

# **ACCIDENTAL HEROES?**

**Police Personnel Who Choose to Deal with Sex Offenders**

by

Jenny Weaver

The thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the award of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
of the University of Portsmouth

September 2019

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the reasons why certain police personnel choose to deal with sex offenders. More than any other criminal, the sex offender is despised and feared by society. Sex offenders are seen as evil incarnate with an ability to influence and traumatise the people around them. They have a way of corrupting and contaminating those around them, and are considered toxic by many parts of the criminal justice system. The police service in England and Wales is responsible in part for dealing with these 'monsters'. Police culture seems to agree with this description of sex offenders with many police personnel not understanding, accepting or trusting why certain of their colleagues would choose to deal with them. There is very little research into this area of police work.

This thesis, by way of 52 semi-structured interviews with police personnel from three different police force areas across England, focuses on the reasons given for their career choice, how they think about their work, support for this and ways in which to stay healthy while doing a demanding and possibly traumatising job. What was apparent was that the participants had chosen to deal with sex offenders for many and different reasons. What was also apparent during the interviews and further analysis was that a majority of the participants had suffered an adverse childhood experience. Prevalent throughout the interviews was that whilst their ending up in this position for many an accidental nature, the fact that they subsequently discovered that they could do a job well while many in the police would not or could not, giving them a strong sense of self-worth and pride. That is why these officers deserve the label 'accidental heroes'.

**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:

## **Acknowledgements**

Can I first thank all the participants in this study whom I was able to interview. You gave up your very busy time to tell me your life stories. Thank you.

Can I thank Francis Pakes, my supervisor for the last four years who has always been helpful and supportive, all with a great deal of humour.

To my friends and family who offered never ending support and who have had to put up with me going on and on about this research for four years. Thank you.

Can I also thank my next door neighbour of 12 years, who casually informed me that he was a qualified proof reader and would I like him to have a look at the thesis. Gareth, thank you.

## Contents

Chapter One: Introduction .....	1
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>Aims and Objectives</b> .....	10
<b>Structure of Thesis</b> .....	11
Chapter Two: Literature Review - Police .....	15
<b>Introduction</b> .....	15
<b>Policing in England and Wales</b> .....	15
<b>The Policing Organisation</b> .....	23
<b>Reasons for choosing a career in policing</b> .....	24
<b>What makes a good Police Officer?</b> .....	27
<b>Police Officers' Personalities</b> .....	31
<b>Police Culture</b> .....	35
<b>Specialised Police Culture</b> .....	42
<b>Adverse Childhood Experience</b> .....	44
<b>Controlling Emotion</b> .....	47
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	50
Chapter Three: Literature Review - Sex Offenders .....	51
<b>Introduction</b> .....	52
<b>History of sexual offences</b> .....	52
<b>The Sex Offender</b> .....	57
<b>Legislation</b> .....	60
<b>Risk</b> .....	70
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	78
Chapter Four: Methodology .....	79
<b>Introduction</b> .....	79
<b>The Police Areas</b> .....	79
<b>Gaining Access</b> .....	79
<b>Ethics</b> .....	83
<b>Gatekeepers</b> .....	86
<b>Reputational Issues</b> .....	88
<b>Risk Posed by Research</b> .....	88
<b>Anonymity, Confidentiality and Location</b> .....	89

<b>Sampling</b> .....	91
<b>Age of Participants</b> .....	93
<b>Length of service</b> .....	96
<b>Gender of participants</b> .....	98
<b>Ethnicity of participants</b> .....	99
<b>Self-selection bias</b> .....	100
<b>Role Conflict</b> .....	101
<b>Recording the interviews</b> .....	101
<b>Transcribing</b> .....	102
<b>Semi-structured interviews</b> .....	102
<b>Coding</b> .....	106
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	107
Chapter Five: Social Profiles of Research Sample .....	109
<b>Introduction</b> .....	109
<b>Police or Police Staff</b> .....	109
<b>Workload</b> .....	112
<b>Gender and Sexuality of Participants</b> .....	113
<b>Marital status of participants</b> .....	117
<b>Children</b> .....	123
<b>Parents of participants</b> .....	125
<b>Siblings and position in the family</b> .....	126
<b>Education of participants</b> .....	128
<b>Higher education of participants</b> .....	133
<b>Training</b> .....	136
<b>Religion</b> .....	137
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	139
Chapter Six: Joining the Police - Deciding to deal with sex offenders .....	140
<b>Introduction</b> .....	140
<b>Reasons for joining the Police service</b> .....	141
<b>Wanting to help people</b> .....	141
<b>Always wanted to join the police service</b> .....	143
<b>Joined from military service needing a steady job</b> .....	145
<b>By Accident</b> .....	147
<b>Contact with Police</b> .....	148

<b>Feeling Safe</b> .....	153
<b>Influenced by Family and Friends</b> .....	155
<b>Reasons for choosing to deal with sex offenders</b> .....	158
<b>Convenience</b> .....	159
<b>Targeted</b> .....	163
<b>Interested in the subject</b> .....	168
<b>Career Path</b> .....	170
<b>Headhunted</b> .....	173
<b>Wanted to help children</b> .....	175
<b>Being a Hero</b> .....	178
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	179
Chapter Seven: Life Histories of Research Sample.....	181
<b>Introduction</b> .....	181
<b>Divorce and Early Death of Parents</b> .....	183
<b>Abuse within the Family</b> .....	197
<b>Continuation of Abuse</b> .....	203
<b>Abuse outside the family</b> .....	205
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	206
Chapter Eight: Working with Sex Offenders.....	209
<b>Introduction</b> .....	209
<b>Interviewing Sex Offenders</b> .....	209
<b>Controlling Emotions</b> .....	211
<b>Losing Control</b> .....	218
<b>Humour</b> .....	220
<b>Empathy</b> .....	222
<b>Counselling or Clinical Supervision</b> .....	226
<b>Grading of Child Abuse Images</b> .....	229
<b>Grooming or Manipulation</b> .....	229
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	237
Chapter Nine: Conclusion.....	238
<b>Introduction</b> .....	238
<b>The Title</b> .....	238
<b>Discussion</b> .....	239
<b>Accidental Heroes</b> .....	242

<b>Aims and Objectives</b> .....	249
<b>Limitations</b> .....	251
<b>Methodological Issues</b> .....	253
<b>Contribution to Knowledge</b> .....	256
<b>Appendices</b> .....	262
<b>Appendix 1</b> .....	262
Ethical Approval Documentation .....	262
<b>Appendix 2</b> .....	264
Interview Schedule .....	264
<b>Appendix 3</b> .....	265
Coding Table .....	265
<b>Appendix Four</b> .....	267
Participants in the Study: Breakdown of trauma.....	267
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	269

.....

**List of Figures**

Figure 4-1 Age of participants (at time of interview) .....	96
Figure 4-2 Length of service .....	97
Figure 4-3 Length of time dealing with sex offenders.....	98
Figure 5-1 Education of Participants prior to joining.....	130

**List of Tables**

Table 5.1. Entry routes into the police service (College of Policing) .....	130
---	-----

## Chapter One: Introduction

### Introduction

*“They are probably the worst type of criminal, but they are still criminals and someone has got to manage them.”* **Rose (Police Staff)**

More than any other criminal, the sex offender is despised by society. Sex offenders are seen as evil incarnate. Nash (2006, p.26) suggests that they are ‘not like us’; they are ‘not normal’. Sampson (1994) cited by Cobley (2003, p.51) argues that ‘public concern about sexual crime has become a panic’, and claims that sex offenders have been built into ‘modern folk devils’ by the popular press. It is worthy of note that society, seemingly reinforced by the criminal justice system, is accepting the stereotype that sex offenders are so monstrous that they should be treated differently from any other offender. This is often reflected in legislation and policy initiatives by different governments in an effort to control these ‘monsters’, and which in turn can reinforce the public stereotype.

It has also been suggested that police work can characteristically occupy areas on the ‘dark side’ of social life (Oakeshott, 1991, p.225). It is widely accepted that dealing with sex offenders falls into this category. Deciding to deal with or manage sex offenders is an important career choice. Any mistakes can have countless repercussions for society, for victims and, in particular, future possible victims. Research also seems to indicate that working in an emotionally charged environment like working with sex offenders can have toxic effects on health and relationships, as well as psychological consequences. However, people still choose to do this. Dealing with sex offenders is also something that many police personnel

do **not** want to do, with some going out of their way not to deal with sex offenders. However, others have chosen to spend much of their careers dealing with them.

The career choice to deal with sex offenders is often seen as unusual and, in some ways, a suspicious decision for police personnel to make, almost going against whole ethos of police culture. There is sometimes an element of mistrust shown to those officers who have chosen this path and, at other times, a sense of bewilderment and confusion. There is almost a belief from other officers that someone who has chosen to deal with sex offenders is driven by personal sinister motives. Officers who deal with sex offenders almost become outsiders in their own organisation. There is no kudos in dealing with sex offenders, as when dealing with murderers, so why do certain police personnel make this choice, or indeed do they make the choice at all?

There is a large amount of empirical literature claiming that sexual abuse crosses all social, economic and culture divides, and that within this group there is a considerable variety of risk and risk of re-offending. This clearly shows that there is no single typology of a sex offender (Hanson, Morton & Harris 2003; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewslu, 1987; Koss, Leonard, Beezley & Oros, 1985; Malamuth, 1986; Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984; Koss, 1988; Koss & Dinero, 1989; Margolin, Miller, & Moran 1989).

West (1996) maintains that sex offenders are usually from a variety of social groups and are a hedonistic group. Simon (2000) suggested that the majority are not mentally ill in the sense that they suffer from a diagnosable curable condition and many have no previous convictions for sexual offences. The media and popular culture portray the sex offender as a lonely adult male who is 'bad' and often 'mad',

thereby creating and perpetuating the stereotype (Janus, 2006, p.5). Research shows that it is society's perception and understanding of who sex offenders are, and who will commit these offences, which is problematic when dealing with the sex offender and their relationships. It is also a problem for society and governments when putting in place legislation that is thought to be needed to control these 'monsters' once released from prison. '*My brother would never do that to a child, he has a wife and children*', for example (Home Office, 2008, p.7). It is clear that many sex offenders have regular social and intimate relationships, but again this seems not to be known or accepted by society.

Research would also seem to indicate that the public has no real understanding of how many sexual offences will be committed. According to the Office for National Statistics, the police recorded a total of 4.8 million offences in the year ending December 2016, an annual rise of 9%. I have used this statistic as it relates to the year I completed the semi-structured interviews and it is this that the participants in this thesis were working with. I am fully aware that these statistics will and have changed over time. Although crime trends with regard to other offences seem to be fluid and movable, the reporting of sex offences seems to keep rising, with no sign of being controlled by any government policy or legislation. However, it could also be something to do with how these offences are reported and how the criminal justice system deals with these reports. The reporting of sex offences is a controversial issue. There has been much research into why sex offences still seem to be under-reported and the different ways in which it will be easier for victims of sex offences to make the report. Operation Yewtree was an example of this. This is also seen in the media at present (2018) with the 'Me Too' movement. This has many local and international alternatives, but essentially is a movement against

sexual harassment and sexual assault. The hashtag #MeToo spread virally in October 2017 on social media in an attempt to demonstrate the widespread prevalence of sexual assault and harassment, especially in the workplace: this does not seem to happen with other crimes. For example, there is no government policy or media outcry to encourage people to report burglaries. In some way, this again shows that these crimes are different from any other.

It is widely accepted that sex offences are under-reported: data on is heavily influenced by the willingness of victims to report them. According to the Home Office, it is difficult to obtain reliable information on the extent of sexual offences which affects both British Crime Survey (BCS) and police recording crime figures (HMSO, 2011). These statistics seem to indicate that sexual offences and sex offenders are an ongoing problem for society which does not seem to be reacting to government policy in the way other crimes are (Walby & Allen, 2004).

The police service in England and Wales is responsible for the investigation of sexual offences and, ultimately, sex offenders. Although it is acknowledged that there are other organisations which have taken this responsibility on board, it is the police service that mainly undertakes this task. Most large organisations have their own policies in order to hopefully protect their workforce from these predators and make it easier for the staff to report this. Even when this is done, at some stage the police are informed and take over the investigation. The sex offender then has to be identified, interviewed and, in some cases, put before the court and convicted. The police, along with other agencies, are also responsible for monitoring, risk assessing and dealing with certain convicted sex offenders released back into the community (Stevenson, 2007, p.1). The Criminal Justice Act 2003 established Multi-Agency

Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) in each of the 43 police force areas in England and Wales. These were designed to protect the public from serious harm by sexual and violent offenders. MAPPA requires the local criminal justice agencies and other bodies dealing with offenders to work in partnership in dealing with these offenders. This has meant that, in essence, some police officers will choose to spend their careers dealing with and interviewing sex offenders in partnership with other agencies. I am intrigued by who these people are, what motivates them and how they stay healthy and sane whilst doing this work.

There is a personal element to this. I was a police officer for 30 years, but had no real burning ambition to do such a job: it just seemed a good idea at the time. I have no family members in the police service so my decision was met with bewilderment by my family. I come from a white, very middle class family whose only contact with the police was when we suffered a house burglary when I was very small. My parents still remember the name of the police officer who came and took the fingerprints from the entry point, 50 years later. Along with my family, I had no real idea of what I was getting into or what I was expected to do.

I joined the police service in 1982 when women police officers were very few and far between. Until the 1970s, the police service segregated male and female officers. In all police areas there was what was known as a 'woman department'. These comprised female officers who could only deal with missing children and victims of sexual and physical abuse, basically what the police saw as 'women's work'. The change was 'forced' on the police service by several pieces of legislation, including the Equal Pay Act 1970 and Sex Discrimination Act 1975. I joined about 15 years after the women's department was amalgamated with the men's, in

essence becoming a single police service. Of course, this was not an easy process as organisational police culture is not very open to change. So when I joined I was still met with concern by many colleagues and the organisation as a whole. Questions about whether I could do the job and why would I want to do it were often mentioned openly and shown in the attitudes of my male colleagues. The assumption was that I had joined to get a husband and have babies, or that I was gay.

With this background, I spent the first ten years in uniform dealing with many different situations, but mostly 'women's' crimes. By this, I mean anything that needed someone to be sympathetic or show empathy. I fell into this role quite naturally and did not really question my position in the system. Due to the nature of the police service, I therefore dealt with a large number of victims of sexual abuse. I found this very exhausting, both emotional and physically. I also started to realise and become aware that, for me, the 'prize' or the 'good stuff' was dealing and interviewing the offenders, not the victims. At this time in my career I was on a very proactive and forward thinking team that comprised a number of young male officers who, for interest, have all gone onto some very high managerial positions in the police service (I was the first and only female on the team). They encouraged me to become involved in the interviewing of the offenders. Again, I seemed to fall into this role quite naturally and managed to obtain some very good and successful interviews. By this, I mean confessions.

I found myself being able to talk about many shocking and private matters without any real thought or showing any emotion. I did not really get upset or angry. I just wanted to find out what happened and why people, usually men, did these often

horrific things to vulnerable members of society. I believe that I was successful in the interviews because I presented no threat to the suspect. I was just an insignificant female who wanted to talk to them. I often got mistaken for someone from Social Services and was there to help them, even when I identified myself as a police officer. That a female was doing such work was still met with a hint of disbelief and a condescending attitude by my police colleagues and the sex offenders themselves. I recall a couple of occasions when I arrested someone, they would ask my male colleagues if I was authorised to do this. Often, even if it was me asking the questions they would direct their answers to my male colleagues. I have to say that I would use this attitude to my advantage. The harmless, confused female became part of my interview technique which seemed to work well.

Sex offenders in particular would often try and shock me with what they were saying and I was conscious that if I showed any shock or horror they would stop talking. So I masked my true thoughts as best I could. They would do this as a way of testing you: how much could you listen to before you reacted, before you ran from the room? There were many occasions when I was upset after an interview, but only in the privacy of the office and never in front of the suspect or offender. Again, I am not sure where this knowledge or behaviour came from. It seemed to come naturally that if I showed shock, horror or any other emotion then the offender would stop talking. I just wanted to listen and learn.

After ten years in uniform I was approached by members of the CID (Criminal Investigation Department) asking me to join them. I believe that they needed more women in the department at that time and I seemed to be an obvious choice as I had been interviewing offenders, with some successes, for a number of years.

Again, the method of becoming a detective has changed over the years. When I was approached it was very much that men in the CID would decide who they wanted and then you were in. I now know that there is a long procedure and examinations. Everything has been made much more formal.

I spent the last 20 years of my police service in CID. I worked on a number of units including all those that will be mentioned in this thesis. I interviewed and dealt with sex offenders on all the units and on a daily basis. Over time, I slowly became interested in why I was able to deal with sex offenders with, on the face of it, no lasting effects. I did not suffer any nightmares, sleepless nights or, as far as I was aware, any coping mechanisms that could cause issues. I did, however, have a few months at the start of my career when I became slightly obsessed with becoming clean. I would shower a number of times a day and my house was always very clean, but I was aware that this was a coping mechanism for what I was dealing with at that time and felt that it was not a problem. This seemed only to last a few months. Strangely enough, I did notice that after I had been interviewing the participants for this thesis (which had meant going back into police stations after a break of a few years), I did become mindful of how many times throughout the day I was washing my hands. This did not last long, but it was something of which I was conscious.

Over time in the police service, I became aware that other officers thought me slightly unusual. I would often hear people saying that they could not do what I was doing. The normal reaction was to ask how I was able to sit in the room listening to horrific tales and not want to hit them. I never did want to do that; just for them to keep talking and, if this happened, it made me feel proud. I was doing something that others could not, or would not, do. It was then that I started to ask myself why

this was. How I could do this and others could not? I also took on the role of grading child abuse images and towards the end of my career I was seen as an expert on this subject.

The grading of occurs when a computer is seized from a suspect and the police computer unit, whose task is to examine the device, find an indecent image of a child on it. They will ask the officer to view all the images on the computer and ask them to grade what they find. When I was doing this, there were five grades, from One ('child posing erotically') to Five ('with pain'). I managed to view these images (sometimes up to 80,000 a day) and grade them with seemingly no ill effects. I would often grade my colleagues' images if they felt they could not do this. Only now, after retiring, do I wonder (but still with pride) why I could do this, and they could not. I was a proactive officer until I retired in 2012, even interviewing a sex offender on my last day in the job. In the last ten years of my police service I would interview approximately five suspected sex offenders in an average week. However, I still did not have an answer to the question, why me? Why had I chosen to deal with these 'monsters' and how could I, on the face of it, do it without showing emotion or suffering any ill effect? I retired from the service with no idea as to what to do. I was persuaded to complete a Masters degree in Criminology which has led to this PhD thesis.

As discussed above, the investigation into sexual offences is seen as important in protecting society, although research is divided as to how stressful or emotional this is on the officers involved. Brown (1995) suggested that the only thing more stressful for police than dealing with sex offenders was informing a relative of a sudden death. Indeed, the oath sworn by all police officers includes the words '*solemnly and*

*sincerely declare and affirm that I will well and truly serve the Queen in the office of constable, with fairness, integrity, diligence and impartiality, upholding fundamental human rights and according equal respect to all people'* (Police Reform Act, 2002).

The Metropolitan Police Recruitment Directive states that *'to be a police officer is as much a choice of lifestyle as a choice of job'* (Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, 2012, para.2). Few other decisions influence individuals' lives as much as career decisions (Hackett & Betz, 1995). Therefore, it is not surprising that understanding career indecision continues to be one of the major issues of vocational psychology (Brown & Rector, 2008; Phillips & Paziienza, 1988; Savickas, 1995; Skorikov, 2007).

Dealing with sex offenders in the criminal justice system in England and Wales covers cultural, social, political, economic, legal, medical, psychological, educational and spiritual issues (Groth, 1989). Police officers are the gatekeepers of this system (Mendias & Kehoe, 2006, p.72). For many police force areas, it is voluntary to deal with sex offenders, although in this research it emerged that one police force area used it as a pathway for promotion. Officers have to go through a selection process when applying to go onto these units. The question this research is asking is why would certain police personnel choose to deal with sex offenders and apply for these units, when there are so many 'harmful' issues surrounding this choice.

### **Aims and Objectives**

By using a grounded theory approach, the purpose was to explore the question as to why certain police personnel choose to deal with sex offenders. Using the concepts of occupational police culture and specialised police culture, the thesis will examine whether these influence the roles and work of police personnel in units that

deal with sex offenders. On the face of it, this seems to be a simple question, but is also one that does not seem to have been asked before. In pursuit of this aim, a number of specific objectives have been identified.

1. To analyse the historic and current research into police officers and sex offenders in order to gain a relevant criminology theory that would explain the issues.
2. To interview police personnel in order to achieve an insight as to how and why these officers and police personnel came to deal with sex offenders.
3. To explore police personnel's own understanding of their backgrounds in relation to the work they do.
4. To portray this group of people and how they make sense of their chosen specialism.
5. To identify ways in which police personnel manage themselves practically and emotionally in relation to this.
6. To explore whether there is specific 'scum cuddler' culture within the police.

## Structure of Thesis

This thesis is structured into nine chapters. **Chapter One** has set the scene for the research.

**Chapter Two** provides a critical review of the literature in relation to policing. It explores the history of policing in England and Wales, the police policy framework, and the characters and experiences of police officers, including women, PCSOs and

civilian investigators. It also covers the structure of the police service and the qualifications that are required to join it, along with an examination of the culture within the police and how the culture develops and manifests itself within the organisation. The chapter develops this culture further and examines the specialised police culture of which the participants in this thesis are part.

**Chapter Three** provides a critical review of the literature in relation to sex offenders. It explores the sex offender: what and who they are; how society views them; and how society and legislation deal with them in England and Wales. It explores also the risk of the sex offender and how the police deal with these issues.

**Chapter Four** outlines the research methodology chosen to explore and achieve the aims and objectives of this thesis. Semi-structured interviews were utilised to explore the life histories and experiences of the participants. It provides a detailed rationale for the chosen methodology and considers the implications of conducting research using semi-structured interviews. This chapter also examines the role of the gatekeepers and discusses any identified role conflict and the sample issues of self-section bias. It includes a number of demographical details of the sample group, the way in which the interviews were completed and the ethics that were required and adhered to at every stage. It then goes on to describe how the data was coded and analysed.

**Chapter Five** analyses and presents the findings of the social profile of sample group. It discusses the demographics of the participants in this thesis, including their age, marital status, gender and ethnicity, and goes on to discuss and analyse their parents, including the careers of the participants. Participants' siblings are also included, along with the participants' position in the family in relation to their siblings.

It discusses the participants' education, along with the religion of any of those who mentioned this in their interviews.

**Chapter Six** discusses and analyses the reasons given by the participants as to the thought process and the decision to join the police force. It identifies the factors that influenced this decision, including leaving the armed forces and needing a steady job to those participants who seemed to accidentally join the police force and others who had contact with a servicing police officer. A number of the participants were civilians who only joined the police service to deal with sex offenders and did not go through this initial process. The chapter then moves on to why the participants applied to work with sex offenders. Again this will cover a number of topics mentioned by the participants including being asked to join the unit to having to work on the unit due to promotion prospects. The effect of their background had on this decision and the ability to deal with these stressful situations.

**Chapter Seven** discusses and analyses the disclosed life histories of the participants. It discusses the adverse childhood experiences that 80% of them seemed to have suffered, as well as their emotional outcome, coping methods and how this might have influenced them in their career choice. It also discusses how their life experiences helped them compartmentalise their emotions in order to deal with sex offenders.

**Chapter Eight** details certain aspects of this career choice and how the participants actually deal with the sex offender, including working in partnership with other organisations. The chapter covers the ability to control emotions and the skill needed to recognise the grooming process, and how the participants are or seem to be able to cope with these issues. This is then related to working with sex

offenders and other organisations to police culture and the fact that, in some cases, this means that working with sex offenders makes the participants outsiders in their own organisation.

**Chapter Nine** concludes by bringing together all the discussion points with the analysis of the participants' life histories. It discusses the thesis's aims and objectives and how these have been achieved. It also discusses police culture and in particular how this relates to working with sex offenders. The chapter then discusses how participants have, in some way or another, some by accident, decided to deal with 'monsters'. They have stepped up when not many other people would or could have done. They are accidental heroes.

## Chapter Two: Literature Review - Police

### Introduction

*“I wanted to join the army. I was only 16 but my parents wouldn’t sign the bloody forms ... so all seven lads in my year at school applied to join the police cadets. It was literally, ‘What can I do? I know. Join the police’.”* **John (Police Officer)**

This literature review aims to comprehensively study and explore the present literature on several topics relevant to this thesis. It will review the history of policing in Britain and to discuss police officers themselves. It will go on to examine policing in Britain today, including the management and the units or teams in certain police areas along with police culture, including specialist police culture. It will examine topics that the participants in this research highlighted in their interviews, including what makes a good police officer, civilian investigators, and adverse childhood experiences along with a number of other issues.

### Policing in England and Wales

During the middle ages, before the enlightenment period, every free man in Britain over the age of 12 years had to belong to a ‘tything’, a small paramilitary group whose role was to ensure payment of local debts to the monarch and other lords and to keep the peace. The monarch was deemed to own all property used by his/her subjects, so their loss was viewed as being his/her loss (Jones, 1986, p.20). Saxon citizens banded together for mutual protection against theft. Under Saxon law, an offender convicted of a crime could escape death by indemnifying the victim, either in property or services. After the Norman invasion of England by William the

Conqueror in 1066, the punishment for most offences became death and forfeiture of property. Monarchs and noblemen therefore became richer as more ordinary people were convicted of crime. Gradually, monarchs and nobles delegated authority to convene courts to judges who served as their representatives (Lee, 1971).

In the 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, British society was controlled by the monarch and the Church. If individuals broke the law then they must be possessed by the devil and had gone against ecclesiastical wishes and the sovereign (Ackroyd, 2012). Indeed, the first use of the word 'police' was in the 1530s and meant the regulation and control of a community, from the French for 'policy'. Locally in Britain, a police constable could be attested by two or more Justices of the Peace, a procedure that some sources say had its roots in an Act of Parliament of 1673. From the 1730s, Local Improvement Acts made by town authorities often included a provision for paid watchmen or constables to patrol towns at night, whilst rural areas had to rely on more informal arrangements (Lee, 1971, p.119).

The investigation into crime in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was regarded as a private responsibility: it was a matter for the victim to resolve. There was even disapproval expressed with police officers who got into conversation with suspects (Bentley, 1998, p.229). It was believed that the court was the place to ask questions and the police were not worthy of such an important part of the criminal justice system. In 1737, an Act of Parliament was passed 'for better regulating the Night Watch' of the city of London which specified the number of paid constables that should be on duty each night. In 1749 Henry Fielding established the Bow Street Runners. Between 1754 and 1780, Sir John Fielding reorganised the Runners as a

police force, with a team of efficient, paid constables. By 1811, when Sir Richard Ford was serving as chief magistrate at Bow Street, a mounted patrol of 60 men becoming known as the Bow Street Runners rode along the major highways protecting society. These became the first uniformed police force in England.

Very little is known of the character or personality of the Runners or, indeed, who applied for the job. However, it is known that they were usually working class men who have been described as, '*Smart, skilled and cunning with an unblemished character proven fidelity and consummate bravery.*' (Cox, 2010, p.130). The era of the Bow Street Runners was quite short lived. In 1829 the Metropolitan Police was established and the Runners were gradually absorbed into this service (Rawlings, 2002).

The idea of professional policing was taken up by Sir Robert Peel when he became Home Secretary in 1822. Peel's Metropolitan Police Act 1829 established a full-time, professional and centrally-organised police force for the Greater London area known as the Metropolitan Police. By 1900, England, Wales and Scotland had 46,800 policemen and 243 constabularies. In April 1829, Peel introduced a Bill for improving the police. The chief requisite was the '*unity of design and reasonability of its agents*' (Gaunt, 2010, p.24). The Bill also gave the police its major functions - Prevention of Crime; Prevention of Calamities; Preventing Endemic Disease; Assisting Charity; Communication; Facilitating Interior Supervising Public Amusements; Gathering Intelligence; and Gathering and Maintaining Public Census data. The notion of 'representation' by the 'ordinary citizen' is one of the Peelian principles, which along with the major functions (above) are still in place today and are part of the modern police functions.

The personal motives of the men who applied for Robert Peel's police force are well documented. Haia Shpayer-Makov (2004) researched the memoirs of police officers who served at this time and found that they were mostly young, working class males who were drawn to the police because the work involved 'a degree of personal distinction'. Fielding (1988, p.64) highlighted that this working class culture is also where the important 'pragmatic' trait comes from and which is still prevalent today. Of note, these men were also drawn to the army for the same reason. This is relevant in this research as many of the participants in this thesis were from the armed forces. The Peelers stated that wearing the uniform enabled 'ambitious' youngsters to 'pass along the street somewhat more proudly and under notice than the artisan in his apron and paper cap'. This 'appetite for adventure' and the sight of 'strong men full of vitality' lured others into the police service. A man by the name of Charles Arrow, who became a Chief Inspector in the CID, was fascinated by the pursuit of offenders. As a boy he had chased and caught a thief, experiencing a 'feeling of elation and excitement'. The policeman who arrived impressed him with his 'business-like rough and ready style' and filled him with admiration (Beattie, 2012). This does seem to mirror comments made by a number of the participants in this study.

Chief Inspector James Berrett was one such person who never intended to join the police service until, again as a boy, he and his friends saved a man from drowning and received a prize from the London police. This early, positive connection with the police is another explanation given by the participants in this study, but the fact that Berrett had the personality and ability to actually save a life may be the real reason for joining the police service.

Many who joined the early London police force were attracted by economic considerations, not only financially but also factors such as the regularity of wages and welfare benefits. Many have described in their memoirs that they had started off as farm labourers and errand boys, so the chance of a set and regular wage would have been very attractive (Emsley, 1991). Again, this was a consideration for many of the participants in this study. For some in the early days of the metropolitan police service days it was basically the 'last resort'. They did not really want to join a police service, but there was nothing else they thought they could do and simply drifted into the job.

The procedure for acceptance into the police service at this time was not an easy task. Entry was restricted only by gender, not by class, social origin or race. The recruits also had to be British subjects. The age of the recruits started off as any male between 18 and 35, but this changed very quickly to males between 20 and 27. Men below this age were not considered 'fully grown and hardened for the work' whilst those above it were considered too old to start a police career (Beattie, 2012, p.20). This is a vast but understandable difference from the participants in this thesis. The marital status of the applicants was also restricted to men who had no more than three children, but this did change to those with no more than two children by the end of the century. The need to be married and have children was because it was felt that family men tended to be stable workers and more 'steady in their conduct'. If young men wanted to apply and were not married, they were encouraged to marry as soon as they joined. As a result, many men joined the police with the intention of marrying (Rawlings, 2002).

The police force has long been regarded as a masculine profession where women are expected to play only supportive roles (Chan & Ho, 2013). The women's police service in Britain was founded in 1914 and was staffed by volunteers, usually the wives of the serving officers. The first female police officer was Edith Smith who joined the Metropolitan Police Service in 1915. The recruitment of female police officers was largely brought about by the First World War as most of the fit young men were away fighting in the war. Almost from the start, the employment of women in the police service was controversial. They were often marginalised and pushed towards dealing with missing children and looking after the victims of crime. By 1936, there were just 175 female police officers in England and Wales (Allen, 1936). This did not really improve until 1947 when the Police Federation admitted women as members (Rawlings, 2002, p.197).

Powers (1983) indicated that women tend to join the police service not for the perceived power, but for social service, life experience and financial need. Lunneborg (1989) found that, in general, women police officers have a higher educational level than the men. However, most have little in their work histories to lead them to choose the police service. Only around 30% had a previous 'service' job. The marital status of police women is also the subject of research. In the 1920s, most police women were married, but by 1988 only around 33% were married (Garrison, Grant & McCormick, 1988). They also seem to have married police men.

The environmental influences on an individual, particularly in early childhood, have long been held to be an influence on their character traits, and thereby an influence on their career choice. Bohannan (1971) suggested that, '*Children, when they are born, are without culture, and hence are without personality and almost without*

*social relationships.*' Hofstede & McCrae (2004) suggested that children growing up acquire common culture and personality characteristics. National culture affects the way in which most people behave. Research suggests that people will measure themselves against the social norm for the culture in which they live. Pakes & Pakes (2009, p.7) suggested that we are all social animals and our behaviour is greatly influenced by that of people around us.

This argument of nature and nurture is that applied around the influence of the innate, hereditary factors (nature), compared with environmental influences (nurture) (Plonka, 2016). The modern version of this concept was introduced in the late nineteenth century by Francis Galton (1822-1911). Galton was an anthropologist and eugenicist who was influenced by his cousin Charles Darwin's '*The Origin of Species*' in 1859. Galton went on to coin the term 'eugenics' in 1883. The word originated from the Greek for 'well' and 'born'. The eugenics movement attempted to explain human behaviours through genetics (nature). The Positivism movement (biological) also theorised that human behaviour is determined by biology and physiology. Cesare Lombroso (1835-1909) was a leader in this theory, but has now been largely discredited due to his methodology.

The definition of childhood is also worth a mention. In this research, and many others referred to in this thesis, childhood is before the age of seventeen. It is accepted by the author that this is a wide range of ages. However, where age is mentioned by a participant, this will be included in the analysis. This could have been negated if the participants had been asked their ages when interviewed. This was not done for a number of reasons, but mainly because it was felt that the flow of the interviews would have been distorted if participants were interrupted for such details.

Tong (2017) states that police practice is a mixture of art, craft and science in which the role of experience is crucial (Bowling & Tong, 2006). All the participants would be considered experienced officers as all had over six years' service, except for two civilian investigators. Tong goes on to suggest that policing requires knowledge, problem solving and analytical abilities comparable to other professions. These abilities are also worthy of academic credits, as other professions have already demonstrated. The importance of recognising policing as a profession is crucial for future recruitment and the recognition of the abilities of police officers, police skills and abilities should have academic credits.

Over the past twenty years, there have been significant changes in the entry requirement for police officers. There is a 'stronger' relationship between police forces and higher education (Bryant et al, 2012). There was always a single entry point, with all officers joining at the rank of constable (Punch, 2007, p.106). This has recently changed with the introduction of direct entry officers at Superintendent and Inspector levels: there are also moves for entry at the level of Detective in certain force areas. There is also a move for civilians to become part of the police family. This has been in place for a number of years and many of the participants in this research were civilian investigators.

As part of its drive to extend the police 'family', the Police Reform Act 2002 introduced Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) into the service. Their main function was to enhance public reassurance by providing a visible, uniformed patrol. A number of the participants in this research had been PCSOs. The entrance requirement for a PCSO is different from warranted officers, although the skills required are very similar, namely excellent communication and listening skills; the

ability to make decisions under pressure; the ability to deal with difficult people and situations; and accuracy in recording information. However, due to the British Policing model involving 43 different police forces, there has been little control over any national standards. The College of Policing is currently appointed as a specific body to oversee the implementation of standards.

### **The Policing Organisation**

As Charman (2017) states, the policing organisation in the UK has a long and both chequered and illustrious history. It is rooted in British history and has a cultural symbolism which stretches far beyond its organisational structures. Millie (2013) argues that the role of the police has become wider, including the monitoring and risk assessment of sexual offenders in the community. Policing in the United Kingdom is sub-divided by region, and each force deals with crime and policing in its own way, subject to national requirements. There are 43 police force areas in England and Wales, along with the British Transport Police and the separate forces of Scotland and Northern Ireland. At 31<sup>st</sup> March 2015, the total strength of the England & Wales forces was just under 127,000 full time equivalent officers (226 per 100,000 population). Each force will have its own policing issues and it will be up to each Chief Constable and Crime Commissioner to decide what they believe is the best use of resources. For example, the (London) Metropolitan Police will have different public order situations to police than a (relatively) small force, such as Dorset. Each force area also manages their sex offenders differently. The three force areas in this research had different numbers of staff and workload, although all the units involved did have very high workloads. Most of the personnel were monitoring around 100 registered sex offenders each.

Each force area had its own way of recruiting its staff for these specialised units. One of the force areas included in this research made the unit a 'pathway' to promotion. This meant that if someone wanted promotion, they would have to go onto this unit for a period of time, usually about a year. This made the analysis of the interviews, and why the participants had chosen to deal with sex offenders, a challenge. Each unit had a different name, but, in the main, MAPPA was part of that name. All the units were housed in police stations, but were separated from the main station. Each had its own security and location within the building. This added to the elite feeling that people would have on this unit: special permission and a separate code was needed to enter this area. However, all units were essentially the same. Each had its own area for tea and biscuits and would usually stop at 10.30 each morning for Radio Two's 'Pop Master' quiz. All visitors were seen with some suspicion until accepted.

### **Reasons for choosing a career in policing**

The Metropolitan Police Recruitment Directive states that 'to be a police officer is as much a choice of lifestyle as a choice of job' (Mayor's Office for Policing and Crime, 2012). The reasons why people chose this 'lifestyle' are varied. According to some research, it is 'wanting to help people' and 'enforce the law' (Cumming et al, 1965). This research is fairly old, but still seems appropriate and relevant today. Hageman (1979, p.207) stated that people joined the police to do something worthwhile. Milton (1974) stated that policing is commonly seen as an occupation with adventure. Meagher & Yentes (1986, p.321) indicated that the reason was a financial one and that the high starting salary and good job security was seen as a motive for some. Lester (1983) suggested that both male and female recruits wanted to be police

officers because they were helping people, job security, enforcing the law and fighting crime. All this research is relatively dated and I would suggest that the last reason is less relevant today. Reiner (1992) suggested that some recruits felt that they were the last bastion of the 'thin blue line' and they were performing a 'sacred duty'. They wanted to preserve society's norms and to protect the weak and vulnerable. Reiner went on to state that people who wanted to join the police had a feeling that it was not just a job, it was a way of life with a worthwhile purpose.

A more recent study by Tarng, Hsieh & Deng (2001) concluded that the reason people joined the police service related to their socio-economic backgrounds. They had 220 participants who were police officers in Taiwan and concluded that the top reason for choosing a career in policing was that of a 'good salary and fringe benefits'. There are a number of issues with this research in terms of its applicability. The first is that whilst policing in Taiwan is very different to that in Britain, there does seem to be something universal about why people want to be police officers. Horne (1975) suggested that both male and female officers, when asked, presented the desire to be part of a service that had job security and a good salary. There are no real financial 'fringe benefits' to policing in Britain and Tarng, Hsieh & Deng's research does not really explain what they mean by this. However, you could argue that the 'fringe benefit' is one of status or prestige, a sense of belonging to an important group of people. In many countries, once you identify yourself as a police officer it does change people's behaviour towards you: it does open 'certain doors'. Although this is one of the most up-to-date researches, it is still seventeen years old and the economic world has changed drastically in this time, including the pay for police officers. However, new recruits may not fully appreciate this.

A number of the participants in this research said that the reason they wanted to be police officers was because of what they had seen on television. They had seen what it was like to be a police officer and had decided that they could do the job. Surprisingly, they did not speak about police documentaries but fictional British and American crime dramas, such as 'The Bill' and 'CSI'. The inaccurate portrayals of crime, offenders, victims and enforcers have been highlighted in research over the past few decades as such programmes have grown in both popularity and volume (Haney 2009). Bainbridge (2015) concludes that television crime media unfolds in expected and similar patterns and therefore provides audiences with potential frameworks on how to think about crime. The growth in popularity and little variance in episode development has led to the creation of stereotypes surrounding the portrayal of offenders, police and victims (Rafter 2000). The stereotypes for police seem to include the 'good guy' and 'outlaw' heroes. 'Good guy' heroes are seen as standing tall and enforcing the law to promote both law abiding and good behaviour. On the other hand, 'outlaw' heroes believe they are justified in bending or breaking the law to enforce it for the benefit of the rest of society (Rafter 2000, p.148). Rafter (2000, p.150) notes that police within crime shows are typically portrayed as elite individuals, using the term 'hero' and capable of succeeding at impossible tasks each and every week. Police are described as persistent, imaginative and adept (Dominick 1973, p.245).

Huey & Broll (2015) focused on the misrepresentation of police. They found that TV crime shows fail to portray the 'dirty work' dealt with each day, noting that officers must sometimes search those who have defecated or vomited on themselves, or are heavily intoxicated. They go on to argue how police are faced with moral stigma that is not mirrored on screen (Huey & Broll, 2015, p.238).

The inaccurate portrayal of police is addressed by Huey & Broll (2015, p.243) as a leading reason many enter the police force. The career of an enforcement officer is often shown as highly glamourised, even sexy. Enforcement teams are also portrayed as superheroes in their actions, with fantastic capabilities such as being able to run tirelessly over vast distances and being able to fight with superhuman strength and ability. It is shown that audiences harbour expectations of policing careers that reflect what they see on television. There are numerous examples of how crime media inaccurately portrays enforcement and how it has guided individuals into the career with unobtainable expectations.

The participants in this research gave very different reasons for joining the police and these are discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. However, they seemed to indicate that joining the police was not really a high minded reason (as above), but rather a chance encounter - almost an accident that they joined.

### **What makes a good Police Officer?**

*“The citizen expects police officers to have the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of David, the strength of Samson, the patience of Job, the leadership of Moses, the kindness of the Good Samaritan, the strategic training of Alexander, the faith of Daniel, the diplomacy of Lincoln, the tolerance of the Carpenter of Nazareth, and finally, an intimate knowledge of every branch of the natural, biological, and social sciences. If he had all these, he might be a good policeman!”*

This quote is attributed to August Vollmer (1876-1955), the first police chief of Berkeley, California and a leading figure in the field of criminal justice in the United States in the early 20th century. His words are arguably still relevant today. According to Bartol (1991), it is not always clear what constitutes a good or successful police officer. The importance of not only police selection, but also for specialist units is well understood. Potential consequences of selection errors, both to society and by way of financial loss, are immeasurable. The job of policing is unique in the amount of power and authority its entry level employees are given (Sanders, 2008, p.129). There is also no consensus about what constitutes police performance and how this should be measured. This inconsistency in the definition of performance arguably also impacts research (Alpert, Flynn, & Piquero, 2001; Langworthy, 1999; Maguire, 2004).

A number of empirical studies, although dated, have attempted to identify the characteristics of good officers (Bartol, 1991; Hogan, 1971; Hogue, Black & Sigler, 1994; Pugh, 1986). The characteristics seem mainly to echo masculine traits like assertiveness, a straightforward and uncomplicated interpersonal style, and a dependable, responsible demeanor. Traits such as intelligence, common sense, dependability and honesty appear more frequently than any other in the police literature (Sanders, 2003). Baehr, Furcon & Froemel (1968) studied the personal characteristics of police in relation to field performance. In a sample of 512 Chicago patrolmen, good performance (defined by supervisors) was associated with 'early marriage and establishment of family'; 'interest in family activities'; 'development of positive attitudes in childhood'; 'satisfactory relationships with family (in childhood)'; and a 'happy and comfortable home life'.

These background variables suggest that highly-rated Chicago patrolmen are stable, well-socialised and family-oriented, which seems to link back to the personalities of the very first police officers. This lack of definition, and indeed lack of understanding, of what is a good police officer makes it challenging when comparing and evaluating studies. Defining what makes a good police officer is difficult and vague and often it is just the absence of doing something wrong (James, Campbell, & Lovegrove, 1984). Burbeck & Furnham's (1985) study of British police officers found that psychological testing could screen out candidates with aberrant behaviour, but was not effective at selecting potentially good officers. The research participants were asked about this in the interviews. Muir (1977) suggested that a good police officer has a mature conception of human nature, as well as personal authority.

The personality traits which make a police officer are as discussed and are often difficult to identify and quantify. Sanders (2003, p.313) suggested that traits such as intelligence, common sense, dependability and honesty appear more frequently than others in police research. Hogue, Black, & Sigler (1994) also suggested that reliability, honesty, patience and emotional stability are all desirable traits for police officers. As in all research, their work has methodological limitations. It used participants from one municipal police department in America and only asked what other police officers believed were essential traits. Another study was also carried out with only one municipal department, but this time asking supervisors what traits they found desirable. These included mature, outgoing, dominant, rule-oriented and emotionally controlled (Hargrave & Berner, 1985).

One of the issues regarding what is a good police officer and how to deal with sex offenders is that around stereotypes. This became one of the underlying sub-headings of the interviews. It was never really mentioned in any of the interviews, but most participants displayed stereotypical views of the sex offenders they were dealing with. Some were quite hostile and derogatory about them, but others were more thoughtful. Dovidio (1996) suggested that the relationship between stereotypes, discrimination and prejudice is reliable. Defining 'discrimination' is problematic without defining and discussing prejudice, stigma and stereotyping (Clements, 2007, p.25). Hall (2005, p.23) argued that discrimination is so closely linked to prejudice and that they are often interchangeable.

*Prejudice* is generally agreed to be an unfavourable attitude towards a social group and its members (Pilgrim & Rogers, 1993, p.46). Hall (2005, p.23) cites Baron and Byrne (1994) as defining discrimination as being a prejudice in motion. Brown (1995, p.82) argues that stereotyping is a development of a prejudicial view and therefore represents a form of prejudice and discrimination. It is generally agreed that *stereotype* is 'the traits that are viewed as characteristics of social groups that differentiate groups or individuals from one another' (Nelson, 2009, p.3). Stereotypes are problematic because arguably they are primarily negative, inaccurate, unfair and often slow to change (Bhul, 2009). Belcher and Deforge (2012) argued that social stigma occurs in situations where there is unequal social, economic and political power and there is an opportunity to label, stereotype and discriminate. Stigmatisation is due, in part, when people feel threatened or lack an understanding of another group, in this case the sex offender.

## Police Officers' Personalities

Few other decisions influence individuals' lives as much as career decisions (Hackett & Betz, 1995). Skolnick (2011, p.39) suggests that police officers have a working personality and personality traits which can develop over time, with the constant elements of danger, authority and being suspicious.

There is no real 'generic' police personality. Holland (1985) suggested that a career should be a match between personality traits and the work environment. A personality trait is defined as 'any distinguishable, relatively enduring way in which one individual differs from others' (Guildford, 1959, p.6). Ainsworth (2002, p.32) stated that, *'In order for a law enforcement organisation to function efficiently and effectively it is essential that it employs those individuals who are best suited to the complex task of policing.'* Potential recruits into the police service have to undergo physical and personality trait assessments, but this does not continue when accepted as a police officer, although this is changing with the Winsor Report. It is suggested that very few departments in the police service today carry out any psychological tests or assessments when officers apply to join specialised units. Applying to become a firearm officer is perhaps the only one of note (Alpert & Dunham, 2004; Waldren, 2007). Dealing with sex offenders is another unit that officers can sometimes be offered clinical supervision, but only when they are on the unit. The participants in this research were asked about this aspect. Of interest is that there would also appear to be no assessment of when a police officer decides that dealing with sex offenders will be their career choice. None of the participants had any psychological testing before they joined the unit. The fact that someone has joined the police service with the sole objective of dealing with sex offenders must, in the author's view, be a cause for a certain amount of alarm.

From its inception, police work has traditionally been defined as a masculine occupation. The general perception and image of policing has been physical strength, power and control which are arguably stereotypical images of a male (Lord, & Friday, 2003, p.63). Blau (1994, p.72) suggested that to most of society a police officer is brave and courageous, dealing professionally with both distressed individuals and those showing anger and hostility. Fielding (1987) suggested that police are confronted with two conventional images. First is that the police service only deals with crime and disorder; and, secondly, that women are seen as weak, emotional and sympathetic. The research carried out by Euwema, Kop & Bakker (2004), based in the Netherlands, found that dominance, both physical and mental, plays an important part in police-civilian interactions. They went on to suggest that 'burnout' could also be associated with a reduction in dominance. Tehrani (2009) suggested that high level exposure to negative emotions, for example dealing with sex offenders, can result in stress or compassion fatigue. Compassion fatigue was mentioned in the interviews in this research.

The financial cost of bad personal decisions is high, particularly in the police service. The price of community trust and respect that comes with police officers' misbehaviour or serious abuse of authority is also high (Tate, 1999). Butler & Cochrane (1977) proposed that British police were high in self-assertion, independence of thought and dominance. Gudjonsson & Adlam (1983) compared British recruits with serving British officers. They found that the recruits were highly extroverted, adventurous and impulsive, whilst serving officers were more reserved, controlled and made fewer empathetic responses. This change is not unexpected, but is worthy of note.

Other research, albeit some years old, seems to support this concept (Colman & Gorman 1985; Brown & Willis 1985; Biggarn & Power 1996). Siegel (2009, p.278) indicated that the police personality is often shaped by the exposure to danger. Although there are differing views what constitutes this 'personality', most seem to agree that police officers frequently incur occupational exposure to violence, physical danger, severe injury and the death of others (Crank, 1998; Territo & Vetter, 1981). Decades of research assessing police personality have been concerned with negative aspects of personality, including cynicism, authoritarianism and psychopathology (Gerber & Ward, 2011), with some asserting that authoritarianism increases over time as officers enter a work culture (Genz & Lester, 1976; Niederhoffer, 1967), adopting an occupational personality, already mentioned above. Many studies, however, have shown that police officers are generally psychologically healthy and stable, and that they remain so over time (Mills & Bohannon, 1980; Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000). Wills & Schuldberg's (2016) research of 40 police officers in the USA, however, found that empathy tended to decline throughout adulthood in a linear fashion.

Research into the personalities of police officers is problematic. A large amount of research has been completed in the USA, with American policing therefore being its main focus. This causes problems when compared to policing in Britain. Research studies also seem to make the comparison between a police personality and being a 'good police officer'. Skolnick (2011, p.41) in his seminal work on police working personality acknowledges this difficulty in comparing American and British police. Since 1829, the principle of policing in Britain has been that of consent (Home Office, 2011). Reith (1956) stated that this was unique in history and throughout the world because it did not come from fear, but almost exclusively from public co-operation

with the police. America is policed with a more para-military outlook (Skolnick, 2011, p.39). This brings with it the most obvious difference with policing in America and Britain - the use and possession of firearms. American police work under two doctrines: *danger*, which can lead to isolation from society; and *authority*, which again can reinforce the element of danger in isolating them from society.

British and American policing also work under different systems: inquisitorial system (UK) and an adversarial system (US) (Leo, 2004). This has an impact in the way in which police interact with society. The difference is most obvious in the way interviews are conducted. In Britain, suspects and persons of interest are interviewed, whereas in America they are interrogated in a much more confrontational approach (Russano, Meissner, Narchet, & Kassin, 2005). Gudjonsson (1999, p.29) lists a number of personality attributes that make a good interviewer, such as a good understanding of human nature, ability to get on well with others, patience and persistence - traits that are considered an advantage for a British police officer. Inbau, Reid & Buckley (1986) suggest that the qualities that make a good interviewer may not necessarily be those needed when interrogating.

In the American criminal justice system, prosecutors avidly seek confessions as the most persuasive evidence to win cases. However, it is almost always accepted that police will lie, deceive and coerce to gain a confession, making these abilities sought after in a 'good American police officer' (Wakefield & Underwager, 1998, p.424). The use of deception, manipulation and coercion is functional and normal (Scrivner, 2006). Hunt & Manning (1991, p.52) stated that 'Lying is a sanctioned practice' in the American criminal justice system. This is not the case in Britain where the purpose of interviewing has moved from obtaining a confession to a need to

establish the 'truth' (Gozna & Horvath, 2009, p.115). This difference continues with how America supervises their sex offenders. This is very different from Britain and when research is used from American police officers, it can therefore cause issues.

## **Police Culture**

So much has been written and researched about organisational culture, and in particular, police culture, that it is often difficult to see the wood for the trees. Cain (1979) states that, regarding police culture, researchers have assumed a taken-for-granted notion of the police and their proper function. The police are identified primarily as a body of people patrolling public places in blue uniforms, catching criminals and keeping the peace (Reiner, 2010, p.3). Westmarland (2008) identifies four broad themes covered by the classic studies of police culture. First is what police really do, as opposed to what we think they do. Secondly, the literature on reform summarised as, the police would be effective if they were not controlled by police culture. Thirdly, the fact that all police have the same characteristics: more of this later. Finally, police culture is a necessary evil. As can be seen, there are many issues when researching police culture (Chapter Four).

There are many definitions and explanations of what organisation culture is. Manning (1989, p.360) defines organisational culture as 'accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that are situationally applied and generalised rationales and beliefs'. This definition captures the fundamental principles of many of the other definitions. The underlying theme is that those which become accepted practices are generally acquired through 'generational inheritance'. One generation teaches the next, passing on their standards, beliefs and expectations to the next generation.

This explanation of accepted practices, rules and principles has its roots in the police policy framework. Police culture is influenced by society and changes in legislation, although it can be argued that the same laws governing police practice are also sufficiently permissive to give officers a wide range of discretion. This is a central feature of every stage of administration of the criminal justice system in Britain. The legal authority of the police is a critical element of this system of discretionary justice. Much of the legislation states that police 'may' rather than 'shall'. McBarnet (1981, p.5) argues that historically the courts have often seemed ready to accommodate extensions of the rules to legitimate police practices. This leaves a certain flexibility for police culture and the social and situational pressures on officers to shape police practice (Mastrofski, 2004).

However, Westmarland (2008, p.255) argues that if police culture controls or influences behaviour, it might lead to '*Justice without Trial*' as Skolnick's book title suggest (1966). Savage (2007) states that it is no exaggeration to say that some aspects of British policing have their roots in early nineteenth century practices. British policing principles, such as 'policing by consent', 'minimum use of force' and 'crime prevention' can be traced back directly to the origins of what was known then as the 'modern police' in the 1820s. A small number of researchers have challenged this and point out the necessity of a re-evaluation (Chan, 1997; Waddington, 1999; Sklansky, 2006).

Organisational culture develops as a direct result of social interaction, repeated tasks which become routine and shared understandings that evolve into agreed meanings (Glomseth & Gottschalk, 2009, p.4; Lynn Meek, 1994, p.274). A culture represents everything that is learned and shared by a group of people and includes

social heritage, accepted standards of behaviour, customs, traditions language and stories (Smircich, 1983, p.339). The culture of an organisation can influence and drive the way employees think, act and feel. It can also influence not only their actions, but those of others (Helmes & Stern, 2001, p.417). Police organisational culture research remains an enduring field, a situation unaltered since Skolnick (1996) and Westley (1953). In the main, the research seems to show this culture in a negative way and slow to change. Reiner (2010) argues that police culture, the values, norms, perspectives, myths and craft rules is neither monolithic, universal nor unchanging. Although legal rules may be inhibiting, police do change. Charman (2017, p.128) states that research seems to suggest that police officers exhibit the characteristics of secrecy (Goldmith, 1990); cynicism (De lint, 1998); authoritarianism (Waddington, 1999); hostility (Reiner, 1992); suspicions (Skolnick, 1966); and prejudice (Drummond, 1976).

'Police culture' has been defined in various ways. Reiner (1992, p.67) described it as. *'The values, norms, perspectives and craft rules which inform police conduct'*. Chan (1996, p.43) defined it as, *'Informal occupational norms and values, operating under the apparently rigid hierarchical structure of police organisation.'* What is accepted in these definitions is that police hold a distinctive set of norms, beliefs and values which determine their behaviour, both among themselves and on the streets (Loftus, 2009).

Many demographic characteristics can influence an employee's perception of the organisational culture of, in this case the police service. As children we observe and discover patterns of behaviours and cultures, learning to associate words and objects in order to make sense of the world. Personal life experiences have a direct

impact on our perceptions of the working environment, and thus in turn they can influence the organisational culture (Helms & Stern, 2001, p.426). The hierarchical level within the police service is also likely to affect the perception of organisational police culture. In Helms & Stern's study, demographic characteristics of gender, age, ethnicity, tenure and function were used to assess the interaction of the participants with the organisational culture of Life Care Centers of America. This is the fifth largest overall and the largest privately held extended healthcare facility in the USA.

Reiner (2000) summarises the main characteristics of police culture. He identifies seven major characteristics as a sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, conservatism, machismo, pragmatism and racial prejudice.

Helms & Stern (2001) suggested that the age of participants is likely to affect the way they perceive the organisational culture, but, in essence, employees of the same age are more likely to communicate with each other and share information. The gender of an employee may also influence their perception of the organisation culture. Maclead et al (1992) also suggested that male and female employees process information and communicate. The values and attitudes of the employees may also be affected by their ethnicity. There is prior research which has shown that as the workforce diversity increases, it may be difficult or impossible to infuse common beliefs. However, changing police culture has been an extremely difficult task (Goldsmith, 1990; Brogden & Shearing, 1993; Savage, 2003).

Group membership is part of the police culture. Any organisation is constructor of multiple groups which, according to Hogg & Terry (2001, p.1), are distinguished by their individual 'power, status and prestige'. Group membership can assist

individuals from their social identity. Giving them a sense of belonging clearly defines who they are (Hogg, Terry & White, 1995, p.307). Competition between two groups can be healthy: it may be encouraged in order to promote group cohesiveness, improve both intergroup morale and cooperation. However, it also has the capacity to promote negative competitiveness resulting in a greater divide between groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p.33). Groups can have a positive impact by providing social support, friendship and a sense of belonging for an individual. However, there can be tremendous pressure from the group to adapt their attitudes in order to become accepted (McIvor, 2009, p.3; Roth, 1992, p.694). Charman (2017, p.128) also acknowledged that there is potential for multiple cultures within policing environments.

The core characteristics of police culture remain, as Skolnick's (1996) working personality, mentioned before. As mentioned Reiner (2010) went on identify seven major characteristics of police culture, which is closely linked to the police personality. These are a *sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, conservatism, machismo, pragmatism and racial prejudice*.

The *sense of mission* is the feeling that policing is not just a job, but a way of life with a worthwhile purpose, which is the preservation of a valued way of life and the protection of the weak. This sense of mission is also reflected in the sense of themselves as 'the thin blue line'. The myth of police indispensability, of their essential social function, is 'to protect and to serve'.

*Suspicion* is best described as that of which most police officers are aware. It is a product of the need to keep a lookout for signs of danger and the response to it from the environment in which they find themselves. This theme is closely linked to

stereotyping and there is much research on the stereotypical view held by police. However, Reiner (2010) argues that stereotyping is an inevitable tool of the suspiciousness endemic in police work.

In terms of *isolation/solidarity*, many police personnel report difficulties in mixing with civilians in ordinary social life. This feeling of isolation can stem from many reasons including shift work, erratic hours, aspects of the disciplinary code and the hostility to or fear of the police exhibited by some citizens. Miller (1999) argues that this stems from Sir Robert Peel's policy of elevating the British police as symbols of impersonal authority and recruitment policies aimed at severing officers from their local communities (see Chapter Two). Indeed, the policy in many police areas until quite recently has been that you cannot live and work in the same area.

Reiner (2010) goes onto the next point (*conservatism*) by stating that there is evidence that suggests police tend to be conservative, politically and morally. There is very little research of British police officers' political views. Indeed, this was not even considered an interview topic when the research in this thesis was carried out.

The theme of *machismo* is very much the traditional view of the police service. Reiner (1978, p.212) quotes one police officer as, '*Policemen have one of the highest divorce rates in the country, There is always a bit of spare round the corner, because of the glamour of the job.*' It has always been tough for women in the police force to gain acceptance. Fielding (1994, p.47) suggests that police culture and values are responsible for producing '*an almost pure form of hegemonic masculinity.*' Westmarland (2001) argues that a male police officer to be compassionate but detached may not be considered by the traditional views of

'macho cop'. This culture does suggest that certain jobs in the police service are gendered.

As far as *pragmatism* is concerned, research seems to indicate that police officers are concerned with getting from A to B safely and with the least fuss and paperwork. This, as it is argued, has made them reluctant to contemplate innovation, experimentation or research. Reiner (2010) suggests that this theme has been changing over the years with more graduates and experienced police staff joining and bringing with them a different way of working. This could change even more with the graduate entrance being put in place by the College of Policing.

On the last theme of *racial prejudice*, there is a large amount of research, mainly in America, suggesting police suspiciousness, hostility and prejudice towards ethnic minority groups, and vice versa. In Britain, this attitude was brought to national attention with the Macpherson Report (1999). Reiner (2010, p.131) goes on to state that the 'crucial source of police prejudice is societal racism, which places ethnic minorities disproportionately in those least privileged and powerful social strata'.

These characteristics of police culture can be seen in both positive and negative ways. Waddington (1999) argues that this sense of mission and the pragmatic nature of police culture is, or can be, a positive element to policing, while Reiner (1992) and Chan (1997) argue that prejudice and the use of stereotypes has to be seen in a negative light. As can be seen, police culture is complicated and some would argue ever-changing. The participants and themes in this thesis show many of the 'working personalities' discussed above. This will be discussed in further chapters.

## Specialised Police Culture

Today, the Metropolitan Police boasts over 200 different uniform and non-uniform roles, giving individuals a varied possible career path (Metropolitan Police Service, 2010). Westmarland (2008) states that given the numbers of these units and roles, specialists amount to a significant number of officers. The units vary from 'helping' which is often seen as the feminine side of policing (Miller, 1999), to dog handlers and firearms units which are often seen as in the male domain. Despite this view, statistically the CID has a comparatively substantial number of women officers, which is often seen as an elite club.

Whilst the police force areas in this research are not as big as the Metropolitan Police, all had many so-called specialised roles that officers and civilians could join. Each specialised unit seemed to have its own specialised culture. The creation of numerous specialised departments had resulted in a multitude of sub cultures. What little research has been done on this topic mainly focuses on the firearms and drugs units. Charman (2017, p.140) says that there was still evidence of the 'Us versus Them' mentality that has existed since police culture was first mentioned in the 1960s. However, Charman also found that there was a culture more associated with the 'us' being firearms officers and 'them' being any other police officer. While Charman goes on to state that becoming a member of a firearms unit required physical and mental strength, and this is not a requirement *per se* for dealing with sex offenders, the units are still considered specialised. Young (1991) also made this link when comparing uniform officers with detectives and the divisions that can occur. This is worthy of note as the participants in this study felt the need to explain that they either were detectives or not (see Chapter Four).

Glomseth and Gottschalk (2009) suggest that these specialised cultures are affected by the tasks performed. They studied two comparative areas of policing in the Norwegian police, CID and counter terrorism. They concluded that the culture within the counter terrorism department was driven by time schedules and deadlines and therefore speed was a vital element. Conversely, CID officers 'identified sufficient time and not being run by their watch' as vital components to their job. Holdaway & Parker's (1998) survey identified a culture within a culture where child abuse work was regarded as lower status to CID despite there being distinct similarities with the actual crimes investigated. This could be down to the fact that this sort of work, working with victims is still seen as a 'female work'. However, the participants in this thesis have stepped away from the victim and are dealing with the offender which could influence their specialist culture.

This move from organisational culture to occupational culture to specialised police culture is important. Bacon (2016) makes the point that police officers are employed mainly to investigate crime. In performing this role, they are actively involved in defining acts as 'criminal' as they interpret complex webs of behaviours and then translating these into legal reality. Although Bacon's work was with drugs units, and not those dealing with sex offenders, he found that officers on these units are seen by their colleagues, management and the public as experts in the field. This is what the participants in this thesis also believed: they were special and they were experts, even those that had only been on the unit for a short time. Many times in my career I was called to the custody suite for my opinion as to whether someone was a sex offender. Officers saw me as an expert, different from other detectives.

## Adverse Childhood Experience

Future Prime Minister Tony Blair (in 1993) stated that,

*“I have no doubt that the breakdown of law and order is intimately linked with the breakup of a strong sense of community; and the breakup of community, in turn, to a crucial degree, is consequent on the breakdown of family life. If we want anything more than a superficial discussion of crime and its causes, we cannot ignore the importance of the family life.”*

This view seems to be supported by some academic research. Harvey & Fine (2004) suggested that children whose parents divorce or separate early in their childhood exhibit more behavioural and emotional problems. More exhibit social difficulties, lower academic achievement, poorer adjustment and are vulnerable to depression and other psychological disorders. However, all the research mentions that the effects vary from one child to another. Since the mid 1960s, a large number of studies from multiple disciplines have explored the effects of parental separation and/or divorce on children. This research has consistently demonstrated that children with divorced parents score lower (on average) on a variety of measures of achievement, adjustment, and well-being compared with children with continuously married parents (Amato, 2001; Amato & Keith, 1991; Kelly & Emery, 2003). Much of this is in the media in America at present (June 2018), with the Trump administration separating immigrant children from their parents at US borders. There are also two main theories to explain children's experiences when their parents divorced. These are the Family Systems Theory developed by Murray Bowen in the 1960s, and the Attachment Theory advanced by Bowlby & Ainsworth in the late 1980s.

Bowlby emphasised that the family is an emotional unit and that its members are deeply connected emotionally. He went on to hypothesise that family members are affected by other members' thoughts, feelings and action. This makes family members interdependent (Anderson & Sabatelli, 1999). The theory goes on to suggest that a change in one component of the system affects all the other components. This means that a family member cannot be isolated from other family members as it is an emotional unit. The theory advanced by Bowlby (1969), goes on to explain that attachment is an emotional bond that leads us to want to be with someone and to miss them if they are separated. This bond should begin during infancy when infants become attached to their primary caregivers. This Attachment Theory, it is argued, has evolved because the human race would not survive otherwise. It is of note that Bowlby's early ideas about human attachment were formed partly through his clinical work with young offenders. This seems to be the pattern in much of the research - the breaking down of the family and the emotional unit leading to offending behaviour (Beech & Mitchell, 2005; Smallbone & Dadds, 1998; Ward, Hudson, Marshall & Siegert, 1995). Marshall (1989) then seemed to make the link between early attachment difficulties and sexual offending.

There would appear to be two important limitations of much of this research. The first is that there is no real or adequate explanation as to why a childhood attachment problem would be responsible for sex offending. The other is that not all who have a childhood attachment problem go on to be sex offenders. Some, like the participants in this research, seem to have gone in the opposite direction.

Many of the participants in this research not only had attachment issues with primary caregivers, but were also themselves the subjects of physical, emotional and sexual

abuse, or were witness to these: a so-called 'traumatic experience'. However, such an experience is difficult to define as it is open to a certain amount of interpretation and its effect on the individual. The definition that seems to encompass all of the above is *Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE)* and is the one that is used in this research.

ACE was first coined in the 1980s in San Diego, California. Participants in an obesity clinic had a 50% dropout rate, despite those who dropped out having lost weight under the program. Vincent Felitti, Head of Kaiser Permanente's Department of Preventive Medicine in San Diego, conducted interviews with people who had left the program, and discovered that a majority of 286 people he interviewed had experienced childhood sexual abuse. In 1998, Felitti and colleagues published this study on ACEs in the general population (Felitti et al, 1998, p.246). Researchers then took this study further and made the link not only with health issues, but also with behavioural and social issues (Merrick et al, 2017).

There is a small amount of research into participants who had an adverse childhood experiences but were not offenders. Bloom (2010) noted that human service workers frequently present with early life adversity and past trauma that they continue to contend with while engaging in service delivery. Given the nature of working in human services (e.g. supporting people in their daily life, many of whom might come from disadvantaged backgrounds), there is considerable potential for a worker's past adversity to manifest. Bloom & Farragher (2010) indicated that more than 80% of their residential staff experienced some form of childhood adversity.

More recently, Esaki & Larkin (2013) explored the prevalence of ACEs among direct and indirect care providers. They found that 70% of staff experienced at least one

ACE. In their social work study, Black, Jeffreys & Hartley (1993) found support for a link between psychosocial trauma in the early life of social work students and their choice of a social work career (Lyter, 2008). Social work students reported a significantly higher frequency of early life family trauma compared with a sample of business students.

Many of the participants in this study disclosed some adverse childhood experience, but all chose to deal with sex offenders. It would appear that they had similar motives to those in the above studies. Although the above research used social services, there would appear to be some similarities.

### **Controlling Emotion**

Although it is almost impossible to establish characteristics of police officers, emotional stability or emotional intelligence is a recurring dimension in research studies, along with the more obvious traits of honesty and common sense. Several studies have contended that in order to make and keep a professional appearance (Skolnick's working personality), police officers need to suppress their felt emotions or display emotions that are not felt, so-called 'emotional labour' (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Heuven & Bakker, 2003). In acting professionally, it can benefit a police officer to hide certain feelings or show emotions that are not felt. This discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions is called 'emotional dissonance' (Abraham, 1998; Mann, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini & Holz, 2001). Hart & Cotton (2002) suggested that this could be detrimental to the psychological well-being of police officers.

Emotions in organisations have also found increasing interest among scientists and practitioners (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Briner, 1999; Fineman, 1993; Granley, 2000; Gelderen, Konijm & Bakker, 2011). Ashforth & Humphrey (1995, p.90) defined emotional labour as conforming and displaying the appropriate reaction. Emotion work is a significant component of jobs that require either face-to-face or verbal interactions with clients, something that police officers do every day. Controlling these work emotions creates certain impressions that are acceptable to the client (sex offender). Briner (1999) argued that it may be considered professional to be able to maintain a particular emotional display, even when felt emotions are very different. Stenross & Kleinman (1989, p.440) reported that detectives felt hampered when they had to show both justified and unjustified sympathy toward victims. Ashforth & Humphrey (1995) suggested that effective displays of emotion are highly contextual and ruled by social norms. Particular 'display rules' regulate which emotional presentations are appropriate for what contexts (Kramer & Hess, 2002) or culture (Ekman, 1993). For instance, it is appropriate to cry and not laugh at funerals, or to make direct eye contact in America but not, perhaps, in China. Performing emotion appropriately is often a matter of emotion management and for police officers this emotional intelligence is an everyday requirement.

A key component of emotional intelligence is humour. This was also mentioned, and indeed was evident, in a number of the interviews with the participants of this study. Hampes (2001) also found that humour was related to empathic concern. He suggests that individuals with high emotional intelligence use humour to improve their relationships. A possible explanation for this may be that humour is used to manage relationships with people by addressing difficult and embarrassing situations, usually in a positive manner. Nezlek & Derks (2001) found that using

humour is a coping method that is related to positive social interactions. Humour also reduces social distance and boundaries (Cosser, 1960). Similarly, Collinson (1988) found that humour served as a foundation in group culture or, this instance, police culture. It can be used to communicate the group's values, beliefs, expectations and other important elements in a non-confrontational way. It can also be used to diffuse certain situations and indicate inappropriate behaviour usually without the use of violence or confrontation (Holmes & Marra, 2002; Vinton, 1989).

Humour has the potential to both unite and divide groups. It is important within both the formation and the reinforcement of organisational culture, and acts as a method of making sense of what can be difficult and tense situations (Tracy et al, 2006). In doing so, it also contributes to the reproduction of the organisational culture through the telling and re-telling of humorous events. Emergency services workers will frequently find themselves in unpleasant and unpredictable situations, much at odds with the 'hero' status and image that is often presented in television dramas. The use of humour to differentiate sharply who is on the 'inside' of the cultural wall and who is on the 'outside' has been well recognised by the humour literature and has been found to be important in the limited research into emergency service humour (Young, 1995; Meyer, 1997; Myers, 2005). Laughter assists in the reinforcement of cultural norms and values, in affirming the group identity and in the categorisation of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours within the included group. When humour is directed at the excluded (i.e. those on the outside of a group's cultural boundaries), the shared values of the group are also emphasised.

Brown (1995) suggested that the only thing more stressful for police than dealing with sex offenders was informing a relative of a sudden death. It is worthy of note

that society, seemingly reinforced by the criminal justice system, is accepting the stereotype that sex offenders are so monstrous that they should be treated differently from any other offender. This is often reflected in legislation and policy initiatives by governments in an effort to control these 'monsters' which can in turn reinforce the public stereotype. A Sex Offender Protection Order (SOPO) is arguably an example of this and some would argue secondary punishment. Society and the British criminal justice system also seem to accept that even a perceived sex offender can be punished, or risk controlled, by being placed under Risk of Sexual Harm Orders (RSHO). McAlinden (2007, p.113) suggested that, '*Sex offenders are being punished not for what they have done, but for what they might do, in the hope of protecting future victims.*' If, as discussed, policing is labour-intensive, then a better understanding of police officers' personality traits must be an advantage in protecting and prolonging their careers, both financially and to society in general.

## Conclusion

This chapter has considered the evolution of a number of aspects of policing in England and Wales. It has examined the history of policing and provided a critical review of the literature on a number of topics that were identified mainly from the semi-structured interviews. It has explored the characters and experiences of police officers, including women, PCSOs and civilian investigators. It has covered the structure of the police service and the qualifications that are required to join the police service. It has also included an examination of the culture within the police organisation, how the culture develops and manifests itself within the police. The chapter then developed this further and examine the specialised police culture of

which the participants in this thesis are part. The next chapter will be a literature review of sex offenders and how society deals with them.

## Chapter Three: Literature Review - Sex Offenders

### Introduction

This chapter will examine the literature surrounding sex offenders and how society views and deals with them. It will discuss the nature of a sex offender and the definition of a sexual offence. It will examine a number of topics that the participants in this thesis highlighted in their interviews.

### History of sexual offences

Cotterrell (1984) stated that law and legislation of a society makes it possible to understand the social character and the complexity of its relation with other social phenomena. Fletcher (1981) stated that if we know the law of any society, we have an excellent outline of the nature of the social system as a whole. Today's society wants to protect its children from these 'monsters' (Kitzinger, 2008, p.357). The sexual abuse of children and vulnerable members of the community often becomes the subject of national anger, sometimes leading to changes in policy and legislation. Such outrage and disgust, often managed by the popular press, has led to legislation aimed at controlling sex offenders in the community (Levenson et al, 2010, p.306).

The idea of sex offenders and sex offences, as we know them today, has evolved slowly over a many years (Thomas 2000, p.34). Throughout history, societies have sought to establish rules to govern sexual acts ruled by the social norms, values and customs of the time and the culture (Wright, 2009, p.473). This has meant that, historically, it is not as easy to define or understand a sex crime as it is to define

other offences (Neumann, 2010, p.1). The physical act of sexual inter-course is a basic human function. We want and need sex because our continued existence as a species depends on it. Most living things use some form of sexual intercourse or connection to reproduce. There is an argument that sex is a psychological need, the same as needing food, water or shelter and, at times, such a need can be overwhelming and all encompassing.

*“Thirdly comes our greatest need and keenest lust, which, though the latest to emerge, influences the soul of men with most raging frenzy - the lust for the sowing of offspring that burns with utmost violence.” Plato*

However, there is another argument that there is no evidence to support the view that celibacy or asexuality is actually physically or psychologically unhealthy. Having sex is not a biological or psychological need, but rather simply governed by desire or pleasure. Certain sexual acts can also be linked to places, or social opportunities. For example, bestiality occurs more in rural locations. Sex between males occurs in prison and at sea and incest occurs between family members who live in close proximity (Peakman, 2009, p.23).

Since the earliest recorded history, society, and in some ways policymakers, have tried to set boundaries on how people take their sexual pleasures (Berkowitz, 2013, p.14). Society’s understanding of sexuality has typically been bound up with, and linked to, perceptions about what is natural or unnatural (Craig, 2013, p.10). This perception is itself a concern: what is ‘natural’ to some cultures or societies may not be to others. It would appear that rape, adultery, incest, bestiality and sex with children has almost always been deemed unnatural in some form or another within most cultures, although this does change over time. Only a few cases of bestiality

were recorded in England in the 17th century, but it has always been condemned as an unnatural act. In 1677, a married woman was sentenced to death for her crime of bestiality. There is a great deal of detail in the transcripts of the court case on what she did: words used at the Old Bailey were 'wickedly, devilishly and against nature'. She was found guilty and sentenced to death (Peakman, 2009, p.9).

In 1678, Major Thomas Wier was convicted of adultery, incest and bestiality. He was also accused of consorting with the devil and his crimes were associated with magic and witchcraft. This link with the devil also occurs in today's perception of sex offenders. Cohen (1973) called sex offenders 'folk devils'. Cohen & Boucher (1972) stated that a sex offender was seen as, *'Brutal and depraved, immoral and oversexed, a social isolate who spends his time haunting dirty movies, a godless, brainless fellow, a dirty old man, crippled or disfigured, dope addicted and incurable.'* (1972, p.56 cited in Prins, 2000, p.199).

So why are certain sexual acts defined as unnatural and why were they (and in some cases still are) considered a crime? In most definitions, along with society's understanding of a sex offence, there needs to be a victim. Bestiality has no victim although it is acknowledged that some animals could be harmed. Consensual sex between adult males is not illegal in the UK and it would appear that the differences in defining natural and unnatural offences are linked to religion. 'Unnatural' offences are seen to be acts against God's will. In England during the early modern period (roughly the late 15th century to the late 18th century), the boundaries of acceptable sexual behaviour were set by religion. Indeed, these 'unnatural' offences were still being taught in law enforcement until 2004. During my own training, buggery and bestiality were included under the heading of 'Unnatural Offences'.

The world changes, and with it patterns of sexual behaviour and social acceptance of these acts. At some point there comes a pivotal time when a labelled deviant act has been undertaken by enough people for it to be seen as normal and natural. French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) argued that perversion did not exist until the sexologists came along and labelled them as such (Foucault, *A History of Sexuality: An Introduction*). In 1892, French psychologist Alfred Binet introduced the concept of fetishism, which he described as the sexual admiration of inanimate objects. Around the same time, Austro-German Sexologist Richard von Krafft-Ebing first labelled all the perversities: sadism, masochism, fetishism, exhibitionism, pederasty, bestiality, nymphomania, flagellation, homosexuality, lesbian love, necrophilia, incest and so on. Although these had been written about in ancient texts, it was not until Krafft-Ebing that they were given names.

Homosexuality is another case in point. It shifted from being accepted in Ancient Greece to being rejected and classified as deviant in the early modern period to being accepted in many countries and cultures today. From the early 6th to the early 4th century BCE, the culture of pederasty flourished in Athens, with adult men often taking adolescent boys to serve as their lovers. Lesbians (female homosexuals) certainly existed, and the culture is associated most particularly with the island of Lesbos '*where burning Sappho loved and sung*' (Rich, 1980, p.631). Havelock Ellis was another ground breaker with his collection studies in *Psychology of Sex* (1897-1928). Both men believed that homosexuality was inherent and campaigned against its criminalisation. However, some of these early pioneers, including Krafft-Ebing, although suggesting tolerance, also saw the need for treatment of homosexuals and continued to see their behaviour as deviating from commonly accepted idea of

normality (Rich, 1980 p.2). This view is still held by a number of cultures and religions.

In Britain, this evolution has arisen from new legislation, often brought about by pressure from society and popular media. Oscar Wilde (1854-1900) was famously imprisoned for two years, with hard labour, after being convicted of 'gross indecency' (Peakman, 2009. p.25). This could also be the case in Britain today with the punishment for possessing child abuse images. Not so long ago, possession of a grade five image (with pain) would automatically mean a prison sentence and being placed on the Sex Offenders Register for many years. This is not the case with sentencing today. Of note is that American police do not count or grade the images.

Many terms used today derive from ancient Greece, for example, eroticism, homosexuality, narcissism, nymphomania and pederasty. Many of the Gods in ancient times were said to have committed several of these 'deviant' sexual acts: Aphrodite was the result of incest; Hercules had sex with 50 virgins as well as with a number of males, including his nephew Iolaus (Guardian 2008). These are obviously myths and legends, but for such acts to have been included in many ancient texts would seem to indicate that they were certainly known about and maybe practised. Of note is that the Hippocratic Oath, which in 429 BCE established ethical principles for physicians, bans sexual encounters within doctor-patient relationships (Smith, 2004). So, why was this? It could be that this was the first attempt to protect the vulnerable and indicate the issues surrounding a position of trust that we talk about so much today.

In 1385, King Richard I decreed that none of his soldiers should rape any woman in the countries with which they were at war. If they did, it would mean a death

sentence. This is the almost complete opposite to today's conflicts around the world where the rape of women and children is seen almost as an accepted product of war and a useful act of terrorism (Attah, 2016). From 1992 to 1995, thousands of Bosnian women were gang raped by Serbian soldiers during the Bosnian war. This led in 1998 to the United Nations declaring rape to be a crime of genocide (Neumann, 2010, p.36).

Most sexual offenders seem to be targeted to males, but a female sex offender is not a new concept. Petronius (c. 27-66 AD) described an incident where a seven year old girl was raped while women stood around clapping. Early societies describe child sexual abuse as highly prevalent with women involved in that abuse (De Mause, 2008). Auguste Ambroise Tardieu (1818-1879) was a French medical doctor who recognised that women also committed child sexual abuse. Sigmund Freud (1896) reported on cases of servant girls, nurses and governesses sexually abusing children. He reported that he was sexually abused in his early childhood by his female nurse (Masson, 1985).

O'Connell, Leberg & Donaldson (1990, p.325) provide a balanced definition of sex offences as, *'A criminal offence involving sexual behaviour which occurs when one party does not give, or is incapable of giving, fully informed consent or where the difference in power between the two parties is such that one is not in a position to make a truly free choice.'*

### **The Sex Offender**

As can be seen above, the definition of what is a sexual crime or a sexual offence changes with time, location and culture. This variation also has an influence on what or whom society labels as a sex offender. The media and popular culture portray

the sex offender as a lonely adult male who is 'bad' and often 'mad', thereby creating and perpetuating the stereotype (Janus, 2006, p.5). Many people, usually influenced by the media, believe that sex offenders are numerous, dangerous and prone to reoffend (Matravers, 2003, p.4). Birkett (1997, p.22) describes sex offenders as 'monsters with human faces'. One consequence of this image is that society believes that all sex offenders are the most violent predatory of criminals (Brown, 2005, p.7). It is this view that often personifies sex offenders within society. Society sees all sex offenders as monsters therefore they are (Nash, 2006, p.28). Sampson (1994) cited by Cobley (2003, p.51) argued that 'public concern about sexual crime has become a panic', and claimed that sex offenders have been built into 'modern folk devils' by the popular press. However, West (1996) argued that sex offenders are usually from a variety of social groups. The majority are not mentally ill, in the sense that they suffer from a diagnosable condition (Simon, 2000), and many have no previous convictions for sexual offences (West, 1996).

Gebhard, Gagnon, and Pomeroy (1967, p.9) defines sex offenders as, '*A person who has been legally convicted as the result of an overt act, committed by him for his own immediate sexual gratification, which is contrary to the prevailing sexual morals of the society in which he lives and/or is legally punishable.*' Brown (2005, p.3) defines a sex offender as someone who has been sanctioned by law for a sexual offence or someone that engages in sexual behaviour that is illegal. Most definitions of the term 'sex offender' seem to fit into a broad set of criteria that includes a sexual act committed by one person against another, either against their will or when consent cannot be given (Spencer, 2000, p.21). Of note is the use of the term 'convicted'. All the participants in this research deal with convicted sex offenders. A few of them were at the start of the process with the arrest and

conviction of suspects, but most were dealing with registered sex offenders who were now out in the community.

The issue surrounding how many sex offenders are in society is very problematic. In the year ending March 2015, some 88,106 sexual offences were reported to the police, the highest figure recorded since the introduction of the National Crime Recording Standard in 2002. Hanson & Bussiere (1998) argue that, in reality, not all sex offenders have a high risk of re-offending. Their study seems to contradict the popular view that sexual offenders inevitably re-offend. Only a minority of the total sample (13.4% of 23,393) were known to have committed a new sexual offence within the average 4- to 5-year follow-up period examined in this study. This recidivism rate should be considered an underestimate because many offences remain undetected (Bonta, Law & Hanson, 1998).

The likelihood of re-offending is the subject of much discussion and research. Any study carried out in relation to the recidivism of a sex offender will be problematic as most studies use arrested or convicted sex offenders. Rice (1997, p.52) went even further, arguing that research suggested that working with the sex offender and 'treating' them may actually increase the risk of re-offending for highly psychopathic offenders. The subject is one of dangerousness, the possibility of a future offending. The terms 'high risk' and 'dangerousness' are often interchangeable (Kemshall, 2002, p.7). The risk assessment of this future behaviour is complex (Nash, 2008, p.9). Sexual recidivism rates differ according to certain risk factors (Levinson, 2009, p.309). Nevertheless, even in studies with thorough records, searches and long follow-up periods (15-20 years), the recidivism rate almost never exceeded 40% (Koss, 1988).

The research would also seem to indicate that the vast majority of sexual assaults are not committed by Registered Sex Offenders, but by first time sex offenders (Levenson, Letourneau, Armstrong & Zgoba, 2010, p.307). Brown (2005, p.7) claims that 15% of untreated sex offenders will offend again: this is no higher than any other group of offenders. She also argues that 30% to 50% of child sexual abuse is carried out by adolescents. Nash (2007, p.13) also suggests that most abused children are sexually assaulted by members of their families in their own home. Smith (1989) agrees with this, pointing out that most sex offences are carried out by someone known to or trusted by the victim. Estimates of female sexual offenders vary wildly from 1% (Groth, 1977) to 24% (Finkelhor, 1984). Spencer (2000, p.24) cites Eldridge (1998) that approximately 3% of convicted sex offenders are female. Nash (2006, p.26) cites Dodd, Nicholas, Povey & Walker (2004) that sexual offending comprises only 0.9% of all recorded crime. Clearly, this would suggest that the public perception of sex offenders is inaccurate.

## Legislation

The controlling of a society by law and legislation has always been a controversial but sought-after phenomenon. *'Law permeates all realms of social behaviour. Its pervasiveness and social significance are felt in all walks of life.'* (Vago, 1981, p.1). Unger (1976, p.44) stated that the law takes us straight to the heart of the society in question. The people or organisation that upholds and enforces this social control is arguably as important as the legislation, if not more so. Aristotle (384-322BC) expressed the need to comprehend an ordered society. He taught that man needs

society in order to realise fully his capacity (Jones, 1986, p.15). The way that Britain controls its sex offenders certainly shows how, as a society, we view them.

The idea of sex offenders and sex offences as we know them today has evolved slowly over a number of years (Thomas 2000, p.34). The social control of sexual behaviour is not new. Throughout history, societies have sought to establish rules to govern sexual behaviour ruled by the social normality, social values and customs of the time and culture (Wright, 2009, p.473). Most imprisoned sex offenders will ultimately return to the community, often back to the same environmental stressors as before (Levenson et al, 2010, p.306). Indeed, 99% of convicted sex offenders will at some point be released back into society. The legislation to control this often arises from a socially unacceptable incident or a change in the social norms of the day. Historically, rape laws have only pertained to unmarried individuals (Barnett, Miller & Perrin, 1997, p.8). The literal meaning of 'unlawful' was 'outside the bounds of marriage'.

The Sexual Offences Act 1956 stated that a husband could not be guilty of the rape of his wife. This was amended in 1976. The actual definition of rape has also changed over time. Historically, the definition would include penetration of the vagina by a penis (Sexual Offences Act 1956). The Sexual Offences Act 2003 has included rape to mean penetration of the anus and mouth with penis or object. Historically, incest would include relatives such as granddaughter, daughter, sister or mother (of interest, not grandmothers) (Sexual Offences Act, 1956). This has now been changed to include the wider family demographics that make up today's society, half-brothers, aunts, uncles, step-parents and cousins. The Sexual Offences Act 2003 redefined a number of other offences, including rape and sexual

assault. The definition of rape has been widened to include penetration to 'mouth of another person' (along with vagina and anus already included in SOA 1956). The new Act also made it clear that a 'surgically constructed' vagina was included within the definition of vagina. The Act therefore reflected the realities of the modern-day world by expanding its powers to male-to-female transsexuals. It also included some new offences, including grooming which, although in practice is difficult to understand and prosecute (due to the two times meeting issue), is still a reflection of today's society and how vulnerable people could be contacted and influenced. Finally, it is important to note that homosexual sex was removed from the Act both in words and offence.

The requirement for sex offenders to register in the Britain is a relatively recent occurrence and has been strongly influenced by America (Rees, 2006, p.19) where, in some states, it has been in place for 50 years. The requirement for the notification of sex offenders in the United States dates back to 1944 (McAlinden, 2007, p.98). The Jacob Wetterling Crimes Against Children and Sexually Violent Offender Registration Act was named after the seven year old boy abducted in Minnesota in 1990 (Hebenton, 2008, p.327). It is worthy of note that Jacob Wetterling remains have only just been found (2016). Danny James Heinrich of Paynesville, Minnesota, admitted murdering Jacob as part of a plea deal with prosecutors in a child pornography case. Heinrich also led police to where Jacobs's body was (Browning, 2018). However, until Jacob's body was found, there was no evidence to suggest that a sex offender, registered or otherwise, was involved. However, the Registration Act in the USA still used his name (McAlinden, 2007, p.99). This act required American states to register sex offenders with authorities and included the proviso that states could release the information to the community (Rees, 2006, p.19).

On 29<sup>th</sup> July 1994, after the Jacob Wetterling Act was passed, Jesse Timmendequas, a sex offender who had been released after serving a maximum sentence in a treatment centre for the compulsive and repetitive sex offender, moved into a New Jersey neighborhood with two other sex offenders. The community was not informed and he raped and murdered seven-year-old Megan Kanka who lived opposite (Zgoba, Witt, Dalessandro, & Veysey, 2008, p.3). There was a public outrage that the presence of a sex offender who was living and working in the neighborhood had not been known to the community. The argument was that, without this knowledge, the community could not protect itself. As Beck, Clingermayer, Ramsey & Travis (2004, p.142) note, *'Exactly what action is expected is not clear, but it is hoped that, armed with this critical information, citizens will work on their own or in concert with government to make their neighborhoods safer.'* Megan's mother indicated that had she known that there were three sex offenders living across the street from her house, she would not have allowed Megan outside (Priviera, 1995).

During the following decade, all 50 US states endorsed some version of community registration and notification laws, collectively referred to as 'Megan's Laws'. The passing of Megan's Law which, amended the Jacob Wetterling Act, replaced the term 'may release' information to the community to 'shall release' information (Rees, 2006, p.19). Although a few states, such as Washington, had ratified community notification laws prior to 1994, the federalisation of community notification laws in 1996 created strong incentives for other states to follow suit (Presser & Gunnison, 1999). In 2003, a student from the University of North Dakota, Dru Sjodin, was kidnapped, raped and murdered by a registered sex offender, Alfonso Rodriguez. He had been released from prison six months earlier after serving a 23 year

sentence for rape. Eventually, the 'Dru Sjodin' national sex offender public website was established. In conjunction with the Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act, this allows the public to search any area to ascertain whether any registered sex offenders live there. It gives a photo and the address of any offender, but does not give the offence. The notification of where sex offenders live is something that Britain has taken in another direction.

Britain has also seen horrific child abuses cases that have provoked the community, media and politicians to respond with legislation over the release of sex offenders into the community (Nash, 2006, p.129). Of note is the murder of Jason Swift, a boy of 14 murdered in 1985 by two convicted sex offenders, Sidney Cooke and Robert Oliver (Kitzinger, 2008, p.358). The *News of the World's* decision to 'name and shame' hundreds of sex offenders led to directly riots in Paulsgrove, a suburb of Portsmouth (Nash, 2006, p.140). The newspaper went on to launch its *For Sarah* campaign in connection with the abduction and murder of eight year old Sarah Payne in 2000 by Roy Whiting, a registered sex offender who was known to the police. One of the issues argued by this campaign was the right for everyone in the community to be notified of the whereabouts of sex offenders. The British Government has so far resisted this pressure, arguing that it would be unworkable and run the risk of driving sex offenders underground, as in America, as well as putting sex offenders themselves in danger (Home Office, 2008).

Britain's answer to this national disgust and anger was the Sex Offenders Act 1997. This requires a person convicted of specific sexual offence, among other things, to notify the police of their name, date of birth and home address and any subsequent changes (Spencer, 2000, p.166). It was developed in line with the 'Megan Law'

legislation in America. The most significant difference between the United States and Britain is the permitted degree of notification given to the local community (McAlinden, 2007, p.105). A critical tool in the management of this disclosure is the Multi Agency Public Protection (MAPPA) system. The Criminal Justice Act 2003 provided for the establishment of MAPPA units in each of the 42 criminal justice areas in England and Wales. These are designed to protect the public, including previous victims of crime, from serious harm by sexual and violent offenders. They require the local criminal justice agencies and other bodies dealing with offenders to work together in partnership in dealing with these offenders. The participants in this research all chose to work on these units.

One of the problems with this notification and registration is that the Act only applies to offenders who were new cases or within the criminal justice system on September 1997. This means that some sex offenders will not be subject to the requirement to register (Spencer, 2000, p.166). The legislation was intended to ensure that the police and other agencies could effectively carry out their responsibilities to prevent crime and protect members of society. The argument will always be as to what information to release to the community. There is then the issue of once 'they' are given the information, what is done with it and what happens if they do not do what they are expected (Levi, 2008, p.589).

In 2008, the Home Office started a pilot system in four areas of Britain. The scheme enables parents, carers or guardians to request information about people involved in their children's lives. The number of enquiries and subsequent disclosures under the scheme were smaller than initially anticipated: a total of 585 enquiries were made and 315 proceeded with as applications. Twenty-one disclosures (7% of

applications) were made under the remit of the pilot with a further eleven applications resulting in non-pilot disclosures, i.e. information not relating to convictions for child sex offences. Analysis of 159 application forms found a further 43 applications that resulted in other child safeguarding actions (Home Office, 2011).

In America, there have been legal challenges to the disclosure of the information. The case of *Paul P. v Verniero* 1999 related to individual privacy. The District Court agreed with the plaintiff that the notification process was not being sufficiently monitored and, in some cases, the information was being publicly disseminated by the media. The Federal Court stated that notifications must be distributed to those with a particular need for it (Levi, 2008, p.601). It has to be argued that in this day of social network sites, such as Facebook, the monitoring and dissemination of information is very difficult to control. Rees (2008) argued that notification of sex offenders in the area had little or no impact in the change of leaving children unsupervised. The issue of community disclosure is one that will be researched and argued for some time. The Human Rights Act also has its part to play in this argument. The American 'not in my back yard' attitude is insular and selfish and will ultimately mean the sex offender could be hounded out of the community (Spencer, 2000, p.168).

The safety of the sex offender, as mentioned above, also has to be considered, however unpleasant that may be to some members of society. In 2006, in America two Maine registered sex offenders were shot by a male intent on killing such individuals. These murders caused a national debate as to the method of notification and, in particular, the placing of names and addresses on the World Wide Web

(Bazar, 2006). In Britain, Andrew Cunningham, 52, died of multiple stab wounds, including in his genital area, in 2008. He had previously been on the Sex Offenders Register for an offence committed in 2000, but his name had been removed in March 2008 (Hughes, 2009). He was convicted in 2001 and served a four-month prison sentence. This murder has remained unsolved, which also may be significant. Sex offenders comprise 10% of the prison population and require special attention when incarcerated. They are often segregated from the rest of the prison. This has its own problems, for example, the cost implications and the stigma issues (Spencer 2000, p.17).

There is the well-founded argument that sex offenders are treated differently from any other offender. The Sexual Offences Prevention Order (SOPO) became part of Sexual Offences Act in 2003. There is an argument that questions the SOPO order as an extension of the 'punishment'. Sex offenders have been punished by the court, so why should they then receive another punishment on release? The SOPO can be for life, but the minimum is five years and can mean that sex offenders have their liberty curtailed to a large degree. In theory, just about anything could be banned under these orders if it could be deemed appropriate, such as not having access to certain computers, phones etc and not being able to be alone with persons of certain ages (McAlinden, 2007, p.134). The 2003 Act also introduced a Risk of Sexual Harm Order (ROSO). This has provoked even more controversy as it can be put in place whether a person has been convicted or not. It has been argued that all these orders, registrations and notifications are draconian and infringe the civil rights of the sex offender.

These amendments led to a Home Office paper in 2000 claiming that the Act was enormously successful and a valuable tool in helping protect the public. It stated that most police officers engaged in register work have found that 'its contribution to policing justified the extra work involved'. However, the authors of the paper, Plotnikoff & Woolfon (2000) did state that, '*No single measure of effectiveness emerged from this study as suitable for performance measurements.*' They did, however, find a high compliance rate, but this is not the same as being able to demonstrate that we have safer communities.

The way in which society treats or punishes those suspected of breaking these regulations also changes over time and location. As can be seen above, the history of society controlling and punishing certain sexual behaviour is many hundreds of years old. However, some ideas seem to be circular, for example, the castration of a convicted rapist. Historically, this was a popular punishment, but seemed to lose its popularity for a number of reasons. Today, it seems to have become again more acceptable, although more by chemical means than the physical removal of the testes. A number of states in America (Florida, Colorado, Minnesota, Michigan and California) have all considered chemical castration legislation. Texas has considered a physical castration bill. Some of these bills have targeted rapists, while others have included paedophiles and all repeat sex offenders of any type (Meyer & Collier, 1997).

The 1990s and early 2000s saw a growing pre-occupation with sex offending against children (Cowburn & Domineklli, 2001). This was driven by a series of high profile cases and media and moral panic, for example, satanic abuse and the Butler-Sloss inquiry in Cleveland 1998, and the investigation into ritual abuse in Orkney in

1991. More recently, there has been Operation Yewtree and the investigation into Jimmy Savile's continued ability to abuse vulnerable people due, mainly, to his position in society. The cumulative effect is a greater quantity of legislation and policy, and a more robust system for monitoring and surveillance of sex offenders in the community (Kemshall, 2002). Of note, a number of the participants in this research mentioned surveillance as something that is needed, but felt that they were always at the 'back of the queue' for it as burglaries were often considered more important.

In 1980s and 1990s, detection and convictions increased and more sex offenders were imprisoned (Worrall, 1997). With this, however, comes the current concern that they are now being released in great numbers back into the community. Against this backdrop, sex offenders came to dominate the penal policy agenda of the 1990s (Soothill, Francis & Ackereley, 1998). The risk that some will re-offend was something that the participants spoke about in their interviews (Feeley & Simon, 1992).

One of the most prominent features of recent crime control policy has been the growth in inter-agency partnerships. Historically, this was not found in the criminal justice system. Indeed, the first (and really only one) that worked was from 1968 when the prison and probation services started to exchange information about the release, or possible release, of offenders (Kemshall & Mcivor, 2004, p.210). Inter-agency working is often mentioned in relation to police culture where group and social identity is so fundamental (Charman, 2017). The participants in this research actually chose to 'break away' from this and become part of a specialist unit dealing with other organisations. Other examples are the firearms and the traffic departments, both of which have to work closely with other organisations.

As discussed above, at some point convicted sex offenders will be released back into the community, and the police, along with the probation service and a number of other agencies, have to deal with them. They have to be risk-assessed, monitored and, if required, put under surveillance. The participants in this research all chose to do this in some way.

## Risk

Along with popular culture, police culture has an habitual tendency to label people and their characteristics, for example, expressions such as 'a leopard does not change its spots', 'all bark and no bite' and being a 'loose cannon'. The notion that a population, or part of it, possesses a collective characteristic is also one that has roots in antiquity and seems to be widely accepted by society today (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004), for example, 'The British have a stiff upper lip; they control their emotions'. This collective characteristic or prejudice is generally agreed to be, '*An unfavourable attitude towards a social group and its members.*' (Hogg & Vaughan, 1998, p.308). Brown (1993, p.82) suggested that stereotyping is a development of a prejudice view and thereby represents a form of prejudice and discrimination.

In 1981, Lord Scarman's report into the Brixton Disorders stated that 'Britain is an institutionally racist society' (Scarman, 1981, p.28). In 1999, the Stephen Lawrence inquiry found that the criminal justice system has had a distinct tendency to stereotype people: '*It can arise from racist stereotyping of black people as potential criminal or troublemakers.*' The report went on to state that, '*The police canteen can too easily be its (racist and stereotyping) breeding ground.*' (Macpherson, 1999, p.650). It can be argued that, because of discretion, the criminal justice system will

always be subject to discrimination (Banks, 2009, p.29). In performing their duties, British police are able to exercise discretion, which some would argue is the root of the criminal justice system (Sanders, 2008, p.1054).

Labelling and correct risk assessment are important issues when dealing with vulnerable members of society. The labels used to describe the sex offenders are often derogatory and discriminatory and play a part in dehumanising them. Arguably, the label of 'pervert' is used to justify discrimination: they become 'lesser' human beings (Pakes & Pakes 2009, p.66). Link (1987) stated that the effect of labelling a person as a sex offender has an impact on social functioning, often ending with loss of income and homelessness. The public's reaction to, and social distancing from, those labelled a sex offender may be the result of preconceived notions that society holds about them and the need to protect the vulnerable.

Becker (1963) suggested that society ignores and excludes those individuals they find different and threatening: they are the 'outsiders'. Society creates deviance by producing the rules and then labelling the rule breakers as deviant. Helman (2007, p.253) suggests that perhaps it is society that decides which symptoms or behaviour patterns are to be defined as deviant. Martinez, Piff, Mendoza-Denton & Hinshaw (2011) argued that the stigma associated with a label can have distressing and demoralising social consequences. Individuals with such labels can experience devaluation and rejection in their communities. It can also discourage the person from seeking help. Some sex offenders have coping mechanisms for their sexual urges and know when they are getting close to re-offending. They sometimes require help at this point, or they need the police to recognise the situation.

The term 'risk' is also problematic. Risk and dangerousness are often interchangeable and it can be argued that this can cause tension between psychological concepts and popular perceptions. McGuire (2005, p.131) argues that the criminal justice professionals will speak of 'risk', while the media will speak of 'danger'. Although these are often used together, they differ in meaning and use. *Risk* is the likelihood or probability that an event will happen, whereas *danger* relates to the potential severity of that event (O'Malley, 2000). Scott (1977) argued that there are dangerous people and dangerous behaviour and that a potentially dangerous situation results from a mix of offender, circumstance and victim. Society appears to view all sex offenders as a danger, seemingly unwilling to accept the research which shows that the danger is largely to themselves (Pakes & Winstone, 2007).

Assessing this risk, or future risk of danger, is also problematic (Muller-Isberner & Hodgins, 2004, p.14). Walker (1996, p.1) argued that people labelled as dangerous present a humanitarian society with a moral dilemma and brings a tension between psychological concepts and popular perception. Prentky, Janus, Barbaree, Schwartz, and Kafka (2006) suggested that risk-assessment tools are developed by '*isolating and analysing offender and offence characteristics to identify variables that predict the risk of reoffending.*' However, the ability of those variables to truly differentiate between re-offenders and those who do not is not without controversy, particularly as their results are increasingly used in some jurisdictions to justify the imposition of preventative detention, control orders and ongoing monitoring regimes on so called high-risk offenders (Blackburn, 2000).

This management or assessing risk has attracted significant public, political and media attention especially when it is perceived to have failed the victim and society

(Thomas, 2005). Popular media attention seems to be on the fate of people discharged into the community from prison (Fowles & Dindo, 2006, p.61). Indeed, as referred to earlier, Sarah Payne was murdered by a convicted sex offender. It is these apparent 'mistakes' in the assessment of risk and danger that gain a great deal of media attention and thereby reinforce the tension between popular perception and psychological concepts. Janus & Prentky (2006) discuss that an accurate assessment of future risk of re-offending is central to both the ethical justification and practical effectiveness of preventative detention and ongoing supervision.

Nash (2006, p.12) argues that, to most people, 'dangerous' is the lone male who attacks an unknown vulnerable victim. This perception of the 'stranger predator' is reinforced by the media. The sense of unpredictability, lack of control and the vulnerable as a victim is arguably a popular perception associated with mental illness. Burke (2009, p.113) went on to suggest that society perceives it a greater crime if the victim was vulnerable and innocent. Petrunik (2003, p.45) suggested that this Durkheimian distinction between the pure and the innocent victim seems to suggest that the offender is more evil and dangerous. These individuals, however, constitute a heterogeneous population with respect to patterns and correlations of violence (Joyal, Cote, Meloche & Hodgins, 2011).

The participants in this study were very conscious of the risk that some of their sex offenders posed to society, with many mentioning that they dreaded an investigation into any of their sex offenders if things had gone wrong. They were also very conscious of every news story that someone had been killed, and they waited to see if it was one of their sex offenders. They did not believe that management in the

police service really understand the risk posed by some of the sex offenders, and that they did not get the support they thought they needed. For example, they considered themselves usually at the bottom of the list if they needed surveillance: burglaries were always at the top.

Again, Britain seems to take its lead from America, which has a tier system for the registration of sex offenders and disclosure to the community, based on an individual's risk of recidivism, the danger of reoffending. There are three possible tiers or grades depending on the risk. There is no tier zero as all sex offenders are presumed to pose some risk of reoffending (Levi, 2008, p.586). At tier one (low risk) the prosecutors will alert law enforcement in the area. At tier two (moderate risk) eligible community organisations will also be informed and at tier three (high risk) almost everyone in the community will be informed who are 'likely to encounter the offender'. This does call into question the geographic demarcation of the 'community' (Levi, 2000, p.601). In theory, sex offenders could simply go to the next street to offend, where no one would have been notified. It is the classification of the danger of reoffending that determines who is notified (Janus, 2006, p.66).

How the notification is carried out has also been the subject of much discussion, research and media attention. This 'shaming' of sex offenders in the USA has reached quite shocking levels. Although some have argued that the notification and other means is tantamount to putting the sex offender in a public stock, it seems to be popular with the American public. In some states, such as Texas, registered sex offenders have signs outside their home indicating they live there, and have bumper stickers on their vehicle. Letters are also given to the community explaining their criminal offending history (Cole & Smith, 2007, p.376). In other states, released sex

offenders are required to wear a scarlet letter 'S' on the front of their clothing to signify their status to the rest of the community (McAlinden, 2007, p.117). In Louisiana, every registered sex offender fills out cards with their name, address and details of the crime for which they were convicted. The sex offender has to pay for these and which can be as much as \$700 (Finn, 1997, p.8). Also in Louisiana, offenders are required to go door-to-door within a radius of several blocks to informing their neighbours personally that they are convicted sex offender. The monetary cost of implementing this registration cannot be underestimated. In California in 2004, it was put at around \$78 million (Janus, 2006, p.62). Cole and Smith (2007, p.377) cite Adams (2006) as arguing that the problem with this registration system is that it can lead to the sex offender being victimised and driven underground.

This form of disclosure, or 'outing' to the community, has led to a high level of non-compliance to register. On any given day in the United States, there are over 120,000 sex offenders under some form of probation, parole supervision or registration (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2008). Levenson et al (2010) argued that the emphasis on registration compliance implies that sex offenders who fail to register pose an increased threat to public safety. In Washington, research with sex offenders between 1990 and 1999 found that those convicted of failing to register had a higher recidivism rate (4.3%) compared to those who remained compliant (2.8%). The research also found that new convictions were mainly non-sexual offences. This would seem to indicate that failing to register is more strongly associated with general criminality rather than sexual offending (Washington State Institute of Public Policy, 2006). However, this work is over ten years old and does not determine if this tendency was due to confusion over registration or improved

police techniques. This failure to register has led to concerns that sex offenders go 'underground' to avoid this requirement (Hebenton, 2008, p.323). For example, Oklahoma reported a compliance rate of only 30% in 1998 (Rees, 2006, p.20). In Britain in the same year, the total number of sex offenders that should be registered was 8,608. Of these 6,262 (73%) had registered, 1,993 (23%) were in custody and 353 (4%) had failed to register (Plotnikoff & Woolfson, 2000).

In Britain in 2001, there was a 97% compliance rate with this registration, a figure that has remained constant for many years (Lovell, 2001). Failing to register could mean that sex offenders are less likely to be caught and convicted as no one knows where they are. Prescott & Rockoff (2008) cited Schram & Milloy (1995), in comparing recidivism rates of sex offenders in Iowa and Washington after they had registered and the community had been notified. It showed little evidence that these laws had a significant impact on re-offending (Prescott & Rockoff, 2008, p.2). This would seem to indicate that failing to register has no impact on the recidivism of sex offenders, no matter what the public perception may be. McAlinden (2007, p.113) argued that, '*Sex offenders are being punished not for what they have done, but for what they might do, in the hope of protecting future victims.*' Janus (2006, p.67) argued that studies have failed to find any statistically significant association between implementation of the registration law and the reduction in recidivism.

While sex offenders who fail to register does not necessarily mean that they will re-offend, it does mean that they cannot be managed by appropriate agencies, the participants in this research, and the risk factors for re-offending cannot be monitored. There is no management of the coping mechanisms to minimise the danger of recidivism (Levenson et al, 2010, p.309). The stressors for this are

numerous and are personal for each sex offender, for example drink, drugs, financial problems and relationship issues. One reason for monitoring and managing sex offenders after their conviction is the desire to protect the public (Spencer, 2000, p.135) and there should be no greater a priority for policing than this (Rees, 2006, p.19). The participants in this research would disagree with this and say that their units are always at the end of the line when asking for support. The popular media, in particular the (now defunct) *News of the World*, has promoted the argument that knowing the whereabouts of sex offenders is one way to protect the public.

The research would seem to indicate that sex offenders cannot be cured, but can be helped to understand their problems and learn coping mechanisms to minimise the chances of relapse (Spencer, 2000, p.19). This is usually carried out in two ways: working with the offender to reduce the risk of further offending; and putting into place protective measures to identify the risk and manage the risk. Kemshall (2002) argued that the sex offender may not be dangerous one day, but could be the next. It is a constant problem.

The purpose of the Multi Agency Public Protection Arrangement system (MAPPA) is to help to reduce the reoffending behaviour of sexual and violent offenders in order to protect the public. It aims to work with all relevant agencies, among other things, to identify all relevant offenders, complete comprehensive risk assessments and to devise, implement and review the risks (MAPPA Guidance, 2012, p.31). The obvious problem here is that it cannot ever be known if the sex offender would have offended again if they had not been part of the MAPPA system. All we can say is whether or not they did (Nash, 2006, p.12).

McAlinden (2007, p.113) cited Brody & Tarling's 1981 report which found that clinical predictions of 'dangerousness' tended to be wrong more often than not. The judgement of the risk or dangerousness of the offender is open to bias, stereotyping and discrimination. Once a label of risk has been placed on the offender, it has proved very difficult to change (Winstone & Pakes, 2010). One of MAPPA's strengths is that a number of different agencies are involved in the defining and identifying the risk of re-offending. This also can lead to collisions between professional groups (Prins, 1999). Risk is never an unquestioned given and is a source of much political conflict and tension (Douglas & Wildavsky, 1982). The risk from, and to, sex offenders was mentioned in many of the interviews. Many participants considered this to be their main job description.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the history of how police forces in England and Wales deal with sex offenders and sex offences. It has also provided a critical review of the literature in relation to a number of topics that were in the main, identified from the semi-structured interviews with the participants. It went on to explore what and who sex offenders are; how society views them; and how society and legislation deals with them in England and Wales. It also explored the risk of the sex offender and how the police deal with these issues.

## Chapter Four: Methodology

### Introduction

In order to overcome (or reduce) any ethical problems, the research methodology of this thesis strictly follows the ethical guidelines of the British Society of Criminology's Code of Conduct (2008). All research was also governed by ethical considerations from the University of Portsmouth and the Data Protection Act 1998 (Hayden, 2008, p.67).

The research was conducted by recording semi-structured interviews with serving police personnel, who, in some way or another, had chosen to deal with sex offenders. Participants included police officers up to and including the rank of Inspector, as well as police staff. It is highly unlikely that officers above the rank of Inspector would have anything to do with day-to-day contact with society and, in particular, sex offenders. Any police officer of a higher rank would be more concerned with the day-to-day running of the unit.

### The Police Areas

Three police force areas in Britain were approached to take part in this research. The Chief Constables of all three forces agreed to participate.

### Gaining Access

Getting free and easy access to participants is indispensable for qualitative researchers (Beyens, Kennes, Snacken & Tornel, 2015). The procedure can be

time-consuming and it was certainly the case for this research. At each step, initial contact (for example, meetings with gatekeepers) took time and a certain amount of patience. At each stage, people were spoken to and convinced of the soundness of the research, my legitimacy (discussed later) and that of the University of Portsmouth. Even with formal permission from the individual force areas, it still did not mean that individuals would wish to take part in the research.

The three police force areas approached to take part were chosen because of their connections to the University. This may have influenced their decision to allow the research to take place. The connection to each force area was never disclosed to the participants or to the gatekeepers. This was done for a number of ethical reasons including participants feeling pressure to take part in the research due to the connection with the force. The need for participants to feel able to speak freely and truthfully about the units was paramount to this research. Of note, none of the gatekeepers or participants ever asked how I had permission to interview them. Participants just seemed to accept that I was there. For example, none asked for the paperwork or information sheets, although all of these were available to them.

Every police force in Britain has teams or units to deal with sex offenders. In this research they will be called 'unit'. In the three force areas that took part in this research, each was managed by a senior officer of the rank of Detective Inspector. Each unit comprised a number of police officers and civilian staff. The responsibility of the teams (as part of the MAPPA system) was, and is, to monitor the registered sex offenders in their area. It is important to note that in view of the units' subject matter, and that they have access to the Violent and Sex Offender Register (VISOR) database, the units were segregated from the rest of the police station. They had a

separate code for the doors and only certain people had access to this area. This is mentioned now as it becomes relevant later when discussing police culture.

Beyens (2013, p.17) stated, '*Obtaining the right information and being trusted by the research subjects in the field is another, much more challenging job, which is terribly demanding, time consuming and exhausting.*' This was never an issue for this research, but has been the subject of much debate with my supervisors. There is much research on police culture and the fact that police officers are usually highly suspicious of outsiders. Police officers are very similar to prison officers in so far as they work in a 'low trust environment' (Liebling, 2004). '*There is an organisational culture of outsiders not understanding the job of a police officer and therefore cannot be trusted.*' (Cockcroft, 2013, p.78). When I was first introduced to each team there was a period of everyone being polite, but not necessarily wanting to engage. As I gradually revealed my police background and that I had been doing the same job, the whole attitude changed and nearly all then wanted to tell their story. The insider /outsider theory developed by Lindbeck & Snower in 1984 did appear to become pertinent for this thesis as I was completing these interviews.

Brown (1996, p.179) mentions two types of police researcher. The first is the police themselves (Brown & Waters, 1993), who are undertaking or managing more and more research projects. Many more officers are undertaking part time studies and this will only increase with the new degree programme. Sheptycki (1994) gives details of the other type of researcher - the academic community, which is seen by police culture as 'outsiders'. He outlines some of the issues with this, including gaining access, and goes on to discuss how this may be overcome by those academics with 'insider' knowledge. Brown (1996, p.180) suggests that where an

external researcher (outsider) is investigating police culture, there might be a difficulty in obtaining authentic data. Conversely, however, internal (insider) police researchers may be constrained by their own organisational position. This may cause considerable conflict, place significant restraints on their findings and even lead to bias whilst conducting the research or writing up the research (Brown, 1996; Sheptycki, 1994). Weatheritt (1986) describes an insider's perspective as being limited to the evaluation of pre-existing conditions with the desired outcome already a foregone conclusion. However, they are in a privileged position which may provide them with easier access to information.

Brown (1996) went on to state that there are a number of different variations of these types. There are the 'Insider Insiders' which are a part of the in-house police research. Weatheritt (1986) discussed the output of these studies and criticised them in what she termed 'foregone conclusions'. Cannings & Hirst (1994) also criticised these studies as they fall hostage to ad hoc demands and that the quality of the research is not evaluated. Another variation is what Brown (1996) calls the 'Outsider Insiders'. These are former police officers who are now academics. There are a number of these academics including Holdaway (1980), who provided an insight into police culture and Young (1991) who studied crime statistics. Sheptycki (1994) argues that the outsider insider can overcome a lot of the issues raised with the insider insiders, but in this type of researcher there is an argument that the issues may become complicated with the prospect of a role conflict. Westmarland (2011) states that a critic of these types or categories is that researchers can move from one position to the other almost without making any reference to their changing place. However, as Westmarland (2011) goes on to state, these types or categories are a useful starting point. Brown (1996) goes on to mention a number of other

variations of these types, including an 'outside outsider', but the most relevant to this research is the 'outsider insider'.

This thesis recognises that I was both an outsider and an insider, but (for me) I felt that it was the best of both worlds. I had been a police officer so many of the participants spoke about things and topics that they might not have done if interviewed by an outsider. I was also able to relate and understand the language used. As in all organisations there is a language used, which often means that an outsider will have difficulty in understanding. This was brought home to me when I started to work at the university when I had to attend many meetings where I did not understand anything that was said. However, I was also an outsider and far enough removed from the police culture that I was able to overcome the notion of a desired outcome being a foregone conclusion. That is not to say that I was not aware of this when writing this thesis. I did have a notion of how some of the life stories would go, but was not prepared for the number and severity of adverse childhood experiences that were disclosed.

## Ethics

Ethics and morality are very closely linked, and are both concerned with what is right or wrong. *Ethics* are usually considered to be what one ought to do. *Morals* are concerned with whether or not a specific act is right or wrong (Robson, 1997, p.29; Blumberg, Cooper & Schindler, 2005, p.92). In conducting this research it was imperative to consider the ethical issues that could arise (British Society of Criminology, 2006). In that respect, the conduct of the research was guided by the University of Portsmouth's ethical guidelines. Before the research took place, an

application was submitted to the ethics board of the university and subsequently obtained favourable approval with no issues raised (see Appendix Three). Hayden & Shawyer (2007) state that the key principles governing ethical research should be voluntary participation based on informed consent; no harm or misleading the participants; assuring anonymity and confidentiality; and the securing of data. These are amongst many other principles all of which will now be identified and discussed. This thesis has adhered to all the above principles.

Consideration was given to the ethical implications and the psychological consequences for each participant (Robson, 1993, p.471). All were informed that confidentiality would be maintained, except where answers suggested a serious and significant risk of harm to themselves or others (Brown, 1995, p.21). When the participants indicated that they wished to take part in this research, they were informed of the title of the thesis and that personal questions would be asked (Appendix Two). They were also given full disclosure about what was going to happen with the interviews.

Consent forms were taken to every interview. They were placed on the desk/table where the interviews were taking place, in clear view of the participants, along with the information forms. A discussion took place with each participant about the interview and the consent and welfare issues. This included many points including the 'cooling off period' and remaining anonymous. All participants stated that they were fully aware and understood the situation. They were also given time to ask any questions before the recordings commenced. All of them declined to sign the forms saying that they would give verbal consent on the tape. This is closely linked to police culture the suspicion of signing your name to anything (Charman, 2017).

Verbal consent was obtained from each person. This was repeated for each participant. This may be a product of police culture (Mclaughlin, 2007, pp1-25). All agreed to be interviewed and clearly state this on the tape, but would not sign the forms. At the end of each interview a discussion took place 'off tape' as way of a 'debrief'. This covered their experience of the interview and any qualms they may have had about the process. Only one participant approached me some days later and confessed to a few sleepless nights after the interview. The care and welfare of the participant was discussed and safeguarding measures were offered and accepted. Robson (1993, p.29) stated that, *'The right to know must be balanced against the participant's right to privacy, dignity and self determination.'*

The need to address the possible emotional impact of these interviews was achieved in a number of ways. First was to ensure that the participants were taking part entirely voluntarily. This was emphasised and discussed before each interview. It was also made clear that any time the interview could be stopped, and the participant could withdraw their consent. This would have no consequence for either party, and happened only once. This participant wanted to stop the interview so that he could clarify an ethical question. He subsequently insisted that the tape and the interview continue. He then went on to discuss the abuse his wife had suffered as a child. All other participants continued and if the interview was stopped due to work issues, all came back after a time to continue the interview. The time when it would be possible to withdraw consent (the 'cooling off period') was discussed at length with each participant. None ever contacted me about withdrawing their consent. The aims and objectives of the thesis were clearly explained to each participant as well as the host organisation. Informed consent of the participants was therefore always given.

Information and contact details of victim support and other possible services were available to the participants and on hand at every opportunity in the interviews occurred. None of the participants took or even read the information forms. This included details of any organisation in their area that could be of assistance, the details of the author and information about the University of Portsmouth. On past experience, this 'de-brief' is not something that police officers tend to warm to. The gatekeeper to the force area was also aware of my interviews: not whom I had interviewed, but when they were taking place. I spoke to each gatekeeper after my time in the force area (generally about one week per area) thanking them, but also confirming completion of the interviews. I also asked if they could inform me of any welfare issues of which they had become aware due to the interviews. No one from any force area ever contacted me. One participant did become upset when talking about the death of her father, but even though I offered to stop the interview, she chose to continue.

### Gatekeepers

Gaining informed consent from participants involved in research is generally regarded as central to ethical research practice. The ethical guidelines of the British Sociological Association (BSA) refer to informed consent as, '*A responsibility on the sociologist to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants.*' (BSA, 2002, p.3). As a consequence, their involvement in research tends to be mediated by gatekeepers and go-betweens (Heath, Charles, Crow & Wiles, 2004).

With this in mind, each force area was approached via an email (appendix). Having agreed in principle that the research could go ahead, each force then appointed a

gatekeeper as liaison with potential participants. I had meetings with each gatekeeper to discuss the research, the ethical issues surrounding the research, and obtaining and explaining informed consent. I had to show 'what kind of person' I was. It was at this stage that I became aware that, given my credentials as a former police officer, being seen as 'one of them' was going to be an advantage (Crewe, 2009; Rowe, 2014).

Each gatekeeper provided the names of the police station where the units in which I was interested worked. Not every police station in each force area will have a unit dealing with sex offenders. The units often cover a number of districts within their county. The shift pattern of the units was also discussed so I could gain maximum coverage with the participants. Again, this was done for a number of reasons. Occasionally, the potential participant would be the only officer on duty. Interviewing them at these times, although lessening the opportunity for identification, may cause operational issues for the force. Another was that my time was important. After obtaining the names of each police station and the potential times to interview the participants, in order to gain the most an email was sent to each unit by the gatekeeper. This briefly explained the research, along with the times and dates when I would be at each station. The email also invited officers to take part in the research. No names of any participant were ever known to me. I had made no contact with any of the units or potential participants prior to the interview. At the same time, gatekeepers will not know who actually took part as they were not present when I was at the police station. Although they will have a degree of control as to who might possibly volunteer, they will not know who actually gets involved. That way, the professional anonymity of any volunteer (and those who do not volunteer) was also protected in their place of work.

### **Reputational Issues**

There can be reputational issues with any research. This case in particular could have had issues with not only the university, but also the host organisations. I was very aware of this issue and do not consider that I have brought the University of Portsmouth, the discipline of Criminology, the participants or the host organisations involved into disrepute at any stage of my research. The welfare and reputation of all concerned was of paramount importance in this thesis. Before each interview, and during the first meetings with the host organisation, the issue was discussed and documented. The issue surrounding possible disclosure of abuse and or dissatisfaction with the host force was also discussed. Most, if not all, of the abuse disclosed was historic and was believed by both parties to have had no effect on how the job of policing was conducted by the participant. Although many of the participants indicated that they were unhappy with how the police force saw and understood the importance of their role in protecting society, none disclosed this in such a way that would cause a reputational issue.

### **Risk Posed by Research**

There are risks associated with this research as in all such work. In this instance, it was not thought that there was a physical risk attached to the research. As stated, all participants were either serving or retired police officers and the interviews took place on police premises. There was a possibility of psychological risk to both the participants and, indeed, to the author, relating mainly to the disclosure of abuse

and life histories of the participants. This can sometimes cause emotional and psychological issues for the participants and, indeed, to me.

Although I was a police officer for 30 years, I have been out of that environment for three years and this may have had some effect on my ability to control emotion. However, I do feel I have good coping abilities to deal with these life stories. The risk to the participants is also something that was considered at all times. The discussion and disclosure of life stories, including traumatic life incidents, can have a psychological risk attached to them. Although the participants included police officers, they still could be (and were) victims of abuse. This possible victimisation can occur in any part of society: it has no barriers. So although these were police officers, they will still be victims. At interview, I had a number of information sheets and phone numbers to assist any of the participants with any issues they might have. This was also discussed after every interview.

### **Anonymity, Confidentiality and Location**

The anonymity and confidentiality of each participant was of paramount importance to me, the University of Portsmouth and to the integrity of the research. This was made clear at the beginning of each interview. During the interviews, any concern for welfare was never identified for either the participant or the host force. The names of participants were also never known to me. At the start of the research, I gave each interview a unique number. This was done in the order that the interviews were transcribed and returned by the company, e.g. JW/1, JW/2. Each number was then given a random fictional name. This has meant that the anonymity of the participants has been maintained. I also felt that it was important to give the

participants gender specific names as the gender of the participants did play a part in this research.

All participants were interviewed at police stations: this was both beneficial and problematic. The decision to interview at the place of work was done for a number of reasons. The possible disclosure of traumatic events can be an emotional journey that sometimes has unforeseen complications. My safety was not considered to be a high risk as the participants were all in the police service and I had been a police officer. However, this still had to be taken into consideration. Another reason was that the subject matter was private and in some cases sensitive. It was felt that these conversations could not take place in public. A third reason was that I was trying to keep the conversation safe, in a safe environment, and from which the participants could, if needed, walk away. This would not have been possible in a private home. This is a common police tactic when interviewing victims or vulnerable members of the public. This would have been known by all the participants and might have contributed to some of the topics mentioned.

However, it did mean that keeping the participants' identities entirely anonymous was problematic. This is because when participants wished and found the time to talk to me they had to leave their desk area and come into the rooms that had been put aside for us. If seen, people would have known that they were speaking to me, but they would not have known what they said, or indeed if they were participating in the research. To counter this, the interviews were undertaken at different times of the day, often in the afternoon or early morning when there were not many people around. I also made a point of talking to people about a number of topics that had nothing to do with the research.

Wherever possible, a quiet and private room was identified where the interviews could be carried out, hopefully without interruptions. This again caused problems because, although all participants agreed to be interviewed in their own time (for example meal breaks and after work), police work cannot be predicted or controlled. The need to finish and get on with work was always a consideration.

### Sampling

There are many different ways of sampling or getting access to participants, simple random sampling, systematic sampling and stratified random sampling to name a few (Bryman, 2008, pp.166-190). For this qualitative research, the commonly used 'snowball technique' was employed. This identifies one or more participants who are then used to identify other participants (Robson, 1997, p.142). This is a well-established social research methodology employed when the subject matter could be as particularly sensitive as this (McGuickin & Brown, 2001, p.52). It should be noted that I was approached by many more individuals volunteering their life stories and wanting to take part in the study than I was able to use, before reaching saturation point and running out of time at the location. This may be useful for further research and it has been agreed by all three force areas that I can return at any time to carry on the research. The gatekeepers informed me that no one who was in the police stations on the dates of my visits had refused to speak to me. Due to the subject matter, an element of self-selection has to be considered here (see below).

The number of participants who agreed to take part was then considered taking into account the 'saturation point'. This is the term used by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.67) to describe when the research reaches a point when everything is complete and that no new information is being obtained. Another limitation is linked to the size

of the sample. It is highly unlikely that the sample will be representative of the population (Bryman, 2008, p.102). For the sample to be representative it must *'reflect the population accurately, so that it is a microcosm of the population'*. (Bryman, 2008, p.543). Robson (1993, p.135) cites Smith (1975) refers sampling as *'the search for typicality'*. What is considered typical for police, and in particular for units dealing with sex offenders, is challenging and possibly unanswerable.

The sampling size in comparison to the overall number of people in England and Wales on these units dealing with sex offenders is difficult to assess. The number of units in each force area that deal with sex offenders has not been available. Each police force area also seems to name their units differently with slightly different roles and responsibilities. The number of officers on each unit was also not made available. The numbers of officers, both civilian and police, would change almost daily, but it is considered that the sample size of 52 is an appropriate reflection of the population of the units. This assumption is made on the number of people that were in and around the offices on the days visited. It is also based on the information obtained from the gatekeepers prior to interviews. Gatekeepers in one force area supplied a list of names on the units. I did not consider this to have compromised the integrity of the research, nor the confidentiality or anonymity of the participants as this was never disclosed to them. Also, I had no idea whom I was interviewing. Analysing the participant numbers now, it is clear that nearly all the officers on the units took part in this research.

### **Sample Profile**

As expected, the sample profile of participants was varied and complex. All had different stories to tell and had different pathways into their choosing to deal with sex offenders. The information about the participants found in the course of the interviews is now analysed and discussed.

### **Age of Participants**

The police service has a system when applying for specialist units that takes service time into consideration. For example, at the time of completing the interviews no one could apply for a specialist unit in the first two years of their service. A senior officer spoke to me about this issue, not as part of the research, but a comment over coffee when I was a serving officer. She said that if someone had come into the force asking to deal with sex offenders from the start, she would have had issues with their integrity; about their true reason for joining. It was almost as though they were 'like minded' in their sexual preference, and by becoming a police officer they would have been able to gain access to their chosen victims. Indeed, she did have one officer who said this in their first week in the police service. She decided that she would not be recommending him for any of the units.

This two year waiting period must have some influence on the age and service of the research participants. In one participating force area, one requirement for promotion was the need to work on a specialised unit. This had an interesting impact, in both positive and negative ways, on those who were on the unit. Some saw the unit as a way of moving up the ranks and, as long as they did the job well, did not make any mistakes and 'toed the party line', they would get what they wanted. Some saw it as an interesting step up the promotion ladder and were there to learn what they could, but also to move on. This was in stark contrast to those on the unit whose application had nothing to do with promotion.

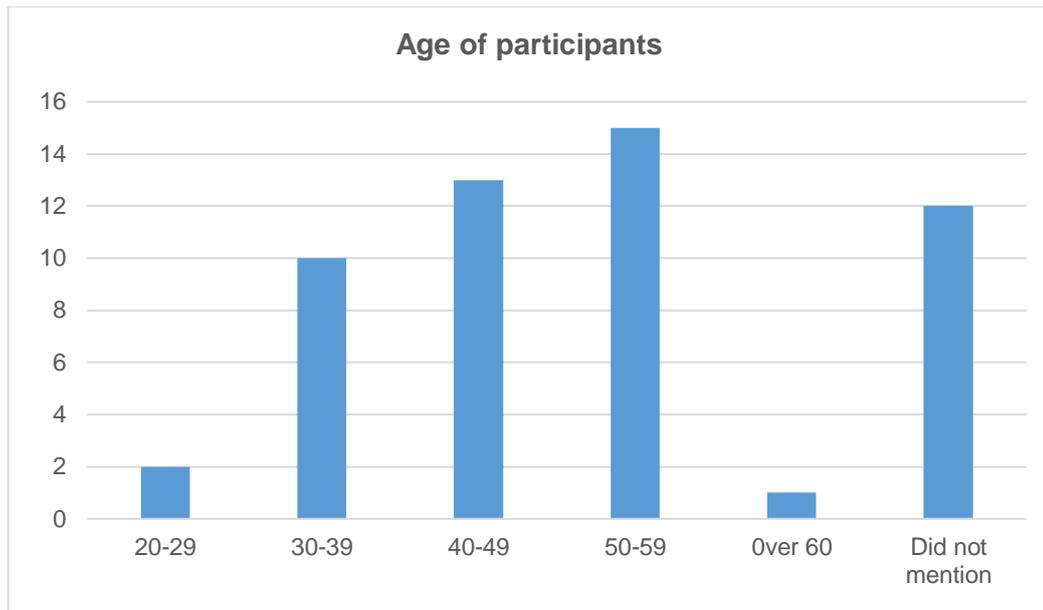
The participants who wanted to be on the unit saw these officers as a problem. They were only there for a short time and would not really care about what they considered to be an important and specialised job. They were not really to be trusted, as tomorrow they could be promoted and in charge. This mistrust of officers wanting to be promoted is deeply imbedded in police culture. The feeling was that they had not really chosen to do this line of work: they were just doing it for promotion. They also assume that the unit is no place for career progression.

The oldest participant in this research was 61 and the youngest was 25. Both these ages are surprising for a number of reasons. Recruitment in all police force areas has been under pressure since the need for cutbacks has been in place. The Winsor report has also influenced recruitment and movement in the police force. Tom Winsor conducted an independent review of police officer and staff remuneration and conditions, published March 2011. The report had, and still has, far-reaching effects on the police service, including pay and fitness. In many force areas, promotion has also been at a standstill due to government cutbacks. A number of years ago, if you had passed the necessary exams and boards you were almost

guaranteed to move up in rank, sometimes within days. This is something that many police officers did and the rank influenced what pension you would leave with. One of the police forces taking part in this research had not had promotion boards for nearly five years. This must have an impact on the so called 'sideways moves' onto units such as the ones in this thesis. The Winsor Report has also meant that police are expected to work until much older. When I was a police officer, retirement would come if you had completed 30 years' service, or at age 55, whichever came first. With the Winsor Report, officers may need to work until they are 65.

Some specialised units are seen by some as a 'soft option' (Westmarland, 2001). So, police officers in the later stages of their career who are looking to work on units that might not be as physical and/or has more sociable working hours (for example, 9 to 5, weekends off) may consider these units, whereas they may not have before. Increasingly, people have been joining the police at a later age, with many in the last five years joining in their late 20s or early 30s. The average age of new recruits is now at least 26 (Rosenbaum, 2013). All of the above must have an influence on the age of the participants in this research.

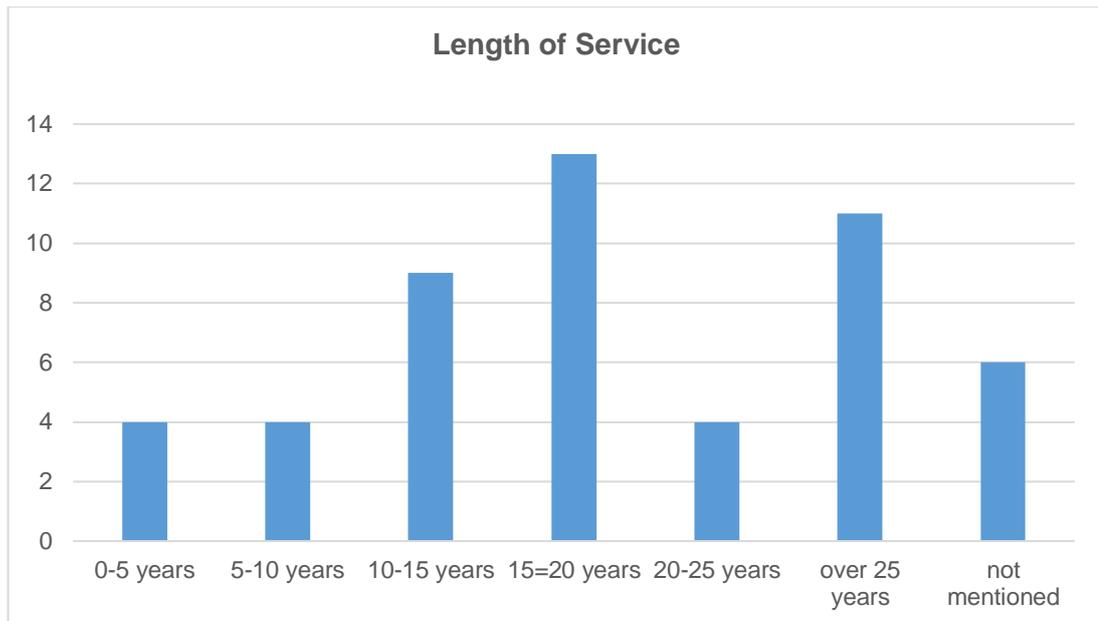
A small number of interviewees did not mention their ages. Of the majority who did, only a small number were under 40. Most of the rest were in their 50s. This seems to confirm the pattern of the 'new age of policing'. Another reason could be that officers want to have a better life/work balance that may not be possible with shift work, weekend working and call out duties.



*Figure 4-1. Age of participants (at time of interview)*

### **Length of service**

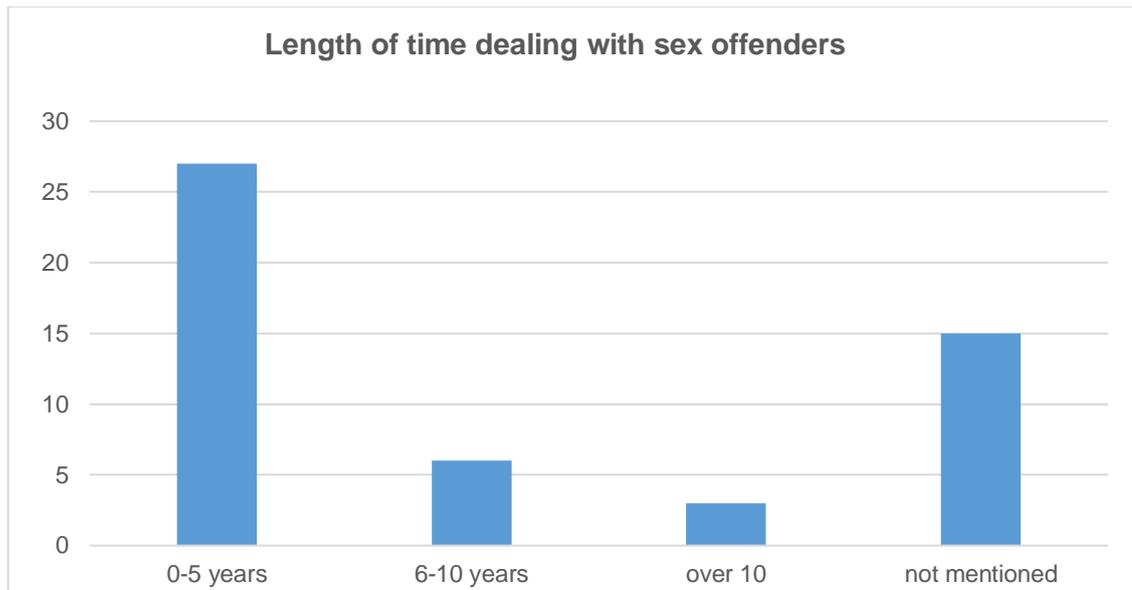
A large number of the participants had a police service of over 25 years, with a small number serving 30 years or longer. The longest was 44 years. As Figure 4-2 below shows, there was a large variance in length of service which, in theory, should equate to more policing experience. The majority of the participants in this research had over ten years' policing.



*Figure 4-2. Length of Service*

The length of time dealing with sex offenders was also mentioned in interviews. Again, this is a problem for analysis due to understanding and definitions. Almost all police officers will deal with sex offenders at some point in their career. Some uniformed officers will investigate what is considered fairly minor offences, for example, 'flashing' (indecent exposure). This research concentrated on participants who had chosen to deal with sex offenders and nothing else. They were working on units that only dealt in this area. These units often only deal with the most serious of offences, for example rape or child abuse.

By far the largest proportion of participants had worked with sex offenders for less than five years (Figure 4-3 below).



*Figure 4-3. Length of time dealing with sex offenders*

This would tend to show that participants did not stay on the unit for any significant length of time, even though many (if not all) had volunteered for these units. This would appear to be the case with most specialised units. Dealing with sex offenders is covered in more detail in Chapter Eight. It is an emotionally draining experience and these units are dealing with and monitoring people that are considered ‘monsters’ by the rest of society.

### **Gender of participants**

The gender of each participant was only ever my personal assumption. In the semi-structured interviews, none was asked to which gender they identified. I felt that this might become an issue and a barrier to the interview. Some people have an issue when asked what gender they identify with and take it as an insult. It is possible, therefore, that there may have been some transgendered people in the group, or that I might have occasionally wrongly identified their gender. There appeared to have been 28 female and 24 male participants, suggesting that women are more

likely to work with sex offenders. However, the matter needs to be critically examined in more detail, including a larger sample size and taking self-selection into consideration. There may be many reasons for this: working hours, no weekend working, usually no call out and no real shift work may be relevant, but these were not generally the reasons given by participants about why they applied to go onto the unit. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

### **Ethnicity of participants**

Of the 52 interviewees, most mentioned their ethnicity in one way or another. One police officer identified himself as black British, two identified themselves as mixed race, and three as white Irish. The rest (when they did mention it) identified themselves as white British, by far the largest group. This is not something that the government seems to want. There is a lot of proactive work by police forces trying to recruit more BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) officers (see Chapter Two).

Ethnicity did come up in a few interviews in relation to participants' work. Jean, a police officer, was asked if her ethnicity had any impact on her job. Her answer was interesting in so far that she felt it had not been an issue, but the fact that she was female had been. This was a BME officer who did not consider ethnicity an issue, focussing instead on her gender. I thought this was an interesting element to the interview. It would seem that even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century the gender of the police officer still has an impact on how the police force, and indeed society, treats you. This again is something that can be related to police culture (see Chapter Two). William, another police officer, saw his ethnicity in a different way and used it to his advantage.

The ethnicity of the participants in this study was not something that came up during the interviews. It was really only mentioned if asked about their background, how it had affected the way in which they worked, or if they felt that this had an impact on how the sex offender saw them.

### **Self-selection bias**

Self-selection bias is a major problem in research in social sciences along with other disciplines. It can arise in any situation where individuals select themselves into the group. This can cause biased sample with non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling has been considered a critical risk to the research results, especially when the aim of the research is to obtain a general sample of the group and to generate an accurate projection or generalisation for the entire population. The fundamental difference between non-probability sampling and probability sampling is that the former lacks random selection (Luth, 2008).

Research also seems to suggest that there are two reasons why sample selection bias happens in practice. First, there may be unconscious self-selection by the participants. Secondly, the sample selection may be biased towards a certain group (Heckman, 1979). Both were considered during this research. Self-selection was, and is, an issue for the research. The reasons why participants agreed to be involved are not known: many motives were considered, including interest in the study, a chance to stop work for a time, and the need to tell someone their life history. The last motivation is one that could cause an issue with this research. The need to explain their abuse, their background and, in some interviews, their shocking upbringing, are issues that must be considered when analysing the data.

The second motive - background - was overcome by the researcher using all the interviews obtained, apart from three that could not be transcribed.

### **Role Conflict**

Although I was a police officer for 30 years, and am now working at the University of Portsmouth, I had been retired a number of years when these interviews took place. In essence, I had moved on and so had the police family. It was not the same job of which I had been a part, but I do not believe there was a role conflict. I would argue that there was a role relevance or influence. This is discussed further in this chapter. This research was carried out in my role as a PhD student, nothing more. However, the fact that I had been a police officer did help to break down barriers and was useful when participants spoke about police issues.

### **Recording the interviews**

All participants agreed to be interviewed on tape (Bryman, 2008, p.453) and all interviews were recorded. This was done for a number of reasons. First, given the number of interviews that were completed and the amount of time involved, it was not considered practical to make notes during the interviews. As stated above, all the participants were interviewed at their place of work and they all took time out of their busy work life to talk to me. At any time, they may have had to be called away, such is the nature of police work. It is also good interview practice to keep eye contact with participants so that any visual body signs can be analysed and acted upon. It is also a matter of politeness, as it shows an interest in what participants are saying. I wanted the participants to talk to me and to do this they needed to

know I was interested. In police interviews there is often a second person taking notes so one interviewer can carry on with the interview. This was not practical and also would bring in another ethical issue that was really not needed. The (two) tape machines were on the table in front of each participant so they knew what was going to happen. This was discussed before and after I put the recording. Only one participant asked for the tape to be turned off during the interview. This was done without hesitation. He asked about confidentiality again before resuming the recording and going on to disclose abuse suffered by his wife.

### **Transcribing**

The interviews were transcribed and the transcripts edited to eliminate any identifying information. Due to the number, time constraints and the ability of the researcher, the interviews were transcribed by a specialist firm. Their contract was one that had been recommended and used by a number of academics at the University of Portsmouth and included a confidentiality agreement. No one reading the transcripts would be able to identify the participant. The tapes were heard and the full transcripts only seen and controlled by the author. The interviews were digitally recorded and saved securely on the University of Portsmouth's server. The transcripts were secured in the same way. The only way any participant can be identified is by the participants disclosing this fact themselves.

### **Semi-structured interviews**

Interviewing participants seemed an obvious choice to make, taking into consideration the subject matter. Although questionnaires are one of the most common ways of conducting social research, and would have given the research

access to many more participants (Hayden, 2008, p.23), the primary research needed to be approached in a sensitive and delicate manner. This was not possible using a questionnaire. Billig (2004, p.15) has suggested that, *'This sort of methodology can count words, but it cannot interpret them.'* Owing to the subject matter, and the possible emotional and evocative subject, the participants must feel free to explore these or any other issues in more depth (Hayden, 2008, p.31). The interviews were an opportunity to obtain rich, illuminating information by talking and listening intently to participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.5). Therefore, the more structured interview method was employed rather than questionnaires.

Observation was also considered, but was not pursued. Although there are advantages with this method, participants would have been observed talking and working with sex offenders (Hayden, 2008, p.39). Due to the subject matter, this would not give a true picture of the situation as participants would be showing their 'game face' and not what they were thinking and feeling. The permission of the interviewee (sex offender) would also have needed to be obtained. This was felt to be beyond the limits of this research.

Semi-structured interviews are, by definition, an unknown quantity. It was not known what would be disclosed by the participant in the interview. The general topics will be known, but not the response. It was also not known what risk this would have emotionally and psychologically for the participants, who must feel they can speak freely about the subject. A number of subjects were considered for the interviews, including education, housing, family, upbringing, jobs, religion, and families' opinion of sex offenders, as well as contact with sex offenders in upbringing, marital status, sexuality and why did they choose to deal with sex offenders.

The topics and the questions included in the semi-structured interview (appendix) came in part from my own experience of interviewing and in part from Trull & Widiger (1997). They were all personal, factual questions (Bryman, 2008, p.238), designed to elicit personal information and behaviour. The strength of these topics and questions was that their pattern that was known to both the interviewee and the interviewer and, therefore, all felt comfortable during the interviews. Although the sequence of the questions was never revealed to the participants, all were experienced interviewers themselves so they would have seen the pattern and known what to expect next. The use of open questions was used to encourage conversation. Using only certain topics meant that the interviewer and interviewee could steer and control the conversation into more productive areas if the opportunity arose. It also allowed the participants to identify areas that they considered important.

As a police officer I was trained in a number of interview techniques, including rape and child abuse cases interviewing both victim and offender. I therefore feel that I have the appropriate skills and training to carry out these interviews and to demonstrate an appreciation and awareness of any issue that might arise. This includes being prepared for any unanticipated distressing emotions. Although the participants are police officers, I am fully aware of the traumatic effects of some memories and events and their disclosure to a stranger.

In any form of research, the subject matter and who is going to be involved has to be considered. Borg (1981, p.87) stated that there is, '*A tendency for the interviewer to seek out the answers that support his preconceived notions.*' This was the case with this thesis. I assumed that some participants would themselves have been

victims of some form of abuse. This was in part due to my background as a police officer and that, given that the police service is taken from the population, it was likely that some will have been victims in some form. It also has to be acknowledged that it was likely that some participants could possibly be offenders. I did have a preconceived notion that some of the participants who had chosen to deal with sex offenders had done so because of their like-minded ideas about sex.

As I was aware of these concepts, I consider that I carried out the interviews with integrity and without misleading the participants or seeking to confirm my ideas. Although this history may have influenced the participants in other ways (see below), the ethos of the interviews centred on the search for the truth as the participants saw it. Indeed, it was made clear to participants that I would not be checking or investigating what they told me, unless there was an ethical issue with what they were saying. Participants must feel that they can speak freely about this subject. Police humour between participant and researcher was often used to help this process. It acts as a method of making sense of what can be difficult and tense situations (Tracy et al, 2006). Sociologists have long held that humour is a reaction to the sometimes absurd and impossible encounters that people experience (Critchley, 2002; Scott, 2007). By 'normalising' a situation through humour, a stressful encounter can be made more manageable (Myers, 2005). The subject of humour is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

I believe that my background influenced the participants, not so much in what they said, but in what they were willing to say. Many of them were initially 'cold' towards me. I was often taken to their offices and allowed to sit at one desk whilst the morning parade took place. At first, this was met with distrust and 'hostility' and a

sense of unease. This did not improve when I was introduced as a researcher from the University of Portsmouth. I took it upon myself to drop my police history into conversations around 'cups of tea'. This ritual of tea drinking is very important in all police stations I have serviced in or ever visited. Almost immediately this had an effect: I was accepted as one of them. I also made the point that I did not want them to be particularly politically correct during the interviews.

I also mentioned that, having dealt with sex offenders myself, I could not be shocked or offended. It was felt that being able to speak freely and not being controlled what was expected or correct enabled the participants to be more forthcoming in their opinions and thoughts. The disadvantage to this approach is that it is not known if any of the interviews are based on fact or truth. The advantage was that I had knowledge of the problems and issues that all of them spoke about. Also, no explanation was needed when police jargon was being used. During their interviews, a number of participants mentioned my background and that I would understand what was said, almost as a way to justify and endorse what they were saying.

This thesis lent itself to both qualitative and quantitative research as it explored attitudes, behaviour and experiences (Dawson, 2009, p.14). The negative impact of this form of research is that it generates a large unwieldy database. Bryman (2008, p.538) describes it as an 'attractive nuisance' because of the attractiveness of its richness, but the difficulty of finding a logical path through that richness.

## Coding

A number of different coding options were considered and examined for the analysis of the fully transcribed interviews. The need to be unbiased, balanced and impartial

was paramount in the coding, but my needs and abilities were also something that had to be taken into consideration. A number of options were considered including SPSS and NVivo, and training for both of these was undertaken. Neither suited me for various reasons. Both were tried and further training was received for NVivo, but still I found difficulty in visualising what was needed and how this produced a result. Lee and Fielding (1991) stated there has to be a certain amount of trust in the chosen system I found that I did not trust NVivo as I did not totally understand it.

I suffer from dyslexia and have developed a number of coping skills, particularly being able to picture what is being produced. I have used Excel software for a number of years and this works well for me. An Excel spreadsheet was developed in which a large number of columns were created. Each column or cell had a label such as education, age, training and why work as a police officer. Each transcript was then analysed and a cell was completed for each interview. This task was repeated many times until all the information from the transcripts was obtained. Each column or cell was then sorted into subject matter in a balanced and impartial way (Appendix Three).

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the methodology which enabled me to conduct a detailed piece of research relating to why some police personnel choose to deal with sex offenders. On reflection, the method of semi-structured interviews about life histories worked well. The choice of interviews produced a wealth of information and life stories. It allowed the participants to talk in a free but structured way. Bearing in mind that all the participants would have been interviewing on a daily basis, this method would have been understood and have almost been a comfort to them. The

decision to disclose my background also seemed to be the right one. I had been considering whether to do so during the ethics and introduction to gatekeeper's procedure. I was conscious that this disclosure could also be problematic. However, the difference in attitude of the participants before and after my disclosure was marked. Having disclosed, I seemed to be totally accepted into this specialised area of the police service. It would have been interesting to have carried out a number of visits without disclosing my previous job to ascertain if the same numbers and the same information were obtained. It was also a pleasant surprise to discover the number of police officers who wanted to participate, but also the life stories that they were willing to disclose to me, a stranger. The following chapter will examine the social profiles of the participants.

## Chapter Five: Social Profiles of Research Sample

### **Introduction**

This chapter will start to analyse the interviews that were completed for this thesis. The interviews were semi-structured, as explained in Chapter Four and as such there was a wealth of information that needed to be analysed and put in some sort of order. When carrying out the interviews, the topics I wanted to cover included parents, education, religion and why join the police force, as well as a few of the demographic questions that might be an influence within the police culture theory (See Appendix Two). However, a number of other themes were mentioned by the participants that I had not considered, and all are included in this chapter.

### **Police or Police Staff**

Of the 52 interviews conducted, the majority of participants were police officers and a small number identified themselves as police staff. It was not known at the beginning of the interviews who or what position they held in the police service. Although this was not always asked, the subject did come up in the majority of interviews. Most participants felt the need to make clear their position in the police force, as if to justify it. Although all were employed by the police, their own perception of their place in the system was interesting. At times, I would assume that I was interviewing a police officer and, if I made a comment that reflected this, the police staff were very quick to inform me to the contrary. Because of their special role requirement no participant was in uniform, so I could not rely on this as to whether

they were police staff or not. Some police staff were even at pains to point out that they were not police officers.

**Samantha (Police Staff):** *“I never wanted to be a police officer. The going out on patrol, on the beat, that didn’t interest me at all really. I like investigating type things, looking into things, managing things that interested me, but I did not want to go out and deal with drunkards at two o’clock in the morning. That part didn’t intrigue me at all.”*

This is interesting as Samantha (Police Staff) seemed to be quite negative about police work, but nevertheless works in the force. Not being an officer was an important distinction for her. Other police staff were similarly most insistent that they were not officers. This may be down to a police culture which in the past has not accepted police staff employees as doing a police job (see Chapter Two: Police Culture).

Unlike Samantha, Sarah (Police Staff) has decided that she would not be able to do police officer work, rather than not wanting to.

**Sarah (Police Staff):** *“I am not very good with things like that. As I have said, at home we do not speak about bad things. Even when I was a PCSO when that man got murdered, when they did the memorial thing, I was sobbing, as I put myself in their place. I get emotionally attached even on the TV. I became very upset even if it was someone I don’t really know and when something bad happens I feel myself getting upset and I think I would be rubbish working with victims.”*

Many participants were Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), or had applied to become a police officer in the past. Although Sarah (Police Staff) had been a

PSCO she felt that emotionally she could not be a police officer. However, she applied to work with sex offenders which undoubtedly needs a great deal of emotional control. Brown (1995) suggested that the only thing more emotional stressful for police than dealing with sex offenders was informing a relative of a sudden death. Yet Sarah (Police Staff) indicated almost the opposite. She went on to say that she had suffered from nightmares or trouble sleeping at the beginning of her job - one of a few participants to disclose this.

*“I could see someone on my home landing and I knew it was one of my sex offenders.”*

It would appear from these remarks that regular police work was not for these participants: they saw the work in quite a negative way. They felt they were almost too good to do the mundane and ordinary dull work of a police officer, but dealing with sex offenders was perceived to be different. They believed they could step up and do this sort of work.

A small number of the police officers in this research took the same viewpoint, but the other way round. One seemed to show a sense of inferiority towards certain people. However, he was able to overcome this feeling by stating that they were not true police officers: again, the ‘them and us’ of police culture.

**Harry (Police Officer):** *“That used to irritate the sh\*t out of me because I used to think, ‘You’re not a police officer. You’re more intelligent than me, but you’re not actually a copper’.”*

Some of the interviewees had changed jobs during their police career. A small number were retired officers who had returned to work as civilians. Some were PSCOs or had some working knowledge of the police service before coming onto

the unit. Others had no such knowledge before applying. The attitude of others on the units to each of the above situations was also of interest. The need to be on the inside, and know what a 'true' police officer did, seemed to be very important to many in this research.

That I did not know whom I was interviewing highlighted the fact that the gatekeepers and the ethical procedure was adhered to. In a way, this lack of knowledge enhanced the interviews. When it was apparent that I did not know which were police officers or staff, the participants were keen to point out their precise role. This had not been anticipated when the interviews were planned. The research also seems to support the research surrounding police culture: the view of 'them' and 'us' and the almost prejudiced view that police staff are not 'real' police officers and cannot do the job. It also seems to influence and support the isolation and solidarity aspects of policing.

### **Workload**

The workload of the participants varied from about 50 to 143 individual cases. Most had over 70 registered sex offenders with whom they were working at any one time. The level and grading of the offenders, in relation to their risk to the public, was not explored. This is such a movable feast that it is not something that this thesis has investigated. Some of the participants had been subject to a serious case review, often by another police force area, that investigates when something has allegedly gone wrong. All participants were fully aware of what could happen if they did not 'do their job'.

**Rose (Police Staff):** *“I have 67 at the moment. It is a lot. I have one that is taking up all my time every day for the last however many weeks, so the rest of them do not get the attention.”*

However, most interviewees stated that they could cope and that they did their job well against many obstacles. The pressure of this workload and the length of time dealing with sex offenders could indicate that, although participants felt they were up to the job, a large percentage of them left the unit after a relatively short time.

### **Gender and Sexuality of Participants**

The gender and sexuality of the participants did not really come up in the interviews as a question. The gender of the participants is covered in more detail in Chapter Four. However, during the interviews about background and family it as it became relevant to what was being asked and discussed. Most participants mentioned their wives, husbands or partners and the assumption was that this meant they were heterosexual. The times that the question was asked was often met with humour. One participant was asked his sexuality.

**Tom (Police Officer):** *“Heterosexual, but I am only 49. It could all change.”*

The sexuality of the assumed heterosexuals was not progressed in any great detail in the interviews. Some were in relationships and at times disclosed that their partners were aware and supportive of their chosen career, but this was as deep as the interviews got. Some of the participants were married or in relationships with police officers. The only three who mentioned their sexuality were those in same sex relationships. This is interesting as I and the other participants assumed that

their sexuality was not an issue that needed to be spoken about. Participants who disclosed they were gay seemed to need to mention this fact.

**David (Police Officer):** *“When you go through secondary school it is normal to be straight. I was trying to convince myself that I was straight. I went out with girls but I was not happy but it was the norm so I was not normal.”*

David (Police Officer) had already disclosed that he had been physically abused by his father and was emotionally distant from his mother, insofar as he was sent to boarding school at a very young age to remove him from the family. He had needed counselling, mainly in an effort to come to terms with his sexuality. The subject was brought up by him, not me. He also went on to reveal that he had been raped by a male neighbour when he was 12 years old. At the time he did not consider this to be rape as he believed that he ‘consented’. However, he does now and was asked if he thought his sexuality has had any impact on his job.

**David (Police Officer):** *“I do not know if it is sexuality, but being a gay man I am probably more sensitive about how people are. I think that generally a man can be very black and white, does not show much emotion. A woman is the opposite. I think I am in the middle.”*

He was also asked about his sexuality when dealing with sex offenders.

**David(Police Officer):** *“I know what happened to me. I do know because I am gay that I am different. Like, years ago people would be treated the same as paedophiles probably.”*

This is a complex thought process on his sexuality. On the one hand, David saw himself as gay and not an issue to anyone. On the other hand, he felt it was to his advantage that he saw himself as different and could be linked to a deviant group.

**Karen (Police Officer)** mentioned that she was gay, but only after I asked her. On reflection, this could have been that I knew her and I was therefore aware of her sexuality. I asked about this.

**Karen (Police Officer):** *"I am gay."*

[Question: When did you discover that?]

[Reply] *"When I was in the army. I did not know beforehand."*

I asked if her sexuality had made any impact on her being a police officer, or how she deals with sex offenders. The answer was a very clear 'no' and there was no further discussion.

Peter (Police Officer) disclosed he was gay when he mentioned his partner and was then asked if he was gay. I do not know why the mention of partner meant I assumed he was gay, as this is a term often used by heterosexual people when talking about people they are not married to. Analysing the interview further, the participant did mention 'he' when speaking about his partner. I raised the matter directly with him.

**Peter (Police Officer):** *"Yeah. I must have been 25 before I actually did anything. Up until that point I had no girlfriend, so they [his parents] were obviously thinking, 'You're gay'."*

He was asked if he felt that his sexuality had any effect on the jobs he was offered in the police force. He did not think so, but did mention that the sex offenders do ask.

**Peter (Police Officer):** *“One of them the other day said to me, ‘Oh, I’ve just noticed you have a ring on your hand there’, and he said, ‘Oh, you got married then. Civil partnership isn’t it?’ I said, ‘Yes it is’ and moved on. They would not have said that to a heterosexual officer. He went on to say that he had Googled me.”*

This is interesting for a number of reasons. The main one is that the sex offender had seemingly gone to some length to find out all he could about the officer. Another is that, in some ways, Peter was not surprised or alarmed about this: he just accepted it. The subject of being groomed came up in the interview, as it did in a number of others. Tournel (2014) discussed how she had had a similar experience when interviewing prison officers. They told her that they knew what car she had driven, what route she had taken and admitted that they had Googled her. There is almost an underlying threat and controlling element to this.

There has been much research into gender in policing (Brown & Heidensohn, 2000; Heidensohn, 1995; Westmarland, 2001; Silvestri, 2003). It has already been discussed in Chapter Two that women seemed to have come into the police service originally to police their own sex. It is hoped that things have moved on since then. The fact that one of the participants mentioned that being a woman seemed to have caused more issues than being a BME officer seems to add to the literature that all is not equal the police service. The sexuality of participants, as mentioned, did not seem to impact on them or the job they were doing. None of them that mentioned that their sexuality raised any issues that they may have brought to the job. This seems to support and add to the literature on police culture in some ways. However, it also seems to contradict some of the literature. By this I mean that once you are

seen as part of the family, part of the police service, it does not matter about your sexuality or your ethnicity. However, it has to be accepted that there is still prejudice in the police service, not only to the public but within the service itself. Certain sexualities may not be accepted by all. Again, the police service is a reflection of society.

### **Marital status of participants**

Marriages among law enforcement personnel may seem doomed from the start. People often assume police officers have a much higher divorce rate than the rest of the population (Honig, 2007), and some sources have cited the rate as high as 75% (Aamodt, 2008). Whilst there is no empirical evidence to support claims that divorce rates among law enforcement couples are any higher than those of the general population (McCoy & Aamodt, 2010), marriages among police officers do face mounting stresses and difficulties that may be unique to this sector of the population.

Two interviewees did not mention their marital status. All the remaining participants mentioned the topic in one form or another. About half of the participants disclosed that they had been divorced at some point, a slightly higher rate than the national average. Police culture (almost a common belief) is that the divorce rate for police officers is higher than the general population, but there is little empirical evidence to support this. In fact, analysis carried out by McCoy and Aamodt (2009) would seem to indicate the opposite. Their research was carried out some time ago and with American officers, but did show a lower than expected divorce rate. In this research, a small number of the participants had been married and divorced a number of times. This has been difficult to analyse further as most participants did not mention

(nor were they asked) at what point they were divorced or the reasons why. So it is not clear whether the breakdown in marriage could be attributed to the work. There is often no single reason for a breakdown of a relationship, so this topic was not pursued any further.

**Natasha (Police Officer):** *“Marriages don’t last long in the police force.”*

A number of participants mentioned that they were married or in relationships with other police officers. This is not really a surprising figure as, generally, police are inclined to isolate and separate themselves from society (Skolnick, 2011, p.59). Therefore, the only people they would meet would be at work. This feeling of isolation and solidarity is embedded into police culture. Some participants felt that they could not discuss their work with loved ones. There was a need to protect them and the public from the offenders. The need to keep them isolated from the ‘real world’ also meant that the participants themselves were isolated, but it also supports the theme that the participants were able to protect their families. They could see and understand what the ‘real world’ was like and were able to cope with it, but also protect the people they cared about. Surprisingly, this was the case even if their partner was another police officer.

**Mick (Police Officer):** *“I would not go into any details. I would discuss jobs when we were debriefing each other in the evening but I did not go into any details. I would say, ‘Yes I have seen some horrible images’, or ‘I have dealt with a particular nasty person today’, but I would not go into details and it would usually be the funny bits. It would be almost embarrassing to describe what someone had done to a child. It was*

*almost like if you describe the details then you are almost abusing the child again.”*

What Mick said is interesting on a number of levels. First is that this experienced officer (he was just coming up to retirement after 30 years as a police officer) would find it embarrassing to talk to his wife about what he had seen. This could be a misuse of words and he was not talking about what he had seen in an effort to protect his wife, rather than being embarrassed. It is very unusual for a police officer to be embarrassed when talking about sex. Another point of interest is the use of humour, a subject that has been mentioned a number of times in the interviews.

Some participants did use their partners as a ‘sounding board’ for what they had been doing during the day. They did not seem to want to protect them as such. It is not known in what detail the sex offenders were spoken about during these conversations, as this was not covered in the research. Everyone who talks about their job usually puts some sort of spin on what they say. ‘Know your audience’, as the adage goes.

**Samantha (Police Staff):** *“Yes, I talk to him all the time about them. He is fascinated actually.”*

Samantha seemed able and to want to talk to her husband about her work day. However, it is not known in what detail this was discussed. There is also the worrying question as to how ‘fascinated’ her husband was about the sex offenders. One of the police officers almost had the opposite issue.

**Mary (Police Officer):** *“He does not talk about it. He doesn’t like it. He has no interest in it. If I go home and say something, he is, like, ‘I don’t want to talk about your job’.”*

She seemed to want to talk to her husband about the issues, but he was not comfortable with the subject. This might be as she explained during the interview, or it could relate to a wider issue within this relationship. This was not explored any further.

Another officer had almost the opposite to say about whom to marry. His comment seemed to be at odds with what other participants had said and, indeed, police culture.

**Paul (Police Officer):** *“My worst nightmare would be to be married to a policewoman because you just can’t get away from them.”*

The need to protect the vulnerable was raised in a number of interviews and indeed, one participant had a partner who had been a victim of abuse and was the reason why he joined the police.

**Jamie (Police Officer):** *“One of the reasons I did decide to get into this line of work is that my first wife was the victim of sex abuse by her father. She was raped a number of times by him when she was 12 to 14 ... Every other week or so she would wake up screaming and crying ... I used to listen to stories of my wife being raped by her father. She used to beg him not to do it.”*

**Don (Police Officer)** had applied to come onto the unit because his wife was already working there. He felt this made the marriage stronger. They both understood the job they were doing and could talk about the issues.

Anita (Police Officer) stated that she had been married to a sex offender during her time as a police officer, and went into great detail on the subject. Her husband had abused their daughter and had been arrested and taken to court.

**Anita (Police Officer):** *“I do not take people on face value. When you meet a sex offender, everyone has a picture in their mind what a sex offender is, but they are never what you think they are. My husband was a good looking bloke, a loving person. Anyone can be a sex offender.”*

A small number of the participants had been in abusive marriages during their time as police officers. In this case, an abusive marriage could be physical, sexual or psychological, or a combination of all three. Jessica (Police Officer) was with her abusive husband for six years and had two children with him.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *“That was an extremely abusive relationship....everything you can think of.”*

Natasha (Police Officer) was also married to an abusive male for thirteen years whilst being a police officer before she left him,

**Natasha (Police Officer):** *“My ex-husband used to do all things of things to me he really shouldn’t do ... He was a weird bloke.”*

It seems incongruous that people in this line of work would stay and almost accept abuse in relationships. It seems to support the idea that anyone can be a victim and to continue in a toxic relationship, even where they can get access to assistance. There is also the police culture issue of showing no weakness: ‘be the hero’. Becky (Police Staff) waited until a work colleague told her that she was a victim before getting help.

**Becky (Police Staff):** *“There was a guy at work who I think saw me struggling ... He said something to me that made me really think ... He went, ‘You need to stop being a victim’.”*

Lisa (Police Officer) spoke about it being her fault and that she was partially to blame for the abuse. Again, this is a typical response with victims trying to justify what their loved one has done and why they have stayed in the relationship so long. However, it does seem strange that this is a serving police officer.

**Lisa (Police Officer):** *“He was quite violent, but I would say I was probably equally as bad. I used to hit him back ... He had a terrible temper.”*

This theme of marital status had some surprising elements to it. One was that the participants spoke about these issues and another was that even with total access to help and advice, they did not take it. The perceived need to be strong and invincible may be one explanation. However, it could also be that they did not see themselves as victims: it was just something that happened.

The marital status of the research sample extends the literature on police culture on isolation (Chapter Two). As stated, a number of the participants mentioned that they were married or in a relationship with other police officers. Reiner (2010) referred to the fact that the police seem to consider themselves as a ‘race apart’, with many officers reporting difficulties in mixing with ‘civilians’ in ordinary social life. Being in a relationship with another police member is understandable. The study’s participants who mentioned that they had been in an abusive marriage or relationship whilst a serving police member is more complicated. This seems to add to the literature on victim, as well as, in some ways, on police culture - the machismo

element of police culture. Showing a perceived weakness would be very difficult for anyone in the police service. In particular, it would be difficult for women to be seen as a victim which, in many ways, is seen by society as being weak. It has always been tough for women to gain acceptance, so also being seen as a victim would be difficult to overcome. In this research, it was only women who said that they had been in an abusive relationship.

## Children

The subject of children was mentioned by many participants, generally when the subject of marriage and relationships came up. Many participants had children, step children, adopted children or children that lived with them but seemed to have no title. This topic was not really discussed in any great detail except on a couple of occasions when the participant made a point of interest. A small majority interviewed did not have children. Also, the definition of children was not explained to participants. So saying 'no' may have been 'no' to natural children, but possibly 'yes' to others.

Participants made a number of comments about children that referred to their professional choices. Jean (Police Officer) stated that she could not have children and this had a great impact on her and her relationships. In some way it also had an impact on why she chose to deal with sex offenders.

**Jean (Police Officer):** *"I would rather help kids who cannot help themselves and that stems from the fact that I cannot have children."*

David (Police Officer) did not have children but felt that, if he did, this might change his attitude or ability when dealing with sex offenders. It is also worthy of note that

he assumed that when officers had children they would not want to go to the unit. This shows quite a conventional view of officers that deal with sex offenders.

**David (Police Officer):** *“I’m saying that because most people I talk to have got children and therefore could not go onto this unit. I have not got any children. I cannot say how I would react if I had children.”*

Barbara (Police Officer) had no children and her attitude to them was interesting.

**Barbara (Police Officer):** *“If I’m honest about children, I don’t like them ... I don’t seem to have any emotional impact. It doesn’t have an impact on me, so I can go home and forget about them.”*

Jamie (Police Officer) spoke of the difficulty of dealing with sex offenders and having children. He mentioned grading child abuse images and then going home to his children.

**Jamie (Police Officer):** *“My little girl has been desperate for a bra top. It is not sexualised, it is just a training bra. What is the first thing we see in images time and time again, but these bra tops. I hate them. I hate her wearing them, but why should I be upset what my little girl does?”*

There is no argument that having children, or being the carer of children, has a huge impact on all aspects of someone’s life. This can be both in a positive and a negative way. Dealing and meeting with people that will harm children must have an influence on your life and the way in which you interact with children. It is interesting that having children can be both a reason for some to do this work, and for others it is a reason not to.

## Parents of participants

The subject of parents and their occupations was a topic in the interview plan and came up in all but a small number of the interviews. The definition of 'parent' does need some explanation. For the purposes of this thesis, it is the person or persons responsible for their upbringing. This will be discussed in more detail later as many participants had not been brought up by their biological parents. Many had suffered from the early death of a parent and many were brought up with different step parents.

The range of the occupations of parents was vast, ranging from ballet dancer and rugby player to politician. Interestingly, only two participants had fathers who were police officers. Again, this is interesting as these were their fathers, not mothers. I assumed that this would have been higher as there is an assumption that participants following in the steps of their parents for occupations; but this would appear to be different for police officers (Willis, 2017). The most prominent occupation by far amongst the participants was the armed forces. A small majority of participants had fathers in the navy, army or air force. No mothers were included in this group. Most of the mothers' occupations were low paid domestic-type jobs. One participant, when asked about his mother's occupation, said she was an alcoholic. This derogatory attitude to mothers was present in a small number of interviewees. Some, it would appear, for very good reasons.

**Steven (Police Officer):** *"I would say she is a compulsive liar and you cannot believe a word she says. She is totally unreliable."*

(Police Officer) Mary's mother was a teacher, but she was still very cutting about her.

**Mary (Police Officer):** *“Mum worked but I would say she was not a natural mother. She did not like being around children.”*

(Police Officer) Jane’s mother was a housewife, but during the interview said that she worked. It is not clear if this was because she had another job, or whether Jane (Police Officer) classified being a housewife as a job.

**Jane (Police Officer):** *“My mum was always miserable.”*

(Police Officer) Russell’s mother was an accountant, one of the very few with professional occupations mentioned in this research. He was still quite tough in his feelings towards her.

**Russell (Police Officer):** *“My mum was selfish.”*

However, he called his mother an alcoholic and this would have been likely to have had an influence on her selfishness.

As can be seen, the occupations of the participants’ parents were as varied as expected given the demographics of the group and the police service.

### **Siblings and position in the family**

There is extensive literature on the relationship between birth order, personality traits and professions, discussed in Chapter Two. Sulloway (1996) suggested that birth order has a persistent and substantial influence on behaviour and that this influence can be explained as basic as sibling competition. Sulloway also suggested that birth order affects behaviour by shaping the underlying personality traits, as well as social and cultural attitudes, via the sibling competition. In competing for scarce parental resources, siblings react to and create different positions or functions for

themselves within the family. Firstborns learn quickly to secure their position by identifying with their parents' established authority and becoming champions of the status quo. They tend to be dominant, aggressive, ambitious, jealous and conservative - the 'alpha males' of society. A younger sibling's continuing 'vulnerability' under the status quo leads him or her to be more accepting of revolutionary ideas.

A very small number of participants did not mention siblings. This is not to say they were an only child, just that they did not mention the fact. Two participants were only children, however a large majority of the participants were the oldest child. Barry (Police Staff) was asked about his family.

[Question: There were four of you and your mum died?]

**Barry (Police Staff):** *"Yeah, all younger - two sisters and a brother. My sisters went off to boarding school with a catholic religious order quite young. My brother came over to England and lived here, so by the time I was eight the family was gone."*

The responsibility of being the oldest and the need to protect perhaps lends itself to the characteristics of being police officers. They then take it further and pick one of the most difficult units and difficult set of offenders to control.

**Samantha (Police Officer):** *"I saw mum fall apart and then I took on the parental role for like a three year old. He was a three year old then and Oliver would have been seven or eight, so I helped raise them."*

[Seven year old brother was on the autistic spectrum] *He is a massive challenge."*

This sense of responsibility, taking on the role of a parent at quite an early age was mentioned by a large number of the participants.

### Education of participants

The level of educational requirements needed for entry into the British police service has always been changeable. Charman (2017, p.63) states that historically there has always been an uneasy relationship between policing and the education sectors. It has also been contentious, both culturally within the police service and with the general public. The overriding ideal of the British police service has been that officers should be a representative of the general public. Asking for certain educational levels in order to join the service means that it has already excluded certain members of society. However, the ability to function within the criminal justice system does require a certain amount of schooling. Historically, police officers only needed basic reading and writing English qualifications to gain entry. Culturally, the police service seems to mistrust people with degrees until and unless they reach a certain rank.

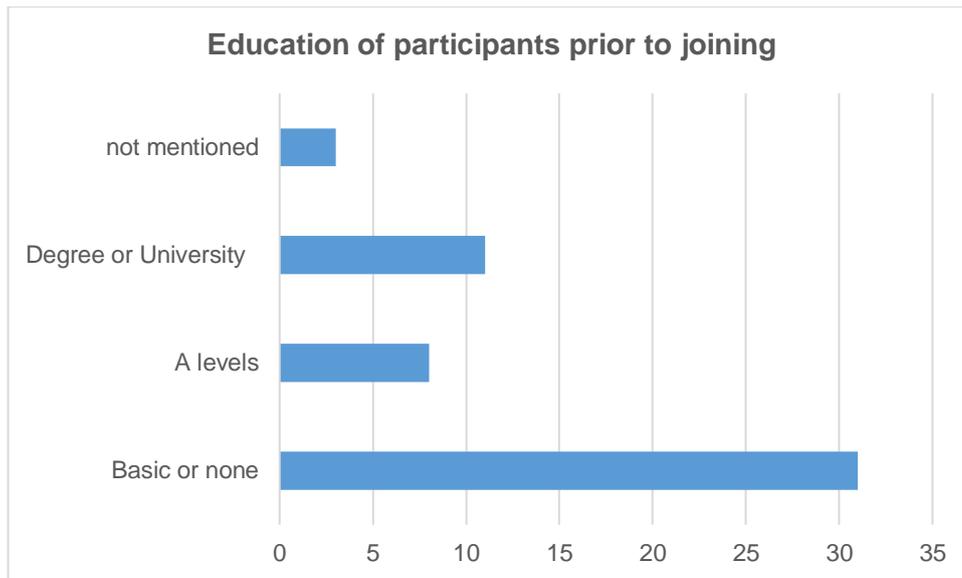
In an effort to professionalise the police service and move away from a 'trade' and 'craft' to that of a professional, the requirement is for police officers to have a higher education (Charman, 2017, p.64). In early 2016, the College of Policing suggested that a specialist degree will be needed for new officers and suggested three entry routes into the service (Table 1 below). The college also proposed a qualification framework so that individuals can gain 'recognition that has meaning and credibility'. It suggested opportunities for existing officers and staff to gain accredited and publicly recognised qualifications for existing skills. The college stated that there was *'some evidence that the proportion of degree students from more*

*disadvantaged backgrounds has grown and the 'gap' in terms of socio-economic status has therefore started to close*' (College of Policing). On first reading, it does answer the concerns about perceived elitism for police officers. However, the article does not give any information regarding issues of methodology or analysis.

*Table 1. Entry routes into the police service (College of Policing)*

<b>Entry routes</b>	<b>Qualification timing</b>	<b>Training period</b>
Professional degree in Policing	Pre-join and self-funded (via student loan)	Approx. three years but could vary depending on the mode of delivery (e.g. part-time)
Graduate conversion programme	Post-join available to graduates only	To be determined, but likely to be approximately six months
Higher level apprenticeship	Post-join	To be determined, but likely to be 3 to 5 years. Will enter as an apprentice constable and study for degree and work concurrently

The subject of education was mentioned in large majority of the interviews.



*Figure 5-1. Education of participants prior to joining*

The label 'basic or none' has been used because the participants referred to their qualifications in different ways. This depended on their age and the location of their schooling. For example, some referred to CSE or GCE. The table clearly shows that most participants did not have a degree or any university schooling.

A small number of interviewees attended boarding school at some point in their education. The average number of people attending boarding school in Britain in 2010 was 628,000 - 6.5% of students (Independent Schools Council). This would seem to indicate that the participants are below the average in Britain. There is a cultural stereotype of people who attend boarding school, namely being wealthy and coming from the upper classes of society (Ryan & Sibiela, 2010, p.2). This also does not show a representative factor of society.

Participants who did attend boarding school all spoke about the experience in a negative way, with feelings of isolation and being forced into being independent from a fairly young age.

**Natasha (Police Officer):** *“So who bought me up? Nobody really. I was institutionalised from the age of seven and left to fend for myself from thereon.”*

Natasha (Police Officer) was treated for depression, to which she attributed, in part, her schooling. She went on to say that she was not a loved child and that her brother was the ‘favoured’ one. Of note was that she was the only sibling to go to boarding school. The others stayed at home and went to local schools. This was also the case with another officer.

**David (Police Officer):** *“At boarding from the age of 8 to 12 I was bullied a bit. Well, there was one main bully that used to pick on me....You do not get much love and affection at boarding school.”*

He went on to discuss the fact that he was sent to boarding school almost as a punishment, as he had not bonded with his mother in any way. His vulnerability is shown here: he was isolated and a prime target to be bullied. Barry (Police Staff) spoke about being targeted by a priest at boarding school. His feeling of isolation and vulnerability is also shown. Although he puts on a ‘brave face’ by saying that he ‘dealt with it’, it is never clear how this happened or how the abuse manifested itself. It is of note that he dealt with it himself. No one else did; not his parents, but him. He also seems to justify the abuse by way of his ethnicity.

**Barry (Police Staff):** *“It’s stereotypical Irish. One particular priest targeted pupils that were isolated. I became a target and that was, well, I say dealt with ... I was probably targeted for about two to three years.”*

Other issues mentioned by a small number of the participants during their schooling (not necessarily at boarding school) were dyslexia, depression and bullying.

(Police Officer) Tom's brother had died at a very young age and he felt that this was to blame for his problems. He was quite brutal in his language.

**Tom (Police Officer):** *"My language development was a little bit slow and I did have problems learning to read. I think the problem was over the loss of my brother ... I was just a little bit slow: a bit thick."*

Roger (Police Officer) spoke about being a poor reader. Dyslexia was mentioned later in the interview, but he was adamant that this was not the situation with him, even though he had never been tested. He also brought up sibling rivalry and implied favouritism. The 'she' he is talking about is his younger sister who was, in his opinion, the favoured child.

**Roger (Police Officer):** *"Because she's more academic. I'm not an academic person. I'm not very good at reading. I hated reading as a kid..."*

Low self-esteem at school is also mentioned by Kelly (Police Officer). Her language is just as brutal as Roger (Police Officer)'s.

**Kelly (Police Officer):** *"I was in the bottom half of a very clever school and so I left school feeling very useless and stupid."*

Jessica (Police Officer) also spoke about feeling inadequate when it came to schooling. This also seemed to be reinforced at home. It is her father she is talking about.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *"Yeah, he used to call me thick and stupid. He'd get angry with me if I couldn't do my maths, especially. He had a thing about maths because he's quite good at it."*

Feelings of isolation and not being treated the same as other members of their family come across clearly. These were from an early age, different from the rest.

A small number of the participants spoke about depression at school. Rose (Police Staff) was brought up in a very strict household with a fanatical Christian father and found it difficult to adjust to schooling.

**Rose (Police Staff):** *“I didn’t like school if I’m honest. I suffered from depression.”*

Connie (Police Officer) went into some detail about the illnesses she suffered (or pretended to suffer) so that she would not have to go to school. It took her parents some time to realise what was going on with her and she almost seems to blame them for this.

**Connie (Police Officer):** *“I probably did actually have physical manifestations of the stress, in stomach aches, ear aches and all kinds of things.”*

The subject of isolation and not being the same as everyone else was mentioned by a large number of the participants. It seemed as though this was present from a relatively early age. Even when they spoke about issues such as depression or dyslexia, it was stated as a fact of life that had to be overcome.

### Higher education of participants

For the purpose of this thesis, attending higher education was generally assumed to mean attending university. A fast track system has been in place within the police service for a number of years. This has a number of aims, but it is mainly to identify

candidates who have the ability to become an Inspector after three years. It also identifies candidates who have the potential to reach at least the rank of Superintendent or above.

The College of Policing (2018, para.3) has stated that, *'The aim is to develop officers with the skills, experience and potential and motivation to reach the senior ranks of the service, at least Superintendent level, to impact on and influence the management and culture of the service.'* However, the system has not been well received, either culturally by the police service or by new applicants into the force. This may be influenced by police culture in not embracing change but again this could also come down to human nature. According to the college's own report, Direct Entry (Inspector) National Assessment Centre published in 2018, only 105 officers have attended the assessment centre, with only 43 passing and going back to their force area in 2014. This seems to be another way that education and training in the police service have many issues that do not seem to be resolved by the College of Policing as the governing body. There is also an element of police culture against people with degrees, of distrusting them. Charman (2017, cited Lee and Punch, 2006) when one graduate police officer recalled the reaction of his colleagues when they found out he had a degree that went something like, *'Bloody hell, so you're the clever bastard with the ten 'O' levels. We'll soon knock that out of you.'* Suspicion is perhaps a cultural characteristic that transcends all police work.

This issue surrounding higher education was in some ways supported by the participants in this thesis. As Figure 5-1 above shows, only a small number of them attended higher education. All had gone to a university and, quite commonly among students, some had gone there with no real thought as to the end product. A smaller

number had sports degrees and the others covered a number of topics from geography to agriculture. Two went to university, but did not leave with a degree.

**Neil (Police Officer):** *“Basically, my step into university lasted only six months.”*

Only two interviewees, Jill (Police Officer) and Samantha (Police Staff), had a degree in a subject that could be considered relevant to policing. This is of note as the College of Policing wish to bring in degree entry, in a relevant discipline, for all police officers. It is not clear what the college would consider relevant, but going by the participants’ responses maybe only two of them would now be able to become police officers.

**Jill (Police Officer):** *“I did a degree in Psychology and Criminology, but had not even thought about being a police officer until I left university.”*

Jill (Police Officer) obviously had no idea or aim to join the police service. Again, it seemed to be an afterthought that she joined.

**Samantha (Police Staff):** *“I did police studies with criminal investigation at university.”*

Samantha (Police Staff) was a civilian with no intention of joining the police service. She never wanted to be a police officer and that the issues surrounding going out on patrol and on the beat held no interest for her at all. She became a civilian investigator.

The participants seem to show that a degree is not something many of them have, or seem to feel they need. Any degree they may have often is not connected to the criminal justice system and police work. The view that emerges from the sample of

participants, therefore, is that they do not buy into the College of Policing's policy of graduate entry. If this new policy is to be introduced, it will mean a totally new mindset and culture for both the police service and society.

## Training

A large majority of participants mentioned the subject of training for their role, but all were critical about the training they had received, if they had any at all. One had received no training. All mentioned, in some form, that the training they had received was not adequate for the role. Several stated that the training had either come too late or too early. There seemed to be only one person that everyone went to and that his opinion was considered to be the only one of any value.

Charman (2017, p.70) supports this argument and asks for both formal and informal training needs to have a radical overhaul. In some ways this negativity went to support their arguments that the management did not understand their role, or want to understand their role, unless things went wrong. It also went to support the argument that they saw themselves as heroes. Even with bad or no training, they still were able to do their job. It also went in some way to support or reinforce their idea that not many people could do their job, or really understand what they do.

**Sue (Police Officer):** *"We had a week's training, but that was given two years after we got onto the department. I think it is really poor."*

Sue (Police Officer)'s comment is typical of a number of participants and shows their dissatisfaction with the organisation. This is quite a strong comment to make as it is not in the police culture to ask for further training. It is often seen as an unnecessary

evil. Trainers are seen as officers who could not actually do the job, therefore they train.

**John (Police Officer):** *“I had one course with [...], but he did my head in ... that is what worries me. I like his stuff, but deep down I think he has never actually met a sex offender.”*

This person was mentioned a number of times and appears to be the only trainer that many police forces employ as an outside speaker. This raises a number of issues if this is the only training that police officers receive, as they are only getting one point of view.

**Roger (Police Officer):** *“Not enough training. Not one bit ... This is my point of view, but the risks that we deal with are probably equivalent to counter terrorism.”*

Roger (Police Officer) was clearly very negative about the training he had received and went on to justify his remarks in quite a dramatic way. This is not to say it was an incorrect way, but comparing the damage caused by sex offenders to terrorists is provocative. It does seem to show how he sees his role and the importance of the role in comparison to other roles in the police service.

## Religion

This subject was raised because research with American police officers has led me to believe that, for some officers in some states, religion was very important when dealing with sex offenders. Indeed, during his interviews with suspected offenders,

one officer would often offer to pray with the suspect, asking God for forgiveness. I found this astonishing and led me to raise this issue in the interviews.

Religion as a topic is difficult to define. Does it mean going to church, or having a moral belief? Religion was not therefore defined in the interviews, but was left to participants to express or describe their own understanding. As expected, most stated that religion had no part in their day to day lives. A very small number said that religion was very important to them and did play a part in their lives.

**William (Police Officer):** *“I do not say to people that I am a Christian, but it helps me. I do find I am a lot calmer dealing with people.”*

William (Police Officer) seems to use religion as a coping mechanism, but chooses not to share this with anyone he worked with. Jo (Police Staff) also seemed to do this.

**Jo (Police Staff):** *“I do not go to church that often. I will just take myself off to the cathedral and just think and cry but I do not think I would have got through it without my faith. I sometimes hear someone standing behind me keeping me going saying things like, ‘You can do this. Just take a breath’.”*

Becky (Police Staff) gave another perspective.

**Becky (Police Staff):** *“My dad is very Christian and very religious, but my mum and me are more spiritual. We are more Pagan, but with crystals. The job grounds me whereas my spiritualism side is a bit more ‘up there’. I need this to create balance in my life.”*

No one in this study identified themselves with the Muslim or Jewish faiths.

## Conclusion

This chapter has discussed some of the findings and topics that were mentioned in the semi structured interviews. It has shown that the participants in this study come from a wide variety of backgrounds, with very different social and personal profiles. The age of the participants varied a great deal, as well as the length of service in the police. The careers of their parents also varied a great deal with only a small number coming from a background in law enforcement. The family dynamics of the participants were as expected very varied as was the education achievements of the participants. The overall dynamics of the participants were as varied as I could have expected without using a target group approach. As discussed in Chapter Four, there has to be an element of self-selection by the participants. The next chapter will discuss the reasons why the participants said they had joined the police service and why they then decided to work with sex offenders.

## Chapter Six: Joining the Police - Deciding to deal with sex offenders

### Introduction

**Samantha (Police Staff):** *“I mean, some people cannot stand it, in fact the majority of people say to me when they ask what I do. They are always like, ‘Oh my God, is that really hard to deal with. I do not know why but someone’s got to do it’, and it is, sort of, if you can do it you can and it really does not bother me.”*

This chapter is broken down into two main themes. The first question to be analysed and discussed is why participants said they joined the police service; secondly, I consider their choice to deal with sex offenders. Some of the participants actually bypassed becoming sworn police officers and instead chose to deal with sex offenders as police staff. This will also be discussed.

When I joined the police service in 1982, it was considered a vocation - a long term career choice and not a just a job by many people, including myself. The language of the day was that you ‘joined’, not that you were employed. You were joining a special group of people that, in a way, separated you from most of the general public. This is reflected in the literature review on police culture (Chapter Two). You joined a family that would support look after you for life. Reiner (1992) suggested that recruits were performing a ‘sacred duty’. It was a way of life: it is a mission. To a certain extent, this philosophy is still in place today, although it seems to be changing along with society. People are unwilling or unable to commit to a 30 plus year service to the Crown, and the Winsor report has supported (and in some ways encouraged) this change. Indeed, Smith (2005) observed that the current generation

of police officers seems to have fewer expectations in terms of acquiring long term job security. At the start of this process I had quite clear ideas of why people join the police service, but after completing the qualitative analytic framework it clearly shows that the reasons are far more complex than anticipated.

At the outset, this question seemed to be relatively uncomplicated. People joined the police service to help others, and that was that. After further qualitative analysis, this simple question became complicated. When first asked, participants gave a number of reasons for joining the police service. After analysis and coding, a number of topic or similarities were identified and will now be discussed.

### Reasons for joining the Police service

#### Wanting to help people

A small minority of participants gave the 'traditional' (and perhaps clichéd) explanation of why they had wanted to join the police service, that is wanting to help people. Indeed, at my interview to join, this was what I told the interview panel. This was expected from me at the time and seemed to be the explanation that would get me into the police force. The real reason was far more complicated and more to do with rebelling against my parents who did not want me to join. However, 'wanting to help people' seems to be accepted by the police and the public, really without question. Foley, Guarneri & Kelly (2006) stated that this reason for choosing police work has been the most common and has been fairly consistent over a decade.

However, on further analysis, this traditional explanation showed a deeper and different reason which casts further doubt on 'wanting to help' as the obvious and sufficient reason to join.

**Becky (Police Staff):** *"I think it's within me to help people."*

Becky (Police Staff) was clear why she wanted to join the police service, but the way in which her explanation is phrased almost shows an 'accidental hero' motive. She believes that has been given this gift to help people, so has therefore stepped up to do it.

**Becky(Police Staff):** *"I needed to do something more direct and, in my eyes, more helpful and I could not think of anything better than just jumping in with both feet and having a go. Police sounded so important. I knew I could do it."*

Tobey (Police Staff) also used this explanation.

**Tobey (Police Staff):** *"I quite like the idea of helping people. We do help people and I told my little boy the other day we do help people and keep them safe."*

However, he went on,

*"I was always in trouble at school because I was forthright in my opinions. I used to fight a lot, but generally it was because I knew what was wrong and what was right. I didn't like or tolerate bullies. I would take them out."*

This gives a very subtle new meaning to what he had been saying: again, almost the 'accidental hero' approach. He felt that he could save people from bullies and saw the police force as a way of doing this.

The small minority of responses to this question (with this answer) seems to support the literature. Historically, wanting to help people was a tried and tested answer to joining the police service. The participants were, on analysis, indicating that they were not joining the police service to help people: they were joining for more complicated reasons. For example, Tarng, Hsieh & Deng (2001) concluded that people joined the police service to improve their socio-economic situation. The reason given in this thesis indicates that there is not just one reason why people join the police; it is a mixture of reasons and circumstances.

### **Always wanted to join the police service**

At first glance, this was by far the most 'popular' reason given by the participants. A large majority gave this response. It was relatively evenly distributed between male and female officers. For some, this was related to watching TV programmes about the police.

**Connie (Police Officer):** *"I was always interested in the police as a child, obsessed with watching programmes like Crown Court. I used to rush back at lunchtime to watch that Juliet Bravo."*

This reasoning would seem to be problematic, not for their motivation for joining, but because the programmes they mention do not portray the reality of policing. Very few television programmes today show the real work of a police officer, and more so than when these participants joined. Such programmes are normally

documentaries, but these were not the programmes that were mentioned. It was more typically detective series or continuing drama ('soap') type programmes: shows where a murder or other serious crime is solved in an unrealistically short timeframe, often within hours or a few days. (Although it has been pointed out to me that Morse did take two hours to solve the murder!). These programmes usually only show the most serious offences, like murder and serious sexual assaults. In real life, these are exceptional and most police officers in a 30 year career will rarely, if ever, deal with them. Violent crime tends to be over-represented for the sake of 'entertainment' in the programmes, with the added issue that the crime is almost always solved.

**David (Police Officer):** *"I always wanted to join the police force since about the age of ten after watching 'The Bill'."*

This influence by television has now become an issue for many parts of the criminal justice system. The so-called 'CSI effect', first termed in 2004, is where wildly exaggerated and glorified forensic science affects the public perception of what is possible and what is not (Schweiter & Saks, 2007). Although in their study in 2015, Maeder & Corbett concluded that empirical research has not demonstrated a link between crime television viewing and verdicts. This creates a greater exaggerated faith in the capabilities and reliability of the forensic sciences, particularly when viewers themselves have been the subject of a crime, or are chosen to be a member of a jury. Indeed, one participant mentioned that this influenced her joining the police service.

**Samantha (Police Officer):** *"I love CSI, so I don't know. I was always fascinated with law."*

Such influences to join the police service may be a contributing factor in the dissatisfaction of many police officers. It also may have some influence on the sort of personalities that join the police service. A large majority gave this reason for joining the police service which seems to reflect and contribute to the literature. Rafter (2000) suggests that this reason perpetuates that stereotypical view of a police officer. They are the 'good guys', the 'heroes'. However, Huey & Broll (2015) focused on the misrepresentation of this ideological view of what the police service is. Rafter (2000, p.150) also notes that police in crime shows are typically portrayed as elite, using the term 'hero' who are capable of succeeding at impossible tasks each and every week. This reason also links to the machismo element of police culture, discussed in Chapter Two.

### **Joined from military service needing a steady job**

McCafferty (2003) noted that those who entered the police service in the 1980s were more likely to have served in the military. A small minority of participants were from the armed forces, and the police service seems to offer what they had previously, namely discipline and job security. These participants gave various reasons for joining the police.

**Barry (Police Staff):** *"I was looking at transferable skills. I was looking longer term that I can move my army badging across."*

Several participants mentioned that they had started a family and needed to have the stability of being in one place. They saw the police as a job that could have transferrable skill sets from the armed forces.

One participant's reason was the need for a structured job. For various reasons, he had developed no emotional connections with his parents and had been sent away to boarding school at a very young age.

**Russell (Police Officer):** *"I think mainly due to my parents and boarding school I liked the military. I liked the strictness. It is almost like a parent, everything is done for you. I liked the structure of it all."*

So although this section deals with military service, the underlining theme could equally be the need for stability and a structured career. A small minority of participants mentioned this in different ways.

**Jean (Police Officer):** *"My marriage had come to an end. I was trying to support myself and found out I could not have kids and I thought I need something as a career: something that would activate my brain and give me a good income. I just wanted a job with security that meant I could pay the bills and give me a stable lifestyle."*

Again, on first analysis, Jean (Police Officer) gives a logical reason for joining the police and this seems to be reflected in the literature. The same personality traits which make and are needed in a police officer are also reflected in the armed forces. Although there is no real 'generic' police personality, much of the research completed in this area is from America, which causes issues (discussed in Chapter Two). The link between the police service and the armed forces does have substance. The general perception and image of policing has been strength, power and control (Lord & Friday, 2003, p.63). Reiner (2000, p.89) discussed that a central feature of police culture is a sense of mission and pragmatism. Reiner (2000) goes

on to state that the mission of the police is not boring: it is fun, challenging, exciting and a game of wit and skill. All of which are closely linked to the armed forces.

### By Accident

A small majority of participants indicated that their joining was 'an accident' and this would appear to be a common story. Indeed, Sir John Stevens (London Metropolitan Police Commissioner 2000-2005) stated that he wanted to join the RAF, but his eyesight was not good enough. So he went straight round to the police station almost next door and joined (Stevens, 1988, p.17). Edward (Police Officer) had a similar tale.

**Edward (Police Officer):** *"I went down to the Marines in [...] and they were shut. I said, 'What I am going to do now? Got all this time to kill and it's lunch hour.' So I went down the road to the police station. I thought, 'I'll have a go in there'."*

He went on to say, however, that the station sergeant to whom he spoke at the time was quite aggressive. He told him that he needed to grow up and told him to leave the station. Edward (Police Officer) did so, but saw this as a challenge and went back a few months later, spoke to someone else and eventually joined the police. When interviewed, he was just completing his 30 years' service and was getting ready to retire. Again, this could be explained by his personality in that, if given a challenge, he will react to it. Perhaps if he had not been 'challenged' he would not have joined.

Another participant also explained his joining as accidental.

**Harry (Police Officer):** *“I went down to join the navy. I was absolutely determined to join, but my mum cried her eyes out and talked my dad out of signing the form for me. So I joined the police.”*

At first glance this again appears to be unusual, but nonetheless a reason for joining the police. However, it does introduce the family dynamic. When asked about his parents, Harry (Police Officer) said that his father was the head of the household and his mother was ‘just a housewife’. This is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Only a small majority in this study gave this reason for joining the police and there has been no real empirical research on this, so this thesis does add to the literature. It is a difficult reason to analysis for many reasons. Although, as stated by Sir John Stevens, joining by accident seems to be something that is known and accepted, it remains a perplexing reason.

### Contact with Police

This explanation is closely linked to the sub-heading of influenced by known police officers, which include family members, but justifies its own sub-heading. The explanation of contact with unknown police officers was given by a



small minority of participants, the majority of which were female. This was not an expected explanation, but was the most interesting. At first, this could have been due to the government’s many recruitment programmes and advertisements. This has been a recurring theme of many governments over a number of years.



However, only two participants mentioned the campaigns. The one communality to both participants was their ethnic backgrounds. However, even this was not really the whole reason. Brian (Police Officer) dismissed the advert for five years.

**Brian (Police Officer):** *“So he came to my house and took me to [...] police station. He showed me the offices and the canteen because at the time I’d been like any black kid from an estate. I suffered at the hands of the police. I was always getting stopped in my car, but I could see that these were just ordinary blokes. So I joined.”*

Another participant was shown the advert by his wife, but he hated the label ‘ethnic’ so he ignored it. However, he kept it for three months before speaking to his sister who was already in the police service.

**William (Police Officer):** *“She influenced me, but the overriding factor was could I be a black person in the police service? I had to decide for myself. Could I do this?”*

This does seem to show that although the movement has spent a fortune in advertising to join the police, they still seem to be getting things wrong. The early contacts mentioned by others as an explanation for joining the police were, on the whole, fairly innocuous. They ranged from speaking to a police officer in the street to seeing a police woman in a car. According to Tyler et al (2014, p.752), every

interaction between police and the public is a 'teachable moment' in which something is communicated and learned by both parties, even just being in uniform. This was the most surprising reason given and shows that how just being seen doing a job can influence other people in one direction.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *"I saw a female police officer when my kids were still quite young in town one day getting out of a police car and I remember looking at her thinking, wow I would love to be her."*

At the time of this encounter, Jessica (Police Officer) was in a violent relationship and was struggling to bring up her children. She went on to say that she saw this officer as someone who was coping with life and would not, and could not, have made the same mistakes she had.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *"I could never do that. I could never ever, ever have the confidence to be that woman."*

Another very similar reason was given by another officer.

**Bella (Police Officer):** *"I saw a policewoman on a horse and I thought, 'That is what I am going to do'."*

She went on to talk about how she had always wanted a horse and it may have been this that influenced her, rather than the police officer. However, what can be seen is that these 'meetings', although of no real drama or importance, influenced these participants.

Other contacts with police were more as expected.

**Lisa (Police Officer):** *“I was working as a hairdresser and met a WPC from Greater Manchester Police and that’s what gave me the idea of joining the police.”*

This meeting is something to which most police can relate. When people ask you what you do, they are very interested and fascinated with what the job is. You end up almost selling the job to them.

Another policy for past and present governments is the Police School Liaison Officers. Police officers are based on the schools’ premises and work either solely with that school, or with a cluster of schools. Alternatively, they can be based in their usual station or have bases in different schools with which they work. Their presence in the schools was for a number of reasons, including breaking down the barriers between students and the police. One participant had been influenced by this and even remembered his name.

**Kelly (Police Officer):** *“I was seven and PC [...] came to my school and I thought he was lovely. I just felt inspired by him.”*

Other participants had contact in a deeper and more emotional way.

**Kacey (Police Officer):** *“My brother was always in trouble and eventually committed suicide when I was 17 years old. I had a lot of contact with the police. To be fair, the police did come to my house quite a lot with my brother and I guess I just wanted to try and make a difference. They were all really good. I wanted to be like the bobby that came round and offered my mum and dad support.”*

The contact with the police service could easily have had a negative influence on the participants in that they could easily have had a negative view of the police service, but both came away with a positive opinion.

Although Kacey (Police Officer) mentioned this early contact with the police as a reason for joining the service, further analysis shows that there is an underlying reason of her wanting to help people, or to try and make a difference. This highlights the issue that although participants may give a particular reason, upon further analysis, they often refer or link to another.

One officer made a connection with the police when he was quite young. Instead of it being a negative experience, again it actually became a positive one.

**Russell (Police Officer):** *“The only contact I ever had with the police was when I got arrested for shoplifting when I was about 13 years old. They were great: they were good as gold.”*

One participant had received a Chief Constable’s commendation. This was when the participant had been a house painter. He had seen a burglary take place and saw the offenders. Some days later, he saw the same youths, chased and caught them until the police were called. This made him think that joining the police could be an occupation for him. He joined as a civilian investigator some years later. He also went on to say that this medal was not known to his work colleagues. This is of note for various reasons. One was that he felt able to tell me, a stranger, and not his work colleagues. Another was that he did not seem to want to be seen as a ‘hero’ before he joined the police.

A small minority of the participants gave this reason for joining the police service. Some of the contacts seemed to be stated as fairly innocuous. However, the contact came at the right time and the right place. This does reinforce the literature on the topic of positive influence of police officers. The literature for the most part concentrates around the negative outcome, the early arrest for example. There is some research into the positive outcomes of police officers in schools, but these are few in number. However, this research does challenge this point of view.

### Feeling Safe

When further analysis was made of those participants who 'always wanted to join' the police, or were influenced by early contact, another more puzzling reason came to light.

**Connie (Police Officer):** *"I guess it feels very comfortable, like a family.*

*It just seems to completely suit my personality. It feels safe."*

She mentions feeling safe almost as an afterthought. The police service, as a job, often involves dealing with situations that are not safe. However, this feeling of safety was mentioned only by a small minority of female participants. No male gave this reason. A female civilian participant gave this as her only reason for joining the police.

**Jo (Police Staff):** *"Initially, when I first started, the overriding draw to the job was that I was going to work in a police station. Therefore I was going to be safe. I was not going to get raped."*

This reference to feeling safe was a confusing reason to give and to analyse, as these participants had made this link before they had joined the police service. After joining, I could relate this back to police culture but before seemed confusing. Reflecting on this, I wish I had asked a few more questions about this element of their interview. However, it could be that participants considered joining a 'big family' as safe. It could have meant that there would often be people around to help you and that the culture in the police service was, and is always, protect your colleagues. Although they would not have known this when they joined, it may possibly be a more reflective account.

From personal experience, there is a sense of safety in possessing a police warrant card. A large majority of participants (both male and female) said that putting on the uniform also gave them a sense of power and invincibility. It was also important to be part of a group and unit and this gave them the feeling of being safe. The feeling of safety and being part of a family unit is mentioned in a great deal in studies on police culture: a group identity. This social identity theory was first developed by Henri Tajfel in the 1970s. Fundamentally it is concerned with the relationship between the individual, the self and the group. Tajfel (1978, p.63) said that an individual's social identity is the '*knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership*'.

This reason extends to the literature on police culture: the need to be protected; the need to be part of a facility that will support you and look after you. It also supports the idea of social identity theory: being part of a family; the solidarity in this, although the research then often moves onto isolation when discussing this theme. Actually putting on a uniform gives the wearer a certain feeling of safety and although these

participants were not wearing a uniform any more, they still had this feeling of belonging of support and safety.

### **Influenced by Family and Friends**

This reason is closely linked to a previous sub heading (contact with unknown police officers). It was mentioned again by a minority of the participants. Within this sub heading I have included being influenced by parents and partners, as well as family and friends. There is quite a lot of research on parents' jobs that may influence your own job choice. Nearly all the influences were of a positive nature, that is, joining the police service would be a fantastic career move.

**Victoria (Police Officer):** *"I was working in a bank and this guy who was eight years older than me was a fingerprint officer. He used to tell me all about it. He said words to the effect that, 'I don't think it would be right for you.' So that was it. I joined."*

On first analysis this again seems to fall under this heading but, as Victoria (Police Officer) says, she was almost challenged to join the police service. This was a recurring theme with the participants. As previously mentioned, a small minority of participants have made many attempts to join the police service and would not accept rejection.

**Jessica (Police Officer)** seemed to have been influenced by her boyfriend who was already a police officer. He spoke about certain situations that he had attended and suggested that she join as well. However, as the quote below shows, not everything worked out as expected, although when the interview took place she was now in her eighth year of police service and married to another officer.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *“I talked about it off and on and he was quite supportive. Then I became a PSCO and he turned funny about it and left me with the children.”*

Don was influenced by his wife who was also a police officer. Again, after further analysis and conversation with him, he had been in the army and just finishing his time and needed a job to support his family. So this could come under another sub heading.

One officer was influenced by his dad’s best friend.

**Roger (Police Officer):** *“Just I suppose probably him speaking about the job that he did he was Head of Major Crime in [...] at the time and stuff like that.”*

He went on to say that he wanted to help people and that,

*“It was not just the stature of being a police officer, but when I was a kid, I respected a police officer.”*

This comment perhaps shows the ‘real reason’ for joining, insofar as he wanted respect and status in the community and saw the police service as a way of obtaining this. It is of note that his parents, although divorced when he was quite young, were both in relatively important jobs. His father was a manager of a large firm and his mother was an administrator for another large firm.

At first, Jill (Police Officer) said that it was her father who suggested the police service. She had a very good relationship with him, so she applied. Further conversation with her, however, revealed a slightly different reason when asked

why, as there were no police connections in his family, she thought her father would have suggested this.

**Jill (Police Officer):** *“I would imagine, knowing my dad, it was because it would have been quite a respected job and I suppose the police force was a career. It was not a job for two years. You were going to be safe in your job, so it’s a secure job. It’s well thought of by most people and my dad would be quite proud to say I was police officer.”*

Jill (Police Officer) covers a number of reasons why she joined the police service. The underlying reason seemed to be that she wanted her father to be proud of her and respect her. However, when she joined the unit dealing with sex offenders her father did not find this respectful in any way and could not understand why his daughter would want to do this part of the job.

**Jill (Police Officer):** *“They are still very proud of me now, but I suppose they do not quite understand why people would want to do it, and does it really look good to other people?”*

This reason for joining the police service can be linked to police culture and seems to reflect the literature on this topic. Group membership is part of the culture and can help individuals to form their social identity, giving them a sense of belonging. The participants in this study saw the positive influences from people they admired and respected from being in the police service and wanted to be part of this group. They wanted the positive impact that they saw which included friendship and a sense of belonging. Foley et al (2008), and in some ways Charman (2017), list the reasons for joining as variety, excitement, being outdoors and the potential to help people and serve the community. Many of the studies that focus on this issue use

participants that have only just joined, or are about to join, the police service; whereas the participants in this study had all been in the job for a number of years. Reflecting back on reasons and decisions made some years ago must therefore influence how the participants remember their motivation for joining. Again, it is surprising that only a small minority of participants gave the reason as 'helping people', but then all went on to choose to deal with sex offenders. The chapter will now continue with why, having joined the police service, the participants chose to deal with sex offenders.

### Reasons for choosing to deal with sex offenders

When someone has passed their two year probation period in the police service, they have the opportunity to apply for other specialised units or other positions in the organisation. (The probation period may change when the degree apprenticeships becomes a reality). Some specialised units will have additional requirements, (for example, fitness in applications to a firearms unit), but most are open to any officer out of their probation. Dealing with sex offenders is one such unit. All the participants in this study had made a conscious and often time-consuming decision to work on units dealing with sex offenders. Also included in the research are the civilian police staff who work on these units. These are not police officers so have not come through the probation route and have not been in uniform. These are mainly members of the public who have seen an advert for the unit and applied directly for it. I asked some of the police staff participants about their route into the unit and if the advert made it clear what the job would entail. All said that they knew the job was working with sex offenders before they applied.

## Convenience

A small minority of participants indicated that they had applied to the unit for the sake of convenience. Generally, this meant working '9 to 5' and not many duty weekends. This is quite unusual for the police service and, to some, is highly sought after. The minority of participants who applied for the unit for this reason were women. One male also applied basically to get himself off another unit that he was not enjoying.

**Lee (Police Officer):** *“Again, if I’m honest, I’d never done anything like this before and it got advertised. I was sat here in my uniform in the middle of the night thinking, ‘I’ve got to get out of here’.”*

At the time of his interview, Lee (Police Officer) had been in the unit for three years and had no intention of leaving.

Bella (Police Officer) had left the job for a few years to have children and when she wanted to return, they offered her uniform shift work or the sex offender unit: she took the unit. I thought this was an odd choice, so I asked her for more details.

**Bella (Police Officer):** *“Because I was known to the DCI as somebody that might have an interest in this sort of thing. A safe pair of hands, I suppose.”*

As this chapter progresses, we will see that a number of the categories overlap, as is the case here. Dealing with sex offenders, as stated previously, does not have the same 'kudos' as dealing with murders or other high-profile investigations. Police culture usually treats those who deal with sex offenders, whether officers or civilians, with mistrust and confusion. Nash (2014) carried out research into this and termed

the people that deal with sex offenders as 'scum cuddlers'. As Nash states, the title of the paper undoubtedly reflects an attitude from some within policing towards sex offender management. It has negative and derogatory connotations. Nash (2014) also considered that dealing with sex offenders is, in many ways, removed from what might traditionally and perhaps stereotypically be regarded as 'real' police work. *'Why would you want to do this'* was a phrase often aimed at me, but then followed by *'I could not do this'*. This attitude was also mentioned by Tom.

**Tom (Police Officer):** *"They are not being honest. I feel that when they come out and articulate something like that, it is just them putting down the shutters. That is a defensive mechanism. It is just lazy. It's just a lazy response."*

Tom (Police Officer)'s comment shows a quite derogatory attitude to other police officers, feeling that they could not do the job he was doing. Again, this almost reinforces the idea that, against all the odds, he has 'stepped up' and is doing that which others were not able or willing to do. There is a strange ambiguity about this. It is both looked down upon and seen by others as something they could not do, but that he (Tom) is able to do, and with a 'sense of pride'. It becomes a specialised police unit, like firearms. These comments would often reinforce to me that I was 'special', a 'hero' for want of a better word. I could do this job and not many others could. This image was important to me and to many of the participants.

The thought or belief that police officers who deal with sex offenders are special, that they are the 'chosen few' who can do this job, is quite pervasive. This seems to be reinforced by the locations of the units and the specialised computer programme (VISOR) they use, to name two examples. All the units that took part in this research

were housed in police stations, but separate from other parts of the station. There was not the 'through trade' that is often part of all police stations: they were seen as special, separate from the mundane. There was a need not only to get signed into the station, but then escorted to another area where another door code was needed to gain entry. There are, of course, practical and security reasons for this. The computers used on these units have access to VISOR to which other officers would not. Also, by the very nature of the job, there needs to be separation from other officers and the public. This tended to give the units an 'inner sanctum' feeling.

The 'protection' of this image was also vital to many participants. Asking for help was almost an embarrassment. It could be argued that this attitude is not only for officers dealing with sex offenders, but is a police culture issue. Indeed, it was noted that many participants spoke about their background and childhood issues, some of which were very powerful. Issues such as incest, rape and violence were mentioned as something that had happened in the past and that they had needed help with. However, nearly all said they were now 'fine' and dealing with sex offenders was something that they could do with very little assistance. It would be interesting to return to these participants after they had finished on the units, or retired, to see if they still have the same outlook.

As mentioned above, 'other' police officers see dealing with sex offenders with an element of distrust and confusion. Although, due to the nature of the job, police feel (and indeed are) isolated from other members of society, they also isolate themselves: sometimes by small units and sometimes by comradeship within units. Within this group there is a hint of like-minded people being drawn to this line of work, unlike murder investigation which is never seen in this way. This concern was

highlighted in a conversation with a senior officer (not part of this research) who stated that there had been one student officer who had stated from the start that he wanted to deal with sex offenders. This was seen by the management team as a major concern as to his suitability to be a police officer. He applied for the unit very early in his police career but, to the best of my knowledge, this was blocked. This would never have happened if there had been an equivalent request to deal with murderers. This would have been seen as a great achievement and something to aim for. So, against all this prejudice (and in some places discrimination), these participants choose to deal with sex offenders.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the 43 police force areas in England and Wales are basically standalone organisations under the umbrella of the College of Policing and the legislation of the day. Each force area has obligations and different issues to police their community in certain ways set up by the government and now the IOPC (Independent Office for Police Conduct). How each force manages its staff will be different for each area. Each force area must have units that deal with registered sex offenders. For the most part, these are Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA) units. Their size and personnel (police or civilian) is down to the individual force areas. In this research, one force area wanted officers on the unit and used it as a pathway to promotion: another only had volunteers. Some had more police officers than civilian investigators; others had it the other way around. Each one had its own merits and issues, but what was consistent was that police and civilians in this research each had to apply to go onto the unit. Against this rather negative background and perception of dealing with sex offenders, all the participants in this research were successful in their application to deal with sex offenders.

The reasons given for wanting to deal with sex offenders, as expected, were varied. The overriding impression is that the participants were more calculating in their reasons. This is markedly different from why they wanted to join the police in the first place which seemed to be influenced more by emotions and reactions. These reasons were considered more subjective.

This reason is not unusual and in some ways again supports the literature on it. Some police personnel will try and get a '9 to 5' unit almost as soon as they join. Shift work is not pleasant and research seems to indicate that it is detrimental to both physical and mental health. All participants who gave this reason had children. I do not think this has anything to do with police culture, just something that is logical once you have children.

### Targeted

By far the most common reason for joining the units was that of targeting. Nearly all participants fell into this category. Although generally they had to apply to join these units, for the purposes of this section they are divided between those who were handpicked for the job and those who felt they had a personal reason (almost a 'calling') for joining the unit. Some of these could be linked to the section above on personal contact with the police having an influence on joining the police service, and these connections had a career-long influence and led to dealing with sex offenders. There were many ways in which this happened. By far the most common is that of a 'calling' for joining the units. The participants made a reasoned choice and targeted the unit so they could deal with sex offenders. Some applied several times and were not persuaded by other units or interests, but just kept going until they were successful.

Jean (Police Officer) seems to fit into this, as well as the need to help children (as above). She had been a surrogate mother to her younger brothers and sisters when her mother could not cope with the situation. Dealing with sex offenders had been on her application to join the police. As stated previously, this could be a worrying sign.

**Jean (Police Officer):** *“I remember growing up on the estate where I did see things where children were neglected. There was a block of flats next to ours where there was terrible poverty ... I also made a report to Social Services of a child that I thought was being abused. I always had that in me. I could not just let it continue. Having younger siblings as well, I have a protective factor in me. I do not know where it comes from.”*

Although this would appear to be a strong reason for joining the unit, it is unclear if this was why she did not go on to deal with the victims. There is no real link to dealing with sex offenders unless there is something else going on. However, this is how she justified her decision to deal with sex offenders.

Victoria (Police Officer) falls into the ‘targeted’ category, but also in the ‘early contact with police officers’. She was already in the force when she was at home with a number of other police friends.

**Victoria (Police Officer):** *“There was a knock at the door. It was the new next door neighbour and she said, ‘Oh I am so glad you are in. My daughter’s just come home. She says she has been raped.’ I then stepped forward and she went, ‘Oh, a police lady. That is so good.’ I was dressed in half blues at the time. It was like a training school*

*scenario. It was a stranger rape, so I knew it was real. It was the first one really that I'd ever had dealings with. Anyway, it was poo-poo'd by the police, so I started thinking, 'Hold on.' It's because I was not experienced enough. Anyway, years later it turns out the guy was an American serviceman and they got him. The police officer who came to deal with it was not good at all. He was very poker-faced. I did not want to get like that. I just find it fascinating, the offending, not the victim. I find it exciting that I work in this world, that is the sort of world that other people are interested in but do not want to know to a certain extent."*

This is a very interesting account and covers many issues but, on the whole, Victoria (Police Officer) targeted the unit as she felt that she could do a much better job than the police with which she had had contact. She was able to do something that other people wanted to do and she could do it better.

Like Victoria, Jessica (Police Officer) indicated that she only joined the police service because she had seen a policewoman getting into a police car and felt that she was so in control of her life that she also wanted to be a police officer. She was asked why she chose to deal with sex offenders.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *"Someone very close to me was sexually abused. I did not want to deal with that side of it. I find them very draining. I find it very painful and sometimes I think that it is just hopeless. It is just hopeless now because they spiral."*

Again, this does not really answer the question as to why to choose to deal with sex offenders: she could have chosen many other units to work on to help the victims. She went on,

**Jessica (Police Officer) :** *“I have always been interested in serial killers and the serial killers that I tend to be interested in. Usually it’s sexually motivated. I just find the whole thing extremely interesting.”*

When asked again why she chose to deal with sex offenders, her answer is difficult to analyse as she would not have known this when she applied.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *“Because I’m quite good at getting them to talk to me and they do, I just think I can easily adapt to people levels. I can very quickly work out what sort of person they are.”*

Sarah (Police Staff) mentioned that it had been a conscious, targeted decision to apply to deal with sex offenders. This again could be questioned because it does not really get to the bottom of the reason to apply for this specific unit. She could have gone to any unit to give something back to the community.

**Sarah (Police Staff):** *“I felt I had quite a sheltered upbringing and felt that I should push myself and also give something back. I know I have been lucky in life and wanted to give something back and try and help people.”*

Sarah (Police Staff) gave this reason to make sense of her decision, but I am not sure that it gets to the heart of the issue.

Dolly (Police Staff) also targeted the unit dealing with sex offenders. She mentioned the emotional fatigue that many officers have, basically the wearing down of your emotions when dealing with victims. It was of note that, once on the unit dealing with sex offenders, the officers did not mention this (see also Chapter Two).

**Dolly (Police Staff):** *“I dealt with a lot of vulnerable people and then speaking with the offenders and seeing the victims. It was just that what goes on in their heads. It’s like that psychology side of things that really interests me. So I suppose what’s the most weird and wonderful people that you can deal with ... Someone does have to be nicey-nice to the victim and I can be that to a degree, but I think sometimes I get to the point where I’m like, ‘Yeah, alright’, then but why have they done that?”*

Brian (Police Officer) mentioned that he had an interest in working in this field, but found dealing with victims very emotionally tiring and stressful. He targeted the unit and found that it suited him in a number of ways.

**Brian (Police Officer):** *“I remember when I first started the sergeant saying to me, ‘You have to make up your mind whether you’re a policemen or a social worker because you cannot do both.’ Well this job actually gives me the opportunity to be both. I’ve been here since September and I felt all the pressure lift off me ... I can see long term that once I’ve learnt my trade, I am going to be good at it.”*

**John (Police Officer)** also mentioned this reason and that he could really get to investigate the issues. He felt he could not do this on other units.

Being ‘targeted’, as can be seen, covers many reasons for choosing to deal with sex offenders. It both adds to the literature on this topic and seems to support the literature. Police culture suggests that it is still ‘jobs for the boys’. This is not meant in a gender-specific way, although this argument does have merit. Rather, once you have proved yourself in many ways, then you will be targeted to apply for certain units. The specialised unit on which this thesis concentrates does not appear to be

subject to gender bias. No participant mentioned that their gender either helped or hindered this choice of unit. However, it could be that this specialised unit could be seen as a soft option, not like the firearm unit.

### Interested in the subject

This group is closely linked to the above. Once participants had found the interest in dealing with sex offenders, they targeted the units. Where this interest came from is discussed and analysed below. The theme of dealing with victims and surrounding issues was again mentioned. The way that one officer describes the victim is very appropriate.

**Tom (Police Officer):** *“I have dealt with raw victims. It is not something that really interests me. Could I acquire the skills? Yes, if I really wanted to, but I do not want to. The lines would start to get blurred and I would not like that. I feel comfortable dealing with the offender.”*

David (Police Officer) gave another reason why he was interested in dealing with sex offenders (discussed further in Chapter Eight). He had been raped by a male neighbour when he was 12 years old and had always questioned, why him? This does bring into question about who the police have on these units and their emotional wellbeing.

**David (Police Officer):** *“I like interviewing strange people. Enjoying it is such a weird thing to say when you are dealing with this sort of thing... I think it is linked to my own abuse. Although at the time I did not see it as abuse, looking back I was 12 years old and a man neighbour had sex with me.”*

Barry (Police Staff) also mentioned that he had been the subject of abuse as a child and this was why he had an interest in dealing with sex offenders.

**Barry (Police Staff):** *“There were other jobs out there, but I thought, ‘No, this is interesting’... I have got maybe a little bit of an understanding from my background of how they work: not necessarily understood them, but could work with them. I don’t think I will fully understand all of them, but some of them, ‘Oh, hang on, I’ve seen that in action. I know where you’re coming from here and I can use that to my advantage’.”*

Following this reasoning, Barry (Police Staff) was asked why he chose not to deal with victims as he himself was a victim. He mentioned his perceived inability to deal with victims as they are so emotionally tiring. He said,

**Barry (Police Staff)** *“I find a lot of victims are needy; totally vulnerable.”*

Barry (Police Staff) was abused at boarding school by a priest (see Chapter Seven). As previously stated, these two themes are closely linked.

This reason for choosing to deal with sex offenders is, on first analysis, a concerning theme. As mentioned previously, a police officer who joins the service to deal only with sex offenders would be treated with utmost suspicion. Although, for the most part, the solidarity element of the police characteristic could lend itself to corruption. This likeminded suspicion could be the one that breaks this solidarity code. The research participants were quick to justify this problematic theme. Most went on to discuss that dealing with victims is emotionally draining, as discussed in Chapter Two. The emotional labour needed can be detrimental to both physical and mental wellbeing, so dealing with offenders is seen as not quite so detrimental. However,

some of the participants linked this interest with sex offenders back to their own abuse (see Chapter Seven).

### Career Path

A number of police force areas require officers who wish to move up in rank, or to be developed in other ways, to spend time on certain units. The units discussed in this research are often those included in this process. This highlights a number of interesting points. Either police management needs to increase the numbers on the units, and this is seen as a way of doing this, or they believe that it is needed so, in future, management have an understanding of the issues on these units. However, this is not believed by any of the participants. All thought that management had absolutely no idea of what they did or the pressures they were under. This could be down to police culture. Punch (1983, p.240) found that police officers felt that their management were 'incompetent, careerist, mercenary, slippery, cowardly and lazy'. Add to this the fact that participants considered this to be a specialist unit, there is a cultural role difference that leads to misunderstanding and mistrust.

Another issue that seems to arise from this decision is that police management do not really see these units as specialised. As Sam (Police Officer) says,

**Sam (Police Officer):** *“Anyone can do this job. It does not really need anyone special and, if you want promotion, then have a go and then move on.”*

A small minority of participants mentioned the career pathway as reasons for choosing to deal with sex offenders. Further analysis shows that what they said it is

not clear cut and other issues come to light. Kacey (Police Officer) seems to fit the initial idea of wanting promotion, so had to go onto the unit.

**Kacey (Police Officer):** *“I wanted CID and the only way to get it at this time is to get an attachment to a specialised unit. I picked normal CID but did not get it, but I got this unit. It was not my first choice.”*

Asked how long she had been on the unit and what she now thought of the situation, she said,

**Kacey (Police Officer)***“I have been here about a year. It’s alright. I am coping better than I thought I would. I thought I’d want to kill them all but no...”*

Roger (Police Officer) wanted to be a Detective Sergeant (DS) and he felt that to be a DS on CID would just be a glorified Detective Constable.

**Roger (Police Officer):** *“Where on child protection you are more the... you do take some investigations ... but you are more overseeing and you go into strategy meetings and stuff like that. I suppose it’s an eye on promotion if I’m secretly honest.”*

What was of interest with Roger (Police Officer) was that he had to say he wanted promotion, but added that it was a secret.

**Francis (Police Officer):** *“It was a clear pathway scheme. I did not have any idea who administered the sex offenders ....I put down SOU (Special Ops Unit) at first. Then I put Special Branch second. Then a job came up on this unit. The Inspector of the unit I was on came into*

*the office and there were two of us there and he said, 'You or you down there, which one'? So I said I'll go... I have to stay here 3 years."*

Again, it would appear that Francis (Police Officer) was just working with sex offenders because he wanted promotion. He went on to say that he had got the highest mark in the force for his Sergeant's exam. However, when asked what he thought now he was on the unit there was a difference.

**Francis (Police Officer)** *"I really like it.. I find it fascinating. You are talking with them and you're actually investigating the person and the crime in their own surroundings. So I see it as an important job. I do think there is some worth in it."*

Asked why he thought the job was important, he said,

*"I've got little children and some of the things these guys have done, it's just... The justice system, so called, has let us down by letting these people out or not killing them. Therefore we need to keep an eye on them when there are in society and who better to do it than the ones who can do it? I have come here to do that. I am happy to do that and it needs to be done definitely. You cannot have these people roaming about."*

Although Francis started off choosing to go onto the unit because he wanted promotion, once there his attitude seems to have changed and he now sees himself as a 'hero' because he is out there doing the job and saving people from these 'monsters'. This seemed to be the situation with the four participants that mentioned that the choice to deal with sex offenders had been a career pathway. The sheer nature of being a police officer does lend itself to flexibility and getting the job done.

This reason for working with sex offenders can be linked to organisational police culture. Charman (2017) states that in order to continue and maintain an organisation's activities, there must be a sense of shared meaning and understanding of police work.

### Headhunted

This theme is closely linked to that of promotion. A small minority of participants (all male) had been 'headhunted' for the units, whereby either someone on the unit or someone in management approached them to join the unit. This is a tried and tested way in the police service and most large organisations. However, it may not be considered ethical by some. Many times when you are headhunted it leads to some form of promotion.

**Harry (Police Officer):** *"I came into contact with this department when my predecessor asked me to do a couple of visits for him when I was a local police officer. At that time the unit was really in its infancy and he was having to handle it all on his own... He was a very lonely individual. He did not build friendships and relationships well and yet he and I seemed to get on okay."*

Edward (Police Officer) was also headhunted.

**Edward (Police Officer):** *"I don't know why I did it. I went to [...] A job came up or there was a guy I knew was looking to retire and he said... sort of mentioned it's alright and, well, I got the job."*

Edward (Police Officer) had been in uniform for many years, and was even on traffic for a time. This shows police culture surrounding specialised police units. He was

now considered a CID officer and was embarrassed to discuss the fact that he had been on traffic.

**Edward (Police Officer)** *“A bit of uniform sergeant in the traffic department, to my eternal shame.”*

Charman (2017, p.140) gives an anecdotal example of this when she attended a police station. In one kitchen area it was necessary to have two fridges, one for traffic and one for the firearms unit. This was seen to be necessary as there was ‘trust issues’ concerning milk consumption. This was something I had not considered whilst I was a police officer. However, on reflection, it was just ‘known’ that the specialised unit would take your milk, and, I have to say, in particular the traffic unit.

When told he was going onto CID, Edward saw this as a form of promotion.

**Edward (Police Officer):** *“I was told my boss of the day goes, ‘Come in, you are going to CID as DS’. I said, ‘Oh right’ and I got on with it. I saw it as promotion: a lot more kudos.”*

Edward (Police Officer) had been on child protection, but saw the sex offender unit as ‘street fighters’. By this he meant that the officers who dealt with sex offenders were out on the streets fighting for justice and getting ‘down and dirty’. They were solving crime out on the streets where it made a difference.

Stuart (Police Officer) was just approached and asked if he fancied the unit: he said yes. When interviewed for this research he had been on the unit for three years and, although had been in the police force for 30 years, he had no intention of retiring as he was happy where he was.

Peter (Police Officer) was also headhunted. He seemed to indicate that this had been the case for many specialised units throughout his career. He was asked why.

**Peter (Police Officer):** *“Because I’m a do-er. I think they can rely on me to get things done. If they want a project doing, then I will do it.”*

He felt he was able to step up and do what was needed and had a certain pride in this ability. Tobey (Police Staff) was headhunted and again saw the unit as a challenge to which he was happy to step up.

**Tobey (Police Staff):** *“I was asked to join by someone I respected. I did not really want to do it, probably by the fear of the unknown and I had always shied away from sexual investigations if I could. However, I looked at it as a challenge and it has been a challenge, but I enjoy it.”*

At the time of his interview, Tobey (Police Staff) had been on the unit for five years and had no intention of leaving. Asked why this unit and not any other, he said,

*“There is a certain justice about dealing with them: locking these sorts of people away and keeping the community safe. It could be my family. It could be my wife that gets raped.”*

This supports and reinforces the literature and is closely linked to the ‘targeted’ theme above. There seems still to be a ‘job for the boys’ attitude in the police. The research is not saying that women are not included in this. However, it is still seen as supporting the machismo element of police culture. It also has to be noted that only males gave this as a reason.

### **Wanted to help children**

This was a reason given in part by a large majority of participants. When taken at face value it seems to be a good, natural and well thought-out reason. Protecting the vulnerable is a large part of the police ethos: the need for some part of society to 'step up' and do what is 'right'. To protect and speak for the vulnerable has been and still is an important part of a policing in most 'civilised' countries. This requirement is ingrained in British police culture since 1829, with the nine principles of Sir Robert Peel. How a society treats and looks after its vulnerable members is seen as a measure of the success of the society.

**Andrew (Police Officer):** *"If I could save one child, that was the main thing."*

Although wanting to help children or vulnerable members of society is a reason given by participants, it does not actually answer the question. In the police service there are many ways in which personnel can 'help children'. However, the research participants chose to deal with sex offenders and to state the obvious. Sex offenders do not only choose children as their victims. The most obvious one is on the child protection teams.

**Andrew (Police Officer):** *"Because for the first time in my service I felt it was rewarding. If you detect a burglary then, so what? You might have something rollover and have a few and they go to court and get a couple of years and then 12 months later you are dealing with them again. Then just one day that suddenly you were getting results for little people who could not get results for themselves."*

Wanting to help children was also linked to a number of the other categories and some participants fell into a number of them.

The participants in this study seemed to acknowledge the issues and concerns, both emotionally and mentally in dealing with sex offenders and helping children almost instinctively. They took steps to separate themselves from these emotional charged interviews, but were still able to say that they were helping children.

**Harry (Police Officer):** *“I like children and to see a child that’s been hurt would be difficult for me.”*

**Jean (Police Officer):** *“It is weird. I want to help children but I do not want to interview them.”*

Perhaps Jean makes a very good point in that saving children is an honourable and worthwhile thing to do, but actually dealing with the child victim is just too hard for some. The participants unconsciously acknowledged this and then found another way. It could however be suggested that they have leapt out of the frying pan into the fire, as the participants are now dealing with sex offenders.

The need both to help vulnerable people and to protect themselves was an issue for many participants. Jean went on to explain why she thought or believed that she had this need or ability.

**Jean (Police Officer):** *“I always think that I am helping kids who cannot help themselves. That all stems from the fact that I cannot have children.”*

Jean was quite clear in her needs and the fact that she would not be able to interview children. She continued this theme throughout her interview, almost as if she was looking for validation that she was still helping children even though she would not, or could not, interview them.

**Sue (Police Officer):** *“I did see things where children were neglected.*

*There was a block of flats next to ours where there was terrible poverty.”*

Sue (Police Officer) also felt that interviewing children was not for her. She linked this back to her own childhood which is discussed in Chapter Eight. She had a feeling that as a child she could not help, but now as an adult and a police officer she could.

This reason is the stereotypical answer for wanting to deal with sex offenders. It reinforces the literature on the mission part of police culture. This mission element shows that policing is not just a job, but a way of life with a worthwhile purpose: and what is more worthwhile than protecting children, who some would argue are the most vulnerable members of society. It also lends itself to being the ‘hero’. As Reiner (1997) states, police officers see themselves as one of the ‘good guys’. This mission seems to overlook the mundane reality of police work which is often boring and messy (see Chapter Two).

### Being a Hero

A large majority of participants suggested that the reason for dealing with sex offenders was in some way heroic, but again these can all be linked to some of the above themes. In general, they all considered themselves in some ways special, as not everyone could do their job.

**Paul (Police Officer):** *“I was wasted in uniform ... I joined the job to lock up bad people and these are bad people ... Not everyone can do this job, but I can.”*

Paul (Police Officer) had also started to tutor and lecture on dealing with sex offenders, so he considered himself a knowledgeable person in his specialised field. Another officer also referred to the specialised nature of the job.

**Steven (Police Officer):** *“The job came up and I knew I could do it. I think you’ve got to have special qualities ... special internal qualities as an individual human being to be able to do this. I do not think just anyone can do this job.”*

Anita also thought that not everyone could deal with sex offenders, but, due to her background, she could. She also felt that she could do a better job than the officers who dealt with her daughter’s case. Her background is discussed in Chapter Eight, but basically her husband abused her children.

**Anita (Police Officer):** *“Not everyone looks like a sex offender. My husband was a good looking bloke, a loving person and he raped our daughter. Anyone can be a sex offender.”*

This theme contributes to the literature on the mission element of police culture and is linked to the theme above. The mission is not seen as annoying, but as fun, challenging and a game of wits and skills. This is also seen in the grooming topic in Chapter Eight. The participants saw themselves as ‘heroes’; that they could outwit the sex offender and, indeed, it was part of their mission to do this. The reason they could do this was down to their character and background.

## Conclusion

The research participants had many reasons for choosing to deal with sex offenders. Indeed, some would say that they did not choose to deal with them: they had to, i.e. the ones that were on the career pathway. However, only one participant was going to just do the time allocated and then leave the unit. All the others had been on the unit for over the allotted time and were intent on staying. Some had chosen the unit due to convenience and, in the main, for child care issues. However, the remainder had generally wanted or shown an interest to deal with sex offenders and thought that they could deal with them well. Each brought their own lifestyle and issues with them, but generally made this work for them.

It seems that the participants did not have a polished story for why they chose to deal with sex offenders. They did have one for why they wanted to join the police service, but not for this part. It could be that there was a subtle difference between questions of *Why do you WANT to work with sex offenders?* and *How did you END UP working with sex offenders?* The latter, it seems, is more a comfortable question than the former. The participants seemed to have an accidental quality of why they joined the police force, but dealing with sex offenders was more focused and direct. They found they could do the work and not many others could. They could be on a specialised unit: one of the chosen few. They could be the 'hero' and work with these 'monsters'.

## Chapter Seven: Life Histories of Research Sample

### Introduction

**David (Police Officer):** *“I have not had the most wonderful background. I have abusive parents. I was raped at 12 and I have not turned out to be a sex offender, so why have I not turned to crime?”*

During their interviews, the study’s participants were asked to give details of their ‘life histories’ and the environmental influences in their childhood. A life history is a case study based on the story of an individual, hence they focus on individuality, subjectivity and the particular experience (Plummer, 1983). It has been repeatedly demonstrated that witness testimony is fragile, malleable, constructed and incomplete (Milne & Bull, 2016). A weakness of this study is that it can only comment on the participants’ interpretation of the factors and their recollection of matters. These can be strongly influenced by time, emotions and subsequent undertakings. Everyone remembers facts and issues in different ways and put different meanings or explanations to them. Many participants disclosed traumatic incidents which will be discussed here. This is noteworthy for two main reasons.

The first is that the participants themselves raised these issues at interview. They were under no obligation to talk about these often traumatic events, but did so anyway. Most did not know me, but seemed to be at ease speaking to a relative stranger about often embarrassing and emotional memories. Was it that I had identified myself as a former police officer, or that they wanted answers themselves for the reasons they had chosen this career path? The second reason is that many of the participants disclosed quite shocking traumatic incidents. These included acts

of sexual, physical and psychological abuse, abandonment, divorce and the death of siblings and parents.

A large majority of the interviewees reported an adverse childhood experience (ACE). ACE is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two. This was far higher than expected. Follette, Polusny & Milbeck, (1994) carried out research on ACE (which they called 'traumatic life history') of police officers who had chosen to deal with sex offenders. They found that a substantial amount of childhood physical and sexual abuse was reported by law enforcement professionals: 40% of female officers and 17% of male officers reported such a history during childhood. Their study did not suggest that individuals with a history of child abuse are particularly likely to enter the helping professions. However, a history of ACE appeared to have some influence on the investigative activities of law enforcement officers. Such officers with a childhood abuse history reported higher proportions of sexual abuse investigation within their caseloads. Follette, Polusny & Milbeck's research suggested that this increased the likelihood of specialising in abuse investigation, but does not really identify why they have made this connection. There are methodological issues with this research. The number of officers in the sample was fairly small (46), 89% of whom were male and the information was obtained using questionnaires. However, the research concluded, amongst other things, that ACEs appeared to influence the chosen career path made by some officers.

A number of the incidents mentioned by the participants can only be seen or interpreted as an ACE, for example rape, sexual or physical abuse. Others such as divorce or abandonment could be interpreted in a number of ways. These ACEs will also depend on the surrounding circumstances, for example the age of the

participant and the reaction by others, if any, involved. Although this study breaks down the traumatic incidents into a number of sub-headings, it is important to understand that these topics or incidents cannot be taken in isolation. Often, for example, parents' divorce would be the end product of a difficult situation. Physical or emotional abuse may have been going on for many years before then. It is obviously accepted by the author that suffering from ACE in childhood, or indeed trauma at any time, does not lead to an adult wanting to join a sex offender unit. There are other populations with similar levels of trauma that have nothing to do with the criminal justice system.

The way in which the information was disclosed is also worthy of note. When asked about their upbringing, some participants at first used words such as 'normal' and 'good', but then disclosed incidents could never be described as this. What is 'normal' for one person is not necessarily 'normal' for another. This chapter will analyse the life histories as disclosed and interpreted by the participants, and link these to their choice of career.

### **Divorce and Early Death of Parents**

A large majority of participants mentioned being the child of divorced parents. Others said that their parents had a difficult marriage, but were still together. This section will analyse those who mentioned divorce. Parental divorce can have a great impact on those involved. Indeed, much of the research links divorce with the death of a parent for the greatest impact on children (Anthony, 2014). A smaller minority of participants stated that one or both of their parents had died during their early childhood and are therefore also included in this section. On analysis, this would

seem to indicate that that a number of the participants were the product of divorced or the death of a parent in early childhood. Again, it is acknowledged that not all divorces are traumatic and, in some cases, it can be best for all parties, including the children. Nevertheless, parental separation and divorce can be considered to be an adverse childhood experience in some cases and to increase the risk of negative physical and behavioural health outcomes in adulthood (Dube, Felitti, Dong, Giles & Anda, 2003). It is also a relatively common phenomenon. Among children in the United States born to married parents, roughly 27% will experience parental divorce before reaching adulthood (Heuveline, Timberlake & Furstenberg, 2003). Although children experience adversity during and after a parental divorce, the negative effects tend to be modest, and many children do well following a divorce (Kelly, 2012).

Like all divorces, each family or unit has a different story or perspective on what and how this happened. Participants all told the same story, but in different ways.

**Barbara (Police Officer):** *“Mum and dad split when I was about 8, so mum brought me up. I’d see my dad once in the week every other weekend. I have just ended my relationship with him. So I had a step dad from about the age of 10... I think my dad has been married another two times. He likes younger ladies and preferably to marry them for a few years before moving onto the next”*

This was the first thing Barbara (Police Officer) said at interview. She was in her thirties at the time and implied that the relationship with her father was still having an impact on her today. What was of note was that when asked why her ‘relationship’ with her father had just ended, she said that he was still being violent

towards her. When asked about the characteristics of her parents, the first thing she said was 'controlling'. It was not clear if this was by either parent, or both. The conversation continued with her disclosing that her father had been verbally abusive to her and her half-brother, as well as physically violent to her half-brother. Asked what happened to her when his temper went, immediately she answered,

**Barbara (Police Officer)** *"I don't really remember. I can't remember him doing anything to me. I see him doing it to my brother ... I would try and step in and protect him as he is so much younger than me."*

This statement is quite telling. She can remember everything except what happened to her. She went on to say that she did not remember much about her childhood.

**Barbara (Police Officer)** *"I was on holiday with my mum and I only remember my mum phoning up home and my dad was having an affair with the lady that we used to live opposite. So I can remember my mum being really upset. I only know that I was the only child at school whose parents were separated."*

This perception of lack of control and wanting to protect loved ones is of note. There is also an element of isolation: she was the only one she knew with divorced parents, and had no control over the situation. All she could do was to protect her brother.

**Becky (Police Staff):** *"Parents divorced when I was five. I stayed with mum."*

These were Becky's first words. Asked if she knew why her parents had divorced, she replied,

**Becky (Police Staff)** *"I can't remember how old I was, but I remember standing by my dad and them shouting at each other and mum threw*

*something at my dad and it just missed me. That is the earliest memory that I've got of them shouting at each other. After that, I couldn't tell you much about my childhood at all."*

Her father was a very religious man and used to quote the bible at any given opportunity. She felt that this was a way of justifying his behaviour. She also said that her mother did not believe in God or Jesus and was now a Pagan artist living in Crete. Towards the end of the interview, she revealed that she was soon to be married herself, but had not invited either parent. She occasionally speaks to her mother on Skype.

Jane (Police Officer) also spoke of her parents' divorce. She witnessed many arguments, but for some reason did not realise or acknowledge for many years that her parents had been separated.

**Jane (Police Officer):** *"There were a lot of arguments in the house. My dad was hardly ever at home. He was off with other women and stuff and my mum and dad separated. I actually discovered this when I was 22, but over the years as a child I remember lots of arguments. My mum was always miserable because of it and I think that was why she was detached from us."*

Jane (Police Officer) did discuss a number of childhood memories, most of which involved hearing arguments between her parents, some of which became physical. Towards the end of the interview she seemed to justify and excuse her parents' behaviour, but with a slight sting in the tail.

**Jane (Police Officer)** *“We always went on good holidays .We were well travelled and went all over the place. So, you know, I was well travelled as a child, but as parents they’re sh\*t ...”*

A number of other participants seemed to have similar life experiences of their parents divorcing. Most of them have memories of both verbal and physical abuse and an overriding feeling of a lack of control. They were young and were often used by their parents as tools in what were often quite acrimonious divorces. The participants on the whole would state that much of their childhood was hazy, but they were aware of, or subject to, some form of violence.

**Jo (Police Staff):** *“Mum bought me up from the age of 6. Dad was violent. I do not remember being hit, but I remember my sister being beaten up. I also remember my baby brother being held over the stair balcony by his feet and I remember mum being hit by a frying pan.”*

This distancing themselves from the situation, and saying it happened to someone else but they cannot remember if it happened to them, is a way of coping with situations over which they had no control. It was a running theme in many of the interviews. None ever stated that they had never been abused; it was just that they could not remember.

Two participants had slightly different experiences, but no less traumatic. (Police Officer) Lisa’s parents separated when she was quite young, but in this case her mother left the marital home leaving her and her siblings with her father.

**Lisa (Police Officer):** *“I lived with my mum and dad and two brothers until I was about 11 years old and my mum and dad split up. Mum left*

*home which was a bit unusual in those days. I was brought up by my dad until I left home at 18 to join the army.”*

She also felt the need to justify her mother’s actions by saying that she thought that the only reason her father stayed was because he wanted the house. Basically, whichever parent had the children, also had the house.

**Lisa (Police Officer)** *“I would say that my mum wasn’t a natural mother. I think she just did not like being around children that much.”*

This must have had quite an impact on Lisa and her siblings, both as a child and an adult. Neither parent really wanted her, but her father considered the house worth the inconvenience of having the children. However, her father did not even do this particularly well. Lisa also seemed to justify the physical abuse that she suffered from both parents. This is a very ‘victim’ thing to say.

**Lisa (Police Officer)** *“Yes, that was a beating, I mean I did not think it left any bruising and it would not have been tolerated these days, but I had been naughty.”*

She felt she did not have the worse childhood. It was not ‘horrendous’, although she did think it was difficult as her father did not seem to understand about children needing new clothes or shoes that fit. She would often have to steal food from local shops as her father had forgotten to buy it. This led to her being bullied at school. Added to this was the fact that one of her brothers suffered a brain injury when he was 12 and now cannot read or write. She became his carer before she left for the army. Although her father brought her and her siblings up, he was a ‘ladies’ man’ and would often disappear or come home with women. She ended by saying that

she broke off all contact with her parents as soon as she went onto the army, and that this remains the situation today.

(Police Officer) Samantha's parents also divorced when she was a child. She revealed some strong feeling towards her father.

**Samantha (Police Officer):** *"Mum and Dad brought me up until I was 12 and then dad left. I do not get on with my dad at all. He is very uptight. I'd say border-line narcissistic and a control freak. My dad actually left my mum. It was when he sold his company. He got a big sum, got a gold digger and went off."*

She went on.

*"Before this, they argued a lot. My mum was quite scared of him. He was quite controlling ... he was not violent, but he is a malicious man so she was always fearful that he would try and take the kids off her if she left him."*

This issue surrounding control, or lack of it, was a running theme for many participants. (Police Officer) Russell's parents also divorced acrimoniously: again, this was the first thing he mentioned when the recording started. He thought they divorced when he was three years old, but was not sure. He was very close to his only brother who was two years older. Around the time of the divorce, his mother left to go to another country.

**Russell (Police Officer):** *"She said, 'I am going back to Ireland. Who wants to stay with your dad and who wants to come with me?' All I remember is me putting my hand up first and then I went to Ireland."*

He did not see his brother or father again for about 10 years. His mother got a court order to keep him in Ireland until he was 16, but the situation became very abusive there. So he ran away when he was 15 to his father's house and stayed with him until he joined the police. Asked about his mother's character, he replied,

**Russell (Police Officer):** *"An alcoholic, very selfish. She did re-marry and have two more children and I think that this family is probably more important than I was. The new husband was very violent towards me. Mainly me, but he has shown violence to my mother. He was also psychological abusive towards me; things like getting me up at one o'clock in the morning to cut the grass."*

His brother seems not to have coped well with the issues, but, on the face of it, Russell does seem to have done.

**Russell (Police Officer)** *"We are just completely different people. He was in the army, got done for drugs, married a junkie and his life basically went downhill."*

He went on to say that his dad was a great dad and had spent a lot of money trying to get him back from Ireland, but could not change the court order. When Russell was a child, the courts were more likely to have children stay with mothers.

Participants also mentioned the early death of a parent. This loss also seemed to lead to other issues or was seen in a variety of ways by the participants. Due to the death of a parent, some participants were sent to boarding school (see Chapter Five) with varying degrees of 'success'.

**Stuart (Police Officer):** *“My father was a lot older than my mum. He was 49 when I was born... My father died just before my fourteenth birthday, which was a bit unfortunate.”*

This is all Stuart (Police Officer) had to say about the early death of his father. He went on to say that he and his sibling were then brought up by his mother and to whom he is still very close. He went on to describe some of his memories of his father and that they were all ‘good memories’, almost like looking through rose-tinted spectacles.

**Stuart (Police Officer):** *“He was brilliant actually. He was a cool man. He was Victorian in his outlook, very definitely, but he was great. He used to take us out in the car on Sundays.”*

Asked if the traumatic loss of his father had any impact on his behaviour or his ability to cope with things, again he almost dismissed this thought.

**Stuart (Police Officer)** *“No, not at all. I did not go off the rails at all. No, I mean I’ve never done anything. I’ve never scrunped apples. I got badly drunk when I was about 14. It cannot have been long after he died.”*

It was then Stuart mentioned that it was he who had found his father collapsed in his bedroom and had to stay with him until help arrived.

**Stuart (Police Officer)** *“So I have that quite vivid memory of him and I could not talk about it very easily, not like I am doing now, and I bottled that up a bit probably until my early twenties. I never spoke about it.”*

This shows a great ability to compartmentalise emotionally traumas. He did mention that he had made a great effort to have a 'proper bond' with his own children.

Dolly's (Police Staff) father died when she was young, leaving her and her sibling to be brought up by her mother. She explained it in a very matter-of-fact way.

**Dolly (Police Staff):** *"I was about nine when my dad died, so it was just me and mum and my two brothers."*

She explained that he had a heart attack, but had been poorly some months before. He had a heart spray that he used. It was at this point in the interview that she started to cry. We stopped for a few minutes before she wanted to continue, but the death of her father was never mentioned again.

Barry (Police Staff) also lost his mother at an early age, but this led to many other adverse childhood experiences that might not have happened if she had not died.

**Barry (Police Staff):** *"I grew up in Ireland ...father was in the forces so he wasn't at home much. Mother died (from gangrene) when I was eight or nine years old, so for a couple of years I went to boarding school ... A simple thing really. Out in the garden pruning roses, scratched the back of her hand. She never thought anything of it ... there were four children in the family so by the age of 9 they were all gone to different boarding schools. The family was gone."*

Asked how this had affected him, he thought that it had made him quite independent and insular.

**Barry (Police Staff)** *"I've always been able to form relationships, but I don't let many people very close."*

This perceived ability to control emotions and relationships is something upon which Barry, along with many others, reflected. His education had a number of issues, including being bullied and not speaking the language (discussed in Chapter Three). He further disclosed that, on top of this trauma, he was targeted by a priest at the boarding school. Again, this is mentioned as a reason for dealing with sex offenders (see Chapter Seven).

**Barry (Police Staff)** *“I know it is stereotypical Irish, but one particular priest targeted pupils that were isolated. I became a target and that was ... well, just say I have dealt with it.”*

He had been targeted for about two to three years, but did start to fight back.

**Barry (Police Staff)** *“He did not groom me enough, but a fairly standard type of grooming.”*

How Barry spoke about his abuse and the words he used is worthy of note. He used ‘police words’, distancing himself from what he was saying. He could have been talking about one of his sex offenders that he managed. Asked if he had ever reported the abuse, he said that he had not: ‘I’m not going to be believed’. At some point he had gone back to the school as an adult and asked to see his school file. As soon as he mentioned the dates and the priest’s name, he was asked to leave.

**Barry (Police Staff)** *“I never discussed it with my first wife. I sat down and discussed it all with my second wife and it’s been put to bed now. There’s no point. I’m not going to gain anything, so there’s no point in even going back. I’ve dealt with it.”*

Neil (Police Officer) was another officer who lost his mother at an early age: he was 12 when she died. He was not told his mother was ill and going to die and he said this was a good thing and helped with his ability to cope with the loss.

**Neil (Police Officer):** *“Looking back now, I think it was really well planned, not in a bad way, by mum and dad. Because God knows how I would have reacted at the age of 8 if someone turned round and said, ‘I think your mum’s going to die in the years to come’.”*

He was only told by his family about two months before she died. She was then in hospital in a coma. This is such a difficult decision for the family to make and it might not have worked.

The loss of a sibling was also something mentioned by a small minority of the participants. Each found out, and reacted in, different ways. Tom (Police Officer) was very young when his brother died, about two or three years old. Asked to give details about his siblings, he counted his brother in the numbers.

**Tom (Police Officer):** *“I am the eldest of three brothers and I have a middle sister. I am the oldest. I had a brother that died as a baby, then my sister, then another brother.”*

He went on to say that the brother died of an aneurysm on the brain and that, according to his mother, it had affected him.

**Tom (Police Officer)** *“According to my mum, it had the effect of slowing down my speech development a little bit.”*

This also led to him being bullied at school (discussed in Chapter Five). This speech issue was a surprise. In reviewing the interview, Tom stands out as one of the most articulate of participants.

Sarah (Police Staff) was one of three participants who only found out about the death of a sibling by accident. Of note is that she does not mention the baby by name and only refers to her as 'it'.

**Sarah (Police Staff):** *"It lived for a couple of months then died. She was born in between me and my middle sister and, with that, we never speak about it in the family. I only learned about it when I found some photos when I was about 16 years old. We do not talk about bad stuff."*

Bill (Police Staff) also did not know about the death of a sibling until he was an adult and, again, almost by accident when he started to research his family history.

**Bill (Police Staff):** *"I said to my sister, 'I'm going to sit down and do this' and she went, 'Well, there is a brother you know. You had another one.' I went, 'Did I?' She went, 'Yes. He did not survive'."*

Francis (Police Officer) found out about the death of a sibling by accident.

**Francis (Police Officer):** *"I was about nine or something ... there was a photo on the wall. I had brown eyes and he had blue."*

He did not really mention this again, but went on to describe his mother as 'mental' and that she overreacts to everything.

Kacey's (Police Officer) brother died when she was a teenager: he committed suicide. He was a troubled teenager with drug issues. Her parents had sent him away to 'segregation school' where he hung himself.

**Kacey (Police Officer):** *“It did change things ... well, I guess it did. My mum and dad tried to not let it affect me. I think they were quite protective over me like I was in this little bubble.”*

Two participants had mothers who suffered miscarriages. Connie (Police Officer) was one of those affected.

**Connie (Police Officer):** *“My mum had quite a few miscarriages ... and had difficulty in keeping the pregnancies going... I became aware of this when I was probably 11 or 12. We were on holiday and my dad told me that she had actually miscarried whilst on holiday. I got quite upset as it was quite long term, quite far advanced into the pregnancy.”*

Connie again described the lack of control in these situations: there was nothing she could do.

Although Debbie (Police Staff) did not have a death of a sibling, she has been included in this section. She had a much-loved sister who was sent away to a ‘mental hospital’ when she was young. To her, it was if her sister had died as she never went to see her and she never spoke of her in the family. There is also an element of guilt with this as she was only sent away because Debbie and her twin brother were born. The family decided that her mother could not cope with all three.

**Debbie (Police Staff):** *“Bringing up my sister was no easy task ... she has learning disabilities. She does not read or write ... when we were about four it really did get too much for my mum and she went to a mental hospital.”*

Debbie was affected by this throughout her childhood and as soon as she became an adult, she found her sister. They are now in contact.

The early death of a sibling or parent, or the divorce of parents, were mentioned by a large majority of participants. All mentioned the need to control emotions arising from these incidents, as well as acknowledging that, when they were young and this had happened, they could not control what was going on around them. This feeling then becomes important to them in adult life. Again, this does not mean that all children will react this way and feel this need to control both emotions and situations. Other will have obviously reacted differently and dealt with situations differently. However, it does suggest and support the literature in so far as police officers need to control emotions and, in most circumstances, control situations. This seems to extend the current literature and reflects the work of Briner (1999) and Stenross & Kleinman (1989). This also does not mean that the controlling of emotions is only related to being in the police service and dealing with sex offenders. There are many other careers where having this ability would be an advantage. However, what this also lends itself to is that these participants in this study had this need.

### **Abuse within the Family**

A majority of the participants suffered from some form of abuse in the family, whether physical, sexual and mental. These have all been put under one heading, as it is impossible to assess the impact of these in isolation. Many were brought up in dysfunctional families. These adverse childhood events, and their effect, will be different for everyone concerned.

Jessica (Police Officer) had a dysfunctional family. She found out during her teen years that she had several stepbrothers and sisters as both parents left and later had more children, or were in relationships with others with children. Until she was in her teens, she thought she only had one sister, but was then told that she had this whole new family. As in most of the interviews, when she spoke of her mother and the issues, she started off that everything was fine. The two boys of which she spoke were the stepbrothers she knew nothing about and that her mother had left with her partner.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *“She was very lovely ... my bond with her was probably an unhealthy one from birth because she was grieving for her two boys so became obsessed with me; would not let me out of her sight and then she was like that for about five years until my sister came along. Then I got totally rejected as she transferred all her love to my sister. So from the age of five, I was forgotten.”*

She seems to have been rejected twice by her parents and again had no control over what was going on.

Wendy (Police Officer) disclosed that, although her childhood was ‘normal’, her mother had tried to terminate her as a baby, but only her. Her mother seemed to want and care for her siblings, but not her. She was always reminded during her childhood that she should have been terminated. This has had a detrimental influence on her relationship with both her mother and her siblings.

**Wendy (Police Officer):** *“I think she went for a termination and I think she was that upset when the doctor said, ‘I’m not doing it’.”*

Natasha (Police Officer) was also totally rejected by her mother. She was one of the participants that did not say that everything was 'fine'. This was first thing she said when the tape went on.

**Natasha (Police Officer):** *“So who brought me up? Nobody really. I was institutionalised from the age of seven and left to fend for myself from then on.”*

She went on to say that her mother was totally unreliable and a 'compulsive liar'. She thought that her mother had only married her father because she could not find anyone else. Her father was in the army and had a good wage. He was a distant father, due to his job, so Natasha was often left with her mother who had no parenting skills whatsoever.

Barbara (Police Officer) suffered a more 'conventional' abuse. She was physically abused by her mother. Her father had left the home when she was about 8 years old. He had an affair with the woman across the road and eventually moved in with her, so both she and her mother used to see him and his new family every day. It was after this that her mother would hit her and they would have physical fights.

Jemma (Police Officer) had a close relationship with her mother, but not her father whom she described as an absent father. However, when he was there he was verbally abusive. She was an only child and her father's reason for this is very harsh and shows the verbal abuse that went on in the family.

**Jemma (Police Officer):** *“My dad says I was a naughty baby. I never slept; I never ate; I was horrendous, so they did not want any more children.”*

As soon as the interview commenced, Jane (Police Officer) said that her mother was 'difficult' and described her as emotionally cold. She is estranged from her parents and has been for many years. Her father had many affairs with other women and when he was there, he was both verbally and physically abusive.

**Jane (Police Officer):** *"I had my own bedroom. The central heating was gas warm air so you had vents you see throughout the house. So I could always hear them arguing right down on the bottom floor. I used to get up and think, 'Oh God, they're at it again' and so I would shut off the vent."*

Jane could not remember any cuddles from any of her parents. She was asked whether she had told anyone about what was going on at home. She replied, *'Oh no. My dad was a policeman'*.

Lisa (Police Officer) was also physically abused by her mother.

**Lisa (Police Officer):** *"I always remember being hit if I did not eat my food - bang on the hand with wooden spoon ... I have a massive issue about the way my mum was physically chastising me. I thought it was just me, but chances are my sister was hit as well."*

She has very little to do with her parents because of the abuse, but when she does visit they still have the wooden spoon on the side in the kitchen. They now seem to see it as an object of fun, but it is not for Lisa. This does seem to show some quite cruel and unfeeling reaction by her parents.

Jo (Police Staff) had been physically abuse by her father from an early age.

**Jo (Police Staff):** *“Mum bought me up from the age of six with my brother and sister. Dad was violent. He went through a really bad time during the war ... I remember my sister being beaten up -- she was two years younger than me. I also remember my baby brother being held over the stair balcony by his feet and mum being hit by a frying pan.”*

She was constantly scared of her father and was relieved when they separated. However, she was made to visit him once a month until she was 16. He continued to physically abuse her all this time, but she did not tell anyone.

Brian (Police Officer) was also physically abused by his father. His rationale for this was a cultural difference as he was from the Caribbean.

**Brian (Police Officer):** *“It was a black household and there is only one way to punish in a black household. Violence.”*

He was ‘punished’ by his father hitting him with a belt.

**Brian (Police Officer)** *“Yeah, I fully accept that sometimes I deserved it, but sometimes I did not. I see that the domestic violence my mother went through has affected me. But he was my father and that was that.”*

Brian went on to explain that his father was a violent person and he was ‘inadequate’ because he was never happy with himself. This resulted in physically abusing the family. This is quite a harsh thing to say about your father.

Russell (Police Officer) has been mentioned in previous chapters. He was both physically and sexually abused by his mother and stepfather, having been taken away from his father by his mother when he was very young. He describes his

mother as 'alcoholic and selfish'. These two things are easily linked. He also talked about his stepfather.

**Russell (Police Officer):** *"Oh, he was violent mainly to me, but he had shown violence to my mother, both physically and psychologically."*

His stepfather also sexually abused him.

**Russell (Police Officer)** *"I remember him coming into my bedroom from an early age and doing things to me."*

Russell did not go into detail and was not pressed about this.

Many other participants spoke about their parents being emotionally cold, of feelings of isolation and a lack of control over what was going on. Of note, none ever mentioned that they had reported the abuse or told anyone about it, apart from a few childhood friends. Furthermore, none thought this was an issue: it was just what had gone on. What is also of note is that a number of the participants went on to form relationships with men and women who seemed to carry on with the abuse. This is discussed below, but not in detail as these relationships were not as children. Again, these are police officers that have every opportunity to remove themselves from the situation or see the dangers before they commit, but they did not and chose to deal with a very abusive and manipulative type of offender - the sex offender.

A majority of the participants stated that, at some point, they had some form of abuse shown to them from family members. As stated before, this does not in any way mean that everyone that has this happen to them will choose to deal with sex offenders or indeed want to become a police officer. However, it does suggest that the majority of participants in this study had abuse shown to them from family

members. It seems to reinforce the research carried out by Bloom (2010) around ACE, and that many chose to work in human services.

### **Continuation of Abuse**

There is quite a lot of research showing that abuse is often continued re-victimisation. Victims of childhood violence often experience new victimisation in adult life. However, risk factors for such re-victimisation are poorly understood. In a longitudinal study by Aakvagg, Thoresen, Strom, Myhre & Hjemdal (2018), 505 young adults who had been exposed to childhood violence were interviewed and contacted a year later. They discovered that 32% had been re-victimised during the period and another 13% had experienced further sexual assaults. Another 22% had experienced further physical abuse or controlling behaviour from partners. The study made the link with re-victimisation with shame and guilt. This seemed to be the pattern with a few of the participants in this study.

**Jessica (Police Officer)** seemed to continue with the abuse.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *“After about a year into our relationship I got pregnant and he buggered off ... so I met someone ten years older than me and got married. It was an extremely abusive relationship; physically, sexual, everything you can think off. I stayed with him for six years and had another child with him. I put up with it for six years before I called the police.”*

It was one of her brothers who said that she had to do something about it while she still had a bit of ‘fight left in her’. She realised that she had to stop the abuse, so went into work and reported it to her boss.

Becky (Police Staff) spoke about her inability to meet 'nice' men.

**Becky (Police Staff):** *"All the relationships have been controlling: really awful people, physically and sexually abusive."*

She remembers coming to work one day and having bruises, and a colleague told her that she had to stop being a victim.

**Becky (Police Staff)** *"It was really interesting. I'd never thought about it before. As I looked back and I saw all the relationships and I saw my mum and I saw my dad: all these people. It's my problem, not theirs I let them do it to me."*

(Police Officer) Jane's husband had many affairs and isolated her from her family, but she stayed with him. Police Officer Lisa's husband used to hit her, but her reason for not reporting the abuse is interesting.

**Lisa (Police Officer):** *"He was quite violent. He was a drinker. He wasn't good with money .... he had a terrible temper."*

The reason Lisa gave for not telling her colleagues was that she used to hit him back and thought she would also get arrested. This is a very telling point because, even though she worked as police officer, she did not quite trust the system. This is of note, as many times in my career I heard other police officers say things that they would not report as the system was broken they would sort things out themselves.

(Police Officer) Anita's husband raped her daughter and son. He was eventually caught when she returned home unexpectedly and reported it to the police. He was arrested and charged, but was found not guilty at crown court after a full trial.

Perhaps this confirms the views of those above. However, they all still work in the system and feel that they are making a difference dealing with sex offenders.

As stated, re-victimisation is a well-researched area of academia. A small number of participants stated that, although they were police officers, they still could be victims. Victimization can and does include any member of society (Evans & Fraser, 2004; Wright, 2004; Hope, 2018). Even with their knowledge and access to help, like Police officers, some were still being victimised. This also lends itself to police culture: the need to be seen to be strong - the machismo element. This does not lend itself to being a victim or indeed saying that you are being victimised in any way. This can also lead to the isolation element of police culture; not only isolation from society because you are a police officer, but now you are a victim in the police service.

### **Abuse outside the family**

A small number of participants spoke of being abused by people from outside the family. I have made the conscious decision for this should be under another sub-heading than abuse in the family. Participants who disclosed this form of adverse childhood experience had different issues to overcome. They also had different ways of the abuse to happen.

**Connie (Police Officer):** *“Because I was a good girl and removed myself from the others at boarding school, I ended up being the victim of quite a nasty sexual abuse.”*

Connie (Police Officer) had tried to commit suicide after this, but did not tell anyone until she went home for a holiday. When she told her parents, her mother was furious

as she had to deal with it, and basically told her that it was her own fault. Her father was not interested. It was not until she was about 30 years old that someone comforted her and said that it was not her fault.

Barry (Police Staff) was also abused at boarding school by a priest. His description of what happened is also of note.

**Barry (Police Staff):** *“It’s stereotypical Irish. One particular priest targeted pupils that were isolated. I became a target and that was, well, I say I dealt with it.”*

Barry (Police Staff) shows a very ‘alpha male’ attitude to the abuse. In a way, it was his fault but he was able to deal with it. He stepped up and got the job done.

**David (Police Officer):** *“I had my first sexual experience when I was 12 years old. He was a next door neighbour.”*

David (Police Officer) went on to explain that the neighbour had anal raped him, but at the time he did not see this as abuse. This was one of the reasons why he had chosen the police force and to deal with sex offenders.

**David (Police Officer):** *“You cannot blame everything on things that happened to you as a child, but a lot of it is how you were brought up.”*

## Conclusion

This, the shortest chapter, had the most impact on me and the research. The participants’ life histories were surprising and often traumatic. Many had suffered adverse childhood experience to a far greater extent than I had anticipated. This chapter has discussed the experiences of some of the participants, the emotional

outcomes and their coping methods and how this might have influenced them in their career choice. It has analysed how these adverse experiences have in some way meant that they can compartmentalise their emotions in ways that all would agree is needed when dealing with sex offenders. The findings have also supported the previous work of Bloom & Farragher (2010 (Chapter Two). The next chapter will discuss how the participants work with sex offenders, including emotional wellbeing and control.



## Chapter Eight: Working with Sex Offenders

### Introduction

**Sue (Police Officer):** *“I do not like sex offenders. I want to prevent another child being abused or for them being able to do things like rape again. I just want to try and disrupt that pattern of offending and try and identify if it is about to happen again.”*

This chapter will analyse the participants’ interviews in relation to working with sex offenders, including their coping mechanisms and their ability to control their feelings. Several topics or themes were discussed in the interviews on this subject. Some were included in the interview plan but, as before, a number were mentioned during the interviews.

### Interviewing Sex Offenders

There has been a great change in the way people are interviewed and dealt with in the criminal justice system in Britain, including sex offenders. These are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. The need to be professional, courteous but controlled under sometimes stressful and challenging situations is now part of the role description in dealing with sex offenders. In the researcher’s experience, sex offenders, unlike any other offenders, like to shock, challenge and manipulate their interviewers. In Britain, a certain amount of likeability and friendliness in interviewing victims, witnesses and offenders is seen as an advantage, particularly in interviews with sex offenders.

**Stuart (Police Officer):** *“I really don’t know. I become a bit detached from it. This is going to sound daft, I become detached but I’m still focused: that doesn’t sound right does it. I don’t take it home. These guys, it dominates their lives and I’m sure they fight it, and some of them just go through with it. You can almost see it as, almost like a sexuality. It’s in their head, there’s not much you can do about that... ‘I’m gay’, ‘I’m straight’, ‘I like kids’, and I think if it’s like that, it must be terrible for them, must be horrible. But I don’t like them, doesn’t mean I like them at all. I despise them, but if you’ve got that in your head and everybody in the world’s frowning on it, it must be really bad.”*

Stuart (Police Officer) showed an interesting thought process for the dealing with sex offenders. He suggested that being such an offender is another form of sexuality and therefore must be terrible to have to control this part of your life. It also seems to be a very good coping mechanism when dealing with sex offenders. It does not reflect that ‘monster’ stereotype, rather that sex offenders are to be pitied and helped. It is one of compartmentalising when interviewing sex offenders. He just sees it as another form of sexuality that is currently illegal in Britain but, as history shows, this could change.

**Lisa (Police Officer)** saw the need to put on a ‘game face’

**Lisa (Police Officer):** *“It’s going in as the ‘smiling assassin’ really. I didn’t get that way of interviewing at all when I first started. I thought, ‘Bloody hell, they just have a chit chat and they’d be invited in like your friends’. I thought, ‘What this is about?’, ‘How weird’, I can’t believe they’re telling you all this stuff. It doesn’t work with everybody, but I*

*would say 98% of them it does work, it scarily works. I've seen people come in as new people in the unit and think, weird, I don't want to be talking to them like that, like you would in an interview. You can be challenging where it's necessary. One new offender comes in, right, this is what you need to do, this is what we expect."*

All participants had tried and tested ways of dealing with sex offenders. Most mentioned the ability and the professional need to control the emotions. They all felt that they had this ability and all felt that they would know (or did know) what would affect it. They therefore steered away from these situations.

### **Controlling Emotions**

Police dealing with sex offenders report a range of negative effects, including negative emotional reactions, burnout and vicarious traumatisation (Farrenkopf 1992; Mitchell & Melikian 1995; Moulden & Firestone 2007). However, some police officers also reported a range of positive experiences in their work with sex offenders (Scheela 2001; Kadambi & Truscott 2006). If the officer seems to show aggression or shock, the offender could shut down and stop talking. This is the one thing that police officer and indeed members of society talk about when the subject of interviewing sex offenders is mentioned. Often, it is remarks like *'How do you not hit them?'* and *'How can you sit in the room and listen to what they say?'* This ability is mentioned with some pride by the participants: they can do it; not everyone can.

Souka, Bull & Vrji (2009) suggested that police in Britain believe that interviews with suspects of child rape were among the most difficult to conduct. This was mainly because it tested their social skills - the need to have their 'game face' on. Police

officers have to be impartial and professional at all times. Goffman & Hirschi (1990) suggested that the essential difference between criminals and non-criminals is the degree of self-control and emotional intelligence. Several studies have contended that to make and keep up a professional appearance (Skolnick's 'working personality') police officers need to suppress their felt emotions or display emotions that are not felt: so called *emotional labour* (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1995; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Heuven & Bakker, 2003). This state of discrepancy between felt and displayed emotions is called *emotional dissonance* (Abraham, 1998; Mann, 1999; Morris & Feldman, 1996, Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini, & Holz, 2001).

Jessica (Police Officer) was very clear on her abilities: she could not deal with the victims.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *"I just do not think I'm the sort of person that can deal with it without getting dragged down by it."*

However, she could deal with sex offenders. She was able to put things in boxes.

**Jessica (Police Officer):** *"So I can detach from that. So I don't ... I can listen to them talking and it's almost not real... I don't allow it to relate to me."*

She also brought up a very good point in relation to the grading of child abuse images. Perhaps the fact that so many of the participants in this study had trouble with dealing with child abuse images was that the victim 'became real'. Harry (Police Officer) also made this point.

**Harry (Police Officer):** *"I like children. To see a child that's been hurt would be difficult for me."*

He continued about how he compartmentalised, but dealing with the victim would be a step too far. This came from his childhood and the need to control situations.

**Harry (Police Officer):** *“That’s kind of the way I’ve got them compartmentalised. I suppose I do not have to look at the little boy’s face and see pain. I just look at him and I think these are the parameters within which you can work, and if he doesn’t, then he comes with me (arrest).”*

Barbara (Police Officer) stated that she does not have much emotion and thought this was a good thing when dealing with sex offenders. This went back to her childhood.

**Barbara (Police Officer):** *“It is much easier to just block everything else ... and that goes back to my childhood.”*

All participants seemed to be able to compartmentalise their emotions. Controlling these work emotions creates certain impressions that are acceptable to the sex offender. Briner (1999) argued that it may be considered professional to be able to maintain a particular emotional display, even when felt emotions are very different. Stenross & Kleinman (1989, p.440) reported that detectives felt hampered when they had to show both justified and unjustified sympathy toward victims. Ashforth and Humphrey (1995) suggested that effective displays of emotion are highly contextual and ruled by social norms. Particular ‘display rules’ regulate which emotional presentations are appropriate for various contexts (Kramer & Hess, 2002) or culture (Ekman, 1993). For instance, it is appropriate to cry and not laugh at funerals; or to make direct eye contact in America but not, perhaps, in China. Performing emotion appropriately is often a matter of emotion management and this

emotional intelligence is an everyday requirement for police officers. Sometime officers have great trouble in showing no emotion. Stuart (Police Officer) spoke of the one time that he nearly lost control of his feelings.

**Stuart (Police Officer):** *“He got life. He was an evil bloke: he got into a family, he’d gone through. He started with the grandmother and he’d gone through the family... but we said something to him about what he’d done and he said, ‘Oh, haven’t you tried it? You never know, you might like it...’, or something like that. I don’t know who was almost going to go across the desk first, [...] or myself, and that’s the only time, I thought, yes.”*

This controlling of emotions continues from childhood into adulthood and participants spoke of this control when dealing sex offenders. This ability not to react ‘normally’ was to be expected, but what was not expected was that it appeared to be so firmly established from early childhood. Domagalski & Steelman (2007) did indeed suggest that this trait may be ingrained in personality traits by long term exposure at an early age. Bolton & Boyd (2003, p.292) also expanded on the research by Goffman suggesting that to carry out emotion work, by not reacting ‘normally’, requires the participant to change an emotion or feeling. This requires the participant to go against the social norm of the situation. The use of the phrases like *‘I tried not to laugh’* and *‘I was determined not to show my anger’* is heard on a daily basis. The accepted social norm on hearing *‘Well, she was five going fifteen’* is horror, anger disgust and disbelief. Police officers can show none of these emotions. They need the ability to manage emotions according to the ‘rules’ of the situation. Interviewing a sex offender therefore must increase this need for emotion management.

**Tobey (Police Staff):** *“I might find it disgusting. I would encourage him to talk. I would not show that disgust. I would encourage him to tell me everything.”*

There is research that would seem to indicate that intrinsic in the coping process are the individual's internal resources (Hobfoll, 2001; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; Moos & Schaefer, 1993; Pearlin, 1999). Studies of natural and man-made disasters, while not the same as the dealing with sex offenders, can be linked by the emotions needed and have shown that high levels of personal resources are related to lower distress and lower PTSD symptoms (Norris et al, 2002). Recent research has pointed to the importance of both dispositional optimism and mastery as key resources while facing stressful situations (Ben-Zur, 2008; Segovia et al. 2012; Segovia et al 2005; Lazarus 1999; Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Moos & Schaefer (1993) perceived personal characteristics such as dispositional optimism and sense of control or mastery as experiences that affect people's appraisals of their capacity to cope with stressful encounters, as well as their subsequent coping efforts, leading to lower short-term distress and better long-term life satisfaction and health.

**David (Police Officer):** *“Because I have no emotional attachment to them, it is quite strange. I just heard what I have said, but I can still switch off. I put things into compartments.”*

This ability to control emotions was mentioned by the majority of participants. They linked this back to their own background and upbringing (discussed in Chapter Seven). The participants seemed to have, or seem to have found, this ability to compartmentalise their feeling and emotions when dealing with sex offenders. This may be due in some part to their background. They seemed to support the research,

to the best of my information, without having prior knowledge of the research. Controlling emotions is paramount when dealing with sex offenders. Many have committed horrific acts on vulnerable members of society and will explain what they have done in great detail, 'pushing the buttons' on all the participants involved. Some will blame the victim. All this will need the interviewee or the person dealing with them to have the ability of absolute control of their emotions. The participants seem to have this.

A large number of participants spoke about their ability to control their emotions and how they did this: only six did not mention this topic. They all spoke about their ability to compartmentalise their emotions. They did this with a sense of pride along, in their opinion, with the fact that not many people could do what they were doing.

**Jean (Police Officer):** *"You cannot get emotionally involved. You keep yourself detached."*

The participants also mentioned having the ability to emotionally detach from the situation, as above. Bhowmick & Mulla (2016) suggested that this ability was down to acting. They also suggested that there were two forms of acting; surface acting and deep acting. Engaging in surface acting is positively related to emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, psychological strain, psycho-somatic complaints, inauthenticity and alienation from the self. Surface acting is also found to be negatively related to job satisfaction, organisational attachment and other performance outcomes. By contrast, deep acting was found to be positively related to personal accomplishment and job satisfaction and to contribute more to self-efficacy at work. Engaging in deep acting is unrelated to most of the negative indicators of personal and occupational well-being. It actually reduced feelings of emotional exhaustion,

increased authenticity and was considered more beneficial to health. It also has potential benefits for organisational well-being (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2001; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Goldberg & Grandey, 2007; Hulsheger et al, 2010). Gelderen, Bakker, Konijn & Binnewies (2014) found that the daily deliberative dissonance acting emotional regulation strategy led to the experience of emotional dissonance with higher levels of strain at the end of a shift.

Karen (Police Officer) felt the ability to control emotions when dealing with sex offenders was linked to a physical reaction. Again, this could have been the case with other participants, but was not mentioned by any of them. It has to be noted that they were not asked either, although the need for humour was mentioned.

**Karen (Police Officer):** *“No. At the time I don’t think you think of it. You get on and deal with it and I think it is only afterwards when you are back in custody that you think, ‘Actually, he is absolutely disgusting’, and you go and wash your hands. I do not know why, you just do. I go for the alcohol gel. I am conscious of that.”*

It is not known whether the use of the hand gel was a coping mechanism, or just that certain people are not as clean as others and this was purely a health consideration.

Long working hours are something that police officers deal with almost on a daily basis, and are positively related to emotional exhaustion. These job stressors can lead to many issues, such as the development of physiological disorders, family and psychological problems and the ability not to be able to control the emotions (Deb et al, 2008; Franke et al, 1997; Gaikwad, 2012; Tharkar et al, 2008; Vila, 2006; Violanti, 1996). Again, the number of hours worked by the participants was not part

of this study in any great detail. Some participants were reduced hours: a small number mentioned the loss of this control.

Controlling emotions was mentioned by most of the participants. As stated previously, this control is a large part of being a police officer, not only when working with sex offenders but also in everyday life. The need to be professional was also mentioned in connection with this theme. This link between controlling emotions and being seen as professional extends the literature on this theme. It also supports the police culture element of mission. The fact that it is not just a job it is a mission and a worthwhile purpose; therefore, you must be professional and control your emotions.

### **Losing Control**

The ability to control emotions when dealing with sex offenders was again mentioned by the majority of participants, often linked to the discussion with controlling emotions. It is the next logical step. Most coped with their emotions and spoke about this with pride in their ability (see above). The loss of this ability was only mentioned by three participants, but even then it was in a positive way. They had lost this ability, but they had been able to cope and move on, perhaps making them even more heroic. Jamie (Police Officer) spoke about the issues that arose when he had seen some child abuse images, and the anger he felt towards the offender.

**Jamie (Police Officer):** *"I have once and that one time I shouted at the computer screen because it was so vile... That was so bad I remember shouting at the screen, 'That bastard. How could he do that?' There*

*were three of us all grading the images and it was vile. We then all looked at each other and it was enough and we left saying that we were not going to cry in front of each other. It was an agreed course of action and we left the room. That was years ago, but I remember it.”*

After a relatively short period of time, he was able to interview the sex offender and, in his opinion, be totally professional, showing no emotion and obtaining a confession. Sarah (Police Staff) stated that she had had nightmares about the sex offenders finding her and finding out where she lived, but again she emphasised that this had not stopped her from doing her job. Barry (Police Staff) said that he used to have sleepless nights about his ability to keep people safe, but this was not the case now. He was able to leave these thoughts at work and felt that he did his job better because of this. The ability to control these emotions when dealing with sex offenders was seen as an ability to be proud of and the need for support or the loss of this ability as a weakness. This theme is continued below.

The loss of emotional control does make the participants seem more human. It cannot be possible to control these emotions all the time. It shows that the participants do have feelings and are not ‘cold blooded’, although many wanted to be thought of in this way. Again, perhaps the need to look like ‘heroes’ in the eyes of the interviewee was more important to them than anything. However, according to the participants, it seems not to have any impact on their ability to do the job. They seem to be able to understand or realise when things are getting out of control, and some were able to take this and just walk away for a short time.

Losing control of emotions is not something that police officers will often mention: the machismo element of police culture would not encourage this. As stated

previously, controlling emotions is a large part of police work and losing control is not often acknowledged. Sex offenders can be very manipulative: they will see a weakness and try and take full advantage of this. This is part of the grooming process mentioned in this chapter, so the need to show no emotion is vital. Participants in thesis researched seemed to know and acknowledge this. So even when control has been lost, as above, there is a need to bring this under control as soon as possible.

## Humour

As mentioned in Chapter Two, this is an important part of police culture. Terrion & Ashforth (2002) examined the role that humour plays in the formation of group cohesion by observing police executives during a series of training classes. Their findings indicated that humour aided significantly in the bonding process that took place between these officers. The research went on to state that there are a number of different aspect to humour including 'put-down humour'. This falls into one of two categories: *inclusive* or *exclusionary*. Nielsen (2011) found that police officers used humour to avoid conflicts and the escalation of arguments.

Three main themes came from the participants in relation to humour: the need to laugh with your colleagues; to know that everyone is with you; and that they all understand what you have been going through. This is a bonding experience that is closely linked to police culture. It is a way of excluding other people from this close special group of police.

**Toni (Police Staff):** *"Humour is very important. There was a woman at the gym whose husband is on the paedophile unit. We were talking and*

*she obviously understands and I said, 'I bet your husband does not talk about it', and she said no, he did not anymore and I said, as awful as it sounds, we do sometimes have to have a laugh about things and she said, 'No, I totally understand black humour.'*"

Charman (2013) stated that the use of humor to sharply differentiate who is on the 'inside' of the cultural wall and who is on the 'outside' has been well recognized by the literature and has been found to be important in the limited research into emergency services (Meyer, 1997; Myers, 2005; Young, 1995). Laughter helps in reinforcing cultural norms and values, in affirming the group identity and in the categorisation of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours within the included group.

The second theory was one of controlling or using humour to control emotions, a release of tension inherent in dealing with difficult and potentially dangerous situations. Humour and laughter may only serve to mask the true effects of dealing with traumatic events.

**Sarah (Police Staff):** *"It is not inappropriate. It is just a way to dust yourself off and be normal."*

The third theme that was mentioned went some way to support Skilton's theory of a working personality. Sarah went on to mention that she had a different sense of humour away from work.

**Sarah (Police Staff):** *"I am probably more tame at home. We have a couple of friends at home and one of them is a real lad and if I am in the room and he wants to talk about something rude, like some porn he was*

*watching, he will say, 'Oh - I can't say this around you', and in my head I am thinking, 'If you only knew the stuff we talk about...'. ”*

The overriding point made by participants was that humour, in some way, helped them in their ability to cope with dealing with sex offenders.

Again, this research seems to support and add to the literature on the topic. Humour is a well-researched area of police culture and police work: this research just adds to it. It was mentioned by a number of the participants in this research. Many of the comments and interviews ended in laughter. Often, if the topic and conversation could be perceived inappropriate, this was always with humour and laughter. It is a bonding element of police culture – the 'them and us' situation. Participants felt that, as I was an insider, I would accept this humour.

## Empathy

Research in cognitive psychology suggests that all individuals interpret situations differently and that they construct implicit theories about their work in order to explain the reality as it relates to them. Empathy refers to the understanding of another's feeling and emotions and has several components. It is believed that pro-social empathic response patterns develop primary during childhood with parents having a significant impact upon development of behaviour and emotional responses (Zahn-Waxler & Radke-Yarrow, 1990). Simply put, if parents show low empathic response patterns it is likely their children will model their conduct to be the same. Studies measuring empathy in sex offenders show mixed results. Williams & Finkelhour (1990) claim that incestuous fathers lack empathy. Pithers (1994) claims that rapists lack empathy more than child offenders. However,

Hayshini, Wurtele & Klebe (1995) claim that there is no difference in empathy between child offenders and non sex offenders. This is of note as some participants had no or very little empathy shown to them as children, and they chose to be police officers. This is not to say that if little or no empathy is shown to you as a child, you become a police officer or a sex offender. However, the research around sex offenders often seems to make this link.

Empathy is the ability to understand and relate to others behaviours (Losoya & Eisenberg, 2001, p.21). Along with respect for diversity and problem solving, it is one of the performance indicators on police officers' annual appraisals in Britain. There is also empirical research to suggest that empathy is linked to moral development, emotional intelligence and social competence (Hoffman, 1990; Davies, Stankov & Roberts, 1998; Salovey & Mayer, 1990; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1992; Saarni, 1990).

Researchers have also suggested that the use of empathy in interviews can be beneficial and may increase the number of admissions. However, there is limited empirical research examining the use of empathy during an interview with a sex offender. The research that has been conducted has tended to focus on the SO's recollections and perceptions (Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell, Hurren & Mazerolle, 2006; Kebbell, Alison & Mazerolle, 2010). This research is also largely based on jurisdictions where confessions are seen to be the most important outcome of the interview.

This is not the case in Britain where the interviewing of victims witnesses and suspects is the 'lifeblood of the investigation' (Stewart, 1985). The purpose of interviewing has changed from obtaining a confession to a need to establish the

truth (Gozna & Horvath, 2009, p.115). The main objective of interviewing is to obtain information that is detailed, complete, comprehensive, valid, legal, reliable and relevant to the legal issues of the investigation (Gudjonsson, 2006, p.123). This is all discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two. The use of empathy was mentioned in a number of interviews. This empathic style of interviewing requires police officers to make sense of powerful emotions. This controlling of emotions was mentioned in the majority of participant interviews.

Research does seem to indicate that police officers often adopt different 'styles' when conducting interviews with suspects. The style often depends upon the type of crime that is being investigated (Holmberg, 2004). Two distinct styles are referred to in recent literature, namely *humane* or *dominant* (Kebbell, Hurren & Mazerolla, 2010; Holmberg & Christianson, 2002; Kebbell, Alison, Hurren & Mazerolle, 2006). Dominant interviewing is characterised by aggressive and hostile interviewer behaviour, whereas humane interviewing is marked by a less confrontational, more empathic and respectful attitude.

The humane approach to interviewing is linked to empathy (Oxburgh, Ost, Morris & Cherryman, 2015). This was the style adopted by nearly all participants.

**John (Police Officer):** *"Not everyone can do this job, not have empathy with people. Not just sex offenders, but with people in general and not be able to understand why they have offended. You have to use empathy and really acceptance of another way of life."*

O'Conner & Carson (2005) suggested that showing empathy and a non-judgemental approach during an interview with a suspected sex offender helps the interviewer build rapport and, in some cases, credibility with the offender. An Australian study

by Kebbell, Alison, Hurren & Mazerolle (2010) interviewed convicted sex offenders about their experience of police interviewing techniques. Those who answered that had confessed in the interview were more likely to perceive their interviews as humane or showing empathy than those who denied. O'Conner & Carson went to indicate that showing an empathetic responses during an interview provide what they called *Amnesty and Confession Themes*. Creating an amnesty (act of forgiveness) assists the suspect in being able to talk freely.

This psychological amnesty also gives the suspect possible excuses or moral reasons why they committed the offence. It offers the suspect a 'plausible reason for their action'. O'Conner & Carson also suggested that police interviewers needed to be skilled in interviewing through academic study, professional training and experience. This was something that the participants asked for and said they needed, but felt that they did not have these tools as they were not understood by management. The use of empathy in interviews was discussed by the participants. None indicated that they had real empathy, but stated that they could show it if needed and required when dealing with the sex offender.

This research adds to the literature on the theme of empathy. Although only a small number of participants mentioned this, all indicated that, in one way or another, they had to have (or at least show or feign) empathy for the sex offender or they would not be able to do their job. Such empathy goes against both police culture and how most of society would view sex offenders. Most, as stated before, see them as 'monsters' and how can you show 'monsters' empathy. This is one of the elements of this research that seems to contradict police culture.

## Counselling or Clinical Supervision

Since the 1960s, the use of psychology in the police service has gone from being practically nonexistent to being almost universal employed (Scrivner, 2006). Psychologists are now involved in providing assistance with evaluations for pre-employment selection, along with other aspects of police work (Weiss & Inwald, 2010, p.5). It is suggested that the police service has been reluctant to use the psychometric tests to aid their selection process. Two Home Office publications on police selection (1981, 1984) referred to a noticeable absence of research in possible police characteristics. The use of psychometric tests, however, is now considered commonplace.

Skolnick's (2011, p.40) research into a police officer's working personality suggested that the officer's personality contained two principles; those of danger and authority. The research did not ask about the characteristics of police officers wanting to deal with sex offenders. It did, however, discuss police culture, social isolation and solidarity. Of note, Skolnick suggested that this sense of isolation felt by police officers was processed in different ways by American and British police. American police seem to be isolated from society because the American public is hostile and distrustful of them. British police, however, are inclined to isolate and separate themselves from society (Skolnick, 2011, p.59). Reiner (1992) also discussed demystifying police and their culture, but again did not research this in connection with working with sex offenders. Along with police culture, this isolation and solidarity were influences on the participants.

Seeking help with emotions by way of counselling was covered in a number of interviews. In all, 22 of the participants stated that had never had any counselling.

This topic was not pursued to ask if any of them felt that they needed or wanted it. The remainder (30 no.) made some comment. In one police force area, to be a member of the unit dealing with sex offenders meant that they had to have what the participants called 'clinical supervision' once a year (see Appendix for copy of clinical supervision forms). Of the 30 participants who had had some form of counselling, six said it had nothing to do with their current job. Two said their counselling was due to childhood depression. Another stated that she could put things into compartments, but when she was in uniform and had to sit with the body of a baby for some hours, she knew that this was something with which she needed help.

**Barbara (Police Officer):** *"I have to say, it did mess me up for a little while... Tried to talk to a friend but she said that she could not listen to what I was saying. I could compartmentalise before and I can now, but not then. I was told to talk about things and be more open in feelings and stuff, which I tend to find makes you a bit of a blubbering wreck, so I just went back to the way I was."*

There seemed to be a total lack of trust with counselling in the participants in this study, as above. This is connected to the police culture of 'them and us'. *"If you have not done the job, you cannot possibly know what we have gone through."*

Another participant had counselling because of his sexuality, and two others due to abuse they had suffered in their childhood. The remaining participants had some form of counselling while being in the police service and on the units that dealt with sex offenders. As stated above, most could not see the point and were quite dismissive about the whole procedure.

**Samantha (Police Officer):** *“It’s just this really weird extensive questionnaire, all kinds of questions asking you about your upbringing - anything violent; anything sexual in your past; and then a load of random questions like, ‘Did you cut up worms as a child, blah blah.’ I just fill in what I think they want and forget it. You then have an hour long talk and that is that.”*

Some participants mentioned that the counsellors had not been police officers and dealt with what they were dealing with, so they could not know what it was like. They could not understand what was needed to help, or they felt they could not speak freely about the things they were dealing with. Again, this seems to indicate that people dealing with sex offenders are in a class of their own and not everyone can understand or do what they do. Rudofossi (2009), a former uniformed psychologist at New York City Police Department, suggests that police officers encounter a range from 10 to 900 events over their 30 years’ service that would potentially be classified as traumatic or severe stress-related. Police officers are also often the ones who are supposed to care, support and show empathy to the victims of crimes.

The need for counselling or clinical supervision is something that has been slow to come to the police. Most police force areas now have certain units that will trigger a clinical supervision element to their work. This is not something that has been easy, as asking for or needed help goes against all police culture. Indeed, the participants in this study were very derogative about their clinical supervision and many showed the ‘them and us’ element of police culture when talking about the person that they had to go and see. Many stated that just sat there and said what they thought was needed, but the vast majority did not see the point of this.

## Grading of Child Abuse Images

The viewing and grading of child abuse images was mentioned a few of the participants and this field of police work has had some research published. The very nature of such images is a potential threat to the occupational health of police officers who have to grade these images. It has been identified by the police themselves as one of the more disturbing stressors encountered in the workplace (Violanti & Aron, 1995). Research seems to suggest that exposure to child abuse images can have a detrimental effect on some officers, with physical, social and mental wellbeing declining as exposure increases. All of the participants in this study did not want to have anything to do with child abuse images. Those that did mention the grading had strong feelings about it.

**Tom (Police Officer):** *“I box things off; compartmentalise things. I put certain things in my life in boxes and grading child abuse images would be a migration out of the box for me because I can deal with the individual in an arm’s length kind of way. But if I was reviewing the sh\*t that they like to view, that would make it harder to keep them in the box.”*

The grading of child abuse images is not something that many police officers want to or can do. It does lend itself to the ‘hero’ part of this research. The ‘*not everyone can do this but I can*’ mentality came across in the interviews. It is part of the ability or perceived ability to control emotions. The mission is what is important.

## Grooming or Manipulation

The complex nature of the tactics used by sex offenders is something that has been discussed and researched by a number of different disciplines over many years (Craven, Brown & Gilchrist, 2006). These often involve a manipulation or grooming of the environment and their potential victims. This includes, in some part, the criminal justice system. This ability to manipulate or groom the environment allows the sex offender to move through societies/cultures and families unchecked, often for many years, leading to many more victims than can ever be known. It also leads to a media outcry and public shock and disbelief if and when the offender is caught or unmasked. It also causes issues for the victims to come forward and to be believed. The Sexual Offences Act 2003 brought the offence of grooming into the public domain and made it a criminal offence (Ost, 2004), although the use of grooming or manipulation had been well known to the criminal justice system for many years.

**Jemma (Police Officer):** *“They try and groom you the minute they meet you. They think that if they persuade, talk to you enough, then you will see that what they’ve done is not all that bad.”*

Professionals are still to agree on a definition of sexual grooming (Gillespie, 2004). The legal definition is something that needs to be understood, but in this research its meaning is much broader. Attempts at legal definitions seem to fall into three categories, each with strengths and weaknesses. O’Connell (2003, p.6) defines sexual grooming as,

*“A course of conduct enacted by the suspected paedophile which would give a reasonable person cause for concern that any meeting with a child arising from conduct would be for unlawful purpose.”*

Howitt (1995, p.176) suggests that,

*“Grooming is the step taken by paedophiles to entrap their victims and is in some ways analogous to adult courtship.”*

Both definitions are problematic as they only refer to paedophiles. They are confusing to both the lay person and the criminal justice system, and seem to reinforce the myth that strangers are the biggest risk to children. A third definition is probably the least problematic. Gillespie (2002, p.411) states,

*“The process by which a child is befriended by a would-be abuser in an attempt to gain the child’s confidence and trust, enabling them to get the child to acquiesce to abusive activity.”*

Grooming is a tactic used by nearly all sexual offenders. It comes in many forms: the need to groom a family into allowing them into their home; the need to groom society into believing them to be harmless; and the need to groom the criminal justice system into accepting their behaviour. These are everyday tasks for the sex offender. Even when the act is complete, and the offender has been caught, this need to justify the offence and their behaviour is often the driving force in interviews. There is very little research on how many offenders talk in interview (as opposed to a ‘no comment’ interview), but, in my experience, most sex offenders will talk, even against the advice of a solicitor. This need to justify and manipulate the interview is paramount, often to their detriment.

There is research into the typology of total denial (assuming that they are guilty). There are a number of definitions of this, including literal denial (Cohen, 2001), primary denial (Furniss, 1991), absolute denial, (Kennedy & Grubin, 1992), full

denial (Brake & Shannon, 1997), physical denial (Salter, 1988) and total innocence (Matthews, 1991). The sex offender will assert that they are totally innocent; that the victim made the whole thing up. They will often appear to show complete revulsion towards sex offenders, explaining that they are fathers or parents themselves and it is abhorrent that this could happen to their children. Again, this is problematic as innocent suspects could display this same concern or emotion. In police interviews, officers will indicate that they can tell the difference or they will know if this is a force emotion (see below).

Another method is to justify what they have done and to minimise the offence itself. In my experience, this is the most common option used in police interviews and is really a continuation of the 'grooming processes' in the criminal justice system. The sex offender will agree that the act has taken place, but that the act was not abusive or that they minimised their involvement.

It is also common for the sex offender to claim that they have been sexually abused as children themselves, seemingly in an effort to justify (and almost to explain) that they have been made into sex offenders, and that it is not their fault (Hudson, 2005, p.72). This strategy can be problematic for the offender as the police position will often be one of disbelief. Also, if they have been abused then they know and understand the harm this can cause.

Participants in this study had various ideas and understanding of grooming and manipulation. Most were aware of this tactic used by both sex offenders and police officers, although in totally different ways. Some seemed to indicate that they could not be groomed: that they were too good at their job and would be able to spot if the offender tried. Jemma (Police Officer) felt that as a unit they were strong and that,

with help from colleagues, she would be able to spot any problems. This again reinforces the 'them and us' idea that is very strong in police culture.

**Jemma (Police Officer):** *“Always conscious of that and I think in our office we constantly remind each other of that. We will have conversations and stuff and someone will say, ‘Oh he’s grooming you’.”*

Many of the participants were very clear in their ability to identify if they were being manipulated and were equally clear that this would not happen to them. They were confident enough to be able to recognise if this was happening and to be able to stop the process. This is very difficult to prove or disprove. It is even possible that they could be grooming me (as the researcher) into accepting this idea.

**Connie (Police Officer):** *“I cannot be groomed. I always keep an open mind but I will not have anybody hoodwink me. I’d be very, very thorough with everyone.”*

and

**Brian (Police Officer):** *“I know we are dealing with people who are manipulative, but I can see beyond this.”*

A minority of the participants had almost the opposite idea from above. They fully expected and accepted that the sex offender would try and groom them, as well as accepting that they had been groomed or manipulated in the past. The interviews did not go into any real detail on the participant’s definition of grooming or manipulation: it was taken at face value within the general meaning of both words.

**Andrew (Police Officer):** *“I have definitely been groomed. I also had one member of staff who has now retired medically, but she had*

*definitely been groomed. She was struggling at the time and he got into her head. He saw a weakness and latched on.”*

**Jane (Police Officer):** *“I think I would suspect because they can be all be very nice to you, can’t they? I suspect we all can be groomed to some extent.”*

and

**Francis (Police Officer):** *“These guys, it dominates their lives and I am sure that they fight it and some of them just go through with it. It is almost another sexuality. ‘I am gay.’ ‘I am straight.’ ‘I like kids.’ ‘I have been groomed.’ I think that you should not be dealing with the same offender all the time. Rotating them around will stop grooming.”*

Francis also brought up a thought about how to try and stop this manipulation by sex offenders whereby police officers would not look after the same offender for any long period of time. However, dealing with the same sex offender for any length of time does give the police officer the ability to monitor them and perhaps to see the stressors that may lead to re-offending before anyone else.

Again, the subject linked back to whether participants saw their job as police officers as being manipulative and being able to groom the sex offenders themselves into more acceptable behaviours, thereby minimising the risk of re-offending.

**Kelly (Police Officer):** *“We have probably all groomed all the time if we are brutally honest and the police are the absolute best.”*

Throughout the offence cycle, perpetrators make a series of decisions that lead up to and allow them to commit the sex offence. Many offenders do not consciously recognise the amount of planning that occurs before the sexual act. They just have

a process that they work within and which they know from past experience works for them. Sex offenders who abuse children seem to be more aware of this process as they often spend years gaining acceptance into the family of the child they wish to abuse. Grooming is a premeditated behaviour intended to manipulate the potential victim into complying with the sexual abuse (Terry, 2005, p.54). Once this process has started, the offender then needs to overcome any internal or external inhibitors in order to commit the offence (Finkelhor, 1984). Hopefully, it is here that the police officer dealing with the sex offender can recognise what is going on and step in.

Part of the grooming process for sex offenders is minimising or denying their offences including the damage to the victim, violence used, their responsibility for the offence, the planning of the offence and the lasting effects of the offence (Terry, 2006, p.58). In addition to minimising or denying the offence, sex offenders tend to make excuses as to why they commit the sexual act. By justifying their actions, they acknowledge their guilt, but do not take responsibility for them. They usually put the blame partly, if not wholly, upon the victim. This justification takes various forms. I recall one sex offender stating that the victim '[she] was 10 going on 15.' Scally & Marolla (1984), who interviewed 114 convicted rapists, explained there seemed to be five ways in which rapists commonly justified their behaviour (below). It is not clear from the journal article if the victims were all female, but the rapists were all male.

- 1) The victim is a seductress and she provoked the rape.
- 2) Women mean 'yes' when they say 'no', or the victim did not resist enough to mean 'no'.

- 3) Most women relax and enjoy it and the rapist is actually fulfilling the woman's desires.
- 4) Nice girls do not get raped.
- 5) The rape was only a minor wrong doing, so the offender is not really an offender.

Child abusers often justify their actions by saying that they love the child and are helping him or her to learn about sex; that sexual education is important and the child enjoys it. All the above justifications are a sex offender's way to manipulate and groom the system and, in this case, the police officers into accepting that their actions were not so bad. Many sex offenders also blame their sexual behaviour on situational and transitory factors such as drugs, alcohol, stress and loneliness. Disinhibitors such as alcohol and drugs allow the offender to again justify their behaviour as being caused by something that was out of their control. Research would seem to indicate that many offenders are intoxicated before or at the time of their offences (Marsall et al, 1999).

In summary, the participants seemed to know about the grooming process and that they could be groomed. However, they did not seem to understand the danger of the process; what to do if it happened, or indeed how to recognise it. Some said that they could not be groomed, which is worrying. If I used another work for this process, for example tricked or misled, the participants would have answered differently.

**Nathan (Police Staff):** *"I am aware I can be groomed, but I like to think that I am resistant to that. I think if you have got the awareness when you look at somebody in the eyes and listen to what they say, you can work*

*out whether it is truthful or not. It is a bit of a game. I think police are the best groomers and manipulators there are around.”*

Again, this seems to support and add to the literature although it does seem to contradict some. Some participants acknowledged that they were aware of being groomed and that because of this they could never be groomed. Others took the opposite point of view. Many saw the grooming aspect as a weakness and police culture shows that police cannot show weakness. Police are often seen as the great manipulators. They often use no force when arresting someone and they persuade people into getting into cars with them. They also persuade suspects to admit to crimes when it might be in their best interest to make no comment.

## **Conclusion**

The participants have almost daily contact with sex offenders, continually risk assessing them and working with them in the hope of finding coping methods that will minimise the risk of re-offending. The participants work in partnership with other organisations in an effort to accomplish this. The chapter covered the ability to control emotions and the skill needed to recognise the grooming process. It also discussed how the participants are or seem to be able to cope with these issues. Again, relates back to their background. The ability to compartmentalise has also been discussed and in some places relating this ability back to the participants' life histories. The next chapter is the conclusion when all the aims and objectives are discussed along with the limitations of this thesis and possible future research.

## Chapter Nine: Conclusion

### Introduction

**Rose (Police Staff):** *“They are probably the worst type of criminal, but they are still criminals and someone’s got to manage them.”*

Bell (1987, p.128) was quite clear what a conclusion should be. She stated that only conclusions that can be justifiably be drawn from the finding should be made and that no new material should be appear. With that in mind, this conclusion will reflect back on the aims and objectives of this thesis. It will re-establish the context of the thesis in relation to the criminological theory of police culture. It will discuss the limitations of the research, the contribution to knowledge that the thesis claims to make and further research that should be considered. It will also discuss a number of issues with the fieldwork that arose when collecting the data. It will then discuss conclusions arising from the research and the coding of the themes.

### The Title

The title of this thesis was one of great debate between myself and my supervisor. The working title was always, *‘Why on earth would you want to work with sex offenders?’* After the semi-structured interviews were transcribed and the coding had been completed, thoughts returned to the title. The *‘Accidental Hero’* title was thought up by my supervisor at one of our meetings as I kept saying that the participants had to be heroes to be working with sex offenders, but that they did not really see themselves that way. It is part of police culture to play down what you do at work: they were just doing their jobs. It had also become clear that many of the

participants had 'fallen' into dealing with sex offenders. They had no burning ambition to do this when they joined the police force, but somehow found themselves doing it. However, they soon realised that there were not many people that could do this job but they found that they could. So they had 'stepped up' and were doing it. They had a mission. This went against all the research and the pressure from the occupational police culture that said they were weird and strange to do this: they were able to be 'scum cuddlers'.

The definition of accidental is 'happened by chance, unintentionally or unexpected.' This 'by chance or unplanned' was something that the participants nearly all indicated when asked about why they had chosen this career path. The definition of a hero is '*A person who is admired for their courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities*'. In the eyes of the public and some colleagues dealing with sex offenders will make you a 'hero'. Nevertheless these 'heroes' are still seen by others with some suspicion. Hopefully, at the end of this conclusion it will be made clear as to why these participants are 'accidental heroes'.

## Discussion

In concluding this thesis it is worth returning to the introduction which discussed the sex offender, sex offences and the police. As stated, the vast majority of sex offenders will be released back into society and the job of monitoring and risk assessing them often falls to the police. The importance of this role cannot be stressed enough. Some would argue (myself included) that it is one of the most important tasks that any police officer or police personnel can do. The outcome, if not done robustly and correctly, cannot be measured. The harm to society as a whole and its relationship with its police service that could be caused if this is not

done in the correct way is incalculable. The possibility of victims and future victims cannot be emphasised enough. If they do return to society as most will, society wants to know and expects that they are being monitored and controlled in such ways that they cannot offend again. However, society does not seem know much about the people that have chosen to do this job. They appear to be quite dismissive of these people. Indeed, Nash (2016) sums it up well, by calling the police personnel that do this job 'scum cuddlers'. Nash states that the title of the paper undoubtedly reflects an attitude from some within policing towards sex offender management. It has negative and derogatory connotations. Nash also considered that dealing with sex offenders is, in many ways, removed from what might traditionally and perhaps stereotypically be regarded as 'real' police work. This was logical and history shows that this task cannot be done all the time and there will be failings. Some sex offenders will offend again.

For such an important job or career, the overall reservation by the public (and much of the police service) is '*Who would want to do this?*' and '*I could not do it*'. As mentioned in the introduction, I was one of those officers who dealt with sex offenders on a daily basis. I felt very important and in a way different from other officers who would often ask me how I could do the job I did. They never said this to murder investigation officers (I also worked on this unit). Indeed, only this year (August) the father of the murdered baby James Bulger went to court in the hope of getting the new identity of Venables, one of the two males convicted of the murder, released now that he has been convicted again of possessing child abuse images. In this case, Mr. Justice Edis said that the images would be '*heart-breaking for any ordinary person to see*'. This seems to indicate that people (usually police officers) who have to view and grade these images and then deal with the suspect are not

'ordinary'. It could therefore be argued that they are extraordinary. Much of this thesis is a reflection on my own experiences as a police officer who chose to deal with sex offenders, which in places (discussed during the research) was a benefit. Indeed, Wisker (2015, pp178-179) states that '*Learners who contextualise their learning relate it to themselves and their own world. They become reflective self-aware and more flexible.*' This is what happened in this research.

In concluding this research, it is also worth revisiting the criminology theory that has been used in this thesis. By using the grounded theory approach, the overriding aim of this thesis was to answer the question, *What made police personnel choose to deal with sex offenders?* Grounded theory is a qualitative methodology which derives its name from the practice of generating theory from research which is 'grounded' in data. The method was developed by sociologists Glaser & Strauss in 1965. It is a systematic methodology in the gathering and analysis of data. As researchers review the data collected, repeated ideas, concepts or elements become apparent, and are tagged with codes, which have been extracted from the data. As more data is collected and re-reviewed, codes can be grouped into concepts and then into categories. It requires theory to emerge from the data. These categories may become the basis for new theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory aims to be a rigorous method by providing detailed and systematic procedures for data collection, analysis and theorising, but it is also concerned with the quality of the emergent theory, in this case police culture. There are some criticisms to using this theory. Brown (1973), cited in Seale (1999, p.102) argues,

*"Grounded theory may only be profitable in a fairly limited range of circumstances. The type of material best given to the development of grounded theory .....tends to involve relatively short term processes,*

*sequences of behaviour that are directly observed or can be easily reported upon, and behaviour which has a repetitive character.”*

Some authors such as Coffey & Atkinson (1996) state that proper grounded theory requires rigorous spirit of self-awareness and self-criticism as well as openness to new ideas. This was what this thesis did. I started with this question as I had been one of these officers: I chose to deal with sex offenders. I had no real idea of where, on the face of it, this simple question would lead me, nor did I have any theories. So using grounded theory approach suited this thesis and my own questions. Struss & Corbin (1990) suggested that where ever possible grounded theory should be a collaborative enterprise. This methodology is particularly amenable to collaborative forms of enquiry, enabling researchers to engage in an ongoing dialogue at all phases of the project. The fact that I had many meetings with my first supervisor and was able to discuss all aspects of the research and the process of completing a thesis, lent itself to this theory. Although this is not a true collaborative enterprise, it did, in my opinion, fit the essence of what Strauss & Corbin meant.

### **Accidental Heroes**

The participants in this research, from a personal point of view, were quite extraordinary people. They had ‘chosen’ in some way or another to deal with ‘monsters’. They had elected to spend a large amount of their police service to sit in a room with a sex offender listening to tales of abuse, manipulation, minimisation and justification, while all the time being calm and showing no emotion or horror at what was being said. For this, they were seen by other police colleagues, and in some ways society, as both unusual, not the norm, but also as experts in the field

and part of a specialised unit, and this is how most of them identified themselves. What was also apparent from the interviews was that the participants identified themselves first as people who dealt with sex offenders and secondly as police personnel. This is, in my experience, is quite unusual. If you ask police officers directly, most would say '*I am a police officer*'. This was not the case here.

Another point is that none of the participants brought up the topic of gender unless I mentioned it. There continues to be an issue with the gender balance within the police service and is the basis for a number of areas of research. In this research, however, the matter is not mentioned or really considered to be an issue. Perhaps this was because there were more females than males on these units. This is unusual in the police service, especially on specialised units such as firearms. There is an abundance of research available in relation to women in policing and, more recently, senior policewomen (Blok & Brown, 2005). However, very little relates directly to policewomen working within specialist departments. Chan (2007) suggests that a macho police culture provides a coping mechanism vital for officers to survive in a dangerous and unpredictable occupation. This culture remains dominant within the service, particularly within specialised units but not, apparently, within the units that deal with sex offenders.

Inevitably, the participants in this research were unique. They came from different backgrounds and social classes. Some identified with a working class background, others more middle class. It was interesting, but not surprising, to note that none identified themselves as coming from an upper class background. They had different ages, genders and life experiences. They were all different, but in some ways the same. They all had a sense of humour, which was not surprising. Humour is ingrained in police officers from the very start of their careers and plays a major part

in police culture. Reflecting back on the transcripts of the interviews, there were places where it was inaudible for the transcribers, and they were for the most part when all you can hear is laughter. Some of the topics of conversation were about their childhood adverse experiences and were at times traumatic, but again laughter was always in the background.

Only one participant became visibly upset during the interview when she spoke about her father who had only recently died. Interestingly, no other participant was affected in this way, even though the topics of conversation were frequently emotional, even traumatic. Perhaps time does make the difference, or perhaps their coping mechanisms were so ingrained that talking about these was not an issue. However, I did get the impression that a large number of the participants had not spoken in any great detail about these childhood issues to their colleagues.

This raises another interesting point: why were the participants prepared to tell me (a relative stranger) about the adverse childhood experiences? They were all willing to tell me about their backgrounds and there was never a shortage of participants, often leading to a queue outside the interviews rooms. This seems to go against the police culture of secrecy and compartmentalisation. Why so much self-disclosure? There did seem to be the perfect blend of a number of factors. First, anonymity: I had no idea of the names of the participants and no real way of finding out, even if I was so inclined. Then, distance, both physically and mentally: I had left the police force so I was no longer one of them. I would never see any of them again and I had moved on.

Next was familiarity. I knew what they were doing and I understood the issues, expectations and pressures that they were all under. I knew the language, which in

itself is a great barrier to break through. I also had a shared set of experiences: I had been there and done it, so to speak. This is arguably why I gained so much information and insight into the participants and why they were prepared to share such intimate and vulnerable life histories with me. This is quite remarkable for one-off interviews and, in particular participants, from a police culture background.

As previously mentioned, the officers in America that I interviewed are not included in this thesis: all knew what church their colleagues went to and knew their family backgrounds. The participants in this study kept to the police culture and in some way the British stereotypical way of not sharing and not giving away too many details. It became clear in the interviews that the participants' colleagues usually had no idea about the life histories they disclosed. When I was on a team I had no idea of some of my colleagues' background and indeed what was going on in their life: unless it involved another police officer; then we all knew. Also, I can remember a male officer, with whom I had worked for many years, where it was not until his leaving speech that I found out he had competed in the Olympics. Although the police service is very social, and there is always some event going on, it is isolating nevertheless. It is the old adage about whether we truly know people.

The reasons given by the participants for their career choice was, as expected, varied. This is discussed in great detail in Chapter Five, but what was surprising was that the most insignificant interaction with a police officer would lead these participants to join the police service. Seeing a uniformed police officer drive past in a car was enough for one participant. Others suggested that they chose the police service almost by accident, for example the army recruitment office was closed, but the police station was next door. This does seem to suggest that much the money that many previous governments have invested in police recruitment in England and

Wales has been wasted. The participants in this thesis also indicated that the move from mainstream policing was, on the whole, almost an accident. A few joined to specifically target these units, even from the start of their career, but this was often met with a sense of mistrust and unease by management. It is of course acknowledged that if you had a 'personal interest' in sex offences joining these units would be like a child in a chocolate factory.

There has been much in the press recently about officers on these units being investigated and arrested for similar offences to those they were investigating. However, this applies to all areas of policing. When I was a police officer the whole of the robbery squad were, at one point, arrested for robbery. In all, the participants' 'stock' answer was often one of randomness and chance, rather than ambition or purpose. It highlights some of the 'accidental' nature of their choices, at least in how they describe it. We must remember that police culture is discernible in such accounts. Those that are too keen on joining the police are greeted with a degree of distrust. Within the service there is suspicion of those that are power hungry, too keen to climb the greasy pole, or 'too interested' in lurid crimes. There is also a great deal of mistrust shown if personnel indicate that all they want to deal with is sex offenders. There have been many occasions that this mistrust has been justified when serving police officers on these units have been arrested and charged with likeminded offences. Thus, a narrative of joining the police more or less by chance is a culturally acceptable version of events.

Other reasons given by the participants for joining these units were similarly varied. The main theme seems to be of it being *ad hoc*, almost accidental. Either they were approached by other members of the unit or management and thought they would give it a go, or that they had to join a unit for promotion and this was one of the units

mentioned. Others simply preferred the '9 to 5' nature of the work. However, the counter argument to this is that they could easily have chosen an alternative unit. What was clear in all the interviews was that once they were on the unit, they discovered that they could do the job. They recognised that they had the abilities needed to deal with sex offenders. They had the ability to compartmentalise their emotions and almost see the dangers offered. Although some indicated that they could not be manipulated or 'groomed', all recognised that this was a great possibility and part of the character of most sex offenders. This may, in some way or another, be linked to their character and upbringing.

Given that a large majority of the participants disclosed an adverse childhood experience, this raises a number of interesting points. First, it is important that none of the participants verbally made the link between them working with sex offenders and their childhood experiences. No one specifically said, 'I can do this *because of* what happened in the past.' However, many did mention that due to their background they could compartmentalise their emotions because this was what they had been doing throughout their childhood. It therefore seemed that adverse experiences did feature somehow in their sense making: that perhaps the very coping mechanisms acquired in childhood serve as a basis for coping mechanisms required to deal with the emotional labour of this work. It just happened to be part of their makeup, or set of experiences.

It was also clear that none of the respondents ever gave the impression that it was easy. There are anecdotes of nearly 'losing it'; of participants having to walk out of an interview because they were not able to control their emotions. Others explained that they had certain rituals that seemed to be of a cleansing nature. Washing hands was one adopted by many of the participants - the overwhelming need to do so

having touched the sex offender (which was necessary when arresting them). To somehow get clean. Some talked about the difficulties of discussing this work with colleagues within the police. Others were adamant that they could not talk about it at home. The price paid for doing the job seems to be a degree of loneliness. It must also be said that counselling, as a way of remedying that loneliness, was frequently dismissed as ineffective or even ridiculed: *'If you haven't done this work, you really have no idea'*. Dealing with sex offenders can be a lonely job and neither colleagues nor relatives are much help, it seems.

At the same time, it was clear that despite the struggle and the emotional toll that was undoubtedly paid by some, respondents did acquire a degree of self-worth from their ability to do the job. They do a job that is important in keeping society safe. Although the cliché, *'It's a dirty job, but someone has to do it'* rings cheesy, it also rings true. It is a job that requires special abilities in interview skills, emotional control, compartmentalisation and being able to switch off. I cannot help but think that some of these skills were actually first learnt when the respondents dealt with traumas such as separation, violence, and uncertainty in early life.

None of the participants used the term 'hero'. In fact, there is little doubt that many would laugh at the idea of being called a hero, and would never call themselves such. Many just said that someone had to do this job and they had all stepped up. They were doing a dangerous and unpredictable job because they could and others could not. They also understand that other members of society and the police service admired them (or at least, should admire them) for their sense of duty. They had stepped up when no one else would. Thus, whereas participants unreservedly would embrace the 'accidental' of their description, they would be uneasy with the term 'hero' being applied to them.

It is perhaps in the combination of the two terms that makes 'accidental hero' the most accurate description. We must remember that few if any of the 52 respondents ever wanted to work with sex offenders when they grew up. Few even gave much thought of joining the police! They more or less accidentally ended up doing the work, often with little preparation, or specific training or practical and emotional support. They subsequently found that it did not break them, even though there had been difficult times. They find themselves more 'able' than 'heroic'. At the same time, they found themselves in a position where they could shine, and do a job that others would be unable or unwilling to do. Whilst not strictly heroic in an epic sense, to be business-like and professional in a context with so much at stake and under such emotional strain, deserves more admiration than these individuals frequently receive.

### **Aims and Objectives**

In using the concepts of occupational and specialised police culture, the thesis has examined whether this influences the roles and work of police personnel in units that deal with sex offenders. There were six objectives (Chapter One).

1. To analyse the historic and current research into police officers and sex offenders, in order to gain a relevant criminology theory that would explain the issues.
2. To interview police personnel in order to achieve an insight as to how they came to deal with sex offenders and why.
3. To explore police personnel's own understanding of their backgrounds in relations to the work that they do.

4. To portray this group of people and how they make sense of their chosen specialism.
5. To identify ways in which the police personnel manage themselves practically and emotionally in relation to this.
6. To explore whether there is a specific 'scum cuddler' culture with the police.

The first objective is addressed throughout the thesis, but in the main in Chapter Two which discussed the current and historic literature and research. It is broken down to a number of sub-headings including police personal, adverse childhood experience and sex offenders and sex offences. It also covers a number of criminological theories, including the main one that of police culture. The link is made between police culture and the participants in this thesis. It also takes it further and discusses a under-researched sub-heading in police culture, that of specialised police units.

The second objective was addressed through the 52 semi-structured interviews with police personnel from three force areas. All had decided in some way or another to spend their career, or at least some of their career, dealing with sex offenders. The use of modified grounded theory approach allowed the integration of the analysed data with existing theory without specially testing theoretical hypotheses (Hall, 2009).

The third objective to explore the participants' own background was addressed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. The interviews were transcribed and coded into themes and discussed in these chapters. The coding and themes were all done in a methodical robust way, discussed in Chapter Three. All the conclusions made during this last chapter can also be validated due to the method the data was

obtained and the concise way in which the conclusions are made. However, as with all research and data, there are limitations.

The fourth objective was to portray the participants and how they make sense of their chosen career. This was addressed in Chapters Five and Six where the participants' life histories were discussed in great detail, and how they had joined the police service and decided to deal with sex offenders.

The fifth objective was really a running theme throughout the thesis and was touched on in a number of chapters. How the participants were on the face of it able to control their emotions seemed to come from their upbringing. They also seemed to recognise that they had this ability where others have not.

The last objective was to explore police culture in relation to how the service sees these participants and how they see themselves in relation to others. This was covered in a number of the chapters. They are often seen as outsiders in their own culture, but this makes them more of a hero as they still do the job.

## **Limitations**

There were a number of limitations in this thesis. In no particular order, the first is that only English research, or research that has been transcribed into English, has been used. This does exclude a massive amount of research. They could be a study in, for example, Norway of which I have no knowledge and that has not been included. A second limitation is that a relatively small number of police personnel were used in this study. Although taken from three police force areas (out of a possible 43), the participants were still few in number and only from Britain.

Another limitation, mentioned during one of my annual reviews, was I had only interviewed police personnel that had chosen to deal with sex offenders. I have not interviewed any of the vast majority of personnel who go out of their way not to deal with sex offenders. It is possible for a police officer to spend the whole of their career and have only a passing contact with a sex offender. When in uniform they may arrest one but they can very quickly pass them onto other officers to deal with them. This is almost an acceptable way. It is accepted that some officers will never deal with sex offenders and is not seen by police culture as a failing or something to be concerned with. This would not happen if an officer did not want to engage in violent situations: that would not be condoned by the rest. If these officers had been included, there might have been some benefit to gain an all-round picture, but this still would not have answered the central question of this thesis, that is, why you would choose this line of work.

It is also acknowledged that this thesis has used only one criminology theory, that of police culture. This was a conscious decision and again was mentioned in an annual review. There were many other theories that could have been used, for example, any of the well known theories about sex offending. However, I consider that police culture was the best fit and went to answer all the points made in the thesis.

The final limitation was that I only interviewed police personnel. A large number of people who work in the criminal justice system, including barristers and solicitors, have chosen to deal with sex offenders. It was always the same legal and CPS personnel that dealt with the cases. Indeed, most CPS offices have their own units that only deal with sex offenders. It could be argued that this is needed because of

the sheer number of cases going through the courts, but these are still in the minority compared with public order or drugs cases.

### Methodological Issues

The decision to use semi-structured interviews was the correct one for this study. It managed to meet a number of issues and points that were needed. The first was that the participants spoke to me and most actually seemed to enjoy the process. Riner (1991, p.52) suggested that,

*“No doubt I was aided by the social researchers’ strongest weapon, the delight people take in talking about themselves to an unfailingly rapt audience.”*

This also seemed to support the criminology theory of police culture. As discussed in Chapter Two, at first when I arrived in the police stations the reaction was the same, one of distrust and suspicion. However, as soon as I identified myself as one of them, the barriers were dropped and I had so many participants that wanted to be interviewed that in one case I had to turn them away. Although an interview is often called a ‘conversation with a purpose’ this usually means that the conversation should be a two-way process and generally for them to be meaningful there is a requirement that all participants give a little of themselves. This proved to be the case with these participants. They wanted to know about what I did in the police force and if there was life after the police, which again is something that is spoken about in police canteens around Britain on a daily basis. I was able to exchange thoughts on this and this started conversations.

Another issue that arose was that although all the participants were asked to sign the participation forms, none would. They all agreed to be interviewed on tape, but to sign a piece of paper to that effect proved to be a step too far. The interviewing of participants became its own lesson in police culture.

What was surprising during the interviews was how much the participants shared with me: this almost goes against the whole police culture issue. Although, on further examination of the interviews, what they shared with me were situations and things that had happened many years ago and that they felt was now behind them. They had had these things happen to them, but had got through to the other side: they were 'heroes'. None shared issues that might have been happening when the interview took place. This again was acceptable as this might have meant that I would have had to stop the interview and go to one of their managers. They would have known this as this was made clear to them during the introduction what would happen. Also by the fact that they work for the police, they will have known what is exactable and what is not.

There is also much written about 'going native' by the researcher. This was not an issue for me or this research because in one way I was already a 'native'. However, the important point was that I was now retired and had definitely moved on. I have no intention of ever going back or getting involved with the organisation again. I did not keep in touch with any of the participants in this research and none has ever been in touch with me. From research, this is a healthy place to be.

The matter of saturation point (Bryant, 2008) emerged during the collection of the data. This is when the themes and issues evolve and develop during the research until the stage is reached when new ideas and themes are no longer developing.

My supervisor and I felt that the data was just getting to saturation point at the end of the interviews. This was one of the reasons that I stopped interviewing and did not return to the force areas. However, it is fair to say that each force area had made it clear that I can return at any point to collect more data or follow up any of the participants. This may be something for the future.

The coding of the interviews was also another issue worthy of comment. The decision to transcribe the interviews was one that was considered for some time. A number of computer apps were tested including Dragon, but none was considered quick enough or user-friendly. Whilst I accept that there is no better way of getting to know the data, it is without doubt challenging and time consuming. Accordingly, the interviews were transcribed by a transcription service and on balance this was the right decision. I checked each transcript a number of times.

Once the interviews had been transcribed the coding section was underway. This also proved to be problematic. I made several attempts with computer apps, including NVivo, but could not get it to work. Although using this would mean that the coding could be completely validated, in the end I used an Excel spreadsheet. Cordingley (1985) argues that there is a downside for the researcher if they use an analyst's or computer tool for their research, and that it is easy for the analysis to become disorganised and for particular items of material to be 'lost'. These apps seem to encourage complexity in the analysis which is not usually needed. I found this when trying to use NVivo. For example, I am not sure if it was because I had used Excel for many years in the police that I found this to be far more usable, or if it was down to my dyslexia issues, but I could not work with NVivo. Every theme that was noted was given its own column and every participant that mentioned this theme was put in this column with a transcription of what they said.

Another issue with the coding concerned the life histories of the participants. It became very clear during the interviewing, and indeed the coding, that many of them not only had adverse childhood experiences, but that they were willing to tell me about them. I did expect some of the histories to include these sort of issues, but not the number of them. As discussed in a number of the chapters, a large majority of the participants had something in their childhood. This was discussed at length with my supervisor about what this might mean. I felt that the participants' life stories were very important and impacted on their career choice, but how best to describe these issues was one of great research. A childhood trauma was one that I used as a working explanation before finding the research by Felitti et al (1998) that made mention of Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs). This seemed to fit the data in a number of ways. Using ACEs made it easier to develop the issues that are mentioned in Chapter Six. It also allowed a wider range of ages for the participants. It also had merit as the research would seem to suggest that other careers in a similar area had a majority of ACEs.

### **Contribution to Knowledge**

The research in this field is very limited. Much of it uses either social services or probation as the participants and mainly concentrates on the physical and mental issues that can occur when dealing with sex offenders. There is some research with police officers or police personnel. This, in itself, is quite worrying as the police are the gateways to the criminal justice system. However, there is nothing or very little on whom these people are and why they choose to deal with sex offenders. As discussed in Chapter Two, just researching what makes a good police officer is both confusing and not helpful as no one can really agree with the correct definition.

There is some research into the personalities of police officers, much of it from America. This is interesting, but it not particularly helpful as policing in America and Britain are different, although the police culture is arguably similar. During this research I had the opportunity to interview some American police officers about dealing with sex offenders and, although their life histories were very similar, much of what they said about the procedures and the attitudes of society and colleagues was different. Indeed, much of their information related to religion. They would often ask me on first meeting what church I went to and explain that during their contact with sex offenders they would pray with them for forgiveness. This, I would suggest, is totally alien to police officers in Britain.

The investigation into sex offenders and managing offenders on release back into the community is one of the most important criminal investigations carried out by police personnel. Only murder has the same impact. Society needs to know that these investigations are carried out in a robust, but ethical manner. The legislation in Britain has been in place for many years and, on the face of it, seems to work. Some powers are very draconian; for example, the use of controlling powers for someone that has not been convicted. The question, therefore, is why do we in Britain still seem to be failing the victims? Statistics in this field are very poor and quite shocking. Is part of the answer to do with who we are asking to deal with sex offenders? Are the right people in place to deal and monitor them?

Another issue with this is that sex offenders seem to know or understand and exploit the weakness in people. For the most part, they spend a long time grooming the victims into accepting their behaviour. The question that has to be asked is whether the sex offenders see the interviewing officers as 'damaged' people and possible victims. Sex offenders seem to be able to pick the right sort of people to groom and

is what they see when they are being interviewed. Therefore, they are not admitting the offence: rather, they are grooming the interviewer. Further research is needed with sex offenders about how they know this and if it makes a difference to whether they admit the offence or not. So does this mean we have the wrong people carrying out the interview?

There is also the issue of disclosure. Does the defence need to know in disclosure who is investigating their client? Having spoken to a number of colleagues in this field, the answer has been a resounding 'yes'; the defence would want to know. This is a difficult area to go down because the argument will always be that you do not have to have suffered a burglary to investigate a burglary. However, it has to be accepted that sex offences are different from most others. Although most participants in this research only deal with sex offenders after they have been convicted and released, most indicated that they would and could at any time arrest the sex offender again and breach them for other offences, so they are still arresting and dealing with them. There is an argument that both prosecution and defence should know the officer that has been dealing with their client. If we go down this road, can we therefore ask the officer his or her life history and if they have ever been abused during the interview for the job on the unit? Or does it mean that, because of what a large number of these participants have suffered, they are actually the right people to deal with sex offenders? Because they can, on the face of it, control their emotions and compartmentalise things in such a way that they can still function. That they are accidental heroes in many ways.

This thesis contributes to the research on police culture, ACE and victims. The first part of police culture to which this research adds is the 'them and us' mentioned by many researchers. This is discussed in many of the chapters.

This research also contributes to the literature on mission, isolation/solidarity and machismo element of police culture. The marital status of the research sample extends the literature on isolation in police culture. As stated, some participants mentioned that they were married or in a relationship with other police officers. Reiner (2010) referred to the fact that the police seem to consider themselves as a 'race apart', with many police officers reporting difficulties in mixing with 'civilians' in ordinary social life. The reason given in thesis of wanting to feel safe does extend the literature on solidarity theme of police culture. The need to be protected; the need to be part of a facility that will support and look after you.

Joining the police force from the military seems to be reflected and adds to the literature on the mission element of police culture. The same personality traits which make and are needed in a police officer are also reflected in the armed forces. The link between the police and the armed forces does have substance.

The accidental joining of the police service would seem to add to the literature as there has been no real empirical research on this. It is a difficult reason to analyse for many reasons. Although, as stated by Sir John Stevens, joining by accident seems to be known and accepted, it remains a perplexing reason.

This thesis also adds to the literature into ACE. The early death of a sibling or parent, or the divorce of parents were factors mentioned by most participants. All mentioned the need to control emotions that had come from these incidents. Also, the acknowledgment that when they were young and this had happened they could not control what was going on around them. This feeling then becomes important to them in adult life. Again, this does not mean that all children will react this way and feel the need to control both emotions and situations. Others will have obviously

reacted differently and dealt with situations differently. However, it does suggest and support the literature in so far as police officers need to control emotions and, in most circumstances, control situations. This seems to extend the current literature and reflects the work of Briner (1999) and Stenross & Kleinman (1989). This also does not mean that the controlling of emotions is only related to being in the police service and dealing with sex offenders. There are many other careers where having this ability would be an advantage, but what this lends itself to is that the participants in this study also had this need. Also, they utilise this skill in their work, raising the possibility of a link between skills acquired in adversity in early life, and the application of that skill in police work.

This research adds to the literature on the theme of empathy. Although only a small number of participants mentioned this, all indicated that, in some form or another, they had to have empathy for the sex offender or they would not be able to do their job. This approach goes against both police culture and how most of society would view them. Most, as stated before, see them as 'monsters' and how can you show 'monsters' empathy. This is one of the elements of this research that seems to contradict police culture, even if the empathy is only feigned. As Rafter (2000) suggests, being a police officer perpetuates the stereotypical view of what a police officer is. They are the 'good guys'; the 'heroes'. Perhaps the best contribution to our understanding of police work lies in the title. Whereas officers often emphasise mundane or pragmatic reasons for doing their work, and sometimes even list quite trivial reasons for joining the police in the first place, telling contributions refer to subtle but important skills. These lie in feigning empathy - being able to strike up a relationship with a sex offender that may appear genuine. Police officers working with sex offenders say that they can be persuasive with these persons, who are

often exceedingly manipulative themselves. They also say that they have emotional control and the ability, for the most part, to compartmentalise the emotions that arise from their work.

These officers and police staff find that they do have this complex set of skills. Some seem to relate these to adversity in childhood. While we cannot simply make a causal link between childhood adversity and police work, it is striking nevertheless that the theme of 'most police cannot do this work, but I can' is so salient in this research. The research therefore highlights both the accidental or mundane ways in which the participants have come to work with sex offenders, as well as the 'heroism' (in a small way) that they feel when they discover that they can do an important job very well, and one that most police could not, or would not do.

Appendices

## Appendices

### Appendix 1

#### Ethical Approval Documentation



Jenny Weaver  
PhD Student  
ICJS  
University of Portsmouth

**REC reference number: 13/14:09**  
**Please quote this number on all correspondence.**

23<sup>rd</sup> April 2014

Dear Jenny,

**Full Title of Study:** Why do some police personnel choose to deal with sex offenders?

**Documents reviewed:**

Consent Form  
Ethical Narrative  
Interview Schedule  
Participant Information Sheet  
Protocol

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.

We would just note that with regards to potential participant emotional trauma, some debriefing would be useful here.

Kind regards,

FHSS FREC Chair

**Jane Winstone**

## Appendices

### Members participating in the review:

- David Carpenter
- Nathan Hall
- Sukh Hamilton
- Richard Hitchcock
- Nick Pamment
- Geoff Wade
- Jane Winstone

## Appendix 2

### Interview Schedule

Topic Headings	Associated prompts and possible questions
<b>Family</b>	<i>Who brought them up</i> <i>Family members</i> <i>Occupations of family members</i>
<b>Housing</b>	<i>How many times moved</i> <i>What sort of housing</i>
<b>Education</b>	<i>State, private, boarding, University, home schooled</i> <i>Qualifications obtained</i> <i>Issues, dyslexia etc</i> <i>Bullying as victim or offender</i>
<b>Occupations</b>	<i>Family members</i> <i>Previous</i> <i>Why police service</i> <i>Reason for career choice in police service</i> <i>Coping strategies</i>
<b>Religion</b>	<i>In childhood</i> <i>Influence today</i>
<b>Attitudes to sex</b>	<i>In early childhood</i> <i>Present</i> <i>Sexuality</i>  <i>Definition of sex offender</i>

### Appendix 3

#### Coding Table

<b>Interview number</b>
<b>Name</b>
<b>Assumed Sex at time of interview</b>
<b>Age at time of interview</b>
<b>Ethnicity</b>
<b>Length of service</b>
<b>Police Staff or Police</b>
<b>Sexuality if mentioned</b>
<b>Length of time dealing with sex offender</b>
<b>Siblings</b>
<b>Position in family</b>
<b>Status of Job of Natural Father</b>
<b>Status of Job of Natural Mother</b>
<b>Marital status of parents</b>
<b>Marital status of Participant</b>
<b>Children</b>

Appendices

<b>Education</b>
<b>Housing</b>
<b>Religion if it impacts on day to day life</b>
<b>Therapy or Clinical Supervision</b>
<b>Reason for joining police</b>
<b>Reason for dealing with sex offenders</b>
<b>Comments about sex offenders</b>
<b>Thoughts about being groomed</b>
<b>Coping mechanisms when dealing with sex offenders</b>
<b>How to deal with sex offender</b>
<b>Training</b>
<b>How people or police think about the unit (support etc)</b>
<b>Comment on upbringing Including significant events</b>

## Appendix Four

### Participants in the Study: Breakdown of trauma

	Divorce of parents	Death of parent(s)	Death of siblings	Victim of violence	Victim of psychological abuse	Victim of sexual abuse	Other
1					X		
2					X		
3	X						
4	X			X	X	X	
5					X		
6					X		
7		X			X		
8	X			X	X		
9							
10	X			X	X		
11			X			X	X
12							
13	X				X		
14	X			X	X		
15				X			
16			X				
17	X				X		
18		X					
19	X			X	X		
20							
21			X				
22	X						X
23							
24							
25	X			X			
26							X
27							
28		X					
29							

Appendices

30							
31			X		X		
32				X	X		
33	X				X		
34							
35							X
36		X					
37		X	X				
38		X		X	X	X	
39					X		
40							
41			X				
42	X						
43				X			
44			X		X		
45	X		X	X	X	X	
46					X		X
47					X		
48				X			
49				X			
50			X	X			
51	X					X	
52		X					

## Bibliography

- Aakvaag, H. F., Thoresen, S., Strøm, I. F., Myhre, M, H., & Ole. K. (2018). Shame predicts revictimization in victims of childhood violence: A prospective study of a general Norwegian population sample. *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, 10.
- Aamodt, M.G. (2008). Reducing misconceptions and false beliefs in police and criminal psychology. *Criminal Justice Behaviour* 35 (10): pp1231–1240.
- Abraham, R. (1998). Emotional dissonance in organizations: a conceptualization of consequences, mediators and moderators. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal*, 19 (3) pp137-146.
- Ackroyd, C. (2012). *London*. Croydon: CPIG Group.
- Ainsworth. P.B. (2002). *Psychology and Policing*. Devon: Willan.
- Allen, M. S. (1936). *Lady in Blue*. London: Stanley Paul.
- Alpert, G. P., & Dunham, R. (2004). *Understanding Police Use of Force: Officers, Suspects and Reciprocity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alpert, G.P., Flynn, D., & Piquero, A. (2001). Effective community policing performance measures. *Justice Research and Policy*, 3(2), pp79–94.
- Amato P. R., & Keith, B. (1991). Consequences of parental divorce for children's well-being: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 110, pp26–46.
- Amato, P. R. (2001). Children of divorce in the 1990s: An update of the Amato and Keith (1991) meta-analysis. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 15, pp355–370.
- Anderson, S., & Sabatelli. R.M. (1999). *Family Interaction: A Multigenerational Developmental Perspective*. USA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Anthony, C. J. (2014). Estimating the Effects of Parental Divorce and Death with Fixed Effects. *Journal of Marriage and Family* 76, pp370–386  
DOI:10.1111/jomf.12100
- Ashforth, B. E., and Humphrey, R. H. (1995). Emotion in the Workplace: a reappraisal. *Human Relations*, 48, pp97–125.
- Attah, C.E. (2016). Boko Haram and Sexual Terrorism: The conspiracy of silence of the Nigerian anti-terrorism laws. *Africa. Human Rights Law Journal*. Vol.16 (2)
- Bacon, M. (2016). *Taking Care of Business: Police Detectives, Drug Law Enforcement and Proactive Investigation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Bibliography

- Baehr, M. E., Furcon, J. E., & Froemel, E. C. (1968) *Psychological assessment of patrolman qualification in relation to field performance*. Washington DC: US Department of Justice.
- Bainbridge, J. (2015). 'If it's not good TV, believe me, it's not for a jury': Representing the media saturation of law. *Griffith Law Review*, 24 (3) pp351-71.
- Bakker, A.B., & Heuven, E. (2006). Emotional dissonance, burnout, and in-role performance among nurses and police officers. *International Journal of Stress Management*, 13, pp423-440.
- Banks, C. (2009). *Criminal Justice Ethics Edition 2: Theory and Practice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Barnett, O., Miller, C., & Perrin, R. (1997). *Family violence across the lifespan*. London: Sage Publications.
- Bartol, C. R. (1991). Predictive validation of the MMPI for officers who fail. *Professional Psychology, Research and Practice*, 22, pp127-132.
- Bazar, E. (2006, April 18). Suspected shooter found sex offenders' homes on website. *USA Today*, p2.
- Beattie, J.M. (2012). *The First English Detectives: The Bow Street Runners and the Policing of London 1750-1840*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beck, V. S., Clingermayer, J., Ramsey, R. J., & Travis, L. F. III. (2004). Community responses to sex offenders. *Journal of Psychiatry & Law*, 32, pp141-168.
- Becker, H. S. (1963). *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. London, England: Free Press.
- Beech, A., & Mitchell, I. (2005). A neurobiological perspective on attachment problems in Sexual offenders and the role of selective serotonin re-uptake inhibitors in the treatment of such problems. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 25 (2). pp153-182.
- Belcher, J.R., & DeForge, B. R. (2012). Social Stigma and Homelessness: The Limits of Social Change, *Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment*, 22:8, pp929-946,
- Bell, J. (1987). *Doing your Research Project*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Bentley, D. (1998). *English Criminal Justice in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Hambledon Press.

## Bibliography

- Ben-Zur, H. (2008) Personal resources of mastery–optimism, and communal support beliefs, as predictors of posttraumatic stress in uprooted Israelis, *Anxiety, Stress & Coping*, 21:3, pp295-307,
- Berkowitz, E. (2013). *Sex and Punishment: 4000 years of Judging Desire*. London: Westbourne Press.
- Beyens, K. (2013). Introduction: Giving voice to the researcher. In Beyens, K., Christiaens, J., Claes, B., De Ridder, S., Tournel, H., & Tubex, H. (Eds). *The Pains of Doing Criminological Research* pp13-22.
- Beyens. K., Kennes, P., Snacken, S., & Tournel, H. (2015). The Craft of Doing Qualitative Research in Prisons. *International Journal for Crime Justice and Social Democracy*. 4, 1.pp66-78.
- Bhowmick., S, & Mulla, Z. (2016). Emotional Labour of Policing: Does authenticity play a role? *International Journal of Police Science & Management*. 18(1) pp47-60.
- Bhul, H. S. (2009). *Race and Criminal Justice*. London: Sage Publications.
- Biggarn, F. A., & K. G. Power. (1996). The Personality of the Scottish Police Officer: the issue of positive and negative affectivity. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 20, pp661-667.
- Billig, M. (2004) Methodology and Scholarship in Understanding Ideological Explanation. In C. Seale (Ed). *Social Research Methods: A Reader* (2004) pp13-18. London: Routledge.
- Birkett, D. (1997, September 27). Monsters with human faces. *The Guardian*.
- Black, P. N., Jeffreys, D., & Hartley, E. K. (1993). Personal history of psychosocial trauma in the early life of social work and business students. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 29(2), pp171-180.
- Blackburn, R. (2000) Risk Assessment and Prediction. In: McGuire, J., Mason, T. and Kane, A. (eds.) *Behaviour, Crime and Legal Processes: A Guide for Forensic Practitioners*. London: Wiley, pp177-204.
- Blau, T.H. (1994). *Psychological Services for Law enforcement*. New York: Wiley.
- Bloom, S. L. (2010). Organizational Stress as a Barrier to Trauma-Informed Service Delivery. In Becker, M. & Levin, B. (Eds.), *A Public Health Perspective of Women's Mental Health* (pp295–311). New York, NY: Springer.
- Bloom, S. L., & Farragher, B. (2010). *Destroying Sanctuary: The Crisis in Human Service Delivery Systems*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

## Bibliography

Blumberg, B., Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. S. (2005). *Business Research Methods*. London: McGraw-Hill.

Bohannan, P. (1971). *Social Anthropology*. London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bolton, S. C., & Boyd, C. (2003). Trolley Dolly or Skilled Emotion Manager? Moving on from Hochschild's Managed Heart. *Work Employment Society*, 17, pp 289-308

Bonta, J., Law, M., & Hanson, K. (1998). The Prediction of Criminal and Violent Recidivism among Mentally Disordered Offenders: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 123(2), pp123-142.

Borg, W. R. (1981). *Applying Educational Research: A Practical Guide for Teachers*. New York: Longman.

Briner, R. B. (1999). The Neglect and importance of Emotion at Work. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8, pp323–346.

British Sociological Association (2002) *Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association*, Durham: British Sociological Association.

Brogden, M., & Shearing, C. (1993). *Policing for a new South Africa*. London: Routledge.

Brown, J. M. & Waters, I. (1993). Professional Police Research. *Policing* 9(4) pp323-334.

Brown, J. (1995). *Qualitative differences in men and woman police officers experience of occupational stress*. London: Taylor and Francis.

Brown, J. (1996). Police research some critical issues. In F. Leishman, B. Loveday and S. Savage (Eds). *Core issues in policing*. (pp 177-191) London: Longman.

Brown, L., & Willis, A. (1985). Authoritarianism in British Police Recruits: importation, socialisation or myth? *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 58, pp97-108.

Brown, R. (1995). *Prejudice: Its Social Psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Brown, S. (2005). *Treating Sex Offenders: An introduction to sex offender treatment programmes*. Cornwall: Willan.

Brown, S. D., & Rector, C. C. (2008). Conceptualizing and diagnosing problems in vocational decision-making. In S.D. Brown and R. W. Lent (Eds.), *Handbook of counselling psychology* (pp.392-407). New York, NY: Wiley.

Browning, D. (2018, April). Judge rules that state investigative documents in Jacob Wetterling case must be released. *Star Tribune*.

## Bibliography

Bryant, R., Bryant, S., Tong, S., & Wood, D. (2012). *ASC 547 Higher Education and Policing*, Report submitted to the Higher Education Academy Social Sciences Cluster.

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bull, R., & Milne, B. (2004). Attempts to improve the police interviewing of suspects. In G. D. Lassiter (ed.), *Interrogations, confessions and entrapment* (pp.182–197). London: Kluwer Publishers.

Burbeck, E., & Furnham, A. (1985). Police Officer Selection: a critical review of the literature. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 13 (1), pp58-69.

Bureau of Justice Assistance (2008).  
<http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=1763>

Butler, A.J., & R. Cochcrane. (1977). An examination of some elements of the personality of police officers and their implications. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 5, pp441-450.

Cain, M. (1979). Trends in the Sociology of Police Work. *International Journal of Sociology of Law*, 7/2: pp143-67.

Cannings D. & Hirst, J. (1994). Research and Development: the future discussion prepared for the home office Police research Group and Association of Chief Police officers. *Research and Resources Group conference, Bramshill*.

Céleste, M., Brotheridge, R., & Lee, T. (2008) "The emotions of managing: an introduction to the special issue", *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, Vol. 23, Issue 2, pp108-117.

Chan, A., & Ho, L. (2013). Women Police Officers in Hong Kong: *Femininity and Policing in a Gendered Organization*. 12 (1). pp489-515.

Chan, J. (1996). Changing police culture. *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(1), 109-134. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15339114.2013.863565>

Chan, J. (1997). *Changing Police Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University of Toronto Press.

Chan, J. (2007). Making Sense of Police Reform. *Theoretical criminology*, 11(3), pp323-345.

Charman, S. (2017). *Police Socialisation, Identity and Culture. Becoming Blue*. London: Palgrave.

Clements, P. (2007). *Criminal Justice and Minority Groups*. (Institute of Criminal Justice Studies Distance Learning unit). Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth.

## Bibliography

- Cockcroft, T. (2013). *Police Culture Themes and Concepts*. London: Routledge.
- Cole, G. F., & Smith, C. E. (2007). *Criminal Justice in America*. New York: Cengage Press.
- Collinson, D.L. (1988). Engineering humour: Masculinity, joking and conflict in shop-floor relations. *Organization Studies*, 9, pp181-199.
- Colman, A.M., & L.P. Gorman. (1985). Conservatism, dogmatism, and Authoritarianism in British Police Officers. *Sociology* 16 (1), pp1-11.
- Cordingley, E.S (1985). *User requirements for a qualitative data analysis tool*. Social and computing science group.
- Coser, R.L. (1960). Laughter among Colleagues. *Psychiatry*, 23, pp81–99.
- Cotterrell, R. (1984). *The Sociology of Law: An Introduction*. London: Butterworths.
- Cowburn, M. & Dominekill, L. (2001). Masking hegemonic masculinity reconstructing the paedophile as the dangerous stranger. *British journal of social work*. 31 pp399-415.
- Cox, D. A. (2010). *A Certain Share of Low Cunning. The history of the Bow Street Runners*. London: Routledge.
- Craig, E. (2012). *Troubling Sex*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Crank, J. (1998). *Understanding Police Culture*. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson.
- Craven, S., Brown, S. J., & Gilchrist, E. (2006). Sexual grooming of children: review of literature and theoretical considerations. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, 12(3), pp287-299. DOI: 10.1080/13552600601069414
- Crewe, B. (2009). *The Prisoner Society: Power Adaptation and social life in an English Prison*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Critchley, S. (2002). *On Humor*. London: Routledge.
- Cummings, E., Cumming, I., & Edell, L. (1965). Policeman as philosopher, guide and friend, *Social Probation* 12, pp276-286.
- Davies, M., Stankov, L., & Roberts, R.D. (1998) Emotional Intelligence: In search of an elusive construct. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, pp989-1015
- Dawson, C. (2009). *Introduction to Research Methods, A practical guide for anyone undertaking a research project*. Devon: How To Books.
- De Lint, W. (1998). New Managerialism and Canadian Police Training Reform. *Social and Legal Studies*, 7 (2), pp261-285.

## Bibliography

De Mause, L. (2008). *History of Childhood: The Untold Story of Child Abuse*. London: Peter Bedrick Books.

Domagalski, T. A., & Steelman, L. A. (2007). The Impact of Gender and Organizational Status on Workplace Anger Expression. *Management Communication Quarterly* 20 (3), pp297-315.

Dominick, J. R. (1973). Crime and Law Enforcement on Prime-Time Television. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*. 37 (2), pp241-50.

Douglas, M. & Wildavsky, A. (1982). How Can We Know the Risks We Face? Why Risk Selection Is a Social Process, *Risk Analysis* 2 (2).

Dovidio, J.F. (1996). Stereotyping, Prejudice and Discrimination: Another Look. In C. Stangor and C. A. Macrae, *Stereotypes and Stereotyping* pp276-319. New York: Guildford.

Drizin, S. A., & Leo, R. A. (2004). The problem of false confessions in the post-DNA world. *North Carolina Law Review*, 82, pp891-1007.

Drummond, D. (1976), *Police Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

Eisenberg, N, & Fabes, R.A. (1992). Emotion, regulation and the development of social competence. In M. S. Clark (ed.). *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, 14, pp119-150.

Ekman, P. (1993). Facial expression and emotion. *American Psychologist*, 48, pp384-392.

Emsley, C. (1991). *The English Police: A Political and Social History*. London: St Martin's Press.

Erickson, R. J., & Ritter, C. (2001). Emotional Labor Burnout, and Inauthenticity: Does gender matter? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 64(2), pp146-163.

Esaki, N., & Larkin, H. (2013). Prevalence of adverse childhood experiences (ACEs) among child service providers. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, 94(1), pp3-37.

Euwema, M., Kop, N., & Bakker, B. (2004): The behaviour of police officers in conflict situations: how burnout and reduced dominance contribute to better outcomes, *Work and Stress: An International Journal of Work, Health & Organisations*. 18(1), pp23-38.

Evans, K and Fraser, P. (2004). *Communities and Victimisation*. In P. Davies, P. Francis and V. Jupp (eds). *Victimisation Theory, research and policy*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

## Bibliography

- Farrenkopf, T. (1992). What Happens to Therapists Who Work with Sex Offenders? *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 18:3-4, pp217-224.  
DOI: 10.1300/J076v18n03\_16
- Feely, M. M. & Simon, J. (1992). The new penology: Notes on the emerging strategy of corrections and its implications. *Criminology*, 30, pp449-475.
- Felitti, V. J., Anda, R. F., Nordenberg, D., Williamson, D. F., Spitz, A. M., Edwards, V & Marks, & J. S. (1998). Relationship of childhood abuse and household dysfunction to many of the leading causes of death in adults. The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) study. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 14(4), pp245-258.
- Fielding, N. (1987). *Joining Forces*. London: Routledge.
- Fielding, N. (1988) *Joining forces police Training socialization and occupational competence*. London: Routledge.
- Fielding, N. (1994). Cop Canteen Culture. In T. Newburn and E. A. Stanko (eds). *Just Boys Doing Business? Men Masculinities and Crime*. London: Routledge
- Fineman, S. (1993). *Emotion in organizations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Finkelhor, D. (1984). *Child Abuse: New Theory and Research*. New York: Free Press.
- Finn, P. (1997). *Sex Offender Community Notification*. US: Department of Justice.
- Fletcher, R. (1981). *Sociology: The study of social systems*. London: Batsford.
- Foley, P., Guarnel, C., & Kelly, M. (2008). Reasons for Choosing a Police Career: Changes over two decades. *International Journal of Police Service and Management*, 10 (1), pp2-8.
- Folkman, S. (1984). Personal control and stress and coping processes: A theoretical analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46(4), pp839-852.
- Follette. V. M., Polusney, M. M., & Milbeck, K. (1994). Mental Health and Law Enforcement Professionals: Trauma History, Psychological Symptoms, and Impact of Providing Services to Child Sexual Abuse Survivors. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 25 (3), pp275-282.
- Fowles, D.C., & Dindo, L. (2009). Temperament and Psychopathy: A Dual-Pathway Model. *Directions in Psychological Science*. 18 (3), pp179-183.
- Garrison, C., Grant, N., & McCormick, K. (1988). Utilization of Police Women. *Police Chief*. 55 (9), pp32-35.

## Bibliography

- Gaunt, R. A. (2010). *Sir Robert Peel: The Life and Legacy*. London: Tauris.
- Gebhard, P., Gagnon, J. & Pomeroy, W. (1967). *Sex Offenders: An Analysis of Types*. New York: Barnham books.
- Gelderen, B., Van Gelderen, R., Konijn, J & Bakker, A, B. (2011) Emotional labor among trainee police officers: The interpersonal role of positive emotions, *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 6:2, pp163-172.
- Gelderen, B.R., Bakker, A.B., Konijn, E., & Binnewies, C. (2014) "Daily deliberative dissonance acting among police officers", *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, Vol. 29 Issue: 7, pp884-900.
- Genz, J. L., & Lester, D. (1976). Authoritarianism in policemen as a function of experience. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 4, pp9-13.
- Gerber, G. L., & Ward, K. C. (2011). Police personality: Theoretical issues and research. *Handbook of police psychology*. (pp421–436) Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, New York, NY. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/906334347?accountid=14593>
- Gillespie. A.A. (2004). Tackling Grooming. *The Police Journal*, 77 (3).
- Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967), *Discovery of grounded theory. Strategies for qualitative research*. New York: Album Publishing.
- Glaser, B.G., & Strauss, A.L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Aldine, Chicago.
- Glomseth, R., & Gottschalk, P. (2009). Police personnel culture a comparative study of counter terrorist and criminal investigation units. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 22 (1), pp3-15.
- Goffman, M., & Hirshi, T. (1990). *A general Theory of Crime*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Goldberg, L. S., & Grandey, A. A. (2007). Display rules versus display autonomy: Emotion regulation, emotional exhaustion, and task performance in a call center simulation. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 12(3), pp301-318.
- Goldsmith, J. (1990). Taking police culture seriously: police discretion and the limits of law. *Policing and Society*, 1(2), pp91-114.
- Gozna, L. & Horvath, M.A.H. (2009) Investigative Interviewing. In S. Tong, R Bryant and M.A.H. Horvath (eds). *Understanding Criminal Investigation*. London: Wiley Blackwell.

## Bibliography

- Granley, A.A. (2000). Emotion regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5, pp95–110.
- Griffiths, A. & Milne, B. (2006) Will it all end in tiers? Police interviews with suspects in Britain T. Williamson (Eds) *Investigative Interviewing Rights research regulation*. Cornwall: Willan.
- Groth, A.N. (1977). 'The adolescent sexual offender and his prey'. *International journal of Offender therapy and comparative Criminology*, 21, pp249-54.
- Groth, A.N. (1989). Understanding sexual abuse offence behaviour and differentiating among sexual abusers; Basic conceptual issue. In D. C. Sgroi (Ed.), *Vulnerable populations*. Lexington: DC Heath.
- Gudjonsson, G. H. (1999). *The psychology of interrogations, confession and testimony*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Gudjonsson, G. H. (2003). *The psychology of interrogations and Confessions. A Handbook*, Chichester: Wiley.
- Gudjonsson, G. H. (2010). The Psychology of false confessions a review of the current Evidence. In G. D. Lassiter and C. A. Meissner (eds.) *Police Interrogations and false confessions current research practice and policy recommendations*. (pp 31-49). America: American Psychological association.
- Gudjonsson, G.H. (2006). The psychology of interrogations and confessions. T. Williamson. (eds). *Investigative Interviewing Rights research regulation*. Cornwall: Willan.
- Gudjonsson, G.H., & Adlam, K.R. (1983). Personality patterns of British police officers. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 4, pp507-512.
- Guilford, J. P. (1959). *Personality*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hackett, G., & Betz, N. E. (1995). Self-efficacy and career choice and development. In J. E. Maddux (Ed.), *Self- efficacy, adaptation, and adjustment* (pp. pp249–280). New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Hageman, M.J.C. (1979). Who join the police for what reason, an argument for the new breed? *Police science administration*. 7(2), pp206-210.
- Haia Shpayer-Makov (2004). Becoming a Police Detective in Victorian and Edwardian London, *Policing and Society*, 14:3, pp250-268.
- Hall, N, (2005). *Hate Crime*. Devon: Willan.
- Hampes, W.P. (2001). Relation between humour and empathic concern. *Psychological Reports*, 88, pp241-4.

## Bibliography

- Haney, C. (2009). Media Criminology and the Death Penalty. *DePaul Law Review*, 8(3), pp689-740.
- Hanson, R. K. & Bussiere, M.T. (1996) 'Predicting relapse; a summary of research results', *Forum of Correction research*, 8(2).
- Hanson, R.K., Morton, K., & Harris, A. (2003). Sexual offender Recidivism Risk; What we know and what we need to know. *Annals of the New York academy of sciences*, 989, pp154-166.
- Hargrave, G., & Berner, J. G. (1985). *Post Psychological Screening Manual*. California: US Department of Justice.
- Hart, P.M., & Cotton, P. (2002). Conventional wisdom is often misleading police stress within organisational health framework. In M. Dollard, H. Winefield, & A. Winefield (eds.), *Occupational stress in the service professional* (pp30-41), London: CRC Press.
- Harvey, M., & Fine, M.A. (2004). *Handbook of Divorce and Relationship Dissolution*. London: Psychology Press.
- Hayden, C. (2008). *Introduction to research skills*. Chichester: RPM Print and Design.
- Hayden, C., & Shawyer, A. (2007). *Research Methods and Research Management*. Masters level (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth.
- Heath, S., Charles, V., Crow, G., & Wiles, R. (2004). *Informed consent, gatekeepers and go-betweens*. Southampton: University of Southampton.
- Hebenton, B. (2008). Sexual offenders and public protection in an uncertain age. In G. Letherby, K., Williams, P., Birch and M. Cain (Eds.). *Sex as Crime?* (pp321-337) Cornwall: Willan.
- Heckman, J.J. (1979). *Sample selection bias as a specification error*. *Econometrica*, 47.1, pp158-161.
- Helman, C. (2007). *Culture, Health and Illness*. London: Hodder Press.
- Helms, M., & Stern, R. (2001). Exploring the factors that influence employees' perception of their organisations culture. *Journal of Management in Medicine*, 15 (6), pp415-429.
- Heuven, E., & Bakker, A. B. (2003). Emotional dissonance and burnout among cabin attendants. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 12, pp81-100.

## Bibliography

Heuveline P., Timerlake, J.M. & Furstenberg ,F.F. (2004). Shifting Childrearing to Single Mothers: Results from 17 Western Countries. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1728-4457.2003.00047>

Hobfoll, S. E. (2001). The influence of culture, community, and the nested-self in the stress process: Advancing conservation of resources theory. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 50, pp337-421.

Hochschild, A. (1979) 'Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure', *American Journal of Sociology* 85, 3, pp551–75.

Hoffman, M. L. (1990) Empathy and Justice Motivation. *Motivation and Emotion*, 14, pp151-172.

Hofstede, G. & McCrae, R. R. (2004). Personality and Culture Revisited: Linking Traits and Dimensions of Culture. *Cross-Cultural Research*. 38 (1) pp52-88.

Hogan, R. (1971). Personality characteristics of highly rated policeman. *Personnel Psychology*, 39, pp 210-219.

Hogg, M A., & Vaughan, G. M. (1998). *Social Psychology*. Glasgow: Prentice Hall.

Hogg, M. A., & Terry, D. J. (2001). *Social identity processes in organisational contexts*. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Hogg, M. A., Terry, D. J., & White, K.M. (1995). A tale of two theories: A critical comparison of identity theory with social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 58 (4), pp255-269.

Hogue, M., Black, T. and Sigler, R. (1994). The differential use of screening techniques in the recruitment of police officers. *American Journal of police*, 13, pp113-124.

Holdaway, S., & Parker, S. (1998). Policing women police. Uniform patrol, promotion and representation in CID. *British Journal of Criminology*, 38(1), pp40-60.

Holdaway B. (1980), *Occupational culture of Urban Policing. An Ethnographic study. Doctoral dissertation.*

Holland, J. L. (1985). *Making vocational choices: A theory of personalities and work environment*. Englewood: Prentice Hall.

Holmberg, U. (2004). *Police interviewing with victims and suspects of violent and sexual crimes. Interviewees experiences and interview outcomes.* (Unpublished Phd thesis) Stockholm University Gothenburg.

## Bibliography

- Holmberg, U. & Christianson, S. (2002). *Murderers and Sexual Offenders: Experiences of police interviews and their inclination to admit or deny crimes*. *Behavioural Sciences and the Law*, 20, pp31-45.
- Holmes, J., & Marra, M. (2002). Having a laugh at work: How humour contributes to workplace culture. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34, pp1683–710.
- Home Office. (1981). *Selection Procedures*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office. (1984). *Code of practise on selection procedures*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office. (2008). *Keeping Children Safe, What we all need to know to protect our children*. London: Home Office.
- Home Office (2011). *Home Office Statistical Bulletin 10/11*. London: Home Office.
- Honig, A. (2007). Facts refute long-standing myths about law enforcement officers. *The National Psychologist* 16(5):23.
- Hope, T. (2018). *The social epidemiology of crime victimization*. In S. Walklate (ed) *Handbook of victims and victimology*. London: Routledge.
- Horne, P. (1975). *Women in law enforcement*. Springfield: Charles C Charles.
- Howitt, D, (1995). *Pornography and the Paedophile: Is it Criminogenic?*. London: Wiley Press.
- Huey, L., & Broll, R. (2015). I don't find it sexy at all' criminal investigators' views of Media glamorization of police 'dirty work'. *Policing and Society*. 25 (2).
- Hughes. M. (2009, 1<sup>st</sup> July). The murder nobody wants to help solve. *The Guardian*, p2.
- Hülshager, U. R., Lang, J. W. B., & Maier, G. W. (2010). Emotional labor, strain, and performance: Testing reciprocal relationships in a longitudinal panel study. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 15(4), pp505-521.
- Hunt, J., & Manning, P. K. (1991). The Social Context of Police Lying. *Symbolic Interaction*, 14, pp51-7.
- Inbau, F.E., Reid, J.E., & Buckley, J.P. (1986). *Criminal Interrogation and Confessions*, Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins.
- Irving, B., & McKenzie, I. K. (1989). *Police interrogation: The effects of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act*. London: Police Foundation G.B.
- James, S., Campbell, I.M. & Lovegrove, S.A. (1984) Personality differential use of screening techniques in the recruitment of police officers. *American Journal of Police*, 13, pp113-124.

## Bibliography

- Janus, E.S. (2006). *Failure to protect America's sexual predator laws and the rise of the preventive state*. London: Cornell University Press.
- Johnston, T.E. (1966). The judges Rules and police interrogation in England today. *Journal of criminal law, criminology and the police science*, 57, 1 pp85-92.
- Jones, D. (1986). *Criminology*. Greenwood Press: New York.
- Joyal, C.C., Côté, G., Meloche, J. & Hodgins, S. (2011) Severe Mental Illness and Aggressive Behavior: On the Importance of Considering Subgroups, *International Journal of Forensic Mental Health*, 10:2, pp107-117.
- Kadambi, M., & Truscott, D. (2007). Vicarious Trauma among Therapists Working with Sexual Violence, Cancer and General Practice. *Canadian Journal of Counselling and Psychotherapy*, 38 (4).
- Kassin, S. (2006). A Critical pApraisal of Modern police Interrogations. In T. Williamson (Ed.), *Investigative interviewing: Rights, research, regulation* (pp. 207-228). Devon, UK: Willan.
- Kebbell, M., Alison, L., & Mazerolle, P. (2010). *How do sex offenders think the police should interview to elicit confessions from sex offenders?* *Psychology, Crime and Law*, 16, pp567-584.
- Kebbell, M., Hurren, E. J., & Mazerolle, P. (2006). *Sex offender's perceptions of how they were interviewed*. *Canadian Journal of Police and Security Services*, 4, pp67-75.
- Kelly, J. B., & Emery, R. E. (2003). Children's adjustment following divorce: Risk and resilience perspectives. *Family Relations*, 52, pp352-362.
- Kemshall, H., & Mclvor, G. (2004). *Managing sex offender risk*. London: Jessica Kinsley publication.
- Kendall-Tackett, K. A., Williams, L. M., & Finkelhor, D. (1993). Impact of sexual abuse on children: A review and synthesis of recent empirical studies. *Psychological Bulletin*, 113(1), pp164-180.
- Kitzinger, J. (2008). The Methodology of Focus Groups: the importance of interaction between research participants. *Sociology of Health & Illness* Vol. 16 (1).
- Koss, M. P. (1988). Hidden Rape: Sexual Aggression and Victimization in a National Sample of Students in Higher Education. In A. W. Burgess (ed.), *Rape and Sexual Assault*, Vol. 2. New York: Garland.
- Koss, M. P., & Dinero, T. E. (1989). Discriminate Analysis of Risk Factors for Sexual Victimization Among a National Sample of College Women. *Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 57 (2), pp242-250.

## Bibliography

- Koss, M. P., Gidycz, C. A., & Wisniewski, N. (1987). The Scope of Rape: Incidence and Prevalence of Sexual Aggression and Victimization in a National Sample of Higher-Education Students. *Journal of Consulting and clinical Psychology*, 55, pp162-170.
- Koss, M. P., Leonard, K. E., Beezley, D. A., & Oros, C. (1985). Non stranger Sexual Aggression: A Discriminate Analysis of the Psychological Characteristics of Undetected Offenders. *Sex Roles*. 12 (9-10), pp981-992.
- Kramer, M. W., & Hess, J. A. (2002). Communication rules for the display of emotions in organizational settings. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 16, pp66-80.
- Langworthy, R.H. (1999). *Measuring what matters: Proceedings from the policing research institute meetings*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice.
- Lazarus, N. (1999). *Nationalism and Cultural Practice in the Postcolonial World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lazarus, N., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, Appraisal, and Coping*. New York: Springer publications.
- Lee, M. (1971). *A History of Police in England*. New Jersey: Patterson Smith.
- Lee, R.M., & Fielding, N.G. (1991). *Using Computers in Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Leo, R. A. (2004). The Third Degree and the Origins of Psychological Interrogation in the United States. In D. Lassiter. *Interrogations, Confessions and Entrapment* (pp37-84). Athens, Ohio, United States: Springer Science Business Media.
- Lester, D. (1983). Why do people become police officers? A study of reasons and their prediction of success. *J. Police Science Adm* 11(2), pp170-174.
- Levenson, J., Letourneau, E., Armstrong, K. and Zgoba, M. (2010). Failure to Register as a sex Offender: Is it Associated with Recidivism? *Justice Quarterly*. 27(3).
- Levi, R. (2008). *Auditable Community: The Moral Order of Megan's Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Liebling, A. (2004). *Prisons and their moral performance: A study of values, Quality and Prison Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Link, B. G. (1987). Understanding labelling effects in the area of mental disorders: An assessment of the effects of expectations of rejection. *American Sociological Review*, 57, pp96-112.

## Bibliography

- Littlechild, B., & Fearn, D. (2005). Mentally Vulnerable Adults in Police Detention. In B. Littlechild and D. Fearn (eds.) *Mental disorder and criminal Justice Policy, Provision and Practice*. Dorset: Russell.
- Loftus, B. (2009). *Police culture in a changing world*. Oxford University Press.
- Lord, V.B. and Friday, P.C. (2003). Choosing a career in Police Work. A comparative study between applications for employment with a large police department and public High School students. *Police Practice and Research*, 4 (1), pp63-78.
- Losoya, S. H. & Eisenberg, N. (2001). Affective Empathy. In J. A. Hall and F. J. Bernieri (Eds.), *Interpersonal Sensitivity* (pp21-43). London: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers.
- Lovell, E. (2001). *Megan's Law: Does it protect children?* London: NSPCC report.
- Lunneborg, P.W (1989). *Women Police officers*. USA: Charles Tomas.
- Luth, L. (2008). *An Empirical Approach to Correct Self-Selection Bias of Online Panel Research* CASRO Panel Conference.
- Lynn Meek, V. (1994). Organisational culture: Origins and weaknesses. In D. McKeivitt & A, Lawton (Eds.), *Public sector management: theory, critique and practice*. (pp265-280): Sage Publications.
- Lyter, S. C. (2008). Woundedness and Social Workers: Strategies for supervision of practicum students. *Arete*, 32(1), pp20–37.
- Maclead, L., Scriven, J., & Wayne, F.S. (1992). Gender and Management Level Differences in the Oral Communication Patterns of Bank Managers *International Journal of Business Communication* Vol 29, Issue 4, pp343-365.
- Macpherson, W. (1999). *Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny*. London: HMSO.
- Maeder, E.M., & Corbett, R. (2015). Beyond Frequency: Perceived Realism and the CSI Effect. *Canadian journal of criminology and criminal justice*. Vol. 57 Issue 1, pp83-114.
- Maguire, E.R. (2004). Police departments as learning laboratories. *Ideas in American Policing*, Washington, DC: Police Foundation.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1986). Predictors of Naturalistic Sexual Aggression. *Journal of Personality and Psychology*. 5, pp953-962.
- Mann, S. (1999). Emotion at Work: To What Extent are We Expressing, Suppressing, or Faking It? *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 8:3, pp347-369.

## Bibliography

- Manning, P. (1989). *Occupational culture, encyclopaedia of police service*. New York: Garland.
- Margolin, L., Miller, M., & Moran, P. B. (1989). When a Kiss Is Not Just a Kiss: Relating Violations of Consent in Kissing to Rape Myth Acceptance. *Sex Roles*, 20 (5-6). pp231-243.
- Marshall, W. L. (1989). Intimacy, loneliness and sexual offenders. *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 27 (5), pp491-504.
- Marshall, W. L., Anderson, D., & Fernandez, Y. (1999). *Cognitive behavioural treatment of sexual offenders*. West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons.
- Martinez, A. G., Piff, P.K., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Hinshaw. S.P. (2004). The power of a label: Mental illness diagnoses, ascribed humanity, and social rejection. *Journal of Social & Clinical Psychology*. 30 (4).
- Martinez, A. G., Piff, P. K., Mendoza-Denton, R., & Hinshaw, S. P. (2011). The Power of a Label: Mental Illness Diagnoses, Ascribed Humanity, and Social Rejection. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 30, pp1-23.
- Masson, J. M. (1985). *The Assault on Truth: Freud's suppression of the seduction theory*. New York, NY, US: Penguin Press.
- Mastrofski, S.D.(2004). Controlling Street level Police Discretion. *The Annals* 593 pp100-118.
- Matassa, M., & Newburn, T. (2007). Social context of criminal investigation. In T. Newburn, T. Williamson and A. Wright. (Eds). *Handbook of Criminal Investigation*. Cornwall: Willan.
- Matravers, A. (2003). *Sex offenders in the community Managing and reducing the risks*. Cornwall: Willan.
- McAlinden, A. (2007). *The Shaming of Sex Offenders*. London: Hart Press.
- McBarnet. D. (1981). *Conviction*, London: Macmillan.
- McCoy, S. P., & Aamodt, M.G. (2010) A Comparison of Law Enforcement Divorce Rates with Those of Other Occupations. *Police Crim Psych* 25:1–16 DOI 10.1007/s11896-009-9057-8
- McGuickin, G., & Brown, J. (2001). *Managing Risk from Sex Offenders Living in Communities; Comparing Police, Press and Public Perceptions*. Risk Management. An International Journal.
- McGuire, J. (2005). *Understanding psychology and Crime Perspectives on theory and action*. England: Open University Press.

## Bibliography

- Mclaughlin, E. (2007). *The New Policing*. London. Sage Publications.
- Mclvor, K.M. (2009). The culture of the police service. <http://www.bullying999.co.uk/culture.htm>.
- Meagher, M. S., & Yentes N. A. (1986) Choosing a career in poling a comparison of male and female perceptions. *J Police Science Administration*. 14, pp320-327.
- Mendias, G., & Kehoe, J. (2006). Engagement of policing Ideals and their relationship to the Exercise of Discretionary Powers. *Criminal Justice and Behaviour*, 33(1), pp70-92.
- Merrick, M. T., Ports, K. A., Ford, D. C., Afifi, T. O., Gershoff, E. T., & Grogan-Kaylor, A. (2017). Unpacking the impact of adverse childhood experiences on adult mental health. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 69, pp10-19.
- Meyer, J. (1997). Humour in member narratives; Uniting and dividing at work. *Western journal of communication*. 6 (2), pp188-298.
- Meyer, W. J., & Collier, M. C. (1997). Physical and Chemical Castration of Sex Offenders: A Review. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, Vol. 25(34), 1997. pp1-18.
- Miley, C. H. (1969). Birth order research 1963–1967: Bibliography and index. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 25, pp64–70.
- Millie, A. (2013). The policing task and the Expansion (and Contraction) of British Policing. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 13 (2), pp143-160.
- Mills, C. J., & Bohannon, W. E. (1980). Personality Characteristics of Effective State Police Officers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 65(6), 680–684.  
doi:<http://dx.doi.org.weblib.lib.umt.edu:8080/10.1037/0021-9010.65.6.680>
- Miller, S.L. (1999). *Gender and Community Policing: Walking the Talk*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Milne, B. (2008). *Interviewing and Evidence*. (Institute of Criminal Justice Studies Distance Learning Unit). Portsmouth: University of Portsmouth.
- Milne, B., & Bull, R. (2016). Witness interviews and crime investigations. In D. Groome and M. Eysenck (EDS.), *An Introduction to Applied Cognitive Psychology*. (pp175-197). London: Psychology Press.
- Milton, C. (1974). *Women in Policing*. Washington: The Police Foundation.
- Ministry of Justice. (2012). *MAPPa Guidance*. London: MOJ.
- Mitchell, C., & Melikian, K. (1995). Treatment of Male Sexual Offenders. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, 4 (1), pp87-93.

## Bibliography

- Moos, R., & Schaefer, J. (1993). Coping Resources and Processes: Current concepts and measures. In L. Goldberger and S. Breznitz (Eds.). *Handbook of Stress* (2nd ed.), (pp127-141). New York: The Free Press.
- Morris, J.A., Fieldman, D.C. (1996). The Dimensions, Antecedents, and Consequences of Emotional Labour. *The Academy of Management review*. 21 (4). pp986-1010.
- Moulden, H.M., & Firestone, P. (2007). Vicarious Traumatization: the impact on therapists who work with sexual offenders. *Trauma Violence Abuse* 8(1), pp67-83.
- Muir, W.K. (1977). *Street Corner Politicians*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Myers, K. (2005), "A burning desire: assimilation into a fire department", *Management Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 18, pp344-384.
- Nash, M (2016) 'Scum Cuddlers': Police Offender Managers and the Sex Offenders' Register in England and Wales, *Policing and Society*, 26:4, pp411-427.
- Nash, M. (2006). *Public Protection and the Criminal Justice Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nelson, T. (2009). *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping and Discrimination*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Neumann, C. (2010). *Sexual Crime*. USA: ABC-CLIO publications.
- Nezlek, J.B., & Derks, P. (2001). Use of humour as a coping mechanism, psychological adjustment, and social interaction. *Humour*, 14, pp95–413.
- Niederhoffer, A. (1967). *Behind the Shield*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Nielsen, M. (2011). On humour in prison. *European Journal of Criminology*, 8(6), 500- 514. doi: 10.1177/1477370811413818.
- Norris, F. H., Foster, J. D., & Weisshaar, D. L. (2002). The epidemiology of gender differences in PTSD across developmental, societal, and research contexts. In R. Kimerling, P. Ouimette, & J. Wolfe (Eds.), *Gender and PTSD* (pp. 3-42). New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.
- O'Connell, C. A., Leberg, E. & Donaldson, C. R. (1990). *Working with Sex Offenders: Guidelines for Therapist Selection*. Newbury: Sage Publications.
- O'Malley, P. (2000). Dangerousness a Sociological History. In M. Brown and J. Pratt (eds.), *Dangerous Offenders Punishment and Social Order*. (pp15-37). London: Routledge Press.
- Oakeshott, M. (1991). *On Human Conduct*. London: Clarendon Press.

## Bibliography

- Ost, S., (2004) Getting to Grips with Sexual Grooming? The New Offence under the Sexual Offences Act 2003, *Journal of Social Welfare and Family Law*, 26:2, 147-159, DOI: 10.1080/014180304200023088
- Oxburgh, G., Ost, J., Morris & Cherryman, J. (2015). Police officers' perceptions of interviews in cases of sexual offences and murder involving children and adult victims. *Police Practice and Research*, 16.1, pp36-50.
- Pakes, F., & Pakes, S. (2009). *Criminal Psychology*. Devon: Willan.
- Pakes, F., & Winstone, J. (2007). *Psychology and Crime: Understanding and Tackling Offending Behaviour*. Cullompton: Willan.
- Paoline, E. A., Myers, S. M., & Worden, R. E. (2000). Police culture, individualism, and community policing: Evidence from two police departments. *Justice Quarterly*, 17, 575–605. doi:10.1080/07418820000094671
- Peakman, J. (2009). *Amatory Pleasures: Explorations in Eighteenth-Century Sexual Culture*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Pearlin, L. I. (1999). The Stress Process Revisited: Reflections on concepts and their interrelationships. In C. S. Aneshensel & J. C. Phelan (Eds.), *Handbook of Sociology and Social Research. Handbook of Sociology of Mental Health* (pp395-415). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Pearse, J., Gudjonsson, G. H., Clare, I. C. H. & Rutter, S. (1998). Police Interviewing and Psychological Vulnerabilities: Predicting the likelihood of a Confession. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 8, pp1-21.
- Phillips, S. D., & Paziienza, N. J. (1988). History and theory of the assessment of career development and decision making. In W. B. Walsh and S. H. Osipow (Eds.), *Career Decision Making* (pp1-31). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Pilgrim, D., & Rogers, A. (1993). *A Sociology of Mental Illness*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Pithers, W.D. (1994). Process evaluation of a group therapy component designed to enhance sex offenders' empathy for sexual abuse survivors. *Behaviours Research Theory*, 32(5): pp565-570
- Plonka, B. (2016). Nature or Nurture – Will Epigenomes Solve the Dilemma? *Studio Humana*, 5 (2), pp13-36.
- Plotnikoff, J., & Woolfson, R. (2000). *Where are they now? An evaluation of sex offender registration in England and Wales*. London: Home Office.
- Plummer R. (1983). *Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method*. London: Unwin Hyman.

## Bibliography

- Powers, M.T. (1983). Employment motivation for women in policing. *Police Chief*, 50 (11), pp60-63.
- Prentky, R. A., Janus, E., Barbaree, H., Schwartz, B. K., & Kafka, M. P. (2006). Sexually violent predators in the courtroom: Science on trial. *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 12(4), pp357-393.
- Prescott, J. J., & Rockoff, J. (2008). Do Sex Offender Registration and Notification Laws affect Criminal Behavior? *University of Michigan Law School*. 85 (2).
- Presser, L., & Gunnison, E. (1999). Strange Bedfellows: Is Sex Offender Notification a Form of Community Justice? *Crime & Delinquency*, 45(3), pp299-315.
- Pritchard, E. (2006). *Appropriate Adult provision in England and Wales*. London: Home Office.
- Priviera, D. (1995). *Life's Work for Megan's Mom: Helping Children be aware*. USA: The Record.
- Pugh, G.M. (1986). The good police officer, qualities, roles and concepts. *Journal of police science and Administration*, 14 (1), pp1-5.
- Punch, M. (1983). Officers and Men; Occupational culture, inter-rank Antagonism, and the Investigation of corruption. In M. Punch. (ed). *Control in the Police organisation* (pp227-250). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Punch, M. (2007). *Zero Tolerance Policing*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Rafter, N. (2000). *Shots in the Mirror*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rapaport, K., & Burkhart, B. R. (1984). Personality and Attitudinal Characteristics of Sexually Coercive College Males. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 93 (21), pp216-221.
- Rawling, P. (2002). *Policing: A Short History*. USA: Willan.
- Rees, L. (2006). *Right to Know*. Police professional
- Reiner, R. (1978). *The Blue Coated Worker*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Reiner, R. (1992). *The Politics of the Police*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reiner, R. (2000). *The Politics of the Police*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Reiner, R. (2010). *The Politics of the Police*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reith, C. (1956). *A new study of police history*. London: Olive and Boyd.

## Bibliography

- Rich, A. (1980). Compulsory heterosexuality and lesbian existence. *Women Sex and Sexuality*. 5 (4), pp631-660.
- Robson, C. (1993). *Real world research. A resource for social scientists and practitioner researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rosenbaum, M. (2013). Sharp fall in young police officers. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20998800>.
- Roth, I. (1992). *Introduction to Psychology*. East Sussex: The Open University.
- Rowe, A. (2014). Situating the self in prison research: Power, Identity and epistemology. *Qualitative Inquiry* 20 (4) pp464-476.
- Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. S. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing (2nd ed.): The art of hearing data* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781452226651
- Rudofossi, D. (2009). *Death, Value and Meaning Series. A cop doc's guide to public safety complex trauma syndrome: Using five police personality styles*. Amityville, NY, US: Baywood Publishing Co.
- Russano, M. B., Meissner, C, A. Narchet, F, M., & Kassin, S. M. (2005) Investigating True and False Confessions Within a Novel Experimental Paradigm. *American Psychological Society*, 16, pp481-486.
- Ryan, C. & Sibiela, L. (2010). *Private Schooling in the UK and Australia*. London: Institute of Fiscal Studies.
- Saarni, C. (1990). Emotional Competence; How emotions and relationships become integrated. In R. A. Thompson (ed.) *Socio-emotional development* (pp 115-182) Lincoln: Nebraska Press.
- Salovey, P., & Mayer, J.D. (1990). Emotional Intelligence. *Imagination, Cognition and Personality*, 9, pp185-211.
- Sampson, A. (1994). *Acts of sexually abuse: sex offenders and the criminal justice system*. London: Routledge.
- Sanders, B. A. (2003) "Maybe there's no such thing as a "good cop": Organizational challenges in selecting quality officers", *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, Vol. 26 Issue: 2, pp313-328.
- Sanders, B.A. (2008). Using personality traits to predict police officer performance. *Journal of police strategies and Management*, 31 (1), pp129-147.
- Savage, S. (2003). Tackling tradition: Reform and modernization of the British police. *Contemporary Politics*, 9 (2), pp171-184.

## Bibliography

- Savage, S. (2007). *Police reform: Forces for Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Savickas, M. L. (1995). Constructivist counselling for career indecision. *The Career Development Quarterly*, 43, pp363–373.
- Scarman, L.G. (1981). *The Scarman Report: The Brixton Disorders*. Middlesex: Penguin.
- Scheela, R.A. (2001). Sex offender treatment therapist's experiences and perceptions. *Mental Health Nursing*, 22:8, pp749-767.  
DOI: 10.1080/01612840152713009
- Schweitzer, N. J., & Saks, M. J. (2007). The CSI effect: Popular fiction and forensic science affects the public's expectations about real forensic science. *Jurimetrics* Vol. 47, No. 3, pp357-364.
- Scott, P. (1977). Assessing dangerousness in Criminals. *British Journal of Psychiatry*. 131, pp127-142.
- Scott, T. (2007), "Expression of humour by emergency personnel involved in sudden deathwork", *Mortality*, Vol. 12 No. 4, pp350-364.
- Scrivner, E. (2006). Psychology and law enforcement. In U.B. Weiner and A.K. Hess (Eds). *The Handbook of Forensic Psychology* (pp 534-551). New York: Wiley.
- Scully, D., & Marolla, J. (1984). Convicted Rapists' Vocabulary of Motive: Excuses and Justifications, *Social Problems*, Volume 31 (5), 1, pp530–544.
- Sheptycki, J. (1994). It looks different from the outside. *Policing*, 10, pp125-135.
- Shpayer-Makov, H. (2002). *The Making of a Policeman: A Social History of a Labour Force in metropolitan London 1829-1914*, London: Ashgate.
- Siegel, L. J. (2009). *Introduction to Criminal Justice*. London: Cengage.
- Silvestri, M. (2003) *Women in charge: policing, gender and leadership*. Cullompton: Willan.
- Simon, L. M. (2000). An examination of the assumption of specialization, mental disorder, and dangerousness in sex offenders. *Behavioural Sciences and the law*, 18(2-3), pp275-308.
- Sklansky, D. (2006). Not your father's police department: Making sense of the New Demographics of Law Enforcement. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 96(3), pp1209-1243.

## Bibliography

- Skolnick, J. (1966). *Justice without trial: Law enforcement in democratic society*. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Skolnick, J. (1996). *The Politics of Protest*. New York: Bateman.
- Skolnick, J.H. (2011). *Justice without Trial. Law enforcement in democratic society*. New Orleans: Quid Pro Books.
- Skorikov, V. B. (2007). Adolescent career development and adjustment. In V. B. Skorikov and W. Patton (Eds.), *Career development in childhood and adolescence* (pp237–254). Rotterdam: Sense.
- Smallbone, S.W., & Dadds, M.R. (1998). Childhood Attachment and Adult Attachment in Incarcerated Adult Male Sex Offenders. *Journal of interpersonal violence*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/088626098013005001>
- Smircich, L. (1983). Concepts of culture and organisational analysis. *Administration Science Quarterly*, 28 (3), pp339-358.
- Smith, K., & Tilney, S. (2007). *Vulnerable adult and child witnesses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, L. (1989). *Concerns about Rape*. Home Office Research Study No 106: London HMSO.
- Smith, M.D. (2004). *Encyclopaedia of Rape*. USA: Greenwood Press.
- Soothill, K., Francis, B., & Ackerely, E. (1998). Paedophilia and Paedophiles. *New Law Journal*, 30, pp882-883.
- Soukara, S., Bull, R., Vrij, A., Turner, M. & Cherryman, J. (2009). What really happens in police interviews of suspects? Tactics and confessions, *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 15:6, pp493-506.
- Spencer, A. (2000). *Working with ex-offenders in prison and through release to the community*. London: Jessica Kingley Publications.
- Status on workplace anger and aggression. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 20, pp297-315.
- Stenross, B., & Kleinman, S. (1989). The highs and lows of emotional labour. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 17, pp435–452.
- Stevens, J. (1988.). *Not for the Faint-hearted: My life fighting crime*. London: The Orion Publishing Group.
- Stevenson, J. (2007). *Welfare considerations for supervisors managing child sexual abuse on line unit*. London: Wiley Press.

## Bibliography

Stewart, A. E., & Stewart, E. A. (1995). Trends in birth-order research: 1976–1993. *Individual Psychology*, 51, pp21–36.

Stewart, J.K. (1985). *Interviewing victims and witnesses of Crime*. US: Dept of National Justice.

Strauss, A.L. & Corbin, J. (1990). Grounded theory methodology: An overview In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.). *Handbook of qualitative research*. USA: Sage Publications.

Sulloway, F. S. (1996). *Born to rebel: Birth order, family dynamics, and creative lives*. New York: Pantheon.

Tajfel, H. (1978). Interindividual Behaviour and intergroup Behaviour. In H. Tajfel (ed), *Differentiation between social Groups: Studies in the social Psychology of intergroup Relations*. (pp27-60). London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W.G. Austin & S Worchel (Eds). *The social psychology of intergroup relationships* (pp 33-48) USA: Brooks/Cole Publishing.

Tarng, M.Y., Hsieh, C.H., & Deng, T.J. (2001). Personal background and reasons for choosing a career in policing: An empirical study of police students in Taiwan. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 29 (2001) pp45-56.

Tate, H. (1999). Pre-academy training has long term results. *Law and Order*, 47 (6), pp79-82.

Tehrani, N. (2009). *Compassion fatigue: experiences in occupational health, human resources, counselling and police*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Terrion, J. L., & Ashforth, B. E. (2002). From 'I' to 'We': the role of putdown humour and identity in the development of a temporary group. *Human Relations*, 55(1), 55-88.

Territo, L., & Vetter, H. (1981). Stress and Police Personnel. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 9, pp195–208.

Terry, K. (2006). *Sexual Offenses and Offenders: Theory, Practice and Policy*. USA: Thomson Publications.

The issue of positive and negative affectivity. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 20, pp661-667.

Thomas. T. (2000). *Sex Crimes: Sex Offending and Society*. London: Willan.

Thomas, T. (2005). *Sex Crimes: Sex Offending and Society*. Cullompton: Willan.

Thomas, T. (2016). *Sex Crimes: Sex Offending and Society*. London: Routledge.

## Bibliography

- Tong, S. & Bowling, B. (2006). Art, Craft and Science of Detective Work. *Police Journal*. Volume 79 No 4. pp323-329.
- Tong, S. (2017). Professionalising policing: seeking viable and sustainable approaches to police education and learning. *European Police Science and Research Bulletin - Special Conference Edition, Summer (2017)*. pp171-178. ISSN 1831-1857.
- Tracy, S., Myers, K. & Scott, C. (2006), *Cracking jokes and crafting selves: sense making and identity management among human service workers. Communication Monographs*, Vol. 73 No. 3, pp283-308.
- Trevithick, P. (2000). *Social Work Skills: A practice handbook*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Trull, T. J., & Widiger, T. A. (1997). *Structured Interview for the Five-Factor Model of Personality (SIFFM): Professional manual*. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources.
- Tyler, T., Fagan, J., & Geller, A. (2004) Street Stops and Police Legitimacy Teachable moments in Young Urban Police Department. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 11 (4), pp751-785.
- Unger, R. M. (1976). *Law in the Modern Society: Towards a Criticism of Social Theory*. New York: Free Press.
- Vago, S. (1981). *Law and Society* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Violanti, M., & Aron, J. (1995). Police Stressors: Variations in Perception among Police Personnel. *Journal of Criminal Justice*. 23. pp287-294.
- Waddington, P. (1999). Police (Canteen) Culture: An Appreciation. *British Journal of Criminology*, 39 (2), pp287-309.
- Waldren, M. (2007). The Arming of Police Officers. *Policing*, 1 (3), pp255–264.
- Wagstaff, T. M. (1989). New initiatives by the Metropolitan Police in the investigation of Rape. *Medicine and law* 8, pp492-498.
- Wakefield, H., & Underwager R. (1998). Coerced or Non-voluntary Confessions. *Behavioural Sciences and the Law*, 16, pp423-440.
- Walby, S. & Allen, J. (2004). *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: Findings from the British Crime Survey*. London: Home Office.
- Walker, N. (1996). *Dangerous People*. Kent: Blackstone Press.

## Bibliography

- Ward, T., Hudson, S. M., Marshall, W.L., & Siegert R. (1995). Attachment Style and Intimacy Deficits in Sexual Offenders: A Theoretical Framework Sexual Abuse: *A Journal of Research and Treatment*, 7, (4).
- Washington State Institute of public policy. (2006). <https://www.wsipp.wa.gov>.
- Weatheritt, M. (1986). *Innovations in policing*. Dover: Croom Helm.
- Weiss, P.A. & Inwald, R. (2010) A brief History of personality assessment in police psychology. In P. A. Weiss (Ed). *Personality assessment in Police Psychology*. Illinois: Thomas Publisher.
- West, D. (1996). 'Sexual Molesters'. In N. Walker (Ed.) *Dangerous People*. London: Blackstone Press.
- Westmarland, L. (2001). *Gender and Policing: Sex, Power and Police Culture*. Cullompton: Willan.
- Westmarland, L. (2011). *Researching Crime and Justice: Tales from the field*. London : Routledge.
- Westamarland, L. (2008). *Police Cultures*. In T. Newburn (ed). *Handbook of Policing*. (pp 253-280) Cullompton: Willan.
- Westley, W. (1953). Violence and the Police. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 59 (!), pp34-41.
- Willis, P. (2017). *Learning to Labour*. London: Routledge.
- Wills, J., & Schuldberg, D. (2016) Chronic Trauma Effects on Personality Traits in Police Officers *Journal of Traumatic Stress* April 2016, 29, pp185-189.
- Winsor, T. (2012). *Independent Review of Police Officer and staff remuneration and conditions, Final Report* (Vol 1). London: The Stationery Office.
- Winstone, J., & Pakes, F. (2010). *Multi agency working in criminal justice: control and care in contemporary practice*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Wisker, G. (2015). Developing doctoral authors: engaging with theoretical perspectives through the literature review, *Innovations in Education and Teaching International*, 52:1, pp64-74.
- Wright, R. G. (2009). *Sex Offender Laws: Failed Policies, New Directions*. New York: Springer Publishing.
- Wright, M. (2004). Preventing Harm, Promoting Harmony. In P. Davies, P. Francis and V. Jupp (eds). *Victimisation Theory, research and policy*. (pp.145-163) Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

## Bibliography

Young, M. (1991). *An Inside Job*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Young, M. (1995) Black Humor: Making Light of Death. *Policing and Society*, 5, pp151-167.

Zahn-Waxler, C., & Radke-Yarrow, M. (1990). The Origins of Empathic Concern. *Motivation and Emotion*, 14 (2)

Zapf, D. (2002). Emotion Work and Psychological Well-being. A review of the literature and some conceptual considerations. *Human Resource Management Review* 12, pp237–268

Zapf, D., Seifert, C., Schmutte, B., Mertini, H. & Holz, M. (2001) Emotion Work and Job Stressors and their effects on burnout, *Psychology & Health*, 16:5, pp527-545.

Zgoba, K, M., Witt, P., Dalessandro, M. & Veysey, B. (2008). *Megan's Law: Assessing the Practical and Monetary Efficacy* National Institute of Justice. Washington USA.