

Exploring Police Culture and Reform Strategies Post Charing Cross :Insights from the literature

Abstract

This paper examines cop culture and potential strategies for reform, following the publication of the Hotton Report at Charing Cross Police Station. This paper critically examines previous academic literature, to contribute to a highly topical matter. It also identifies strategies which have the potential to weaken an established and negative police culture, currently operating within the Metropolitan Police. Research findings within this paper, identify how cop culture remains a powerful mechanism within policing, acting as a barrier to reform. However, the findings also uncover that change is possible, through implementation of avenues involving education, increased diversity and transformational leadership.

Introduction

The Police Code of Ethics 'supports each member of the policing profession to deliver the highest professional standards in their service to the public' (College of Policing, 2014: No page number). The Code sets out the expectations that a number of principles, such as fairness and respect, will be applied in any decisions and actions, that the police take. However, according to Campbell et al (2019), it is the maintenance of justice that is important for the police, rather than being bound by any established principles. This would suggest that police behaviour is not restricted to an adherence to policies or established rules (Bowling et al, 2019), but can also be attributable to a different system of ethics and morals operating within the police, known as *cop culture*, or *police culture*. These terms are generally attributed to negative connotations (Paoline, 2014) and will contrast to the term *policing culture*, which instead covers forms of social control used to achieve societal order and which also includes the shaping of individuals, into an already existing culture (Bowling et al, 2019).

The existence of a police culture was first established by American William Westley (Heslop, 2012) and although the term was not expressly used at the time, it was deemed to consist of universal traits, resilient to change (Reiner, 1992).

Meyerson and Martin (1987 : 623), define organisational culture as ‘ patterns of meaning, values, and behaviour shared practices and underlying assumptions of an organisation’. This definition can be applied to any organisation. However, there does appear to be a significant interest around police culture, partly attributable to the power this concept yields. According to Edwards (2005: 164) ‘police culture...is probably the most powerful force on police behaviour’ and presents itself as a major challenge to police reform (O’Neill and Singh, 2007).

Interest into police culture has been apparent for some time. Although this level of interest has recently changed, following publication of details relating to the murder of Sarah Everard, by a serving Metropolitan Police Officer and also as a result, of the recent publication of the Hotten Report. Both incidents raising public awareness and condemnation, around police misconduct experienced within the Metropolitan Police based in London, UK. These incidents, denounce what Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel had originally intended in 1829, when first introducing the Metropolitan Police. Here the Metropolitan Police were identified as a pinnacle of police reform, replacing those deemed unfit through corruption, to patrol the Streets of London (Lyman, 1964).

Establishing a standard definition for cop culture has been difficult (Chan, 2005). Loftus (2008: No page number) for example, acknowledges the concept as ‘ a set of shared informal norms; beliefs and values that underpins and informs police outlooks and behaviour towards people’. In contrast, Waddington (2008: 203) defines cop culture as ‘ a combination of values; attitudes; prejudices and working practices; commonly found amongst the lower ranks of the police’. These different interpretations of cop culture, highlight the existing complexities surrounding this matter, which extend to the fact that there isn’t one standard form of police culture but variations of this concept. Cop culture can exist between different police organisations in different countries; different police areas and even within the same organisation (Chan , 2009). Newburn (2007) highlights how variations of the culture also exist between different ranks such as uniform and management; different departments such as uniform and the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) and even between minority groups

and white, male police officers. Thus, demonstrating the complexity and multifaceted nature of cop culture.

Complexities surrounding cop culture, have also been found to extend to the probable cause for its existence. Some discussions have highlighted that cop culture is attributable to the personality of individual officers, which is argued to be authoritarian in nature and akin to bigotry; cynicism and violence (Crank, 2014). Others, such as Gottschalk (2012), have focused upon the policing organisation itself, as the founding cause of the culture, resulting from the ‘unpredictability of supervisors’ or the ‘uncertainty of police work’ (Terrill et al, 2003 : No page number). Alternative discussions, have also connected cop culture to the police occupational role (Corder, 2017). Here the culture has resulted from a police officer’s ‘interactions with the public’ and through an awareness of the amount of authority they possess (Terrill et al, 2003 : No page number).

Cop culture consists of several traits (Reiner, 2010), which include, group loyalty; a them and us tension operating between management and uniformed police officers (Paoline, 2003), officer prejudice; intolerance to change (Chan, 2005) and suspicion shown towards the public (Skolnick , 2010). Therefore, over the years both Labour and Conservative UK Governments, have attempted to implement reform within **policing in England and Wales. However, the move from a bi partisan approach to dealing with crime, towards a more populist approach of getting tough on crime (Fitzgerald and Hale, 2013), failed to change the policing environment. Instead, these new initiatives towards police reform were resisted (Barton, 2003). This failure to implement successful reform within the police organisation, is especially concerning when insufficient recognition, is given towards the damage a negative cop culture can have upon public and police relations. Especially when the public as part of the culture, are perceived by the police as problems, as opposed to partners in the fight against criminality (Myhill and Bradford, 2013).**

This paper seeks to provide an overview of cop culture amongst uniform officers and reviews strategies which can implement change within the police, in order to address the negative elements of the culture. It examines discussions around police education via the Policing Education Qualifications Framework (PEQF), ie the Policing Degree; as well as reviewing the benefits of increased diversity within policing and finally through the provision of transformational leadership. This literature review will analyse whether these strategies, or a combination of them, **can assist in reforming an organisation** which appears to function upon

a negative culture. This is despite evidence highlighting the more positive contributions of the culture, such as innovation and the 'development of diverse groups of officers' (Police Now, 2022: No page number). Instead, the prevailing culture relies upon negative practices; values, beliefs and attitudes of a dominant group, made up of mostly white; male; heterosexual and working-class individuals (Leishman et al, 2000).

The Hotton Report

The Hotton Report into the inappropriate conduct of some Metropolitan Police Officers, based at Charing Cross Police Station, London, UK, was published by the Independent Office for Police Complaints (IOPC) in 2022. It followed an allegation of sexual activity at a police station, between a police officer and a vulnerable female. Although never proven, this allegation led to an investigation which uncovered inappropriate discussions and behaviour, mostly discovered online, around racism, sexism and misogyny (IOPC, 2022). The Report highlighted how unchallenged, unprofessional behaviour, creates a negative environment where inappropriate conduct continues and consequently damages police relationships, with diverse communities (IOPC, 2022). Furthermore, this unprofessional behaviour would undermine the Police Code of Ethics principles including, showing respect for others (College of Policing, 2014).

Understanding Cop Culture - A General Overview

The Hotton Report's findings of a negative culture operating within the Metropolitan Police, is significant, as cop culture has an impact upon daily policing and can influence police practice (Paoline, 2003). It is also concerning in view of the earlier discussion which acknowledged that reform within the police is a challenge, due to cop culture's ability to restrict police reform (Walker, 2012).

Cop Culture Characteristics

The concept of cop culture, has many defining characteristics (MacAlister, 2004) These include (but aren't limited to), 'isolation'; 'solidarity'; 'conservatism' and the principle of 'them and us' (Reiner, 2010: 122). Police isolation from the public is argued to occur, as a result of chaotic shift patterns, which consequently prevent the police from liaising more frequently with civilians. Isolation amongst the police, also becomes apparent as a consequence of police attempts to manoeuvre themselves away from any public hostility,

encountered as part of their role (Reiner, 2010). According to Skolnick (2010 : 17), the policing role prevents them from making friends, as the ‘norms of friendship’ can implicate others in their work. Therefore, implying that the only friendship network available, is that of other police officers, which reinforces the concept of solidarity. This argument is supported by Loftus (2012), who highlighted how police isolation occurs, when police officers turn to each other for support, especially in the concealment of deviant or criminal behaviour. During the 1989 Hillsborough Disaster for example, police solidarity was demonstrated through the corroboration of police statements supporting the misconception that intoxicated football fans, rather than the police were responsible for the deaths of 96 people in a crushing incident, prior to a Liverpool and Nottingham Forest football match. This was despite it later being established, that there was a lack of police control at the scene (BBC News, 2016). The solidarity displayed between police officers, extended to providing mutual support throughout the ‘external investigation’ (Reiner, 2010 :122). It also ensured that investigations into the criminal activities of police officers by other officers, was also a challenge (Barton, 2003). Following the Hotton Report, the IOPC have now recommended that investigations into harassment and bullying within the police, are only investigated by those detached and independent from the enquiry, in an attempt ‘to build confidence’ (IOPC, 2022: 6).

Another trait of cop culture is conservatism, whereby the police adhere to the maintenance of a status quo (Reiner, 2010 : 122). Any challenges to this status quo, has the potential to alienate police officers (Rabe - Hemp, 2008). This was a significant factor, within the Hotton Report, where witnesses had refrained from challenging the status quo of inappropriate conduct or language, due to fears of alienation by police officer peers.

Challenging the status quo, is also a concern for Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) groups, who as a minority group, will acquiesce with *norms* in order to avoid ‘uncomfortable’ environments (Marks, 2000: 570). According to Marks (2000), increasing diverse groups within the police, will therefore strengthen opportunities to challenge a negative culture, predominantly characterised by a white; male; heterosexual workforce (Loftus, 2012).

The last concept is the principle of ‘them and us’ (Reiner, 2010:122), resulting from the suspicion that the police possess, towards the public (Terrill et al, 2003). According to Terrill et al (2003), the police perceive the public as unhelpful and unable to perform the policing role. The principle of ‘them and us’ (Reiner, 2010 : 122) however, is not restricted to the relationship between the police and the public but also extends between relationships such as

; uniform officers and CID officers; managers and uniform officers; as well as uniform officers and minority groups. The principle of them and us, could also link into the existence of another cop culture trait ie, prejudicial views, uncovered within the Hotton Report.

The police are predominantly made up of a dominant group of white, working class, heterosexual males operating within a culture, similar to the army. Here hostility is shown to those who are different to this group (Macvean and Neyroud, 2012). Reiner (1992) argues that such prejudicial views represent the shared beliefs of 'lower middle and working class' social groups (Reiner,1992:125), from which these police officers originate. This suggests that cop culture originates from a societal power struggle between minority groups and more dominant groups within society, rather than as a result of the personality of individual police officers. **These minority groups, although not a representative sample of society, have often been the focus of the police (Bowling et al, 2010).** Therefore, it could be argued that change is required within broader society and not through any educational strategies, offered through the Policing Degree (Reiner, 2010).

The policing organisation has attempted to create a work force, more reflective of a diverse society, initiated through recruitment drives aimed at minority groups and through graduate entry schemes (Police Now, 2017). This diverse influx of new recruits from minority groups, including more female officers, has successfully led to different perspectives being brought into the police, along with recruitment of generally more educated officers (Caveney et al, 2019). **A concept which the government were keen to enforce through Direct Entry Schemes, which allowed individuals in England and Wales to enter the police, at Superintendent and Chief Constable level.**

The benefit of utilising diverse perspectives has been particularly evidenced by female leaders, who as part of a police minority group, are increasingly inclined to utilise a transformational style of leadership. This leadership style, encourages participation in decisions and seeks to ensure that officers feel part of the organisation (Silvestri, 2003) . However, **despite the benefits of diversity schemes such as Direct Entry Programmes, a them and us culture was identified as operating between those with police experience, (who were perceived as more credible holders of the police role) and those entering the service with none (Williams et al, 2021). The scheme currently lies in a state of abandonment (College of Policing, 2022a), highlighting firstly, the restrictive nature of cop culture in any attempt by the police organisation to reform, and secondly the maintenance of a status quo**

predominantly constructed of white, heterosexual, males. This replicates Reiner's cop culture trait of 'them and us', whereby BAME groups and **Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual and Transgender** (LGBT) groups, tend to be observed more closely and treated with an air of suspicion by the police (Brown, 1998). Even the ability of minority groups to do the job, is often questioned (Ivkovic, 2009).

Cop Culture as a Positive Concept

Cop culture appears to be perceived as a predominantly negative concept by academics (Wilson et al, 2001). However, Cockcroft (2017) and Campeau (2015), acknowledge the more positive aspects of the culture, as essential towards the functioning of the police service. For example, the process of social isolation within cop culture allows the police to operate more efficiently, unhindered by any emotional connection to their work (Cockcroft, 2017). Whilst Waddington (1999:294), refers to a 'canteen culture', which operates as nothing more than bravado or story telling by the police and which is unreflective of any police actions out on the street. The canteen culture is merely a way for the police to justify the invasive role of policing amongst their peers. Therefore, what the police say and actually do, are two separate matters. Therefore, cop culture, acts as a 'coping mechanism' (Waddington, 1999:294) and unreflective of police behaviour. However, Reports originating from the inappropriate and offensive behaviour of the Metropolitan Police, such as the Macpherson Report and the recent Hotton Report, have only increased negative perceptions of the existing police culture. As a result, it could be argued that to some extent Waddington's (1999) view of cop culture, is somewhat misguided. These cases have only served to emphasise allegations of prejudice, operating within the police (Leishman et al, 2000).

The positive elements of cop culture have also been acknowledged by Edwards (2005), who identifies how the concept of solidarity, allows the police to enter dangerous situations, safe in the knowledge that their colleagues will protect them. It also encourages more effective teamwork (Loftus, 2010). Therefore, if police culture provides positive mechanisms within policing, **which facilitate the delivery of more desirable criminal justice outcomes**, any reform to the culture, through education or otherwise, could arguably be detrimental to the police themselves and be equivalent to stripping 'cops of their humanity' (Crank, 2014 :iii). Therefore, in **addressing** the negative elements of cop culture, consideration must be given to the ability of education and other concepts, in raising awareness around the negative elements of the culture.

Understanding Cop Culture in the Context of Modern Reform

Cop Culture and the Policing Degree

The introduction of the Policing Education Qualification Framework (PEQF) has brought about a number of challenges for the police, including the transition of police training, away from the police themselves and into the public sphere of higher education. This change has subsequently led to increased positive attitudes amongst police officers (Wimshurst and Ransley, 2007). Where under the PEQF curriculum, the police can study subjects such as criminology; law and ethics, which are vital in impacting upon police practice and behaviour (Steinporsdoffir and Peutursdottir, 2017). This therefore suggests that subject matters found within the Policing Degree Curriculum, are significant contributors to police reform and could potentially influence more positive thought processes of police officers. This can arguably correct any negative practices embedded as part of the police culture. However, for others such as Roberg and Bonn (2004), it isn't the subjects within the curriculum that influence positive attitudes amongst police officers but rather the whole university experience itself, which positively contributes to a police officer's awareness, of both cultural and ethical issues.

Despite Steinporsdoffir and Peutursdottir's (2017) discussion of the perceived benefits of social science education and its positive connection towards police behaviour, others such as Young (1991), have identified issues around the two concepts. Young (1991) for example, has highlighted the discontent felt by the police, around the promotion of social science topics such as criminology and sociology. Both subjects are identified as reform tools, which challenge an existing police status quo. Consequently, any social science research conducted around cop culture, will be met with police suspicion, obstructing any real insight into this sensitive topic (Young, 1991). Therefore, the perceived benefits of police education is not without problems. Further questions also arise, in connection to when officers should receive this education. Worden (1990) for example, argues that effective education, should be embarked upon by police officers prior to their recruitment into the organisation. This ensures police officers are not already embedded with the rigid values originating from cop culture and aren't faced with peer pressure to conform to that culture (Worden, 1990). Furthermore, Paterson (2011) argues, that education should be reserved for those yet to become part of the police. This discussion remains debatable, especially in terms of how police reform can

challenge an existing cop culture, when the successful implementation of more liberal attitudes; beliefs and values of new recruits leaving higher education, are met with the resilience of a more traditional police culture. It could also be presumed that in focussing the Degree towards new recruits, the principle of *them and us* (Reiner, 2010), will continue to exist between new recruits and longer serving officers, thereby maintaining this particular element of cop culture. The timing and the stage at which police officers enter education, is therefore a significant consideration. Further concern is also exhibited around **education's capability in embedding police practical skills (Maddox et al , 2018). Moreover, inaccessibility of obtaining a degree has also led to good operational police officers leaving the job (Surrey Police Federation, 2021), impacting upon the quality of policing expected by the public, especially around preservation of safety. Furthermore, little difference is displayed between lecturers 'pedagogical style' and police trainers, with both exhibiting 'hierarchical control of the norm' (Nikolou- Walker and Meaklim, 2010: No page number) .**

According to Macvean and Cox (2012), police culture starts and continues with those at the fore front of policing and during police in – house training. Here the police gain the desire to become group members and to exist as a team. Individuality is rejected in favour of group acceptance (Foster, 2003). It could therefore be argued that higher education students gaining experience through special constabulary schemes, are already becoming acquainted with the values; prejudices and beliefs of an embedded cop culture. This perspective was supported by Peterson and Uhnou (2012), who argue how cop culture sculpts almost everyone who joins the police, including students who will be under pressure to conform to cop culture, in order to ensure acceptance, into the police cohort (Brown , 1998). This desire to acquiesce and become part of a group, is particularly detrimental for minority groups, who will endure verbal abuse to acquire group status (Rowe, 2014). However Chan (2005) argues, that even though cop culture is a powerful mechanism, whether the culture is accepted or rejected is up to the individuals themselves. Thus, suggesting that cop culture is not powerful enough, to effect individuals in making the choice to conform. This implies that individual choice, contributes to the continuation of this culture.

The positive contribution of education towards a negative cop culture, has been supported by Paoline et al (2015) and Telep (2011), who argue how education provided away from the policing environment, creates a more effective set of beliefs amongst new police officers, where cynicism, as a negative aspect of cop culture (Foster, 2003), is reduced (Paterson, 2011). However, the notion that education can positively impact upon an existing cop

culture, isn't supported by everyone. Smith and Aamodt (1997) for example, argue that training and experience are just as important in developing effective police officers. This suggests that although the Policing Degree has benefits for the recruit, it does not necessarily create a more competent police officer. Education therefore cannot be identified as an all-encompassing solution for the police, especially in regard to diversity issues (Molden, 1999). However, other academics such as Roberg and Bonn (2004 : No page number), reject this view by arguing that higher education does in fact create police officers, who are more 'understanding of minorities'.

Despite the value of education and its potential contribution to changing a negative cop culture, Bayley (2011) argues that universities themselves, require reform as they are less rational than the police and fail to focus on desired objectives. **Furthermore, students can still be exposed to police culture through ex- police lecturers (Cox and Kirby, 2018). This subsequently questions the ability of higher education to embed more liberal attitudes, away from police in house training.** If this is the case, other solutions towards reforming cop culture, must be identified.

Alternatives to Education in Reform.

Although education through the PEQF, has the potential to reform negative aspects of cop culture, several other alternatives for reform have also been suggested. Marks (2000) for example, rejects education as the solution to police reform arguing that internal challenge from within the police, would be more beneficial in addressing cop culture principles. Brown (1998) adopts a similar perspective by acknowledging how change is adopted through the character and strength of minority groups. This strength increases via the attainment of a pre-service qualification, which arguably expands the resilience of police officers against negative attitudes (Telep, 2011). Through universities, individuals develop a more dignified approach to others (Carlan and Byxbe, 2000). Therefore, challenge together with education, can potentially strengthen against a negative cop culture. However, any challenge to an existing status quo within policing, has the potential to lead to resistance and alienation from policing groups, as addressed earlier by Rabe -Hemp (2008). However, for Peterson and Uhnou (2012) voicing a concern, is the only credible way to eradicate racial discrimination or abusive behaviour towards minority groups.

According to Near and Miceli (1986), if an organisation is dependent upon wrongful behaviour, they are more likely to continue with the activity. It could therefore be argued that

as cop culture is embedded within the police, both positively (ie, as a coping mechanism) and also negatively (for example, solidarity going too far), then the police are reliant upon it. Consequently, any internal challenge, is unlikely to create any change within the police. This was evident within the Hotton Report, where some police officers remained silent, as a result of a lack of confidence in the Metropolitan Police, to deal with inappropriate conduct effectively. Despite this argument, Gottschalk and Holgerson (2011) highlight the positives of whistle blowing, which can lead to positive developments within an organisation and reduce wrongful behaviour. This supports Mark's (2000) theory, regarding the importance of an internal challenge to the system.

Another mechanism for reforming cop culture, is presented by Loftus (2012), who argues how increased levels of diversity within the police , will weaken an embedded cop culture. **However, it must be acknowledged that diversity does not stop at visible demographics but can extend to cognitive diversity, where those with different backgrounds and experiences, have the ability to think differently to others, and can facilitate wisdom and innovation within problem solving (Syed, 2021). Yet, achieving cognitive diversity maybe difficult, due to the police reliance on similarity of 'attitudes and behaviour' (Paoline, 2003:203).**

Increasing diversity was a recommendation of The Scarman Report, which was published in 1981, in response to The Brixton Riots (House of Lords, 1981), which had taken place following the oppressive treatment by the police towards BAME groups, who are generally defined as, 'all minority ethnic groups, except those that are white' (Aspinall, 2021: No page number).

The Scarman Report (House of Lords, 1981), although failing to acknowledge any institutional racism in the police, did acknowledge the need for increasing BAME recruits, to represent a more diverse society (B.B.C News, 2004). Further recommendations for increasing diversity within the police, were also presented and published within the Macpherson Report (Home Office, 1999). This Report originated from police failings within the investigation of the racial hatred murder of Stephen Lawrence. Identified as **a pinnacle moment for race relations within UK Policing, it highlighted the Metropolitan Police as institutionally racist and advocated for improved race relations between the police and BAME groups, through 'major changes in the law, policing' and 'treatment of racist crimes' (Parliament, 2021: No page number).** The Report once again highlighted, the under representation of BAME groups within the police (B.B.C News, 1999). However, despite the

recommendations within both Reports, the police are still failing to attract a more diverse network of police officers into the organisation. This is demonstrated through the low number of minority group members, currently serving as police officers. According to Gov.UK (2021), as of March 2021, 92.4 % of the police in England and Wales were white and 7.6 % were from BAME minorities. Whilst female police officers accounted for 32.4% of the police in England and Wales.

According to Alderden et al (2017), greater diversity, assists in the creation of an organisation, which appears fair and brings together a variation of perspectives regarding criminal justice, which inevitably will have a positive impact upon those within the organisation. **This has been supported by Syed (2021), who highlights the benefits that come from an *outsider mindset*, where those external to the police demographic, are able to offer new ideas.** Therefore, to be successful, diversity must be more than a token measure within an organisation (Ely and Thomas, 2001). However, this concept isn't easy, as was identified by Van Ewijk (2011), who argued how demanding shift patterns; fear of hostility from friends and family (as a result of choosing this career choice) and also low numbers of minority group members being employed within the organisation, all factor in the low number of minority groups working within the police. Martin (1994) for example, acknowledges how outsiders tend to focus on the negative elements of the police culture, which are often over emphasised. This contrasts with police officer perspectives, who appear to reject the existence of it (Martin, 1994). Negative perceptions of the culture, could therefore influence an individual's decision not to join the policing organisation. This is supported by Van Ewijk (2011), who maintains that cop culture, remains the greatest obstacle for individuals looking to join the police. Thus highlighting once again, how negative aspects of cop culture can produce a barrier to its reform, especially with regards to diversity.

Challenging Cop Culture :Transformational Leadership.

The final method presented for reforming the police organisation and its negative elements of the culture, is through transformational leadership. This requires change at a higher level than that presented by uniform or street level officers and involves a review of leadership style. McCartney and Parent (2015) argue that large organisations such as the police, operate under both transactional and transformational leadership styles. However, it is transactional leadership that is predominantly utilised, which is akin to a military style of law enforcement. McCartney and Parent (2015) argue that transactional leadership, offers a very inflexible

style, which seeks to maintain the conservativeness of the police, where decisions are made by leaders themselves, without any consultation with their workers. In contrast transformational leadership, looks towards a shared goal, whereby leaders empower subordinates to make the right decisions. This is often demonstrated, through the use of police officer discretion (Bass, 1990).

Transformational leadership is ‘the idea that leaders can change their follower’s assumptions and behaviours, by appealing to their higher order needs, which can inspire them by stimulating them intellectually and by communicating a convincing vision’ (Weiherl and Masal , 2016 : No page number). Transformational leadership is therefore concerned with the welfare of individual officers and giving them the confidence to make decisions, and allowing them to be part of a process, which challenges the ‘status quo’(Weiherl and Masal, 2016: No page number). According to Weiherl and Masal (2016) by allowing officers to challenge the status quo, transformational leaders nurture officers to question their existing views and present them with the chance to embrace change. It also has the benefit of uniting and positively developing the behaviour of employees (Masal, 2015). Therefore, it could be argued that through concepts such as **Direct Entry Schemes into the police, ideas from a diverse community can be shared through transformational leadership, whilst also motivating officers to feel part of the organisation (Silvestri, 2003). Therefore, creating transparency within police culture (Home Office, 2013:2). This role of increasing diversity into leadership roles, is currently being implemented through the *Police Now* Programme, which seeks to address and develop diversity within police leadership (Police Now, 2022).** As a result, it could be suggested that cop culture reform, requires a more committed adherence to a style of leadership, rather than through any changes made through education.

Potential reluctance to commit to a new form of leadership may also be exhibited, when officers perceive that their own interests are being disregarded, to increase organisational efficiency (Shim et al, 2015). This view may be indicative of a them and us culture operating between management and uniform officers. Furthermore, basic officer skills, such as interpersonal relationships and the ability to problem solve (College of Policing, 2022b), are likely to remain resolute and resistant to change, regardless of any leadership style. In addition, it has also been acknowledged that there is still resistance in the provision of autonomy required within the process of shared leadership (Masal 2015). Again, highlighting the power of the culture, as an obstacle to reform (O’Neill and Singh, 2007).

It has been argued that transformational leadership cannot be taught but instead is a trait that individuals are born with. Further problems also exist around the psychological demand placed upon employees, under this leadership style (Niessen et al, 2017) and its inability to deal with dangerous situations (Pawar, 2004). There are also restrictions around the use of transformational leadership, connected to 'formalisation'. Formalisation occurs when formal procedures such as regulations or policies, restrict concepts of 'innovation' and 'flexibility' amongst police officers (Van Der Voet et al, 2016 : No page number)

Despite the negative elements argued to exist under transformational leadership, Kendrick (2011: 14) highlights how transformational leadership, creates both a 'valuable and positive change' in its followers. This could potentially counter negative attitudes and beliefs within cop culture, creating an opportunity for reform. Through transformational leadership, supervisors play a fundamental role in implementing change from the top levels of the police, through to uniformed officers (Phillips and Terrell-Orr, 2013). Therefore, the positives of this leadership style, could potentially outweigh any perceived negatives, especially when combining this form of leadership with other initiatives, such as increased diversity and education.

Conclusion

This study has reviewed potential strategies for reform of the police organisation, through consideration of concepts such as education, diversity and transformational leadership, in an attempt to address the negative aspects of cop culture. This follows the IOPC publication of the Hotton Report, into inappropriate behaviour displayed by some members of the Metropolitan Police, based in London, UK.

This paper highlighted how education can assist in creating a more liberal set of values, which can challenge the negative elements of police culture. However, the introduction of PEQF Students into the police may inadvertently prove to be negative, in the creation of a further sub- culture of them and us, operating between the relationship of new and older serving members of the police. Further concern is also identified, around the ability of higher education, to provide officers with the skills required to conduct their role, whilst also acknowledging how good officers are leaving the police, due to non-achievement of the Policing Degree. However, education potentially remains a positive aspect towards the reform of a negative police culture, creating optimistic belief systems, which can contribute to a much needed understanding around diversity (Roberg and Bonn, 2004). New policy

should therefore ensure that programmes which seek to increase diversity within the police, form part of the PEQF curriculum, in order to educate new recruits around the benefits of programmes such as Police Now, which seek to encourage diversity amongst the police in England and Wales.

The second strategy reviewed, was increased diversity within the police, where increasing the numbers of minority groups, would prove to be beneficial in allowing more opportunity for internal challenge towards prejudicial views. There is also acknowledgement around the benefits of introducing diverse perspectives, as a way to problem solve and create innovation. However, it remains unclear how the police can increase diversity, when police attempts to recruit a more diverse workforce have been slow (Welsh et al, 2021). The answer therefore may lie with minority groups themselves, who may be better placed to provide reassurance to potential recruits, around the prevailing culture (Bhugowandeen, 2013). Increased support by Staff Associations is also key to increasing and supporting diversity within the police, as highlighted by the Hotton Report. However, members of Staff Associations must be recruited beyond the current police demographic, to benefit from the knowledge and wisdom of an outsider mindset.

The final strategy reviewed was transformational leadership. This leadership style can arguably provide valuable and positive changes amongst its followers and address negative elements of cop culture. This leadership style will allow police officers to share their ideas and feel part of the organisation. However, implementation of transformational leadership is not easy, as police officers must identify the value of this leadership, as more than a strategy of police efficiency. Furthermore, there must be acknowledgement that transformational leadership is vital as a mode of study, within the PEQF curriculum, where students can be educated on its use and discuss details for its implementation within policing.

In addressing the above considerations for policy, a real concerted effort can be made in addressing a negative cop culture. Therefore, it is vital that each of the strategies do not operate in silo but instead combine, to provide the greatest step towards cultural reform. Furthermore, researchers must be allowed access into the heart of the police, to ensure a greater understanding of police 'values; attitudes; prejudices and working practices (Waddington, 2008:203)'. This can assist in providing an opportunity to reinforce the public's trust and confidence towards the police. However, until such research is permitted, cop culture remains '...the most powerful force on police behaviour (Edwards, 2005:164)'.

Declaration of Interest

The author declares there is no conflict of interest.

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