

# Time for Justice? Long Working Hours and the Well-Being of Police Inspectors

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## Executive Summary

- ❖ Pressures on the Police Service from politicians and the public have intensified in recent years, especially under the Coalition Government's Comprehensive Spending Review and the mantra of 'more for less'.
- ❖ The Inspecting Ranks have experienced a disproportionate reduction in personnel in recent years and more responsibilities have been cascaded down the ranks to this critical level, placing additional strains on two already stretched Ranks within the Police Service.
- ❖ Long working hours have always been a feature of police work, creating growing concerns about the impact of excessive and unpredictable hours of work on the health of individual Inspectors, the strains this can impose on family life and work-life balance, and the adverse effects this has on the efficiency and effectiveness of the Police Service.
- ❖ While Inspectors willingly reported their ill-health in response to the ICC surveys, and in many cases included very personal narratives on their own wellbeing and disrupted family life, they are reluctant to raise any concerns with their employer or indeed refuse to work excessive hours. For most, long hours and the associated ill effects are simply accepted as part of the job. Others fear it will harm their promotion prospects. Many more are resigned to the fact that senior managers won't listen or don't care.
- ❖ Female Inspectors in general and part-time female Inspectors in particular, find it particularly difficult to achieve an appropriate work-life balance within the Inspecting Ranks. Most are resigned to putting their careers and professional development 'on hold' when they have caring responsibilities to attend to.
- ❖ Overtime pay was 'bought out' of Inspectors' contracts in 1994, which creates additional health risks as workers who must endure compulsory and unremunerated overtime are far more likely to experience 'occupational burn out'.
- ❖ Police Inspectors regularly work in excess of the 48 hours limit specified in the Working Time Regulations. One-in-four Inspectors in England and Wales reported working more than 48 hours in the reference week and one-in-ten reported working more than 56 hours. In Scotland, one-in-four reported working in excess of 52 hours in the reference week and one-in-ten reported working over 60 hours.
- ❖ There is often no accurate record of Inspectors' hours and there is currently no incentive for either the employer or the Inspector to keep a systematic record. For Inspectors, the cost (time) of dealing with inflexible IT systems used to officially record their hours is not justified by the possible benefit of recovering excessive hours in the future. For their part, police Forces have an 'interest in ignorance' as they are increasingly reliant on excessive working hours and they know that systematic recording would reveal multiple breaches of the Working Time Regulations.
- ❖ A further measure of excessive hours is accrued hours ('time owed') which can be taken back as shorter days and/or re-rostered rest days. Ninety per cent of Inspectors reported 'time owed' but most have little chance of ever fully taking time back because of insufficient staff to provide cover (lack of resilience).

- ❖ Although Inspectors have formal discretion over working beyond the 40 hours norm, the demands of the job and their professional pride ‘compel’ them to work ‘excessive hours’ (defined as 48 hours per week). When faced with a lack of resilience in the Police Service, their response tends to be ‘individual heroics’ (i.e. doing what it takes to get the job done, including working very long hours), which is encouraged or at least permitted by a Police Service that is now dependent on Inspectors working ‘beyond the call of duty’.
  
- ❖ Nearly 44 per cent of Inspectors in England and Wales, and over 38 per cent in Scotland, reported ill-health which they attributed to long hours of work. The majority – 53 per cent in England and Wales and 57 per cent in Scotland – reported that long working hours had an adverse effect on family relationships. Inspectors’ social life, personal hobbies and fitness were all victims of long working hours.

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## Abbreviations

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ASHE	Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings
ASPS	Association of Scottish Police Superintendents
BAWP	British Association for Women in Policing
BCU	Basic Command Unit
BHPS	British Household Panel Survey
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BOCU	Borough Operational Command Unit (MPS)
CARMS	Computer Aided Resource Management System
CI	Chief Inspector
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
CSR	Comprehensive Spending Review
DCI	Detective Chief Inspector
DI	Detective Inspector
DMS	Duty Management System
E&W	England & Wales
EWTD	European Working Time Directive
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
HOC	Home Office Circular
HR	Human Resources
IBB	Inspectors' Branch Board
ICC	Inspectors' Central Committee
IPCC	Independent Police Complaints Commission
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
NPIA	National Policing Improvement Agency
NPM	New Public Management
OCU	Operational Control Unit
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
ONS	Office for National Statistics
PACE	Police and Criminal Evidence Act
PCSO	Police Community Support Officer
PFEW	Police Federation England & Wales
PNB	Police Negotiating Board
PSAEW	Police Superintendents' Association of England & Wales
RTA	Road Traffic Accident
SIO	Senior Investigating Officer
SMT	Senior Management Team
SOP	Standard Operating Procedures
SPF	Scottish Police Federation
SWIP	Senior Women in Policing
TOIL	Time Off in Lieu
VSA	Variable Shift Arrangement
WLB	Work-life Balance
WTR	Working Time Regulations

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## **Time for Justice? Long Working Hours and the Well-Being of Police Inspectors**

### **I. Introduction**

Is there no longer time for justice in the Police Service? Consider this account from a Detective Inspector who worked 64 hours during the week in which the following incident took place:

*I commenced work at 07:00. I drove to a conference with Counsel prior to trial due to start the next day in another Force Area. Counsel identified a raft of urgent work to do in relation to sensitive disclosure issues, which had to be dealt with immediately. This necessitated me working through the night, only leaving my office at 04:15. I then went home, arriving at 04:45 and had 45mins in bed (probably only 20 minutes actual sleep). I was back up again at 05:30. In reality I only went home so I could get showered, shaved and change my shirt ready for Crown Court. I was back in my office at 07:00 ready to see a witness to get an essential statement at their home at 08:00. I then drove to Crown Court in the other Force Area to deal with the Public Interest Immunity issues, which required me to work a further 14 hours, including a 2 hour drive each way to/from Court. Due to the pressure on me to get the work Counsel had requested completed in time, and the lack of resilience in Force admin support, I had to phone my wife to meet me at my office (the previous day) at 19:30. She worked until 23:50, assisting me with typing reports in relation to the disclosure. She is not in the Police and works full time. She had to be back up herself at 06:00 to go to her 'proper' job. I realise that this is highly irregular but I had no viable alternative. There is no call out rota for Typists!*

Many police Inspectors in England, Wales and Scotland routinely work in excess of the 48 hours limit specified in the Working Time Regulations (WTR), beyond which there are well documented ill-effects for both the individual and the organisation. When officers who occupy a critical Rank in the Police Service habitually work beyond the call of duty, their health and family relationships/work-life balance (WLB) suffer, as does the quality of service provided to the communities they serve. Following the murder of Arsema Dawit (aged 15 years) in June 2008, the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC) expressed its concerns about the heavy workload of the Inspectors involved in the case, which IPCC commissioner Rachel Cerfontyne described as 'almost unmanageable', with the consequent 'risk it creates of cases falling through the net' (*Guardian*, 19 October 2010).

*It constantly felt as though you were playing Russian roulette. At some point a mistake would inevitably be made on your watch which you wouldn't pick up on due to overwork. When that occurred you expected to be hung out to dry. When I joined 'the Job', there were three Inspectors covering the Duty Officer role in my first BOCU. Now there is one. Those three inspectors weren't sitting around and doing nothing. They were 'inspecting', checking things, making sure people were doing their jobs properly and standards were being maintained. This approach is one of the first casualties when you reduce front line supervisors. The effects are not seen immediately so senior bosses assume everything's OK (Region 8 Operational Inspector, male 23 years service).<sup>1</sup>*

Arsema Dawit is not the only person to be 'failed by the system'. Even with the extraordinary levels of commitment and professional pride displayed by the Inspecting Ranks, an overworked Police Service cannot maintain the standards expected by society, communities and individual citizens. As Section II documents, standards may prove even more difficult to maintain as the Coalition Government seeks to cut costs and squeeze 'more for less' from the Police Service.



In the face of growing concerns amongst the Inspecting Ranks, the Police Federation of England and Wales (PFEW) decided to undertake a survey of its members in January 2011, focusing on working time and well-being. A second survey was undertaken in Scotland in September 2011. The surveys are described in Section III. Appendix II provides more detail on the survey and methods of data analysis.

It is well established that long or ‘excessive’ working hours can lead to highly detrimental outcomes for the worker, his or her family, the employing organisation, and the customers (or citizens) it serves – health, family relationships, and the quality of service all suffer decrements. Such deleterious effects are magnified when employees are long hours ‘conscripts’ rather than ‘volunteers’ (i.e. enforced overtime) and in particular when conscripted hours are unremunerated. Inspectors routinely work unpredictable and enforced overtime due to the ‘exigencies of duty’ and a lack of resilience. Moreover, the overtime pay of Inspectors was ‘bought out’ in 1994. This places the Inspecting Ranks in the ‘high risk’ group for ‘occupational burnout’. Excessive working hours are defined in Section IV, alongside a discussion of some of the adverse effects that are found to characterise ‘time greedy’ organisations such as the Police Service.

The surveys of Inspectors in both England and Wales and Scotland returned a high response – indicative of the importance of these issues to the Inspecting Ranks – and were found to be representative of the general population of police Inspectors in terms of gender, age, rank, roles, etc. The composition of the survey respondents is described in Section V before we turn to the analysis of their working hours in Section VI.

Based on the definitions of long or excessive working hours (Section IV), the Inspecting Ranks are found to be regularly working ‘beyond the call of duty’ (Section VI). In England and Wales, the ‘typical’ Inspector can expect to work 47 (median) to 48 (mean) hours per week, and even longer in Scotland (50 hours). At least one-in-five Inspectors in England and Wales worked more than 49 hours per week while in Scotland one-in-four worked in 54 hours or more per week. In addition, it is common for Inspectors to work on their rest days, to be ‘on-call’, to undertake unrecorded work at home on a daily basis, and to accumulate excess hours and days that they find impossible to re-roster as short days or rest days.

The ever increasing demands on the Police Service – from politicians and the public alike – when coupled with a falling resource and cuts in personnel (see Section II) undermine resilience within the Inspecting Ranks both at an organisational and individual level. The ever increasing demands on the Police Service – from politicians and the public alike – compound a lack of resilience within the Inspecting Ranks, which have experienced disproportionate cuts in personnel in recent years (Section II). The only reason there are not many more cases such as Arsema Dawit is because of the professional commitment and ‘individual heroics’ of the Inspecting Ranks. However, whilst individual heroics (e.g. excessive working hours) might keep the Service ‘working’, this serves only to exacerbate the fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes that have been well documented in recent years.<sup>2</sup> This, in turn, compounds the lack of resilience within the Inspecting Ranks, creating even greater demands for long working hours which all the time erode the health of the individual and the efficiency and effectiveness of the Police Service.

This ‘vicious circle’ of working time pressures leading to a lack of resilience, to individual heroics, to fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes, to an even more acute lack of resilience, even greater demands for compulsory and unremunerated overtime, etc, is briefly described in Section VII. Subsequent Sections examine each component of this vicious circle in more detail, namely: the lack of resilience within the Inspecting Ranks (Section VIII); the pressures on individuals to work excessive

hours, including the ‘can do’ (masculine) culture of police work that fosters individual heroics (Section IX); and the ways in which the (mis)management of the Inspecting Ranks compounds the fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes that characterise the British Police Service (Section X).

The consequences of the working time squeeze, for both individuals and the Police Service, are discussed in Sections XI and XII. Not only do Inspectors suffer adverse effects in their health and family lives, they seem reluctant to discuss the pressures they face and the ailments they endure with their senior/line managers or Force HR department. This suggests that the Police Service may be ‘unaware’ of the nature and extent of these problems, or more likely can conveniently ignore these problems whilst relentlessly pursuing the goal of ‘more for less’. But in failing in its duty of care to its workforce, the Police Service is also failing the citizens it has a duty to protect. Inspectors need time to their jobs, for their own sake and the benefit of the Police Service. How the Police Service might better protect the well-being of the Inspecting Ranks and the communities it serves is the focus of the final Section XIII.

## **II. The Scene of the Crime: Policing and Police Reform in the 21st Century**

While there might be a perception in some quarters that the Police Service is the last ‘unreformed public service’, it has in fact experienced quite frenetic reform over the past 20 years.<sup>3</sup> Policing, like much of the public sector, ‘has been subject to reforms that have attempted to bring about a shift from bureaucratic to market- and network-oriented governance’.<sup>4</sup> Mrs Thatcher’s government, for example, sought to improve efficiency through market mechanisms.<sup>5</sup> Under the new public management (NPM)<sup>6</sup> epitomised by the Sheehy Inquiry,<sup>7</sup> budgets were devolved, new targets were introduced, and independent members appointed to police authorities were often recruited from a business background. The maelstrom of (top-down) reform continued under the New Labour Government,<sup>8</sup> with the tightening of the targets regime and considerable pressure for reform of leadership and the workforce.<sup>9</sup> This was also a time when modern democratic countries such as the UK ‘reached a watershed in the evolution of their systems of crime control and law enforcement ... a time when one system of policing ended and another took its place’.<sup>10</sup> A new ‘community narrative’<sup>11</sup> of police reform took centre-stage, based on the principle of ‘evidence-based policy’ – that is, ‘what works to reduce offending’.<sup>12</sup> In transforming the police from a ‘force’ to a ‘community service’ the emphasis was now on ‘joint working’ and ‘policing by co-operation’, with the private sector identified as a key partner in tackling crime.<sup>13</sup>

Critics cautioned that the new approach sometimes appeared to work the other way around (i.e. ‘policy-based evidence-making’) with evidence sought or created after the policy had already been determined.<sup>14</sup> The ‘evidence’ on policing, as Peter Neyroud has sought to demonstrate, ‘is rarely neutral and often has a different meaning to different actors in the policy process’.<sup>15</sup> What the government might propose as ‘fighting crime’ is often interpreted, and experienced, very differently by those who are tasked to deliver. This last point applies especially to the Inspecting Ranks who carry an ever increasing operational and management responsibility and who are held accountable for their own and other officers’ actions. A widely held view within the Inspecting Ranks is that: *“Inspector is the rank where the buck stops”* (Region 3 Inspector, male 26 years service).<sup>16</sup>

As part of the reorganisation of the Police Service, divisions have been replaced by Basic Command Units (BCUs)<sup>17</sup> and Sub-Divisions by Sectors, with the Inspecting Ranks charged with responsibility for performance under this new structure. For example, geographical areas previously commanded by a Chief Superintendent or Superintendent are now, more often than not, the responsibility of Chief Inspectors and Inspectors. In the words of a Community Inspector from Region 8, *“responsibilities*

which were in the past 'higher up the food chain' have devolved downwards adding to the pressures" (male 26 years service). Additional responsibilities have also been transferred from Superintendent to Inspector under PACE (Police and Criminal Evidence Act) while Detective Inspectors and Chief Inspectors are increasingly deployed as Senior Investigating Officers (SIOs). All these changes add to the pressures of the job, as previous studies of the Inspecting Ranks have carefully documented.<sup>18</sup>

The current Coalition Government's clarion call of 'more for less', with talk of 'scaling back' and 'de-layering' the Police Service, is causing further anxiety amongst the Inspecting Ranks.<sup>19</sup> In the words of a Region 8 Chief Inspector, "*The current mantra of more for less cannot continue indefinitely as ultimately if activity is not focused to fit the budget you are going to achieve less for less*" (male 19 years service). While the Government's stated intention is to allow the police 'to use their discretion and professional judgement',<sup>20</sup> there will still be pressure on policing to meet performance targets from politicians and Ministers, pressure to reduce costs from the Treasury, and pressure to improve service from communities.<sup>21</sup> And yet we still want a service that is 'close to citizens and that is balanced, effective, reliable, resourceful, rights respecting, trustworthy, non-violent, and humane'.<sup>22</sup> In the absence of a clear, coherent and agreed strategy that sets out how ever more stringent performance targets and financial criteria are to be met with decreasing resources, the Inspecting and other Ranks face a squeeze on their time as everyone is (micro) managed by those 'higher up in the food chain'.

#### Modern-Day Policing

*The Police Service has become stretched by too many 'non-jobs' created by politicians and ACPO to make their job easier but have nothing to do with providing a police service. We have become slaves to providing figures, and not what we actually did to resolve the issue. This is not considered until something goes wrong. Then we have a witch hunt, find someone to blame by hiding behind impossible to understand or follow Force policies, and then tell everyone: 'We will learn from the mistakes'. We then finalise by having a further inquest and then get some bright spark to create a new form/policy/ process and a civilian post to administer it. With so few of us, soon it will take somebody in Government to look at the police and make a final decision on: 1. What we were created to do, 2. Things we lawfully have to do within our job description, 3. Things we would like to do, 4. Things we do but nobody knows why, and 5. Things we do because no one else will or we do their job for them. The chance of anybody having the bottle to do this is as likely as me sorting the Middle East crisis. We are sinking quicker than a bottomless submarine (Region 3 DI, male 27 years service).*

The target culture that has been embedded in the Police Service in recent years, putting the emphasis on 'doing the thing right' rather than 'doing the right thing', has shifted the focus of too many police officers onto 'what gets counted', which can lead to 'unhelpful competition between forces rather than co-operation'.<sup>23</sup> In a series of reports on *Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing*, Jan Berry has highlighted the diversion of skills and resources 'to meet the quantitative requirements of arrest quotas, while the real problems of communities can be overlooked'.<sup>24</sup> When a third of police effort is either over-engineered, duplicated, or creates no added value,<sup>25</sup> this creates additional work and working time 'to get the job done properly'. This, in turn, can sap morale and undermine trust between officers and the Police Service. Crucially, the less control employees have over what they are expected to do and the outcome of their efforts, the more stress they are likely to experience.<sup>26</sup> Lack of control is a prominent feature of NPM in the Police Service, with many initiatives characterised by top-down, assertive and even intimidating forms of management.<sup>27</sup> But perhaps the real danger of continual change and ever increasing pressure on the Inspecting and other ranks is not so much the organisational stressors it creates, 'but the real possibility of the onset of "change fatigue" and permanent cynicism'.<sup>28</sup>

If this happens, then the quality of service provided by the police will be seriously compromised.

### Bureaucracy, Performance and Change

*There is undoubtedly slack in the system and we are feeling the pain somewhat because rather than the organisation 'reining things in' in the past as it should have, it allowed things to drift. However, we are now reaching a critical point where the pressures from HQ around performance and the resultant 'knee jerk' reactions to the latest crisis do mean that we are forever chasing our tails ... The organisation expects more and more from the Inspectors, requiring more and more forms, etc, but is reducing numbers to a point where individuals will 'drop themselves in it'. I am conscious of the number of Inspectors in various 'admin' roles whose function appears to be pushing out the latest hoop so that the few left on OCU can jump through it! (Region 8 Community Inspector, male 26 years service).*

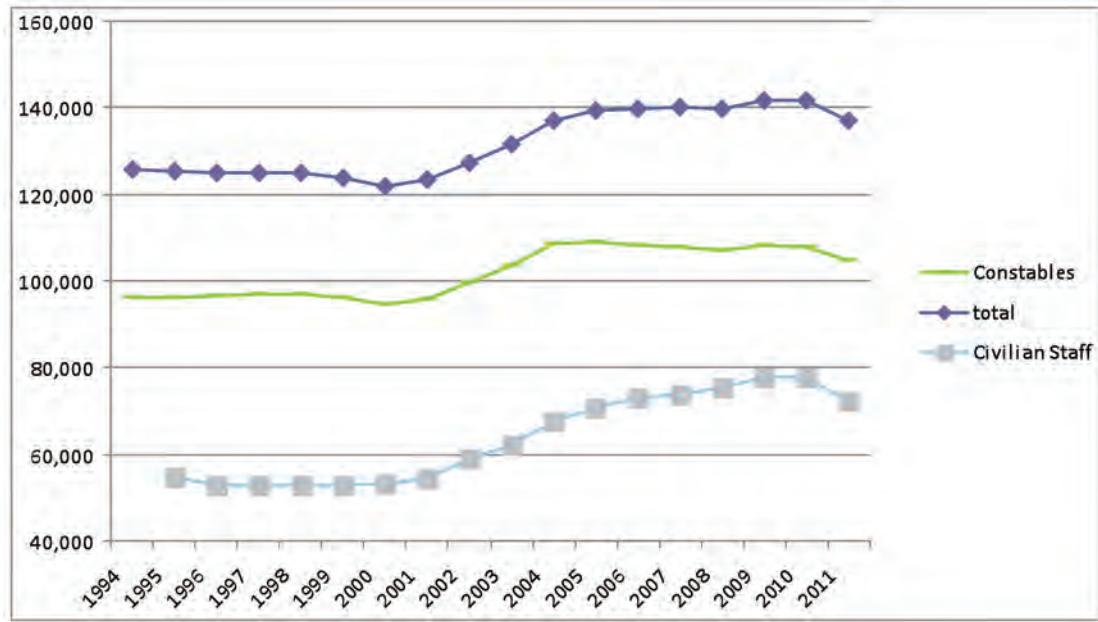
*Over the past number of years the bureaucracy has become nothing other than an absolute nightmare for all staff. New processes supposed to enhance are invariably a backward step and all for what? Stats? It used to be, for example, a simple summary report could be written in an hour – now minimum 4 hours due to the array of 'necessary' forms. Bombardment of info – a lot of it completely unnecessary. More and more interference from central government with never ending requests for info and no one at the top having the moral fibre to say 'stop, enough is enough' (Scotland Operational Inspector, male 32 years service).*

*A large amount of the time spent at work is spent looking backwards to ensure your back has been covered ... it is the negative side of policing that encourages a 'need to know everything' culture so that you can conform to a performance culture. Until the Police Service, from the top down, generates a sound business ethos of trust within its middle management, the long hour's culture will continue amongst those seeking career development or promotion. Unfortunately, those not minded in that way become de-motivated (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 20 years service).*

*I have been a Chief Inspector for 6 years. The role is constantly evolving, which is part of the problem ... it is never allowed to settle for us to see what works and what doesn't. Over the past 2 years in particular the pace and scope of change has been dramatic ... work comes upwards and well as downwards ... Headquarters seem to think that CI's have a bottomless pit of unused capacity (Scotland Operational CI, male 28 years service).*

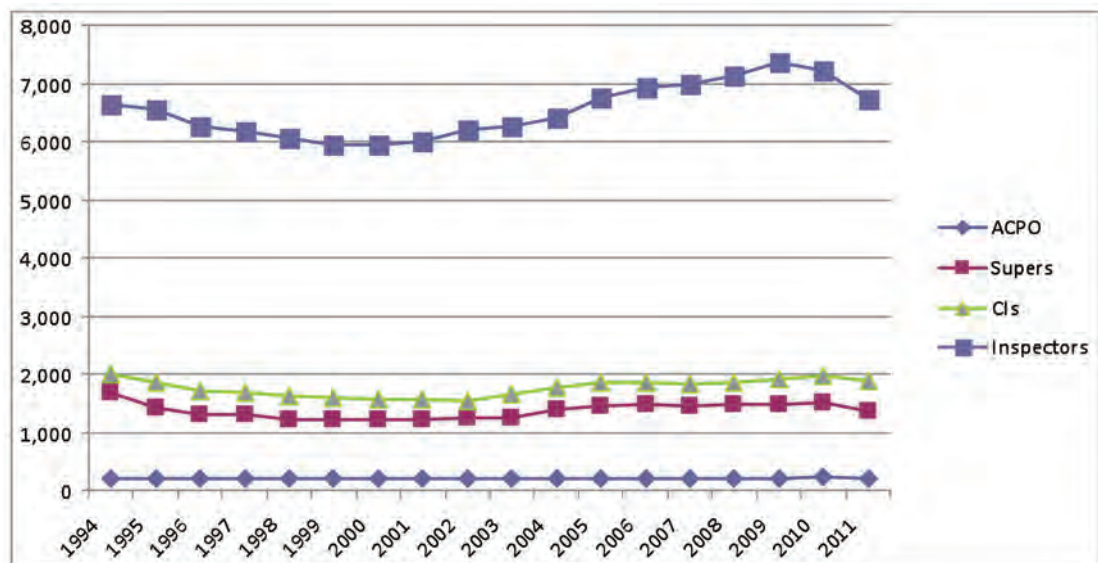
Figure 1 depicts the changing total of (sworn) police officers in England and Wales over the past 18 years, alongside the (non-sworn) civilian staff (e.g. administration and Community Support Officers) whose numbers increased sharply after 2001 under New Labour's community policing policy.<sup>29</sup> Following the election of the current Coalition Government and a Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR) in June 2010, police numbers began to fall back. This decline is especially marked in the Inspecting Ranks (i.e. Inspectors and Chief Inspectors, DIs and DCIs), depicted in Figure 2 alongside data plots for Superintendents and the Chief Officer Ranks represented by ACPO.<sup>30</sup> While the total force strength declined by 3.3 per cent between 2009 and 2011, the Inspecting Ranks declined by 8.6 per cent.<sup>31</sup>

Figure 1. Total Police Force Strength, Constables and Civilian Staff, 1994-2011 (England & Wales)



Note: The total figure includes ACPO, Superintendents, Chief Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables.

Figure 2. Chief Officer and Inspecting Ranks, 1994-2011 (England & Wales)



Notes: "Supers" includes Chief Superintendents and Superintendents.

"CIs" – Chief Inspectors

### More for Less

*Working excessive hours comes with the Chief Inspector role. Cuts in police funding have resulted in the senior management team locally being reduced by 30% (was Chief Superintendent, Superintendent, three Chief Inspectors and Detective Chief Inspector – now Superintendent, two Chief Inspectors and Detective Chief Inspector) so this is going to get much worse as the work hasn't gone away, just the people. I have 30 years and 10 months service and want to stay at work as I love my job, but I don't know how much longer I can sustain this pattern of work before I have to retire for my own health and wellbeing (Region 3 Operational CI, male 30 years service).*

*Before the 'Credit Crunch' there were 18 officers performing the role of Duty Inspector in my Force. In 2009 an internal report recommended a minimum of 16 officers perform the role to ensure sufficient availability and resilience. Following an internal force-wide 'One Team' review that is about improving how we respond to the needs of the public and not about saving money our strength has been reduced to 12 working a shift roster that will force changes in duties due to a lack of resilience. But then our Chief Constable did recently put an entry on his 'blog' stating there was no evidence shift work is bad for your health! (Region 1 Community Inspector, male 18 years service).<sup>32</sup>*

*My role has expanded to cover the whole [Force] whereas previously I covered A, B, G divisions. The department had sixteen Inspectors and now has eight with no reduction in workload and an expectation of covering the whole [Force] from the Police and Reducing Crime Unit. Of the eight Inspectors who are left, two are about to retire and another is day shift (management support). A gallon out of a pint pot one cannot get! (Scotland Traffic Inspector, male 28 years service).*

With increasing demands on the police combined with a squeeze on resources, the ability of the Police Service to deliver on the Government's pledge to cut crime and the public's expectations must be open to question. In the words of Professor Robert Reiner, when called upon to deliver on crime fighting, 'the thin blue line turned out to be a Maginot line. The most important address for crime control is not Scotland Yard but 11 Downing Street'.<sup>33</sup>

### **III. Gathering the Evidence: A Dialogue of Listening**

If opinion polls and the media are anything to go by, 'law and order' is surpassed only by the economy and, from time-to-time, health, education and the global environment in the concerns of the British public. Unfortunately, this has often skewed the debate on police reforms towards public opinion rather than the research evidence,<sup>34</sup> much to the dismay of many Inspectors.<sup>35</sup> The research evidence is in fact considerable, including both independent (university-based) research and studies commissioned by the Police Federation of England & Wales (PFEW), Scottish Police Federation (SPF), and other professional associations (e.g. ACPO, ASPS, BAWP and PSAEW). This creates opportunities for policing policy and future reform to be informed by robust theory and reliable evidence, instead of the 'dialogue of the deaf' that has characterised the policy-making process in the past.<sup>36</sup>

The centrepiece of the current study is a census survey of the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales conducted during the first quarter of 2011 and in Scotland during the third quarter of 2011. A self-completion (internet) survey was sent to all 8,770 live email addresses held by the ICC for the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales and 1,121 email addresses held by the ICC for Scotland (see Appendix II). The context of this later survey was rather different, with the Scottish study coming after the publication of the Winsor Report<sup>37</sup> and of course the riots in London and several other major cities in England. For this reason, the results for the Scottish Police Inspectors are reported separately.

The surveys included an hours' diary for the reference week, beginning 24th January 2011 (England and Wales) and 5th September (Scotland), which were chosen as 'typical' working weeks. Many Inspectors in England and Wales were clearly disappointed by the fact that the survey week was 'atypical' in terms of their own working hours (i.e. far fewer hours than normal), as several quotes reported below serve to illustrate. But this is precisely the point of conducting a survey of all Inspectors during a *normal* working week – some will be above their typical hours, others will be below, but the net effect will be to provide an accurate picture of working time across the Inspecting Ranks as a whole.<sup>38</sup>

#### An 'Unusual' Week for Some

*In true 'sods law' tradition this week was a particularly light week. When running a CID office it is normal to work extended hours pretty much every day. The management view is that you will stay on if there is a need so you find yourself doing this without even thinking about it. As a DI we also engage in an 'on call' rota and when called out it can be common to work very excessive hours to effectively manage the incident you are working on (Region 5 Detective Inspector, male 19 years service).*

*Although the survey has picked on a specific week this does not reflect the hours I have put in over a sustained period of time. In fact the survey has picked a good week for me as this was very short hours and an annual leave day chucked in. In comparison to the week prior or after, I was working 12 hour days and working on my rest days due to operational commitments. This may sound like a moan, but it is not, as I will continue to work the hours necessary to improve our effectiveness and efficiency to ensure my staff have the support and motivation to be successful in their role and provide a service to the public (Region 7 Community Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*This is the least representative week in relation to my hours worked ... In 2010, I worked 136 hours over my set time and on top of that took 3 managed time days in effect meaning I worked 160 hours extra although compensated for 24 hours. This month looks like being 25 hours over so without taking into account annual leave this year looks like about 300 hours over. Covering for duty Inspector has a big effect on my 'day' job (Region 6 Support Inspector, male 23 year service).*

*The week surveyed was not a typical week for me as it contained 4 rest days. The previous week I worked 64 hours and I often average 46-48 hour weeks over a 13 week recording period. Last Friday I did a 9 hour day shift and then was on call all night, getting called back to work just after midnight and returning home just before 5am, then returning to work at 8am to do a 10 hour day, then on call again that night, all the time making critical decisions (Region 2 DI, male 19 years service).*

*The one week 'snapshot' does not really give a sufficient picture in my case of hours worked. If you'd done the previous 2 weeks I'd worked 12 days straight through and done 117 hours, but hey, there's times when it's needed and we are in a public service (Region 2 Support Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*I am disappointed that you are looking at just this week's hours as the two week's before and the two week's after I worked six day weeks (Region 5 DCI, female 15 years service).*

*The week commencing 24th January was not a typical week for me. I work on call 1-week-in-5 and that involves being available 24/7 – answering phone-calls throughout the night and being available to attend a covert operations room (Region 8 DI, female 21 years service).*

*Looked at my excess time hours and it appears to be 469 hours on the 24/1/11 ... This week is the first that I've done sensible hours (Region 3 DCI, male 20 years service).*

The focus of both questionnaire surveys was working time and well-being, and in particular the impact of 'long' or 'excessive' (and unremunerated) hours beyond the normal working week. As a result of an agreement concluded in September 1994 by the Police Negotiating Board (PNB), 'the environment in which the Inspecting Ranks worked in the Police Service changed beyond recognition'.<sup>39</sup> Prior to 1st September 1994, the Inspecting Ranks were entitled to payment for overtime. Under the *New Conditions of Working for Inspectors and Chief Inspectors* agreed by the PNB, the entitlements to payment for overtime and working on public holidays and rest days were removed in return for a payment of £3,000 awarded as an increase in pensionable pay.

While these changes to the conditions of service of the Inspecting Ranks 'should not have altered, nor were they intended to alter, the average hours worked each week in posts filled by members of those ranks',<sup>40</sup> the ICC is increasingly concerned about the apparent misinterpretation and misunderstanding of the 1994 Agreement.<sup>41</sup> Of particular concern is that, 'in today's climate of "more for less" such misunderstanding is eagerly exploited by many of our senior managers. This has resulted in the Inspecting Ranks becoming the most "put upon" in the Service'.<sup>42</sup> In the words of a Region 5 Community Inspector, "*There is an expectation that Inspectors will just get on with the job irrespective of the workload ... Inspectors are seen as a 'free' resource whereas lower ranks need to be paid overtime*" (male, 12 years service). The purpose of this Report is to determine the extent to which (or indeed whether) Inspectors and Chief Inspectors are 'put upon', why they accept the 'eager exploitation' of senior managers, and what the implications might be for their individual well-being and work-life balance (WLB), as well as, in turn, any adverse effects this might have for the Police Service in England, Wales and Scotland.

#### **IV. Excessive Force: Working Beyond the 'Call of Duty'**

Given that the focus of the two surveys was on working time 'beyond the call of duty', the obvious question to ask is: 'What constitutes "long" or "excessive" working hours?' In general, there are three ways to determine long or excessive hours of work.<sup>43</sup> First, there are statutory regulations on working time. Statutory normal hours are widely acknowledged to reflect the 'socially acceptable' level of working time. In the UK, the 'standard' working week is widely regarded as 40 hours, although this is not defined by statute. In fact, the UK maintains minimal legislation to protect employees from working long hours.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, it is the only Member State of the European Union to retain the right for an exemption from the 1993 European Working Time Directive (EWTD) that sets an average weekly limit of 48 hours of paid work calculated over a 17 week period.<sup>45</sup> Despite this opt out, the EWTD provides an 'upper limit' of 48 hours per week beyond which working time would (legally) be regarded as excessive.

For the Inspecting Ranks, a 40 hour week is regarded as the *minimum*.<sup>46</sup> The *Guidance of Hours Worked – Inspectors & Chief Inspectors* issued by the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS), for example, states that: 'line managers should consider the normal week to be *no less than 40 hours*. Whilst officers can be required to work beyond those hours, the requirement to work should not become the norm, be abused or become regular and expected'.<sup>47</sup> The upper limit for the Inspecting Ranks is in fact set by the (European) Working Time Regulations (WTR): 'Where it is necessary for additional hours to be worked, officers should be limited to the average of 48 hours over the appropriate reference period as provided by the WTR. It could be a criminal/disciplinary offence for a manager to permit hours above



the WTR limit'.<sup>48</sup> The ICC 'seriously counsel' any Inspector against signing the opt-out under the WTR, 'as frankly the WTRs are currently the only legal protection you have'.<sup>49</sup>

The second way to determine long or excessive hours is the maximum number of hours beyond which negative consequences for workers have been observed. The impact of long hours can be acute (e.g. after a long day) or cumulative (i.e. after a prolonged period of long hours).<sup>50</sup> However, long hours can be 'mediated' by a range of organisational, occupational and individual factors.<sup>51</sup> In the Police Service, for example, Inspectors in operational and detective roles often work very long and intense hours in the event of an operational crisis or major incident. Rather than these (acute) periods of work causing stress or other health related ailments, it has been suggested that the excitement they generate might actually mitigate organisational stressors.<sup>52</sup> Notwithstanding the impact of these mediating variables, meta-analytical reviews of the available research evidence has concluded that:

- Regularly working in excess of 48 hours per week appears to constitute a significant occupational stressor which reduces job satisfaction, increases the effects of other stressors and significantly increases the risk of mental health problems.
- Regularly working more than 60 hours a week, and perhaps more than 50 hours per week, appears to increase the risk of cardiovascular disease.
- Long hours in excess of 50 hours per week appear to be associated with increased prevalence of somatic symptoms and health threatening coping behaviours such as increased smoking and poor and irregular diet.
- Data on hours and work-life balance (WLB) is more limited but hours in excess of 50 per week are associated with adverse effects on family relationships.<sup>53</sup>

This evidence provides further support for an upper limit of 48 hours per week, as provided in the WTR, and as such gives us a 'reference point' for the statistical analysis that follows.

The third approach to determining long or excessive hours is to consider hours exceeding those which workers prefer to work. This reflects the idea that whether or not working hours are 'long' or 'excessive' needs to be determined by taking into account whether or not workers would like to maintain, reduce, or even increase their *recognised* working hours. While the latter scenario might seem counterintuitive in the context of a discussion of long working hours, there might be part-time workers, for example, who are working well beyond their agreed hours for no additional pay – the 'full-time hours, part-time pay' syndrome – who would therefore prefer to increase their hours (and pay). One female Detective from the Region 4, for example, reported increasing her part-time hours on three separate occasions because of regularly working beyond her contracted hours for no additional pay. Many other Inspectors shared her experience.

#### From Part-Time to Full-Time

*I used to be part-time but as I was always working over my contracted hours I went full-time again (Region 5 Support Inspector, female 29 years service).*

*I worked part-time as a Chief Inspector for 2 years before returning to full-time 18 months ago. It was impossible to work reduced hours and to keep up with demand – I was supposed to be off every Friday but ended up working most [Fridays] and requesting payment each week. In the end I gave up and returned to full time! (Region 2 DCI, 21 years service).<sup>54</sup>*

*The number of extended hours worked is becoming the norm, particularly within my area of work within Public Protection. This is particularly frustrating given the fact that I have elected to be part-time and am prevented from working my reduced hours due to the lack of resilience. There is still an expectation across Inspecting Ranks and above that you are required to do a full-time person's job in part-time hours. There's no recognition from HQ level about the excessive hours that staff are working. I have recently worked a 24 hour shift (0700 x 0700) without any rest period as I was covering my own role as an adult abuse manager within the public protection unit (0700 x 1700) which was then followed by duty SIO cover overnight. I feel so disillusioned with being in a specialist post that I am contemplating a return to the front line [full-time hours] because that appears to be the only post where your working hours are more guaranteed (Region 3 DI, female 18 years service).*

*When my Department reduced the number of Chief Inspectors from 5 to 2 in September 2010 I decided to return to full-time hours. Although I struggle to work full-time because of child care, I now feel as if I am financially compensated for the hours I work (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 12 years service).*

Without an understanding of the extent to which workers are able to adjust their working hours in line with their preferences, it is difficult to assess either the *need for* or the likely *impact of* flexible working time policies. For example, changes from actual to preferred working time are often facilitated by job changes *within* as well as *between* employers.<sup>55</sup> While Inspectors are unlikely to want to quit their job simply to reduce their working hours,<sup>56</sup> they might well seek to adjust their working time by changing roles within the Police Service. There are also options for 'flexible working' in the Police Service, which should be possible 'in all ranks, roles and posts unless there are compelling operational reasons why it cannot be'.<sup>57</sup>

In general, many long-hours employees would prefer reduced hours, even with reduced income.<sup>58</sup> This has led economists to focus on the 'income-leisure' choices of these 'long hours conscripts',<sup>59</sup> especially as it is well established that long working hours *when not freely chosen* can adversely affect employee well-being.<sup>60</sup> The 'lumpiness' of labour demand – the requirement of employers that their workforce is available for a fixed period of time – is usually invoked to explain why actual working hours deviate from what employees prefer.<sup>61</sup> This lumpiness is especially important in the Police Service where operational requirements and the exigencies of duty require the presence of officers at particular times and places (e.g. busy city centres on Friday and Saturday nights) and whenever emergencies arise.

Of course, any expressed preference or decision on working time is not simply a calculated choice between income and leisure. For example, if an Inspector has an investigation to complete, the 'choice' of working time is more likely to be guided by professional commitment to the job/victim and the risk of being judged negatively by others if the investigation is 'left until another day' or 'left for someone else to pick up'. The desire to be professional and 'not let the side down' is clearly an important consideration that guides the behaviour of all police ranks, and this weighs very heavily on the Inspecting Ranks who carry an important operational responsibility.

#### Professional 'Choice'

*Performing SIO duties during Homicide Investigations carries a solemn responsibility to your staff and more importantly to the family of the victim and the wider community. I would find it impossible to provide the leadership and commitment to the investigation without the regular working of*

*extended hours during such inquiries (Region 2 DI, male 27 years service).*

*The nature of the job demands that I usually arrive for work 45 minutes before my rostered duty time and more often than not, leave later than my finish time. It comes with the rank and is part of my own personal pride in the job I do. There isn't always someone else to leave it to. If I don't do it, it reflects on me and my personal pride in the job pushes me to make sure I complete the task, whether that means extended hours or not (Region 2 Operational Inspector, male 14 years service)*

*A strong sense of public service and pride in working for the police is the key driver to doing longer hours. It would be easy to just leave the office. However, this would let down colleagues and ultimately the community (Region 4 Operational CI, female 9 years service).*

As a result, working long hours in a 'time greedy' organisation such as the Police Service is likely to be the cumulative effect of many small decisions, each of which may be unrelated to weekly working hours but which together create *cumulation goods* – that is, goods (or bads) about which one never made a decision but which are nevertheless the product of one's many small and seemingly insignificant decisions.<sup>62</sup> To put this differently, by deciding to attend a meeting before the start of a shift, work beyond the end of a shift to complete a witness statement, access work emails at home via a Blackberry, or any one of the myriad decisions that extend the working day, Inspectors find themselves working excessively long hours. But at no stage did they necessarily sit down, add up all these additional hours, reflect on why they worked these hours, and then make a rational (income vs. leisure) choice to maintain or reduce their working time.<sup>63</sup>

Under this rather different form of 'lumpiness', the employer does not forbid adjustment to working time. On the contrary, the organisation might have all the (formal) 'best practice' HR policies in place and will no doubt espouse the mutual advantages of flexible working: 'Increasing the flexibility of deployment of police officers and police staff is important both for effective policing and for the health and work/life balance of officers and staff'.<sup>64</sup> However, the 'autonomy paradox' of modern work organisations is that not only does work come in 'lumps' of different tasks, which in itself undermines the choice between income and leisure that flexible working arrangements purportedly allow, but the *more* the employee focuses on finishing tasks and showing commitment/professionalism, the *less* they take income and leisure time into consideration when deciding on their involvement in work.<sup>65</sup>

In the light of these concerns around flexibility, autonomy and choice in relation to hours of work, Inspectors were questioned about their role, attitudes towards (long) working hours, and their motivation to work long hours. Given the negative professional and personal effects that are known to arise from long working hours, the survey also included questions covering any impact on Inspectors' health and family relationships/work-life balance (WLB), and who they turn to when they feel the ill-effects of working too long and too hard. Inspectors were also asked about the recording of their hours, both formally (e.g. on Force IT systems such as the Duty Management System and Computer Aided Resource Management) and informally (e.g. their own notebooks). Formal systems typically assume a 40 hour week and seem ill-equipped for recording excess hours one week and then allowing the Inspector to 'recover' those hours the following week or over a longer (17 week) period. Frustrated by these systems, many Inspectors are resigned to log the 'default' number of hours (i.e. 40 hours per week), even though this systematically and often substantially *under-records* their actual hours worked.

To give voice to the Inspectors so that others might hear, several questions provided opportunities (free-text boxes) to comment further on their responses. In isolation, statistical results can appear rather clinical and 'de-personalised' – readers might forget that the facts and figures reported here represent the aggregated working lives of men and women who are committed to the protection of

our communities, serving the public, and upholding the law. Around a third of respondents added further comments in the free-text boxes.<sup>66</sup>

At this juncture, it is important to note that while an individual Inspector's comments might well be 'incorrect' – promotion might not depend on working long hours, part-timers might not be regarded as 'part committed' by senior management, cost might not be the 'determining factor' when senior managers decide to use the 'free' (over)time of Inspectors – if these views are genuinely held and widely shared, and in particular if they influence individual behaviour, then both the Inspector(s) and the Police Service will suffer the consequences (e.g. the best candidates might not apply for promotion, part-time workers are de-motivated, Inspectors become cynical towards Force HR policies). Ultimately, of course, it is society, communities and individual citizens who pay the price if long working hours undermine the efficiency and effectiveness of the Police Service.

A further opportunity for Inspectors to express their voice was provided through a series of focus group meetings in three constabularies and the London Metropolitan Police Service (MPS).<sup>67</sup> Although these groups were 'self-selecting' (volunteers), the rationale is that the richest data will be generated by talking to Inspectors who have a genuine interest in the research.<sup>68</sup> Each focus group comprised around six officers and typically lasted 2 hours. The discussion was structured around a number of key issues generated by the survey results and was designed to be a conversation 'between Inspectors' as much as 'between Inspectors and researchers'.<sup>69</sup> Participation in a focus group – listening to the experiences of other Inspectors and communicating through a common (occupational) language – can stimulate memories, experiences and ideas. This is all the more likely if participants feel 'at ease' in their surroundings and each other's company.<sup>70</sup> As experiences are shared, they are also compared, contrasted and explained.

Analysis of the focus groups' discourse provides an insight into how the 'identity' of being a police officer/Inspector is constituted, how this affects the decisions and actions that individuals make during their working (and non-working) hours, and how these decisions and actions are socially constituted (i.e. within the prevailing police culture). For example, there might be prevailing norms and assumptions within particular sub-groups of the Inspecting Ranks depending on roles (e.g. uniform, CID, firearms, etc) or simply age and length of service, which in the latter case leads some officers to attribute long hours to their 'generation' as much as their own personal choices: "*I am old school and committed to making sure the job gets done*" (Region 3 Operational Inspector, 29 years service). When Inspectors challenge the assumptions, opinions and decisions of their colleagues during a focus group, the ensuing discussion can be especially illuminating.

#### Good Enough for You, but Good Enough for Your Children?

Researcher: *Would you recommend the police force to your own son or daughter?*

Paul: *I did!*

Researcher: *You did? So you'd still say it's a good job, it's not fundamentally different or frustrating?*

Colin: *No. I've got all daughters, but I probably would ... might ...*

Mike: *Yeah, but ...*

John: *[interrupting] I've told my son it's a significantly different job than the one he thinks it is watching me do it, and he needs to keep his eyes open if he ever considers doing it, because it's very different. The political environment is changing, there's continual undermining of the Police Service by the politicians. So it's not held in the regard by the public because the media and the politicians keep undermining it, so that is different.*

Philip: *I've got all daughters as well, they're quite young, but I still, at the moment, would recommend the job. But I'm really concerned about what it's going to look like in a couple of year's*

*time. I'm glad I'm at 30 years [service] not 20 years, because I don't like the way this government is attacking us.*

*Paul: I don't think that'll be any different than when we first joined. Our Inspectors would probably have said the same thing: 'Oh, I don't want that job'.*

*Mike: Yeah, but I think it's changing in that the way the public perceive [the police] is changing.*

*Colin: Yeah.*

*John: The demands of being the police are changing. Media focus is changing. That's what worries me. The government have always tinkered about with the Police Service ... my father and grandfather were both police officers, and they've both said it's changed. But it's my father who will say it's changing much more quickly now. And there are bigger changes coming. I mean, culturally there's a whole swathe of changes coming through.*

(Focus Group Discussion, Region 6)

The questions that guided the focus group meetings were not only generated by the survey responses but also a series of semi-structured interviews with PFEW reps and more informal discussion with numerous Inspectors at the PFEW's Annual Conference in Bournemouth (May 2011). Taken together, these different sources of information provide an extremely rich data base for future evidence-based policy-making.

## **V. The ID Parade: Describing the Survey Respondents**

The survey of Inspectors in England and Wales returned 4,589 questionnaires, a response rate of 52 per cent.<sup>71</sup> The survey of Inspectors in Scotland returned 449 questionnaires, a response rate of 40 per cent. Using checks against official data, respondents appear to be representative of the population in terms of rank, gender and area of work. There is some variation in response rate by Force.

The gender breakdown of the sample for England and Wales was 83 per cent men and 17 per cent women, and for Scotland 86 per cent men and 14 per cent women. Progress towards greater integration and gender equality in the Police Service has been 'glacially slow',<sup>72</sup> even though women now constitute more than a third of all new recruits.<sup>73</sup> In fact, the percentage of women in supervising ranks in 2005 was still below the 1970 level when women were employed in a separate policewomen's department.<sup>74</sup>

The distributions for age and length of service are reported in Tables 1 and 2. The average age for men and women in England and Wales was the same at 44.6 years. The average length of service for men and women in England and Wales was also the same at 22 years (Table 1). Comparable statistics for Scotland (Table 2) indicate a difference of 2 years in the average age and service between men (older/longer service) and women (younger/shorter service).

*Table 1. Age and Service, England and Wales Survey*

Age	%	Service	%
Less than 40 years	16.0	Less than 15 years	10.0
40-44 years	31.7	15-19 years	21.1
45-49 years	37.2	20-24 years	32.5
50-54 years	13.2	25-30 years	33.5
55 years and over	2.0	30 years and over	2.9

n = 4,589

*Table 2. Age and Service, Scotland Survey*

Age	%	Service	%
Less than 40 years	10.5	Less than 15 years	2.7
40-44 years	27.2	15-19 years	18.0
45-49 years	48.7	20-24 years	31.9
50-54 years	12.5	25-30 years	45.6
55 years and over	1.1	30 years and over	1.8

n = 449

The distributions of the two samples by substantive grade are reported in Table 3. In England and Wales (E&W) there is an over-representation of men in the top two ranks, with the proportion of women being 10.8 per cent for CIs and 6.5 per cent for DCIs. Although the employment gap by gender is greater for Scotland, there is no additional differential once in the rank (i.e. women are represented at the senior ranks in proportion to their representation amongst the Inspecting Ranks as a whole).<sup>75</sup> Throughout the Police Service, career progression seems to ‘appeal primarily to single people – men and women – who can devote themselves single-mindedly to their work. If women limit their working hours they do so in the knowledge that they may also be limiting their career opportunities’.<sup>76</sup>

*Table 3. Distribution by Inspecting Rank*

Grade/Rank	E&W %	Scotland %
Inspector	57.1	63.4
Detective Inspector (DI)	23.6	14.3
Chief Inspector (CI)	11.2	17.6
Detective Chief Inspector (DCI)	8.1	4.7

n =

4,589

449

The main areas of work are distinguished in Table 4, which identifies CID/Special Branch and Operational roles as the most well-represented in the survey. Women are over-represented in ‘Support’ and ‘Other’ roles and are under-represented in CID, traffic and operational roles, providing further evidence of gendered employment in the Police Service.<sup>77</sup> Forces have a good deal of autonomy over the implementation of national policy, which is determined at the level of the Chief Constable or Commissioner (MPS). Although inter-Force differences in the age, service and rank distribution of inspectors are similar, there is some variation in the representation of women in the Inspecting Ranks.

Table 4. Distribution by Area of Work

Area of work	E&W %	Scotland %
Traffic	2.0	3.1
Community	11.4	8.9
CID/Special Branch	27.9	17.6
Operational	30.1	32.7
Support	13.3	20.7
Other	15.2	16.9
n =	4,589	449

For all the characteristics described in Tables 1-4 (i.e. gender, age, length of service, rank and area of work), the data have been formally interrogated for any significant inter-group differences (see Appendix II). As Forces have a good deal of autonomy over the implementation of national policy, which is determined at the level of the Chief Constable or Commissioner (MPS), our focus was on inter-Force differences. The age, service and rank distribution of Inspectors are similar across Forces but there is some variation in the representation of women in the Inspecting Ranks.<sup>78</sup> Free text comments made by the Inspecting Ranks in response to the questionnaire suggest that these characteristics are worth exploring in greater detail in terms of their impact on workload, working time, and well-being.

#### Characteristics of the Inspecting Ranks

*I am a Mum of three boys aged 5 years, 3 years and 15 months ... I was [recently] promoted and at this time returned to full time working. Due to my home commitments I am unable to do the extra hours needed at work to get the job done. As a result I either become stressed as I have a build up of outstanding work or I try and log on at home. My husband is very unhappy about this so I have to wait until he is a late turn or nights to do this. If I am unable to log on I use my Blackberry to respond to emails at all times. I am off sick today but I felt I had to log on to try and avoid a back log again (Region 4 CI, female 14 years service).*

*I have only 3 years to go before retirement and ... thus I am more prepared to say no to extended hours and to highlight if I feel that I can not take on any more work. However those officers who have less service are under pressure to do more and more if they want to advance their career. Senior management still have the view that to show dedication to the job you must work long hours, not question work loads and just get on with it (Region 8 Community Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*The new recruit culture is resistant to working long hours (can't blame them) but the old guard end up keeping a lid on everything and work extended hours regularly. This is more prevalent in the CID and always has been from my 23 years experience, again not necessarily a good thing (Region 6 Operational Inspector, male).*

*As a young CID officer long hours were expected and it becomes inherited practice and 'the norm' ... Some of my younger colleagues however do not work in excess of 8 hour days unless absolutely necessary, it amazes me how they manage it but I think they are part of a new breed. A lot more people live long distances away from their workplace and have more emphasis on life outside. They do not feel the same pressure to work long hours because they have not been 'reared' in that way*

*and have not had the same examples set. My average working day is 10 hours (Region 8 DI, female 21 years service).*

*Prior to promotion I was a Neighbourhood Inspector for approximately two years. During this time I accumulated just short of 500 hours in additional hours worked. I would say that in that role a 'quiet' week would be 50 hours – the busiest of weeks easily hitting 80 hours. Always in by 7am – if I left work by 5pm it felt like I had left early! (Region 2 CI, male 22 years service).*

*As a DCI I sometimes feel that a simpler job would be to go back into uniform, work a shift pattern and therefore have more days off to recuperate. It also means that someone else 'takes over' when my shift finishes. This is not the case for a DI. My department has a good 'can do' mentality but I find that there is an expectation amongst my colleagues that CID can be available most times and will be called in should the necessity arise. In the month of June, following a local domestic murder, I worked 245 hours. This started with a 93 hour week. I have yet to catch up on time owed (Region 6 DCI, male 20 years service).*

*In my current role as a rape investigator I see the need for long hours to support victims and trace offenders. I am happy to give-up my time to this end. In my previous role as police advisor to the CPS on Criminal Justice Issues I did not see my role as critical to any individual and it had no direct impact on public safety. I was not happy to work extended hours in this role and would have refused to do so (Region 8 DI, male 17 years service).*

*I am SIO of a Murder Investigation team. As such hours worked vary dramatically. An average working week is usually 40 to 45 hours. In the event of dealing with a new murder my working week is between 80 and 100 hours for each of the first three weeks of the case, working weekend rest days as well ... On average I deal with 3 or 4 murders a year so will only work long hours for between 9 and 12 weeks a year. This is more manageable than my previous role as a DI where I worked an average 60 to 70 hours a week throughout the year (Region 8 DCI, male 12 years service).*

*Excessive working hours are dictated by types of jobs/role. If you avoid such jobs, you usually limit your profile and career opportunities, but enhance your quality of life. I prefer the latter (Region 7 Community Inspector, male 20 years service).*

*My non-operational role is not indicative of the working conditions of most operational Inspectors. Having transferred into the Met (from Cambridgeshire) 8 years ago (and bringing my rank in with me) I can only say how positive my experience has been. Example; I was asked to cover an extra night shift at short notice due to sickness – as pay back I was given an extra day off, but shown as working. When in Cambridgeshire I was often told words to the effect of 'you are salaried, so you work whatever hours we demand'. Whether that is still the case in Cambridgeshire I do not know (Region 8 Support Inspector, male 8 years service).*

## **VI. Doing Time: The Working Hours of the Inspecting Ranks**

For reasons of comparability in the hour's analysis, we selected only those Inspectors reporting positive weekly hours who work on a full-time contract and who did not have leave during the reference week (other than for scheduled weekly leave or accrued rest days). Of the 4,589 responses from England and Wales, there were 687 missing values on the hours' diary leaving 3,902 observations. Of these, there were 2,799 observations for non-zero/non-missing hours for full-time Inspectors whose hours were not affected by annual leave, compassionate leave or sick leave during the reference week. These

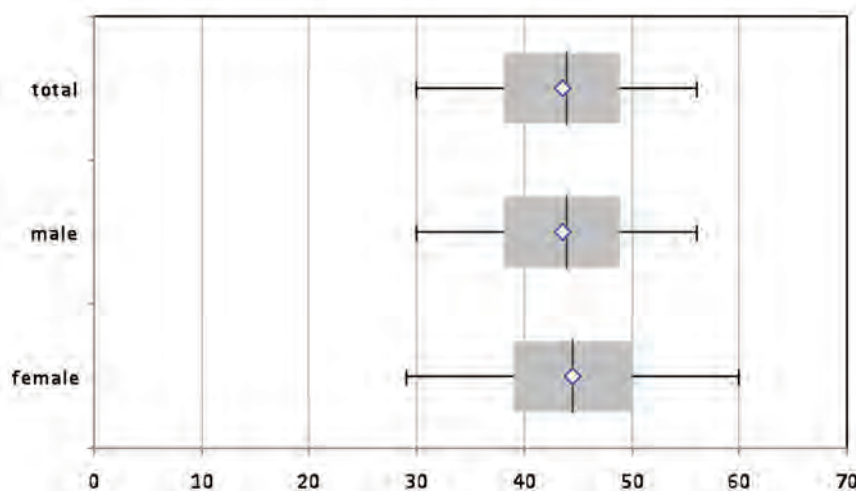


weekly hours include rest days which are taken as compensation for unscheduled additional days/shifts worked in the past.

The hours distribution for this group of full-time respondents not on leave is ‘normal’ (i.e. symmetrical and mound-shaped). The peak is at 44 hours rather than 40 hours – there is not even a ‘blip’ in the distribution at 40 hours, which might be expected if a working week 40 hours was in any sense a ‘norm’. Around 27 per cent of full-time respondents not on annual leave report weekly hours under the normal minimum of 40 hours.<sup>79</sup> These are likely to be Inspectors who took weekly leave/accrued rest days during the reference week.<sup>80</sup> If these respondents are excluded from the hours’ analysis and we look at the distribution of hours for those full-time respondents who worked a minimum of 40 hours during the reference week then the average (mean) increases to 50 hours per week. Put differently, in a normal working week, those who are working at least a full week are working on average 50 hours. The spread is also important here, with 25 per cent working over 52 hours and 10 per cent working over 59 hours. Based on the three different measures of long or excessive hours discussed in the previous Section, this clearly constitutes working ‘beyond the call of duty’ as well as beyond the letter of the law.

The analysis of hours of work is presented in Figure 3 (and subsequent figures) as a set of ‘box’ and ‘whisker’ plots. These plots are used to visually summarise the distribution of reported hours for different groups of Inspectors in the figures (bar charts), with hours of work in the reference week recorded on the horizontal axis. Thus, Figure 3 depicts box and whisker plots for the total sample in England and Wales, as well as male and female Inspectors. Figure 4 presents comparable data for Scotland. The plots report hours at key points across the distribution of hours, namely at the 10th and 90th percentiles (the ‘whiskers’) and at the 25th and 75th percentiles (the ‘box’). The median is marked as a vertical line in all the figures while the mean is depicted by a diamond shape. In this way, each box and whisker plot shows the distribution of hours of work.

Figure 3. *Weekly Hours by Sex for Full-Time Inspectors, England and Wales: Week Beginning 24th January 2011*

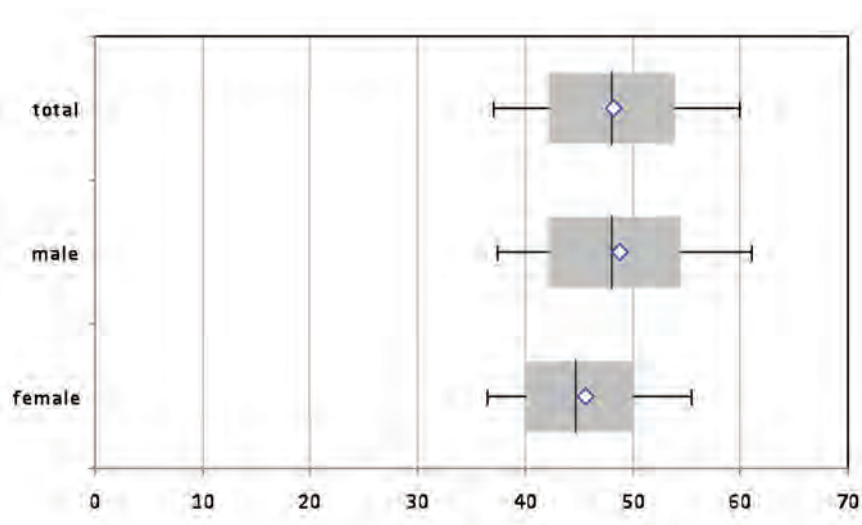


Notes: The ‘whiskers’ (horizontal lines with end marks) extend to the 10th and 90th percentiles. The shaded ‘boxes’ encompass the 25th to the 75th percentile.

The median is indicated by a vertical line in each box and the mean by a diamond.

Excludes Inspectors whose weekly hours are affected by annual leave.

Figure 4. *Weekly Hours by Sex for Full-Time Inspectors, Scotland: Week Beginning 5th September 2011*



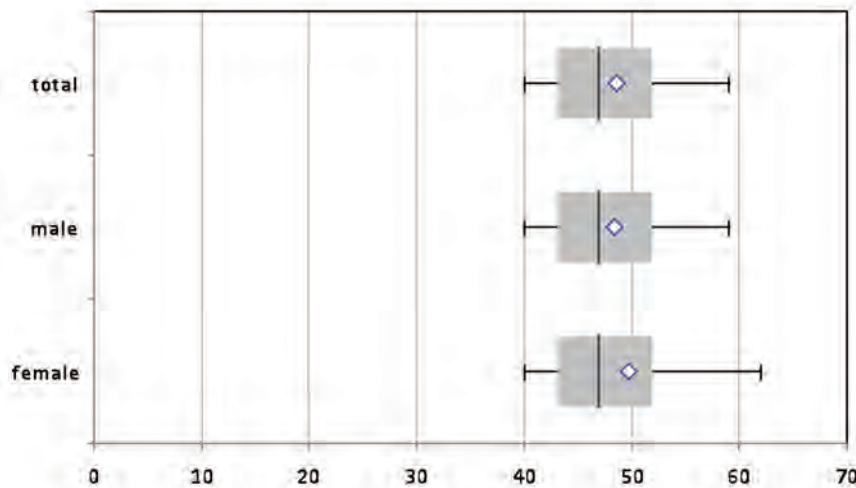
Notes: Excludes Inspectors whose weekly hours are affected by annual leave.

The top panel in Figures 3 and 4 describe the distribution of hours for all respondents who completed the hours' diary, who work full-time and who were not on annual leave. For both samples, the distribution is normal and the mean and median hours of work coincide at around 44 hours in England and Wales and 48 hours in Scotland. The inter-quartile range (shaded box) describes the hours of the middle half of the distribution. In England and Wales, the inter-quartile range is bounded by 38 hours at the lower end and 49 at the upper end. This implies that 75 per cent of Inspectors worked more than 38 hours in the reference week and that 25 per cent worked more than 49 hours.<sup>81</sup> In Scotland, the inter-quartile range is bounded by 42 and 54 hours, which means that 75 per cent of Inspectors in Scotland worked more than 42 hours in the reference week and one-in-four worked more than 54 hours.

The box and whiskers together include all but the outlying 20 per cent in the tails of the distribution so that 10 per cent of Inspectors worked less than 30 hours and 10 per cent worked more than 56 hours in England and Wales. In Scotland, one-in-ten Inspectors worked 60 hours or more during the reference week.<sup>82</sup> The mean, median and spread of hours is slightly higher for female Inspectors in England and Wales (Figure 3), but the differences are small and are not statistically significant. A similar analysis conducted by rank, area of work and force revealed a similar pattern (i.e. no significant inter-group differences). In Scotland (Figure 4) women work fewer hours (mean 45.6 hours) than men (mean 48.7 hours) and this difference is statistically significant.<sup>83</sup>

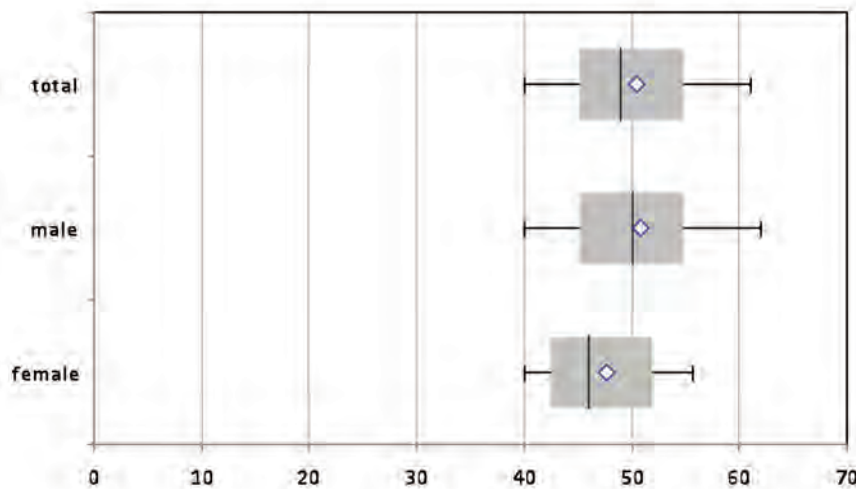
As 40 hours is regarded as the minimum working week for the Inspecting Ranks, and those working less than 40 hours in the reference week were typically Inspectors with an accrued rest day, box and whisker plots for those working at least 40 hours are reported in Figures 5 and 6. These figures give a more accurate representation of the hours an Inspector can expect to work in a 'typical week' when they work their 'normal' hours. For England and Wales (Figure 5), the average (median) increases to 47 hours (mean 48.6 hours), with identical median values for men and women but an even higher mean for women (49.6 hours). In Scotland (Figure 6) it is male Inspectors who have a higher median (50 hours) and mean (50.8 hours) than women (median 46 hours and mean 47.7 hours).

Figure 5. *Weekly Hours by Gender for Full-Time Inspectors whose Hours are not Affected by Leave, England and Wales: Week Beginning 24th January 2011*



Notes: Effectively excludes Inspectors working less than a minimum 40 hour week.

Figure 6. *Weekly Hours by Gender for Full-Time Inspectors who's Hours are not Affected by Leave, Scotland: Week Beginning 5th September 2011*



Notes: Effectively excludes Inspectors working less than a minimum 40 hour week.

Although we find no inter-group differences in reported weekly hours, the within-group variation is very large for a group of people all working to a 40 hour job description and paid on the same scale.<sup>84</sup> One way to highlight the spread of working time is to exclude extreme hour's values – the top and bottom 10 per cent tails of the distribution – and focus on the middle 80 per cent of respondents working between 30 and 56 hours in England and Wales, and between 37 and 60 hours in Scotland. The Inspectors at the 90th percentile worked almost double the hours of the Inspectors at the 10th percentile in both samples. Focusing on the middle 50 per cent of observations for England and Wales, there is a difference of 11 hours between the 25th percentile and the 75th percentile during the week beginning 24th January 2011. In Scotland, the difference is 12 hours during the week beginning 5th September 2011.

Of course, WTR specify a much longer reference period (17 weeks) than is covered by the one week hours' diary completed by the Inspecting Ranks.<sup>85</sup> However, for many Inspectors the reference week might be one of the few occasions when they systematically record their hours – as we will see (Section X), many have 'given up' on their official Force recording system, although most keep a personal record of their hours in their own notebooks. The result is that many Inspectors would not know whether they are in breach of WTR and most official Force records would certainly be incomplete and inaccurate (i.e. overtime hours not recorded). The lack of understanding by both parties on the importance of properly recording hours of work from a legal perspective is compounded by the fact that Inspectors are expected to manage their own time, such that any additional hours are compensated for over the reference period by working fewer hours in other weeks.<sup>86</sup> In effect, therefore, the onus is shifted from the legally responsible party (the Police Service) onto the individual (the Inspecting Ranks). For some Inspectors this arrangement works perfectly well, as several respondents explained, but the fact that some are able to 'balance out' their hours from one week to the next does not excuse the Police Service of its legal responsibility and duty of care to the many who are unable to find a statutory equilibrium.

#### Managing 'My-Time'

*... as in all positions there is a requirement for extended hours, calls outside of work and on call weekends. However, with the correct support from management the correct balance can be easily achieved. Perhaps I am in a very fortunate position compared to other colleagues and yes I frequently work long hours, rest days, etc., but I am fully supported in ensuring I am able to recover that time and still ensure that my team and I get the job done (Region 6 Community Inspector, male 10 years service).*

*I have never been placed under pressure to work extended hours. When I do a long day it is necessary for an operation I am SIO for or it is necessary for managing workload ... If I do work a 10, 11, or 12 hour day I usually compensate myself by working a shorter day somewhere else. This is necessary to juggle child care and my wife's career. On the whole it works well and the organisation (WMP) allows me to manage that. I suppose there is mutual trust to enable that arrangement (Region 3 DI, male 24 years service).*

In contrast to those who are able to manage their time, many more Inspectors commented on working in excess of 48 hours over an extended period. The 1994 Agreement put paid to any formal entitlement to compensation for extra hours worked on a like-for-like basis (i.e. 'time off in lieu'), so even when working time is monitored by the Force this does not necessarily prevent the accumulation of 'time owed', as an Operational Inspector from Region 6 explained:

*"we have a working time recording system that I have been using for the last 2½ years whilst I have been an Inspector. It is an accurate and easy way to record hours and ensures that you don't work excessive hours over a 15 week cycle, which is effectively what it measures. It also records time owed and I have accrued during that time 842 hours of time owed. Although when my average hours have approached 50 hours I have been approached by my Line Managers to reduce my hours, once the average is down below 45 hours I get left alone. There is no facility for me to recover those 842 hours that I have worked in excess of my normal hours" (male 24 years service).*

Accrued annual leave, rest days and 'time off in lieu' (TOIL) provide another measure of excessive hours. Therefore, the questionnaire asked Inspectors to indicate any outstanding 'unused time off

work', including annual leave, rest days owed and TOIL. In England and Wales, over 90 per cent of Inspectors were carrying accrued annual leave (on average 9 days per person) and almost 90 per cent had accrued rest days owing (on average 10 days per person).<sup>87</sup> In Scotland, the average number of unused annual leave days outstanding at the time of the survey was 11 days.<sup>88</sup> TOIL was reported by 48 per cent of respondents with a median number of 13 days owed. However, TOIL is likely to be under-recorded for two reasons. First, several Forces do not accurately record TOIL and, as a result, many Inspectors entered '0' in response to this survey question.<sup>89</sup>

#### Toiling for Nothing

*I found it difficult to answer the question around the number of hours in lieu as I don't bother to keep a record as I know that I will never be able to take them back. As I tend to work 10 hour days on average I know it would be over a hundred if I ever did count them up (Region 5 DCI, female 18 years service)*

*In relation to time off in lieu total, I stopped counting in September 2010 as at that time I was told I could not ever take them, so no point in collecting (Region 3 Community Inspector, female 20 years service).*

*I used to record my hours, but it all became a bit silly. I was working extended hours, in a department with little resilience and managing a number of risk issues. It was fairly obvious that there was no hope of recovering those hours so I stopped recording them as it all seemed fairly pointless (Region 6 DI, male 22 years service).*

*Once you reach Inspector rank, my Force doesn't seem to recognise the time off that's owed as a result of working excess hours and, as such, doesn't record time off owed in lieu of it. The only place my excess hours are recorded is in my pocket book and I only do this so that if I ever wanted to finish a bit early one day, I would use my pocket note book to hopefully avoid criticism or other sanction (Region 2 Inspector, male 28 years service).*

Secondly, the questionnaire offered a maximum (fixed response) option of '100+' hours, which was clearly inadequate for many respondents: "*Because the box required an entry I have added 100+ hours as time off in lieu owed. But I have never taken off a single hour of 'time owed' and looking back over the last four years, and particularly my last role, I probably averaged 55 hours working per week, every week. So I probably have a couple of thousand hours 'in the bin'. Chances of those hours ever being recovered – nil!*" (Region 8 DI, male 28 years service). Thus, it seems that while some Inspectors might be adept at managing their time, especially when they have supportive senior managers, many more are accumulating (excessive) working time with apparently very little prospect of ever 'recovering' this time. For many Inspectors this includes cancelled rest days and even annual leave.

#### Accumulating TOIL

*'100+' does not really give a realistic indication with approaching 500 hours excess time over the previous year (Region 3 DCI, male 20 years service)*

*I don't understand what 'time off in lieu' is. I don't understand that term in regulations. If it is of any interest I have completed 950 additional hours in the financial year to date. Our finance and ACPO only appear interested in 'highest earners' despite that not actually being an indicator of*

*hours worked due to different remuneration rates. When the issue of Inspectors hours was raised at a recent ACPO inspection it was glossed right over and the subject rapidly changed (Region 4 DI, male 29 years service).*

*My total excess time owing is 653.30 hours. This does not include the 260 hours that were removed from Inspectors' banked hours on 1st April 2008 which were written off. I have calculated that I work an average of around 50 hours per week but this can peak to 60+ on some weeks. It is hard to take leave and rest days owed because the work simply continues to mount up (Region 2 Community Inspector, male 27 years service).*

*I currently have 987 hours for recovery on the card!!!! Plus 11 rest days to recover and 15 annual leave days to take. I have been told if I do not take my leave days by 31/3 I will lose them, yet no consideration is given to my work load to accommodate this. So if I take a day off I simply have to do two days work in one day when I get back as there is no resilience (Region 7 Operational CI, male 18 years service).*

*There is a culture of excessive hours, with no provision to take these back. I currently have 362 hours owing to me, and I am told Inspectors do not work flexi time!!!! ... It is impossible to work regular 8 hour days. Over the past 2 years I have accrued 45 days for nothing and will never see this time again!!!! Whilst I love my job and feel incredibly passionate about improving my area, sometimes it upsets me the massive personal sacrifice that I have to make every week (Region 1 Community Inspector, male 23 years service).*

*During the last two years I have deliberately made an effort to reduce my working hours as they had been excessive for a number of years. I was regularly working 80-100 hours a week. That did not include time spent on the phone and e-mails from home in the evenings, rest days and on annual leave. At one time I had more than 150 rest days outstanding. I was put on a 3 day-a-week office job for 3 months followed by 3 months leave to reduce my rest days. It felt like I was being punished for the long hours I was expected to work (Region 8 Inspector, male 35 years service).*

*I will work the hours when necessary but I avoid them now if I can ... I had over 1,000 extra hours zeroed at the last change of system 2 years ago. I have never had an expectation of getting that time back, but just want to be able to take an odd day off when I want to without having to use annual leave or rest days (Region 3 DCI, male 25 years service).*

*I have no problems putting in the hours to protect the public, I just get frustrated when it is taken for granted. Having been promoted quite early in my career I will probably have to work an extra 3 years for free (Region 3 DI, male 13 years service).*

*It can be difficult to take the time in lieu back. We are then accused of being bad time managers!! (Region 5 DI, female 20 years service).*

Analysis of the survey data revealed very little systematic variation in the distribution of hours by rank or area of policing. For example, median hours by rank in England and Wales are the same at close to 44 hours per week. Likewise, there are no significant differences in hours worked by area of policing (traffic, community, CID, operational, support, or other areas) or by Force.<sup>90</sup> Thus, the characteristics identified in the ID parade (Section IV) did not generate significant differences when the data were interrogated using statistical techniques – Inspectors work long hours regardless of who they are, what they do or where they work.

The purpose of statistical analysis, of course, is to determine whether there are any non-random differences between groups. For example, the data might reveal that male DIs/DCIs in the MPS are more likely to work long hours than any other group of Inspectors. Our analysis has determined that this is *not* the case, nor are there any other groups that can be identified for whom excessive working hours are (statistically and significantly) more likely. Even if the statistical analysis did reveal significant differences, however, this does no more than establish *correlation* between our dependent (hours) and independent (gender, rank, etc) variables. We would still need to determine *causality*. For example, if hours of work are especially long in the CID at Scotland Yard, is this because of the nature of the work, a ‘macho’ culture that accepts or even lauds excessive hours, or simply the level of crime in the nation’s capital? How might each of these factors impact on the decision making of individual Inspectors? How might they interact with other variables such as the Inspector’s family situation, desire for promotion, support (or lack of support) from senior management, etc?

In order to answer these questions, the survey data are explored in more detail, in particular the free text comments that asked Inspectors to explain their responses to particular questions. While the explanation that emerges is fundamentally organisational and institutional – the nature of the job and in particular the management of the Police Service in England, Wales and Scotland – there are important insights and interpretations according to variations by gender, employment status (full-time vs. part-time), rank, role and Force. These variables also play an important role in magnifying or mitigating the impact of long hours on individual well-being, family relationships/WLB, and the quality of service provided by different areas policing, Forces and the Service as a whole.

## VII. Guilty as Charged: The “Time Greedy” Police Service

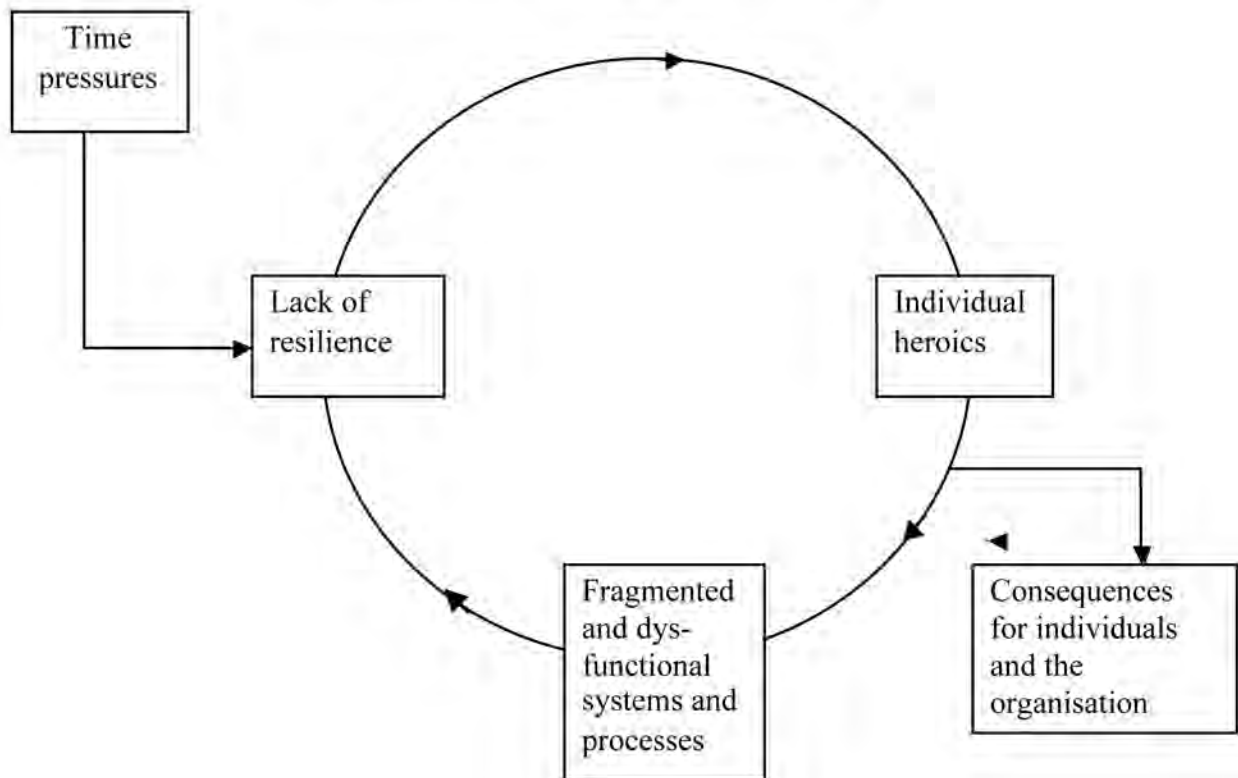
Police Inspectors share many of the characteristics of managerial/professional workers, inasmuch as their contract incorporates an expectation that they will work additional (unremunerated) hours and they are expected to manage the work of others as well as their own (working) lives and identities. The ideal manager (Inspector) is someone who is totally committed, balanced, and in control at both work and at home.<sup>91</sup> But are these expectations too much to ask of Inspectors when many of the pressures they face are externally generated (e.g. the general political and budgetary climate, the expectations of the public, and criminal activity) and internally magnified by a lack of resilience?

### Being an ‘Ideal Inspector’

*... being an inspector is like running a never ending marathon and constantly hitting the ‘wall’. Covering all the professional bases, keeping my family life together and still managing to be a good and reasonable ‘Boss’ takes its toll. I have now arrived at the conclusion that I will be glad to get out and restore some equilibrium to my life and that of my loved ones. I thank God I carried service in from elsewhere to allow me to do so several years earlier than I would otherwise have been able to do (Region 2 Operational Inspector, male 24 years service).*

Figure 7 depicts the processes that create a ‘time famine’ amongst the Inspecting Ranks, ‘a feeling of having too much to do and not enough time to do it’.<sup>92</sup> In the words of an Operational Inspector from Region 2, this situation is: “*Rather classic for the police, I fear ... we are all in the same boat: not enough time to do the job properly and sometimes not enough time to do the job at all*” (male 21 years service). Our starting point is the ‘time pressures’ that have already been discussed in Section II (e.g. performance targets, the CSR and a falling number of Inspectors). These pressures, which set the cycle depicted in Figure 7 in motion, ‘are endemic, not subject to police modification, and perversely salient’.<sup>93</sup>

Figure 7. The Vicious Work-Time Cycle of the Inspecting Ranks



Time pressures in the Police Service are increasingly difficult to manage in the face of a lack of resilience, not only but especially at the rank of Inspector/DI and Chief Inspector/DCI. When Inspectors talk about ‘resilience’ they usually refer to the ability of the organisation, and more specifically ‘the job’, as well as themselves, to cope with and recover from the adverse effects of long hours of work.<sup>94</sup> This is because resilience in work organisation interacts with, and promotes, ‘personal resilience’, which is a combination of: (i) *confidence* – having feelings of competence, effectiveness in coping with stressful situations and strong self esteem, (ii) *social support* – good relationships with others, (iii) *adaptability* – flexibility and responsiveness to changing situations beyond the immediate control of the individual, and (iv) *purposefulness* – having a clear sense of purpose, clear values, drive and direction.<sup>95</sup> The importance of a *positive interaction* between organisational and individual resilience cannot be overstated, because in police work, as in managerial work more generally, control and identity are inextricably inter-linked. Being a police officer, according to Jerome H. Skolnick, ‘is a defining identity, almost like being a priest or a rabbi’.<sup>96</sup> As a result, for Inspectors to admit to ‘not being in control’ is tantamount to admitting that they are unable to fulfil their role as a police officer, to ‘surrender’ their identity. Inspectors will therefore ‘do what it takes’, including working excessive hours, to get the job done and preserve their identity. The *negative interaction* between organisational and individual resilience depicted in Figure 7 leads to ‘individual heroics’ informed by a masculine interpretation of police work.

Like other occupational groups, when police officers are uncertain about their role or what is expected of them, and/or feel that their craft is under threat as a result of political reforms and a ‘more for less’ mentality (i.e. work intensification), they are likely to ‘hold onto the old narratives that transmit their ingrained self-identities and provide them with a connection to the past’.<sup>97</sup> The police (sub) culture is rather difficult to pin down<sup>98</sup> and there is a well researched chasm between what officers say and what they do. But then ‘if talk does not inform police practice why do police officers invest so much effort



in talking about their work?’<sup>99</sup> In answering his own question, Waddington argues that ‘it is a rhetoric that gives meaning to experience and sustains occupational self-esteem’.<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, there are many negative (normative) connotations of a traditional police culture that celebrates masculine exploits, displays a willingness to use force, and is suspicious, conservative, cynical and pessimistic. These qualities of police culture have a material base and endure ‘because the basic pressures associated with the police role have not been removed’.<sup>101</sup>

While the cult of masculinity is something of a caricature – the culture of the canteen<sup>102</sup> rather than the occupational culture or its many variants within different areas of police work<sup>103</sup> – it can still have adverse consequences for officers who feel under pressure to perform and certainly not admit to any personal failings. The greater number of women in the Police Service has barely made a dent in the ‘masculinity’ of the occupational culture,<sup>104</sup> with female Inspectors actually working longer hours than their male counterparts in England and Wales (Figure 3). In fact, when women officers complain about sex discrimination it often refers to ‘being prevented from doing “real police work”, that is all those things that male officers value and try to keep for themselves’.<sup>105</sup> When individuals display all (or even some) of the traits of a cult(ure) of masculinity, and respond ‘heroically’ to the time famine by working extended (excessive) hours, they not only harm themselves but also their communities and the Police Service, especially if there remains ‘a resilient residue of cynicism, solidarity, secrecy, negative stereotypes of outsiders and superiors, emphasis on physical prowess, lauding of practical skills and disparagement of theoretical knowledge that have been the hallmarks of traditional police culture’.<sup>106</sup>

A lack of resilience and a culture that puts pressure on individuals to cope will lead to stress and other forms of ill-health, erode job satisfaction, undermine family relationships and upset the individual’s WLB. If, or rather when these individual ailments impact on the quality of service provided by the Police Service, as depicted in Figure 7, then the organisation, its communities and the individual citizens it serves are all adversely affected.

If the principal and deleterious response to a lack of resilience is the ‘individual heroics’ of the Inspecting Ranks, then we should not be surprised that one of the major (bureaucratic) impediments to improved performance, in the words of Jan Berry,<sup>107</sup> is fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes. Individual responses to dysfunctional systems serve only to further fragment the system and reinforce a cynical police (sub)culture whenever Inspectors encounter a lack of senior management support, excessive paperwork, and increasing demands to ‘audit and account’ for their work.<sup>108</sup> Most worryingly, if the Police Service is now *dependent on* long hours within the Inspecting Ranks, then a lack of resilience is *structured into* the Service – and the circle, as depicted in Figure 7, is complete and self-reinforcing.

Leaving aside – for now – the consequences for individuals (the Inspecting Ranks) and the organisation (the Police Service), which will be discussed in Sections XI and XII, we can work around the vicious work-time cycle depicted in Figure 7, starting with the lack of resilience within the Inspecting Ranks. The comments of Inspectors once more illuminate the account of a Service with seemingly less and less time for justice when it comes to the employment and working time requirements of its front line (operational) managers.

### **VIII. The Thin(ing) Blue Line: Resilience within the Inspecting Ranks**

Time pressures in Figure 7 feed directly into the resilience of the Police Service. Lack of resilience leads to work intensification and excessive working hours. Work intensification comes in many

(dis)guises, some more easily identified and understood by the general public than others, but none, of course, undetected by the Inspecting Ranks. Take, for example, the geographical extension of responsibilities. In one of our focus group meetings in Region 7, an Inspector whose responsibilities expanded from 17 electoral wards to 32 electoral wards, literally overnight, likened this process to the Head Teacher of a large comprehensive school being given the additional responsibility of running another school in an adjacent borough. What, he asked, would be the reaction of parents if they were told that the Head Teacher at their child's school was now running another school 'in her spare time'? Would the parents be relaxed about the ability of the Head Teacher to cope? Or concerned about the future quality of education received by their child?

### Expanding Territory

*My Force, particularly within my own sector, is reducing the amount of Inspectors considerably via natural wastage and not replacing them. Sectors are being joined together to create 'super sectors' with one Inspector in charge rather than the previous two for the separate sectors. In addition, responsibility for the response staff will come to the sector Inspector too. We have to do far, far more with far, far less now and the rank of Inspector will shoulder much of this (Region 7 Operational Inspector, female 21 years service)*

*There is a marked decline in the number of Inspecting ranks. I was promoted almost 5 years ago and at that time working in divisional headquarters were ten Inspectors working shifts, now there are three. I now cover two sub divisions and frequently am responsible for the whole division, a population of around 400,000. My workload has increased substantially particularly in relation to complaints about the police, which is a huge drain both on time and morale. Logistically it is difficult to be responsible for such a large area and I can find it difficult to know what is happening all over the areas I am responsible for (Scotland Operational Inspector, male 25 years service).*

*Over the last 5 years I have more or less been in the same post. However, over that time my area of geographic responsibility and line management of staff has significantly increased. My Division, when re-structured approximately 2 years ago, went from having eleven Operational Inspectors to having seven, with an equitable increase in workload for those remaining. The most significant impact of this was the loss of pretty much all discretionary time to be out from behind the computer screen, being seen and giving a visible lead to staff in the operational arena. Over the same period of time there has been an increase in administrative burdens on area Inspectors. Some policy driven, but other issues created by the reductions (through redundancy) of support staff (Scotland Operational Inspector, male 25 years service).*

Elsewhere, even if the geographical area remains the same, the number of Inspectors has often been reduced and roles/responsibilities are combined and/or extended. To continue with our analogy of the local comprehensive school, a letter is sent home to all parents to inform them that the science staff is to be reduced and, henceforth, all physics lessons will now be taught by the chemistry or biology teachers (who will give up their 'free periods' to accommodate the extra classes). Once again, ask yourself how the parents would react – would they be pleased that teachers can now 'multi-task', or concerned about the lack of specialist teaching and the effects of over work?

## Expanding Roles

*I am responsible for seven Safer Neighbourhood Teams. I'm the drugs lead, Youth Offending Team lead, Schools lead and Mental Health led for the borough. It naturally leads to excessive hours worked, and sometimes it's difficult to stop myself working. What's really frustrating is that all plans and work can come completely to a standstill as I'm also expected to cover duty officer when there is a need, resulting in shift changes, cancellation of appointments that are to do with the portfolios listed. What the job doesn't record is how many additional hours those of us that have large portfolios work from home. If I didn't take work home, in addition to the hours I work, I wouldn't be able to keep all plates spinning. Sometimes I feel like I'm very much a big part of that (very) thin blue line! My job is like spinning plates, I need to choose which ones to keep spinning in any given week (or day) (Region 8 Community Inspector, male 15 years service).*

*I am in a role where I have no resilience so if I do not do it, it doesn't happen. It is a strategic role in public protection (protecting vulnerable people) so has high levels of responsibility. My portfolio is missing people, honour-based abuse and safeguarding vulnerable adults – have two coordinators dealing with missing and honour based but no one to assist with the safeguarding aspect. However, compared to a year ago the situation is significantly improved – at that time I was working 60 hours a week as I also covered domestic abuse and Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (Region 5 Support Inspector, 26 years service).*

*I am very dedicated to my role, however feel that I get very little or no support from my senior management team. I have responsibility for the divisional Safeguarding team, a department dealing with the extremely vulnerable, however, do not spend enough time with them due to me covering divisional CID. The safeguarding DI's role should be a full time post, and not an 'add on' to the divisional DI role. I work full shifts, including sets of 12 hour night shifts, covering 3 divisions. I cannot give full support to my Safeguarding role due to this. In some other areas of the Force, the Safeguarding Inspectors role is their only role. I frequently have to cancel my midweek days off, in order to get to Safeguarding board meetings, as I am the divisional representative (Region 2 DI, male 17 years service).*

*While I have a primary role I also have specialist skills, which are called upon resulting in extra hours having to be worked. I also provide cover for my 24/7 colleagues when they need a day off or are on annual leave. These additional demands mean that the 'day job' backs up and consequently overtime is necessary or the 'day job' will grind to a halt. Unfortunately there is no cover for my main role and no backfill to cover my work so I either put in extra overtime or let the backlog grow. My pride in providing a professional service will not accept allowing a backlog to grow as it undermines public confidence in policing (Scotland Community Inspector, male 25 years of service).*

*On the Local Policing Unit in which I am employed there are not enough Inspectors to cover all of the roles and corresponding annual leave. For example there are 5 shift Inspectors and I am a Neighbourhood Inspector. I am frequently asked to cover for shift Inspectors when they are on courses/annual leave etc. I have absolutely no issues doing this cover as my colleagues need their time off too. However, take this week – I have completed 4 days shift cover out of 5. I am therefore working one of my weekly leave days to simply catch up on my neighbourhood work. If there was more resilience, i.e. more Inspectors posted to the LPU, then the 'cover' could be shared out more and those Inspectors with other roles could complete their own work in duty time instead of working additional days (Region 3 Community Inspector, female 16 years service).*

*Working in a small Force also requires a lot of 'double hatting' that further impacts on resilience in certain roles (Region 4 Inspector, male 22 years service).*

An issue that is causing particular concern among the Inspecting Ranks is Regulation A19 – enforced retirement after 30 years service<sup>109</sup> – not simply on the part of those served an A19 notice but their junior colleagues who lose the guidance, support and skills of their mentors. To return to our local comprehensive school, now the Head Teacher wants to (arbitrarily) dismiss all the senior staff simply to save money, regardless of whether they teach physics, biology, chemistry or indeed any other core subject on the national curriculum.

#### Redundant Experience

*The budget cuts have meant that my force has invoked Regulation A19 for Inspectors to Chief Superintendent Ranks. They do not appear to be taking individuals into account and, as a result, are creating a skills and experience vacuum that will adversely impact upon service delivery. There are Operational (Response) Inspectors subject to Regulation A19 that will have to leave the force by 31/03/11, and for whom there are no immediate replacements. This means that those who remain (me included) will have to 'fill the void' and this, I'm sure, will lead to extended working hours (Region 5 Operational Inspector, male 29 years service).*

*A19 will force Officers with 30 years in to retire regardless of their ability or wishes. This will be done on the grounds of economy NOT efficiency (Region 4 DI male 29 years service).*

*A number of Inspectors have been forced to retire, A19, apparently before it was determined whether Inspectors in non-operational roles could be released to fill the gaps or were fit for operational duties (Region 5 Operational Inspector, male 28 years service).*

*Following A19 this area [CID] will become harder for the Inspecting rank – downsizing in Superintending ranks will not support informed decision making (Region 3 DI, male 18 years service).*

*The job has to be done regardless of hours worked' is certainly still a catchphrase of some areas of Police business and as such the job has survived for many years on the goodwill of its staff and the ability of managers to galvanise a team of people to such an extent that they all want to work for each other. Never has such management experience and ability been needed more than it will be during the next few years, albeit that certain Police Forces seem hell bent on removing it by way of A19 (Region 1 DCI male 26 years service).*

When asked directly about the lack of resilience within the Inspecting Ranks, more than three-quarters of the respondents in England and Wales either 'strongly agreed' (38 per cent) or 'agreed' (40 per cent) with the following statement: 'There isn't enough resilience to avoid extended hours'. In Scotland the comparable figures were 39 per cent and 38 per cent. The lack of resilience within the Inspecting Ranks, in the words of a Region 1 DI, creates "an underworld culture" of habitually working excessive hours to get the job done:

*"The hours that I work are governed by my personal pride in my job. No consideration is given by anyone as to how realistic it is for me to achieve what is needed within a given time frame. In the past 15 months, the Chief Inspector ranks were reduced by 40 per cent but there was no consideration as to how the remaining 60 per cent would manage the work" (male 28 years service).*

According to an Operational Chief Inspector from Region 6, "The 'culture' is to work until you drop, there is no resilience for Inspecting ranks to take leave, it's more a case of work extra then you may get time off but you will have to use your leave" (male 19 years service). Although working long hours

is rarely expressed in ‘heroic’ language, it is evident that without the ‘individual heroics’ of the Inspecting Ranks the Police Service simply would not function, or at least not to the standards demanded by the government and expected by the public. In many ways, heroic action, as depicted in Figure 7, is the only way to deal with a lack of resilience.

## **IX. Working for the Crown: The ‘Heroics’ of the Inspecting Ranks**

As servants of the Crown, police officers are ‘obliged’ to work as directed (or rather commanded). When Inspectors work overtime they do so for ‘Queen and country’. As a DI from Region 6 pointed out: *“If I work 60 hours per week then 20 are for the Queen!”* (male 28 years service). Many other Inspectors expressed similar sentiments and acknowledged the ‘obligations’ imposed on them by the Police Service. In fact, when presented with the statement: ‘The job has to be done regardless of hours worked’, almost 85 per cent of Inspectors in England and Wales either ‘agreed’ (46.9 per cent) or ‘strongly agreed’ (37.7 per cent). In Scotland the comparable figure was 87 per cent.

### The Queen’s Shilling

*... we are constantly reminded (although many of us were never party to it) that overtime was ‘bought out’ in the mid 1990s. I don’t work over much at the moment. I could, but I don’t and I do my work in my allotted shifts. I’m fortunate at the moment (I haven’t been in the past) but Inspectors who do work over now do so for the Queen and we’ve all grown to accept that* (Region 5 DI, female 22 years service).

*Our Force has no ‘time off in lieu’ system for any overtime worked, it’s regarded as ‘for the Queen’. Senior Management promotes a long hours culture by working to that model themselves and placing the expectation on Inspectors that they will follow their example* (Region 5 DI, 16 years service).

*The opinion of some of our Chief Officers is that we have accepted the ‘Queen’s Shilling’ and therefore we, as Chief Inspectors, knew what to expect in terms of the need to work long hours and be flexible! Long hours cost me my marriage and being forced to travel ever further distances without the same perks as Superintendents, is costing me a fortune! But I did accept the Queen’s Shilling of Course!* (Region 8 DI, male 27 years service).

While policing might be realised ‘within a bureaucratic, rule-oriented, hierarchical structure of command and control’ (working for the Queen), which ultimately ‘compels’ the Inspecting Ranks to work long hours in response to the exigencies of duty or inefficiencies of management, it is also practised within a ‘loose confederation of colleagues’ (working with fellow officers)<sup>110</sup> which reinforces the ‘autonomy paradox’ by focusing the attention of Inspectors on their professional commitment to the job and their co-workers. As a result, many Inspectors, like managers in other areas of the public sector,<sup>111</sup> frequently take personal responsibility (or blame) for the high(er) volume of work they are now expected to undertake. Many will even express ‘guilt’, or more likely are made to feel ‘guilty’ (a ‘shirker’), if they leave work on time or refuse to work additional hours. Using a soccer analogy, an Operational Inspector from Region 1 described this culture in his Force in the following terms: *“if you refuse to work long hours and refuse to chop and change your duties then you are not considered ‘onside’”* (male 29 years service).

## Feeling Guilty

*... there is an expectation placed upon me by the organisation and probably myself that I should work longer hours. I regularly work a 50+ hour week and only occasionally claw back a few hours here and there – when I do, I feel incredibly guilty about it (Region 5 DI, male 29 years service).*

*Officers who regularly work beyond the hours bought out, should be allowed to take that time back as time off without being made to feel guilty (Region 6 DI, female 26 years service).*

*I very rarely do my rostered 8 hour and do feel guilty if I leave on time, often saying: 'I am leaving early today' when actually I am going on time (Region 5 DCI, male 20 years service).*

*I think that there is an expectation from Senior Officers that those of Inspector rank and above should work additional hours, even if there is no necessity for them doing so. It is commented on or met with surprise if you actually leave work on time! (Scotland Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*I'm not sure you will move managers away from their long hour's culture. Anyone only doing 40 hours per week is almost looked on a some sort of shirker, and they also don't like it if you do a short day to catch up after a long day, again that is seen as taking the p\*\*\* (Region 8 Inspector, 25 years service).*

*I work excessive extended hours as and when there is a need as necessitated by my role ... There is a feeling that the 'job' expects extra hours to be worked on a daily basis and one can end up feeling guilty for not doing so (Region 5 DI, male 26 years service).*

*The long hours culture is ingrained – even when I leave after my eight hours, without a break, I am still made to feel guilty and thought not to be committed. Although I like my job, the pressure of work and the expectations, coupled with the uncaring ruthless senior management style has thoroughly sickened me (Region 2 Community Inspector, female 27 years service).*

*I have definitely been conditioned to feel guilty if I do not put long hours in and it is a discipline to finish on time and take time off (Region 1 DCI, male 20 years service).*

*I have progressed through my career in an atmosphere of 'the job has to be done'. Working 8 hours as a detective is not part of the agenda, you may have the odd shorter day BUT I feel guilty if I leave after 8 hours so a 'short' day is unlikely to happen (Region 5 DI, male 19 years service).*

*I work at Scotland Yard. The hour's culture is strong. Sometimes you feel guilty sneaking out at 6pm! (Region 8 DI, male 17 years service).*

*Last week, I went home after 8 hours and felt that I was being cheeky (Region 7 DI, female 20 years service).*

*There is a culture of working long hours in this organisation. Colleagues feel they have to apologise if they leave after 'only' eight hours (Region 3 CI, male 15 years service).*

*There is much more pressure consciously/unconsciously to work longer hours, particularly Inspecting Ranks. This seems to be a trend that has gradually permeated in and become what is now the norm. There is a feeling of guilt amongst some staff if they are not seen to be doing much*

*more than their designated hours on a daily basis. This in increased due to the lack of resilience in key roles (Region 6 DI, female 12 years service).*

*There IS an expectation by senior ranks that we will do the hours and a feeling that those who stick doggedly to 8 hours are not 'pulling their weight'. I find myself being guilty of that sometimes ... we do not have sympathetic management who are realistic about the demands they place on Boroughs and that is passed down the line (Region 8 CI, male 24 years service).*

*There is now a culture at Inspecting Rank of working extended hours as being the norm. If I don't work at least 5 hours extra per week then I feel I am cheating the organisation. The norm is around 8-10 extra hours. I anticipate I will work over 300 extra hours this year to get the job done. This is well over the annual leave entitlement I get. This culture is particularly prevalent on the Community Teams, where you feel guilty if you only do a straight 8 hours shift (Region 2 Community Inspector, male 15 years service).*

*On one occasion where I had worked 10 out of 12 weekends, in addition to my day job, I refused to work a protest demonstration as I was exhausted. I felt guilty all day though as my Chief Inspector worked it for me! (Region 1 Community Inspector, male 23 years service).*

Rather than depict their actions as 'heroic', most Inspectors referred to the 'demands of the job' and the expectations of senior management as the principal causes of excessive hours. It seems that in the modern-day 'time greedy' Police Service a new breed of 'Smart macho managers are driven by their own competitiveness and give short shrift to employees less eager to work excessive hours or unable to deliver to tight schedules'.<sup>112</sup> When asked why they don't refuse excessive hours, many Inspectors commented on not wanting this to be "seen as a weakness" (Region 8 DI, male 16 years service). For one woman in her early fifties, this was articulated as a "fear of appearing a weak 'aging' female unable to cope with 'sharp end' policing" (Region 5 Inspector, 24 years service).

### A Heroic Culture?

*The service is currently being driven by a long working hour's culture. I have witnessed Senior Management Team meetings where officers have been working very excessive hours and rather than be disappointed they have done so, have used them as a badge of honour: 'look I am top of the charts again, I must be doing all the work'. The Chief Superintendent then followed up with: 'that is the role requirement and I expect the same from you'. This culture needs to be broken as all it is doing is breaking the staff (Region 6 Traffic Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*The Inspector rank holds little regard for senior officers in the Force. Since 1994 a culture of long hours has built up especially amongst Detective Inspectors. With on call requirements becoming more and more demanding with no resilience some DI's and Inspectors are working night shifts to cover on call and then days to cover the day-to-day requirements. There is no reward other than pride and to finish early which I would add would be 'on time'. Questions have been asked about commitment which causes longer working hours due to the professional guilt felt (Region 2 DI, male 20 years service).*

*There is sometimes an implied (or maybe it's just inferred) need to work longer than the contracted hours. This isn't helped by comments about being a 'clock watcher'. Woe betides you if you dare to be more interested in your quality of life with your family. There is bullying from management in the way they expect others (but not themselves) to behave (Scotland DI, male 22 years service).*

*The 91 hours, 5 rest days I took with me to my new job from Temp Chief Inspector over 6 months shows the amount I worked above and beyond normal hours. You can refuse, but you won't get on, developed or helped. I got in one morning at 0700 for morning briefing across the division as duty command team member. I carried out the meeting at 0815 then another with Chief Officers at 0900. I wanted to see my daughter in her school play at 1600 so left my office at 1530. Passing CID I saw the divisional commander. I said goodbye, the reply I got was, 'Half day today?' I replied the hours I had worked and was given the reply, 'Well I have been in since 0700, you don't see me leaving.' This culture is eroding any good will and the ability of middle managers to make effective, coherent decisions. The Inspecting Ranks are putting themselves in jeopardy when making decisions when they have worked so many hours (Region 5 Support Inspector, male 22 year service).*

*The long hour's culture exists and is alive and kicking in [my Force], it is the norm and is expected by Force and Divisional Command of its Senior and Middle Leaders. You are regarded as not being interested or committed if you do not work excessive hours, despite all the false posturing from above to the contrary. Force leadership are obsessed about 'driving performance' being 'visible' and 'leading from the front'. Unfortunately they equate this with the number of hours worked ... If you start at 8.00am on division and are seen leaving at 4.00pm then you would be regarded as being lazy. Those that start at 7.00am and can be seen still at the helm at 7.00pm are the ones who will be viewed as committed and 'driving performance'. Everything is about 'pace' and 'urgency' so you have to be there to get it done 'now' (Region 1 DCI, male 25 years service).*

*Despite the issue of staffing being raised the SMT continue to flog officers instead of addressing the problems and easing the burdens. Nobody is interested. If you complain you are being negative and 'we want solutions not problems' is thrown at you. Senior officers are oblivious to the pressures officers are under and so long as their figures are in the right area they don't care about staff welfare (Region 4 Inspector, male 21 years service).*

When asked directly whether 'working long hours is necessitated by my role', over three-quarters of respondents to the survey in England and Wales either 'agreed' (41 per cent) or 'strongly agreed' (35 per cent) with this statement. In Scotland, the comparable proportion of Inspectors who agreed or strongly agreed with this statement was over 79 per cent. Two DIs from Region 1 described the 'necessities' of their role in the following terms:

*"There is a culture, particularly within the CID and role of Operational DI, that you are paid to work as many hours as required to 'get the job done'. Albeit the organisation is saying the right things to move on from this, the reality is that due to the workload and responsibility on my post it is very difficult to not work long hours"* (male 13 years service).

*"The culture of the CID always has been linked to extended hours and an expectancy that you will commit to this culture. As a Detective Inspector this is very much the case and sometimes is like a badge of honour displaying your commitment to achieving the objectives of the investigation"* (male 21 years service).

While the nature of police work and the dysfunctional management of the Police Service clearly 'necessitate' long hours, there was often a suggestion, frequently expressed as an accusation, that some Inspectors put in extra hours in pursuit of promotion. When asked whether 'Working long hours is a prerequisite to achieving promotion', two-thirds of respondents agreed (41.8 per cent) or strongly agreed (24.6 per cent) with this statement in England and Wales. The comparable figures for Scotland were 15.9 per cent (strongly agree) and 35.5 per cent (agree). To be sure, many inspectors expressed the contrary view that long hours were *not* required for promotion, but comments suggest that this



might be more a reflection of what *should happen* (i.e. promotion on the basis of proven ability and specialist skills) rather than what many Inspectors believe *actually happens* in many cases (i.e. Inspectors willing to accept the long hours culture to ingratiate themselves with senior management and ‘do time’ to secure promotion).<sup>113</sup> Fear of being ‘passed over’ for promotion was certainly a common response to an open-ended question asking Inspectors whether they had raised any concerns about the adverse effects of long working hours.

#### Time for Promotion

*The long hour’s culture is totally embedded in my Force. If you don’t work stupid hours then you have no chance of gaining the next rank* (Region 2 Operational Inspector, male 28 years service).

*Fear of detrimental effect on career and being labelled as ‘not up to the job’ by senior managers* (Region 2 DI, male 26 years service).

*Promotion is still seen as ‘jobs for the boys’ and long hours are part of that culture* (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 10 years service).

*There is an expectation that in order to get promoted, candidates will be willing to ‘jump through hoops’. If you refuse to ‘work through’ or work rest days at very short notice, then you feel that you will be penalised* (Region 1 Inspector, male 27 years service).

An example of how individual heroics – working excessive hours – can create and reinforce dysfunctional systems and processes is the motivation (and methods) to secure promotion to CI/DCI. One of the proposals to come out of the Sheehy Inquiry<sup>114</sup> was to abolish the rank of Chief Inspector. Largely as result of opposition to this proposal, which was part of a wider campaign of action against Sheehy’s recommendations, the rank was retained but without a proper pay spine. As a result, the rank of CI/DCI is widely regarded as either unattractive or nothing more than a stepping stone to Superintendent.<sup>115</sup> The impact of this is twofold. First, many well qualified inspectors are deterred from applying for promotion, which can reinforce a widely held perception that only those who work long hours or whose ‘face fits’ will be promoted. This applies in particular to women who already work a ‘second shift’ (i.e. domestic responsibilities) and who often find it more difficult to accumulate the required experience in ‘real police work’ to be considered for promotion.<sup>116</sup>

#### Motivation for Promotion?

*Who wants to be a CI these days – their expected ‘shifts’ are hellish* (Scotland Support Inspector, male 22 years service).

*You are then [at CI rank] required to sell your soul to the devil and long days become standard!* (Region 8 Operational Inspector, male 27 years service).

*To put self forward means almost ‘selling your soul’ to the job ... those at Chief Inspector and above are moved every year and having a family I’m not prepared to buy into this* (Region 1 Support Inspector, female 26 years service).

*I like being an Inspector and the pay for Chief Inspectors is a joke for what they have to do!* (Region 2 Operational Inspector, male 27 years service).

*Chief Inspectors are expected to work much longer hours for no extra pay/reward (Region 1 Inspector, female 16 years service).*

*Why would I want to be a CI and work their long hours!!! (Region 5 Operational Inspector, female 18 years service).*

*I cannot see the point in becoming a Chief Inspector for the equivalent of the cost of a Starbucks coffee per day (Region 8 DI, male 27 years service).*

*Basically the demand of the organisation upon the CI rank is not worth only £3k per year above my top Inspector's pay level (Region 5 Community Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*It is clear that the working hours of Chief Inspectors are ridiculously excessive. All the time that is the case I will not apply for promotion (Region 5 Operational Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*Senior officers (Superintendents and ACPO) 'talk work life balance' but the brutal truth is that they 'cane' the Inspecting ranks. I would not go for CI, despite being asked to apply, as this rank is caned even more than Inspector. There is a real culture that working long hours will help with promotion to Superintendent, which is the goal of an awful lot of CIs ... All this is encouraged by senior ranks who want to get the job done for their own promotion and also to cut costs (Region 4 Inspector, male 21 years service).*

*Cannot see any reason why I would want to perform the next level – added pressure, little extra pay, you need to be in the right 'clique' to be recommended (Region 3 Operational Inspector, male 25 years service).*

*Not in the Senior Women in Policing (SWIP) network or any other network, don't play football, cricket or fishing (Region 3 Operational Inspector, female 22 years service).*

*At this rank I have some say in what I do and where I go. The next rank (CI) your life is in the hands of the command team (Region 2 Traffic Inspector, female 22 years service).*

*Do not want to work any other excessive hours and be treated as a chattel by the organisation (Region 2 Inspector, female 21 years service).*

*Chief Inspecting – who'd do that for the money? The only reason you'd be a Chief Inspector is to be a Superintendent. You wouldn't want to be left as a Chief Inspector very long, not for a few hundred pounds on your pension and a few thousand on your commutation (Region 3 Support Inspector, male 25 years service).*

*I don't want to become a SMT slave just to become a Superintendent (Region 8 DI, male 29 years service).*

*Limited time left in the service, CI rank not attractive due to hours worked, insufficient time to become superintendent (Region 4 Inspector, male 28 years service).*

*Promotion to Chief Inspector would greatly increase my responsibilities but not my remuneration. In the current climate there is virtually no chance of promotion to Superintendent (Region 5 DI, male 19 years service).*

*Do not want to 'live for the job', that's what is now expected of CI's and Superintendents (Region 2 Community Inspector, male 26 years service).*

*I have no aspirations to become a Superintendent or above so there is no real advantage in becoming a Chief Inspector and certainly not worth all the added work involved to enable you to even be considered for promotion (Region 1 Support Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*The CI rank is pointless unless you want to be ACPO (Region 2 Community Inspector, male 29 years service).*

*The work of the next rank does not inspire me; and the pay (of a Chief Inspector) doesn't make it worthwhile. I would be expected to do longer hours to get a recommendation for the promotion process; work longer hours in that rank; and continue to work longer hours in the hope of making it to the Superintendent rank (Region 3 Support Inspector, male 22 year service).*

*The Chief Inspector rank is hugely unattractive and only has some point if one believes that promotion to Superintendent is a realistic prospect – it is not (Region 6 Community Inspector, male 25 years service).*

*The Chief Inspector rank has never looked so unattractive. I watch with concern and little envy as I see them struggle to undertake the organisational functions of what used to be that of a Superintendent and a Chief Inspector. I know of numerous talented Inspectors who now have no aspiration for promotion as they see their work-life balance tip even further into the red (Scotland Operational Inspector, male 17 years service).*

Secondly, many Inspectors believe that their own CI/DCI is only interested in promotion to the higher ranks and is therefore more than willing to put in long hours (and expect Inspectors/DIs to likewise work excessive hours) and they simply impose the target regime handed down from senior management (i.e. insist on 'doing it right' rather than 'doing the right thing'). Support from line management, or conversely a lack of support from senior management, proved to be an important mediating variable in the working lives of the Inspecting Ranks<sup>117</sup> and was widely regarded as part-and-parcel of the fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes that characterise the Police Service.

#### Not all Senior Managers are Supportive

*Working hours very much depend upon your managers. My role means that I need to work long hours, but it is a role that I enjoy. My managers are very much aware of the hours that we work in our team and provide a considerable amount of support (picking up many unsocial duties as they acknowledge that they are paid considerably more). Without this acknowledgement and support then long hours would have a far greater impact on my health, family and social life (Region 5 Operational CI, male 18 years service).*

*I have an agreement with my line manager that when I need to work long hours I do so, but I then also work shortened hours on other days to compensate. Cancelled rest days are slightly different, those I simply take as a day back (regardless of notification periods); however if it's an operation subject to the Hertfordshire agreement<sup>118</sup> I also put in a bonus payment application or take the time in lieu at the Hertfordshire rates. All of this is done in negotiation with my line manager who is supportive. I have run this arrangement with the last three line managers in this department and numerous in the previous department (HQ) (Region 6 Inspector, male 16 years service).*

*... current management are supportive and allow time off when required. This comes at the price of being on call for 1 week in 4 but it is recognised if required. In a previous role, however, I was working on average a 50 hour week and was simply told you need to take some time back, but with no cover to do this and pressure to hit performance targets it was easier to work than have a day off and have to work longer to catch up (Region 4 Inspector, male 10 years service).*

*Although I do work erratic hours ... I generally have flexibility to 'grab' a few hours back without a need to record hours formerly. This is mainly due to having a supportive line manager (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 28 years service).*

*... we have always relied on give and take, working excessive hours to get the job done, but management allowing flexibility to ensure staff are happy in their roles. As the years have progressed there has been much less opportunity for flexibility, much less give and a lot less resilience. It is interesting to note your question: 'Have you ever refused to work excessive hours'. A discussion between myself, the other DI and DCI in my office was illuminating, in 70 years of policing we had never said 'No' (Region 5 DI, 24 years service).*

*Generally the requirement to work long hours in headquarters roles is a cultural one, rather than a functional one. At divisions the reverse is true ... Individual line managers are supportive and can offer flexibility when required, but the extent of any benefit is weighted toward the organisation, and the general view of the organisation is that this is correct (Scotland Support Inspector, male 11 years service).*

*Long hours linked to a strong performance culture has for a long time been used to 'bully' staff to achieve sometimes meaningless targets ... As a vocation as opposed to simply a job I have never minded working long hours where this would help achieve objectives that match my personal values, e.g. making a difference to my local community. I have felt uncomfortable with the pressure and bullying that accompanies Task & Coordination Group based performance that simply chases figures (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 26 years service).*

*I believe that inspectors' welfare, arising from hours and conditions, is widely disregarded by all the SMTs I have worked for in this rank. I believe it is assumed that people can and/or will want to work for 11hrs or 12hrs a day, like SMTs they work for, because they don't want to be seen as not pulling their weight. I have NEVER, ever been subject to a workload management conversation by a senior officer whilst I've been in this rank and I believe that the service has allowed a benign culture of bullying to emerge, which is predicated on presumptions that inspectors always want to work long hours or can just be relied upon to acquiesce (Region 8 DI, male 30 years service).*

*Extremely poor support from SMT to the point where looking back on it, it was just plain bullying ('I don't give a fuck about your Anti-Social Behaviour and community confidence issues, just get the fuckin' burglaries reduced' was a particularly positive piece of feedback received from one Chief Inspector) ... I dearly love this role, just not the culture it exists in (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 26 years service).*

*I applied for a condensed hour's contract thinking it would be refused. To my delight it has been honoured but there is still an expectation that I will work long hours just because my boss works long hours (Region 4 Support Inspector, male 16 years service).*

*My view is that once officers reach the rank of Inspector the perception is that they have to be seen to work long hours in order to show dedication. Under the previous Chief Constable in [my Force], there was a very tough 'regime' which encouraged a bullying culture. Since a change at the top,*

*[my Force] is a much more reasonable place to work (Region 5 Support Inspector, male 17 years service).*

*I constantly have to work long hours. I have raised the issue with my line manager who expects me to 'manage my time better'! If I did that my work would suffer and I would not be performing! So it's a lose-lose situation for me, and win-win for the job. The job owes me 450 hours for the last 3 years of being an Inspector! (Region 5 Support Inspector, female 10 years service).*

## **X. Whither Professional Pride? Fragmented and Dysfunctional Systems and Processes**

If individual Inspectors take it upon themselves to maintain the standards of service expected of the police, and in doing so maintain their own identity as police officers and their professional commitment to the job, then woe betide the organisation if it frustrates their 'individual heroics'. To do so would be to undermine both the quality of service and the professional pride of individual Inspectors. But to do so is inevitable because individual heroics create and compound the fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes that characterise the modern-day Police Service, as depicted in Figure 7.

More than most organisations, the Police Service is dependent on the professionalism, commitment and goodwill of its staff. As already noted, for the vast majority of Inspectors, policing is a vocation and not simply a job. To be sure, pay and benefits are important, as they are in any occupation, but Inspectors talk passionately about 'professional pride' and how this drives them to work hard and accept the long hours of work that 'come with the job'.

### Professional Pride

*With personal responsibility comes long hours. A sense of ownership and pride in the work done as a Detective demands that you have to commit to leading teams beyond any anticipated 8 hour tour of duty ... we must accept that if we are to claim the title of being professional then in some cases we will work long hours to achieve operational aims (Region 8 DI, male 25 years service).*

*It's a matter of personal pride that I take in my job to complete my tasks. I wouldn't want to walk away at 4pm each day knowing I hadn't finished what I was doing (Region 5 DI, female 17 years service).*

*Personal pride in your role plays a big part in time worked. You want to achieve success, be good at your job (Region 3 Community Inspector, male 31 years service).*

*Once you have accepted responsibility for a serious investigation, personal pride, wanting to catch those responsible, not wanting to make mistakes, etc, all dictate that you are likely to spend a lot of time at work (Region 2 DCI, male 26 years service).*

*If you have pride in your job and want to do well you see no alternative but to work for extended periods (Region 4 DCI, female 14 years service).*

*The Service still relies on a lot of good will from many officers. Professional pride means we will see the job through (Region 5 Operational Inspector, male 20 years service).*

*I usually work an average of between 55-70 hours a week. The job must get done and if you take personal pride in what you do and enjoy the job you will work these hours (Region 2 DI, male 22 years service).*

*I pride myself on providing a service to our communities ... if I am going to do what is expected of me to a good standard I can see no way forward other than to work such long hours (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 20 years service).*

*Our work cannot be 'handed on' – it is our specific expertise which drives demand for our unique experience/knowledge. It is our commitment to 'doing our best' which keeps us at work longer than we know we should, it is not about money or getting time back, it is a genuine desire to do our best (Region 2, DCI, male 23 years service).*

*Last year (2010) I worked an extra 350 hours. That is nearly 9 weeks. I feel a bit of a mug when I do the maths but personal pride and desire to get the job done always drives me ... I love what I do (Region 4 Community CI, male 17 years service).*

*... the Police Service is lucky to have staff that are driven by their own personal morals and work ethic in the service they deliver to the public ... This motivation rarely stems from direct leadership or the organisation (Region 2 Support Inspector, male 17 years service).*

The combination of a 'more for less' mentality and unnecessary bureaucracy threatens to erode the commitment and professional pride of the Inspecting and indeed all other Ranks within the Police Service. All police officers are well aware that 'in this age of austerity, the police will have to make hard choices about how they use their resources'.<sup>119</sup> At present, available resources are not always used in the most efficient or effective manner. This is certainly true of the diminishing resources available within the Inspecting Ranks, not only in terms of personnel numbers but also their skills, experience and deployment. An Operational CI from Region 5 expressed the sentiments of many Inspectors in the following terms:

*"... as well as cutting command numbers we have also cut admin and executive support, so as well as far more work funnelling into fewer people there is less support to filter what does arrive, so without wanting to appear arrogant there is a proportion of what I do that does not need my pay grade to deal with it, and probably not the pay grade of hard pressed Inspectors, but there is simply nowhere for it to go; so it either adds to your admin burden or does not get done. The bottom line is that you do not show leadership by doing your e-mails, but you can only ignore the e-mail chaff for so long. I worked 60 hours last week including spending some time out on the street showing some visible leadership; I now have 229 unread e-mails, was I wrong to spend time with my people? I don't think so but nonetheless the e-mails keep piling up. Will I have to work harder in the future? Of course I will. Can I add more to the business? I think I can. Is extending my working day and doing it on my own the answer? Only in the short term" (male 20 years service).<sup>120</sup>*

The needless bureaucracy that frustrates police officers, creating a situation where the checks outweigh the balances, has been carefully documented by Jan Berry, who notes how the 'old bureaucracy [is] quickly replaced by new demands for data and information'.<sup>121</sup> This is how the 'old compounds the new' in one Force in Region 4:

*"We never got one lot of change embedded before we were onto the next. Processes had too many links in the chain due to auditing requirements. Too many 'checks and balance' roles. Also too many bosses to report to – nobody knows these days who their line manager is at Inspector level as we seem to report to numerous. Now economic pressure has inevitably brought cuts, mergers and changes to business processes. The speed that they have required these changes has meant poorly scoped structures and processes, and knee-jerk responses" (Operational CI, male 23 years service).*

Inspectors in other Forces share this experience:

*“I perceive a lack of confidence amongst colleagues, engendered through a lack of support from senior leadership ... In the current climate, people don't get a chance to absorb one piece of organisational change before they're bombarded with another. This can lead to ambiguity, which impacts on managers' decision-making abilities re knowledge and confidence to do this”* (Scotland Support CI, male 26 years service).

Bureaucratic accountability – as opposed to democratic accountability – has created fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes within the Police Service. This, in turn, frustrates individual officers, erodes professional pride, and undermines the service provided by the police:

Such an approach can take the heart out of policing, particularly where philanthropic values are replaced by calculators, where activity becomes a unit of efficiency and where we know the price of everything and the value of nothing. Where process dictates the way we operate, where ‘doing the thing right’, according to the prescribed rules laid down, is more important than ‘doing the right thing’. The rules become more important than the outcomes.<sup>122</sup>

The barriers to effective policing are systematically documented in the *Final Report on Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing* (October 2010) and are worth repeating here:

Barriers: a combination of ...

- Complex accountability and confused governance arrangements, particularly at a national level which create shared but diluted responsibility, where decision-making can be passed on and no-one held ultimately responsible
- Over-reliance on quantifiable performance and productivity measures – what gets counted (inspected) gets done at the expense of long term qualitative improvements
- Disproportionate and overlapping inspection and audit regimes – requiring demonstration of compliance with inflexible clinical ‘production line’ process
- Incompatible external and competitive internal performance measures which fail to value or incentivise partnership and collaborative working
- Inconsistent leadership, lack of trust, poor risk management and an ‘institutionalised’ blame culture
- Basic skills shortages, lack of experience in decision making and excessive use of gate keepers
- Insularity, parochialism (‘not invented here’ syndrome) and the pursuance of personal interest rather than the common good
- No formal recognition of appropriate and proportionate ‘out of court’ or alternative disposals
- Fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes, where greater attention is given to recording than investigation, numbers managed more than people and analysts used as statisticians

- Incompatible IT
- Poor commissioning, co-ordination and sharing of learning from projects resulting in duplication of effort and waste
- Poor benchmarking, hasty implementation, disparate monitoring and evaluation arrangements with tendency to implement solutions before fully understanding problem
- Over-reliance on short-term, stand-alone ‘statistically significant’ solutions promoting transactional rather than transformational change
- Political timetables and adoption of solutions that demonstrate the greatest statistical benefit

Different combinations of these various barriers to effective policing are captured in the comments of countless Inspectors who responded to our surveys on working time. For many, the Service has now reached breaking point, or is already broken, as one of our focus group participants from Region 7 explained: *“We make the broken machine work because if we didn’t it would collapse and then what would happen?”*

#### Barriers to Effective Policing

*The inspecting ranks have been eroded beyond the point of efficiency and lack resilience. This contributes to the lack of skills at lower ranks, as the Inspecting Ranks have less disposable time to pass on skills acquired through experience. This has gradually permeated down to the front line and it is clear we now have Sergeants who lack the necessary experience and skills to carry out basic leadership and operational tasks and pass on experience and guidance to Constables. There is barely enough time to accomplish the necessary tasks during a shift and any spare capacity which could be used to address quality issues has diminished (Scotland Inspector, male 23 years service).*

*Too frequently our Inspectors, who are first line managers, spend lots of time collecting and explaining/justifying performance data for the past rather than leading their staff in to activity for the future. Our sergeants are getting younger and more inexperienced. We lack robust processes for selection and there is an absence of capacity to offer them the leadership they need and deserve. This is a downward spiral that needs breaking (Region 5 DI, male 20 years service).*

*We suffer from poor management, poor management training and lack of supervision and competence in ranks below as a result. ‘Intrusive supervision’ becomes micromanagement and you are only as good as your next mess up; given the pressure on us and the demands we face it is inevitable that at some point we WILL mess up, and I think many of us work too long hours to: a) try to complete work demanded to unrealistic timescales, and b) to build up good will from managers when we DO mess up (Region 8 Operational CI, male 24 years service).*

*The ‘performance related’ bonuses applied in senior ranks are ‘out of tune with the spirit of policing’. Good officers work the hours they need to get the job done and this should not include committing all to Home Office ‘flights of fancy’ that distract them from their real job. The strength of the Police Service relates directly to those officers and staff delivering to the public, senior management should be supporting them, not as it currently feels that we are all here to support the management! I work longer hours to prevent these administrative tasks being handed down to my operational officers and taking them away from their job of investigating crime (Region 8 DI, male 23 years service).*



*The necessity for extended hours is I feel driven by the demands of senior officers for excessive reporting and auditing of officers work and the relentless pursuit of targets, regardless of actual public demand (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 20 years service).*

Just two examples will serve to highlight the frustrations caused by fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes. The first was not a specific focus of the two surveys but was raised by countless Inspectors in the ‘free text’ box at the end of the questionnaire<sup>123</sup> and was reiterated in all the focus group meetings, namely the ‘target culture’ that characterises modern-day policing:

*“Very challenging targets are set at a variety of senior levels. Senior police officers will not dare to challenge or admit that any particular target cannot be achieved. To do so would represent career suicide. The task, no matter how unrealistic or achievable is accepted as it is presented. Commands are then delivered to junior managers within the organisation to deliver on these targets. Where the target cannot be achieved the individual faces three basic choices: (1) work longer hours or ask staff to do so in order to achieve it, (2) not achieve it but tell lies to say it has been achieved, (3) be honest and say it has not and cannot be done within the existing resource constraints. Significant amounts of performance measurement within the organisation are undertaken on a self-inspection basis, devoid of any external scrutiny at a sufficiently deep level to reveal dishonesty in claims of achievement. The second of these choices is therefore a viable route along which one can proceed with little risk of discovery. The third choice is an unpalatable one which leaves the first option. Any steps to eradicate the tendency of staff to work whatever hours are necessary to achieve the task will face immediate resistance from anyone whose career opportunities or very survival are inextricably linked to performance. Breaking such a link would involve a whole change of political culture and a willingness to embrace honest dialogue about what can be realistically achieved within the means available. In a sense a human being is like a machine, there must be a finite limit to what can be achieved. Once that limit is reached the machine must either be overloaded or it must be accepted that no further output can be delivered from it. No amount of performance reviews, efficiency savings or ‘more for less’ incentives can, once the saturation point has been reached, increase an individual’s output. Any attempt to do so represents an assault on the laws of logic and good reason. Unless and until this basic fact is accepted at all levels, we will continue to attempt the impossible and accordingly spend endless hours puzzling why we have not done so or pretend to others and perhaps eventually ourselves that we really have done so” (Region 8 Support Inspector, male 29 years service).*

At a focus group meeting in Region 8, a CI explained how his team had recently mobilised all their resources during rush hour traffic to hit their monthly target for car tax evasion, having been berated via email for missing their target by just one and three vehicles in their last two operations. *“I am not going to get those emails again because every resource that the borough has got is going to go out and be seizing vehicles. I picked the busiest traffic time... I am going to cause complete chaos in the middle of [the town] on that particular day”*. While they might ‘hit the target’, by their own admission this is not the most effective or appropriate use of resources.

The (mis)recording of hours was a specific focus of our surveys and is the second example of how fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes can undermine confidence, trust and professional pride, and in turn compound the lack of resilience that began the time squeeze depicted in Figure 7. It goes without saying that if the working time of Inspectors is to be properly monitored, then the Police Service needs duty management systems that are ‘fit for purpose’.<sup>124</sup> It seems incongruous that while some Forces do indeed have effective IT systems in place that record working hours and allow Inspectors to manage their working time (e.g. work fewer hours this week to compensate for excessive

hours the previous week), these systems are neither uniform nor widely shared. To be sure, the majority of Inspectors have easy access to their employer's record of hours,<sup>125</sup> but a significant proportion (more than a fifth in England and Wales and over 13 per cent in Scotland) did not know straight-away where to get a copy of their employer's record of hours work. Moreover, many inspectors did not regard access to their own record of hours worked to be easy (well over a fifth in England and Wales and 12 per cent in Scotland). Even more telling, when Inspectors checked the record of hours held by their Force, only half the respondents in England and Wales (57 per cent) and 46 per cent in Scotland agreed that the record was accurate.<sup>126</sup>

More than half the respondents in England and Wales (51 per cent) and over three-quarters in Scotland (78 per cent) retrieved their official hours worked data from the Force duty management system, although a significant number of Inspectors had problems retrieving their data.<sup>127</sup> There was a high correlation at the Force level between the ease of recording hours and the accuracy of the record.<sup>128</sup> The more important point about these systems is that they are designed primarily to manage the duty roster rather than the working hours of individual officers, or at least those in the Rank of Inspector who are not paid for overtime. The frustration of using these systems was evidenced by the number of Inspectors who singled out the recording of their hours at the end of the questionnaire when they were invited to 'make any comments you wish about the survey questions and related matters'.

#### Recording Working Time

*In [my Force], Detective Inspectors in an operational role are required to work lengthy hours. Hours are recorded on a software package that doesn't allow recall to duties to be recorded. Hence the information provided is inaccurate. I actually worked 8am-7.30pm on Friday. I was recalled to duty at 9pm Friday and worked until 11am Saturday. I then worked 8am-5pm Sunday. This is not reflected in the records that are maintained by [the Force]. The software deletes excess hours worked on a rolling six months (Region 5 DI, male 20 years service).*

*I used to record my hours, but it all became a bit silly. I was working extended hours, in a department with little resilience and managing a number of risk issues. It was fairly obvious that there was no hope of recovering those hours so I stopped recording them as it all seemed fairly pointless (Region 6 DI, male 21 years service).*

*The system is frustrating because we put our own duties on it but ... it locks out after 7-days. For example, I have tried to put in extra hours worked last week but I cannot show Monday and Tuesday without getting a Superintendent's authorisation. I won't do that because frankly they have more important things to do with their time! So, the system shows I worked 0800-1600 those days (default duty hours) but I did 3 hours O/T over those two days. Not massive figures but none-the-less it doesn't show accurately what I am doing. I end up keeping my own record and managing it myself (Region 5 Inspector, female 20 years service).*

*... in terms of time owed for hours worked our Force policy is for Inspectors to have a maximum of 80 hours and the BCU like this to be 50 hours. I have accrued 270 hours but only 'top up' the force record when I need to take time off to keep their records in balance. I don't disclose my own record to anyone. With regards to booking on and off on the Force system, I just tick the box to show a standard 8am-4pm regardless of what is actually worked. My understanding is that the system is not geared to calculate the total hours worked by Inspectors anyway ... I am aware that colleagues also use this standard booking on and off method and like myself record the actual hours in our written day books and keep our own spreadsheets (Region 1 DI, male 26 years service).*

*There is an expectation that you will deliver even if the hours are long. The duty system used does*

*not record over hours worked it just rosters 8 hour shifts. An example would be duty cover day shifts are 11 hour shifts but are shown as 8 hour shift. Week long night cover is shown as 7 x 8 hour shifts when they are in fact 7 x 13 hours ... There is no formal record keeping that I am aware of i.e. no booking on and off duty against a time card or IT system (Region 2 DI, male 24 years service).*

*As a force we capture hours on CARMS ... [but] ... no one ever looks at CARMS at my level to see what hours are being worked – either to identify that the hours worked aren't being captured or that excessive hours are being worked (Region 1 Support Inspector, female 26 years service).*

*The onus of recording hours worked within [my Force] sits with the individual. As I do not see there to be any benefit, I do not do this, in fact I look upon it as one less task (Region 2 DI, male 24 years service).*

*If you work over the system regards that as excess hours which although counted do not give you a positive/credit balance. Any shifts where you work under time are however noted as un-worked hours – and technically you accumulate a negative balance (which clearly you cannot rebalance). Any finishing early to use your 'extra credit hours' has to be done informally with SMT agreement, as there is no facility formally do this (Region 5 DI, female 22 years service).*

*The Force duty system defaults to showing my duties as 9-5. It doesn't change unless I inform them, and I don't at present. I have previously done so whilst in operational roles, although it did cause problems when I tried to record extra hours pre 0700hrs, as this messed up their system (classed a previous 'police day') (Region 2 Inspector, male 16 years service).*

*I am not allowed to record accrued hours apparently because I don't earn overtime I can't record extra hours or any entitlement to them back. My Force version of recording hours is therefore inaccurate as the system doesn't allow me to do so and I have been told it would be illegal to keep a paper record. Our current system (Promis) will reject an attempted overtime submission for time off as 'Inspecting Ranks cannot earn overtime' and this apparently includes accrual of time owing (Region 2 Traffic Inspector, male 18 years service).*

*My current working pattern is held on a Force Resource data file. It will show me working predominantly 8am-4pm every day. It will not take into account the days I come in at 7am and go home after 5.30pm. It would need me to update this myself every day. There is little point in doing this as Inspectors hours are not saved. We have introduced Gateway and we should give book on-and-off but it doesn't currently work at this level. My line manager/Chief Inspector is aware of the hours I work and supports my efforts and commitment. Sadly he works more hours than me!! (Region 3 DI, male 23 years service).*

*Our Force encourages the use of an electronic timesheet in accordance with the EWTD rules but the sheet is programmed to wipe out any residual hours at the end of each month. I am not certain as to how Inspectors would be able to research their residual time owing other than their own individual records (Region 5 DI, male 18 years service).*

*My Force duty management system does not accurately capture working hours, and will automatically default to my rostered shift pattern unless amendments are made in advance for pre-planned events. There is no mechanism to sign on/off duty and accurately record working hours - this causes me great concern from a command and control perspective (Scotland DI, male 17 years service).*

*I have worked an extra 586hrs (five hundred and eighty six hours) [over the last 10 months] on top*

*of my normal hours. These extra hours do not go onto any form of time off card. In fact, I recently went to a family funeral and took 1 hour off, and recorded it in our duties system. I am now shown to owe the job one hour, which seems absolutely ridiculous as I have worked nearly 600 extra hours. Something clearly needs to be done. I know that the other DIs on my division also work similar 'extra' hours (Region 2 DI, male 22 years service).*

In their comments, several Inspectors refer to their own personal records of working time. In fact, 44 per cent of Inspectors in Scotland and more than two-thirds in England and Wales kept their own personal records of hours worked – in some cases for good reason:

*“Since being promoted in 2003 I have always kept TOIL records of planned requirements to work extended hours and we had a ‘local agreement’ (verbal), supported by an Area Commander, to take TOIL back at flat rate. In October 2010 I had over 600+ TOIL units owing. Our new chief has directed the accumulation to be in breach of regulations, but graciously agreed to allow them to be taken by 31-3-11, at which point any outstanding become void. This would only apply to direct ACPO approval on applications with a clear audit trail (hence I was on a strong wicket). I have been allowed to plan in all those units and by 31-3 will have taken 600. The downside is that squeezing them in has meant working longer hours on working days and I now have a lot of annual leave left that I’m struggling to take!” (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 28 years service).*

It is evident that instead of an integrated system within Forces, let alone across Forces, there are fragmented systems and processes. Personal notebooks are used as a ‘back-up’ because Inspectors no longer trust the system and anticipate being exploited by the system – after all, they do work overtime for free! By way of example, it is common for Inspectors who perform the BCU/BOCU Duty Officer role to start their shift early in order to receive a hand-over from an outgoing colleague, and similarly they then have to stay on at the end of the shift to hand-over to the incoming Duty Officer. This overtime is pre-planned and should therefore be recorded on the duty management or similar IT system (ideally as part of the rostered hours).<sup>129</sup> The survey of Inspectors in Scotland asked about *planned* and *actual* hours during the reference week, with a follow-up question to determine the main reason why planned and actual hours differed.<sup>130</sup> While one-in-ten respondents reported no difference, over 42 per cent reported actual hours in excess of planned hours because of unscheduled overtime hours.<sup>131</sup> While the exigencies of duty account for some unplanned overtime, there is a widespread (often cynical) perception amongst the Inspecting Ranks that senior managers prefer to extend their working day (as opposed to other ranks) because the Inspector’s labour is ‘free’.

### The Free Shilling

*If there was a cost to Inspectors’ hours, then this would be managed far more effectively by the service (Region 7 Community Inspector, male 16 years service).*

*The Inspector rank is used as cheap labour ... I am the poorest paid per hour out of all the ranks in the homicide team when you take into account overtime worked (Region 2 DI, 26 years service).*

*It seems to me that bosses are happy for you to work 8am-4pm days because they can keep you at work longer. Like my Superintendent said to me, ‘I can make my Inspector work what I want because it doesn’t cost me’ (Region 1 DI, male 29 years service).*

*There is a widely held view, if not perception, that the Inspectors’ (and higher ranks’) salary reflects the fact that you are no longer expected to do ‘just 40 hours’. This is sometimes abused by senior*

*officers who will not provide overtime budgets to pay Sergeants/PCs to complete extra work, but will push the work down to the Inspector ranks knowing that we are the lowest rank who 'will have to stay and finish it' at zero cost (financially) (Region 2 Support CI, male 28 years service).*

*There is an overall expectation at whatever Rank that you will work overtime and once past Inspector – it is regarded as 'just the way it is', there is no recognition for the additional hours and invariably it isn't challenged. The organisation does extremely well out of what becomes a cheap work force. If you added up hours actually worked versus actual pay I would be working for about £2 an hour! (Region 4 DI, male 29 years service).*

*If my Force had to pay me and Ranks above me overtime I think they'd take it more seriously. I estimate that in the last couple of years if I got overtime it would cost £20K+ for my Force. I am not saying I should get overtime, I knew what I was signing up for, but extra hours on those who are not paid overtime is a very easy option (Region 3 DI, female 22 years service).*

The dysfunctional nature of the different systems (mis)used to record and manage Inspectors' hours was summed up by a former Inspectors' Federation (PFEW) Representative and 'Federation Friend':

*"Inspectors commonly work at least 2 hours overtime each day and often come in on rest days as well to keep up with their workloads, often without booking on duty on the Force duty system ... when I have asked colleagues why they continued working like this they explained they felt under pressure to keep on top of work from supervisors and also pride in their work. When asked why they were not booking on the duties system as per Force policy it was often explained that they were also being pressured to reduce the number of hours they had accrued. It was perverse"* (Region 1 DI, male 22 years service).

Perverse indeed. Senior management are well aware of the excessive hours worked by the Inspecting Ranks, but with budgets to meet and targets to reach they can easily be tempted to fall back on the cheapest option – extending the working day of the Inspecting Ranks.

The primary effect, of course, is to further reduce organisational and individual resilience. And so the cycle starts again: lack of resilience → individual heroics → fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes → lack of resilience ... At present, there is no sign that the circle will be broken. On the contrary, all the indications suggest an ever decreasing circle. Spinning out from this vicious circle, as depicted in Figure 7, are the consequences for individuals and the organisation, which of course affect us all as citizens.

## **XI. Feeling Ill and Keeping Schtum: The Well-Being of the Inspecting Ranks**

It is well-established that long working hours cause ill-health (see Section III). Two possible mechanisms have been identified to explain this relationship.<sup>132</sup> First, the 'effort-recovery' theory highlights the adverse impact of prolonged insufficient recovery that disturbs physiological processes and, as a consequence, induces health problems. This can arise from regular extended hours (overtime) on top of a standard (9am-5pm) working week (Monday-Friday) and/or shift working designed to provide a 24/7 service.<sup>133</sup> Second, extended hours have been linked to adverse behaviour and habits such as an unhealthy diet, lack of exercise, smoking and drinking which, in turn, cause health problems. The following accounts of ill-health attributed to working long hours will no doubt strike a chord with many in the Inspecting Ranks. One of the most disturbing accounts came from one of our focus group meetings.

### Feeling Ill

*I suffered from stress/depression which was accepted by the Force medical advisor as entirely caused by excessive workload over a 1 year period. Upon the amalgamation of two BCUs my opposite number in the other BCU had been moved to other duties and I had taken over the duties for the entire new BCU. As a result I was on 24/7 call as controller for DSU duties and a member of the BCU SIO call out rota. At first I tried to keep up with the work load by doing extra hours but realised after six months that I still wasn't keeping up, but was feeling the effects physically and mentally. I cut back the additional hours I worked but the amount work outstanding continued to increase. I took two periods off sick in the early part of last year, more than I had taken in the previous 10 years. In July last year the physical effects of the stress became so severe that I was forced to accept I was not well and went sick (Region 7 DI, male 27 years service).*

*I personally am now undertaking the work load and responsibilities of roles that were formally filled by three Inspectors. My health has suffered in the past 18 months and I have had to refer to my GP for the first time in my 21 years career because of work-related stress and frustration issues (Region 2 Support Inspector, male 21 years service).*

*I have never worked as hard in my life as I have since I was promoted to Inspector. Since May 2007, I have accrued 638 hours unpaid work. My blood pressure has increased since I was promoted to DCI and has not returned to its previous level and I am on medication to reduce acid reflux (Region 1 DCI, male 22 years service).*

*Recently diagnosed with chronic fatigue syndrome – had to reduce hours to recover – still on recuperative duties but working full-time as a result of excessive pressure and oppression (Region 6 Operational Inspector, female 25 years service).*

*When at work I experience levels of indigestion, heartburn and acid reflux which do not trouble me on any other occasion! (Scotland Operational CI, male 27 years service).*

*Two years ago my Superintendent congratulated me on the performance of my two teams. I then told him that the previous week I had worked 79 hours and that this week I was up to 82 hours, with another 3 hours to go until I finished for the week. He said, 'Yes, yes. We'll talk about this another time mate'. We never did. Four months later I went off sick with stress. I completely lost it (Region 5 Operational Inspector, male 29 years service).*

\* \* \*

*CI: We merged SafeTown and CrimeTown into one large division. Again, economy of scale, to get rid of people, to save money ... At the time, the temporary Chief Super was looking for promotion and she did not need CrimeTown dragging the whole BCU down because she needed to shine ... The Chief Super said to me: 'I want you to go to CrimeTown on Monday, start in CrimeTown on Monday as the Chief Inspector Operations and do whatever you have got to do to turn performance around'. That was my brief. I went there and I worked ridiculous hours. I was getting into work at 7 o'clock in the morning, not getting home until 9, 10 o'clock at night. I was stretching myself beyond to make sure that I delivered, because that is the type of person I am, and the Chief Super knew it ... But I didn't get the support that I needed and – I am not embarrassed to say because I think mental health issues are a bit of a taboo subject in the Force – I had a nervous breakdown. I was sent to see a Force doctor, our Force doctor sent me to see a psychiatrist and I was signed off*

*work for a minimum of 6 months. It's all documented that it was attributed to the burn out from work. And that was because of the hours I was putting in to do what I had to do ... Certainly from my own personal experience, when I was worse and worse in CrimeTown, and I knew I was not well – you know, when I am sitting at my desk having heavy nose bleeds and I can't stop them, I knew I wasn't right. I knew my blood pressure was high because the doctor had already told me that and told me that I should be going on the sick but I refused. I had gone home and was breaking down in the car, so I drove straight to the doctor's to say: 'What's the matter with me?' And I had a month's [sickness] certificate, 2 month's certificates that I had been putting in the glove box of my car. I had not even told my partner ... So because I was – it might sound ludicrous now – but I was thinking to myself: 'I cannot be seen to not be coping'. So I carried on and on and on until I just hit a wall ... I had just reached the end of my tether... (Focus Group).*

Cumulative sleep loss – whether this arises from extended working hours, shift-work, or the constant worry of meeting (unrealistic) performance targets – will disrupt the body's circadian rhythm causing fatigue and ill-health. Our survey of the Inspecting Ranks in Scotland revealed that over half the respondents (52.1 per cent) experienced poor sleep (quantity and/or quality) as a result of their hours of work and even more (54.1 per cent) reported an adverse effect on their energy levels.<sup>134</sup> Previous studies of the Inspecting Ranks have identified poorer levels of well-being for Inspectors and CIs who work shifts compared to those who do not<sup>135</sup> and it must always be remembered that there is no such thing as a healthy shift system.<sup>136</sup>

### Working Shifts

*I work shifts and suffer from general persistent fatigue – what is the organisation going to do about all of us who voluntarily enter this job knowing shifts are part of it and we get tired as a result of it? There is no magic bullet type shift pattern to fix it – we just have to get on with it (Region 3 Operational Inspector, male 17 years service).*

*... when taking on the role I was aware that I would be working 12 hour shifts including night duties. However at my age they are becoming harder to recover from (Region 8 Support Inspector, male 29 years service).*

*I find shift work more difficult and sleeping off nights particularly difficult but I put this down to my age, which I don't believe there is very much that can be done and I don't wish to make a fuss (Region 5 Operational Inspector, female 23 years service).*

*30 years of shifts have affected my drive and motivation (Region 7 Inspector, male 30 years service).*

*I am asked to continually change my shift at short notice, particularly from lates to nights which will cover 12 hour shifts. I recently had a shift alteration with 3 days notice and was changed from a late shift 1600-0200 to a full night 2100-0700 on Friday. They forced me to take a rest day on Saturday so that I could do the early turn Sunday 0700-1700 and then back on a late on the Monday. I had 5.5 hours sleep in 48 hours due to the quick change – not good for me or the team (Region 2 Operational Inspector, male 14 years service).*

*I find any sort of 24/7 shift work where you are continually turning your body clock around has serious affects on my physical and mental health to the point where I did become very ill and had to take a few months sick leave. I could work permanent nights and have no problem working weekends – I just can't turn my sleep around (Region 5 CI, male 17 years service).*

*Shift work has had a detrimental effect to my health. In September this year I was diagnosed as a type two diabetic. Besides poor diet and lifestyle due to shifts this is as a result of 21 years continuous shift-work (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 23 years service).*

*I work in my current Business Support role having suffered a 'burn-out' in early 2009 after 7 years as a section commander in a busy urban area. This I attribute to 20+ years of 24/7 shift working and latterly a long hours culture with far too much work for one person ... A culture change is urgently needed, and not just by paying lip-service to a 'work-life balance' policy (Region 6 Support Inspector, male 27 years service).*

As expected, the combination of extended hours (often unscheduled), shift-work and other job demands resulted in many Inspectors reporting problems maintaining their fitness. In Scotland, more than half the respondents (56.8 per cent) cited an adverse effect of working time on their personal hobbies and fitness.<sup>137</sup>

*"I have not found time to do any exercise – I know my fitness has suffered"* (Region 3 Support Inspector, male 24 years service).

*"My level of fitness suffers considerably"* (Region 5 DI, male 24 years service).

*"I may be healthy but my fitness level suffers through missing gym/cycling/run sessions"* (Region 1 DI, male 26 years service).

Of particular concern is poor eating habits, most notably the failure to take appropriate meal breaks. At one of the focus group meetings in Region 5, an Inspector explained that, especially on a late turn, *"I won't get a proper meal break. If I do get a meal break anytime it is with the radio on"*.

### Take a Break

*The survey does not cover the conditions of the actual shift – i.e. consistently no chance or resilience for meal breaks or any break at all for 9 hours some times. So it's not just an issue of the hours we are expected to work but the lack of even basic welfare that is not even considered within them and the expectation you can just change your shift to cover repeatedly. I have ended up with Chronic Fatigue Syndrome which I in part attribute to the harsh working conditions, high expectations and physical demands of full shifts (Region 6 Operational Inspector, female 25 years service).*

*... full-time hours means exactly that, generally with no break. The meal break is a thing of the past, so when you say 8 hours it is exactly that (Region 2 Support Inspector, male 26 years service).*

*... meal breaks are not taken. I have hardly had a 45 minute meal break for years. I frequently eat at my desk whilst working and when operational, frequently ate my sandwiches en route home!!! The inspecting ranks have been asked to deliver more for less, and do so, but due to resilience issues frequently work long hours without breaks (Region 2 Support Inspector, male 28 years service).*

*Recently over a 3 day period I worked a total of 46 hours including a shift which commenced at 0700hrs and finished at 0500hrs the following day with just one 30 minute meal break and an 80 mile car journey during the night whilst exhausted. I was required to return to work after 5 hours rest and undertake a 40 mile car journey followed by another 12 hour shift. I then had to drive another 40 miles ... When I told my line manager that I thought that these hours were excessive and*



*that it put me and other road users at risk because I was driving whilst exhausted he said that he was going to shut me in a room with another DI who was always moaning about his hours and we could moan together! Of course this was said light heartedly and it was a joke but it shows that these issues are not taken seriously. It is a breach of the EU Working Time Regulations ... If an officer working these hours was involved in a fatal RTA whilst driving as a result of sleep deprivation, who will be held liable? I have no doubt it would be the officer who would be told that if you were unfit to drive you should not have done so and should not have made that decision. However, had I done that I am sure my days on CID would have been numbered and I would be labelled as 'unable to cope' (Region 2 DI, female 16 years service).*

*NEVER have an opportunity for refreshment or other breaks. Falls on deaf ears (Region 6 Inspector, male 27 years experience).*

*Whilst I agree that the job has to be done, I feel that we are continually making the 'job work'. If we had sufficient resilience we could take refreshment breaks and avoid continual 'cover' in the name of exigencies [of duty]! (Region 1 Inspector, male 27 years service)*

*... lunch-breaks are always 'on the hoof' or at the desk (Region 6 Support CI, male 22 years service).*

*I never have a refreshment break. Some shifts I cannot even go to the toilet without someone calling me on the radio, point-to-pointing me, or phoning my work's mobile! However it does make the day go quick! (Region 3 Operational Inspector, female 19 years service).*

The inability to take breaks is indicative of high job demand as well as a lack of control over both immediate work tasks and wider organisational policies and processes. There may be some instances, of course, where individual incompetence and/or personal choice plays a part in statutory breaks being skipped by Inspectors, but when basic rights at work are not enforced it is more usually the result of organisational factors such as a lack of resilience, the burden of bureaucracy and poor supervision/line management. Organisational pressures and management practices are in fact the main causes of stress and ill-health in the Police Service.<sup>138</sup> These 'stressors' are 'routinely encountered on a high frequency basis. They are the constant annoyances encountered by police officers – the "daily hassles" and pressures of organizational life'.<sup>139</sup> These 'daily hassles', and the feelings of disillusion and even betrayal that they can generate, take a significant toll on health and well-being – at first through a diminution of job satisfaction, then a downturn in morale, and finally a cynical attitude that police officers adopt as a reaction to, and defence against, dashed hopes.<sup>140</sup>

### Throwing in the Towel

*Inspectors are seen as responsible for implementing SMT and Force policies and achieving their aims. We are scapegoats for corporate or management failings as work and responsibility is delegated down to us, absolving strategic leads of their own responsibility. On my OCU we've had a reduction in uniform inspectors (by two) resulting in a loss of resilience, none core team inspectors are increasingly being used to 'back fill' duty officers resulting in less time to complete their day job ... I am increasingly looking forward to the point in approximately 2½ years time when I can retire and it is only my personal commitment that prevents me becoming completely disillusioned with the service (Region 8 Community Inspector, male 27 years service).*

*I joined the service 22 years ago with Robert Peel's definition of policing close to my heart, I now no longer feel that way and look forwards with optimism to my retirement and wish it was tomorrow!*

(Region 6 Support Inspector, male).

*I did used to love my job but after 27 years of shift work and numerous postings, most of which have been on the front line, I'm worn out and hoping I don't have another heart attack before I retire ... I just wonder how this Force let alone the Service will be in 5 years time let alone 10. I look around and see many previously good people who are so demoralised by the way things are going they can't wait to leave (Region 5 Inspector, male 26 years service).*

*There is a culture of extended hours working and this has been exacerbated by the funding crisis over the last few years. The organisation focuses on ... being seen to be at one's post at all times ... It knocks out the enthusiasm and challenge of the job and turns it into a factory scenario where it doesn't matter what you do so long as you are there to do it ... It's sad but I'm looking forward to retirement (Region 1 Support Inspector, male 28 years service).*

*The long hours culture is ingrained – even when I leave after my 8 hours, without a break, I am still made to feel guilty and thought not to be committed. Although I like my job, the pressure of work and the expectations, coupled with the uncaring ruthless senior management style has thoroughly sickened me. I intend to resign at the end of this year (Region 2 Community Inspector, female 27 years service).*

The negative effects of working hours on the health and general well-being of the Inspecting Ranks can be explained by the 'job demand-control-support' model, which accurately predicts how aspects in the work environment impact on employee well-being.<sup>141</sup> For example, employees with high job demand combined with low levels of control over their jobs and very little support, whether from line managers, co-workers or family and friends, will display low(er) levels of well-being.<sup>142</sup> This is precisely the situation depicted in Figure 7 and described in some detail in the preceding Sections of this Report – the Inspecting Ranks have experienced work intensification (higher job demand), are increasingly 'micro-managed' under the NPM regime of performance targets (lower job control), and they report to senior managers who rely on 'command and control' and 'transactional' forms of leadership<sup>143</sup> that officers frequently experience as aggressive, uncaring, or even bullying (limited support).

The 'demand' dimension of the job demand-control-support model has been documented in some detail in Section VIII. Control and support are equally important when it comes to explaining the consequences for individuals and the organisation of the vicious work-time cycle depicted in Figure 7, because overtime for the Inspecting Ranks is both involuntary and unremunerated and when they experience the ill-effects of extended hours there is a tendency to 'keep schtum'.<sup>144</sup>

Moderate overtime work does not have to be a major problem as long as employees have the freedom to decide whether or not to work extended hours.<sup>145</sup> Put differently, the impact of extended working hours very much depends on whether the employee is a 'long hour's conscript' or a (genuine) 'volunteer'.<sup>146</sup> When asked whether they would prefer to work fewer, more, or the same hours each week, over 41 per cent of respondents in Scotland indicated a preference for fewer hours.<sup>147</sup> For many employees, the negative effects of involuntary overtime work may, to some extent, be reduced by 'fair compensation' for their extra work effort<sup>148</sup> – but of course Inspectors are no longer paid for overtime and 'working for free' clearly irks many of the conscripts within their Ranks. For those who involuntarily work unpaid overtime, even 46 hours per week (i.e. less than the WTR) can pose a serious risk of 'occupational burnout'.<sup>149</sup> This puts the 'typical' Inspector (mean/median working hours) in the 'at risk' category (see Section VI, Figures 5 and 6).<sup>150</sup>

## Working for Free

*There is an expectation that Inspectors will just get on with the job irrespective of the workload. In order to save money my force has now begun rostering Inspectors to work duties which were previously done by PCs or Sergeants ... Inspectors are seen as a 'free' resource (Region 5 Community Inspector, male 12 years service).*

*In my role within the Force my hours are merely shown as 8 hours a day automatically, there is a Resource Management System that has been introduced to record hours worked but my role is not included on it and I am exempt, therefore there is no way I can record any additional hours worked. Even if I could it would be pointless because we get no allowance for additional hours worked and certainly cannot take them as time off, it is just part of the job. I regularly work 50 to 60 hours a week and am on a rota whereby we work nightshift to cover the Force that shift is 10 hours at work with an additional 4 hours (3am to 7am) being on call for no recompense. I find that shift annoying as it is often pointless going to bed between 3am and 7am as regularly you get called back and work even more hours. As a Detective Inspector responsible for serious investigations my Detective Constables and Detective Sergeants regularly earn more than me on investigations as my time would appear to be free (Region 2 DI, male 29 years service).*

*Work and tasks that are mandatory are left to those who are willing and able to carry them out, and those in the Inspecting Ranks are no exception. When money and overtime for sergeants and constables is short, more tasks are delegated upwards towards those who are expected to put in extra hours to 'show willing' – i.e. Inspectors ... I am aware that the overtime for inspecting ranks was bought out many years ago, but I do not think that this should be interpreted as free labour (Region 1 DI, male 16 years service).*

*A long hour's culture for the Inspecting Ranks is now embedded into how the Police Service does business, although senior officers pretend not to be aware of the problem. The professionalism and commitment of inspectors and chief inspectors, and the fact that we are seen as being 'free' in financial terms, is outrageously abused by the most senior officers; they know that the Inspecting Ranks will always work their heart out (sometimes literally) to deliver whatever 'knee-jerk' initiative has been dreamt up ... This 'abuse' has now gone so far that it appears to be built into the very structures of the service; Inspectors and Chief Inspectors now carry levels of work, responsibility and accountability which are clearly completely out of sync with their level of remuneration (Region 2 Community Inspector, male 17 years service).*

*... the Force is exploiting healthy ambition to secure unhealthy free labour (Region 4 Operational Inspector, male 19 years service).*

*Lack of resilience within the rank, and the fact that we are a 'cost free' resource, allows the organisation to utilise Inspectors whenever it feels like. Rest Days are cancelled on occasion simply 'because they can be' (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 19 years service).*

Although 44 per cent of respondents in England and Wales and over 38 per cent in Scotland reported ill-health which they attributed to long hours of work, when asked who they confide in when they experience ill-effects almost 20 per cent of respondents in England and Wales and almost 30 per cent in Scotland said they had not discussed their concerns with anyone.<sup>151</sup> As documented in Table 5, less than a quarter talked to their line manager in England and Wales and less than 16 per cent in Scotland, and hardly any Inspectors talked to their HR department. This suggests that the Police Service may be unaware of the true extent to which long hours adversely affects both the general health and well-

being of the Inspecting Ranks and the service they able to provide to the public.

Table 5. Raising Concerns about the Adverse Health Effects of Long Working Hours

Who do you talk to ...	England and Wales %	Scotland %
Own GP or other medical professional	17.6	40.6
Force Medical Officer, OH counsellor or other Service provided medical professional	6.5	12.0
Your line manager	23.8	15.8
Your HR manager	3.8	3.8
Other work colleagues	27.5	33.1
Friends or relatives	44.4	57.9
I have concerns but haven't raised them	19.6	29.3
n =	2,033	173

Note: columns sum to >100 per cent as respondents were asked to 'tick all that apply'

As a follow up (free text box), Inspectors were asked what prevented them raising their concerns if they had failed to talk to anyone about the ill-effects of working excessive hours or unhealthy shifts. Most simply accepted ill-health in the same way that they are resigned to working long hours:<sup>152</sup>

<u>It's an Unhealthy Job</u>
<i>Its part of the job – just get on with it attitude</i> (Region 8 Operational Inspector, male 20 years service).
<i>Goes with the job I'm afraid</i> (Region 7 DI, male 22 years service).
<i>It's not the done thing – you just get on with it</i> (Region 8 CI, male 22 years service).
<i>There are adverse effects but I expect these in the rank/role</i> (Region 6 DCI, male 13 years service).
<i>... extended hours and the consequences are an expected part of my role</i> (Region 6 DI, male 27 years service).
<i>You get used to being tired!</i> (Region 5 Operational Inspector, male 24 years service).
<i>Everyone is tired, I'm no different to the rest of my team</i> (Region 8 Operational Inspector, 24 years service).
<i>Longer working hours have become a 'way of life'</i> (Region 8 DI, female 21 years service).
<i>Old school, part and parcel of the job</i> (Region 8 CI, male 30 years service).
<i>Just feel everyone else suffers from the same so won't bother them</i> (Scotland DI, male 22 years service).

An equally common (macho) response was that to raise health concerns would be seen as a sign of weakness, both in the eyes of senior management and co-workers:

### Sick, but Not Weak

*No one is interested or thinks you are a weak person (Region 5 DI, male 24 years service).*

*... would be seen as a sign of weakness (Region 1 DI, female 24 years service).*

*Could be seen as a weakness and I do not wish to appear weak ... I know that is not the appropriate answer but it was the position I perceived I was in at the time (Scotland Operational Inspector, male 30 years service).*

*Full-time role, part-time hours. Don't want to make a fuss, I believe it would be seen as a weakness (Region 3 Operational Inspector, female 24 years service).*

*Culture of the rank not to show weakness (Scotland DI, male 24 years service).*

*Fear of looking weak and being unable to cope with the work load – 'everyone does it so why can't you?' (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*I see no point in raising issues as it would be seen as a sign that I wasn't coping (Scotland Community Inspector, male 26 years service).*

*Little point. If I raise concerns it would be seen as a sign of weakness and out of step with senior command expectations (Region 2 Community Inspector, male 20 years service).*

*Not wanting to flag up any perceived personal failing (Region 5 DCI, male 19 years service).*

*I believe it would be considered a failing (Scotland Community Inspector, female 25 years service).*

*Going past 'raising concern' is very difficult. Who wants to go sick with stress! (Region 2 Operational Inspector, male 27 years service).*

It was clear that many Inspectors do not raise health concerns within their organisation because they think nobody will listen, nobody cares or, worse still, they believe senior managers will punish or victimise them if they do 'complain', especially when it comes to promotion and career development:

### Nobody Listens, Nobody Cares

*Nobody really listens, we're all in the same boat (Region 1 CI, male 22 years service).*

*Who will listen and who will do anything about it? (Region 8 Inspector, male 20 years service).*

*Likely to be ignored (Region 5 DI, male 25 years service).*

*Nothing will change if I do, so why bother (Region 8 DI, male 25 years service).*

*It is the expected culture – no person senior to me cares (Region 4 DI, male 14 years service).*

*What can anyone do about it? The organisation's current position is if you don't like it, leave (Region 4 Operational Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*There is no point as no one cares (Region 5 DCI, male 16 years service).*

*There is no point in raising concerns with my line manager it's put up and shut up (Region 4 Operational Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*It would be pointless raising them at work as my line manager only cares when it looks good (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 16 years service).*

*No point ... what will they do? Nothing, you're just a number, no one actually cares (Region 5 Community Inspector, male 20 years service).*

*None of my managers care, I am just a number, expected to do long hours and be thankful I have a job (Region 8 Operational Inspector, female 22 years service).*

*Fear in the current climate of being perceived as weak or unable to cope with workload – lose job in reorganisation! (Region 5 DI, male 17 years service).*

*Would not wish to raise this issue for fear of losing flexible working arrangements (Region 5 DI, female 19 years service).*

*I wouldn't raise any issue such as this with work; it would be harmful to my career prospects and postings (Region 2 Operational CI, male 18 years service).*

*Career suicide (Region 1 Community CI, male 25 years service).*

*A feeling this will be seen as a failing and impediment to career progression (Region 3 Support Inspector, male 16 years service).*

*Fear of being penalised i.e. lack of promotion, development. Keep quiet and carry on (Region 5 Support Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*Culture says if you want promotion/good posting you must be willing to put in long hours. Those that won't are considered negative/lazy/disruptive etc (Region 4 Community Inspector, male 25 years service).*

*I will not raise the issue with my manager owing to the fact it will adversely affect reputation and promotion prospects (Region 5 Operational CI, female 19 years service).*

*The 'bully boy' nature of the organisation will ensure you are punished or passed over if you do (Region 1 Support Inspector, male 21 years service).*

*Fear of ridicule (Region 2 Support Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*Fear of bullying (Region 7 Support Inspector, female 22 years service).*

*Fear of detrimental effect on career and being labelled as 'not up to the job' by senior managers (Region 2 DI, male 26 years service).*

*Perceived unsympathetic response and I would probably be moved post (Scotland Operational CI, female 26 years service).*

*I would not discuss the pressures of work with people within the organisation, as I would worry that I'd be moved or I'd be viewed as a person who cannot cope (Region 3 Operational Inspector, male 26 years service).*

*If you are perceived not to be coping you get moved and your promotion prospects are harmed (Region 5 DI, male 16 years service).*

It would appear that the concerns raised by Inspectors are well-founded, as officers who have previously experienced ill-health have not been supported by the Police Service.

### No Shoulder to Lean On

*I was taken ill with a heart problem that was induced by stress related to my work. The hours expected and the volume of work required of an Inspector at the time was massive. I rarely had rest days without having to 'just pop in' to work and would end up there for hours. Since then I have had two extended periods of sick leave and I am currently on recuperative duties. I spent months on sick leave without contact from any command team member. Having returned to work on a reduced hour's pattern I met with command team members and found myself being action planned to increase my hours. Foolishly I thought this meeting might have been to welcome me back into the organisation. With 28 years in I suppose I should not have been so trusting (Region 6 DI, male 28 years service).*

*The organisation seems to wish to run with as little cover as possible and is currently looking at further reducing the levels of Inspectors in line with the spending review ... From someone who has ended up ill, it is clear that the organisation does not listen and then when you do end up ill, seeks to victimise and push you out as though you are the problem and not their working practices and management decisions (Region 5 Operational Inspector, male 15 years service).*

*I am conscious that colleagues do feel under pressure to work long hours in order to be seen to be competent ... when I was temporary Superintendent for about a year, I sought help from our occupational health due to memory loss, inappropriate emotional responses, and (mild) panic and was sent to a psychologist. He identified that I was suffering from negative reactions to stress ... At this point, there had been no help or support from my manager and I felt (and it does sound corny) very much 'on my own' ... I do not think that enough is done by the organisation to support staff and it depends on the attitude of your immediate manager. I worry that this will get worse and the purse strings are tightened (Region 2 Operational CI, male 27 years service).*

*... eventually I went off sick as I could no longer cope. I have now returned to work in a 40 hour week post on recuperative duties after 3 months on sick with stress. The on-call and working practices have not changed, the Force has simply replaced me with someone else they will burn out. My health has been drastically affected and the practices have not changed ... I would like to return to being a DI and locking up villains but I am unsure if my health will let me ... nobody gave a ---- about my health. I am now a different person with all the ailments of someone who has been made ill by being conscientious but in a culture that does not recognise individuals, only performance! (Region 2 DI, male 25 years service).*

As Figure 7 makes clear, the time squeeze not only has detrimental effects for the Inspecting Ranks but also the Police Service. Fatigue, stress and other ailments associated with extended working hours

and/or unhealthy shifts will cause decrements in performance, including accidents and sleep-related vehicle accidents that are more likely to result in death.<sup>153</sup> While these problems affect police officers in all ranks, it is worth recalling that: (i) Inspectors play a crucial role in the Police Service in terms of their own functions and their responsibilities for lower ranks, (ii) their numbers are being cut disproportionately (Figures 1 and 2), and (iii) even greater responsibility is being delegated to this particular Rank.

An important response by the Police Service is flexible working and policies to promote work-life balance, but in practice these initiatives can (perversely) serve to increase anxieties and pressures, the very opposite outcome to that intended. For example, facilitating work at home via email can result in even longer (unrecorded) hours and ‘the job’ impinging on domestic life. As a result, not only is the Police Service unaware of the true extent to which long working hours compromise service delivery and the very targets it seeks to achieve, but the HR policies it has in place might actually compound, rather than alleviate, the very problems they seek to address. This applies most clearly in relation to female officers within the Inspecting Ranks, and especially those who work on a part-time basis, when they try to ‘balance’ their work and family lives.

## **XII. Tipping the Scales: The Work-Life Balance (WLB) of the Inspecting Ranks**

If work-life balance (WLB) for police officers ‘is about having a say over when, where and how they work so that they have a rewarding life inside and outside paid work’,<sup>154</sup> then the Police Service is arguably making life *more* difficult for the Inspecting Ranks. A defining feature of police work for Inspectors, which has been carefully documented in preceding Sections of this Report, has been the gradual but inexorable loss of control over when they work – unscheduled overtime is an almost daily occurrence, rest days are regularly cancelled, and ‘time owed’ is often impossible to recoup. In addition, many Inspectors are actively seeking a different role/post to reduce the time they spend at work/working at home/travelling to and from work,<sup>155</sup> and what they do is increasingly dictated by the target culture of NPM. Previous studies of the Inspecting Ranks have demonstrated that the most important predictor of WLB is perceived control over the hours worked.<sup>156</sup> As a male DCI from Region 3 explained:

*“The uncertainty does have an effect on home life and very often family events that have been planned for months have to be cancelled at short notice or you turn up late at the event (if at all) ... I try and grab a long weekend off once a major investigation has settled down and the offender has been charged. This is for the benefit of my health and to re-introduce myself to family again!”*  
(Region 3 DCI, male 24 years service).

The notion of a work-life *balance* implies ‘a lack of conflict between work and family roles’,<sup>157</sup> the idea that work can interfere with family life and vice versa. While some people wish to maintain a clear separation between the domains of work and family/personal life, the reality is that to do so would be to separate the inseparable – ‘work’ from ‘life’.<sup>158</sup> As we have already observed (Table 5), when Inspectors experience ill-health as a result of their work they are more likely to confide in friends or relatives than anyone else. Thus, following the job demand-control-support model, police Force HR policies cannot possibly focus only on what goes on inside the workplace or seek to address the problems of ill-health within the Police Service without considering much wider networks of social and other forms of support for WLB. Put differently, instrumental support in the workplace (e.g. flexible working) is not enough to achieve a successful WLB, which in practice relies heavily on emotional support from line managers, colleagues, family and friends.



Consider flexible working arrangements. As police officers are ‘Officers of the Crown’ under the law, rather than ‘employees’, employment legislation such as the right to request flexible working under the Flexible Working Regulations 2002 (as amended) only applies to non-sworn police staff. However, police officers’ requests for flexible working under *Police Regulations and Determinations 2003* are less restrictive than the Flexible Working Regulations (2002). For example, there is no limit on the number of times per year a police officer can request alternative working arrangements, nor is the facility restricted to officers with dependants or children under 6 years or caring responsibilities for an adult over 18 years. Thus, while there might be variation across Forces in terms of the flexible working arrangements on offer (e.g. part-time, job sharing, compressed hours, variable shifts, term-time working, home working, etc), the instruments *are* available (albeit on request and subject to business and operational requirements).<sup>159</sup> For this instrumental support to be effective, however, there must also be emotional support in the form of backing from line management to ensure the actual take-up of flexible working arrangements. A male Inspector from Region 5, for example, reported that his line manager was very supportive of his work-life balance and “*gives me the option to work flexibly as long as my work is maintained. I have managed to regularly take a Wednesday off to assist with child care and to address hours*”. A female DI also from Region 5 reported that her Chief Inspector “*is an unusual senior manager who actually knows her Inspectors’ hours and accommodates flexibility ... If I did not have child care requirements I would definitely be at the office longer days*”.

Unfortunately, though not unexpectedly, ‘Officers requesting flexible working have sometimes faced old fashioned attitudes and misconceptions about alternative work patterns – e.g. a perceived lack of commitment, part time means part able, it’s something only requested by “difficult” members of staff, a case of the “tail wagging the dog”, etc. They have also experienced feelings of isolation, a lack of development opportunities and pressure from others’.<sup>160</sup> A recent study of Durham Constabulary,<sup>161</sup> for example, found that both men and women still did not feel confident in requesting flexible work and while the options exist, in practice they are often not implemented. This proved to be the experience of many of the Inspectors who responded to our surveys.

#### Lack of Support for Flexible Working

*My supervisors view is that if I work over my 8 hours it is in effect for the love of the job. This doesn’t take into account the arrangements I need to have already planned in to ensure there is appropriate child care etc., nor do I then have the opportunity to take at least some of the time back to spend time with my family ... I often work extended hours/take work home with me to ensure that key deadlines are met (Region 3 Operational Inspector, female 16 years service).*

*In terms of family friendly approach, the Service still does not walk the talk. With yet another Force restructure programme ahead of us, my husband and I are in the process re-negotiating our working arrangements for the fourth consecutive year. It really is wearing never being able to plan ahead. All we want to be able to do is come to work, do our jobs and be able to care for our son at the same time (Region 5 Operational Inspector, female 23 years service).*

*I am a single parent of two children, both now teenagers and one who is disabled (social and emotional issues). On average I have 66-75 per cent of the care. I have had repeated applications for flexible working refused and a total refusal to recognise the rights afforded by the Disability Discrimination Act as a parent of a disabled child under the age of 16 who receives higher rate Disability Living Allowance (Region 2 Inspector, male 27 years service).*

In the absence of support for flexible (family-friendly) working arrangements, many Inspectors seek

out jobs with less onerous demands on their time and/or accept that they will either delay or never achieve their ambitions for promotion and career development.

### Difficult Career and Life Choices

*I have had to move into a support role to allow for single parent childcare, which means that I do not work as long as I did when I was on patrol. Luckily my job allows for me to do some work at home if I need to make up an hour where I have had to get my child from school. This job was not made for me, but being support is not as stringent about time clocked on and off as on patrol (Region 2 Support Inspector, female 23 years service).*

*I am in a training environment as I have three young children. When I was operational it had an effect on my home life, etc. I transferred to a role in training to enable me to have a good work life balance. However, I have found that now I am in a training role, I am not an attractive prospect for any future role – ‘those that can do ... those that can’t teach’. This is a choice I have made but it has come at a price for my career (Region 8 Inspector, female 19 years service).*

*As a married man with 4 children it is a constant worry to provide the best I can for my children. I am competing for CI rank and my counterparts who are younger and do not have children are able to work long hours. If I do not match these I feel I cannot compete and current line managers do not see this. My life choice appears to be: (i) seek promotion – work long hours and sacrifice family time, or (ii) sacrifice promotion for family by working PAID hours but realise that promotion will not be an option as I will compete with officers who are able to provide more performance due to their increased work hours. In [my Force] the importance is placed on quantity and not quality work – transactional over transformational leadership (Region 1 Community Inspector, male 22 years service).*

*I made a conscious decision not to leave my current role with regulated hours, in order that I have some control over my work life, to enable me to look after my children. As a result of the extended hours I have really been prevented from taking promotion because I could not take on the roles that would provide me with evidence of performance (Region 8 Inspector, female 25 years service).*

*I was previously considered a ‘high flyer’ but since having my child and restricting my willingness to work excessive hours I have not been considered for any career development and have been placed in a role that takes me out of the limelight and is unlikely to lead to development (Region 1 Operational CI, female 13 years service).*

*Whilst lip service is paid to managing Inspectors hours I believe that there remains an expectation that additional hours will be worked without complaint if any advancement is to be possible. Prior to having two young children this was not really an issue – now it is increasingly a matter of contention at home (Region 7 Support Inspector, male 18 years service).*

All these examples are indicative of the conflicts that can arise between work and non-work commitments. Ideally, work and family domains should be seen as allies,<sup>162</sup> with a range of HR policies in place and a commitment on the part of senior management and the Police Service to facilitate positive interdependencies between these two domains. But temporal and technological innovations in a ‘time greedy’ organisation such as the Police Service can often have the opposite effect – rather than take advantage of support and innovations to achieve a better balance, many Inspectors ‘opt’ for longer hours, often to the detriment of leisure time, family relationships and other social activities. Table 6 documents the adverse effects of working long hours on work and non-work (family) relationships as well as Inspectors’ social life and other activities outside the Police Service.

Table 6. *The Adverse Effects of Working Hours*

% Inspectors reporting adverse effects on ...	England and Wales	Scotland
Health or well-being	44.3	38.5
Sleep	-	52.1
Energy levels	-	54.1
Work relationships	12.2	11.1
Family relationships	53.0	56.8
Social life	44.0	50.6
Community activities	-	21.5
Personal hobbies and fitness	-	56.8

n = 4,589 449  
 Note: additional options were included in the survey of Inspectors in Scotland

One example of how the ‘balance’ is tipped in favour of work is through the use of new technology such as email and mobile phones.<sup>163</sup> Of course, new technology can allow people to make productive use of (otherwise unproductive) time spent in ‘third spaces’ (e.g. cafes, cars, trains)<sup>164</sup> and thereby alleviate the pressures of work. Thus, many Inspectors welcomed the opportunity to ‘keep on top’ of their emails via mobile phones and laptops while travelling to/from work or at other times of the day. As one female DI explained, *“Because I have a Blackberry I can keep my hours actually in work under control now. However I do use the Blackberry and my work mobile on my days off. People expect to be able to contact me when they want”* (Region 8, 23 years service). For others, new technology is something of a ‘mixed blessing’ which obfuscates the ‘choices’ faced and made by Inspectors:

*“I have a Blackberry and a laptop so I work every day whether on or off duty. I never have a day free from work and I always keep on top of emails, etc., even when on holiday. This, however, is my personal choice as I like to return to work without a mountain of stuff to wade through. I found it harder to take time off when I did not have the IT support because I was afraid of the work piling up”* (Region 3 Community Inspector, male 20 years service).

For most Inspectors, ‘work extending technologies’<sup>165</sup> such as smart phones have not been positively received as they have extended work into the times and places normally reserved for families and leisure, upsetting the balance and intensifying work. Thus, the key concerns for most Inspectors is that email had added to their workload, especially as a result of the volume of (unnecessary) internal and external communications, and the use of laptops and mobile phones has impinged on their family life by permeating the boundaries between home and the workplace.

The ‘CrackBerry’ Brigade

*I used to be part time until 2 weeks ago and had to take work home with me and work on the Blackberry for the three days when not in work* (Region 8 DI, female 21 years service).

*In my previous role as temporary DCI I would frequently work 0700-1900 and still read/send emails on my Blackberry until 2100 most evenings. I was extremely busy and would take work related calls out of hours* (Region 8 DI, male 22 years service).

*A day does not go by without me using a Blackberry whilst off duty* (Region 2 Support Inspector,

male 23 years service).

*As a Detective Inspector who works regular on calls and weekend cover, extended tours of duty are common place. I work a minimum of 9 hours a day, often more. I am regularly called on my Blackberry after work and whilst on leave, I also answer emails. It is fair to say that I feel at times as if I am never off duty (Region 2 DI, female 18 years service).*

*My main hours have accrued whilst in the role of working Monday-Friday ... I also get approx 100 emails a day, so after annual leave, I am a slave to my computer, and its awful (Region 5 Support Inspector, female 10 years service).*

*I rarely 'switch off' from work and reply to emails all hours of day and night every day. Otherwise, I would have too many emails to be able to see what needs doing on return to duty after days off (Region 1 Support Inspector, female 17 years service).*

*When I was a DI ... SMT expected you to have your mobile phone on 24 hours a day, on leave, on holiday with your family, on your rest day etc. I would take around 8 calls a day on my days off. I had to explain once to the Superintendent why I didn't answer my phone when on my day off. I was actually swimming with my kids, which came as a surprise to him, that I actually have a life outside the police! (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*... with the Blackberry phone it is all too easy to access work and try and keep on top of things when 'off duty' (Region 2 Community Inspector, male 25 years service).*

*Both me and my husband are police officers who take our Blackberry on holiday to 'check in'. However this does not allow a break from the stress of the relentless work load and ultimately must have a detrimental effect on our domestic lives and our kids (Region 2 Support Inspector, female 17 years service).*

*I work on my weekly leaves every single time with my job Blackberry and take every phone call on my job phone, much to the annoyance of my wife ... Sometimes the 'quick phone call' at home can become protracted and run into 2-3 hours easily (Region 1 Operational Inspector, male 24 years service).*

*My current job means my phone is always on and rings regularly. Moreover there is always a weary senior officer who requires an answer to a question that really CAN wait, so I'm regularly on my job issue Blackberry too answering emails, etc ... it infuriates and disillusiones me to see some of those in the ranks above me who really don't have that much to do except, it would appear, micro manage me (Region 6 DCI, male 29 years service).*

*... having spent 2 days out of Force on the week I transferred back to Road Policing with a further 2 days at the end of that week doing selection interviews for my previous portfolio, I have only today been able to catch up with the 200+ emails sitting opened but 'unactioned' in my inbox with between 50-60 arriving each day. I've now reluctantly ordered a Blackberry as I see that device as being necessary to keeping on top of e-mails (Scotland Traffic CI, male 20 years service).*

As previously described (Section IX), the time squeeze (Figure 7) reinforces the traditional masculine culture within the Police Service, which tends to separate and demarcate paid and domestic work. Perversely, WLB policies can reinforce this culture: paid work becomes more pervasive, possibly even

addictive, for those who use the flexibility offered by their Force, combined with access to new technologies, to single-mindedly pursue their careers by ‘doing time’.<sup>166</sup> This places women at a distinct disadvantage as most have a ‘second shift’ (caring and domestic responsibilities) when they return home after work. When asked if they would prefer to work fewer, more or the same hours each week (assuming that pay per hour would be unchanged), over 54 per cent of female Inspectors in Scotland expressed a preference to work fewer hours compared to 39 per cent of male Inspectors.<sup>167</sup> The following accounts of the difficulties faced by women in the Inspecting Ranks were not uncommon:

*“There is an expectation that you will work long hours and especially the next rank of Chief Inspector this appears even worse ... It is obvious that I cannot provide the same commitment as some other male colleagues who do not have the same issues to contend with and can get in at a much earlier hour which appears to be what is required. In view of this I have decided that the current climate is not going to work with seeking further promotion if my home/ private life is to remain intact”* (Region 2 Community Inspector, female 20 years service).

*“There is an expectation for the CID to work excessive hours ... When I look at the women who occupy positions of rank in this Force, many do not have family commitments, which perhaps makes the working hours a little less of a problem for them. All, without exception, have worked themselves into the ground to get where they are. There are times where CID officers particularly (I appreciate I may be a bit biased) work hours that would just not be allowed in any other job”* (Region 6 DI, female 17 years service).

*“I am the only female DCI on the Team ... [all the] ... Detective Superintendents are male. There are no female DI’s either. The reason is that women find it very difficult if not impossible to work the extended hours, the call-outs, the frequent cancelled rest days and give the general commitment that is required ... Most women bear the burden of childcare – I certainly did ... Women have to work twice as hard as men to prove themselves and often the price is paid at home with marital difficulties and childcare problems”* (Region 2 DCI, female 26 years service).

Recent research has demonstrated that the (masculine) depiction of police work as ‘dangerous and demanding’, such that officers must be available at short notice at all times, is not only ‘family unfriendly’ but denies women career development and promotion opportunities.<sup>168</sup> If, in contrast, police work is depicted as ‘routine’ – providing a public service rather than fighting crime – then the necessity of working practices that prevent many policewomen from combining childcare and other domestic responsibilities with their paid work must be questionable.<sup>169</sup> Put differently, there are many duties that could be performed within part-time hours, compressed hours, term-time working or other flexible working arrangements. The fact that the Police Service is not especially successful when it comes to combining WLB and effective policing is perhaps best illustrated by the experience of part-time workers, who are predominantly women.<sup>170</sup>

Although the Police Service offers ‘quality’ part-time jobs – inasmuch as the work is skilled with pro-rata pay and benefits – there has been minimal effort to adapt the pattern of work to integrate part-timers, leading to marginalisation and diminution of career development and progression.<sup>171</sup> All too often, part-time officers enjoy ambivalent management support, as the following comments serve to illustrate:

*“I’m a ‘bloody part-timer’ (read ‘part committed to the organisation’ in their eyes)”* (Region 6 Operational CI, 20 years service).

*“I worked part time for 10 years (as an Inspector and Chief Inspector). In every posting, particularly as a BCU Chief Inspector, I worked a lot more than 40 hours per week. I amassed over 70 rest days in lieu due to working on my free day. But the most disappointing aspect was the negativity and resistance that I met from all but one of my Chief Superintendents whenever I raised issues regarding my working time. One Chief Superintendent said to me: ‘Part time ... part time of what? If I work 70 hours a week I expect you to work 60’ ... My experience of part time working in the police service is wholly negative”* (Region 2 Community CI, female 26 years service).

Women in general, and women who work part-time in particular, find it difficult to progress in an occupation where the subordination of one’s personal life to the demands of the job have become the norm. By definition, part-time officers have chosen a shorter working week because they cannot come in early, leave late, come back into work at a moment’s notice, or be on call for extended periods. But these are the daily ‘requirements’ of the job for the Inspecting Ranks, and certainly the ‘expectation’ for those who wish to progress their career.<sup>17</sup> A female Support Inspector with 17 years service explained the constraints faced by many part-time policewomen:

*“As a part-time officer I am in a support role which does not demand long hours. I believe that to get the operational experience to equip me better in the rank or for promotion I would need to be full time and work long hours. I am unable to do that due to caring responsibilities. I plan to do this once my caring responsibilities lessen”* (Region 4 Support Inspector, female 17 years service).

The result is that part-time jobs within the Police Service tend to be located at the bottom of the hierarchy and within each rank tend to be concentrated in non-operational positions. As such, they are widely perceived to be ‘marginal’ and of poorer quality than full-time work, if only because they are not ‘proper police work’ in the eyes of most (male) colleagues and senior managers. The ramifications of this perception are twofold. First, there is limited take-up of part-time positions even when they are available. Secondly, senior managers often place restrictions on the deployment of part-time officers or fail to accommodate their working time preferences when planning rosters and deploying staff.

#### Attitudes Towards Part-Timers

*As of April 2011 I will also be required to work late turns every so often (until midnight) despite this not being part of my agreed hours. I have no idea how I am going to manage child care for this and there was no consultation with part-time officers to see if they could feasibly work this* (Region 5 DI, female 15 years service).

*No other Detective Inspector works reduced hours in the Force ... when I returned from maternity leave I was informed there was no role suitable for reduced hours working within CID in the whole Force area. Actually fulfilling my (slightly) reduced hours has been difficult as I am effectively doing a fulltime job within reduced hours* (Region 5 DI, female 20 years service).<sup>173</sup>

*Once asked if I could work as a part-time officer when kids were young. I was told Inspectors could not do part time!!!!* (Region 2 Community Inspector, female 17 years service).

The masculine ‘cop culture’ often portrays part-time workers as ‘part able and part committed’,<sup>174</sup> as workers who enjoy certain ‘privileges’ rather than ‘entitlements’. Both in policy and practice, part-time work tends to be seen as a deviation from the full-time norm of policing, as a ‘concession’ to

women who have family responsibilities.<sup>175</sup> Clearly, the normative power of the ‘ideal worker’ should not be underestimated in the Police Service (i.e. the unencumbered employee who is available to work full-time, plus over-time, and whose family and domestic needs are provided by someone else).<sup>176</sup> But it is not simply individual attitudes that need to change if women and part time women in particular, are to enjoy a more integrated WLB. As previous studies have demonstrated, ‘Of greater significance is the absence of any managerial strategy for their use, indicative of a failure to acknowledge part-time working as central to service delivery’.<sup>177</sup> Gendered conceptions of police work continue to reflect and support the way policing is organised and ‘manned’, based as it is around the assumption of a male breadwinner/full-time norm.<sup>178</sup>

The failure to ensure that Inspectors have a rewarding and balanced life both inside and outside paid employment is not only to the detriment of individual officers and their families who are adversely affected, but also the Police Service and, in turn, the communities it serves and the citizens it seeks to protect. As the Home Office makes quite clear, flexible working is important for both the health and WLB of officers and effective policing.<sup>179</sup> Questions over working time are not simply about pay, conditions and WLB for Inspectors (and other ranks), but the very structure and culture of the Police Service, the style of leadership and control exercised by senior management, and the philosophy of policing in Britain.

### **XIII. The Final Verdict**

The Inspecting Ranks have always worked long hours, which most officers would interpret as ‘whatever hours it takes to get the job done’. This is one of the core elements of the macho ‘can do’ culture that pervades the Police Service – a willingness to come in early, finish late, and always be ready for the exigencies of duty. Of course, working beyond 40 hours a week need not be a problem if additional hours are voluntarily chosen and fairly remunerated,<sup>180</sup> but since 1994 neither of these conditions hold for police Inspectors: additional hours are ‘compulsory’ (dictated by the demands of the job and/or the command of senior officers) and unpaid (‘free’ at the time of use for the Police Service and rarely fully recovered by Inspectors via shorter subsequent shifts). Even if overtime is voluntary and fairly remunerated, regularly working beyond 48 hours per week is known to cause serious ill-health, disrupt family/social relationships and distort work-life balance. At least one-in-four Inspectors in England and Wales, and an even larger proportion in Scotland, work in excess of 48 hours per week. Not surprisingly, around 40 per cent of Inspectors attribute poor health to long working hours and the majority report adverse effects on family relationships and their social life.

At first sight, it might appear that not much can be done to rectify this situation as the key pressures faced by the Police Service are externally generated, most notably the performance targets and budgets set by politicians, expectations created by the media and a failing criminal justice system with a re-offending rate in excess of 60 per cent.<sup>181</sup> Other pressures, however, are internally generated, or at least exacerbated by a lack of resilience, the heroic (macho) culture of the Police Service, and the fragmented and dysfunctional systems and processes that stifle autonomy, initiative and job satisfaction. For example, Inspectors are now bombarded with literally hundreds of emails each week, but it is reliably estimated that only 15-20 per cent of all emails received are necessary or of any value and up to 45 minutes per day could be saved with greater email discipline (e.g. not copying everyone into emails, just in case).<sup>182</sup> Likewise, performance targets distort priorities and gnaw away at the Inspectors’ working day.<sup>183</sup> Without even a hint of irony, the *Final Report* commissioned by the Home Office on *Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing* noted that the evidence required to demonstrate compliance with the Protective Services Standard, originally incorporating 208 separate standards and 1,350 questions, had now been reduced to 162 separate standards and 1,099 questions!<sup>184</sup>

At the heart of long working hours is a lack of resilience, which has been compounded in recent years by a disproportionate reduction in the Inspecting Ranks (Figures 1 and 2). Superintendents have also experienced a disproportionate reduction within their ranks, which often results in additional responsibilities being ‘cascaded down’ to the Inspecting Ranks. These reductions represent (strategic) decisions by different Forces on how (and on whom) to spend their diminishing resources. Increasing the workload of the Inspecting Ranks makes financial sense, at least in the short run, as their additional hours are invariably worked ‘for the Queen’ rather than the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of course, the Police Service does not condone excessive working hours – and certainly would not condone hours in excess of 48 per week over a 17 week period as this constitutes a breach of the WTR – but the Service is complicit in a (macho) work culture that compels Inspectors to work beyond the call of duty.

Consider the evidence. First, flexible work practices might be designed to improve the employee’s work-life balance, but it is well known that professionals and those for whom work is a vocation, such as police Inspectors, invariably use any autonomy afforded by flexible working practices to work longer hours, get the job done, and preserve their identity. Inspectors ‘must be seen to cope’, not just in their own eyes but the eyes of their peers and in particular their superiors, and working excessive hours is the only way to cope in a Service with fragmented and dysfunctional systems/processes and a chronic lack of resilience.

Secondly, many Forces fail to systematically or accurately record the working time of Inspectors. How can the Police Service determine whether it is in breach of the law if it fails to record Inspectors’ hours? How can the Service determine the need for or impact of flexible working practices if it does not review Inspectors’ working time and more importantly support all the options that are available (e.g. part-time work)? Some of the most damning evidence, thirdly, is the reluctance or in some cases fear on the part of Inspectors to raise concerns about their deteriorating health or ‘the job’ impinging on their family life and other non-work relationships and activities. Less than one-in-ten Inspectors in England and Wales had ever refused to work excessive hours, less than one-in-twenty in Scotland. One-in-five Inspectors in England and Wales have concerns about their health which they attribute to long working hours that they have not raised with anyone, either at work or outside the workplace (e.g. GP, family and friends). The comparable figure in Scotland was over 29 per cent. Whether the Police Service ‘doesn’t know’ (very few Inspectors raise their concerns with their line manager, hardly any with HR) or simply ‘doesn’t care’ (a widely held view amongst Inspectors) does not absolve the Service of its duty of care or legal obligations under the WTR.

The Police Service cannot continue to divert responsibility for working time to individual Inspectors. The principal stressor faced by the Inspecting Ranks are organisational and collective (cultural) not episodic and individual (psychological).<sup>185</sup> It is the ‘daily hassles’ that must be addressed by the Police Service if Inspectors are to work within the law (i.e. comply with the WTR), improve their general health and well-being, re-balance their working and non-working lives, and improve their performance at work. This is not about individual coping strategies – telling Inspectors to ‘better manage’ their time – but addressing the lack of organisational resilience, reducing bureaucracy, increasing the training of (middle) management to support flexible working, changing leadership styles (from ‘transactional’ to ‘transformational’), and creating a more democratic Police Service (i.e. providing opportunities and creating a climate where Inspectors have the confidence to raise concerns or request flexible working arrangements to improve their health and WLB).<sup>186</sup>

Despite the potential benefits of shorter working time – the largest potential productivity gains are derived from a reduction in ‘excessive’ hours (i.e.  $\geq 48$  hours per week)<sup>187</sup> – it will not be easy for the



Police Service to reverse the ‘default’ position of ‘heroic individualism’ in the face of future budget cuts and the reforms that are likely to arise from the Winsor Report, not least because the police are an occupation within an organisation. While the organisation can significantly influence the occupation, the occupation also has a ‘life of its own’ and is subject to external influences (e.g. the values of new recruits, social perceptions of the ‘balance’ between work and family life, etc).<sup>188</sup> The problem of unnecessary bureaucracy, for example, has long been recognised and has been the subject of several major initiatives – and yet progress to date has stalled.<sup>189</sup> Other studies have noted the problems of changing leadership styles<sup>190</sup> or securing support for flexible working practices.<sup>191</sup>

In the face of such ‘institutional sclerosis’, perhaps the simplest solution would be to restore overtime payments for the Inspecting Ranks. At a stroke, this would compel the Police Service to properly record Inspectors’ hours and allocate work according to need, skill and experience (as opposed to the current situation whereby Inspectors often feel that they are required to work additional hours simply because their labour is ‘free’).<sup>192</sup> For Inspectors, fair remuneration would at least mitigate some of the adverse effects of excessive working hours. However, further improvements to their health and WLB would be dependent not only on the confidence but also the right to refuse excessive hours. This requires cultural and possibly contractual change that will take much longer to bring about. Until then, the Police Service will still be dependent on Inspectors of the following ilk:

*“I am proud to have been a police officer for 28 Years; however I am now very tired and can’t wait for retirement. The ‘Job’ has been very good to me; it gave me a chance when no-one else would, so I am grateful. Out of 28 years service I have spent 24 years on shift work. This has destroyed my marriage, relationship with my children (missed sports days, school plays, etc), health, social life, but not complaining, that’s the way it is. The work load never stops and the bosses want more and more, constant new policies trap the unwary and everything is based around a computer. If it isn’t our own bosses waiting to trip us up, it’s the politicians, media, courts, etc, etc. No other public service comes under the same scrutiny, it becomes very tiresome. No one can work 100 per cent effectively 100 per cent of the time, but they expect the police to and woe betides any poor officer who doesn’t. That said, would I do it all again? Oh yes, in a heartbeat” (Region 6 Inspector, male).*

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## **Appendix I. PFEW Regions**

### **Region One**

Cheshire  
Cumbria  
Greater Manchester  
Lancashire  
Merseyside

### **Region Two**

Cleveland  
Durham  
Humberside  
Northumbria  
North Yorkshire  
South Yorkshire  
West Yorkshire

### **Region Three**

Staffordshire  
Warwickshire  
West Mercia  
West Midlands

### **Region Four**

Cambridgeshire  
Derbyshire  
Leicestershire  
Lincolnshire  
Norfolk  
Northamptonshire  
Nottinghamshire  
Suffolk

### **Region Five**

Bedfordshire  
Essex  
Hampshire  
Hertfordshire  
Kent  
Surrey  
Sussex  
Thames Valley

### **Region Six**

Avon & Somerset  
Devon & Cornwall  
Dorset  
Gloucestershire  
Wiltshire

### **Region Seven**

Dyfed Powys  
Gwent  
North Wales  
South Wales

### **Region Eight**

City of London  
Metropolitan

## **Appendix II. Survey and Data Analysis**

### *Background*

The aims of the study were to record actual hours worked by inspectors during a normal working week and to explore both the reasons for and consequences of long hours of work. In particular, the present survey was conducted in response to the renewed pressure on workloads brought about by the Comprehensive Spending Review in the context of no diminution in the Coalition Government's, and indeed the public's expectations in relation to service delivery in the Police Service. In an existing culture of long hours of work, further work intensification was viewed with some alarm by one Inspector and Deputy Health and Safety Leader with the Metropolitan Police Service. Using an online survey provider, he designed and distributed an online survey on the subject of working and recording hours to his colleagues. He was overwhelmed with the response he received. A research team from Cardiff Business School was therefore commissioned by the PFEW to analyse the survey responses. Initial results were summarised in a brief report for the PFEW Annual Conference (Bournemouth, May 2011) and at the suggestion of the research team a series of focus group meetings were conducted in Regions 5, 6, 7 and 8 between July and December 2011 in order to both enrich and better understand the survey results. Each focus group meeting was digitally recorded and later transcribed to create a complete and accurate record of the discussion. With both the survey and the focus group meetings, all Inspectors were assured that their responses would remain anonymous in any published report.

### *The Census Survey*

The online survey was initially distributed to all 8,770 members of the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales using their unique warrant number email address. The survey included an hours' diary for the reference week 24th January 2011. A personal invitation to take part in the survey was sent out by email during the preceding week with a link to the questionnaire. On opening the link, the respondent received a covering letter from the Chairman and Secretary of the ICC and the questionnaire. On completion, the questionnaire was returned to the survey provider where a data file was automatically collated. The survey achieved 4,589 responses, a response rate of 52 per cent. Using checks against official statistics, the survey data were found to be representative by sex, rank and area of policing. There was some variation in response rates by Force, with Hertfordshire and Dorset recording a response rate of 65 per cent and Lancashire 35 per cent.

This exercise was repeated for the Inspecting Ranks in the Scottish Police Service using the same methods for the week beginning 5th September 2011. The questionnaire included additional questions (relating to family, BME, hours preference, shift patterns, and an alternative calculation of weekly hours in addition to the hours diary). The survey achieved 449 responses out of 1,121, a response rate of 40 per cent. The response rate by Force and PFEW Region are reported in Table A1.

Table A1. Response Rate by PFEW Region and Force

	Federation Members	No. Responses	Response Rate
<b>Region 1</b>	<b>1218</b>		
Cheshire	140	70	50.00%
Cumbria	73	33	45.21%
Greater Manchester	483	204	42.24%
Lancashire	253	100	39.53%
Merseyside	269	143	53.16%
<b>Region 2</b>	<b>1234</b>		
Cleveland	110	42	38.18%
Durham	103	36	34.95%
Humberside	148	89	60.14%
Northumbria	235	123	52.34%
North Yorkshire	100	60	60.00%
South Yorkshire	187	94	50.27%
West Yorkshire	351	215	61.25%
<b>Region 3</b>	<b>764</b>		
Staffordshire	133	63	47.37%
Warwickshire	67	30	44.78%
West Mercia	135	87	64.44%
West Midlands	429	187	43.59%
<b>Region 4</b>	<b>886</b>		
Cambridgeshire	115	47	40.87%
Derbyshire	110	56	50.91%
Leicestershire	135	73	54.07%
Lincolnshire	84	44	52.38%
Norfolk	109	52	47.71%
Northamptonshire	93	48	51.61%
Nottinghamshire	145	68	46.90%
Suffolk	95	55	57.89%
<b>Region 5</b>	<b>1554</b>		
Bedfordshire	83	42	50.60%
Essex	199	109	54.77%
Hampshire	232	117	50.43%
Hertfordshire	140	92	65.71%
Kent	263	160	60.84%
Surrey	132	73	55.30%
Sussex	250	154	61.60%
Thames Valley	255	133	52.16%
<b>Region 6</b>	<b>714</b>		
Avon and Somerset	227	127	55.95%
Devon and Cornwall	208	108	51.92%
Dorset	116	76	65.52%
Gloucestershire	75	26	34.67%
Wiltshire	88	50	56.82%
<b>Region 7</b>	<b>515</b>		
Dyfed Powys	93	42	45.16%
Gwent	99	50	50.51%
North Wales	87	38	43.68%
South Wales	236	77	32.63%

<b>Region 8</b>	<b>2255</b>		
City of London	81	45	55.56%
Metropolitan	2174	1051	48.34%
Scotland	1121	449	40.05%

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The questionnaire was designed by a serving police inspector covering the issues that he recognised as being important to his colleagues and asking the questions in a way which would be clearly understood by them. The questions covered the respondents’ own working hours diary, the employers record of hours worked, accrued time off in the form of annual leave and rest days and other ‘time off in lieu’. Details of personal characteristics such as age, service, sex, rank and area of policing were included in order to measure inter-group differences in hours of work. A series of fixed-format and open questions (free text boxes) explored the motivation and attitudes towards working long hours, refusals to work long hours and any adverse health and work-life-balance consequences from working long hours. When respondents take time to additional comments in the free text boxes, this is usually a good indication that the survey ‘touched a nerve’. It is the respondents’ commitment to providing detailed comments in explanation of their responses that is perhaps the most remarkable feature of this survey – additional (often extensive) comments were made by 31 per cent of Inspectors in England and Wales and 35 per cent in Scotland – and this is reflected in the space given to inspectors’ own accounts in the Report. Whereas the statistics tell us who is working long hours and how many hours they work, it is personal experiences and explanations that provide an understanding of how the interaction between organisation, culture and personality result in a particular outcome.

### *Analysis of Results*

The purpose of the statistical analysis is to summarise the responses on hours of work and to draw out any empirical patterns in these data, for example differences by sex or area of work, differences by career aspiration or length of service. The statistical results are presented as a set of frequency tables and ‘box and whisker’ plots. These plots provide an efficient graphical summary of the distribution of reported hours and allows for convenient comparison between different groups of Inspectors as the plots record hours at key points across the distribution of hours (i.e. ‘whiskers’ extending to the 10th and 90th percentiles and a shaded ‘box’ that included all observations between the 25th and 75th percentiles). The median is marked as a vertical line in all the figures while the mean is depicted by a diamond shape. In this way, each box and whisker plot summaries the distribution of hours of work.

In addition to the descriptive statistical analysis (reported in Tables 1-6 and Figures 3-6 in the main text of the Report), and in order to draw out any systematic patterns in hours of work and the adverse effects on health and family life which are attributed to long hours of work, the responses for England and Wales were interrogated using a series of regression analyses. The results of these analyses are reported as marginal effects in Table A2.

In the final right hand column of Table A2, an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression confirms the earlier result that differences in hours of work, while substantial (see Figures 3-6) are not well-explained by the individual and job characteristics measured in the survey. These characteristics (sex, rank and area of work) explain only a small amount of the variation in hours of work (just over 1 per cent). It is notable that Inspectors (the largest rank) report more hours of work relative to Detective Chief Inspectors (the reference category) ‘everything else equal’. In terms of area of work, only those working in CID roles report statistically significantly longer hours than those working in Support roles (the reference category). There are a few forces which stand out as working significantly longer hours

than those in the MPS (the reference category). These include smaller rural constabularies as well as larger metropolitan ones (Cumbria, Dorset, Greater Manchester Police, Lancashire and Merseyside).

The adverse effects on family life, health, work relationship and social life which are attributed to long hours of work are reported in columns 1-4 of Table A2, separately for each effect. Probit regressions are used here because the dependent variable is binary (either yes or no). For consistency with the OLS regression results, and for ease of interpretation, marginal effects are reported.

Adverse family effects are reported in column 1. Respondents in all areas of work report greater adverse family effects compared to those in the reference category of Support roles. The marginal effects imply that working in a CID role increases the probability of reporting adverse family effects by 14 per cent compared to working in a Support role, 13 per cent for an Operational role, 12 per cent for Traffic, 9 per cent for Community and 7 per cent for Other. Strong positive effects are associated with two groups of inspectors, namely those with aspirations towards promotion and those who (maybe as result of the adverse effects) intend to retire. Forces where inspectors reported significantly greater adverse family effects when compared to those in the MPS include Durham, GMP, Lincolnshire, Merseyside, Northumbria, Nottinghamshire, South Yorkshire and Warwickshire. It is noteworthy that working part-time does not alleviate adverse family effects. Adverse family effects was the most commonly reported adverse effects (52.7 per cent of respondents). The model accounts for a small (6.65 per cent) but significant part of the variation in family effects.

Adverse health effects are reported in column 2. Longer serving inspectors are less likely to report adverse health effects attributed to long hours of work. Working in CID or Operational policing has a significantly greater impact on health than working in a Support role (the reference category). Again, those who aspire to promotion must endure adverse health effects and those whose health is adversely affected are more likely to aspire to retirement. Inter-Force effects are greater in terms of reported adverse health effects with eighteen Forces reporting significantly greater health effects than the MPS (no Forces reported fewer adverse health effects than the MPS). Almost 44 per cent of respondents report adverse health effects and the model explains a small (4.19 per cent) but significant part of the variation in this outcome across respondents.

Adverse effects of long hours on work relationships were reported by 11.7 per cent of respondents. The proportion was significantly greater where the respondent was working towards promotion. Six Forces reported significantly greater adverse effects on this outcome than was reported by the MPS. The model accounts for 2.83 percent of the variation in this work-related well-being outcome.

The adverse effect of long hours on an Inspector's social life was reported by 44.0 per cent of respondents. Men were more likely than women to report such an effect. Chief Inspectors were significantly less likely to report this effect than were Detective Chief Inspectors (the reference category). Those in Operational and Detective work were more likely to report adverse effects on social life than those in Support roles (the reference category). There is a positive relationship between recorded hours of work in the reference week and the reporting of a damaged social life. Again, aspiration towards promotion involves adverse effects on an Inspector's social life. There is also an association between reporting a damaged social life and intention to retire. Eight Forces stand out compared to the MPS in terms of adverse effects on social life. A small (4.95 per cent) but significant part of the variation in this outcome is accounted for by the included individual and job characteristics.

In column 5, the adverse effects are combined into an aggregate variable 'any adverse effect'. Nearly two thirds (64.6 per cent) of respondents reported at least one adverse effect. Detective Inspectors are more likely than Detective Chief Inspectors (the reference category) to report an absence of adverse

effects. Respondents in CID, Operational, Community and Other roles were all significantly more likely to report any adverse effect when compared to the reference category of Support roles. Those aspiring towards promotion were 30 per cent more likely to report an adverse effect. Reporting an intention to retire was associated with a 16.7 per cent higher chance of reporting at least one adverse effect. Eleven Forces were more likely than the MPS to report an adverse effect.

Column 6 reports the impact of each individual and job characteristic on a work-life balance (WLB) index which was constructed from the reports of adverse effects. The purpose is to explain the number of adverse effects reported. The index is necessarily rather crude and replies simply on the addition of different reported adverse effects. This assumes that the greater are the number of different adverse effects reported, the worse is the individual's WLB. Nearly two-thirds (64.6 per cent) of respondents reported at least one adverse effect, 50 per cent reported at least two and 30 reported at least three. An Ordered Probit is used to estimate the impact of each characteristic on the WLB index. The cuts at the bottom of Table A2 represent the upward shifts. The patterns observed in the individual adverse effects (columns 1 to 4) and the aggregate measure of adverse effects (column 5) are also found in the ordered variable so that working in CID or in Operational policing, aspiring to promotion or wanting to retire are all associated with a spread of adverse effects across family, health and social life and by assumption a worse WLB.

Variables for which there is an absence of any effect on the range of well-being outcomes are perhaps just as important. Part-time working does not appear to be a solution to adverse effects. Hours of work are only influential over the adverse effects on an Inspector's social life. However, hours of work are measured in the reference week and these may not be typical of usual weekly hours. This may account for the absence of any hours' effect on other well-being outcomes or it may simply reflect that the adverse effects arise from other aspects of working hours, for example the intensity of working hours or the predictability of working hours, at least as well as their number.

Table A2. Regression Results: Adverse Affects Attributed to Long Hours of Work

Variables	Adverse effect on family (i)	Adverse effect on health (ii)	Adverse effect on work relationships (iii)	Adverse effect on social life (iv)	Any adverse effect (v)	WLB Index (0-5) (vi)	Total weekly hours of work (vii)
Method of estimation	Probit	Probit	Probit	Probit	Probit	Ordered probit	OLS Regression
Male	-0.006 (-0.25)	-0.024 (-1.05)	0.021 (1.50)	0.066*** (2.86)	-0.012 (-0.55)	0.013 (0.27)	-0.312 (-0.59)
Length of service	-0.002 (-1.23)	-0.004** (-2.37)	0.000 (0.27)	-0.001 (-0.67)	-0.002 (-1.11)	-0.005 (-1.32)	-0.055 (-1.46)
Inspector	-0.038 (-1.26)	-0.006 (-0.19)	0.006 (0.33)	-0.011 (-0.36)	-0.030 (-1.05)	-0.031 (-0.49)	1.475** (2.21)
Chief Inspector	-0.028 (-0.74)	-0.056 (-1.51)	0.018 (0.69)	-0.069* (-1.87)	-0.030 (-0.80)	-0.078 (-0.97)	1.073 (1.27)
Detective Inspector	-0.065* (-1.86)	-0.014 (-0.41)	0.004 (0.19)	0.011 (0.33)	-0.068* (-1.93)	-0.031 (-0.44)	0.113 (0.15)
Detective Chief Inspector	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category
Traffic	0.125** (2.06)	0.078 (1.20)	-0.000 (-0.01)	0.058 (0.91)	0.063 (1.16)	0.163 (1.18)	-0.962 (-0.67)
CID	0.141*** (4.05)	0.064* (1.80)	-0.025 (-1.17)	0.085** (2.38)	0.102*** (3.25)	0.179** (2.35)	1.707** (2.14)
Operations	0.129*** (4.66)	0.098*** (3.46)	-0.006 (-0.33)	0.102*** (3.60)	0.101*** (4.09)	0.225*** (3.71)	0.525 (0.83)
Community	0.088*** (2.63)	0.027 (0.79)	-0.027 (-1.45)	-0.011 (-0.31)	0.064** (2.14)	0.037 (0.50)	-0.798 (-1.04)
Support role	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category
Other	0.065** (2.03)	0.029 (0.90)	-0.015 (-0.77)	0.026 (0.79)	0.057** (2.02)	0.099 (1.45)	0.828 (1.15)
Total weekly hours	0.000	0.001*	0.000	0.002**	0.001	0.002	na



Aspire to promotion in next 3 years	(0.33)	(1.91)	(0.10)	(2.07)	(1.58)	(1.38)	na
	0.279*** (15.90)	0.170*** (9.12)	0.041*** (3.16)	0.207*** (11.18)	0.300*** (19.98)	0.554*** (13.81)	-0.120 (-0.28)
Plan to retire in next 3 years	0.099*** (4.60)	0.152*** (6.93)	0.024 (1.60)	0.138*** (6.25)	0.167*** (9.63)	0.356*** (7.59)	0.604 (1.22)
Straight from school	0.016 (0.81)	0.008 (0.42)	-0.002 (-0.17)	-0.008 (-0.40)	-0.014 (-0.73)	-0.006 (-0.14)	0.632 (1.42)
Short gap	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category
Long gap	-0.009 (-0.38)	0.013 (0.55)	0.006 (0.39)	0.007 (0.31)	-0.002 (-0.07)	0.048 (0.97)	-0.131 (-0.26)
Avon & Somerset	0.005 (0.09)	0.059 (1.13)	0.019 (0.50)	-0.071 (-1.40)	-0.021 (-0.41)	0.005 (0.05)	0.427 (0.36)
Bedfordshire	0.106 (1.18)	0.187** (2.12)	0.074 (0.97)	0.188** (2.08)	0.104 (1.33)	0.377* (1.95)	-1.365 (-0.66)
Cambridgeshire	0.061 (0.71)	0.173** (2.07)	0.031 (0.48)	0.126 (1.47)	0.130* (1.93)	0.301* (1.66)	-2.190 (-1.13)
Cheshire	0.007 (0.10)	0.004 (0.05)	-0.016 (-0.35)	-0.066 (-0.94)	-0.024 (-0.35)	-0.022 (-0.14)	0.883 (0.54)
City of London	0.043 (0.49)	-0.043 (-0.50)	-0.054 (-1.21)	-0.006 (-0.07)	-0.059 (-0.69)	-0.079 (-0.43)	1.434 (0.75)
Cleveland	-0.100 (-1.09)	0.043 (0.46)	-0.071 (-1.63)	0.040 (0.43)	0.026 (0.32)	-0.007 (-0.04)	-0.646 (-0.31)
Cumbria	0.054 (0.55)	0.139 (1.43)	0 (0)	0.006 (0.06)	-0.052 (-0.54)	0.012 (0.05)	3.727* (1.70)
Derbyshire	0.068 (0.90)	0.182** (2.50)	0.032 (0.57)	0.061 (0.80)	0.054 (0.78)	0.235 (1.48)	-1.228 (-0.73)
Devon & Cornwall	-0.048 (-0.85)	0.056 (1.00)	0.021 (0.52)	-0.028 (-0.51)	-0.029 (-0.54)	0.044 (0.36)	0.746 (0.60)
Dorset	-0.059 (-0.87)	-0.031 (-0.46)	0.085 (1.51)	-0.083 (-1.27)	-0.065 (-0.99)	-0.069 (-0.47)	2.565* (1.71)
Durham	0.178**	0.123	0.010	0.144	0.059	0.341*	1.135

Dyfed-Powys	(2.12) 0.102 (1.12) 0.091 (1.61) -0.143 (-1.29) 0.101**	(1.34) 0.138 (1.47) 0.206*** (3.76) -0.166 (-1.57) 0.143***	(0.16) 0.051 (0.68) 0.077 (1.60) -0.056 (-0.98) 0.077**	(1.58) 0.185** (2.03) 0.025 (0.43) -0.173* (-1.71) 0.047	(0.73) 0.133* (1.91) 0.092* (1.93) -0.238** (-2.10) 0.122***	(1.74) 0.392** (1.97) 0.344*** (2.81) -0.479* (-1.84) 0.252***	(0.54) -0.737 (-0.35) 0.503 (0.39) 0.199 (0.08) 1.591 (1.63) -0.095 (-0.05) -0.127 (-0.11) -0.034 (-0.02) 1.192 (0.86) 1.627 (1.53) 2.311* (1.69) 0.580 (0.33) -1.447 (-0.77)	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	Reference category	
Essex														
Gloucestershire														
Greater Manchester Police														
Gwent														
Hampshire														
Hertfordshire														
Humberside														
Kent														
Lancashire														
Leicestershire														
Lincolnshire														
MPS														
Merseyside														
Norfolk														
Northamptonshire														

Northumbria	0.124** (2.45)	0.179*** (3.47)	0.124*** (2.61)	0.107** (2.00)	0.083* (1.87)	0.390*** (3.44)	0.367 (0.31)
North Wales	0.110 (1.14)	0.154 (1.57)	0.019 (0.26)	0.038 (0.37)	0.078 (0.88)	0.262 (1.24)	-1.887 (-0.83)
North Yorkshire	0.079 (1.06)	0.174** (2.34)	0.097 (1.46)	0.062 (0.81)	0.069 (1.04)	0.344** (2.12)	-1.187 (-0.69)
Nottinghamshire	0.169*** (2.73)	0.182*** (2.81)	0.014 (0.30)	0.092 (1.36)	0.147*** (2.88)	0.338** (2.38)	-0.665 (-0.44)
South Yorkshire	0.161*** (2.88)	0.042 (0.68)	0.088* (1.72)	0.097 (1.61)	0.082 (1.61)	0.294** (2.31)	0.784 (0.58)
South Wales	0.005 (0.08)	0.117* (1.75)	-0.013 (-0.28)	-0.187*** (-3.14)	-0.001 (-0.01)	-0.038 (-0.26)	0.587 (0.39)
Staffordshire	0.060 (0.87)	0.079 (1.12)	0.005 (0.11)	-0.139** (-2.11)	0.008 (0.12)	-0.084 (-0.55)	0.193 (0.12)
Suffolk	0.093 (1.16)	0.100 (1.23)	0.009 (0.16)	0.062 (0.76)	0.156** (2.52)	0.171 (0.99)	1.538 (0.83)
Surrey	0.060 (0.89)	0.162** (2.43)	0.096 (1.64)	-0.052 (-0.78)	0.033 (0.54)	0.108 (0.73)	-0.020 (-0.01)
Sussex	0.005 (0.11)	-0.063 (-1.33)	-0.019 (-0.61)	-0.046 (-0.98)	0.019 (0.42)	-0.033 (-0.33)	0.397 (0.37)
Thames Valley	0.014 (0.27)	0.094* (1.80)	0.003 (0.08)	0.073 (1.37)	0.049 (1.06)	0.148 (1.33)	-0.750 (-0.64)
Warwickshire	0.187* (1.86)	0.133 (1.22)	0.105 (1.10)	0.067 (0.60)	0.182** (2.35)	0.390* (1.69)	0.487 (0.19)
West Mercia	0.052 (0.85)	0.129** (2.15)	0.025 (0.57)	0.087 (1.42)	0.066 (1.20)	0.226* (1.76)	-0.741 (-0.54)
West Midlands	0.025 (0.54)	0.040 (0.86)	0.138*** (3.36)	-0.029 (-0.64)	-0.004 (-0.10)	0.144 (1.48)	-0.997 (-0.98)
West Yorkshire	0.057 (1.35)	0.143*** (3.42)	0.095*** (2.63)	0.086** (2.02)	0.048 (1.27)	0.263*** (2.91)	0.526 (0.55)
Wiltshire	0.123 (1.52)	0.061 (0.74)	0.069 (1.02)	0.004 (0.05)	0.100 (1.45)	0.224 (1.28)	-2.304 (-1.23)
Part-time	0.093	-0.050	0.058	-0.046	0.040	0.032	-1.043

Cut 0 to 1	(1.40)	(-0.77)	(1.51)	(-0.68)	(0.65)	(0.23)	(-0.71)
						0.044	
Cut 1 to 2						(0.17)	
						0.457*	
Cut 2 to 3						(1.81)	
						0.999***	
Cut 3 to 4						(3.95)	
						1.798***	
Cut 4 to 5						(7.08)	
						3.198***	
						(11.85)	
% yes	52.7	43.8	11.7	44.0	64.6		
n	3,684	3,684	3,684	3,684	3,684	3,684	3,684
R-squared or equivalent %	6.56	4.19	2.83	4.95	9.41	2.69	0.013

z-statistics in parentheses

\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1p<0.1

- <sup>1</sup> All quotes reported in the text in *italics* are taken from the surveys of working time and well-being conducted in England and Wales (January 2011) and Scotland (September 2011). In order to ensure anonymity, only the Region (for England and Wales), rank, role, gender and years of service are reported in the text. A full list of PFEW Regions is provided in Appendix I.
- <sup>2</sup> See, for example, Berry, J. (2009) *Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing*, Full Report, London: Home Office; and Berry, J. (2010) *Reducing Bureaucracy in Policing*, Final Report, London: Home Office.
- <sup>3</sup> Savage, S.P. (2008) *Police Reform: Forces for Change*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; and Neyroud, P. (2009) 'Squaring the Circles: Research, Evidence, Policy-Making, and Police Improvement in England and Wales', *Police Practice & Research*, 10(5-6), pp.437-49.
- <sup>4</sup> Bevir, M. and Krupicka, B. (2007) 'Police Reform, Governance and Democracy', in M. O'Neill, M. Marks and A-M. Singh (eds.) *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*, Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance Vol.8, Oxford: Elsevier, p.155.
- <sup>5</sup> The first sign of market change was Home Office Circular (HOC) 114/83 which required Forces to produce evidence of efficiency to justify further claims for resources. See Neyroud, *op cit.*, p.438.
- <sup>6</sup> The new public management includes a redrawing of the boundaries between the private and public sectors, both by transferring services from public ownership to private hands and by subcontracting or outsourcing processes; various forms of organisational restructuring aimed at subdividing large, bureaucratic structures into smaller, independent units with devolved managerial authority, in order to make them closer to citizens' demands and more transparent in costs and results; a shift from management by hierarchy to management by contract, through the introduction of market or market-like mechanisms of governance into the financing and provision of public services, such as compulsory competitive tendering, market testing and internal markets; strengthening the powers and prerogatives of managers, subject to tighter financial controls and the promotion of management techniques typical of private sector companies; and the reform of personnel policies and labour relations. See Eurofound (2007) *Industrial Relations in the Public Sector*, Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. Whilst the full blast of NPM was visited late on the Police Service, there is no doubting the impact of such changes on the Service. See Leishman, F., Loveday, B. and Savage, S. (eds.) (1996) *Core Issues in Policing*, Harlow: Longman.
- <sup>7</sup> Home Office (1993) *Inquiry into Police Responsibilities and Rewards*, Cm2280, London: HMSO. Patrick Sheehy was a prominent businessman who made 272 recommendations in his report, many of which reflected NPM. See Bevir and Krupicka, *op cit.*, p.161.
- <sup>8</sup> Berry, J., O'Connor, G., Punch, M. and Wilson, P. (2008) 'Strange Union: Changing Patterns of Reform, Representation, and Unionization in Policing', *Police Practice & Research*, 9(2), p.116.
- <sup>9</sup> Neyroud, P. (2008) 'Past, Present and Future Performance: Lessons and Prospects for the Measurement of Police Performance', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 2(3), pp.340-49.
- <sup>10</sup> Bayley, D. and Shearing, C. (1996) 'The Future of Policing', *Law & Society Review*, 30(3), p.585. Two developments defined change in the police service at the time: (i) the 'pluralising' of policing (e.g. private companies providing security services on a commercial basis and communities on a volunteer basis), and (ii) the self-questioning by the police service of their objectives, strategies, organisation, management, discipline and accountability. See also Sir Ian Blair (2007) 'Surprise News: Policing Works', *Police Practice & Research*, 8(2), pp.175-82.
- <sup>11</sup> Community policing requires officers to become better embedded in the communities they are charged with serving. See Fielding, N. (1995) *Community Policing*, Oxford: Oxford University Press; and Tilley, N. (2003) 'Community Policing, Problem-Oriented Policing and Intelligence Led Policing', in T. Newburn (ed.) *Handbook of Policing*, Essex: Willan, pp.311-40.
- <sup>12</sup> See, for example, Home Office (1998) *Reducing Offending: An Assessment of the Research Evidence on Ways of Dealing with Offending Behaviour*, Research Study 187, London: Home Office.
- <sup>13</sup> Bevir and Krupicka, *op cit.*, pp.163-5.
- <sup>14</sup> Neyroud (2009), *op cit.*, p.439.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* Peter Neyroud is a well-respected Chief Constable and Chief Executive of the National Policing Improvement Agency (NIPA).
- <sup>16</sup> See also Robertson Cooper (2008) *Well Being at Work – Membership Census 2007*, Full Report, Leatherhead: Inspectors' Central Committee, p.19.
- <sup>17</sup> In the MPS these are called Borough Operational Command Units (BOCUs).
- <sup>18</sup> ICC (2004) *Membership Census 2003 – Full Report*, Leatherhead: Inspectors' Central Committee: and Robertson Cooper, *op cit.*
- <sup>19</sup> Under the Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR), the Coalition Government aims to reduce police spending by 4 per cent per annum, with a 20 per cent reduction in Central Government funding by 2014-15.
- <sup>20</sup> Introduction by Rt. Hon Theresa May MP to Home Office (2010) *A New Approach to Fighting Crime*, London: Home Office.
- <sup>21</sup> Berry, J. (2010), *op cit.*, p.6. Street level mapping of crime, for example, brings the performance of the police 'much closer to home' by giving the public access to key crime and policing information.
- <sup>22</sup> Punch, M. (2010) 'Policing and Police Research in the Age of the Smart Cop', *Police Practice & Research*, 11(2), p.158. See also, Sir Hugh Orde's Lecture at the Royal United Services Institute, 'Developing and Co-ordinating a National Policing Strategy for the 21st Century', 16 March 2010.
- <sup>23</sup> Berry, J. (2009), *op cit.*, p.4.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>25</sup> Berry (2010), *op cit.*, pp.2-3.
- <sup>26</sup> Stinchcomb, J.B. (2004) 'Searching for Stress in All the Wrong Places: Combating Chronic Organizational Stressors

in Policing', *Police Practice & Research*, 5(3), p.261.

<sup>27</sup> Berry et al, *op cit.*, pp.117-18. An 'aggressive management style' was identified by Inspectors as a major concern in the study of well-being at work commissioned by the ICC in 2008. See Robertson Cooper, *op cit.*, p.21 and p.33.

<sup>28</sup> Chan, J. (2007) 'Police Stress and Occupational Culture', in M. O'Neill, M. Marks and A-M. Singh (eds.) *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*, Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance Vol.8, Oxford: Elsevier, p.148.

<sup>29</sup> The number of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs), for example, increased from 1,176 in 2003 to almost 16,685 in March 2010. The Police Reform Act 2002 increased the number of civilians who perform a wide variety of tasks previously undertaken by police officers, blurring the distinction between 'police work' and 'non-police work' within the Service. PCSOs may detain suspects but as non-sworn officers do not have the powers of arrest. Their number declined to 15,552 in March 2011.

<sup>30</sup> ACPO comprises chief officers who hold a substantive rank or appointment at the rank of Assistant Chief Constable level (Commander in the MPS and City of London Police) or above (i.e. Deputy Chief Constables and Chief Constables, Assistant Commander and Commissioner in the City of London and Deputy Assistant Commissioner, Assistant Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner in the MPS). Superintendents are represented by the Police Superintendents Association of England and Wales (PSAEW) and the Association of Scottish Police Superintendents (ASPS).

<sup>31</sup> Over the same period, the number of Superintendents (including Chief Superintendents) declined by -8.4%, Constables by -3.2%, Sergeants by -1.7%, and Chief Inspectors by just -1.4%.

<sup>32</sup> Readers are encouraged to think about why Inspectors add exclamation marks to their responses. This last sentence is just one of many cynical/sarcastic comments made by Inspectors to convey their disappointment with a job and a Service which they still care deeply about, despite all the pressures and changes they face.

<sup>33</sup> *The Guardian*, 28 October 2011.

<sup>34</sup> Punch (2010), *op cit.*, p.157.

<sup>35</sup> As a Scottish CI commented, "I am of a generation which regarded policing as a vocation and will always do what the job requires. It frustrates me to see when that is taken advantage of and abused by politicians who manipulate public and media opinion, shaping it to fit the planned agenda of cutting public sector resourcing" (male 28 years service).

<sup>36</sup> This phrase is taken from a paper by David Bradley and Christine Nixon, which was the centrepiece of a Special Anniversary Issue of *Police Practice & Research*, a journal dedicated to building long-term partnerships between police and academics. See Bradley, D. and Nixon, C. (2009) 'Ending the "Dialogue of the Deaf": Evidence and Policing Policies and Practices, an Australian Case Study', *Police Practice & Research*, 10(5-6), pp.423-35; and Johnston, L. and Shearing, C. (2009) 'From a "Dialogue of the Deaf" to a "Dialogue of the Listening": Towards a New Methodology of Policing Research and Practice', *Police Practice & Research*, 10(5-6), pp.415-22.

<sup>37</sup> Winsor, T.P. (2011) *Independent Review of Police Officer and Staff Remuneration and Conditions*, Part 1 Report, Cm 8024, London: HMSO.

<sup>38</sup> While it might be argued that those working excessive hours are more likely to return a survey such as this, a DCI from Region 4 expressed the opposite concern, namely that: "with surveys like this ... it is the busiest people that work the longest hours that do not have the time to complete such surveys and so the results will be skewed".

<sup>39</sup> ICC (2011) *Exploding the Myths: A Guide to the Working Conditions of Inspecting Ranks*, Leatherhead: Inspectors' Central Committee, p.2.

<sup>40</sup> HOC 21/97.

<sup>41</sup> Hence the title – *Exploding the Myths* – of the ICC's 2011 *Guide to the Working Conditions of Inspecting Ranks*.

<sup>42</sup> ICC (2011), *op cit.*, p.2.

<sup>43</sup> Lee, S., McCann, D. and Messenger, J.C. (2007) *Working Time Around the World: Trends in Working Hours, Laws and Policies in a Global Comparative Perspective*, London: Routledge, p.37.

<sup>44</sup> The UK does not have a universal statutory limit on 'normal' hours, unlike Belgium and France (35-39 hours), Austria, Canada, Finland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the USA (40 hours). See Lee et al, *op cit.*, p.16.

<sup>45</sup> The European Working Time Directive came into force in the UK through the Working Time Regulations (WTR) in October 1998. Initially, the UK government was opposed to the ETWD, arguing that there was insufficient evidence to support the view that long working hours had a negative effect on the safety and health of employees. Among the EU Member States, the UK is renowned for its 'long hour's culture' with over a quarter of employees working over 48 hours per week. See Kodz, J., Davis, S., Lain, D., Strebler, M. and Rick, J. (2003) *Working Long Hours: A Review of the Evidence*, Employment Relations Research Series No.16, London: DTI.

<sup>46</sup> The Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE), published by the Office for National Statistics (ONS), records Inspectors' pay based on 40 hours per week.

<sup>47</sup> Emphasis added. The ICC considers this to be a good example of a typical working time agreement in the police service.

<sup>48</sup> Metropolitan Police (2008) *Guidance on Hours Worked – Inspectors & Chief Inspectors*, London: MPS. The WTR also provide for rest breaks of at least 11 hours between tours of duty, subject to later compensatory rest periods if on specific occasions such a break cannot be taken. WTR also provide for one non-working day per week (e.g. rest day, annual leave or special leave), averaged over the reference period (i.e. 17 non-working days in a 17 week reference period).

<sup>49</sup> ICC (2011), *op cit.*, p.11. A previous ICC study asked Inspectors whether they had agreed to opt out of the 48 hour minimum working week specified in the WTR. Seven per cent of the respondents indicated that they had indeed opted

out. See ICC (2004), p.22.

<sup>50</sup> While the surveys of working time reported here were more concerned with the cumulative effects of long working hours, a separate survey of MPS officers involved in Operation Kirkin during the recent London riots, when many worked in excess of 100 hours in a week, uncovered acute ill-effects (e.g. fatigue, irritability, lack of concentration, headaches, and digestive disorders).

<sup>51</sup> White, J. and Beswick, J. (2003) *Working Long Hours*, Sheffield: Health & Safety Laboratory. Available at: [http://www.hse.gov.uk/research/hsl\\_pdf/2003/hsl03-02.pdf](http://www.hse.gov.uk/research/hsl_pdf/2003/hsl03-02.pdf)

<sup>52</sup> See Crank, J.P. and Caldero, M. (1991) 'The Production of Occupational Stress in Medium-Sized Police Agencies: A Survey of Line Officers in Eight Municipal Departments', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 19(4), pp.339-49; and Stotland, E. (1991) 'The Effects of Police Work and Professional Relationships on Health', *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 19(4), pp.371-9. The recent study of well-being at work commissioned by the ICC found that uniformed Inspectors and Chief Inspectors experienced greater stress levels than their non-uniformed colleagues. See Robertson Cooper, *op cit.*

<sup>53</sup> Spurgeon, A. (2003) *Working Time: Its Impact on Safety and Health*, Geneva: International Labour Office, p.11. See also Sparks, K., Cooper, C., Fried, Y. and Shirom, A. (1997) 'The Effects of Hours of Work on Health: A Meta-Analytic Review', *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 70, pp.391-408; and White and Beswick, *op cit.*

<sup>54</sup> Some respondents ticked the "prefer not to say" option when asked about their gender.

<sup>55</sup> Böheim, R. and Taylor, M.P. (2004) 'Actual and Preferred Working Hours', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 42(1), pp.149-66.

<sup>56</sup> When asked about their future intentions, less than 2 per cent of the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales were contemplating resignation from the Police Service. The comparable figure for Scotland was less than 1 per cent.

<sup>57</sup> Home Office (2007) *Flexible Working in the Police Service*, London: Home Office, p.8.

<sup>58</sup> See, for example, Fagan, C. (2001) *Gender, Employment and Working Time Preferences in Europe*, Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

<sup>59</sup> Drago, R., Wooden, M. and Black, D. (2009) 'Long Work Hours: Volunteers and Conscripts', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 47(3), pp.571-600.

<sup>60</sup> Beckers, D.G.L., van der Linden, D., Smulders, P.G.W., Kompier, M.A.J., Taris, T.W. and Geurts, S.A.E. (2008) 'Voluntary or Involuntary? Control over Overtime and Rewards for Overtime in Relation to Fatigue and Work Satisfaction', *Work & Stress*, 22(1), pp.33-50.

<sup>61</sup> See, for example, Hamermesh, D.S. and Pfann, G.A. (1996) 'Adjustment Costs in Factor Demand', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 34(3), pp.1264-92.

<sup>62</sup> van Echtelt, P.E., Glebbeek, A.C. and Lindenberg, S.M. (2006) 'The New Lumpiness of Work: Explaining the Mismatch Between Actual and Preferred Working Hours', *Work, Employment & Society*, 20(3), p.495.

<sup>63</sup> This is one reason why the systematic recording of working time is so important – an issue to which we will return.

<sup>64</sup> Home Office (2007), *op cit.*, p.5.

<sup>65</sup> Van Echtelt et al, *op cit.*, p.497.

<sup>66</sup> Additional comments were made by 31 per cent of Inspectors in England and Wales and 35 per cent in Scotland. All comments were coded and are used selectively to enrich the (statistical) results.

<sup>67</sup> One focus group meeting was held in Region 6, two in Regions 5 and 7, and four in Region 8.

<sup>68</sup> This methodology has been used successfully in previous studies of the Police Service. See, for example, Dick, P. and Cassell, C. (2004) 'The Position of Policewomen: A Discourse Analytic Study', *Work, Employment & Society*, 18(1), pp.51-72.

<sup>69</sup> Each focus group meeting was recorded and later transcribed to create a complete and accurate record of the discussion.

<sup>70</sup> Focus groups were held in the regional PFEW premises and in the PFEW Solicitor's offices in London. Outside the MPS, most Inspectors knew each other. Most participants in the focus groups were either on their way to/from work or on a rest day/annual leave. Either way, they generally regarded the focus group as just one more example of the many meetings that extend their working time beyond the day job. They were certainly all conscious of the work accumulating during their 2 hour absence from the job to attend the focus group meeting.

<sup>71</sup> The response rate is exceptionally high for a questionnaire survey, which typically returns up to 30 per cent of the sample, although previous surveys of the Inspecting Ranks have also elicited a very high response (e.g. the well-resourced survey on commitment undertaken by Robertson Cooper in 2008 achieved a response rate of 65 per cent).

<sup>72</sup> Brown, J.M. (1998) 'Aspects of Discriminatory Treatment of Women Police Officers Serving in Forces in England and Wales', *British Journal of Criminology*, 38(2), p.279.

<sup>73</sup> Home Office (2007), *op cit.*, p.7.

<sup>74</sup> Brown, J. (2007) 'From Cult of Masculinity to Smart Macho: Gender Perspectives on Police Occupational Culture', M. O'Neill, M. Marks and A-M. Singh (eds.) *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*, Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance Vol.8, Oxford: Elsevier, pp.209-10.

<sup>75</sup> Statistics for Scotland distinguish temporary and acting Inspectors (a distinction not recognised in the survey in England and Wales) but a similar proportion of men and women (8 per cent) were in non-substantive roles.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, p.220.

<sup>77</sup> The differences by area of work were statistically significant in England and Wales. Although the pattern in Scotland is similar, these differences were not statistically significant due to low cell sizes for women Inspectors in low prevalence areas of work.

<sup>78</sup> Much of this variation could be due to the small numbers of Inspectors (and therefore respondents) in smaller Forces. It is relevant that the 'outlying' Forces, both in terms of high and low representation of women Inspectors, are relatively small ones. Forces with 10 per cent or less women respondents include Gwent, Lincolnshire, North Yorkshire, Cheshire

and Cleveland. Forces with 24 per cent or more women respondents include Cumbria, Durham, Gloucestershire, Lancashire and Surrey.

<sup>79</sup> Only 80 respondents in England and Wales (2.8 per cent) worked less than 20 hours, a further 199 worked between 20 and 29 hours (7.1 per cent) and a further 477 (17.0 per cent) worked between 30 and 39 hours per week. The comparable figures for Scotland were 8.3 per cent, 4.1 per cent and 9.5 per cent respectively. All of these respondents reported full-time work and did not report leave (other than weekly leave or a rest day).

<sup>80</sup> Around 24 per cent of Inspectors reported either weekly or annual leave. There is some weekday variation, with leave more common on a Friday (20 per cent) and a Monday (14 per cent). Around 20 per cent of Inspectors report working on a Saturday and/or a Sunday.

<sup>81</sup> Almost two-thirds of full-time Inspectors who report positive weekly hours and whose weekly hours were not affected by annual, special, compassionate or sick leave worked longer than 40 hours in the survey week.

<sup>82</sup> An additional question was included in the Scottish survey which asked Inspectors to state their total hours of work during the reference week, which provided an additional check against the hour's diary. In England and Wales the total number of hours worked was calculated directly (and only) from the hours diary.

<sup>83</sup> It is significant that the box and whisker plots for Scotland display higher average hours and a shorter lower tail. In comparison to England and Wales, very few respondents in the Scottish survey described the reference week (from 5th September 2011) as an 'unusually quiet' week in the free text boxes.

<sup>84</sup> These differences clearly irk many Inspectors who commented on the fact that, even within the same Force/rank/role, some work many more hours than others for the same pay.

<sup>85</sup> In a previous survey, Inspectors were asked to record their average weekly working hours over a 6 month period (excluding holidays and time off). Only 4 per cent said they worked  $\leq 40$  hours, 41 per cent worked between 41-48 hours, while the majority (56 per cent) reported working in excess of the permitted 48 hours per week under the WTR. See ICC (2004), *op cit.*, p.8.

<sup>86</sup> In some Forces where there is 'give-and-take' it is "not on a like for like basis. The normal expectation is that you would never seek more than a 1/3rd of the extra hours worked back as time off. This is the same for anyone of the rank of Inspector and above" (Region 5 CI, male 19 years service).

<sup>87</sup> The average reported is the median number of annual leave/rest days. Under *Police Regulations*, any outstanding rest days must be taken with 12 months and cannot be 'carried over'. Up to 5 unused annual leave days can be carried over from one year to the next (up to 10 days can be authorised on application).

<sup>88</sup> The maximum number of annual leave days owed was 42. One-in-four Inspectors in Scotland has 15 days or more owed.

<sup>89</sup> To reiterate, TOIL effectively went with overtime payments in 1994 as there is no formal entitlement to compensation for extra hours worked on a like-for-like basis. This (partly) explains why so many Inspectors fail to accurately and systematically record their hours.

<sup>90</sup> Average weekly hours in any given Force might be influenced by the composition of the workforce if, for example, women work longer hours than men, CID work longer hours than Community Inspectors, older Inspectors work longer hours than younger Inspectors, etc, and the Force in question has a disproportionate number of Inspectors in each of these 'long hours' groups. Using probit analysis to control for the composition of the workforce in different Forces revealed that Greater Manchester and Merseyside have significantly higher average weekly hours and West Mercia has significantly lower than average weekly hours. Any differences displayed by other Forces were not statistically significant. Similarly, other characteristics, such as rank, area of work, age, sex and length of service, did not explain differences in hours of work. See Appendix II for further details.

<sup>91</sup> Ford, J. and Collinson, D. (2011) 'In Search of the Perfect Manager? Work-Life Balance and Managerial Work', *Work, Employment & Society*, 25(2), p.259.

<sup>92</sup> Perlow, L.A. (1999) 'The Time Famine: Toward a Sociology of Work Time', *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44(1), p.57. Figure 7 is adapted from Perlow, p.71.

<sup>93</sup> Manning, P.K. (2007) 'A Dialectic of Organisational and Occupational Culture', in M. O'Neill, M. Marks and A-M. Singh (eds.) *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*, Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance Vol.8, Oxford: Elsevier, pp.77.

<sup>94</sup> Psychologists use the term 'resilience' to describe an individual's tendency to cope with stress and adversity (i.e. whether they 'bounce back' to a previous state of normal functioning or whether they use the experience of exposure to adversity to produce a 'steeling effect' and function better than expected). Resilience is most commonly understood as a process and not a trait of an individual.

<sup>95</sup> See Robertson Cooper, *op cit.*

<sup>96</sup> Skolnick, J.H. (2008) 'Enduring Issues of Police Culture and Demographics', *Policing & Society*, 18(1), p.35. See also Loftus, B. (2010) 'Police Occupational Culture: Classic Themes, Altered Times', *Policing & Society*, 20(1), p.4. A Region 7 Inspector likened the *vocation* of being a police officer to that of a teacher or health care professional.

<sup>97</sup> Marks, M. and Singh, A-M. (2007) 'Conclusion: Taking Stock and Looking Ahead in Police Culture Studies', in M. O'Neill, M. Marks and A-M. Singh (eds.) *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*, Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance Vol.8, Oxford: Elsevier, p.362.

<sup>98</sup> For example, many of the values, attitudes and beliefs attributed to police officers (e.g. sexism and racism) are shared by other occupational groups, which suggests that their culture is less 'sub' and more 'common' than is often portrayed. See Waddington, P.A.J. (1999) 'Police (Canteen) Culture: An Appreciation', *British Journal of Criminology*, 39(2), p.293.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p.294.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p.295. In this way, police (sub)culture operates mainly as a palliative rather than a guide to future action – it



helps the police to cope with the pressures and tensions they confront in their everyday roles. See Reiner, R. (2000) *The Politics of the Police*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.87.

<sup>101</sup> Loftus, *op cit.*, p.17.

<sup>102</sup> Waddington, *op cit.*, pp.287-309.

<sup>103</sup> Manning, *op cit.*, pp. 47-83.

<sup>104</sup> The view of one CI, that “*The culture in [my Force] has become increasingly macho and chauvinistic*” (female 26 years service), was echoed by several women in other Forces.

<sup>105</sup> Waddington, *op cit.*, p.296. See also Dick and Cassell, *op cit.*; and Dick, P. and Jankowicz, A.D. (2001) ‘A Social Constructionist Account of Police Culture and its Influence on the Representation and Progression of Female Officers: A Repertory Grid Analysis in a UK Police Force’, *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 24(2), pp.181-99. In the words of a female DI from Region 3, “*I joined the police for the same reasons as most people, to be a ‘policeman’ not a paper monkey*” (22 years service).

<sup>106</sup> Punch, M. (2007) ‘Cops with Honours: University Education and Police Culture’, in M. O’Neill, M. Marks and A-M. Singh (eds.) *Police Occupational Culture: New Debates and Directions*, Sociology of Crime, Law and Deviance Vol.8, Oxford: Elsevier, p.125.

<sup>107</sup> Berry (2010), *op cit.*, p.2.

<sup>108</sup> See Chan (2007), *op cit.*, pp.138-44.

<sup>109</sup> A19 makes redundancy ‘available and easy’ (i.e. it provides a ready mechanism to reduce numbers). In addition, it precludes the necessity to think about alternatives in terms of managing the selection of Inspectors for redundancy based on their performance, skill, experience, etc, or indeed the future requirements of the Force.

<sup>110</sup> See Manning, *op cit.*, p.52.

<sup>111</sup> See Ford and Collinson, *op cit.*, p.270.

<sup>112</sup> Brown (2007), *op cit.*, p.206.

<sup>113</sup> A fifth of all respondents in England and Wales either disagreed (17 per cent) or strongly disagreed (4 per cent) with the statement that ‘Working long hours is a prerequisite to achieving promotion’. The comparable figure for Scotland was 31.4 per cent. In contrast, 14 per cent of the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales, and over 12 per cent in Scotland, disagreed with the following statement: ‘Working extended hours is necessitated by my role’. Less than 10 per cent of the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales, and 9 per cent in Scotland, disagreed with the statement: ‘The job has to be done regardless of hours worked’. A fairly typical response came from an Operational Inspector in Region 1: “*I do not agree that working long hours is a pre-requisite to achieving promotion however there is certainly a strong cultural view in this organisation that is it necessary to do just that if you want to succeed – you are deemed a good egg if you ‘put the hours in’ and given bad press if you work your scheduled rota to the hour ... There is not enough resilience to avoid extended hours in some key performance-oriented roles and there is a high expectation from some SMT’s that you will put as many hours in as is necessary to get the job done*” (female 20 years service).

<sup>114</sup> Home Office (1993), *op cit.*

<sup>115</sup> Tom Winsor has called for evidence ‘of pay scales influencing an individual’s decision to apply for promotion’ and whether ‘the inability to claim paid overtime above the rank of sergeant ... reduces the attractiveness of promotion’. See *Independent Review of Police Officers’ and Staff Remuneration and Conditions: Part 2 – Call for Evidence*, 16 June 2011, pp.12 and 21. Our surveys of the Inspecting Ranks provide unequivocal answers to both questions.

<sup>116</sup> This is typically referred to as the problem of ‘doing time and place’. See Silvestri, M. (2003) *Women in Charge: Policing, Gender and Leadership*, Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing. When asked if they had applied for promotion over the previous 2 years, over three-quarters responded ‘never’ in England and Wales and almost two-thirds in Scotland. Typical reasons why they had not applied for promotion included: no opportunities/promotion boards; only recently promoted/ insufficient experience in current rank/role; not supported; happy in current position/not interested; previously tried and failed; pay/benefits/hours unattractive at higher rank; approaching retirement; not in the right clique. Whilst men were more likely to have applied for promotion in the recent past, women were more likely to report that they intended to apply for promotion within the next 3 years. More than half of all respondents in England, Wales and Scotland were looking for lateral development, which is often part of an Inspector’s preparation for promotion but might also be an indication of Inspectors seeking out roles with more acceptable hours of work.

<sup>117</sup> Previous research for the ICC has established that Inspectors and Chief Inspectors experience difficult relationships with more senior officers to a greater extent than others. See Robertson Cooper, *op cit.*

<sup>118</sup> The Hertfordshire agreement is a national agreement on minimum overtime payments for officers working in another Force Area. Although it does not cover Inspectors as they are not eligible for overtime payment, there is provision for an *ex gratia* payment of £100 if the home Force can afford to finance the payment.

<sup>119</sup> HMIC (2011) *Demanding Times: The Front Line and Police Visibility*, London: Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, p.4.

<sup>120</sup> Note how the terminology of NPM had permeated the language of the Inspecting Ranks, with the respondent asking whether he can add more to the *business*.

<sup>121</sup> Berry (2010), *op cit.*, p.1.

<sup>122</sup> Berry (2010), *op cit.*, p.13.

<sup>123</sup> Inspectors were invited to ‘feel free to make any comments you wish about the survey questions and related matters in this box’.

<sup>124</sup> It should also be noted in this context that amendments to the Health and Safety at Work Act require Forces to provide a working environment that has due regard to the health, safety and welfare of its officers and staff. Risk assessments must be conducted on all roles and should include an assessment of the hours and the pattern worked. Clearly, Forces cannot do this if they fail to record hours of work properly.

- <sup>125</sup> In England and Wales, over two-thirds of Inspectors either ‘completely agree’ or ‘tend to agree’ with the statement: ‘I knew straight-away where to get a copy of my employer’s record of hours worked’. The comparable figure in Scotland was over 80 per cent. When asked whether ‘It was easy to get a copy of my hours worked from my employer’, almost two-thirds agreed with this statement in England and Wales and more than three-quarters agreed in Scotland.
- <sup>126</sup> There are significant legal issues related to the recording of hours worked. For example, amendments to the Health and Safety at Work Act require Forces to provide a working environment that has due regard to the health, safety and welfare of its officers and staff. Risk assessments must be conducted on all roles and should include an assessment of the hours and the pattern worked. Clearly, Forces cannot do this if they fail to record hours of work properly.
- <sup>127</sup> While only 2 per cent of Inspectors in Scotland were unable to retrieve their working time data from the duty management system, in England and Wales the comparable figure was over 11 per cent.
- <sup>128</sup> Correlation coefficient 0.80.
- <sup>129</sup> ICC (2011), *op cit.*, p.8.
- <sup>130</sup> These questions, and several others, were added to the Scottish survey following initial analysis of the data from England and Wales. A previous ICC study of the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales found that 70 per cent of respondents were required to work additional hours due to spontaneous events or major incidents. Almost a fifth reported such events on a weekly basis and more than 40 per cent on a monthly basis. See ICC (2004) *op cit.*, p.33.
- <sup>131</sup> Less than 4 per cent reported scheduled overtime.
- <sup>132</sup> See Beckers et al, *op cit.*, p.34.
- <sup>133</sup> Over 1,000 studies have examined the health consequences of partial sleep restrictions and the results are remarkably consistent, demonstrating that short sleep durations are associated with age-related chronic disorders, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases and hypertension, weaker immune responses and self-rated poor health. See Bonnet, M. (2000) ‘Sleep Deprivation’, in M.H. Kryger, T. Roth and W.C. Dement (eds.) *Principles and Practice of Sleep Medicine*, 3rd Edition, Philadelphia: Saunders, pp.53-71; and Chatzitheochari, S. and Arber, S. (2009) ‘Lack of Sleep, Work and the Long Hours Culture: Evidence from the UK Time Use Survey’, *Work, Employment & Society*, 23(1), pp.30-48.
- <sup>134</sup> These were additional option to the question on adverse effects of working hours that were not included in the earlier survey of Inspectors in England and Wales.
- <sup>135</sup> Robertson Cooper, *op cit.*, p.43. Only the Scottish survey included a question on shift work but there was found to be no statistically significant relationship between shift work and the likelihood of Inspectors reporting adverse health effects.
- <sup>136</sup> Mason, C. (1999) *Healthy Nights?* Home Office Policing and Reducing Crime Unit, Police Research Award Scheme. This is not to deny that some Inspectors are happy with their current shift arrangements, as two examples serve to illustrate: “I work 4 days on, 4 days off, 12 hour shifts, 2 days then 2 nights. I love the pattern and the days off. I can cope with only 2 earlies and I can cope easily with only 2 nights. I have no concerns” (Region 4 Operational Inspector, male 22 years service); “I currently work a 12 hour shift pattern of 2 x days, 2 x nights and 4 days off. This shift pattern, while working long hours during working days, is absolutely brilliant for enabling a work/life balance. I have opportunity to recover from work and spend healthy time with children/family. I prefer this shift to any other I have worked in 25 years. There is without a doubt, however, an expectation that I am available for calls on rest days, potential ‘pop in’ visits to work and attendance at a variety of meetings which is why my time owing is at 40 + rest days” (Region 3 Traffic Inspector, male 25 years service).
- <sup>137</sup> This was an additional option to the question on adverse effects of working hours that was not included in the earlier survey of Inspectors in England and Wales.
- <sup>138</sup> See, for example, Brown, J., Cooper, C. and Kirkcaldy, B. (1996) ‘Occupational Stress Among Senior Police Officers’, *British Journal of Psychology*, 87(1), pp.31-41
- <sup>139</sup> Stinchcomb, *op cit.*, p.264, original emphasis. ‘Stress’ is the strain experienced by individuals as a result of not being able to cope with disrupting conditions whereas ‘stressors’ are the disrupting conditions which create the need for a readjustment that might potentially reduce stress.
- <sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.264-5. See also Chan (2007), *op cit.*; and Toch, H. (2002) *Stress in Policing*, Washington DC: American Psychological Society. While media attention (and public sympathy) invariably focus on traumatic (episodic) stressor such as murder, rape and riots, very few officers are exposed to these low-frequency (though potentially high impact) events. Most police work is routine and at times mundane.
- <sup>141</sup> Javed, U. and Whitfield, K. (2010) ‘Job Characteristics, Family Support and Wellbeing: An Analysis Based on WERS 2004’, mimeo, Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University.
- <sup>142</sup> Karasek, R.A. (1979) ‘Job Demands, Job Decision Latitude and Mental Strain: Implications for Job Redesign’, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24, pp.285-308; Karasek, R. and Theorell, T. (1990) *Healthy Work: Stress, Productivity and the Reconstruction of Working Life*, New York: Basic Books; and Johnson, J.V. and all, E.M. (1988) ‘Job Strain, Workplace Social Support and Cardiovascular Disease: A Cross-Sectional Study of a Random Sample of the Swedish Working Population’, *American Journal of Public Health*, 78(10), pp.1336-42.
- <sup>143</sup> Transactional leaders focus on responsibilities, monitoring the work of subordinates, and managing the exchange of rewards for performance. Transformational leaders, in contrast, seek to inspire motivation by setting out a clear vision for the organisation or team (rather than detailed performance targets), they understand subordinates’ needs, display empathy and encourage initiative and loyalty through participation, consultation, inclusion and empowerment. Despite the recognition that transformational styles would be beneficial to the Police Service, according to Silvestri: ‘there is little evidence to suggest that police leadership styles are changing. On the contrary, the police organization continues to cling firmly to a style characterized more by transaction than transformation and that, in reality, the bulk of senior police commanders remain autocrats’. See Silvestri, M. (2007) “‘Doing’ Police Leadership: Enter the ‘New Smart Macho’”,

*Policing & Society*, 17(1), p.53.

<sup>144</sup> The ICC survey of Inspectors undertaken in 2004 found that 31 per cent of the respondents took annual leave instead of sick leave in order to avoid a sickness record (typically because they felt this would damage their career prospects or prevent them being awarded/keeping their Competency Related Threshold Payment). See ICC (2004), *op cit.*, pp.9 and 30. During the reference week in England and Wales, sickness absence was low and steady at less than 1 per cent of Inspectors. This translates to a much lower level of sickness absence than either the wider public sector or even the private sector.

<sup>145</sup> Beckers et al, *op cit.*, p.47.

<sup>146</sup> Drago et al, *op cit.* See also Wooden, M., Warren, D. and Drago, R. (2009) 'Working Time Mismatch and Subjective Well-being', *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 47(1), pp.147-79.

<sup>147</sup> This question was taken from the BHPS and was not included in the survey of Inspectors in England and Wales. Although Inspectors were told to assume that they would be paid for the extra hours of work, only 6.3 per cent of the sample in Scotland indicated a preference for more hours.

<sup>148</sup> Beckers et al, *op cit.*

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* The survey of Inspectors undertaken in 2003 found that 40 per cent of the sample reported having to work longer hours 'at short notice' on 'most days' (a further 35 per cent reported working at short notice at least once a week). All told, 56 per cent reported that they have insufficient control over their working hours. See ICC (2004), *op cit.*, p.99.

<sup>150</sup> In England and Wales, just over 37 per cent of full-time Inspectors whose hours were not affected by annual leave during the reference week recorded  $\geq 46$  hours. In Scotland, the comparable figure was just over 55 per cent.

<sup>151</sup> Women were more likely to raise their concerns about adverse effects and to raise these with colleagues and friends. Inspectors are more likely than DIs, CIs and DCIs to raise their concerns within the service and with their own doctor.

<sup>152</sup> The survey undertaken by Robertson Cooper for the ICC found that the sources of pressure experienced by Inspectors and Chief Inspectors did not appear to be impacting negatively on health to any greater extent than is typical in other organisations and police forces. However, ill-health may be underrepresented in a self-report survey precisely because the Inspecting Ranks accept a certain level of ill-health due to long hours, excessive demands, shift work, etc. See Robertson Cooper, *op cit.*, p.5.

<sup>153</sup> Bonnet, *op cit.*, p.53; and Akerstedt, T., Fredlund, P., Gillberg, M. and Jansson, B. (2002) 'A Prospective Study of Fatal Occupational Accidents – Relationship to Sleeping Difficulties and Occupational Factors', *Journal of Sleep Research*, 11(1), pp.69-71; Horne, J. and Reyner, L. (1999) 'Vehicle Accidents Related to Sleep: A Review', *Occupational Environmental Medicine*, 56(5), pp.289-94.

<sup>154</sup> Home Office (2007), *op cit.*, p.39.

<sup>155</sup> The following is just one of many examples on the 'where' of work and WLB: "What causes me the most problem is I have to travel for an hour each way to and from my place of work. This is 2 hours of every day wasted where I could be productive either at work or at home. It also costs an arm and a leg. The organisation can consider posting relative to home base a little more than they have in the past. I have had 10 years of substantial travelling passing people of the same rank every day going the opposite direction to a post compatible with mine. In November last year I was posted within two miles of my home. This has made such a difference in my home life, my health, my wallet, my planet, and my productivity at work" (Region 4 Operational CI, male 18 years service).

<sup>156</sup> ICC (2004), *op cit.*, p.44.

<sup>157</sup> Frone, M.R. (2003) 'Work-Family Balance', in J.C. Quick and L.E. Tetrick (eds.) *Handbook of Occupational Health Psychology*, Washington DC: APA, p.145.

<sup>158</sup> Donkin, R. (2010) *The Future of Work*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, p.14. Many people 'live' at work as this can be the domain where they experience feelings of belonging, accomplishment, stimulation and self-actualisation.

<sup>159</sup> On the one hand, there should be a presumption on the part of senior managers that requests for flexible working will be accommodated. On the other hand, 'the Force has an overriding responsibility to provide an effective and efficient police service to the public and all applications for alternative working arrangements must compliment and not conflict with the provision of that service'. Home Office (2007), *op cit.*, p.39.

<sup>160</sup> British Association for Women in Policing, *The BAWP Guide to Flexible Working*, available at: [http://www.bawp.org/assets/file/BAWP\\_Flexible\\_workingv3.pdf](http://www.bawp.org/assets/file/BAWP_Flexible_workingv3.pdf)

<sup>161</sup> Lyonette, C. and Baldauf, B. (2010) *Quality Part-Time Work: An Evaluation of the Quality Part-Time Work Fund*, London: Government Equalities Office.

<sup>162</sup> Greenhaus, J.H. and Powell, G.N. (2006) 'When Work and Family are Allies: A Theory of Work-Family Enrichment', *Academy of Management Review*, 31(1), pp.72-92.

<sup>163</sup> Bittman, M., Brown, J.E. and Wajcman, J. (2009) 'The Mobile Phone, Perpetual Contact and Time Pressure', *Work, Employment & Society*, 23(4), 673-91; and Green, F. (2005) *Demanding Work: The Paradox of Job Quality in the Affluent Economy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

<sup>164</sup> See Felstead, A., Jewson, N. and Walters, S. (2005) *Changing Places of Work*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>165</sup> Duxbury, L., Towers, I., Higgins, C. and Thomas, A. (2006) 'From 9 to 5 to 24 and 7: How Technology Redefined the Work Day', in E. Law (ed.) *Information Resources Management: Global Challenges*, Hershey: Idea Group Publishing, pp.305-32.

<sup>166</sup> There is, of course, a price to this course of action. Taking an (admittedly crude) index of 'work-life disruption' – ranging from 0 where respondents indicated 'no adverse effects' from their working hours to 5 where respondents ticked 'health or well-being', 'family relationships', 'work relationships', 'social life', and 'other' – there is a statistically significant relationship for those who indicated their intention to 'apply for promotion' (i.e. they experience significantly greater 'work-life disruption').

- <sup>167</sup> This difference was statistically significant (5 per cent level). This question was not asked of Inspectors in England and Wales. From April 2007, police Forces have a statutory duty to promote gender equality. This means that all Force policies, *including their working hour's policies*, will need to be assessed for their gender impact.
- <sup>168</sup> Dick and Cassell, *op cit*; and Silvestri, *op cit*.
- <sup>169</sup> Dick and Cassell, *op cit.*, p.67.
- <sup>170</sup> Around 3 per cent of all police officers are part-time and of these 97 per cent are women. See Home Office (2007) *op cit.*, p.7. The number of part-time workers in our survey of the Inspecting Ranks in England and Wales was very low (less than 2 per cent). Of the women in our sample, less than 9 per cent worked part-time compared to just 0.4 per cent of all male respondents.
- <sup>171</sup> See, for example, Edwards, C.Y. and Robinson, O. (2001) "Better" Part-Time Jobs? A Study of Part-Time Working in Nursing and the Police', *Employee Relations*, 23(5), pp.438-53; and Lyonette and Baldauf, *op cit.*, p.31.
- <sup>172</sup> See, for example, Dick, P. (2004) 'Between a Rock and a Hard Place: The Dilemmas of Managing Part-Time Working in the Police Service', *Personnel Review*, 33(3), pp.302-21. It is noteworthy that working part-time did not alleviate adverse effects on family relationships (see Appendix II).
- <sup>173</sup> Based on the comments of many respondents, CID is widely perceived to be especially 'unsuited' to part-time workers.
- <sup>174</sup> BAWP (2002) *Gender Agenda: Women Officers Clearing Hurdles Together*, British Association of Women Police.
- <sup>175</sup> See Charlesworth, S., Keen, M. and Whittenbury, K. (2009) 'Integrating Part-Time Work in Policing Services: Policy, Practice, and Potential', *Police Practice & Research*, 10(1), p.42.
- <sup>176</sup> One female Inspector reported that when she was interviewed by HMIC, the panel asked her how many children she had and how could she manage childcare when working away from home. In her own words: "Needless to say I wasn't offered the job – after all, I am only a woman" (Region 2 DCI, female 26 years service).
- <sup>177</sup> Edwards and Robinson, *op cit.*, p.448.
- <sup>178</sup> Charlesworth et al, *op cit*, p.44; and Charlesworth, S. and Whittenbury, K. (2007) "Part-time and Part-Committed"? The Challenges of part-time Work in Policing', *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 49(1), p.39.
- <sup>179</sup> Home Office (2007), *op cit.*, p.5.
- <sup>180</sup> Beckers et al, *op cit*.
- <sup>181</sup> This means that police officers are dealing with the same persistent offenders time and time again, which is not only wasted effort but can also be rather de-motivating. A different sentencing and rehabilitation system would give police officers more time to deal with the growing demands and expectations placed upon them.
- <sup>182</sup> Berry (2010), *op cit.*, p.28.
- <sup>183</sup> Although performance targets were not a central focus of the surveys conducted in January 2011 and September 2011, they featured prominently in the free text boxes and our focus group meetings as a major source of discontent.
- <sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.
- <sup>185</sup> Comments in the free text boxes and during focus group meetings suggest that the Police Service has an effective range of occupational health facilities to support Inspectors who experience episodic (trauma-related) stressors.
- <sup>186</sup> Like any work-based organisation, it is crucial to involve police officers in decision-making and 'bring them on-board' in times of transition. See Marks, M. and Fleming, J. (2006) 'The Right to Unionize, the Right to Bargain, and the Right to Democratic Policing', *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 605, p.186.
- <sup>187</sup> Lee et al, *op cit.*, pp.149-50; and White and Beswick, *op cit.*, pp.27-30.
- <sup>188</sup> See Manning, *op cit*.
- <sup>189</sup> See Berry (2009), *op cit.*, p.5.
- <sup>190</sup> Silvestri (2003) *op cit.* and (2007) *op cit*.
- <sup>191</sup> Dick and Cassell, *op cit*; Edwards and Robinson, *op cit.*; and Lyonette and Baldauf, *op cit*.
- <sup>192</sup> Recall that whether this is actually the case is secondary to the negative impact perceptions can have on Inspectors' attitudes, commitment, behaviour and actions.