in the field
23. Police officers often engage in solidarity
24. Police officers reject unjust or unjustifiable solidarity
25. Professionally, 'outsiders' who are not police, cannot be completely trusted
26. There is a particular/distinct culture in the police force(s) I work(ed) for
27. I work(ed) in a police force where there was no particular/distinct culture
28. Police work has many different characteristics in urban areas than in rural ones
29. There is a gap between police and society, particularly in urban areas
30. Policing has many different characteristics in specialised units for example traffic police, organised crime or cybercrime units
31. Depending on the type of police force or organisational unit, police officers behave differently
32. In particular in urban areas both, uniformed police and detectives, primarily have to deal with poor or socially deprived persons
33. Police behaviour depends very much on the type and level of professional training of the officers
34. The level of education of police officers influences their behaviour in the police
35. The age of police officers influences their behaviour in the police
36. Policing and the police change over time
37. Policing has evolved in the last decade or so and is far more positive and constructive
38. In the 'old days' you had to fit in to achieve, which is different now
39. Minority groups (with a view to sexuality and race) still have difficulties in the police and are not fully accepted
40. Minority groups (with a view to sexuality and race) still have difficulties in many other professions in my country
41. It is fashionable for politicians and (national) media to be critical about police
42. Basic police work by uniformed officers and detectives is not sufficiently valued by top managements and politicians
43. Generally speaking, in my police force(s) the right people are recruited for the right positions
44. Internationally, policing is different due to different national legislation
45. Internationally, occupational (technical) aspects of police work are still very similar due to the similarities of the tasks and how they can be fulfilled
46. The organisation of a police force has an impact on how policing is done
47. The provision of resources and budget and the setting of priorities has an impact on policing
48. The provision of resources and budget and the setting of priorities has an impact on the behaviour of the police as such
49. Trade unions have an impact on policy and police organisation but not directly on policing itself
50. From an organisational point of view police is very much like other public administrations/organisations
51. Policing is very different, though, to private sector organisations/companies
52. New skill sets needed for investigations such as knowledge on economy, finances or computers have an impact on policing in general
53. The income of a police officer is appropriate in my country compared to other professions

- 54. Integrity is important
- 55. Professionalism is important
- 56. Promotion is based on (earlier) performance and discipline
- 57. Policing is helping the people
- 58. Mistakes are seen as a normal consequence of daily operations
- 59. Mistakes can result in punishment/punitive reactions (blame culture)

## Nominal Survey Data

As mentioned in Section 5.2 all in all 206 participants completed the survey questionnaire, 170 male (82.5%) and 36 female (17.5%). The respondents were from 24 different countries (see Table 1: Nationality), which were split into clusters (see Figure 1 below) loosely following Hofstede (2001) and ITIM (Overbeek, undated (ca. 2004)).

Table 2

Nationality		
	Frequency	Percent
Australia	2	1.0
Austria	5	2.4
Belgium	6	2.9
Denmark	4	1.9
Estonia	2	1.0
France	9	4.4
Germany	37	18.0
Greece	1	.5
Hungary	2	1.0
Ireland	2	1.0
Italy	7	3.4
Latvia	2	1.0
Lithuania	1	.5
Luxembourg	2	1.0
Netherlands	27	13.1
Norway	1	.5
Poland	1	.5
Portugal	3	1.5
Slovakia	1	.5
Spain	6	2.9
Sweden	6	2.9
Switzerland	1	.5
UK	68	33.0
USA	10	4.9
Total	206	100.0

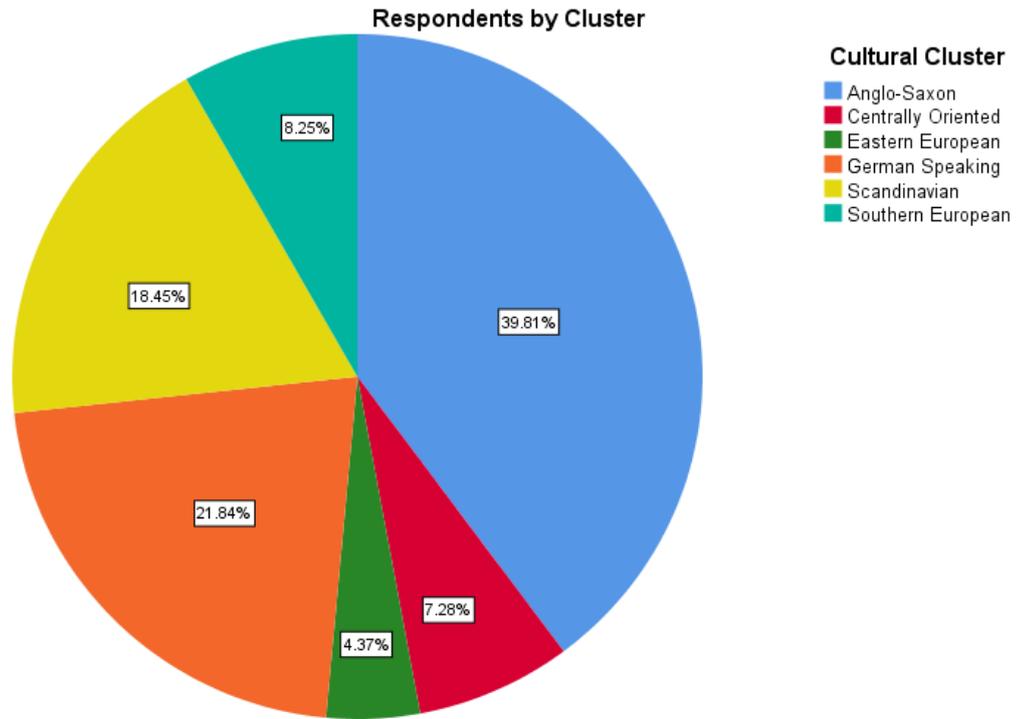


Figure 4

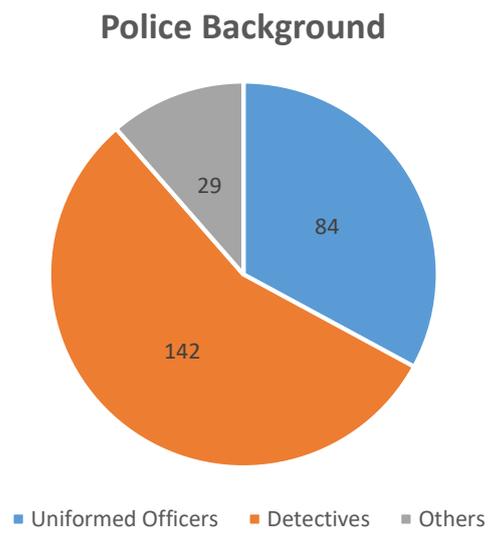


Figure 5

Table 3

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Active	148	71.8
	Retired	57	27.7
	Total	205	99.5
Missing	0	1	.5
Total		206	100.0

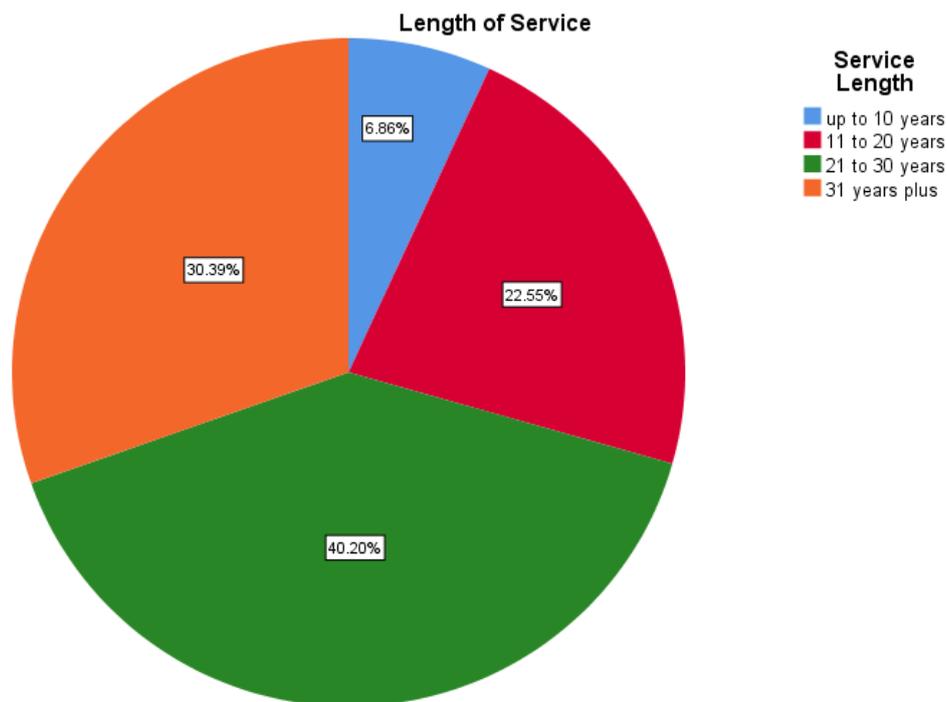


Figure 6

The data set includes only two dichotomous variables with two categories, gender and the current employer, some nominal variables like the ones for the categories within ‘previous law enforcement’ and ordinal variables for age range and length of service. The questions for the latter variable are slightly inaccurate, in the respect that they potentially allow overlap: ‘20-30’ and ‘more than 30’ for example allow for interpretation on side of the respondents, who are employed for exactly 30 years. However, the initial idea to use the age range stems from my interest in exploring this area and to get an indication if longer serving or older officers have different perceptions. The Likert scales, as multiple-indicator measures, provide ordinary variables as well. Some researchers such as Bryman (2008, p.322) suggested treating them as interval/ratio variables due to the comparatively large generated numbers.



Werner Gowitzke  
Professional Doctorate Candidate  
Institute of Criminal Justice Studies  
University of Portsmouth

**REC reference number: 14/15:53**  
**Please quote this number on all correspondence.**

25<sup>th</sup> June 2015

Dear Werner,

**Full Title of Study:** The Three Aspects of Police Culture

**Documents reviewed:**

Consent Forms  
Ethics self-assessment  
Invitation Letters  
Interview Schedule  
Participant Information Sheet  
Proposal  
Protocol  
Surveys

Further to our recent correspondence, this proposal was reviewed by The Research Ethics Committee of The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.

I am pleased to tell you that the proposal was awarded a favourable ethical opinion by the committee.

Kind regards,

FHSS FREC Chair  
**Dr Jane Winstone**

Members participating in the review:

- David Carpenter
- Richard Hitchcock

## FORM UPR16

### Research Ethics Review Checklist



Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Research Degrees Operational Handbook for more information)

<b>Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information</b>		<b>Student ID:</b>	277403
<b>PGRS Name:</b>	Werner Siegfried GOWITZKE		
<b>Department:</b>	ICJS	<b>First Supervisor:</b>	Dr Sarah Charman
<b>Start Date:</b> (or progression date for Prof Doc students)	01.10.2017		
<b>Study Mode and Route:</b>	Part-time <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MPhil <input type="checkbox"/>	MD <input type="checkbox"/>
	Full-time <input type="checkbox"/>	PhD <input type="checkbox"/>	Professional Doctorate <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

<b>Title of Thesis:</b>	The Three Aspects of Police Culture
<b>Thesis Word Count:</b> (excluding ancillary data)	50,469

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study

Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

#### UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:

(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: <http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/>)

a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements?	YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NO <input type="checkbox"/>

#### Candidate Statement:

I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

<b>Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):</b>	14/15:53
---	----------

If you have *not* submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered 'No' to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:

--

<b>Signed (PGRS):</b>		<b>Date:</b> 20.11.2019
-----------------------	--	-------------------------