

**WHAT DOES 'GOOD' EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES TRAINING LOOK  
LIKE?**

A model of fair treatment training in the police service derived from the  
experience of police officers and civil staff engaged in training design and  
delivery

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

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May 2000

## Abstract

'Equal Opportunities' (EO) in this research is taken as an umbrella term to encompass all forms of training in fair treatment issues including Community and Race Relations. The literature reveals that training police officers in EO issues falls short of what is needed and yet little research has been done into how trainers and learners engage with the content of EO training. A measure of the importance attached to this area of research lies in the fact that in April 1999 this project attracted Home Office Police Research Award Scheme funding.

Police training in EO was examined from the point of view of the trainers who engage in it by exploring their experience. The consistent theme and the core question "what does good EO training look like?" had the object of constructing a model of good EO training where "good" has been defined out of the trainers' own experience.

Thirty interviews were conducted using well established phenomenographic principles to explore the experience of those engaged in the design or delivery of EO training for police officers. For the subsequent qualitative analysis of the data an approach similar to grounded theory was used. The results demonstrate that good EO training has four elements expressed in terms of its objects, the act of engaging in EO training, the process, and issues surrounding the skills and attributes required of trainers engaging in its delivery. Each of the elements had a number of component themes that were also used in the construction of the model. A key finding, consistent with other studies, was that learners and trainers alike may selectively emphasise or focus on a particular part of the model, and, in doing so, will inhibit the effectiveness of both the learning and the training.

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## Acknowledgements

My thanks go to Dr Michael Day who helped me get started, and to Dr Keith Wood who has so unstintingly given me the support and dialogue I have needed to bring this thesis to completion. With Keith's help I have come to see many things in new ways.

I also acknowledge the contribution of my line management in the Metropolitan Police Service who agreed to support me both financially and with time to do this research. There are many I could mention, but John Askew, Geoff Padgham and Ian Boyes gave me particularly strong encouragement. My thanks to the Home Office Police Research Award Scheme, and in particular Dr Pete Jones who has shown such an interest. In the closing months, Tim Meaklim of the Royal Ulster Constabulary helped me keep going when my spirits flagged. Jenny Colyer, my sister, typed the transcripts, and Dave Dashwood assisted by proof reading. Thank you.

Doing a full time job and a doctorate means that something has to give in terms of time, and I am deeply grateful to Heather, my wife, who has so unselfishly put up with many days and weeks of me spending *our* spare time in pursuit of my own goals. Without her love and support I could not have completed.

Finally I thank the thirty people who gave so willingly not only of their time but of themselves to be interviewed. Without them none of this could have happened.

## Prologue

This Thesis and its associated Institution Focused Study (IFS) were both completed as part of the Brunel University taught Doctor of Education programme. The degree is aimed at *"experienced professionals in education and related fields who wish to extend their professional expertise and training"*.

The related field that has been the context for my own professional development is that of police training. I have, as a police officer, been involved in one way or another with training police officers for nearly fifteen years. This has included training recruits to the service, experienced officers, and delivering trainer training. Throughout the period I have been engaged in this doctorate I have been the Staff Development Manager for the police department which is responsible for providing protection to the Royal Family. Throughout my time in training I have had an interest in equal opportunities (EO) and community and race relations (CRR), and although I have never specifically worked in an equal opportunities role have published several editions of an equal opportunities handbook (Clements and Spinks 2000) which is used by the National Police Training organisation as its course textbook.

This doctorate provided the opportunity to bring together a number of strands of my professional development as a trainer by looking in much greater depth at a problem that has much exercised the police service since Lord Scarman reported on the Brixton riots in 1981, namely, 'how can we make equal opportunities training effective?' This doctoral programme represented for me, an opportunity to examine the issue of equal opportunities training from the perspective of some of my colleagues who are professionally engaged in the work, and in doing so lay the foundations for moving towards a model of good equal opportunities training for police officers.

The Institution Focused Study (IFS) is both linked to and separate from the thesis. It is linked in the sense that it reviews the literature relating to equal opportunities training in the police since 1981 (the Scarman report of 1981 may be seen as a

watershed for thinking in the police about community and race relations) and thereby provides a contextual framework in which the thesis is constructed. The IFS is also separate however, for two reasons. Firstly, because it was completed as a separate entity to the thesis and secondly because it pre-dates the thesis by a year having been completed in the spring of 1999.

The thesis itself represents research into an area which not only has deep interest for me, but which is a current issue for the police service which is under constant scrutiny in terms of the fairness of both its internal organisation and the way in which it delivers its service. A measure of the concern that the police organisation has for this area lies in the fact that in Spring 1999 I was awarded a Home Office Police Research Award Scheme grant of £3,000 to fund the research. One of the requirements of the award is that a practical guide to improving the teaching and learning of EO be produced for distribution to all forces. The guide will be grounded in the work of this IFS and thesis, particularly the model of EO training proposed in chapter five.

Finally, this project is, in many ways, an account of my own experience of learning to research and learning to write a thesis. Such activities are very different to some other aspects of my professional life. For this reason I have written in the first person where appropriate, not out of a desire to break with a proper use of the language of academic discourse, but to own the experience in a way that is not adequately reflected by writing in the third person. The taught Doctor of Education programme was a new venture for the Department of Education at Brunel when I joined it, and staff and research students alike, have had to learn together, as we have confronted the issues raised by a new programme. Four years down the road, my experience is that I have been exposed to perspectives that have served to enrich not only my professional but also my private life.

In February 2000 the opportunity presented itself for me to change jobs within the police service and move into a role which will contribute to a national responsibility for CRR training in the police service. This professional doctorate has been excellent preparation for that role.

## Glossary of abbreviations

ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
CAQDAS	Computer aided qualitative data analysis software
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CRR	Community and race relations
DAC	Deputy Assistant Commissioner
EO	Equal opportunities
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
PACE	Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984
PC	Police Constable
SSU	Specialist Support Unit
TDO	Trainer Development Officer
TDP	Trainer Development Programme
TNA	Training needs analysis
MPS	Metropolitan Police Service
NPT	National Police Training



## Chapter One

### Equal opportunities training as an issue confronting the British Police Service

#### *The imperative for change in the Police Service*

In the closing years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two reports stood out as being of huge significance to the British police in terms of its relations with the minority groups to which it delivers its service. 1981 saw the publication of the Scarman Inquiry into the Brixton riots (Scarman 1981) and in 1999 the report of the Inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson 1999). Both of these reports identified the need for effective police training in community and race relations. Many changes were made to the training programme after Scarman in 1981, but the criticisms made by the Macpherson report published in 1999 suggested that no substantial progress had been made. Other literature (HMIC 1993, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000) also charts the patchy progress made by the police in training for both community and race relations and equal opportunities. The institution focused study linked with this thesis presents a detailed discussion of these issues. The themes emerging from that discussion are given below.

Two specific outcomes of Macpherson have a close relevance to this, namely the recommendations Macpherson made in relation to training the police and the Home Secretary's action plan (Home Office 1999) to implement the recommendations. They have relevance partly because they illustrate what the Inquiry considered the training need to be and partly because they illustrate the de-coupling of the learning of equal opportunities with its outcomes. Of the seventy recommendations that Macpherson made, three related directly to police training.

48. *"That there should be an immediate review and revision of racism awareness training within the Police Service to ensure:-*

*(a) that there exists a consistent strategy to deliver appropriate training within all police services based on the value of our cultural diversity;*

*(b) that training courses are designed and delivered in order to develop the full understanding that good community relations are essential to good policing and that a racist officer is an incompetent officer.*

49. *That all police officers including CID and civilian staff, should be trained in racism awareness and valuing cultural diversity.*

50. *That police training and practical experience in the field of racism awareness and valuing cultural diversity should regularly be conducted at local level. And that it should be recognised that local minority ethnic communities should be involved in such training and experience." (Macpherson 1999 p.332)*

The focus in these recommendations is very much on the design and outcomes of the training rather than the learning. This is not of course surprising since the report was taking a strategic and functional point of view. In addition it is not at all clear what "awareness", or how someone can be trained to value cultural diversity means. There seems to be an implicit assumption that it is possible to do something to someone in training that will change the way they value diversity. This was also a key tenet of the Rotterdam Charter (1997).

The Home Secretary published an action plan in response to Macpherson to specifically address all the recommendations in the report (Home Office 1999). In respect of the training recommendations three elements of the action plan have particular relevance to this research.

1. The requirement that National Police Training (the body currently responsible for all police training outside the Metropolitan Police) develop a programme of training which reviews existing training and sets standards for the design and delivery of training and identifying the

best delivery methods. This element of the action plan has provided me with the opportunity to have some involvement in the review process. In October 1998 I had made an application to enter the yearly competition run by the Home Office for police officers to apply for funding for research projects that would have a clear operational benefit for the police service in England and Wales. The application was successful and led to the award of a budget of three thousand pounds towards the cost of the research. The award of funding was not primarily to support the work of the doctorate but to underwrite the outcome agreed with the Home Office, namely a model for the design and delivery of EO training in the British Police Service to be published in the form of a handbook. The basis for the handbook will be the results of the present research project, namely an understanding of the way police officers experience teaching and learning EO, and subsequently a model of good EO training for police officers.

My experience of being awarded funding has been that it is not necessarily an exclusively beneficial process, particularly when two distinct projects, both drawing on the same data have had to run in parallel. The advantages and disadvantages of the funding were presented at a Department of Education research conference at Brunel University (Clements 1999). In summary the advantages were found, in my experience, to be:

- proposing and setting a budget reveals the true cost of the research;
- needing to explain a doctoral thesis in plain English;
- explaining phenomenography - my intended data collection methodology without using the word phenomenography;
- help in translating policy into practice.

The disadvantages were experienced as:

- undue influence over me and my methodology;
- undue influence over the way the results should be presented;
- proposing an answer before the data are collected;

- a tension experienced between the a desire to be rigorously academic but at the same time practical in application.
2. A second strand of the action plan is more problematic. It seeks to make sure that all police officers, including CID, are *"aware of racism and the value of cultural diversity. The appropriate training mechanisms need to be put in place within police forces to ensure that officers understand what is expected of each individual"* (p.26). Whilst it is hard to argue with the sentiments expressed, it is the case that the focus on the outcomes, "be aware of", "understand what is expected of" fall somewhat short of being explicit in what they mean in terms of learning.
  3. The action plan calls for the further development of Minimum Effective Training levels in CRR (National Police Training 1997). These are essentially statements of competence, or as Buckley and Caple (1995) have it *"desired outputs"* and so we are returned to the problem, outlined above, that a focus merely on the behavioural outcomes is not necessarily the right focus. The stated outcomes may actually be talking about something quite different from what is actually experienced in the classroom

My own experience as a police trainer over the last decade delivering equal opportunities training both to operational police and to trainers, is that the development of competence based approaches to training and performance in the police has led to the false belief that this is an adequate approach to effective training. There has been scant attention paid to the issues raised by the question, "what does it take for a police officer to learn equal opportunities?" Just as Bowden and Marton (1998) have identified a need to re-couple an understanding of learning with what is learned in universities, so it is necessary to couple an understanding of what it takes to learn equal opportunities with the outcomes that are expected by the government and defined in competence terms by the organisation. In gathering the interview data, I talked to many police officers, mostly trainers, who, in expressing their

way of seeing EO training, appealed in the main to behaviourist approaches to learning. In the years that I have been involved, behaviourism has been the conceptual underpinning of police training, and, despite a move in the mid to late 1980's towards more cognitive, adult-centred approaches, the pendulum has now swung back to behaviourism in response to the demands of the competency movement. Expected outcomes for equal opportunities training are expressed in terms of observable competence. As will be seen later in the analysis of the interview data this is getting in the way of a well developed view of what it means to learn equal opportunities. What, perhaps, we need to be moving towards instead is a changed capability for police officers to engage in the 'principled policing' advocated by Alderson (1998).

It can be seen from the above that police trainers have a key role to play in the three components of the Home Secretary's action plan outlined above. They are also the focus for the data gathering for this research. Trainers in the police service are, in the main, police officers of constable and sergeant rank. They are all volunteers and generally serve as trainers for up to three years at a time. It is common practice to return trainers to operational police duty between periods of service in a training department. Broadly speaking trainers specialise in one of the three areas of recruit foundation training, probationer training (during the first two years of an officers service), and all other development and specialist training. Selection methods are not consistent across the forty three forces of England and Wales and range from informal interviews to full assessment centres.

One common theme that is emerging in police training is that all trainers should be able to embed community and race relations issues into the curriculum. This may take one of two forms. In the first trainers would be expected to consider mainstream operational issues from a CRR perspective and seek opportunities to embed this in the training. For example if recruit officers were learning how to take a report of a crime, the opportunity would present itself to the trainer to build a role play scenario around a crime which had a racist motivation. This would then present the trainee officer with the opportunity not only to consider the crime but to develop the skills needed to

provide the victim with a service which was tailored to their particular needs. In the second form of CRR training there would be specific sessions or even whole courses which directly address issue of equality of opportunity or community and race relations. There are specialist trainer courses available to help trainers develop the skills needed to deliver such training. In National Police Training (NPT) these courses are currently two days for existing Foundation trainers and there is also a two week course available for those who will deliver CRR training to groups other than recruits. Given that the forty three forces of England and Wales are independently constituted and each is tackling the training in its own way (albeit with specialist Home Office support in the form of Ionann - a company of management and CRR consultants) the CRR training inevitably takes many forms particularly in terms of length and purpose.

### ***Definitions and scope***

The Institution Focused Study (IFS) associated with this thesis argues in more detail, in agreement with Walklate (1996) that the notion of equal opportunities should be seen in a broader context than the arrangements for fairness within an organisation and that it should be extended to include the service delivered by that organisation. Both Scarman (1981) and Macpherson (1999) were concerned with the way the police were interfacing with minority groups in society. Equal opportunities training is taken throughout this thesis to reflect that inclusiveness of both the internal and external focus of an organisation. Oakley (1989) argues for caution in such a view in that if the focus is allowed to be too much on the general issues, then there is a risk of marginalisation of what he considers to be the core issues, namely the relations of police with minority groups. Having said that, the data collected for this study reveal that the majority of those interviewed when presented with the opening question "what does good equal opportunities training look like?" went on, unprompted, to talk about their experience of both gender issues and community and race relations. They seemed to be making the connection between "equal opportunities" and race, gender and sexuality issues which impact both internally and externally on an organisation.

In order to set the context more firmly three issues need to be visited, these being a working definition for equal opportunities, an outline of the problems of equal opportunities within the police service, and the key ways in which police service delivery has revealed patterns of unfairness and discrimination, which the training seeks to address.

### **(1) A working definition for equal opportunities**

Collins (1992 p.3) proposes that "*equal opportunities is about treating everybody fairly and equally regardless of their background or lifestyle*". Such a definition is attractive both in its simplicity and its inclusiveness. It applies just as well to thinking about how the police service treats its employees as well as the way in which it delivers its service to the public. I have taken this to be my working definition of EO throughout the thesis but a note of caution does need to be sounded. To treat people equally is not necessarily to treat them the same. Ashcroft, Bigger and Coates (1996) for example, argue that if every person in an organisation were to be treated the same, this could ignore their individual needs and actually result in treating them unequally. A similar finding emerged from the Inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence (Macpherson 1999) where a strong theme to emerge was that people, particularly victims of crime, should be treated fairly by being dealt with according to their individual needs. It needs to be noted that since the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, the focus of attention has moved from mainstream issues of equal opportunity to race issues. This is in line with the Home Secretary's ministerial priority "to increase trust and confidence in the policing amongst minority ethnic communities". (Home Office 1999).

A final point on this which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two below is that although throughout the thesis the term Equal Opportunities is taken to subsume race, gender and sexuality, in fact much of the literature and what the trainers themselves said actually focuses on race issues in the form of Community and Race Relations (CRR) training.

## **(2) Problems of equal opportunities within the police service**

The equal opportunities agenda which focuses internally on the police organisation usually revolves around the four key areas of recruitment, retention of staff, advancement (promotion and specialisation) and what might be called contentment, the latter being the general feeling of staff that they are being treated fairly and the absence of cause for grievance. HMIC (1993 p.11) called the totality of this a "*culture of equal opportunities*". To examine these issues in detail would be to move outside the purpose of this thesis but to help set the context, and expose some of the causes and patterns of discrimination, a flavour will be given, dealing first with some historical background and then by bringing this up to date by drawing on a recent study by Bland, Mundy, Russell and Tuffin (1999) into the career progression of ethnic minority police officers.

In the years since 1981 when the Scarman report was published (see below) there have been a number of notable cases of discrimination against employees of the police service. These have tended to reveal a pattern of prejudice and whereas, as will be discussed below, some institutional racism may be unwitting, many officers have been on the receiving end of naked racism and prejudice. A description of the circumstances surrounding three such cases serves to illustrate this.

PC Joginder Singh Prem joined the Nottinghamshire police as a graduate in 1983. Between 1987 and 1990 he passed his sergeant and inspector exams. In 1990 he found his appraisal report contained serious and unfair criticisms of his communication skills. The following year he applied for a CID aide post and was rejected without being given a reason and in May 1991 he invoked the internal grievance procedure alleging racial discrimination. His grievance was not resolved. The following year in July he claimed further discrimination alleging that several white male officers had been put forward for promotion who had less experience and fewer qualifications than him. By November he alleged that he was being victimised, and that a senior officer had helped a member of the public complain against him. The subsequent Industrial Tribunal (now Employment Tribunals) heard fifty two examples of his treatment including:



- Being told that Asians are not required in this force
- Being told that 'prostitutes don't go with Sikhs' (application for vice squad)
- A Superintendent ordering a transcript of a taped telephone call when he reported sick (not done for all officers).
- Being referred to as "towel head" and "rag head" by senior officers.

Nottinghamshire police admitted unfair treatment and paid £25000 in settlement of his three claims. (Reported in Equal Opportunities Review May/June 1993 and Police Review 4th June 1993).

Other notable cases have included the following:

- 1991: PC Surinder Singh, Sergeant Anil Patani and Sergeant Satinda Sharma successfully sued the Chief Constable of Nottinghamshire for racial discrimination and victimisation and received compensation of £35000. PC Singh had been on attachment to the CID for 6 months prior to formal acceptance. At the end of the attachment he was not taken into the CID and alleged that this was racially motivated. The Industrial Tribunal was relatively lengthy and complex. The case involved the assessment of the credibility of many witnesses and the finding in favour of PC Singh was made on the basis of a number of incidents of discrimination which, if taken as isolated occurrences, might have other explanations but when they were aggregated, amounted to discrimination (source: personal communication with National Police training EO/CRR officer).
- 1995: PC Sarah Locker successfully settled a case of sexual and racial discrimination with the Metropolitan Police in 1995, agreeing compensation of £32,5000. She alleged that she had been the butt of continual jokes about her Turkish origin and had received a racist letter from a senior officer. In addition she had failed to be selected for the CID where other less qualified officers had been. The case did not end there since part of PC Locker's settlement included a programme for entry into the CID. It transpired that no course was available for her and she continued to be unhappy at her treatment by the Metropolitan Police. Eventually a further substantial settlement was

reached and she left the force (source: former head of Metropolitan Police Equal Opportunities Unit).

These cases are just three among many which have been brought in the last decade. The issues they raise which form the background to the need for training in these areas include: personal and institutional prejudice and discrimination; the inappropriate use of humour, which has strong connections with the enactment of current police culture; covert and overt behaviour which amount to discrimination; and a serious lack of sensitivity to the issues by those involved.

Further illustration of the problems that minority groups face in the police can be found in a research study recently published by Bland, Mundy, Russell and Tuffin (1999). In terms of recruitment, applicants from minority ethnic backgrounds are still less likely than white applicants to be offered an interview, or receive a formal offer of employment. Although there is a slow increase in the number of applications from members of minority ethnic groups to join the police service, the numbers are not what might be expected given the proportion of the economically active population that they represent. In terms of retention, the study found that serving officers from minority ethnic backgrounds are twice as likely to resign from the service early than white officers and the rate of dismissal is three times higher than for white officers. Promotion for officers from minority backgrounds is slower than for their white counterparts. For example Asian officers take on average five months longer, and black officers sixteen months longer to reach sergeant than their white colleagues. In terms of other areas of contentment and opportunity to specialise in policing (which is often considered by police officers to be career progression even though it may not be promotion) there are clear disparities in the relative proportions of black and white officers in specialist posts. While there may be a variety of complex reasons for such findings, it seems likely that institutional racism is an important factor.

### **(3) Patterns of discrimination in police service delivery**

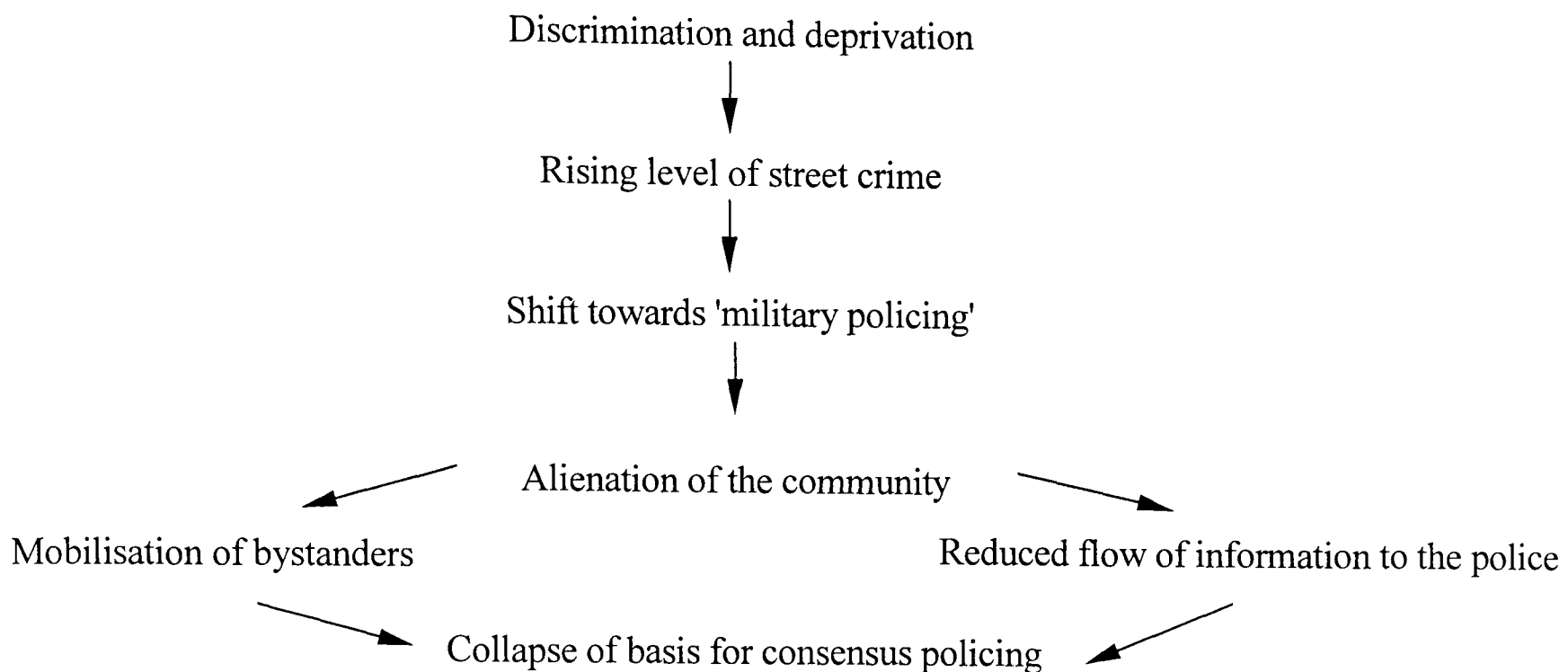
A number of key areas frequently surface concerning the way police officers deliver policing (c.f. Macpherson 1999, Parekh 2000, Home Office 1999) and are representative of the way in which police service delivery may be seen as discriminatory. The external equal opportunities challenge to the police service is to provide a service which fair and equal regardless of the cultural or ethnic background of those receiving the service.

A powerful source of potential inequality in delivering policing is in the use of powers to stop and search individuals under Section 1 Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. Indeed it was the perceived unfair use of stop and search (which preceded PACE) that was attributed as one of the catalysts for the Brixton riots (Scarman 1981).

#### *The Scarman Report*

It will be argued in Chapter Two below that the Scarman Report, which was published in 1981 was a watershed in British Policing. In fact the literature base for this thesis begins with Scarman, taking it as the foundation on which many developments in policing around community and race relations have been built. Lord Scarman led the inquiry into the serious public disorder that broke out in Brixton, London during the 10-12<sup>th</sup> April 1981. This was characterised by conflict between police and black people, and had been preceded by similar, although smaller scale conflicts in the St Paul's area of Bristol. Other disturbances subsequently occurred in Toxteth, Liverpool, Moss Side in Manchester, and Handsworth in Birmingham. Holdaway (1996) argues that the causes of such riots are neither uniform nor "based on an all-pervasive reasoning" (p.116). Following this line Lea and Young (1982) argued shortly after Scarman that rioting was a response both to police discrimination, deprivation and social inequality. They typified the cause of the rioting as a rapid withdrawal of consensus from the police where the riots were the only effective channel to express grievance at what was perceived to be an oppressive style of policing.

Their analysis of this collapse was characterised as:



*Source: Lea and Young 1982 p.13*

Overall, Scarman was critical of relations between police and the people of Brixton as "a tale of failure" (Scarman 1981, para. 4.43). In Lea and Young's analysis above, the police response to increased street crime was to shift towards an increasingly alienating style of policing. Hostility towards the police was exacerbated by harassment, misconduct and "the ill considered, immature, and racially prejudiced actions of some officers (Scarman 1981, paras. 4.61- 4.68). It was the police operation 'Swamp 81' - a heavy handed application of police stop and search powers - that was the immediate trigger for the disorders.

Twenty years later, disproportionality in the numbers of black people who are stopped, compared to whites, the way stop and search powers are used, and their value, are still issues which are exercising the police in this country.

### *Stop and search*

Since Scarman, stop and search powers have been enshrined in the police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 (Sec 1) and are regulated by Codes of Practice. The use of stop and search generally is an issue under scrutiny but for the purpose of this outline in trying to contextualise the patterns of discrimination the

relationship with race and discrimination is the important focus. The main problem is that black and other minority ethnic groups are over-represented as a proportion of the total numbers of stops. Of course the pattern nationally is highly complex and beyond the scope of this outline to discuss, but the key issues are, according to Marlow and Maddock (1998), and Parekh (2000) essentially:

- The number of stops that lead to arrests has gradually declined i.e. only about 1 in 8. This leads to the suspicion that stops are more gratuitous than purposive and that officers are using the power other than on the basis of reasonable suspicion that is required by law.
- Inadequate record keeping, as required by law, by police makes the use of the power difficult to monitor as the reasons for the searches.
- African-Caribbeans are more likely to be stopped than white people or Asians.
- A minority are stopped and searched on repeated occasions.

The link that all this has with the imperative for training in equal opportunities is that stop and search may be viewed as one of the key indicators of an expression of institutional racism. As Parekh (2000 p.118) observes *"The service must deal with racist crime with the utmost vigour, but it must also use its discretionary powers to stop and search with the utmost professionalism and the minimum of damage to wider relationships and public trust"*.

#### *Investigation of racially motivated crime*

A further main area of perceived unfairness and inequality of police service delivery lies in the broad area of the investigation of racially and other hate motivated crime. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (Macpherson 1999) highlighted a number of areas where police were found wanting in the way their crime investigation was conducted and where there was evidence that institutional racism was getting in the way of the provision of a fair and equitable service. This ranged from the reluctance to accept a racial motivation for some crimes (which has the effect of making some crimes far more serious and sinister than they might otherwise be), through to the treatment of black victims and witnesses as if they were themselves suspects.

Parekh (2000) notes that *"the anger (among black, Irish and Asian communities) is about both heavy policing and police neglect - criminalisation and harassment on the one hand and inadequate attention to racist crime and behaviour on the other"*. In the Metropolitan Police, one response to the concern expressed in Macpherson that racially motivated crime was receiving an inadequate police response was to set up a Racial and Violent Crime Task Force in 1999 under the leadership of Deputy Assistant Commissioner John Grieve. This has been generally well received and has had some notable success in both in solving specific racially motivated crimes and raising the profile of crimes motivated by hate generally. Having said that, there is still considerable work to do. HMIC (2000) in an inspection of the Metropolitan Police found that there was a lack of empathy by some officers for the plight of those who are the victims of racist crime. The need for greater understanding of the issues was highlighted by another finding of the report, that many officers saw the emphasis on the significance of race hate crime as unfairly giving preferential treatment to black and Asian people.

#### *Deaths in custody*

There were 65 deaths in police custody in 1998/99. Of those, 6 were of African or African Caribbean people (source: Police Complaints Authority Annual Report 1988/9). In addition to the number of deaths from minority ethnic groups being disproportionately high, research into the circumstances surrounding the deaths revealed that actions by the police themselves could have been a contributory factor whereas a higher proportion of deaths among white people were attributed to underlying medical conditions (Parekh 2000). In the same way as with the exercise of stop and search powers, there is a concern that such disproportionality may have its roots in institutionalised racism. All deaths in custody are a matter of great public concern, but where the victim is from a minority background the trust and confidence of communities may be seriously undermined. This was the case in 1985 when Cherry Groce died during a police search of her home (which counts as a death in custody within the definition) - circumstances which led to the Broadwater Farm riots.

It is these, and similar problems, both in the working environment and in service delivery that equal opportunities training seeks to address, particularly in respect of the contributory factors of unfairness. Whilst there is broad consensus that the solution to the problems lies in good leadership, management and sound policy and not in training alone, training is perceived as a medium that can address some of the sources of unfairness which have their roots in individual ignorance, prejudice and stereotyping.

### **Police Trainers**

It can be seen from the above that police trainers have a key role to play in the three components of the Home Secretary's action plan outlined above. They are also the focus for the data gathering for this research. Trainers in the police service are, in the main, police officers of constable and sergeant rank. They are all volunteers and generally serve as trainers for up to three years at a time. It is common practice to return trainers to operational police duty between periods of service in a training department. Broadly speaking trainers specialise in one of the three areas of recruit foundation training, probationer training (during the first two years of an officer's service), and all other development and specialist training including firearms, officer safety training (unarmed defence methods) and dog handling. Selection methods are not standardised across the forces and range from informal interviews to full assessment centres. The selection criteria for a particular trainer will vary according to the specialism that the new trainer is aiming at.

There is little published material describing the scope and structure of trainer training in England and Wales. In order to provide a background for the reader to gain an appreciation of what it means to be a police trainer, I visited National Police Training at Harrogate for discussions with the Head of Training Development, the Directors of Studies who run trainer courses, and a cohort of trainee trainers. The following description draws on those discussions.

National Police Training (NPT) provides the majority of trainer training for England and Wales, the remainder being delivered within the Metropolitan Police for its own officers. Two thirds are trained at the NPT site in Harrogate and the remaining third at the NPT at Bramshill in Hampshire. NPT provides courses for approximately 250 new trainers each year, and has no control over the selection criteria that individual forces and units may use to select people to become trainers. This can be problematic in that the standard of performance of people being nominated for training can vary greatly, and the course is not currently constituted as 'pass or fail'. All students are deemed to be capable, through the development of personal action plans, of being able to reach the appropriate standard. Anecdotal discussions with the staff at NPT - Harrogate suggest that apart from any general trainer skills that might be lacking, there is a huge variation in the ability in, and commitment to CRR and EO issues amongst the trainers in training.

The trainers course itself is called the 'TDP' or Trainer Development Programme. Officers scheduled to join a trainers course are sent a distance learning pack, and expected to complete about 50 hours of study prior to attendance on the course. The initial (residential) stage lasts for six weeks and, on completion of this stage, trainers move on to a 'Briefing Phase' of a minimum of one week which takes place either in their force or in NPT (depending on where the trainer is destined). During the Briefing Phase the new trainer is introduced to and works with a mentor and a Training Development Officer (TDO). The TDO's role is to monitor the trainer's progress and assess the trainer's classes during the next phase which is three weeks of teaching practice. This involves a minimum of three assessed lessons of 100 minutes. On completion of the phases the trainer will be awarded the NPT Trainer's certificate. The whole process is very similar in the Metropolitan Police (MPS) and in both NPT and the MPS the process of trainer training may be accredited as the first year of a two year Certificate in Education course, although by no means all of the trainers take this route. Teaching practice assessment is done against the Training Development Lead Body occupational standards for trainers.



The content of the course is weighted towards a product model of training student with a consequent focus on outcomes and performance. Both the NPT and MPS courses now contain a CRR rather than EO component. In the case of NPT, the CRR component amounts to about 6 days of the course, and includes 'community interface', which has become a common feature of police training across the country since the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. In community interface, members of local minority communities are invited to join the course for up to a day, and a structured or semi-structured process is worked through where the main object is to gain an understanding of each others' perspectives. Collins and Oakley (1998) in commenting on community interface in training note the value of learning from the community rather than about it, and how, in CRR training this has the potential to be the most impactful aspect of the course.

One common theme that is emerging in police training is that all trainers should be able to embed community and race relations issues into the curriculum. This may take one of two forms. In the first trainers would be expected to consider mainstream operational issues from a CRR perspective and seek opportunities to embed this in the training. For example, if recruit officers were learning how to take a report of a crime, the opportunity would present itself to the trainer to build a role play scenario around a crime which had a racist motivation. This would then present the trainee officer with the opportunity not only to consider the crime but to develop the skills needed to provide the victim with a service which was tailored to their particular needs. In the second form of CRR training there would be specific sessions or even whole courses which directly address issues of equality of opportunity or community and race relations. There are specialist trainer courses available to help trainers develop the skills needed to deliver such training. In NPT these courses are currently two days for existing Foundation trainers and there is also a two week course available for those who will deliver CRR training to groups other than recruits. Given that the forty three forces of England and Wales are independently constituted and each is tackling the training in its own way (albeit with specialist Home Office support in the form of Ionann - a company

of management and CRR consultants) the CRR training inevitably takes many forms, particularly in terms of length and purpose.

### ***Themes which emerged from the Institution Focused Study***

The IFS comprises a survey of the literature relating to equal opportunities training in the British Police Service after the Scarman report (1981), and raises a number of questions that I have taken forward in this thesis:

1. The issue of legitimacy and authority - what authority does anyone have to attempt to change another person's attitudes or way of seeing the world?
2. Is behaviour a more desirable focus simply because it can be measured?
3. Is there an optimum process for EO training?
4. What do trainers say good EO training looks like?
5. What is the profile of an effective trainer?

The IFS was completed as part of the doctoral training in April 1999 (and updated in April 2000 to take account of new literature) whereas the interview data for this thesis was gathered in the second half of 1999. A review of the questions that emerged from the study serves as evidence of the way my own experience of the issues has developed during the course of this research. It is question four that will be in focus in the following chapters, particularly in the analysis of the data and the development of the model. What is meant by the optimum processes for equal opportunities training will become clearer as the model of good EO training is developed in the final chapter of the thesis. The qualifiers 'good' 'effective' or 'optimum' have been used in relation to the model of EO training. They are all meant to refer to a model that has the quality of facilitating learning effectively. To draw on Booth's description (1997 p.136) of a phenomenographic understanding of learning, an 'effective', 'good' or 'optimum' model will achieve the result "*of learners shifting from not being able to do something to being able to do it as a result of some experience*". Booth goes on to explain that the "being able to do something" is not referring only to physical skills but also the ability to problem solve, and see things in a different way. As will be demonstrated later, this broader understanding of outcomes is fully reflected in the data.

## Chapter 2

### The Institution Focused Study

April 1981 proved to be a watershed for the British Police Service in many respects, not least in the thinking about the way its officers were trained. The Brixton riots of the 10th-12th April that year led, in the words of Lord Scarman who subsequently inquired into the disturbances, to “*scenes of violence and disorder...the like of which had not previously been seen in this century in Britain*” (Scarman 1981 p.1). Scarman's report published in November 1981 was to have a major impact on thinking about training as well as ways of improving police community relations and the underlying causes of the breakdown. Oakley (1990) notes that it was only during the 1980's and beyond that training in community and race relations was tackled in anything like a systematic way.

In the years following 1981 there has been an increasing interest and imperative to address issues of equality not only in the police but also in other institutions and areas of society. The Police Service, which has traditionally been characterised by conservative attitudes and values, a state described by Collins (1998) as "organisational inertia", has found itself wrestling to come to terms with the realities posed by a multicultural and multiracial society. Moreover, the previously largely unquestioned legitimacy and authority of the police have, in a post-modern era, become openly debated issues. Numerous cases of racial and sexual discrimination and harassment both within and without the service have been headline news and the Police Service has been in the spotlight as much, if not more, than other institutions.

By 1998 the police were receiving an almost constant bad-press, ranging from accusations of individual racism, institutional racism, ineptitude, and even cruelty to animals. February 1999 saw the publication of the Macpherson report of the inquiry into the death of Stephen Lawrence, a young black man who in 1993 had been the victim of a racist murder. The police were shown to have

failed in a number of ways, not least in failing to gain a successful prosecution of five white men who were, and remain, strong suspects for the crime. The inquiry concluded that the poor, even inept, performance of the police could be blamed in part on 'institutional racism'. Macpherson made 70 recommendations and only time will tell which of them will make their way into policy. As with Scarman, some of the recommendations relate to training police officers and these will be dealt with below.

Training EO issues can generate a great deal of personal feeling. Trainers are not exempt from this and for them to know and understand the issues is not necessarily to say that they will be able to 'teach' them effectively. The attitudes of the trainer will be important. I have personally been involved in EO trainer training where the trainee trainer was apparently consistently on message in relation to race and gender issues but when 'gypsies' were mentioned he was quite willing not only to join in with inappropriate humour but also to lead it. Secondly, and equally importantly, is that little is known about the optimum conditions for teaching and learning EO in the police. The notion that there is a fundamental relationship between what is understood and its context has a bearing on the particular context in which police officers operate and learn. This is generally referred to in the literature as the 'canteen culture'. Little is known about teaching and learning in this context and until more light can be shed the likelihood is that EO training will continue to have only the marginal impact that has been seen in the years since Scarman.

My own experience of being immersed in the specialist trainer debate is that the arguments tend to assume either, on the one hand, that integration is the only way to achieve credibility for the subject, or that it is so specialised that only those elite few who have had specialist training can successfully deliver it. The consequence for the latter is that they are seen as 'bean-baggers' who deal in soft skills and have little 'street credibility'. Canteen culture is strong on street credibility and those instructors who have strong operational experience tend to have greater influence in the classroom, although they are not necessarily the best people to deliver EO training.

Almost every response by the British Police Service Police to allegations of unfair treatment in all its guises has included, in some measure, the issue of training (Scarman 1981, Macpherson 1999, HMIC 1993, 1996, 1997, 1999). The literature reveals a widely held belief that issues of unfair treatment can be solved, or at least mitigated by training, although it has to be said, and this is borne out in Macpherson (1999), that other strategies are also important. This Study however, focuses on issues arising out of the proposition that training police officers in EO can make a contribution to the solution of the perceived problems. The study will be limited to the police in England and Wales, and this raises two issues that need to be addressed at the outset, namely the scope of the term 'equal opportunities', and an explanation of why England and Wales only have been selected for study.

### ***Scope of 'equal opportunities'***

There is a tendency to see EO practice as something that is basically the concern of an employer. In larger organisations such as the police, the responsibility is devolved still further to the personnel departments. Most of the cases that are reported are in fact the result of employment tribunals brought by employees who feel themselves in some way to have been the victim of racial or sexual discrimination or harassment. It is important, however, to take a wider view if the full scope of the problem is to be captured. Walklate (1996) takes the view shared by this study that EO is properly seen in a wider context. This means that whilst equality issues internal to an organisation are considered, it is also important not to ignore the fairness of service delivery as well. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary also supports this exploration of the two axes of EO. The HMIC report (1997) also notes the link between *"internal culture and the way people are treated, and external performance"* (p.9).

Oakley (1989) outlines a view on the scope of EO which should not be ignored. Whilst a broader all-encompassing equal opportunities approach to training

may allow the management of negative responses by trainees more easy to cater for, there is considerable potential to marginalise community and race relations (CRR) issues and for trainers to operate in a 'comfort zone' which avoids dealing with sensitive issues.

The two main pieces of legislation, the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Race Relations Act 1976, both legislate not only against discriminatory and unfair practices in employment but also in the provision of goods and services and so have both an internal and external impact on organisations. So in the study which follows, all police training which deals with issues of fairness is included. Titles for this training may variously be found as Community and Race Relations (CRR) Training, Equal Opportunities (EO) Training, Race Relations Training, Race Awareness Training, Diversity Training, or even Grievance Handling. All these are addressing, fundamentally, issues of fairness and equality whether internal or external and will be dealt with and referred to where necessary as EO training.

### ***Limitations of the study***

The review of literature has been restricted to that which refers to the 43 Home Office Forces of England and Wales. This is due to the fact that the Police Service in England and Wales is administered separately from that in Scotland which is separately represented by the Association of Chief Police Officers for Scotland. Most of the literature would not normally include Scotland unless specifically mentioned. The key literature sources will be used:

1. to set the scene and offer a commentary on the development of EO training since 1981.
2. to draw out the nature, scope and content of the EO training and, in doing so, to identify the themes that emerge.

These themes will be developed further using other literature sources used to illuminate them. These themes will be provide the contextual basis for further research. This aims to explore the question: 'what, from the perspective of those engaged in it, does good EO training look like?'

Most of the police related literature tends to focus on the particular issues of racism, sexism or sexuality, for example Oakley (1990), Holdaway (1996) and Southgate (1982) are concerned primarily with CRR. Anderson Campbell and Brown (1993) are concerned with gender issues, and Burke (1993) focuses generally on issues of sexuality. This view of separation is supported in the report of proceedings of a National Police Training Conference on discrimination held in June 1995. One of the workshops recognised that whilst discrimination on the grounds of race or gender have similar characteristics, there was "...unwillingness to see the two areas entirely merged" (NPT 1995). These may be used as convenient divisions of the work but it should be noted that they are not necessarily always to be taken in isolation. I argued in Clements and Spinks (2000) that the responses to the issues can actually lead to a set of fully transferable skills.

### ***The Development Of Equal Opportunities Training Since 1981***

Oakley (1994) helpfully charts the key developments in police training in community and race relations to 1994. His milestones are taken as a starting point, then developed both to include a more in depth analysis of the related literature and to broaden the scope of the review to include issues of fairness generally and develop the emerging themes.

#### *The Scarman Inquiry*

The Scarman Report, as Oakley (1994) notes, was significant not only because it translated public protest into proposals for reform but also because it provided a "*comprehensive framework for tackling the problem*". Paragraph 5.28 (Scarman, 1981) deals with training in community relations in which Scarman contended that police training in CRR should be strengthened (in an extended initial training course) and focus on the need "*to establish and maintain good relations between the police and members of the public irrespective of racial, religious or social differences*" (p.83). Interestingly, Scarman several times used the words "*develop an understanding*" (paragraphs

5.28; 8.30; 8.32). This may suggest that his view of learning about these issues is something more than the 'knowledge acquisition approach' which persists as a view of training, as will be seen below, some seventeen years later.

### *The Police Training Council Report (1983)*

The Police Training Council Working Party on CRR Training for the Police was appointed by the Police Training Council in January 1982. Its terms of reference were to review the community relations training given to the police with particular reference to the comments in Lord Scarman's report. In the light of the way training has developed since 1982, it seems that a great deal of very sound thinking about teaching and learning in relation to CRR training may have been lost. Several themes emerge as important and echo my own experience as a trainer:

1. The working party tackles head-on the question of whether the aim of training should be to influence attitudes, or behaviour, or both. They conclude that it is not acceptable to make behaviour modification alone the aim of training. Although members of the public may, in the final analysis, be satisfied with professional conduct, it is not seen as wise to allow a situation where officers are merely equipped to mask their private attitudes. It is under conditions of stress (and such conditions are a constant reality for officers on the streets), that unacceptable attitudes are likely to emerge in the form of unacceptable behaviour. Attitudinal training however should never be done in isolation from the development of appropriate skills.
2. Methods of training should be appropriate to the task. These should be mediated by officers and lay people who have been specially trained for the task.
3. Training should include all ranks and be specific to the role and responsibility of the individual involved. It should be developmental throughout an officer's career.

### *Racism Awareness Training*

The Police Training Council Working Party proposed that British Police Service training should look to "racism awareness training" as a means of



achieving attitudinal shift. The method, which originated in the 1960's, adopted a confrontational approach to the unearthing of personal prejudice and is best known through the work of Katz (1978) and has since been expounded further by Luthra and Oakley (1991). Oakley (1994) notes that four pilot courses of racism awareness training were run but not well received by the police officers being trained. Two reasons for the difficulties faced presented by this type of training are advanced as being that confrontation is unlikely to be effective in a policing context, and the need for highly skilled and sensitive facilitators to handle the issues which emerge.

#### *Independent Training Support Units*

The Police Training Council Report also recommended the setting up of an independent training support unit. The Home Office established this in 1983 as the 'Centre for the Study of Community Relations' at Brunel University in London. Overall, as Oakley (1989, 1994) observes, the Centre was not successful in establishing a working relationship with police forces and was closed after five years in 1988. In mid-1989 the Home Office, in recognition that the need for a support unit still existed, set up the Specialist Support Unit (SSU). The SSU set up and ran a six-week training course for police trainers, which paralleled the work of the American Equal Opportunity Management Institute. This institute worked with the American military (notably at Patrick Air Force Base in Florida), and targeted skills and behaviour, rather than just knowledge and attitudes. The SSU also aimed to work at a strategic organisational level as well as with individuals.

#### *Reports by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary*

There have been three major EO inspections, and one update, by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) in the period under review.

1. *Equal Opportunities in the Police Service* (1993) was the report of a thematic inspection carried out in 1992. Twelve forces were inspected with two being drawn from each of the six Inspectorate areas, and the purpose of the inspection was to:

*"...ensure that forces have implemented or are actively implementing equal opportunities policies ... in line with Home Officer Circular 87/1989". (HMIC 1993 p.1)*

Interviews were held with police officers and civilian staff of all ranks and grades. A number of themes emerged but two are of particular interest for the purpose of this study, viz. training issues, and the "culture of equal opportunities".

The report noted that the training provision ranged from none at all in two of the forces to "a major commitment" of one or more days training for all staff in others. In terms of abstraction from the work place, a full day's training for every staff member is a major commitment for any organisation. In training delivery terms, particularly if the training is to be highly participative in nature, it is highly questionable what could actually be achieved in a day. Nevertheless the report does remark that in the forces where there was no awareness raising, the negative and inappropriate language that was used in discussions was noticeable.

The report noted that the trainers who had graduated from the SSU were not being used to good effect. Only three of the forces inspected were able to show a coherent strategy for training equal opportunities.

HMIC noted its concern about the wide variation in the knowledge of equal opportunities issues. Some of those interviewed said that they had no knowledge at all. This may, according to the report, have been in part due to the fact that it was policy in probationer training that issues of equality be threaded through the entire curriculum. Instructors were expected to weave this thread into all aspects of what they did. HMIC concluded, *"sadly the policy appears to be failing"*. The way the District Training Centres (now called Police Training Centres - where recruit training is carried out) were regimented and run may also have been influential in sending negative messages, and some of the standing orders may in themselves have been discriminatory. The report is not

specific about what these were. There seemed also to be a paucity of provision for those moving into supervisory and managerial ranks.

In terms of developing a culture of equal opportunities, the report noted that progress is made faster when the chief officers and senior management openly express their commitment and support. Some of those interviewed during the research expressed their cynicism and scepticism about their forces' commitment to equal opportunities. Three elements of traditional culture were recurring themes in the interviews. They revolve around the relationship between police officers and civilians, the acceptance of racial stereotyping and the treatment of women police officers. It was noted that language in its role as a vehicle for communicating attitudes has a critical part to play in that it is an expression of culture itself. An underlying level of racist banter signalled the need for first line supervisors to challenge inappropriate behaviour. Another worrying feature identified by the report was that there seemed to be a persistent low-level harassment of women in the forces inspected. It was not uncommon for the language of senior officers to appear exclusionary.

2. *Developing Diversity in the Police Service* was published by HMIC in 1996. It built on the work done in 1992 and this time thirteen forces were inspected including four from the 1992 inspection. The methodology used was to conduct a week long pre-inspection during which statistical data and performance measures would be analysed. This was followed by a one-day visit to each force inspected, mainly for group discussion with a variety of officers and civil staff. In the preamble to the report a number of significant observations are made. It was noted for example that the 1992 report found that many could not see the value of an equal opportunities policy:

*"Many people do not yet understand how or why managing diverse groups of people is a crucial concept in the effective policing of society now and in the future" (HMIC 1996 p.10).*

Another significant observation in the report was the acknowledgement that mechanisms designed to improve equality of opportunity would be ineffective in the long term if they were not accompanied by a general shift in attitudes and

culture. 'Lip service' and 'tokenism' were seen as masking subtle yet continuing discriminatory behaviour and practices.

In reporting on training, HMIC curiously, in the light of the 1993 criticism of such a strategy, opens the section with the proposition that EO training needs to run like a "golden thread" (op cit. p.45) through all training programmes, so that equal opportunity is seen as essential to any human resource strategy. In commenting on the need for evaluation however, the report outlines the problems that are associated with the 'integration' principle. There was, and in my view still is, a serious lack of quality control and evaluation of training in the Police Service generally. This being the case, HMIC noted that it was all too easy where integration was expected for it to be marginalised or even ignored completely. My own experience, as a recruit instructor at Hendon in the mid-1980's, was that where the syllabus was so focused on passing regular examinations which had no EO or CRR component to them, there was great pressure from students to work with them in areas that they would be tested on, and ignore those that they wouldn't.

Interviews also covered perceptions of equal opportunities and the responses to this were varied. Some saw equal opportunities as a statement of the obvious, others saw it as a mechanism to transfer responsibility from senior to junior staff, others still saw the possibility of claiming compensation for their own bad experiences. An interesting and useful conclusion by HMIC was that:

*"Too often the training set equal opportunities in the context of race or gender rather than in fairness and the value of diversity". (p.45).*

This is a very important comment that should not be lost. In designing a training programme to tackle issues of equality of opportunity it is all too easy to lose the wood for the trees. Few would suggest that the aims of training in equal opportunities should be restricted to dealing with black people, women or homosexuals. The aim should be to enable students to develop a view of the world which encompasses the attitudes and skills needed to treat **all** human beings as individuals and with fairness, dignity and respect. The articles contained within the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights (Council of

Europe 1995) are all grounded in the inclusive term "everyone". In my own experience of equal opportunities training many police officers feel themselves to be unfairly treated whether from within the organisation or by the attitudes of some towards it, notably the media. This can be a huge barrier to learning and needs to be addressed if it is not to have a deleterious effect on the training outcomes.

The report goes on to note that staff trainers have a tendency to become the focus for attacks by some students who see the equal opportunities training as the opportunity to air their grievances. It was not uncommon to find that trainers involved in equal opportunities training delivery would go sick with stress. It appeared that some senior management had not appreciated the commitment required to be an equal opportunities trainer.

As with the 1993 report, it was noted that without evaluation there could be no judgement about the effectiveness of training. It was noted that where there had been a substantial investment in equal opportunities training the benefits from this could have been increased if the training had been professionally evaluated. Subsequent costs could be reduced if this had been done. Other training issues identified by the 1995 report include:

- the need to include civilian staff
- the need to recognise that equal opportunities training should be inclusive rather than exclusive and that specific courses on a race or gender tended to give them a status of 'bolt-on' extras
- the effectiveness of distance learning packs for disseminating information to people who want to learn, but that they cannot in themselves be relied upon to bring about cultural change
- when the cultural change is taking place, new lessons that are learned will need to be reinforced on a regular basis. This implies that for any training strategy arrangements need to be made for follow up work to be done.

A number of questions are given in the report, which are useful for taking the present research further. These are:

- is equal opportunities training included as a component of all training programmes?
- are programmes delivered by staff who are themselves trained in equal opportunities issues?
- do senior managers understand the objectives of equal opportunities training?
- have they made to their commitment clear to the equal opportunities trainers?
- is there a proper training provision for civil staff?
- is equal opportunities training being properly evaluated?

3. *Winning the Race* was published by HMIC in 1997 and reflected an inspection that had been carried out in 1996/97. The aim of the inspection was to examine issues that had a continuing relevance directly and indirectly to police community relations. The methodology included data analysis and meetings with personnel in forces. As with the other reports, training emerged as an issue. Two of the recommendations emerging from the report were that firstly, training in community and race relations should be given a greater emphasis and priority and be targeted towards first line supervision, and secondly that community and race relations training should be properly monitored and evaluated. Those officers who have benefited from national training opportunities in the field should be better utilised by their forces.

The Inspectorate examined arrangements for in-force training in the six forces inspected and a number of causes for concern were identified. These were: the provision of community and race relations training for those most in need of it; the content of the training; its evaluation; and the extent to which those who had received specialist training were able to share the benefits of this with their own forces.

Again, the theme of the 'golden thread' is present. Whilst some forces claimed to take this approach, HMIC found little evidence of it happening in that the formal content of training programmes and even less so in any post training

interventions. The inspector noted that with an increased awareness and focus on internal equality issues, the shift away from external service delivery as the aim of training was unfortunate. This led to the possibility that any community and race relations component might be de-coupled from service delivery.

Two groups of officers were seen to be in particular need of training which focuses on community and race relations, these being officers who have completed their probationary period and are daily engaged in street policing and those with the line management responsibility. In common with the Police Training Council report (1983) the inspection found a need to focus on training in some of the more complex, sensitive, and very specific situations which the officers face. The ability to handle situations with confidence and sensitivity emerged as important. In respect of the line managers, the Inspectorate noted an indifference to, or lack of confidence in, tackling inappropriate racist behaviour by officers. Equipping these people with the skills they need seemed to be a priority. It was noted that the very people who may be best positioned to influence cultural change are often those who have a role in perpetuating inappropriate culture.

Some officers who were interviewed believed themselves to be well versed in community and race relations issues and saw them merely as common sense and that no training was required. It was not uncommon for officers to express the view that they treated everyone in the same way, not recognising that there may well be times where in order to be sensitive it is, in fact, necessary to handle people differently. The Inspectorate found that officers who were both sensitive and confident in such issues were "few and far between".

There was recognition that CRR training is quite different from delivering the law or procedure. Many trainers find the transition from technical to social training difficult to manage. Simply providing information to students does not achieve a satisfactory outcome and may indeed serve to perpetuate stereotypes. It was noted that the minimum training levels published by National Police Training (National Police Training, 1997) for example, would help in the

quality assurance process, although there were no examples found of good practice in the monitoring and evaluation of CRR training. Yet again it was found that officers who had undergone the SSU course were not being properly used in-force. It is interesting to note that although some progress can be charted in terms of the British Police Service's approach to training in issues of fairness, many of the problems seem to recur and have yet to be properly addressed.

At the time of writing the Metropolitan Police is about to embark on a training programme, the imperative for which, has arisen out of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry. Although this will represent a considerable investment in time and money, there must still be concern that the problematic issues noted in the report above will not be properly addressed.

4. *Winning the Race Revisited* was published in 1999 shortly after the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry report. HMIC had expressed concern in *Winning the Race*, that progress in some forces was too slow. The revisit inspection was not expecting to find all the recommendations of the former report to have been implemented but that considerable progress had been made towards implementation. A questionnaire was sent to and returned by all forces in England and Wales, to establish a broad view. There were 29 questions, an example being, Q10. "Please give specific details of community and race relations force training courses and of personnel targeted". 31 forces claimed to be addressing CRR training, 11 were not doing any training and 1 force was developing a training programme. Given that there are many issues of validity and reliability surrounding such a method of data gathering, the overall results seemed to paint a general picture of lack of progress. In relation to the implementation of the recommendations of *Winning the Race* HMIC reports: "*Disappointingly this has not been the case, with too many forces failing to address adequately the key recommendations*" (HMIC 1999 p.53). In terms of training the report quite rightly identifies that it has been nearly 20 years since the Scarman report when further training was recommended, and yet forces are still failing to respond.



Those forces that were found to be addressing training were still focusing on internal EO issues rather than external service delivery, and there was little evidence of training needs analysis (TNA) to tailor CRR training to the needs of the local police area. Overall the report concluded:

*"...that training in general awareness of varying cultural issues, the investigation of crime with a racial element, the prudent use of discretion including stop and search powers, and addressing inappropriate behaviour has been marginalised." (HMIC 1999 p.43)*

The recommendation arising out of all this is that a Service-wide strategy for CRR training should be established that defines scope, key components and common minimum delivery standards. The present study and subsequent research into teaching and learning EO may help by addressing this recommendation. An interesting theme that emerges from each of the reports above is that the term 'awareness' is used both in a way that seems to assume the reader shares its meaning and often in connection with knowledge. An exploration of how trainers see awareness will be an important component of the research.

### ***The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry***

Part One of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry dealt with the evidence surrounding the death and subsequent investigation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Part Two received submissions about next steps. The Inquiry published its findings in February 1999 in a blaze of publicity and the section that follows draws on the relevant submissions of evidence and the report itself.

In its submission to Part One, the Metropolitan Police (MPS 1998a) concedes that:

*"The racial awareness training amongst officers involved in the investigation was inadequate" (p.16).*

The submission noted that training in racial awareness has improved since 1993. Updated training on issues of race had included equal opportunities and

community and race relations, and, interestingly, it is noted that recruits at the police college in Hendon participate in four focus sessions of awareness training. This in fact represents a watering down of the 1993/4 update, which I, with others designed, and which included eight sessions of training delivered by officers who had received specialist trainer training. This is no longer the case. Others training initiatives mentioned in the submission include a project in collaboration with Lambeth Borough Council - the "Policing Diversity in Lambeth" initiative. This is being seen as a pilot project for community and race relations training which may be adopted throughout the MPS.

The submission to Part Two of the Inquiry by the Metropolitan Police (MPS 1998b) deals, among other things, with plans for the future training of its officers. This will include generic training for most officers and deals with the reporting and investigation of racially motivated crime. The submission goes on to describe a comprehensive training package involving "substantial investment" (p.6) that includes inputs on "CRR awareness raising" and "knowledge acquisition" (ibid.) through "community interface workshops". Minimum effective training levels as specified by National Police Training are seen as a way of measuring this training. An analysis of these proposals suggests a number of problems, arising primarily from the assumptions that they contain. For example, the expressions "inputs on CRR awareness raising", and "knowledge acquisition", tend to suggest a view of learning that equates to the acquisition of knowledge. A theme of the wider research project that this paper represents is that unless a sophisticated and deep level understanding of learning is applied, the actual outcomes of such a training campaign may well not meet the expectations of its sponsors.

Macpherson (1999) made seven recommendations about training within the Police Service. The goals that emerge from the recommendations seem to be 'valuing cultural diversity', 'understanding that good community relations are essential to good policing', and that a 'racist officer is an incompetent officer' (p.332). The scope of the training should be, according to Macpherson, all police officers, including CID, and civilian staff. The content should be racism

awareness and valuing cultural diversity. Regular refresher training is called for as well as involvement of local minority ethnic communities in the training.

One particularly interesting recommendation seems to reveal a view of the paradigm (i.e. a product model of training) in which it envisages the training taking place. Recommendation 52 (p.333) suggests:

*"That the Home Office together with the police service should publish recognised standards of training aims and objectives in the field of racism awareness and valuing cultural diversity."*

This is interesting on two counts. Firstly, the National Police Training Minimum Effective training levels in Equal Opportunities and Community and Race Relations were published in 1997. Secondly, and more importantly for the purpose of the present research, there seems to be an underlying assumption about a product model of training rather than a process model. If this is the case, then there is little to suggest that the training proposed will be any more effective than the training that has apparently had so little impact since Scarman.

### ***Themes emerging from the literature***

The key literature described above coupled with my professional experience of the issues produce a number of themes that help to make sense of the issues:

1. The notion of institutional racism;
2. Integration of EO into the broader police curriculum;
3. The goals and content of EO training;
4. The need for specialist trainers.

The first theme above has really only taken on prominence in the last 12 months. As it became clear from evidence to the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry that the '*rotten apple in the barrel*' (Oakley 1998a) theory did not adequately explain the problems exhibited by the Police Service, calls for acceptance of the notion of institutionalisation became stronger. Whilst the focus of this has

been almost entirely on racial issues, the principles underlying the arguments can equally well be transferred to gender and sexual orientation.

The second theme exposes apparent confusion over the notion of integration. Not so much in terms of what it means but more in terms of how it might be achieved. As has been seen above, calls for a coherent and strategic approach to CRR training have emerged from all the recent reports that are likely to be influential. The possible alternatives are set out below.

Theme three explores the goals, scope and content of EO training. It is worth noting that the process of delivery, or issues of teaching and learning, do not emerge strongly from the literature with, perhaps, the exception of the now somewhat dated work of Luthra and Oakley (1991) and Police Training Council (1983). The research associated with this IFS will go some way to addressing this deficit.

Finally, theme four describes an ever-present theme in the literature, namely, 'who should be delivering this training'?

#### 1. 'Institutional racism' as an indicator of a deeper problem

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry gave rise to a fierce debate about the notion of institutional racism. The inquiry received evidence from Oakley (1998a, 1998b) who held the view that much of the difficulty the Police Service faced was due to the institutionally racist nature of the organisation. This state of affairs is not unique to the police. The submission caused outrage among some senior police officers, who would not accept that the police could be described as institutionally racist. There seemed to be a feeling that to concede this point would be to admit that all police are racist. There was disagreement amongst officers of Association of Chief Police Officer rank. Sir Paul Condon, the key player would not publicly accept the definitions of the Metropolitan Police as institutionally racist that were put forward at the time. Other chief officers did not agree. The president of ACPO Sir John Newing and the Chief Constables

of Greater Manchester Police and Sussex Police all came out and agreed with the definition and description.

It was not difficult to understand the reluctance of those who would not accept the description. The notion is one which is ripe for deliberate misrepresentation. As an employer of over forty thousand people, and with the media and other pressure groups ready to pounce on what they would see as an admission of guilt, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner was apparently keen not to alienate those who work for him. In the Part One Submission to the Lawrence Inquiry (Metropolitan Police 1998a) it was noted:

*" The Commissioner refutes, as Lord Scarman did in 1981, any suggestion that the MPS is institutionally racist, which the MPS defines as knowingly, as a matter of policy" (p.19).*

This approach to institutional racism represented a considerable shift from the position adopted as far back as 1983 by the Police Training Council Working Party, that actually recommended (Appendix 3g) that police officers study the *"nature of individual and institutional prejudice...and the dangers of these for the police service and society"*.

National Police Training (1997 p.11) in publishing minimum effective training levels for constables, sergeants, inspectors and trainers, put forward a definition of *"institutional discrimination"* which, although focusing on policy, is narrower than the Macpherson definition below, nevertheless concedes the concept and extends it to institutional sexism.

The publication of the Macpherson report saw a definition of institutional racism which key players, including the Metropolitan Police Commissioner and the Home Secretary were quick to publicly espouse:

*"The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice,*

*ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people."* (Macpherson 1999 para. 6.34 p.28)

One of the key words in the definition is 'unwitting', as it allows for the concept without appearing to label individuals as deliberately racist. So why does all this appear important as a theme?

Firstly, there is a strong link with two of the other themes, namely the goals, scope and content of EO training, and the integration of EO into the broader curriculum. Implicit within the definition are statements about potential goals of EO training, such as addressing attitudes as well as behaviour, raising awareness and raising levels of knowledge. So an acceptance of institutional racism (or, in NPT terms, 'institutional discrimination') can actually help to inform not only the goal of EO training but also its scope and content. Given the 'collective' stance of the definition there is little reason why the scope of the training should not be inclusive of all the members of the organisation. This was the position adopted by HMIC (1999).

Secondly, the definition may be implicitly saying something about the integration of EO training into the wider police training milieu. There is a danger that training itself can become institutionalised (in this context taken to mean unquestioned) in such a way that it consistently underperforms. Too strong a focus on the product of training often results in it being seen as the solution to an organisational problem. This returns the argument to the research questions cited above, namely that not enough is currently known about how police officers learn and teach EO to enable an informed design to be constructed. As will be seen in theme three below the literature often expresses what the aims of EO training should be but there is very little research material to guide the journey.

Lastly, there is an indication in the debate over the acceptance of a definition of institutional racism, of the complexity of the issues involved, the problems of shared meaning, different ways of seeing the world, and the defensiveness which permeates the debate all become apparent. Training which addresses

people's attitudes values and beliefs is not straightforward at the best of times, and when the debate can be highly charged as in EO training it is doubly challenging, and there is an implied need for trainers to be properly prepared and supported, and not as the comment of a trainer reported in HMIC (1996 p.46) reveals:

*"We've never seen them (senior officers) they would learn a lot about the force if they would only spend a little time with us"*

## 2. Integration of the subject within the broader curriculum

Three modes of coping with the differences of minority cultures experienced by the majority culture have been apparent in this country since the War. Essentially these are assimilation, pluralism and separatism. In the post-war years immigrants to Britain were expected to assimilate into the host culture and bear the responsibility for doing this. In 1966 the then Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins put forward the new policy of pluralism, whereby immigrant cultures would persist and be respected within the host community (Oakley 1994). Such an approach is still present today. Separatism is apparent when minority communities exist almost outside the host community with separate education arrangements and a tendency to live in clusters. There is little cross-cultural mixing. In many ways arrangements for, and thinking about EO training mirror the thinking about assimilation and pluralism in society generally.

Assimilating EO into mainstream training looks on the face of it an attractive proposition. A 'golden thread' is woven through the whole curriculum and aspects of fairness are intended to be addressed at every opportunity. In this way fairness and its application to a variety of contexts is meant to be inculcated into the students learning. The problem is that as was found by HMIC (1993) actual evidence of the golden thread is hard to find. Pluralistic approaches to training EO issues tend to see the subject as an entity in its own

right and de-couple it from the context in which EO is normally experienced. It has special slots in the curriculum and may or may not be wholly divorced from other training. This is a key issue for the design and delivery of equal opportunities training.

Garret and Taylor (1993) argue that equal opportunities should be integrated into more general courses. The reasons advanced for this are that it makes the training "*more palatable*" (p.54) and that it will be seen more as a part of the management function. Problems associated with integration are that non-specialist trainers are often left to do the integrating. There is an increasing recognition that trainers who work in this sometimes difficult area may need special preparation for the role. Kandola et. al. (1991) studied stress in equal opportunities personnel. Their conclusions were aptly summed up in the title of their report "Equal opportunities can damage your health". During the study they found amongst equal opportunity personnel working in a variety of organisations, that 90% showed higher than average physical ill-health symptoms and 73% showed above average mental ill health symptoms. The generalisability and reliability of such research is questionable but it serves at least to alert us to the issue that working in the field of equal opportunities can take its toll and this needs to be addressed. The feelings experienced are aptly illustrated by the comments of an officer who was interviewed for the 1996 HMIC thematic inspection. She says:

*"I don't think that the senior officers of this force know how much we have suffered in trying to move the organisation forward" (HMIC 1996, p.45).*

A further question is raised in the need to be clear about what is meant by integration. The police recruit foundation course, for example, covers a wide range of subjects drawn in the main from the relevant law or procedure. The question then becomes whether integration means including an equal opportunities theme within those topics. For example, in teaching the law on assaults, should the discussion be broadened out to include racial attacks, or the particular problems associated with areas of high minority ethnic community concentration? One of the factors militating against the effectiveness of such a



teaching strategy is the way the curriculum is assessed. Generally the assessment scheme will deal only with aspects of law and procedure and therefore it is unsurprising if trainers concentrate on what they know their students will be assessed in.

The National Police Training conference on developing a European training strategy (NPT 1995 p.22) noted that:

*"EO must be integrated within the organisation's whole approach to human resource management..."*

It was even suggested that police training courses might be located within the communities they serve to ensure that EO was not seen as an isolated issue. Oakley (1990) picks up this theme in arguing that training in 'ethnic relations' is most effective when delivered as an integral part of professional curricula rather than as free-standing courses. Oakley and Radford (1998) note that focussed work on CRR should be supported by the thematic integration of CRR within the course as a whole. This approach would seem to address the main concerns of integration which appear to be: risk of marginalisation of CRR, ineffective or unskilled trainers, dilution of the message, and lack of willingness to assess learning.

### 3. Goals, scope and content of equal opportunities training

In June 1997, the National Police Training 'Equal Opportunities and Community and Race Relations Minimum Effective Training Levels' were published. The forward boldly claims that:

*"Officers trained to these levels will have the knowledge and skills to meet the moral and legal requirements placed upon them to treat all members of the community objectively and without bias" (NPT 1997 p.2)*

So NPT was prepared to define EO training levels in term of outcomes which had knowledge and skills as their components. There is little mention of the attitudes which may impinge on the behaviour. This raises a common problem in EO training generally (Garrett and Taylor, 1993) and in the police in particular. It concerns the way in which it is reasonably possible to assess an

individual's stance on issues of fairness. Behavioural statements or competencies and the testing of knowledge are both areas in which an organisation may be on firmer ground when it comes to assessing an individual. Attitudes are far less easy to define and lead into a difficult area of legitimacy and authority on which most trainers let alone organisations fear to tread. If attitude and behaviour can be seen as separate entities in a person then the legitimate target for the organisation is behaviour which is the more readily observed and evidenced.

The problem this raises for the trainer is how to know whether the behaviour exhibited by an individual is in any way underpinned by congruent attitudes. A further complication arises in the notion of individual ontology or way of seeing the world. The assumption in the quotation above that officers can be trained to be objective has to be challenged on the basis that in the post-modern view ontologies are essentially ideographic. Objectivity in the positivist sense is simply not possible if knowledge is socially constructed and reliant on a particular world-view. Luthra and Oakley (1991) advance some largely untested hypotheses about the goals of 'race training'. They note that resistance is a normal experience for trainers to encounter and that affective awareness (in their terms knowledge of how one responds at an emotional level to the issues) is a necessary precondition for personal change. Returning to the NPT quote above, a further issue is problematic in that there seems to be an assumption that the acquisition of both knowledge and skills will lead to a change in the way the officer deals with people. It is not clear what the basis for that assumption is. An important aspect of the research project will be to find out from the trainers' perspective whether, in fact, what is claimed in the quote is plausible.

Southgate (1982) reported on research that had been done to try and establish the nature of training objectives that should be set for police probationer training programmes. Peppard (1980) had suggested that race relations training should be grounded in the requirements of the job rather than in a more vague notion of greater enlightenment for the person concerned, and picking up on

this Southgate conducted research in the Chapeltown area of Leeds. Although the research was conducted before Brixton, Southgate notes that there had been instances of public disorder in Leeds on a number of occasions prior to 1981. Two key issues for the purpose of this review emerge from the report, namely that the objectives of what training there was seemed vague or non-existent, and that there was apparently little or no learning taking place. Evidence for the latter is that some officers, who had actually gone through a race relations training programme, *"found it difficult to remember anything about their training or its effects"* (Southgate 1982, p.19). Another officer claimed he *"must have been asleep for that session"* (ibid.). Nine out of ten officers claimed to have learned *"a lot about"* dealing with West Indian and Asian people from their personal experience, whereas under one third believed they had learned anything from the training course they had attended. The problem of reliance on learning from experience for police officers is that it raises the possibility that potentially negative stereotypes will be reinforced rather than broken down simply because the encounters they have with people are predominantly negative ones. A summary of the key findings of this research is given below:

- the experiences that police officers bring to the classroom are often difficult to counter and this seemed particularly so in their reporting of experiences with people of West Indian rather than Asian origin;
- the experience of younger officers is that they need to secure the favour of senior officers. It would be a step forward if this could be done in terms of their contribution to good community relations;
- 'informal police culture' or 'canteen culture' (Southgate 1982 p.23) can have a deleterious effect on anything that happens in the classroom. This is a constant theme in other areas of the literature (Graef, 1989; Fielding, 1989; Hope, 1995);
- policing is a practical activity and police officers generally distrust training that is not practical in nature;
- there seemed to be minimal teaching or learning of information, practical skills, or attitudes in the community and race relations training observed. The emphasis tended to be on identifying the likely situations that would be

encountered and then the correct application of procedure to that situation. There was too little attention paid to the interpersonal skills aspect of the training;

- there was no common understanding of what the aims of race relations training should be. Southgate concluded that whilst most education and training conveys a mix of facts, skills, ideas and attitudes there was a great tendency to focus on the first and last of these.

This last point is one that requires further examination because it raises a fundamental issue about what is and what should be the aim of this type of training.

### *Factual Knowledge*

So-called factual learning, knowledge of the background, customs and cultures of the minority ethnic communities is a recurrent theme in the literature and invites research into its full scope. Southgate (1982) argues that factual knowledge is important as a basis for understanding and the scope of this should range from the historical background of the empire, slavery and so on through to the typical situations and problems which the police may face when dealing with particular minority ethnic groups. One of the problems with all this however is that the assumption is made that, in part, prejudice and discrimination is grounded in ignorance. Whilst this may be true to some extent, there remains the question of the power of the 'informal curriculum' over the formal. Officers who base their knowledge of minority ethnic groups on their own experience of policing encounters may find that this is a more powerful influence on their learning than the formal curriculum delivered in the classroom.

### *Attitude Training*

Southgate (1982 p.26) suggests that the aims of attitudinal training should be:

- awareness of the importance of good relationships with individual members of the public;

- understanding the importance of a mature attitude in policing;
- an ability to judge when to apply the law and when to exercise discretion;
- a concern to maintain impeccable standards towards the public as well as towards senior police management;
- a willingness to self-examine attitudes and relations with others;
- a concern to eliminate or control personal racial prejudice or bias in behaviour.

All this begs the question whether attitudes can be changed through formal training settings. Garrett and Taylor (1993) identify the substance of the debate surrounding this question. They cite the Training Enterprise and Education Directorate's own definition of training as a "planned process to modify attitudes, knowledge and skill to achieve effective performance in an activity or range of activities". Most other definitions of training would include attitudes as a legitimate area for attention, for example the Police Training Council (1985) noted that:

*"The strategic aim of training within the police service is to provide the training necessary to ensure that everyone working in the Police Service develops the knowledge, understanding, skills, attitude and behaviour required to meet the present and future needs of the service"*

This being the case, it might be natural to argue that attitude modification is a necessary component of any equal opportunities training. Having said that, there is a view that a softer option is to make behaviour modification the aim of training and through this, coupled with increased knowledge, hope that attitudes will change.

A further issue to be addressed is one of legitimacy and authority. A reluctance directly to address attitudes may be due to the concern for individual freedom of thought and action. If people are seen to be individuals whose perceptions of the world are basically self-constructed, then what legitimate authority is there to change their world view to fit one which happens to synchronise with that of the trainer or the trainer's organisation? There may be a certain authority in the various conventions on human rights but this requires the individual to not only

have knowledge of such conventions but as an individual have assimilated them into their world view. The European Convention on Human Rights and the important domestic legislation represented by the Human Rights Act 1998 may actually offer a doubled edged sword to the trainer. Whilst on the one hand many of the issues dealt with in EO and CRR training are now enshrined in British law, so is the right to "freedom of thought" (Article 9). If trainers believe that the process of EO training is somehow interfering with that freedom then there is scope for difficulty. This will need to be explored in the research.

For the sake of expediency, most training schemes seem to find it easier to restrict the aims of training to behaviour alone. This is after all what the law deals with. The problem is that with no attempt to change the world view of some people, the possibility is opened up for police officers who have no personal belief or commitment to fairness to remain in post provided that their behaviour does not move out for the bounds of organisational acceptance. The possible consequences of this are: unpredictable behaviour in situations of stress, cognitive dissonance for the person's colleagues and, from an organisational perspective, the danger of never being able to trust the person, when not under supervision or scrutiny, to forward its policies and values.

#### 4. The need for specialist trainers

The literature reveals a consistent concern with questions of who should deliver EO training. National Police Training (1997) notes that specialist trainers were first trained by Brunel University (1983-1988) and then by the Specialist Support Unit until 1998 when the contract ended. It is clear that not all EO trainers are effective in NPT terms because *"they lack the depth of knowledge and understanding of the subjects to present the training at the level of 'specialist trainer' "* (NPT 1997 p.6). Whilst this statement taken at face value might be true the assumption needs to be challenged that trainers will be better simply because they are 'subject matter experts'.

Luthra and Oakley (1991) argue for the use of black trainers in race training, and that where possible those black trainers should be practitioners. In turn, those practitioners should be involved in the organisation as agents of change. One of the criticisms of the Specialist Support Unit or rather of the use made of it by police forces was that insufficient use was made of the trainers returning from their six-week course. The length of time training the trainers was a large investment and yet, far from being agents of change, many Specialist Support Unit graduates were not used at all (NPT 1997, HMIC 1996). It will be important for the research to address the issue of who should engage in delivering EO training and what skills and support they need.

### ***Summary and way forward***

This study has surveyed the key literature relating to EO training in the British Police Service. It has noted that although EO can be seen as having a wider meaning, the literature concentrates in issues of community and race relations, but the principles seem to be entirely transferable.

Four main themes emerged from the literature which could be taken forward to help inform the next part of the research programme which was to explore what, from the perspective of those engaged in EO training, does good EO training look like? It is important to note at this stage though, that the method of interviewing will be semi-structured in a way that those engaged in training will be encouraged to talk about their experience of what good EO training looks like. The themes will not be used to suggest to the interviewees what they should be talking about. It is therefore quite possible that what emerges from the data will be quite different to the issues below.

These main themes, although identifiable in their own right, are mainly useful for classification of the ideas, and must be seen as closely interlinked with other issues that sit within them. These are presented in summary form in table 2.1 below.

Theme	Related Issues
The notion of institutional racism	Scope of EO training
Integrating EO and CRR into the broader curriculum	Avoidance strategies
Goals scope and content of EO training	Reference to 'awareness' Reference to knowledge Attitudinal training Legitimacy and authority Optimum processes for EO training Measuring behaviour v measuring attitudes
The need for specialist trainers	Using trainers from outside the police service Skills needed by trainers

**Table 2.1 - Themes and related issues emerging from the literature**



## Chapter Three

### The research project - methodology

#### *Introduction*

Asking 'what does good EO training look like?' is very much a question about the way people see the world, or rather the way they experience an aspect of it. The intention of the research was to explore the experience of trainers and others engaged in EO training in the police with a view to constructing a model. Arising out of this apparently straightforward aim is a story of the research project which contains a number of twists and turns. In this introduction a fairly detailed narrative will be given, partly because it signals my concern to be transparent about the research and partly because it reflects my own learning to learn about research which is a key purpose of the professional doctorate. The narrative account of the research is followed by an explanation of the core components of the project, namely: selection of the sample, the experience of interviewing, and transcription and analysis.

Transparency is also an important factor in establishing the validity and reliability of the research. A full discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of knowledge and world-view of the researcher are beyond the scope of this thesis, but to address Scott and Usher's (1996) challenge to be transparent about it my own position needs to be made explicit. In a positivist/empiricist paradigm it is assumed that:

- the world is objective in that it exists independently of the knower;
- subjective knower and objective known are clearly distinguished;
- knowledge claims are only valid if they can be subjected to replicability tests
  - generalisation prediction and control are both possible and legitimate;
- the social world may be examined in the same way as the natural world;
- there is a nomothetic orientation.

On the other hand, in the hermeneutic/interpretive paradigm which represents my position:

- there is concern for interpretation, meaning and illumination;
- scientific method is not the sole rationality and way of finding truth;
- human (social) action is given meaning through interpretive schemes or frameworks;
- interpretation always takes place against a background of assumptions, beliefs and practices;
- developing knowledge is an iterative circular process not a linear cumulative one;
- there is an ideographic orientation.

The distinction between the two paradigms is neither arbitrary nor sterile and there are a number of consequences for my account of the research. Firstly, the focus of interest is not on phenomena arising from the natural world of animals, plants, physical laws or whatever; the focus is on human experience of aspects of the world. A positivist approach would not be suitable for such a study. Secondly, the hermeneutic/interpretive paradigm embodies the study of difference rather than similarity and that allows for the discovery of truth not as an external objective or replicable entity, but as the way individuals experience and assign meaning to the world. An object of my research is to identify difference and account for it; there is no aim to make generalisations beyond what is plausible. In terms of reliability there is no pretence that I, as researcher, am somehow able to stay outside of the "*hermeneutic circle*" (Scott and Usher 1996 p.19). Because I am bound up in the process of research, I make no claim that another researcher would find identical elements in the data.

The point is to be transparent about this and not pretend that the research is somehow meeting the validity and reliability demands of a different paradigm. Walford (1991), alluding to Medawar, (1963) goes as far as to talk about the way in which social science in being written up as 'scientific' actually perpetuates a 'myth' of objectivity. This is a trap into which I have tried not to let this research project fall, but having said that, it does not mean that the methods I have used should not be able to stand up to the scrutiny of the academic community, whatever paradigm they may be operating in.

My original intention was to use a phenomenographic approach to both the data collection and its analysis. A starting point for this account is to note, in agreement with Booth (1992 p.61), that *"phenomenography is not a method which can be applied to a research question in some unproblematic way"*. My experience of this research project has been that at every turn questions have been raised to which there are no simple solutions. It is not possible to take a previous phenomenographic study and merely apply that methodology to the new problem. The content and context of what is being researched will be interacting all the time with the phenomenographic method in ways that will be different to other contents and contexts. No phenomenographic study has been done into conceptions of EO teaching and learning in the British police and so it was to be expected that new issues would be thrown up.

My choice of phenomenography as a research approach was because for some thirty years it has been in dynamic development primarily as an investigative tool to explore the experience of learning. As Marton (1986), described it:

*"Phenomenography is a research method adapted for mapping the qualitatively different ways in which people, experience, conceptualise, perceive, and understand various aspects of and phenomena in the world around them"* (p.31).

More recent developments in phenomenography have been to move from method towards theory. Marton and Booth writing a decade later (1997 p.111) describe the unit of research in phenomenography as *"a way of experiencing something"* and the object of research as *"variation"*, i.e. the analysis of the difference in the way the same thing may be experienced by different people. Marton and Pang (1999) describe how phenomenography has developed to the point where it is now moving towards a more theoretical framework and in moving on from being descriptive of the variation in the ways of experiencing phenomena to the analysis or understanding of the nature of that variation.

A further attraction of the method for me was that as a research methodology, phenomenography seeks to be rigorous and empirical in its approach. As detailed in the introduction to the thesis, the project attracted some funding from the Home Office Police Research Award Scheme and I knew that the results would

likely be judged from a positive perspective and that even though I might not be working in that paradigm, rigour would be an important issue for the sponsors. Marton (1994 p.90) refers to the strength of phenomenography as laying in its "*rigorous, empirical exploration of the qualitatively different ways in which people experience...various phenomena*". Most decision-makers within the police, who are likely to be those who would turn research findings into policy, will respond better to a perceived "positivist" approach to research. 'Good solid numbers' in the quantitative tradition are generally preferred to the questionable uncertainty so often associated with social science research generally, and in particular with qualitative research.

So I embarked on a set of thirty interviews in the Summer of 1999 and these were conducted according to phenomenographic principles. A full account of the experience of interviewing is given below and this will show that they effectively achieved the objective of exploring the experience of trainers and civil staff engaging in EO design and delivery. As soon as all the interviews were transcribed I set about analysing them phenomenographically. This process meant that I started by immersing myself in the data and allowing the 'categories of description to emerge'. In phenomenographic analysis the next stage was to analyse the categories for their structure. In this process a structure of awareness is sought, where awareness refers to the totality of the way a person is experiencing some phenomenon (Marton and Booth 1997).

One thing that seemed clearly to emerge from my initial analysis was that the data did, in fact, reveal a limited number of ways the interviewees experience EO training. But the problems came both when trying to analyse these for their structure, and in satisfying myself and others that this captured all that the data had to say about EO training. It soon became apparent that the data had so much to say that a detailed phenomenographic analysis of each aspect would be impossible. In any event such work would have been unlikely to have produced the outcome (the model) that I was seeking to satisfy the requirements of the funding that had been awarded.

Further confirmation of the difficulty of using this analysis approach was given at two research seminars (see Appendix C) that I arranged to present the initial results to my peer community. The seminars were held in November 1999 and were funded out of the research project budget. One was held in Harrogate, North Yorkshire, and one in London. All the interviewees were invited back as well as a number of others who are either stakeholders, opinion formers or change agents in the field of EO training for the Police. The initial findings of the research were presented at the seminars as the three conceptions of EO training (see figure 3.1 below) and the issues for teachers that emerged from the data. The seminars had four objectives:

1. to continue to involve in the research process the people who had generously given up time to be interviewed;
2. to present the data to them as part of the validation process and explore the implications;
3. to seek their contributions and advice with regard to the pedagogical issues raised by the research;
4. to maintain the momentum of the project as a potential influence on the developing national strategy for EO training in the British Police.

As can be seen in figure 3.1 below, three categories of description were identified which, in phenomenographic terms, are referred to as the 'referential aspect'. The 'structural' aspect of those categories can then be further analysed; again, in phenomenographic terms, for the 'how' and the 'what' of the experience (Martin and Booth 1997). In other words, what is the person focusing on? and how are they doing it? The 'how' and the 'what' themselves may be analysed in terms of their structural and referential aspects, and the structural aspects may reveal an 'internal' and 'external horizon' of the way the person is experiencing the phenomenon. It soon became apparent to me that attractive as this method may be for analysing the way someone experiences something, it was very likely that if I continued along this path the goal of the research itself would not be met. Whilst any one component of the data could have been analysed in this way, to analyse it all using this method would be way beyond the scope of this project. It was important however that all the richness was not lost.

The suspicion about the inadequacy of my analysis started with a feeling of discomfort about the results in presenting them to a third party audience because it became clear from their questioning that my categories and the justification for them were flawed, mainly because the analysis was partial and did not properly reflect all that the data had to say about 'good' EO training. For example, some delegates could not accept that the three conceptions adequately covered their experience of EO teaching and learning, and I was unable to give sufficient account for what I thought I had found. In addition, there was the problem of what to do about all the issues that did not appear to fit the categories.

Referential Aspect	Structural Aspect
<p><b>EO training as about seeing oneself</b></p> <p>(non-dualistic orientation)</p> <p>(learner orientation)</p>	<p><b>Focus on:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Internalising</li> <li>• Realisation</li> <li>• Self - awareness as <i>knowing</i> oneself (attitudes, values, prejudices)</li> <li>• World-view</li> <li>• Process (including resistance and discomfort and confidentiality)</li> <li>• Attitudes and behaviour are constituted together and cannot be de-coupled</li> <li>• Authority to engage at level of feelings and behaviour as a unified outcome of a way of being</li> </ul>
<p><b>EO training as about focusing on behaviour</b></p> <p>(dualistic orientation)</p> <p>(trainer/learner orientation)</p>	<p><b>Focus on:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Awareness as knowing about one's behaviour - externalising</li> <li>• Behaviour is an objective entity and there is a concomitant de-coupling behaviour from attitudes</li> <li>• Authority to engage at level of behaviour as an objective entity - values and attitudes private and personal</li> </ul>
<p><b>EO training as about gaining knowledge</b></p> <p>(dualistic orientation)</p> <p>(trainer orientation)</p>	<p><b>Focus on:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Self- awareness as knowing <i>about</i> oneself</li> <li>• Awareness as knowing about issues, EOI law and policy, theoretical frameworks and cultural issues</li> <li>• Authority to engage at level of knowledge as an objective entity</li> </ul>

**Figure 3.1 Initial results of the analysis.**

This experience led to a return, not only to the interview data, but also to a different approach to the analysis. At this stage, I put to one side all the work that I had done so far and started again by reading through the data, asking myself questions about it in the light of the experience of the seminars, making comparisons, and, very importantly, systematically making sure that no stone was left unturned.

My new approach to the analysis drew on grounded theory as a qualitative methodology which derived its name from the practice of generating theory from research which is "grounded" in data. Introduced by the sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1967), the methodology emerged as an alternative strategy to more traditional approaches to scientific inquiry which relied heavily on hypothesis testing, techniques of verification, and quantitative forms of analysis which were particularly popular in the social sciences at that time. As defined by two of its major proponents (Strauss & Corbin, 1990 p.24), *"the grounded theory approach is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon"* The intent is to develop an account of a phenomenon that identifies the major constructs, or categories in grounded theory terms, their relationships, and the context and process, thus providing a theory of the phenomenon that is much more than a descriptive account (Becker, 1993). This was exactly what I needed to analyse the data in such a way that would permit the construction of a model.

As with phenomenography, grounded theory requires that theory is emergent from the data, and does not see these as separate. Data collection, analysis and theory formulation are regarded as reciprocally related. Research questions are open and general rather than formed as specific hypotheses, and the emergent theory should account for a phenomenon which is relevant and problematic for those involved (Becker, 1993). The parallels with my own research were therefore strong.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) outline four central criteria for grounded theory, which I took as guiding lights for the analysis:

1. *It should be appropriate for the question being researched.* I had found that phenomenography, although entirely suitable for gathering data about the experience of trainers was not appropriate to the needs of the subsequent analysis. One cautionary note I had in mind about grounded theory was that it is associated with a positive paradigm, albeit in relation to qualitative research. I did not see this as a particular problem, since the core of the problem I was having with the analysis was that I needed to systematically include all that the data had to say about EO training, and not restrict that because of the depth of the analysis that would have been required by using phenomenography as the analytical tool.
2. *It should provide understanding, and be comprehensible to both the persons studied and others involved in the area.* This aspect will be particularly important later on when the results of the research are published for trainers to use. Again I was finding in the early stages of phenomenographic analysis that because of the depth and complexity that phenomenography engender, there was a danger that the message of the thesis would not speak clearly.
3. *It should provide generality, given that the data are comprehensive.* The model of good EO training that has emerged from the data is certainly generalisable to a police-training context since it is based in an appropriate sample. No claim is made that the model is suitable for other contexts although it might be reasonable to ask whether police officers are actually so different from the rest of society that they need to be singled out for special treatment that could not be used in other contexts.
4. *It should provide control, in the sense of stating the conditions under which the theory applies and providing a basis for action in the area.* Again, this has particular relevance to researching EO training in the police where it is intended that recommendations be made for action to improve training practice. As this analysis progresses, elements will be drawn from the data that have a direct bearing on building a potential model for good EO training.

By applying these principles I was successfully able to analyse the data not only systematically but also in a way that would capture all the experience of the trainers and in doing so form the foundation on which the subsequent model could be constructed.



In the next sections the three issues of sample selection, experience of interviewing and transcription and analysis are addressed.

### **Selection of the sample**

Thirty interviews were conducted in a variety of police force areas so that a context variation would be achieved. The spread of locations and roles is given in table 3.2 Context variation is an issue addressed by Bowden (1996) who argues that selection of the sample is not so much a statistical issue as to ensure that there will be a "*range of perspectives encountered*" (p. 58).

<b>Force</b>	<b>No. of interviews</b>	<b>Comments</b>
South Wales Police	6	5 police trainers, 1 civilian trainer.
Metropolitan Police	8	All police trainers.
National Police Training Harrogate	2	Permanent civilian staff - 1 policy 1 design.
National Police Training Harrogate, Yorkshire	4	Police staff representing West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, and the Royal Ulster Constabulary.
Sussex Police	4	Team of police trainers delivering diversity training.
Cheshire Constabulary	2	2 police trainers - now in other roles.
National Police Training Bramshill, Hampshire	2	One permanent civilian trainer, one seconded police officer trainer.
Private consultants	2	1 working at strategic policy level, 1 working at local level.
	30	

**Table 3.2 Spread of interview contexts**

The concern for context variation described above meant that interviewees had to be selected from different parts of the country since there is a variation in the application and understanding of EO and CRR training in the country (HMIC 1993, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2000). This meant that for each of the chosen sites one contact was relied on to suggest others who were likely to agree to be interviewed. The limited funding meant that it would not be economic to travel a long distance for just one interview so it became necessary to ask for these other names. The willingness of those who were interviewed to take part may indicate

a certain amount of self-selection of the sample, most of whom were trainers or trainer trainers. Having said that, they all had a rich experience of EO and CRR training on which to draw. The sample size was influenced by the homogenous nature of the population, (c.f. Bouma and Atkinson p.152) the sample sizes of similar studies and practical and economic factors. In comparison to other qualitative interview based studies (c.f. Tooley 1998) my sample was large.

A conflict that has arisen for me in the selection, and reporting of the sample is the imperative not to break the confidentiality contract I made with the interviewees. As will be seen from the agreement I made with them (Appendix A) an important aspect of encouraging them to speak freely (and therefore engage with their experience) was that they should feel that the interview was entirely confidential. The extent of their agreement to allow anything about them or the interview to be made public ended at the use of selected quotations that would not reveal their identity.

As an experienced police officer myself, I am aware that there is a culture of suspicion in the police about alleged confidentiality contracts. Partly this is generated by the very nature of police work itself where sometimes apparently confidential material needs to come into the public domain for the sake of upholding the law. Having said that there is a concern that revealing too much about the sample could, with a little detective work lead to the identities of one or more of the interviewees being known and linked with a particular transcript which still exists as a computer file and paper document. From a research perspective this is problematic because it is quite natural, even essential that someone engaging in an evaluation of the research should want to know as much as they can about the sample. To reveal detail in any systematic way however, would prejudice confidentiality, but some general points can be made in addition to those in table 3.2 above that may help to increase confidence in the sample.

- The sample represented men and women in similar proportions to those in the police generally.
- I was aware that at least one of the sample was gay.

- A number of visible and non-visible minority ethnic backgrounds were represented.
- The proportion of Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) officers in relation to other forces was roughly the same as the proportion in the country generally i.e. the MPS accounts for about a quarter of all officers.
- The sample represented a range of lengths of service of officers and civilians.
- The age range of the sample was between thirty and fifty years old.

### ***The experience of interviewing***

As described in the narrative above, phenomenography was used as my approach for exploring the experience of trainers. Interviews were negotiated on the basis of a commitment of half an hour on the part of the interviewee but in practice over half of the interviews lasted more than 30 minutes, the longest being 42 minutes. A key benefit of funding and the project having the status of being supported (although not owned) by the Home Office was that of access. The authority to use the Home Office logo (see appendix A) meant that a great deal of 'red tape' could be avoided in setting the interviews up. In other circumstances, particularly where the officers to be interviewed were of a lower rank, it would have been necessary to route correspondence through line management and this would have been bureaucratically burdensome. Another helpful aspect of access was that National Police Training uses my book "The Equal Opportunities Handbook" (Clements and Spinks 2000) as the initial training for trainers course textbook on EO and CRR issues. Many of the interviewees had undergone the National Police Training course and used the book.

In developing the approach to the interview several issues needed to be considered, such as confidentiality, a suitable opening question, and strategy to re-focus the interviewer if necessary. Confidentiality was a must for the interview. Police employees seem to have a particular suspicion of confidentiality contracts and this emerged as an issue which needed further analysis, and it is dealt with in the next chapter. Appendix A is a copy of the contract that was made with each participant. As extra reassurance the contract was explained and each interviewee was asked if they were still comfortable to

continue. Each interview was identified with a number (T1-T30) and no person other than me has ever had access to the names associated with each number. It was agreed that no quotation should be used that would, or would be likely to, reveal the identity of the speaker.

Booth (1992) in researching students' experience of computer programming noted a number of useful guidelines relating to phenomenographic approaches to exploring experience in an interview context. In her terms a semi-structured approach is appropriate since it neither presupposes a frame for information required from the interviewee, as with a structured interview, nor does it have the limitation of the open interview which allows free reign for the interviewee to roam where they will. In exploring a particular aspect of experience it is necessary both to probe the interviewee for the meaning of what they are saying, and also sometimes to bring them back to the phenomenon under examination. The transcripts contain numerous examples of where I found it necessary to do this. I have for many years taught in the context of police training, the practical skills of interviewing. Whilst in general questions were open and non-directional there are, however, examples in the transcripts, of more closed, and sometimes leading questions than I would have liked. This may not be critical for two reasons; firstly, because the interview evidence should not be de-coupled from its context, and second, because the overwhelming majority of the data represent a response to non-directive questions.

In addition to the principles above there were other factors to take account of in terms of interviewing as a tool for gathering data. There is a considerable body of more general literature which addresses both the importance of interviewing as a tool in educational research and the problems that need to be considered. Scott and Usher (1999 p.109), for example, argue in favour of the interview as an effective method of engaging with of the *"preconceptions, beliefs and perceptions"* that form the backdrop for the researcher's work. The extent to which the interviewer may (sometimes unwittingly) exercise control may be determined by a whole range of paralinguistic features such as, mode of dress, arrangements of seats, non-verbal cues, intonation, and turn-taking. It was important to consider the effect of these factors. Cohen and Manion (1989 p.

318)) report a study that was done by Cannell and Kahn (1986) in which they found that "bias" in an interview tended to be a *"persistent tendency to make errors in the same direction"*. The sources of this bias may be the characteristics of the interviewer and the interviewee, such as social class, religion, ethnicity and so on. Whilst it is often not possible to change these, they are factors that need to be considered and account taken of them. Finally, Kitwood, (1977) advances the interesting argument that reliability of an interview may be gained at the expense of its validity. Essentially this means that in gaining reliability it is necessary to control more of the variables, but this, in turn may prejudice the validity of the interview itself, where there might, (as in the case of my research) be a need to give as much freedom to the interviewee as is required by the purpose. In my case to explore their experience in a non-directive way.

Discussions within the academic community, and initial piloting in my workplace led to a twofold strategy for conducting the interviews. The piloting took the form of four interviews that have not been included in the final data. Various attempts at the best way to help the interviewee to open up about their experience of EO training led to the first tactic which was to ask a general, open question framed in the terms "What does good EO training look like?" If it was found necessary to refocus the person, or if they seemed to be finding the question too difficult, then a second tactic was to use the focus sheet, an example of which is given at Appendix B. The statements shown in the sheet were drawn from research that I had carried out in 1993 and were a selection of quotations by trainers who had said what they would least like to have to deal with if it came up in class. The quotations were selected for their breadth of coverage of the issues that EO and CRR training usually deals with. The statements, where used, did prove useful in bringing the subject back to focus on the issues, but in many of the interviews there was ample to discuss without recourse to the re-focusing tactic.

In an ideal world the interviewees would have had as long as they wanted to discuss their experience of EO and CRR training. Practically, this was not possible however for a number of reasons. Firstly, I did not feel I could expect people to give up more than half an hour for the interview. In the event by the

time the ice had been broken, the equipment tested and switched on and the process and confidentiality contract had been explained no interview amounted to less than forty minutes. A second constraint on the length of time was the amount of transcript data that would be produced. Experience now shows that a half-hour interview generates about 3,500 - 5,000 words of data. Much more than this and the budget would not have been sufficient for the transcription to be done by an audio typist. A final practical reason for restricting the length of the interview was that I found that after four interviews I was mentally drained, i.e. after three hours of interviewing. If the interviews had been longer I would have been unable to do more than say two a day and the travelling would then become uneconomic.

People interviewed were, without exception, helpful and co-operative. Most seemed to enjoy the experience and the majority expressed the view at the end that it had been a stretching time for them. In two cases the interviewees revealed details about themselves and their feelings about equal opportunities training that made it necessary to continue to work with them after the tape had been switched off. In one case the interviewee came very close to tears and the process was temporarily halted. The person who clearly seemed to be feeling some sort of 'burn out' as a trainer of EO expressed the need to 'get it off their chest' and that, although painful, the interview was a developmental experience for them. This, what might be called psychotherapeutic aspect to the interview, is a concern to Richardson (1999). He argues that for the interview to have this role is questionable on political and ethical grounds. My own experience of the interviewing was that people did indeed, at one end of the spectrum, engage in the interview as a developmental experience and a chance to reflect in depth on their everyday work. At the other end of the scale the interview prompted a deeper emotional response. The latter was certainly not sought by me but neither was it a surprise. In training EO issues over the years I have experienced such intensity of feeling in students that verbal abuse has resulted, and I have even known of, although not witnessed, physical violence in training sessions. In this research, since I have had training in counselling skills, I felt that that the situations of emotion and deep feeling I encountered were well within my capabilities to handle. Richardson's concerns must not be taken lightly though,

and perhaps where the subject matter is likely to unearth strong feelings, care should be taken that the interviewer is appropriately skilled.

In terms of my own experience of interviewing, the subsequent reflection has enabled me to make links with the "*anatomy of awareness*" advanced by Marton and Booth (1997 p.82). Two examples of this will illustrate the point. The first is that on reflection, and to a degree at the time, the interview I was experiencing was inextricably linked with the situation in which it was contextualised. Marton and Booth (1997) call this the sociospatiotemporal aspect, namely the context, the time and the place. What this meant for me in practice was that the interview could not be disconnected from what I already knew about the person, the place or the situation into which I was intervening. I knew I was responding to the interviewees changing focus and was aware that by verbal and non-verbal cues I was actually making this happen. This leads to the second example, in that my experience of interviewing was that the structure of an individual's awareness changes all the time. This actually makes for difficult interviewing if the interviewer does not keep this focal in awareness. Because both interviewer and interviewee are experiencing changing focal awareness it is easy to lose the thread of what is being said (Pong 1999). It quickly became apparent that the way round this in the interview was to keep absolutely focal in my own awareness the phenomenon I was seeking to gather data about, to interrupt and redirect the interviewee as little as possible, and then only to bring them back to the phenomenon if necessary.

Rigour is often perceived to be a keystone of research in the natural sciences where experiments must be carefully constructed to allow for as much reliance on the results as possible. In particular there must be a rigorous approach to questions of validity and reliability.

Phenomenography claims to be rigorous in its approach and one aspect of this according to Marton (1994) is that in gathering data it seeks to take as little for granted as possible. For example, if an interviewee were to use the word 'learner' or 'improved learning' there should be no assumptions about what the interviewee means. Their experience of these phenomena would need to be

explored, described and analysed - hence the appropriateness of a semi-structured approach to the interview. In relation to the validity of data gathering approaches Booth (1992) makes two key assertions both of which partly informed my interview strategy.

Firstly, content related validity refers to the need for the researcher to be thoroughly grounded in the content matter of that which is being researched. It was definitely my experience of interviewing that I needed as good, if not better grounding in the subject than the person I was interviewing. An illustration of this was the reference in many transcripts to theoretical models which it was necessary to recognise and in some cases pick up on. Without this content-related validity it would be difficult to be sure that the object of the study was being kept salient for the interviewee.

Secondly, methodological validity. Booth (1992 p.65) outlines the importance of good interview practice to establish validity. Bowden (1994) argues that phenomenographic research like any other should have a coherent methodology that is both planned and well managed from the beginning to the end of the project. A particularly important aspect of data collection is the way the interviews are conducted. Marton (1986) gives advice about the interview, key component of which are: using open ended questions, adaptation to changing course in the interview, questions that encourage the revelation of the qualitative understanding of the phenomenon in focus, making sure that the meaning of what is being said is asked for. Francis (1993 p.70) summarises the purpose of the interview as *"to have the interviewee thematise the phenomenon of interest and make the thinking explicit"*.

All this leads to a final note about the experience of interviewing which cannot be ignored, namely the extent to which in such an interview it is possible to engage with the person's experience at all, or merely with an account of that experience. Since for a phenomenographer, experience is the *"unit of research"* (Marton and Booth 1997) the question needs to be addressed. The problems outlined by Richardson (1999) below, have similarity to the problem of the post-modern deconstructionist who is concerned with *"how can any given text (i.e. account) address the problems of presence and lived experience?"* (Denzin, in



Dickens and Fontana 1994, p.196). As a problem of validity in the interviewing technique this needs to be dealt with.

As Marton (1994 p.91) puts it: “ *There is only one world, a real, existing world, which is experienced and understood in different ways by human beings*”. The (data gathering) object of the phenomenographer is to get in touch with those experiences of the world. Richardson (1994 p.451) claims that the qualitative interview-based methodology (in relation to approaches to study) described by Bowden (1986), Marton (1979, 1981), and Marton and Svensson, (1979), and variously described as "experiential", "introspective" and "phenomenographic", are not research procedures that are described in sufficient detail. He summarises the problem in the following terms “*the unsophisticated use of interview-based studies is extremely problematic*” (p.462). Essentially he seems to be concerned about the effect that the researcher might be having on the interviewee, for example unconscious encouragement to the interviewee to say the things the researcher wants to hear. In this aspect of the problem then, the potential is that the experience reported by the interviewee is actually a construction arising out of the interaction with the interviewer and the researcher is not getting to the authentic experience at all.

A further aspect of the problem of getting at authentic experience is that raised by Säljö (1997) in whose view, phenomenographers have no more access than others to anything other than what the interviewee says in a particular interview context and with uncertain motivation. How can such utterances, he says, be claimed to be authentic representations of experience? In fact, Säljö argues, they could easily be representing the need merely to answer a question simply because it is put, or to avoid embarrassment in not responding to a difficult question. A second difficulty according to Säljö is that the interviewee may well be operating within a different conceptual framework and therefore any emerging conceptions will have little meaning. Whilst Säljö's and Richardson's criticisms are coherent and worthy of more detailed discussion than is possible here, it is apparent that they are not decisive and can in fact be answered out of the very experience of interviewing. Firstly, the claim that the utterances might well be representing other than experience can equally be turned on its head. If people say they are

talking about their experience, and provided that the stimulus for such talk has been made as open and non-directive as possible, how much closer to a person's experience could we realistically hope to get? If a person feels the need to avoid embarrassment in the face of a difficult question, surely that is largely in part due to the social context that has been constructed by the interviewer? Most of the concerns can be met if the interviewer knows the subject well, is skilled at asking non-directive but pertinent questions, and is able to generate an atmosphere of safety for the interviewee. Another aspect of the interviewer being engaged in the content of the interview is that I was able to recognise many things that were said with which I didn't agree. I did not have any sense that the person was constructing an account that they thought was one I wanted to hear.

A final note on this is that I have already noted that many of the interviewees expressed the feeling that they had found the interview to be a developmental process for them. This is a strong indicator that they were engaging more deeply in the process of exploring their experience rather than merely constructing a text.

### ***The experience of transcription and analysis***

The first three interviews were made unnecessarily hard to transcribe because of a failure on my part to experiment with the best recording conditions. It quickly became apparent that using a microphone plugged in to the dictation recorder gave the best results. The research budget enabled transcription of interview tapes by a professional typist. This led to the development of system which had a number of hidden benefits. The interview tapes all had to be sent to Bristol for transcription. Micro-cassettes were used and it was not possible to make an analogue backup copy since no copying equipment was available. The interview tapes were too precious to risk being lost in the post so a back-up was made on the computer using the ear piece outlet on the tape recorder to the line-in socket on the audio card of the computer. The audio line-in was digitised using Iomega 'Recordit' software and saving the file to Zip Drive disk. The typed transcript was returned by electronic-mail, and could then be checked against the digital audio

using the computer's own sound system. By using a split 'window' it was possible to control the digital audio and work on the word processed file simultaneously.

The benefits that accrued from this system were to be found in the safety of a back-up and ease of use of digital audio. It is possible to move forwards and backwards in the interview by means of a slide-bar controlled by the mouse. A further, more subtle benefit is that it provided for the interview to be listened to at least three times, the first live, the second during the backup process and the third during the checking. The digital files were not deleted until the analysis had been completed so that it was possible to check the paralinguistic qualities of what was said if necessary. On occasions listening to the way something was said made a difference to the understanding of it, for example, the emphasis that the speaker gave to a particular point.

Repeatedly listening to the interview proved to be a double-edged sword. Set against the advantages outlined above, was the disadvantage that I found myself in a sense forming a relationship with the particular transcript in question. For example, in some cases I recognised the voice as that of a person who I recalled as having particularly enjoyed the interview. Often this was because I warmed to the person or what they were saying and often the latter was because they were recounting experience that was also true for me. The impact this had on the analysis was that I started to pay more attention to these interviews and returned to them more frequently. It was almost as if more credence was being given to what these individuals were saying. I had already been decided that in the interests of confidentiality, both the analogue and digital recordings would at some stage be deleted. It was the recourse to the typed data that brought this deletion forward and as the data were subsequently analysed over many months, the effect of the 'relationship' with the transcript diminished.

Hughes and Sharrock (1990) in their discussion of the interpretative paradigm argue that the predominant purpose of social science enquiry is to attempt to provide a theoretical account or description of social life. It has to be acknowledged at the outset that my analysis of the data does not guarantee an authentic description of the concepts involved. Still less will it be possible to

make generalisable claims. What will be presented however, will be an ideographic view of the material which, although as valid as any other, cannot claim in itself to be the truth of the matter.

Notions of validity and reliability are strongly associated with the positive/empiricist paradigm, and because of the dominance of that paradigm, qualitative social enquiry is expected to conform to the same rules and demonstrate how it can give satisfactory answers to questions such as:

*"what justification do you have for making the claims you do?" and, "if another researcher repeated the research project you have just done what would be the probability that the results would be repeated?"* (Booth 1992 p.64f).

As recounted in the narrative account of the research, I originally intended to take a phenomenographic perspective both on the collection of the data and their analysis but this had to be reviewed in the light of experience. The qualitative analysis of the data which I undertook was, in terms of its philosophical orientation, grounded in the hermeneutic / interpretive paradigm and, whilst not straightjacketed by a particular methodology, or as Miles and Huberman (1994 p.4) put it, *"by a slavish adherence to methodological rules"*, had similarities to the grounded theory associated with Strauss and Corbin, (1990).

The question of reliability of such analysis is one that has exercised the qualitative research community and various solutions have been offered. Booth (1992) illustrates this problem with a nice example of how a research project is like going on an exploration. Even if a second explorer were to go on the same expedition with the same equipment, charts and so on, it is unlikely that they would experience the expedition in the same way. So a different approach to the type reliability expected by a positivist approach is needed. Sandberg (1996 p.137) describes a potential alternative as *"reliability as interpretative awareness"*. A brief analysis of this is given as it represents the approach taken in the present research. It is a crucial point because it faces head-on one of the key differences with the positivist paradigm. To quote Sandberg again (op.cit. p.137):

*"To maintain an interpretative awareness means to acknowledge and explicitly deal with our subjectivity throughout the research process instead of overlooking it."*

There needs to be a stated awareness of how the researcher's own interpretations influence the research process. Sandberg outlines five steps to demonstrating interpretative awareness and although he was specifically addressing phenomenography, they have direct relevance to my analysis and may be summarised as:

1. The researcher is oriented to the phenomenon and how it appears throughout the research process. This is about being open and taking particular care in the research question. It is easy to ask a question that does not really engage with the problem.
2. The second feature is more problematic. It argues that the researcher orientation should be towards describing rather than explaining the experience. Through analysis we use our "*arsenal of theories and models which are outside what is experienced*" (op.cit. p.139). However it may be argued that it does not necessarily follow that 'analysis' should be outside of the experience described, provided that the analysis is honestly based in what can be illustrated from the data and nothing else. The point about both grounded theory and phenomenography is that the analysis is approached without previously worked out structure to impose on the data.
3. Initially all the conceptions identified from the data need to be treated with equal importance. This is entirely consistent with grounded theory principles of data analysis and as will be noted in the following chapter does have an importance for the way in which the interviews were initially analysed.
4. Free imaginative variation means that when a tentative structure can be placed on the data its stability must be checked by applying different interpretations as the data are subsequently re-analysed. Experience of the analysis showed that in practice a good way of doing this in structural terms was to keep on asking the question 'why is this different from that?' or, more specifically, 'can what these data are saying be said to be really qualitatively different from the other?'. My own analysis went through several stages of such revision and these are detailed below.
5. Lastly the notion of intentionality can be applied to the analysis of the data. This involves the three steps of identifying the reality of the interviewees, identifying how they understand that reality, and lastly, that the conception is constituted in what they conceive and how they conceive it.

Transcript analysis was initially aided by Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS). A considerable initial drawback of this approach was that all thirty of the transcripts had to be prepared in non-formatted raw text, (ANSI text in Microsoft Windows). Up to this point the transcripts had been managed in Microsoft Word 97. When analysis was fully under way however and links were being made, quotations noted and categories started to emerge it became apparent that the software does provide a convenient platform for managing the data.

Having said that, there came a point where it was necessary to review the strategy for using CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) as an aid to the analysis. I felt at one stage that it had become too focal in my attention as a researcher and was distracting from the data themselves. From that point on I resorted to using the paper based transcripts. The benefits of doing this seemed to lie in the fact that I found it easier to orientate myself in the transcripts by being able to mark them with a pencil/highlighter pen, and it became very much easier to maintain a more holistic view of the data. The CAQDAS was able effectively to assist this process by enabling the easy search as retrieval of a particular passage by rapidly searching for text strings, enabling the passage to be notated or coded for subsequent retrieval, and then to copy it as processed text ready for insertion into the relevant section of the thesis. In this way CAQDAS had become the servant rather than the master of the process.

The use of CAQDAS software was the subject of a recent Internet based discussion in which a similar situation to my own was debated, and although the discussion was specifically addressing phenomenographic analysis the points do have relevance to this research. In the discussion, Thompson (2000) noted that Coffey, Holbrook and Atkinson (1996) were "*resolute in maintaining that coding data with computer programmes is not analysis*". Essentially the debate was whether computer aided analysis can be called analysis at all. Search, retrieval and coding facilities offered by CAQDAS software are only part of a bigger picture of analysis, where the researcher needs to be asking questions, sifting,

sorting, and comparing, in other words working with the data in a much more sophisticated way.

The stages that I went through in this second analysis were as follows:

1. Print off a fresh set of unmarked transcripts and read them through several times to re-immense myself in them.
2. Using the computer programme I marked passages that seemed to be speaking about a particular thing. This started to generate a list of codes. The eventual list is shown as figure 4.1 but in order to reach this stage, some codes had to be split and others merged. Still others needed to be deleted. This process is time consuming (for all thirty interviews it took many weeks) and can be tedious. Eventually though it is possible to reach situation where all the text of the interviews had been allocated a code. In many cases text was allocated multiple codes because trainers were talking about several identifiable issues in one place. When I was satisfied that there was no further text that could be allocated to a code I considered it to be 'saturated' and marked the table accordingly.
3. Two matrices were then drawn up, one which the CAQDAS was able to generate and one which need to be generated manually. These are presented in the next chapter as figure 4.2. and 4.3. The first one was useful in showing the strength of a particular aspect of the data, the second was used to help identify the relationship between aspects of the data.
4. From this point onward the computer programme was abandoned and I worked with the data in paper form again. (albeit using the clusters of quotations that the computer could generate). This work is illustrated in figure 4.4 where I was able to start to make some associations from within the data.
5. This in turn led to the clustering of the issues in the data and an attempt to capture the interlinked relationship that they have in diagrammatic form. The four clusters were termed 'elements' as they represented the base level of the analysis.

Finally the elements were illustrated from the data with quotations from the transcripts. At this stage the qualitative internal structures of the elements were

examined, and where there were hierarchical or other relationships these were shown. The final results of the analysis are presented in the following chapter. They represent the culmination of many revisits to the data to establish what the trainers and others were saying out of their experience that good EO training looks like.



## Chapter Four

### Results of the analysis

In this chapter the results of the analysis of the interview data are presented, and at this stage the focus is on what the interviewees said, looking for patterns relationships and hierarchies, and illustrating the emerging themes and elements with extracts from the data. Commentary on the analysis will be reserved for the next chapter in which the model of good EO training is developed, and the internal inconsistencies of some of the statements are exposed.

The initial, or open coding stage of the analysis produced twenty one areas of interest and these are shown in figure 4.1 below. Each code was derived from repeated readings of the data and systematic comparisons being made between transcripts and parts of transcripts. Where an individual was talking about a specific thing this was coded and the same code was subsequently allocated to similar passages as the analysis progressed. In some cases, the interviewee was quite explicit in what was being said and their actual words may have provided the label for the code. In other cases it was clear that what was being said had the same meaning as represented by the code even though the exact words may not have been used. Since it was I who did the interviewing, it was possible to make some judgement about the meaning of what was being said to enable allocation of a particular passage to a code.

*"Saturation"* (c.f. Nias 1993 p.138) was reached, when I was satisfied that there was no more text that could be allocated to that code, and when allocated text had been systematically tested for its relevance to other codes. The process was only considered complete when this saturation had been achieved. In all, twenty-seven codes were allocated to reduce the data to manageable proportions. At this stage the actual code labels did not necessarily immediately make it apparent what the code signified, for example 'resistance' and 'challenging'. This problem was addressed at the stage when the data were analysed to produce the model.

	<b>Codes</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
1.	Aims and objectives	22
2.	Attitudes and behaviour	48
3.	Attitudes, values, beliefs,	65
4.	Authority to engage	22
5.	Awareness	62
6.	Behaviour	64
7.	Challenging learners	34
8.	Changing as a person	11
9.	Civilian support	3
10.	Confidentiality	15
11.	Discomfort / pain	43
12.	External trainers	1
13.	Internalising	15
14.	Journey analogy	14
15.	Knowledge	63
16.	Owning the ethos	13
17.	Planting seeds	6
18.	Prejudice	54
19.	Process	39
20.	Realisation	40
21.	Reflection	38
22.	Resistance	25
23.	Seeing things in a different way	32
24.	Stress on trainer	8
25.	Trainers	43
26.	Uncertain authority	16
27.	Understanding	58

Figure 4.1 – saturated codes

In figure 4.1 the column headed 'frequency' refers to the number of passages that were allocated the code in question. In all, eight hundred and fifty four passages were coded and whilst this analysis is qualitative rather than quantitative, figure 4.1 does indicate that some of the codes emerge as stronger than others in the sense that they were talked about more frequently by the interviewees.

The next stage of the analysis involved looking at the relation between the codes and the transcripts to see if any patterns or clustering emerged. Figure 4.2 is a matrix plotting the codes against the transcripts.

Code	Transcript																														Total
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	T8	T9	T10	T11	T12	T13	T14	T15	T16	T17	T18	T19	T20	T21	T22	T23	T24	T25	T26	T27	T28	T29	T30	
Aims and objectives							1		1	1		4	3	2		1				1		2					1	3		2	22
Attitudes and behaviour	1	3	6	1			1	5	1	2	5	2	1	1	2	1	1	2		1			1	2	1	1	3	1	1	1	48
Attitudes, values, beliefs		3	2	2	1			8	3	3	6	2		6	4		1		1			5	1		1	1		8	4	3	65
Authority to engage		4			1	1	2	6				1			1		1			1			1		2		1			22	
Awareness		6	1	1	2	3	3	10			4			5	1	1		2	1		1		1	3	2	3	3	7		2	62
Behaviour	1	3	10	1		2	3	9	5	1		4	1	3		1	6	2				2	1	1	1	1	5	1		64	
Challenging		2	5	1			9	3	5			1			1						1			1	1	2		2		34	
Changing as a person			1	3			1	2							1	1	1									1				11	
Civilian support																								1			1			1	3
Confidentiality		2						1	1	3	2	1	1			1								2						1	15
Discomfort / pain		1	3	2	1	1	5	5		5		1	1	1						4	2	2		1	1	3		2		2	43
External trainers																							1								1
Internalising			5	1							1			1	1			4			1							1		15	
Journey analogy					1						4			1		1												3		4	14
Knowledge	5	7	2	4	1	4	4	2	4	3	3	4		1		1	2	3	3		1	2			1	1	1	1	1	2	63
Owning the ethos						3	1								1	2	1	2		1				1	1						13
Planting seeds				2			1						2							1											6
Prejudice			6			5		3	1		2	4	2	1	3	5	2	3	1	3	3	6	1		1	1		1			54
Process				1		2	6	7	1	3		5	2		1			5		2		1						2		1	39
Realisation		1	2		1	4		8	3	1		1	1	1			1		3	1	1		1		2	6	1		1	40	
Reflection		5				1		3	6	5				1				3	2			6	3						3	38	
Resistance					1	1	1	2	2		1	2	1		1			1		1	1			2		1		3		4	25
Seeing things differently					4	1	3	1				1	1	1	2			2	2	2		2	2	2	1		2	2		1	32
Stress on trainers																				3						2	2			1	8
Trainers				1		4		1	4	2	3	2		1	2		2	1	3	1		4	1	2	3	1		1	4	43	
Uncertain authority		1				2			1	3	1		1	2	1			1	1	1										1	16
Understanding	4	6	1	1		7		2	1	1	1		3		2	2	2	3	3		4	1		2	1	1			6	4	58
<b>Totals</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>854</b>

Figure 4. 2 Matrix showing the frequency and distribution of codes across transcripts

Although clear patterns and clusters did not emerge from figure 4.2, there were a number of interesting features that were to prove useful for the next stage.

1. Ten of the codes (highlighted in yellow) emerged strongly from the data. They represented passages of transcripts from nineteen or more of the interviews.
2. Transcript T8 showed a frequency of coding far higher than any of the others. In fact the, T8 has a lot of experience of working in, and writing about, equal opportunities training and is well versed in all the issues. It is not surprising then that the scope of what he said was greater than in the other transcripts.
3. 'Knowledge' was talked about in twenty-six of the thirty interviews, and 'attitudes and behaviour' featured in twenty-five of them.

Of the eight hundred and fifty four passages coded, many of them shared codes, because, often, the interviewee would be talking about more than one thing at a time. The next stage of the analysis was to explore the relationships between these codes and again to look for emerging patterns or clusters. In figure 4.3, the codes were plotted against each other and all instances where one code sat against another were noted. Where in some cases there were three codes for the same passage, the code that predominated in the passage was used as the base and subsequent coding plotted against it. There were one hundred and forty three instances where codes were associated with others. At this stage of the analysis a much clearer pattern started to emerge from the data. To help illustrate this, the strongest relationships are have been coloured red in figure 4.3.

This stage of the analysis produced nine codes which had strong relationships with others. For example 'awareness' is related to sixteen other codes and some of those associations are relatively strong, such as with knowledge which shares twelve of the passages, or awareness and understanding which share eleven.



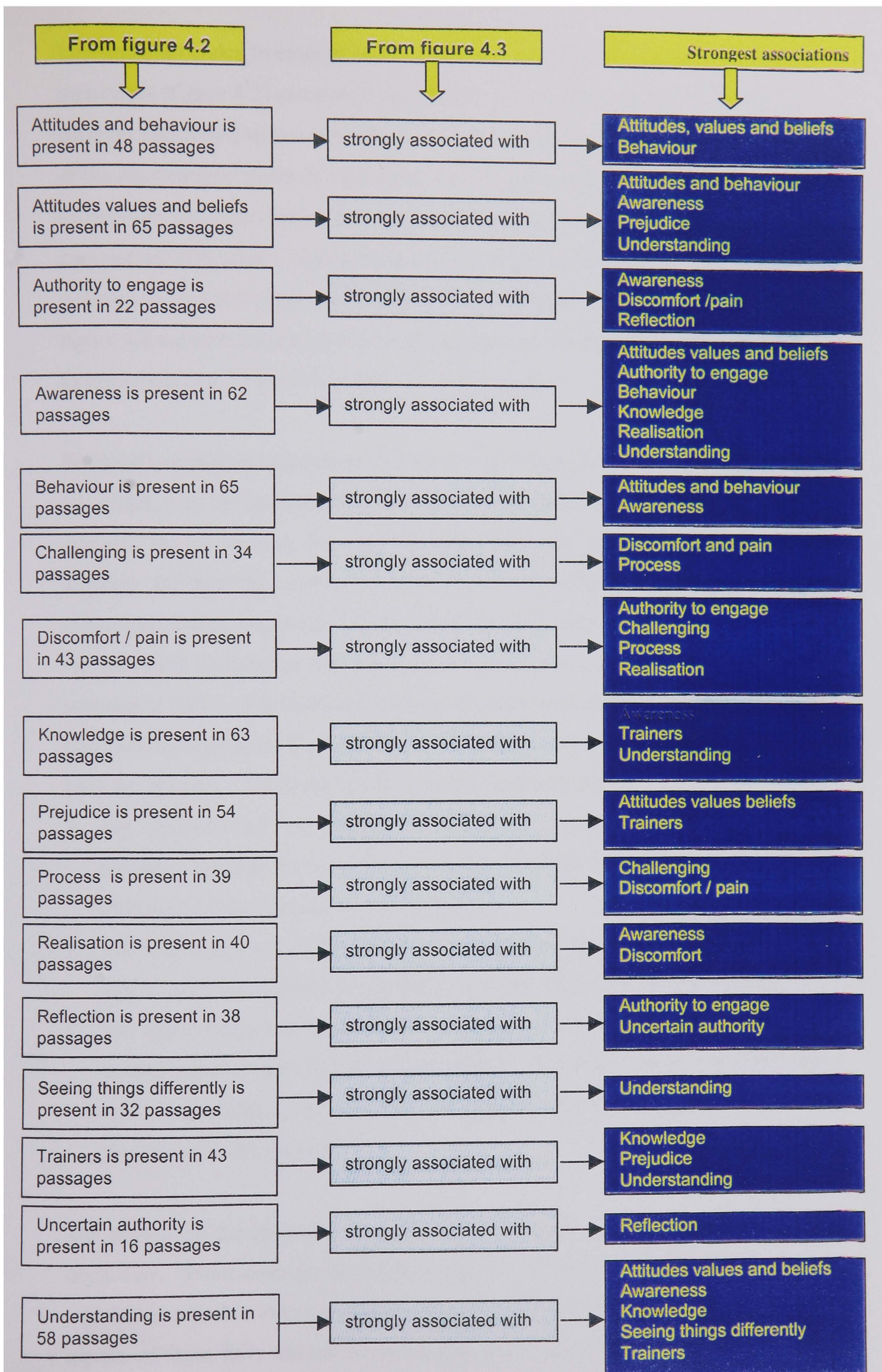


Figure 4.4. Emerging patterns of associations

The strongest codes to emerge from the matrix showing the frequency across the transcripts (figure 4.2) can now be compared to those which emerged as being strongly associated with others (figure 4.3). As can be seen in figure 4.4 above, all of the ten strongest codes to emerge across the transcripts reveal a high level of association with other codes. Reflection also emerges as interesting because of its association with others. The areas in figure 4.3 that have been highlighted in yellow with red text represent 'hot spots' of particularly strong association. So in figure 4.4 we now have a much clearer illustration of what emerges from the data as important and some of the important relationships.

Whilst illustrating relationships, Figure 4.4. still does not make it easy to see how the codes may be considered to be clustering together and the next stage of the analysis led to looking for the ways in which the codes might be clustered together. Because the very nature of this type of qualitative research is divergent rather than linear, and multi-variate rather than bi-variate there is a sense in which no graphical illustration will be entirely satisfactory. In fact, in the following sections it will be the qualitative nature of, and relationships between, the codes that will be important. But in order to make more sense of the data it is useful to look for clusters. The basis for the clusters was threefold:

1. My professional knowledge of designing teaching equal opportunities training, whereby from experience I know that the objects and process of EO training are vital factors, as are the trainers.
2. The literature that has been surveyed as part of the institution focused study, where there is a concern for outcomes and focus on trainers (see figure 2.1).
3. The contribution the data made to suggesting how the coded issues might cluster together (see figures 4.1- 4 above). This is the most important, since one of the guiding principles for this analysis is that as far as possible the data should speak for themselves.

The trigger for the interviewee to explore their experience of EO training was, in each case, *"What does good EO training look like?"* The issue of the extent to which it is possible to connect with a person's actual experience of the world or an aspect of it is fully discussed in chapter three. The nature of this qualitative analysis is that a first order perspective on the data is taken. In other words I am

*"making statements about the person and the phenomenon and how they are related to each other"* (Marton and Booth 1997 p.165). Many of the interviewees started by talking about what EO training *should be* like, in other words they were expressing views about the objects of EO training, so that will, in due course, be taken as the point of departure. Before that, it is appropriate to illustrate how the codes clustered together to form elements of good EO training.

The codes may be seen as clustering around four elements of EO training. Referring back to the discussion about validity and reliability of this type of research, it is important to stress that although the clusters can be justified in terms of the IFS, my own experience, and the relationships that arise from the early stages of the analysis, they are still my own construction. Another researcher with different experience and a different perspective may well be able to justify different relationships within the data. Nevertheless, for me, the following four elements emerge. They will briefly be introduced here and then form the bulk of the remainder of this chapter.

1. The objects of the training can be expressed as the areas that the trainers say they should be engaging with in terms of learning outcomes. Although trainers talk quite explicitly about aims and objectives this does not emerge as a strong theme. Much more important in terms of the objects of EO training are those themes that refer to what it is trainers should actually be engaging with in terms of content and purpose. So the themes that make up this element are knowledge; prejudice; awareness; attitudes, values and beliefs; attitudes and behaviour; and behaviour itself. The latter three will be analysed together since they are strongly interrelated in the data. Awareness is particularly important because of its association with other themes and its prevalence as an object in the literature (see chapter 2).
2. The act of EO training is an element that has its focus on what the learner is doing when he or she engages in EO training. The data contain passages that talk about realisation, reflection, seeing things differently, and understanding all as things that will be indicators of good EO training.



3. The process of EO training is an element which relates to issues that are in the data which are neither objects nor the specific act of training but relate either to the conditions under which the training is taking place or to qualitative aspects of it. So this element includes challenging (the learners) as a qualitative dimension of good EO training, issues about authority to engage with the learners at other than merely a cognitive level, and the way in which EO training is likely to involve an element of discomfort or pain for the learner (and sometimes the trainer).
4. The final element includes themes about the trainers themselves. This includes the skills that EO trainers need, and their own knowledge, understanding and acceptance of the issues.

In the next section of this analysis each of these elements will be illustrated from the data. The quotations are presented as italicised text with the notation T(n) to represent the transcript number and PC to represent my own question. Three dots ... indicate that more was said in that sentence but it is not relevant to the point being illustrated. This method has not been used in any case where it was apparent that the other words were important to give a context. I have avoided, where possible, over lengthy quotations, but I have tried to balance this with the need to keep a particular quotation within the context of what was said as well as providing evidence of the question or phrase that elicited the response. This allows the reader to make the judgements that commentators such as Richardson (1994), and Säljö (1997, see discussion above) propose to test the integrity and veracity of the method.

## **A. *The objects of equal opportunities training***

This group of themes is fully representative of the richness, complexity and diversity of what the trainers had to say about what good EO training looks like. At the outset of the thesis the point was made that if we know and understand more about the what it is we are doing in EO training for police officers, and how we are doing it, then it should be possible not to *prove* that EO training can be done better, but to demonstrate that it is *plausible* to suggest that it can. The object of EO training lies at the very core of this research and it is therefore vital to engage with what the trainers had to say about this. Overall, the interview data reveal a considerable ambivalence, even uncertainty, about what it is that EO trainers are trying to achieve. This is also apparent in the group of themes that relate to process, since what it is that EO trainers are trying to achieve is intertwined with what authority they feel they have to do it. That issue will be expounded below, but we start by illustrating the ambivalence trainers showed about what it is they were trying to achieve.

### **Aims and objectives of EO training**

The data reveal five areas of interest in relation to aims and objectives. Whilst there was general acceptance by the trainers that aims and objectives for the training do need to be prescribed by the police organisation, there was little consensus as to how useful this was in informing good EO training. There was also a prevalent view that one of the reasons why the outcomes of most good EO training cannot be specified, in terms of competency, is that because the nature of the learning is ‘self-discovery’ it will often be quite serendipitous in character. This of course may not satisfy the needs of the organisation that is funding the training but is a necessary consequence of training which engages with the learners at a deeper level.

In summary, the five aspects for which illustrative material will be given are:

- The paradox that whilst objectives should give direction, in fact they can create uncertainty about what should be happening. We have already seen that a recurring theme in this thesis is that trainers are not always clear about what they are supposed to be doing in EO training. This comes out strongly here.

- There is a conflict between what trainers intuitively want to do and what the objectives say they should do.
- There is a range of views about the helpfulness of objectives to good EO training.
- Objectives have a role to play in keeping the training ‘comfortable’.
- Objectives may interfere with ‘deep’ learning.

The paradox between objectives ostensibly giving direction and trainers actually experiencing uncertainty is illustrated by T28 who was asked about the usefulness of aims and objectives. In separate portions of the interview he expressed the paradoxical nature of the problem. In the first extract he is quite clear that the object of good EO training is to “*touch lives*” and this cannot be reduced to a set of objectives:

*T28: “Yes, I have a problem with it as well because, and this interview is showing it in a sense, EO training is about touching lives and you cannot in an educational way list objectives in that. Awareness training has always had that difficulty and you cannot write an objective for touching someone’s life.”*

It is interesting that T28 also commented about the way the process of the interview helped him develop his thinking. He also makes an explicit link with the theme of awareness in commenting that awareness, in his view, also cannot be reduced to objectives. Paradoxically he then says something quite different this time about the way he makes use of objectives:

*T28: “But minimum affective training levels I work to because that is the document that it says we have got to work to it is the bench mark and so I always start with those objectives and I finish with those objectives and again just by looking at the room I can see whether I have struck a chord or not.”*

The conflict between what trainers believe they should be doing and what the objectives indicate they should be doing may be illustrated by T22 who saw objectives as being measurable but more powerful aspects of EO training may not be:

*T22: “Well that is an area for me, if we can’t measure it, it is pointless as having it as an objective. It is always my objective, my objective is to make people become better*

*people, more rounded people who can reflect better, if I put that at the start of my lesson plan any TDO will just pull me to pieces because they will see how are you going to show this, I can't and I certainly can't show causality because it could be something that happened in the break, it could be something seen on television last night, it could be anything, so if we are going to measure it which for me is, or its aims and about direction, my direction is always to improve peoples attitudes."*

T22 knows that his TDO (Training Development Officer) in appraising the quality of the training will be interested in the aims and objectives of the lesson. The reality is however, that he wants to help learners "*become better people*" or "*improve attitudes*" and these, he knows will not be accepted as a valid objective because it cannot be adequately measured.

Trainers were not always dismissive of the role of aims and objectives in good EO training and a number of beneficial aspects were to be found in the data. T12 illustrates some of these:

*T12: "I think they are both useful and not regarding the previous statement I have just made. I think somebody along the line somewhere in an organisation is going to have to say what are you doing, why are you doing it, how much is it costing, we pay you X thousand pounds a year so there is a quantitative side of it, but there is also the fact that I know when I am training EO and I have got a decent plan in front of me, with decent aims and objectives and decent outcomes that I am proud to show somebody else and that gives me confidence in the classroom."*

The first benefit of objectives that T12 advances is one of accountability. The police service needs to be seen to be spending public money prudently and objectives have a role to play in this. Also T12 refers to a "*decent plan*" seeming to draw confidence from the direction that aims and objectives afford.

Objectives may also give trainers an opportunity to stay at a level which they find comfortable to deal with. T9 talked about this when he describes how some trainers feel ill equipped to deal with challenges in the classroom:

*PC: "You don't think trainers generally like making challenges. Say more about that then."*

*T9: Right, they don't like making challenges which they know are going to receive equally strong challenges back. They develop into an argument and will not enable them to deliver the objectives of the lesson and that's it in a nutshell."*

There is much data in this theme which refers to the depth of the training. The trainers, whilst not explicitly referring to the research into the surface and deep learning strategies described, for example by Entwistle (1984) and Marton, they do talk about the way aims and objectives do not adequately express the depth at which good EO training needs to take place. T13 for example was talking about his vision for good EO training. He was asked both to describe his vision for EO training and whether the minimum effective training levels adequately expressed it.

*PC: "Do you think the vision of what EO training is about and the minimum effective training levels meet? Do you think one expresses the other?"*

*T13: No partly because the vision isn't stated or expressed at the moment people don't know that long term goal. The METL turns it into a task, of oh we can do this, we can do that, we can structure, we are achieving.*

*PC: Right are you able to say what your vision is for how it should be then?*

*T13: Yes, I will give it a go, my vision would be where people aren't afraid to say I have prejudices but feel able to say I want to explore them I am willing to explore them, where we can build on that with safety within proper constraints."*

T13 later expresses an aspect of this theme that lies at the core of the problem. He had been talking about EO training for trainers as engaging with learners at a deeper level and is quite explicit about the way that this is not catered for in objectives based training. He goes as far as to say that trainers need to be 'manipulative' to get results

*PC: "And does your trainer programme encourage this deeper sense of learning or are you doing something else?"*

*T13: The programme doesn't in the sense that the programme is objectives based and asks for a certain thing but I know that the trainers push for the deep learning so my question would be why this disparity, if trainers feel the need to develop trainers in depth and the materials that we are given are quite superficial, trainers shouldn't have to manipulate the system to get the results.*

T22 is similarly clear that objectives do not necessarily help good EO training. She seemed to be saying that they are a necessary part of an evaluative system for the training and are actually disconnected from the real aim of improving people.

*T22: "Objectives are a compromise of the system that requires to evaluate it. My objectives are written very low and usually achieved within the first 20 minutes of the session in much the same way as student trainers come and say you define this, you recognise, you identify this, OK now let's try and do some work, let's try and improve these people."*

T16 expresses the view that training which operates at a cognitive, systems level as is the police organisation, will not get to the "real meaty learning".

*T16: "I think that we are looking at an organisation that is operating as a cognitive systems level and I think that is where many of our objectives lie, not in the affective domain really, and I think it is in the affective domain where the real meaty learning, the life changing learning will take place, does take place."*

### **Summary of this theme**

There are a number of aspects to this theme that we might want to integrate into, or take account of, in a model of good EO training.

- With this type of training, aims and objectives may give the illusion that there is clarity of purpose. In fact they create a dissonance between what is specified for trainers to achieve and what they believe should be aiming at.
- It is acknowledged that aims and objectives may be a necessary component of making training accountable.
- Trainers may hide behind objectives as a way of avoiding challenging situations in training sessions.
- Activities in training which involve challenges, such as self-exploration, changing as a person and having one's attitudes challenged, are the very things that take EO training to a deeper level but are the most difficult to define as objectives.
- The police organisation needs to recognise that reliance on competence statements alone will be insufficient to make a real impact on people.

## Awareness

Awareness emerges from the data as a common thread in what good EO training looks like and binds many of the themes together. Figure 4.3 for example shows that awareness is strongly associated with attitudes values and beliefs, authority to engage, behaviour, knowledge, realisation and understanding. The term used in different ways in the data and in all the interviews, when awareness was mentioned, the interviewee was asked what they meant. The first example is the use of awareness as a synonym for knowledge.

*PC: "OK... and what is awareness?"*

*T11: A knowledge of all the background things, all the things in our own backgrounds that affect how we feel about different groups of people, different situations. So I suppose there are some facts behind all this but when it comes to the things to do with the inner attitudes that affects our behaviour, there is more student self revelation... Well, just dealing with recruits a number of things. I suppose a greater awareness of their own attitudes, factual awareness of terms and behaviours that might offend certain minority groups. I realise equal opportunities not just CRR you are talking about"*

There are two aspects to what T11 is saying, one has an external focus and the other internal. In the external focus he talked about factors affecting socialisation of the individual, and cultural issues relating to minority groups. In the internal focus he talked about knowledge of inner attitudes and self-revelation. These taken together make for awareness.

T2 takes a slightly different view in describing how awareness is different to knowledge and as something that develops out of personal experience.

*PC: "Do you see awareness to something different to knowledge?"*

*T2: Yes,*

*PC: In what way?*

*T2: Awareness I probably feel it is more personal and to do with perception and subjective, far more than knowledge... Yes awareness is something much more personal experience and sensitivity. With knowledge I am seeing as something far more defined.*

*PC: Can you tell me more about what you mean by awareness and experience?*

*T2: ---My awareness has been raised by my experiences. Whether it is necessary to experience something directly first hand to increase that awareness or whether*

*the accounts of others can add to your awareness - I think they probably can. We also have those community groups who came in to speak to us about their experiences and that again has raised my awareness about these problems for others.*

T2 makes a link between awareness and individual experience and views awareness as arising from both her experience of interacting with the world, and also through experiencing the accounts of others, for example "community groups".

T7 provides an example of understanding awareness in terms of the way that it relates to the process of EO training.

*PC: "Can I just draw you back now and say let's think say for your two day course that I know you have, what do you try to achieve in those two days?"*

*T7: A lot. But to raise awareness.*

*PC: OK, immediately I am going to say what do you mean by raise awareness?"*

*T7: OK, to have people examine their assumptions on a range of broad issues around personal values, basic assumptions around issues of race, gender and to challenge their assumptions and their part within the wider culture. So the term raising awareness is to say that there are alternative ways of looking at these things."*

So for T7 awareness is about people examining their assumptions and having those assumptions challenged so that they can see them in a new way. Interestingly there is a strong link with the knowledge theme and gender is added as something that should be included in the content. Good EO training, as we have seen, embodies knowledge of the issues as well as knowledge of oneself and T7 describes how "raising awareness" involves an examination of the assumptions associated with both. There is a further connection with another theme in the objects of EO training dealt with below, namely seeing things in different ways. For T7 the process of examination of assumptions will lead to this.

T6 illustrates another dimension to the process of raising awareness in that it will involve reflective thinking.

*PC: "And in one sentence tell me when you say you have got to believe in what you are trying to do, what is it you are trying to do?"*



*T6---Can I just have a little think on that for a second. Well what I am trying to achieve in the classroom is to get people to raise their awareness of the issues by getting them to reflectively think about the issues and hopefully in that change their behaviour but where I want to take them to as a trainer is get them to think about the issues."*

Reflection seems to be an important way of raising awareness. It represents one way in which meaning is ascribed to experience either internally or externally.

### **Summary of this theme**

- Awareness is a common thread in good EO training.
- It is often taken to be synonymous with knowledge both internal to the individual and external issues such as culture.
- Awareness may also develop out of personal experience or hearing about the experience of others.
- Awareness is also bound into the process of good EO training. It is about examining assumptions about self and others, and generating alternative ways of seeing things. This may also be achieved through a process of reflective thinking.

### **EO training as increasing one's knowledge**

Knowledge was talked about in twenty-six of the transcripts. The importance and centrality of knowledge comes out strongly from the data, as does its hierarchical relationship with other aspects of EO training. As will be seen below for example, knowledge will be a basis not only for understanding, which is an explicit object of EO training, but also for the cluster of 'acts' of EO training; where knowledge is, for example an aspect of awareness or realisation.

The centrality of knowledge is expressed strongly by T8 when he was asked about the place of knowledge in EO training:

*T8: "I think it is absolutely essential. It has a central place. I think so much discriminatory behaviour and prejudicial beliefs that underpin it are based on ignorance..."*

T6 similarly asserted the importance of knowledge as a basis for the training.

*T6: "From my perspective good EO/CRR training is knowledge based, it builds on awareness as a learner it develops my awareness, as a trainer I hope to develop a students awareness."*

T2 saw knowledge as a level within EO training level that is a distinct entity but that it does have a relationship to other important objects of EO training:

*T2: "You have to define several different levels and different aspects I suppose where there will be a level of knowledge and information..."*

T6 provided further illustration of both the focus on knowledge, its importance, and for him the teacher orientation that this is linked with. There was a strong component of knowledge as an enabler of other aspects of EO training (e.g. understanding):

*T6: "You have to have a knowledge of the slave trade to understand our role in the slave trade. Without that knowledge you cannot explore some of the issues of getting people to accept their prejudice because they will want to know on two fronts, one they will want to know you're telling us that we are not meeting the needs of minority groups, will you tell us if you are a Sikh, what do Sikhs do, what do Sikhs want. Instead of giving them all this about my prejudices, my attitude, my behaviour, tell me now, I want to listen, tell me what do Sikhs want, what does it mean to be a Sikh? What does it mean to be a Muslim? What do Afro-Caribbean people want? Why is it we have got this problem? So without that knowledge the trainer is going to sink."*

T6 talked about knowledge as a foundational pre-requisite for further work and seems to be arguing that the purpose is to get people to "*accept their prejudices*". Knowledge here is both historical and contemporary and there is a clear implication that the credibility, or at least the ability of the trainer to engage with the students, will be compromised if knowledge is not focal in the training. This is both in the sense of the teacher imparting it "*you're telling us*", and the learner gaining it, "*tell me now, I want to listen*".

In terms of what the knowledge should be about, T6 above has already given a number of pointers, but it was the first interview (T1) that provided the strongest

illustration of the importance that may be placed by some on the transmission of certain types of information. For him, the law, and the concepts of EO training were more important than how people feel about it.

*T1: "I can't see why other than the didactic approach sort of taking them through the concepts to say that what you can be sued for.*

*PC: Could I take you back to your perceived approach to be a didactic one to what do you mean by that, what are you understanding by that?*

*T1: I understand that as being a sort of fact and concept based discussion rather than talking about how individuals feel. It would not be focused on... elusive psychology, it will be sort of external rather than internal."*

In this one quotation T1 expresses both a way of seeing EO training which has a subject-object orientation i.e. "external rather than internal" a teacher orientation in the "didactic" approach and an expression of knowledge as "facts and concepts". T1 makes explicit that the content of the knowledge in this context is about things outside the person.

What the knowledge should be about is further illustrated by T11. He had been talking about the importance of finding out facts about other cultures, forms of address, customs and so on. He was then asked:

*PC: "Would you call that learning?"*

*T11: In a sense it is yes*

*PC: What sense is it learning, I am just probing these things when you...*

*T11: Yes, yes, it is learning about one's self, learning about attitudes, learning perhaps about one's background and the things that have made us as we are.*

It seems clear then that for T11 it was important to take the learning of knowledge further. Unlike the "external issues" raised by T1, there can be learning about oneself, one's attitudes and one's background. Clearly there is a variation in the view of the relative importance of the content and he accepts that people's feelings and introspection have a role to play in gaining knowledge. This is in contrast to an alternative view about feelings and introspection advanced by T1.

*T1: "I think it is necessary to be this way to be fairly agnostic about the value of what somebody feels but to sort of take the feeling as it is and sort of work with it, I think there is some areas of Equal Opportunities training where that is very effective and quite deliberately does not involve blaming or stigmatising people... and I think that is important but I also think there are some areas where it is*

*necessary to be quite clear of what peoples' responsibilities and duties and liabilities are..."*

*PC: "What effects do you think a working knowledge would have as an outcome for the student?"*

*T1: "I think it would give a depth to their understanding of Equal Opportunities, they would know that these are indeed a set of ethics if you like but they are rather more than that and they are in a sense something about which there is a body of knowledge which is accessible... and I think the fact that they should know that there is a body of knowledge which is accessible would be a positive outcome for them."*

A number of points emerge from what T1 said. There is evidence of a dualistic orientation in the passage. His reference to "body of knowledge" is a classic indicator of the view that knowledge can somehow exist outside of the experience of the knower. This opens the possibility of engaging with the issue in a way that is somehow detached or de-coupled from the self. Further evidence of this is found in what T1 separates out as "feelings" on the one hand and "responsibilities, duties and liabilities" on the other. It is important to hold onto this idea of separation, because, as will be argued later, good EO training will tend to be supported by a non-dualistic view of the world. All the time that issues can be separated from the experience of the learner there is a barrier to effective challenges to see the world in different ways. This theme emerged time and again as the analysis deepened.

The data also revealed a range of ways in which knowledge can be gained. From the teacher's perspective there is a continuum ranging from the didactic to the facilitative. One end of the continuum is illustrated by T5 who talked about his experience of the management of EO training.

*T5: "Management from a trainer's perspective is the ability to impart information, facilitate the learning but in such a fashion whereby they don't lose credibility, the issues remain credible... and another thing I feel is important is the trainer's ability to be honest, but again it is all about bargaining, bargaining with your audience."*

*PC: What are you bargaining about?*

*T5: Well it is looking at an audience and providing information to them..."*

T5 reveals a number of features that indicate his teaching orientation. "*Imparting information*" and "*facilitating*" occur in the same sentence but do not appear to be mutually complementary, as T5 goes on to describe a process that is essentially non-facilitative. He also talks about "*bargaining*" that does not occur in other transcripts but may be linked to the notion of knowledge as having the potential to keep both trainer and learner out of an area of discomfort. The subject-object orientation becomes apparent when he talks about the issues not losing credibility as if they have some life of their own outside of the experience of the teacher and learner. A more detailed analysis of the 'how' of gaining knowledge is given below as part of the discussion of the group of themes that relate to the process of EO training.

We will see later that an important difference between EO training as gaining knowledge and understanding, and seeing something in a different way (including the self) is that the latter has the potential to engage with students at a much more emotional level. The students in self-discovery almost inevitably experience some pain or discomfort in this process. This gaining of knowledge in EO training, however, has a different dimension in that by adopting a process that engages the learners at the level of knowledge this pain and discomfort can largely be avoided. This can be illustrated by T12 who refers to "safety" in knowledge (for trainers):

*T12: "I think some people need the safety of knowledge. I suppose from the organisational point of view it is very easy to say I have done a lesson on Sikhism, that is very easy and very safe. But again if you can't measure it does that mean to say we shouldn't be doing it."*

T12 also presages another theme in this group, namely aims and objectives. He alludes to the conflict that trainers revealed in their minds that aims and objectives very often do not specify what they know needs to be done in EO training. This theme will be developed below.

Dealing with EO training at the level of knowledge of factual material is a way of keeping it 'safe'. T18 recognises that many learners as well as trainers want to stay in the comfortable zone of talking about theoretical perspectives but that this in itself will not amount to effective EO training unless some takes place.

*T18: " When I say that I think yes there 's lots of people appreciate the theoretical concepts and value the theoretical concepts but there is a big step between talking and walking it and unless there is some sort of safe appropriate disclosures and discussion then it doesn't internalise for people to actually go outside and actually use to implement, to live equal opportunities in their work place."*

### **Summary of this theme**

- Good EO training will recognise the importance of increasing knowledge.
- Knowledge is foundational to other aspects of EO training.
- The knowledge will be factual (of external things) or of self (internal things)
- The factual knowledge will include: duties, responsibilities, liabilities, what you can be sued for, EO concepts, the law relating to EO, own and others cultures. Attention needs to be given to both contemporary and historical perspectives.
- The self-knowledge will include: attitudes, background, and the factors that have made us what we are, and accepting one's own prejudices.
- Teaching methods which are centred around a knowledge transmission model will tend to make the training safe and unchallenging.

Values, attitudes, beliefs and their relationship with behaviour.

Trainers also say that good EO training will engage with values, attitudes and beliefs and explore their relationship with behaviour. In the coding process it was possible to separate out 'attitudes and behaviour' from passages where trainers talked specifically about 'behaviour' or specifically about 'attitudes, values and beliefs'. Figure 4.2 reveals the strength of all three of these aspects, and figure 4.3 shows the number of passages where they occur together.

What was quite clear from the data was that trainers recognised the importance of engaging with attitudes (values and beliefs) and behaviour, but three different ways of seeing the relationship emerge, namely:

1. That attitudes and behaviour are constituted together and cannot be decoupled.

2. That attitudes and behaviour are seen as separate entities, there is a causal relationship between the two and the effects of one on the other can be observed.
3. That there is a relationship between attitudes and behaviour but it is possible for humans to de-couple that relationship at will.

Before illustrating this, it is useful to identify how the data reveal the range of ways that 'attitude' is understood. T9 expressed it in terms of how and why people do what they do. She expressed a strong causal link between attitudes and values and behaviour.

*PC: "OK. So we are facilitating around attitudes and values. Tell me what that means?"*

*T9: Well that's looking at how people and why people think and do and act the way they do."*

T2 comments that there is a relationship between attitudes and values but that the attitudes of a person may not may not fully reflect their values:

*T2: "I haven't really mentioned anything about attitudes in behaviour which I would probably tie in with that level of values."*

*PC: Do you see attitudes as something different to values?"*

*T2: Yes, I think I see values as the most profound level of a person's being, and ideally there would be a connection between the two but attitudes may not necessarily fully reflect those values."*

T28 develops this a little further seeing values, beliefs, attitudes and prejudices all as different things. He went on to explain his way of understanding these and was asked specifically to say what he was meaning by "attitude". For him attitudes make values visible.

*T28: "When you used the words personal values, beliefs, prejudices and attitudes, are they the same thing are they different things?"*

*They are different things, the question now is could you..."*

*PC: And attitudes?"*

*T28: Attitudes again are outward manifestations of our value system in a sense. They are the outworking of a mental and emotional process."*

The following section demonstrates the three ways of seeing the relationship between behaviour and attitudes, beliefs and values.

## 1. Attitudes and behaviour are inextricably linked

T8 provides an opening example of this view. He demonstrates an ontological commitment that is non-dualistic in character. He uses the word "action" interchangeably with "behaviour" and uses the words "thoughts" "feelings" and "behaviours" as if they are constituted together.

*PC: "... what would you be aiming to do ... ultimately?"*

*T8: I would be aiming to encourage the person to begin to manage and reflect that is probably in reverse order, to reflect and then to manage. I would be very interested first of all to encourage them to set up a mechanism where they reflect on an ongoing basis on the thoughts, feelings and behaviour that they had and then to start to manage those thoughts, feelings and behaviours in a positive way, such that they begin the process where necessary of changing the very attitudes and beliefs and ideas that they have about people that subsequently drive action."*

T10 reveals a similar way of understanding and also expresses the idea that good EO training in its objects needs to go beyond gaining knowledge and engage with learners' attitudes. In turn, the object of this seems to be to identify areas where the person's attitudes are incongruent with what they say or what they know. The following extract also contains reference to the analogy of the journey, which is another theme in this group.

*PC: "So are you saying that process of going through this journey to get in touch with who you are and so on is that related in some way to someone's behaviour?"*

*T10: Inextricably linked.*

*PC: Can you say more about that to reinforce what you mean.*

*T10: Oh yes, right I am a great believer in that attitude affects behaviour, what we might call Betari's Box, attitude affects behaviour, how you feel, how you think and how you behave. In all of your dealings with people so even though you know perhaps the cognitive side even though you may know the equal opportunities policy says this, this and this, if your attitudes or feelings etc are something completely different your behaviour is going to be affected, those attitudes and feelings, they are going to be so strong as drivers that your behaviour is going to be affected..."*

T20 similarly asserts that behaviour and attitudes cannot be divorced although there does seem to be some hesitation in what he is saying. He also makes an important development of the theme in that an object of good EO training is to



bring attitudes to the surface so that in addressing attitudes that may be inappropriate it is possible to mitigate the effect they have on behaviour.

*PC: "...what do you believe about the connection between attitudes, beliefs and behaviour is it possible to divorce the two? The implication of what you said is that it is.*

*T20: No I don't think it is possible but it becomes less likely to adversely affect behaviour if the attitude is recognised and a conscious decision is made to try and ensure that it doesn't because if it is not recognised and it was made to modify behaviour because of it then yes there is a serious problem but I think if people do whilst you can't divorce the two it becomes less likely to manifest itself in negative behaviour."*

Finally T26 gives an example arising out her experience which provides a neat illustration of the unified nature of attitudes and the way we behave.

*PC: "What do you, in your experience, I nearly used the word what do you think, I don't really mean that, in terms of EO training the link between attitudes and behaviour, is there a link?*

*T26: Hmm...attitudes,*

*PC I will tell you why I asked the question; some people claim to be able to divorce the two, a lot of Police Officers claim to be able to divorce the two... as an EO trainer are you comfortable with that?*

*T26: No*

*PC: Can you say more?*

*T26: I think the attitude and the way you are comes out and I speak on a personal note that I have my own views, my own values a communicational lighthouse which you have to be very wary of particularly when I was working as a trainer because if someone says something that I find offensive or have difficulty with, people can tell by the expression on my face, so I would say that obviously my attitude affects my behaviour but I try and stop that."*

One reason why I have included so many examples of this way of seeing attitudes and behaviour is that it reflects the quantity and strength of material to illustrate the point.

## **2. Attitudes and behaviour are separate but linked**

An illustration of attitudes and behaviour as separate but linked is given by T11 and although he does not seem sure of his ground, the example he gives of what

he means is helpful so the extract is given in full. He also demonstrated the link between this theme and 'awareness' (another of the themes in this element), which is a recurring theme in both the data and the literature. A further two connections can be made between what T11 is saying and the idea of gaining knowledge of self, and the need for understanding. Both of these are themes within the objects of good EO training. Lastly, T11 shows, in the ways he speaks, that he is leaving open the possibility that although the two are linked, attitudes and behaviour may not necessarily affect each other.

*PC: "If you are understanding yourself better what is happening?"*

*T11: You are just becoming more aware of your attitudes that affect your behaviour.*

*PC: OK... and what is awareness?"*

*T11: A knowledge of all the background things, all the things in our own backgrounds that affect how we feel about different groups of people, different situations.*

*PC: And are you clear that in your mind, in your own experience that there is in fact a link between one's own, I forget what you said, one's awareness and behaviour, are those two things linked, is behaviour linked to what is going on inside?"*

*T11: I think probably between attitude and behaviour.*

*PC: Right and are you convinced that there is in fact a link between someone's attitudes and the way they behave.*

*T11: I think very often there is.*

*PC: Are you able to give an example of what you mean by that?"*

*T11: If somebody's attitude is that black people commit more crime, their behaviour when they are on patrol, they will stop more people who appear to be black."*

T28 sees behaviour as separate to attitudes, but that the attitudes (values and beliefs) drive behaviour. If attitudes are addressed then behaviour will follow. The reason why this is different to the first way of seeing the link is that T28 speaks of behaviour as an entity in itself. So for example he talks of the possibility of behaviour modification as a quick fix for some things. He does, however, recognise the difference that EO training represents in that the content is more than just "cognitive" material and he confirms what was said above about knowledge having a component not only of facts but also knowledge of oneself.

*PC: "Earlier on you talked about values, beliefs, prejudices and attitudes and we are talking about awareness, what is the link between that or those and behaviour?"*

*T28: Well I think our attitudes and values and our beliefs are driving factors for our behaviour. That is why I think if you try to modify behaviour it has an immediate effect or has a quick effect in a sense, same as seat belt legislation and drink/driving, but we are not talking about cognitive things in EO training we are talking about the issues before the values, beliefs the prejudice and stuff like that and if you can address those issues the behaviour will follow..."*

T24 illustrated a dimension of variation in this when he referred to a time when he was a learner to support his view that if the behaviour of a person can be modified, then over a period of time the attitudes that are connected to it can change. In other words the reverse of what T28 was saying. This is not an uncommon view and again allows for the avoidance of dealing in feelings in training in favour of a more comfortable focus on behaviour so that behavioural change may lead to an attitudinal change as a consequence. What is interesting about this is that even though the causal relationship between attitudes and behaviour is turned on its head, there is still a quite explicit object that attitudes need to change.

*T24: "Now my view and we discussed it when I was in Turvey and people J\*\* and lots of other people as well as the class members we discussed that well what we can have an impact on is advising and encouraging behaviour to change and then research has suggested that if behaviour changes attitudes over a period of time will follow."*

T24 wrestles with the idea of separating attitude from behaviour. In doing so she demonstrates what was said earlier about trainers being either ambivalent or uncertain about the issue. Notice that 'awareness' also comes through what she is saying. She seems to be stopping short of actually saying that attitudes and behaviour can be treated as separate entities (as in the next section) but that they are sufficiently separate that the causal relationship may be disrupted.

*PC: "I just want to clarify one thing really as we close and that is the relationship between what someone values and their attitudes perhaps and how they behave. Do you think it is possible to separate the two out?"*

*T24--- It is difficult that is.... but I think what I am aware of is that if you can make people aware, because people are not aware of their values, they are not aware of their prejudices so if you can help people become aware of their values and prejudices, where they come from and what they are all about, people are more in a position to break that link between attitudes and behaviour, not break the link but maybe just put a stick in the middle to stop someone before they go in with their size nines and say hang on a minute let's stop here for a split second where am I coming from. I don't know if that answers your question it is quite a difficult question to answer."*

For her, the focus is still on behaviour because the implication is that the learner will become "aware" of their attitudes, in the sense of "know about", and this will enable him to in some way modify his behaviour. Put simply we might say that in this case the purpose is to find out about attitudes, find that they are not congruent with the behaviour that is expected, and this knowledge will help identify when behaviour is inappropriate.

### **3. Attitudes and behaviour are linked but it is possible to de-couple them at will**

An overarching theme which is characteristic of this way of seeing the relationship is that behaviour is the legitimate goal of EO training and this, as a consequence, sits comfortably within a competency framework of the type currently being explored by the police service. As will be seen under the 'process' grouping, the authority to engage with the learner is restricted to looking at his or her behaviour as the legitimate goal and both trainer and learner can therefore stay comfortable and unchallenged. In this view, what goes on inside the learner in terms of their ascribing meaning to experience, internalising, or introspection is not of concern because the organisation expects certain standards of behaviour and, as long as these are met, the aims of the training can be said to have been achieved. So in this mode it is relatively easy to stay within a 'comfort zone'. The problem with this, in terms of a model for good EO training, is that it fails to recognise the importance of engaging with learners either at the depth required or with a conceptual framework which recognises the interconnectedness of attitudes and behaviour.

T18 wrestles with this notion and, as with T26 above, reveals the uncertainty associated with the notion, almost as if cognitive dissonance has been set up for him. After discussing his experience of people who claim in training to have prejudicial attitudes he decides that separation is possible but that stressful situations may cause the individual to revert to type. The causal link is well illustrated. He had been talking about people in training who claim to have racist attitudes that do not affect their professional life.

*T18: "Yes, yes, oh heck it is getting very complicated with this... .. So on a behavioural level how can you do your job if you turn that attitude into a behaviour.*

*PC: But I don't (spontaneous role play)*

*T18: You don't... then what I would say to you that come the stress point, you may, may revert to type so it is going through a process of getting into why this is happening here so I suppose that is where the training comes in, so what is going on here what is your thought process between the stimulus of seeing a black person and your reaction, what was your thought process, the irrational thoughts there were there rational thoughts there and also appealing to you by saying hey, under stress, your behaviour may turn into subtle discrimination, may, I'm not saying it is because we are all different..."*

His last comment illustrates the view that it is possible to couple and de-couple attitudes and behaviour at will. Further illustration is provided by T11.

*T11: "... the bottom line as a Police Officer, is whatever our attitudes and inward thoughts might be, as Police Officers we must behave professionally and that means being fair and impartial in how we deal with the public."*

T11 represents the classic organisational approach to attitudes and values, namely that 'professional' behaviour is what is seen and on what officers are judged. In a performance culture observable behaviour is elevated to the highest status and there is little or no interest in what the foundation for this might be. In fact, as will be seen from the data evidence concerning the 'authority to engage' with learners, it is questionable as to whether most trainers or the organisation itself feel that it is legitimate to address anything other than behaviour. So, for example, the Minimum Effective Training Levels for Equal Opportunities and Community and Race Relations (National Police Training 1997) are essentially statements of behavioural competence; they are focused on behavioural outcome.

T29 presents another variation to the way the relationship is seen in that although she claims it is almost impossible not to leak attitude through behaviour, she does, in fact, leave the possibility open and so presents a dualistic approach to the understanding.

*T29: I think it is almost impossible not to leak your attitude in your behaviour and you know, I find myself doing it all the time, you know thinking did I leak that, I think you just can't help it and certainly people have a particular sensitivity will pick it up.*

T3 on the other hand reveals ambivalence about the link between attitudes and behaviour. He started off by describing that he had been taught and always understood there was link:

*PC: "OK, can you just say something more about why you have always understood that?"*

*T3: I suppose my learning as a trainer and the study that I have done for my Educational Qualification always makes that link between the psychological affective and the behavioural type of component of us if you like. I have to say that I am wondering whether that is necessarily the case.*

*PC: OK. Tell me more then*

*T3: Because ---I suppose a piece of paper that I have read recently has made me think about that. It was something that emanated off the Estate and it is actually challenging the accepted link between attitudes and behaviour and what we know as Betari's Box and the way we think and believe, although I still believe that the way we are is formed by significant groups of people - I am very conscious of that but what it is leading me to question is that natural link between the two and is there another method of behaviour modification that we might try which is not linked with trying to affect somebody's attitude and it is more around carrot and stick so it is saying rewards and sanctions. "*

The interesting point is that T3 is showing a critical approach to Betari's Box that, hitherto, seems to have gone largely unquestioned as a way of describing the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. T3 later reinforces the point he is making:

*T3: "It has actually started me questioning where we have been going with the training actually, because I wonder whether in trying to affect somebody's attitudes we have actually been missing the point but I haven't done enough personal research myself to say maybe we haven't."*

Betari's Box does go some way to illustrate the understandings in the data which reveal that the process may in fact also happen in reverse for individuals, i.e. that behaviour can affect attitudes as well as the other way round.

*T3: "I think the end result must be to modify and change behaviour. I've always understood the attitudes and values and beliefs affect behaviour and so the back way into somebody's value system or beliefs is to try to modify the behaviour."*

T14 illustrates the view that not only can there be a separating of behaviour from other aspects of the person's way of being but that this can be illustrated with examples where people say one thing and do another.

*PC: (summarising) "So, you believe that behaviour and attitude can be separated, that one doesn't necessarily drive the other?"*

*T14: Yes, because you can have someone who doesn't have a particular attitude but behaves in a certain way because of the organisation for instance."*

T9 sums up a key characteristic of this conception as he expresses a classically behaviourist view of learning:

*PC: "I see, let me probe what you mean by learning. When you say learning, what are you meaning?"*

*T9: Learning in ... learning in... is a collection of behaviour changes.*

### **Summary of this theme**

So what does all this mean in relation to the core question of what a model of good EO training would look like?

- It needs to be said that the importance of the way the relationship between attitude and behaviour is seen cannot be divorced from the other categories that have been identified in the data. Evidence grounded in the data is given below to show that trainers also use 'higher' ways of expressing the objects of EO training, namely seeking meaning, and seeing things differently. These higher levels are unlikely to be achieved if the trainer deals with behaviour as a disconnected entity and allows students to go unchallenged about what may be driving that behaviour.

- The very fact that there are three ways of expressing the relationship suggests that there is ambivalence and uncertainty amongst the trainers interviewed, and that a model of 'good' EO training would not have such uncertainty. Why the situation is unsatisfactory is closely linked with the theme in the 'process' category (figure 4.2) and the perceived authority of the trainer to engage with the learner. Trainers, who are sure of their ground about attitudes and values, as we will see, are much less hesitant to engage with the learners at a meaningful level.
- The relationship is an important one at the organisational level. If it really is the case that values and attitudes are a private issue, because they can be divorced from behaviour, why do the police organisations (all 43 in England and Wales) have statements of their common purpose and values? The question is a big one and there is no easy solution, but is any police service really willing to allow a (police) student to say they are racist and believe them when they say this will not affect their behaviour? This is a high-risk strategy indeed and yet it happens all the time.

## Prejudice

Addressing prejudice as an object of EO training emerged strongly from the data. Fifty-four passages were marked as being about prejudice and some of these were closely connected with attitudes, value and beliefs, and trainers.

The former association may be illustrated by the way T22 talked in strong terms about the need to address values before prejudice:

*T22: "If they haven't addressed personal value systems then what you will end up with is better educated racists because these are issues that will apply to everybody else, unless people can reflect they will be issues, they will have better knowledge but their unconscious prejudice will still be there in many cases it will be reinforced."*

*PC: When you say addressing personal value system what do you mean by that?*

*T22: I mean exploring it, getting people to reflect on what their values are, where they are coming from, what their own personal prejudices may be."*



There were several instances where trainers expressed their view that everyone has prejudice of one sort or another and that trainers, as well as learners, need to engage with this in EO training. T11 illustrated this idea...

*T11: "Because I think for me part of CRR training is for people to understand themselves better, understand that we all have prejudices and to learn to accept those."*

T20 develops it and addresses the way in which the prejudices of trainers may be important to the process.

*T20: "Well not really but we are humans and all of us have our own prejudices which hopefully don't manifest themselves in discrimination but that said sometimes walking and talking isn't always easy and I think as a trainer you have to be conscious of the fact that you do have prejudices and hopefully whilst you are aware of them make sure that they don't manifest themselves when you are dealing with people or in the training environment."*

The way in which prejudice might be responded to in terms of good EO training was illustrated by T8 who said:

*T8: "My position then would be to look at some of the issues regarding prejudice whether that happens to be prejudice with regard to race or with regard to gender or with regard to sexual preference and ... to get people to start to identify what those prejudices are all about for them as individuals."*

In this extract he speaks about identifying the prejudice in the individual. T22 expressed it differently and talked about finding one's prejudice in terms of "exploration", linking it with a student's exploration of their value system.

*PC: "When you say addressing personal value system what do you mean by that?"*

*T22: I mean exploring it, getting people to reflect on what their values are, where they are coming from, what their own personal prejudices may be."*

This "getting people to reflect" may, for some trainers, be easier said than done. T14 notes the conflict that arises when for her what she believes about everyone having prejudice is not shared by the learner.

*T14 "Because it is terribly difficult to convince people that everybody has prejudices in my view anyway. I have had this discussion on numerous occasions and when you actually look at it in greater depth then most people accept they have got some sort of prejudice. I have yet to find a person that hasn't got any*

*prejudices at all. Somebody who feels that way and sticks to it can create problems for the trainer."*

### **Summary of this theme**

- Prejudice is an important area that needs to be addressed in EO training.
- Addressing people's personal value systems may be a way into helping them identify their prejudices.
- There needs to be an acceptance that everyone has prejudices of one form or another.
- Trainers have their prejudices too and these will need to be surfaced if the trainer is to be effective.
- Finding out about prejudice will involve identifying them, exploring them, and linking with one's value system.
- Some training situations may be more difficult if people do not accept that they have any prejudices.

## **B. The Act of EO Training**

This element of EO training is about what the learners are actually doing in a good EO training session. This is different from process in that it focuses on the individual rather than on things that are more to do with the organisation and delivery of the training. The first, and in terms of its representation in the data, most important theme in this element is 'understanding'. Figure 4.3 shows that understanding is strongly associated with five other themes.

### **The importance of understanding**

In describing good EO training, trainers reveal a concern to ascribe meaning to the content - to understand it. The content itself is often expressed in terms of 'awareness', but that issue has been separated out within this group because it is important, and there is enough data for it to stand on its own. Having said that, the term will occur frequently in the examples used to illustrate understanding because of its close connection with students seeking meaning, understanding and awareness were coded together in the data on eleven occasions.

How the understanding is achieved includes '*working*', '*making links for oneself*', '*responding*', and '*coming to terms with*' for the learner. T10 reports an experience of internalising that illustrates this well.

*T10: "... the important thing is that you make connections, you make links for yourself so if you internalise it we have now gone into the attitudes and behaviour stuff. We have gone past knowledge, understanding and perhaps some of the skills, we are now looking at the attitudes and the behaviour..."*

A very important issue that T10 raises here is that "*you make links for yourself*". This represents a view that learning is not something that teachers can do for learners but learners must do for themselves. She reveals strong learner orientation characteristic of the search for meaning and expresses the depth at which the learner is working has gone "*past knowledge, understanding and some of the skills*". The "*looking at behaviour*" here from the context is looking at it from an internal perspective and as something generated from within.

Understanding may also involve internalising for the student. This seems to be associated with ‘coming to terms with’ and has a chronological quality about its relationship with the other aspects of good EO training. This was illustrated by T3's understanding that internalising is a pre-cursor to other developments.

*T3: "So I think there are issues around the way you feel about race and diversity but you have got to come to terms with them internally and once you come to terms with them internally I think you are more prepared to externalise them. "*

T18 takes us a stage further and reveals the way in which internalising is connected to the changing of an individual and reveals the link with another of the overall object of good EO training - i.e. as changing as a person. He was asked to explain what he meant by ‘internalising’:

*T18: "Then I think the internalising for me is when I go out of this room, when I go out of this training, then yes I am going to stay with this integrity, I am going actually work this, I'm going to implement this, I'm going put into action but I am going to put it into action from a point that this right for me and not because I have to.. not a behavioural thing,*

*PC: Is that something to do with learning?*

*T18: Oh yes!"*

Finally T8 summarises the importance of understanding and finding meaning:

*T8: "It has to be integrated into your whole system of beliefs, the meanings that things hold for you so that structure of meanings can be changed in light of that meaning. "*

### **Summary of this theme**

- Understanding is closely connected with awareness.
- Understanding and finding meaning are essential ingredients of good EO training.
- Visual metaphors are helpful in describing the process of finding meaning.
- The understanding will be closely associated with internalising which in turn is about making links and coming to terms with issues.
- The issues that learners will need to come to terms with will include, race and diversity, attitudes and behaviour.

- There is a strong learner orientation to facilitating this understanding, it is something that the learners need to do for themselves.

## Realisation

Thirty-nine passages were marked as having the theme of 'realisation' at their core. Figure 4.3 illustrates that the relationship between realisation and awareness is an interesting one and this will be illustrated below. The first extracts illustrate how realisation is conceived.

T8 gave an account of his own experience of realisation with some examples. He was then asked to say what he meant by realisation.

*T8: "Yes. I have gone through a process myself of realising that I have prejudged people I had certain opinions, certain ways of looking at groups of people, certain unconscious reactions, for example I would be driving down the road and see a black man walking down a front path towards a front door and perhaps unwittingly suspect that they are up to no good and maybe attempting to break in or to do something criminal and then suddenly to stop myself and realise that I have no evidence of that and that is a prejudgement and discriminatory thought arising from what have hitherto been unconscious feelings and attitudes.*

*PC: You used the term realise three times there. What does realise mean and can you give me an example of someone realising something?*

*T8: To become consciously aware even if they don't openly admit it to others a process by which the person truthfully looks and reflects back upon their own assumptions and beliefs and acknowledges and becomes aware of them."*

For him then, what was realised revolved around the way he made pre-judgements based on hitherto unconscious feelings and attitudes. When asked to say what realise itself meant he made the link with awareness and the awareness was of assumptions and beliefs.

Realisation may happen as a sudden experience or may be the result of reflection. An extract from T26 provides one such illustration of the sudden realisation aspect of EO training. She had been talking about bringing learners to a state of heightened awareness. Although she used the words "knowledge has increased" it seemed not to be about factual knowledge but some realisation about the 'self'.

The extract is lengthy but has been quoted in full to show the exchange that took place.

*PC: "So what is heightened awareness, if you are in a state of heightened awareness what has happened to you?"*

*T26: I think you sort of 'ping' because your knowledge has increased.*

*PC: What did you mean by 'ping' talking psychologically here?*

*T26: The light bulb*

*PC: The light bulb, right, talk about light bulbs.*

*T26: I just think sometimes people just go 'ah I have never thought of it like that' by using the word coloured or, I mean most people know that there are certain words they wouldn't use or that using 'him' all the time can have an effect on, for example one of my favourites used to be subtle aggression so I use a personal experience... (T26 then recounted a personal experience at some length where she was on the receiving end of sexist stereotypical behaviour)... it became a power issue so that was the light bulb 'ping', blimey! I never realised that or you might get 'that happened to me in the building society' or generally the light bulb 'ping' why.*

*PC: Is that 'ping' moment for want of a better word is that a powerful learning experience for people?*

*T26: I think it can be*

*PC: Long lasting or transient?*

*T26: I think that is variable. I would like to think some of it would be long lasting and that pings in peoples' personal professional life can change just by having discussed it and realising where that issue has come from."*

T9 talked about sudden realisation. She referred to the sudden, unexpected and almost serendipitous quality that realisation has.

*PC: "What does realise mean?"*

*T9: Difficult one isn't it. I couldn't find the word, realise isn't actually the word I was looking for. It's a word that means the light goes on, the light bulb suddenly lights up. A gestalt. Something happens to you which says to you of course.*

*PC: An aha moment?*

*T9: An aha moment, yes exactly."*

A third example of the sudden quality of realisation was given by T3 who described an incident that had happened in one of his classes.

*T3 "He approached the Instructors and said I have just realised I am black in a white organisation, he said I am going to have to think about this overnight, and he came back on day two saying that he had suddenly realised that he had been so ingrained in the European culture, and the culture which prevailed within the Police Service that he had forgotten his blackness."*

The interesting link here is between going away and thinking about it and the sudden realisation. In other words, realisation may happen as the result of some aspect of the classroom process, or it may happen as the result of the learner's reflection on an aspect of that process. T9 and T25 provided examples of these aspects.

*T9: "...well if we are talking about equal opportunities training as a delivery mode then some other equal opportunities training they have had in the past they might reflect on a delivery style or a concept that came up to them which was acceptable but they didn't know why and when they reflect on it they realise that concept was not acceptable."*

*T25: "Come the end of the day we had got someone who was very much on side, someone who realised where we were trying to get to and someone who actually apologised for having a go in the morning."*

The extract from T26 above mentioned "*heightened awareness*". There are other examples of passages where trainers made the link between realisation and awareness. T2 talks about the relational link in terms of dissonance.

*T2: "Yes, or giving individuals the opportunity to decide whether they want to shift their own values in the light of the new awareness and knowledge that we have gained if they realise there is dissonance between what they thought they believed."*

T26 linked realise with awareness of an aspect of behaviour.

*T26: "When I say deal with it I mean use that as an example, words that come up isn't that an appropriate word, no it is not and a lot of people don't realise it so by heightening the awareness in the group then hopefully people will go away knowing we won't use coloured we will use 'black' or another suitable word."*

And finally, T27 described the link with awareness as being achieved through willingness by the learner to engage in discussion and to talk about their experiences. Without this they cannot realise the effects of their behaviour, but when they do then this amounts to awareness.

*T27: "I think there is a lot of ignorance that people say and do things out of ignorance and not out of maliciousness maybe there are some people who go out of their way to be nasty but unless people can actually talk about experiences that they have had or actions that they have taken then and be able to discuss the implications of that then they won't realise the effects that behaviour does actually have they can't discuss in terms of hang on a minute is that view, is that attitude, that behaviour acceptable and unless you can talk about it and examine it you won't know about yourself, you won't know about your own actions, you won't know about your own behaviour so when I talk raising awareness it is awareness of yourself and also other peoples' behaviour around you."*

### **Summary of this theme**

- Realisation is about making links and becoming "consciously aware". This may be the result of engaging in truthful reflection.
- Realisation may happen suddenly in the context of a classroom session. For some this will be like a light switching on and may be connected with experiencing a new way of seeing something. There are some parallels with gestalt psychology and "aha" moments.
- Although realisation is often sudden, it may be the result of a period of reflection. This may be during the day of the training overnight or even over a longer period.
- There are strong connections between realisation and awareness. Heightened awareness may result from realisation.
- When realisation is connected with awareness there may be dissonance set up for the learner. This may be an uncomfortable experience.
- There is a relationship between realisation, awareness and behaviour.



## Being able to see the world in different ways

Another theme in good EO training is being able to see things in different ways.

An early attempt at analysis of the data (described in the methodology chapter) revealed something in the data that I had tentatively labelled "seeing oneself". This in turn was connected to the notion of 'realisation', which, as it now transpires, is a theme in the group which deals with process. Seeing something in a different way, however, as will later demonstrated from the data, may bring about a state of realisation that may or may not be sudden. So this theme is strongly connected with process, but is included in this group because a quite explicit object of good EO training as expressed in the data is to bring people to a position where they are able to see things in a different way.

In the first example T12 expressed a view that an important aspect to the gaining of knowledge is to realise that others see the world differently. Being able to "*consider issues from a different angle*" is an object of learning of EO that is based on increasing knowledge.

*T12: "I think the first stage would be looking at what is happening to them. I would hope from my point of view that they would be looking at themselves and seeing what they are made of, realising that other people have got very strong view points as well so there is - I would use the word shifting there really, what is happening to them is that their increasing knowledge and perception would be making them consider issues from a different angle really."*

Several transcripts revealed an aspect of 'suddenness' brought about by the stimulus of seeing something in a different way. The process for T8, for example, leads to what he calls a "*realising*" that he has made prejudgements about people.

*T8: "I suppose my starting position would be to try and uncover some of those hidden attitudes and beliefs and to start to get people to look back into themselves and examine what they really feel about certain issues and to see the link between that and the subsequent behaviour that they make towards others..."*

*PC: Has that happened to you?*

*T8: Yes. I have gone through a process myself of realising that I have prejudged people I had certain opinions, certain ways of looking at groups of people, certain unconscious reactions."*

What he seemed to be saying is that there is a need to surface “*certain unconscious reactions*” and give voice to the life experience that the individual has which may have been previously hidden. Note the strong learner orientation in what T8 is saying, which is revealed in his intention to: “*start to get people to look back into themselves*”.

Seeing something differently may well involve an adjustment to one's way of seeing the world. There is a concern for interpretation, meaning and illumination and through this to gain a new perspective on the world. The interpretation is recognised as always taking place against a background of assumptions, beliefs and practices, and there is an ideographic orientation, in other words the focus is on the individual. T7 provides a good example of the role that world-view has to play in this process.

*T7: "...and we will have a view on the world and that the way we see the world is often more a reflection of the way we see the world rather than the way the world is.*

*PC: OK could you give me an example of that.*

*T7: Well, that we have mental maps. I would say that the tendency of most human beings is for stability and predictability and that we like to move along well defined tramways to make sense of life because it is difficult to have to constantly reassess and challenge our perceptions and its uncomfortable. Discomfort can sometimes generate quite powerful emotions.*

*PC: Have you gone through this process yourself? Will you tell me about that experience then?*

*T7: Yes.*

*PC: The discomfort of having your world-view challenged?*

*T7: Yeah, I mean one obvious example would be in relation to gay and lesbian issues."*

For T7, world-view is important and that often the reality is not the same as we perceive because there is no discernment of variation. The way we see the world may not always be the way the world actually is for other people. Moving along well defined tramways is a way of avoiding variation. This is significant for EO training because exposure to that variation will very likely be at best uncomfortable and at worst painful. This is more fully developed in the next section where the issue of discomfort in the process is addressed.

## Summary of this theme

- Coming to see things in a different way may or may not be a sudden experience for the learner.
- Even if it is sudden a process of exploration will precede it.
- This exploration will be either internal or external in that it may be knowledge of issues or knowledge of self.
- The knowledge of self may actually have been previously hidden and good EO training will help to bring it to the surface.
- This aspect of EO training will have an ideographic orientation.
- Seeing things in different ways is very important because we need to recognise that others may see the world quite differently to the way we see it and therefore all our assumptions need to be challenged.
- Coming to see the world differently and having our assumptions challenged is very likely to be an uncomfortable, even painful process and this needs to be factored in to a model of good EO training.

## Reflection

Reflection as a theme within this element is an important act in which the learner engages in good EO training. On two occasions reflection is coded with awareness. One of these examples is in T6 who makes that link explicit.

*PC: "And in one sentence tell me when you say you have got to believe in what you are trying to do, what is it you are trying to do?"*

*T6: "Can I just have a little think on that for a second. Well what I am trying to achieve in the classroom is to get people to raise their awareness of the issues by getting them to reflectively think about the issues and hopefully in that change their behaviour but where I want to take them to as a trainer is get them to think about the issues."*

There are a number of illustrations of what reflection is. These include the following:

*T2: "Reviewing and assimilating, finding a way forward."*

*T30: "Suddenly they note that they see things in a different way."*

*T30: "Contemplating where they are in relation to the issues."*

*T6: "Think about the issues."*

*T18: "Reviewing, honestly reviewing."*

In terms of the object of the reflection, again there are a number of examples of what the trainers said:

*T9: "Things that have happened to them."*

*T10: "On their own experience."*

*T6: "On the issues."*

*T8: "What the consequences are for others."*

*T2: "My own performance."*

One aspect to reflection that is connected with the next element (process) is the authority that trainers feel they have to engage with the learner. T9 was asked what he would do if a student challenged him:

*PC: "If someone challenged your right to get involved in making them reflect and get feedback and so on as a trainer, what would you say?"*

*T9: It's the same thing again. If you ask somebody to reflect on something and they don't want to do it, it's a complete waste of time."*

For T9 then, a student who does not want to co-operate in reflection cannot be made to. On the other hand, there is a positive aspect to voluntary reflection noted by T10:

*T10: "Get people to reflect on their own experiences so they can say why because I feel comfortable to change my position as opposed to somebody who is trying to force me to change my position."*

Reflection need not be at the time the session is running. T9 presages a description of students who made contact with him some time after the event to say that they had reflected and learned from the EO training session with:

*T9: "People tend to reflect on things that have happened to them at some later stage rather than be able to say at the end of a course at the end of a session, end of a discussion, I used to believe that and I now believe this."*

### **Summary of this theme**

- Reflection is seen in different ways by different trainers such as, reviewing and assimilating, finding a way forward, suddenly seeing things differently, contemplating, thinking about, and honestly reviewing.
- There are ranges of objects for reflection on the part of learners.

- If a learner does not want to engage in reflection this cannot be forced, but voluntary reflection can lead to a learner feeling comfortable in changing their position in relation to EO.
- Reflection may happen some time after the training event.

### ***C. The process of EO training***

All the themes in this element have an aspect which embodies process - this relates to the 'how' of EO training and the way that it is structured. The focus is not the learner, as in the element above. In this element there is a strong sense that the process of EO training, if it is enabling the learner to internalise, realise, and see something in a new way, will have an inevitable consequence of discomfort, even pain. The closely associated theme of developing a process that challenges learners is also illustrated. This is a main theme of this element and several examples of this are given below. The other main themes are related to the authority of the trainer to engage with the students in what can sometimes be difficult and challenging areas. The aspects of this authority and the sometimes uncertain orientations of trainers are illustrated from the data. Finally, there is a brief section illustrating how some trainers talked about process in terms of a 'journey'.

#### **Discomfort / pain**

That the process of EO training will involve some discomfort, even pain, is present in 41 passages. Some of these, which will be illustrated here, are connected with the idea of challenging and being challenged. Others, which will be dealt with in the next theme, are connected to ideas about the authority to engage with the learner.

An interesting feature of the interviews was that when trainers talked about discomfort, they frequently seemed to be giving an account of personal experience and, in some cases, this was connected with an aspect of personal growth. Three examples of this are:

*T4: "I've had to do things and although they feel uncomfortable they have provided me with insight."*

*T5: "Yes I wanted to participate but I found it very painful so it was quite a difficult process and obviously goes with it some form of anxiety but nonetheless prior to that there was a very sort of comfortable experience and a good relationship with the trainers."*

*T20: "Oh yes, it can reduce, it did me to a state where I found it very destabilising, very destabilising to an extent on one occasion I just had to leave the room, I broke down so yes it is not comfortable and can be deeply emotional and destabilising yes."*

T8 gave a more in depth account of the processes involved in the discomfort. In the extract that follows he talks about the way in which people may find things out about themselves with which they are uncomfortable, and then the tension for them is what response they should make to that. When asked whether he had experienced that for himself, T8 presages the link that discomfort has with coming to see things in a different way.

*T8: "I think that for a lot of people looking at themselves and exposing things that perhaps they are uncomfortable knowing about themselves and certainly revealing to others, sets up a tension and sets up a tension because they have to start to decide whether they are going to rebury those feelings and ignore them or whether they are prepared to move forward and to start a process where they begin to alter them in light of new information, new evidence or just the discomfort they realise they feel about holding them in the first place. I feel it is a set of tensions in that regard."*

*PC: Have you experienced discomfort?*

*T8: Sure. I think there has been a number of occasions when I have realised that I have held perhaps patronising views or...of prejudgements but I have had other people encourage me to look again at a particular way of looking at something and it has been uncomfortable."*

Another passage illustrated how discomfort may be associated with coming to see things differently. T7, for example, talks about the way in which learners need to

be taken out of a comfortable zone where effectively there is a cycle of "reinforcing the way they think".

*T7: "The discomfort is important because it shakes people up it causes them to think there are alternative ways of looking at the world."*

T28 described the necessity for discomfort from a theoretical perspective and linked this with attitudes, values, emotions, and long held ways of seeing things.

*PC: "You mention that it was an uncomfortable experience for you, do you think that discomfort is a kind of necessary process of EO training?"*

*T28: Yes.*

*PC: Can you say some more; why maybe, or some examples?*

*T28: Well looking at the adult learning cycle if equilibrium, if the theory is correct and I have no reason to doubt it, we need to go into a form of disorientation. EO training will send people into disorientation because it is impinging on values, impinging on emotions, impinging on attitudes its impinging on thoughts that have been held for years and thought to be correct, so there is a process of disorientation. Where EO training fails often is that people go into disorientation but as a coping strategy straight back to equilibrium they circumvent the system and go straight back."*

In the final part of the extract T28 mentions a response that learners may make to the discomfort / disorientation and several other passages deal with a similar theme. Some examples include:

*T7: "Well, I just think it is easy to latch on to anything that would appear to discredit the course rather than engage because of this discomfort. I think they know that in some way they are about to be challenged..."*

*T10: "But the key there is the difficulty is a lot of people come with the impression that they are going to be brainwashed, that somebody is going to attempt to convert them to some extremist ideology, that someone is going to say yea welcome to the course and I'm here to tell you that you are a racist and you are a sexist and the shutters go up..."*

*T12: " I think it is the challenging aspect of it that I find challenging for me and my experience of people with EO issues is that it is very tempting to sort of like remain in the circle you know so you post people's situation on problem and you get into the 'I don't like this, I'm uncomfortable with this' stage so hence I'm*

*going to go back to my safety net. I want people to go and think, I want them to explore really.*

In the descriptions of learner responses to discomfort in the three extracts above, the related theme of challenging is present. For some trainers, good EO training will have a challenging dimension to its process and this will be associated with discomfort. The link is made explicit in six passages, and one clear example of this is in T4 who says:

*T4: "I think the person at least needs to be challenged by some means and it might mean creating situations that they would find uncomfortable to begin with but have not ultimately bad outcomes."*

Finally in this theme, it is important to note that the data do contain an alternative view on discomfort, namely that it should be avoided otherwise learners will not make progress. T3 for example says:

*T3: "It looks to challenge the individual but not necessarily put them on the spot, make them feel uncomfortable."*

T20 puts it in stronger terms:

*T20: "That is the whole the aims and objectives of EO training is exactly what we both just articulated there so that has got to be there otherwise it is pointless but it is how it is pitched I think in a way where the majority accept it as a non threatening, non intrusive or sufficient non threatening, not intrusive for them to actually feel comfortable in participating in the training because if it does appear too threatening or too intrusive then the switch off factor will come on and people will just go through the motions because they have to be there."*

### **Summary of this theme**

- The process of EO training involving discomfort even pain is a strong theme in the data.
- Discomfort may be a necessary factor in personal growth in EO training terms.
- The source of the discomfort may be finding out things about the self that are disliked and this then becomes tension in terms of how to respond to it.
- Coming to see things in a different way may involve discomfort because often long-held views attitudes, values and ways of thinking are being challenged.



- Challenging learners and being challenged by learners are associated with discomfort.
- Responses to discomfort may include discrediting the course, avoiding the process, and retreating into a safety-net / comfort zone.
- Some trainers see good EO training as being a comfortable process that needs to be non-threatening.

### Authority to engage with the learners

This theme refers to what the trainers had to say about the authority (or not) which they felt they had to engage with learners, and two sets of passages were coded in this theme. In twenty-two passages trainers talked about the authority they had to engage with learners particularly in relation to raising their awareness and in encouraging the learners to engage in reflection. There was also an association with this and the discomfort that this might cause the learner. On the other hand there were passages where the trainers spoke of their uncertainty about what authority they had to engage with learners in difficult areas.

Dealing first with the passages that express a certainty about the authority, there are several examples of the way some trainers appeal to the authority invested in them by the police organisation. T7 expressed it thus:

*PC: "If someone said to you I challenge your right to take me through this process, I do not want to go into discomfort, I do not want to address my way of seeing the world, I'm fine with the ones I've got, what issues would that raise with you as a trainer?"*

*T7: Well, partly in terms of defending that would be to say well you know you are not here as a free uninhibited human being you are here as a member of an organisation which has specific aims and purposes and the bottom line is that you are paid wages to work within certain parameters."*

T8 is equally clear that he has been mandated by the organisation to encourage people in a process of change:

*PC: "Do you feel that you have the authority, right, legitimisation if you like to encourage them to change those beliefs, attitudes and values and so on?"*

*T8: Yes, I think given the mandate that I have operated on up until now as a trainer, I'm talking as a trainer here where I've been tasked to facilitate equal*

*opportunities issues I believe I do have the right to begin that process and to start to encourage people to make what I consider to be lasting and positive change."*

A third example of this view of authority is provided by T20 who sees the source of their authority in that their Chief Constable supports their work:

*PC: "What authority do you have to work with people in your training classes in that way?"*

*T20: Every authority in as much as the training process is obviously supported by the Chief Constable and the top end of the hierarchy, I don't have the authority of rank or any other obvious manifestation of authority."*

T25 has another way of seeing this and talks in terms of them as a trainer having a responsibility to challenge the learner.

*T25: "So you are actually revisiting so you are not actually addressing it there and then, unless it is totally inappropriate and then obviously we have got an organisational responsibility to challenge."*

Not all trainers presented as being so certain about the source of their authority. T6 for example would not challenge a learner who refused to participate in the process:

*PC: "What if that individual challenged your authority to go through that process with them, what if they said you have no right to challenge me to help me bottom out my views and find out who I am and where I am coming from, I don't accept your right as a trainer to do that. What would you do?"*

*T6: I would accept that because I haven't got that right and if they are willing to - I haven't got that right, we are not in a dictatorial state."*

Two other examples of uncertain authority are less conclusive because they reveal ambivalence on the part of the trainer. In both cases the context suggests that the trainers would try to engage with the learners but would draw back if challenged.

*T14: "I don't think we have got the right to change people's values and attitudes I think they have a responsibility to make people consider their own values and attitudes and what affect it can have on other people."*

*PC: "What right do you have to try and change someone's world view?"*

*T19: Right?, no right at all."*

T30 expresses it as a moral and ethical issue and draws back from saying that the aim should be to change peoples ways of seeing things, but should instead be to get them to consider their position in the light of the organisation's expectations.

*T30: "I think it is an ongoing feature because I think there is an ethical and moral issue anyway and the extent to which you can meddle with people's hearts and minds in that sense but I think in dealing with the affective you are not really saying that you want to change their issues, what you are doing though is helping them to come to terms with where they are in relation to the issues because at the end of the day an organisation has every right to expect certain standards of behaviour."*

### **Summary of this theme**

- Some trainers say that they are mandated by the organisation to challenge learners and take them into areas where they may feel uncomfortable.
- This may also be expressed as a responsibility on the part of the trainer but the right to do so does not necessarily underpin the responsibility.
- An alternative view is that if a learner does not want to take part in the process then the trainer would accept that.
- The extent to which a trainer may attempt to change a person's way of seeing something may be an ethical or moral issue.

### **The analogy of the journey**

A final theme in this element is the analogy of taking the students on a journey. There is a sense in which this could just as well be allocated to the process group of themes but I have located it here because of the way trainers spoke of the analogy as if it was an object in itself. In other words, metaphorically taking the students on a journey was seen as a legitimate excursion, even if there was some uncertainty about the final destination. The trainers are also making some quite clear statements about the nature of the training that the journey implies. In these statements there is a very strong learner orientation and an assumption that this is something the learner will need to do for him or herself. So we see phrases such as *"you make links for yourself"*, *"personal discovery"*, *"personal exploration"*, *"got a grasp of who you are"*, *"to understand themselves"*, *"matter of the heart"*,

all used in the context of being on a journey in the training. The analogy also provides a connection with the next group that opens with the theme of 'process as an end in itself'. Although this is very similar, it is not the same because in this theme the journey analogy is quite explicit.

T10 provides the first example.

*T10: "I look at it very much like a journey, a journey of self discovery but because it is internal to this organization then it is yes good that's a journey about self discovery and I'm glad you've made that because the important thing is that you make connections, you make links for yourself so if you internalise it we have now gone into the attitudes and behaviour stuff. ... If you have got that and are taking the people through the journey then out of that comes hopefully, this internalised ... is their own way of dealing with people and therefore it confirms their professional behaviour."*

Some features of what T10 said are useful for the model. These are that the journey needs to be one of self-discovery, connections and links need to be made for oneself. In other words this is not something that the trainer can do for the learner, and it will include internalising about attitudes and behaviour. To link this into the other themes of this group it could be argued that the starting point for this journey would be knowledge of one's own position in relation to the issues.

T28 describes the journey in terms of its relationship with the way adults learn. He is concerned to construct the learning so that the learner is 'engaged'. His reference to adults being inquisitive gives a clue to what he means. A successful learning outcome would be where the learners had been empowered to make their own choices.

*T28: Take them on a journey why and you will break down those barriers, that resistance and soften that exterior. Adults are inquisitive creatures and if you listen, if you can catch them, engage them they you can break down that resistance. I have seen it, I have done it many, many times.*

*PC: So If I said I have been in your EO training and I have learned a lot what would I be saying?*

*T28: I said I can look you all in the eye and you now know, you have been on that journey and you can choose, you can choose not to choose, you can now choose to make a difference within yourself and with others or you can choose not to*

*choose but I looked everyone of them in the eye and they knew that they had learnt,...*”

T16 provides insight into the way in which the journey may be seen in the context of the student’s broader life experience. The training may offer an opportunity to the individual to understand themselves, and come to terms with their own prejudices. This will result from a three stage process of understanding where the prejudices have come from, finding out what they mean to the individual, and then situating that meaning in the context of the person’s professional life.

*T16: “I think that for equal opportunities to really be solid I think people have to, it is necessary for people to get to a point in their own lives, in their own journey if you like, to understand themselves, what their prejudices are and that means they have to own that, they have to accept that, I have to accept that, I have prejudices that I have had racial prejudices, sexual prejudices and I have had to be able to look at them and look at me with them to understand where they have come from, what they actually mean to me as an individual and then also what they mean to me as a professional. ”*

T10 gives a different perspective of the same thing. He had been talking about people’s expectations of being brainwashed in EO or CRR training, or that the aim was for conversion to some extremist ideology. For him, the solution to this was to take the students gently on a journey of discovery. He frames it in these terms:

*T10: “...which is why I’m thinking the concept of the journey is important to make, assist people just by giving them exposure to these issues and what does it mean to somebody else and a case of where is all this coming from and get people to reflect on their own experiences.”*

Notice the common theme of self-discovery in what T10 is saying. Rather like T16, there are three components to this. The students are exposed to the issues, the views of others, and, through reflecting on these, they can be brought to a position of feeling comfortable to change rather than feeling they are being forced to change.

The journey may not be an easy one. Here we have a link with a feature of others themes in that self-discovery may be an uncomfortable process for both trainer and learner. T30, however, says that this might be a hallmark of good training. He

also notes that the self-discovery should not take place out of context, but that the learners will need to decide on what steps they need to take in their professional lives as a result of being on the journey.

*T30: "It may be very challenging, it may be very stressful, but ironically that might mean that it is good training. Because you are taking them on a journey at the end of the day and the journey is around personal discovery and then personal exploration and see how this fits into their day to day work and most important what steps they need to take as a result of that learning experience."*

### **Summary of this theme**

- The analogy of the journey is one frequently used by trainers to describe one of the objects of EO training. It is a powerful one and has a number of features that may be carried forward in to a model.
- The analogy claims the need for the training to be learner centred.
- This training will revolve around self-discovery for the learners. Self-discovery is used synonymously with other expressions such as personal exploration.
- Students will be encouraged to make links between what they find and their professional life. A major aspect of the self-discovery will be the acceptance of personal prejudice, developing an understanding of the source of this and making links with the person's professional life.
- Being on a journey with the trainer may have the effect of making the training less threatening, and will help to engage the learner's interest.
- It is to be expected that the process will be an uncomfortable one, but this in itself will be an indicator of quality EO training.
- A successful outcome of the journey would be where the student had been empowered to make his or her own choices.
- The journey should be made in the context of the individual's life experience. The training in itself may represent a point in the person's life where they think about their stance on issues in a way that they may not have been challenged to do so before.

#### ***D. The trainers engaging in EO training***

The final element to emerge with strength from the data is that which draws together themes about the trainers themselves. 'Trainers' provided the focus for what was said in forty-three passages and, as can be seen from figure 4.3, there were interesting associations with the themes of prejudice and knowledge. As will be illustrated, the key connection with prejudice was that trainers need to work through their own position as a precursor to engaging in this type of training, and this is connected to knowledge which has two aspects. The first is knowledge of self (for example one's own prejudices) and secondly knowledge of EO and CRR issues. Related issues that emerged more weakly from the data were stress on the trainer and the use of civilians to train EO and CRR. They have been included because in the case of the former, those who talked about stress did so with great feeling and it seemed to me to be an important issue for them. In the case of civilian trainers, some forces have a policy to use civilians in training and there are issues surrounding this that are relevant to the model. The summary at the end includes all the aspects of this element, but the main theme relates to trainers generally and this will be the point of departure.

##### **Trainer's skills, abilities and orientations**

The data reveal that EO trainers may need a wider range of skills than those of trainers in other, less contentious, subject areas. One aspect to emerge in this respect is that trainers need to have worked through their own experience of EO and CRR issues. Three passages illustrate this. In the first, T6 makes a link with the importance of the trainer being credible by showing sincerity. This is linked with another aspect that will be illustrated below, where some trainers talked about "owning the ethos". T6 had been talking about the importance of trainers preparing for the role:

*PC: "Do you think that is important for a trainer to understand where they are?"*

*T6: In this field, yes definitely. Because in this field if you don't the danger is you could come across as being insincere and the moment that happens you have lost it."*

The second example of trainers needing to come to terms with their own position is provided by T15. The extract below is just the first part a long explanation that he gave of how, through his training as a trainer, he discovered uncomfortable things about his orientation towards certain groups. I have truncated it to ensure anonymity.

*PC: "Do you think it is important that trainers go through a process of having their own attitudes exposed?"*

*T15: Yes, I've been there"*

In the example above, the focus is on attitudes. In the third example, T19 talks about the need for trainers to address prejudices as well.

*T19: "I think you have got to address your own (prejudices) without any doubt."*

Another aspect that the data reveal about trainers is that there are dangers in trainers working with learners at levels at which they are unskilled. These dangers revolve around working in emotional areas where the potential for learners to be left feeling damaged is high. It is expressed by T30 who had been talking about EO training as a journey, and how people could be encouraged to "*explore their own psyche*" at different levels. She was asked:

*PC: "Right, what about the ability in the skill of the trainer to do this. Would you say that ordinary trainers are capable of getting into these areas?"*

*T30: I think it is very dangerous.*

*PC: Say some more about that.*

*T30: I think it is very dangerous and I think it is very irresponsible to uncover issues if you are not capable of putting that person back in a sense of wholeness at the end of this, and I think there have been some very damaging experiences in EO training because trainers have got into the emotional side and domain without actually understanding what they have done and they have left people very, very hurt and very bruised and so if trainers are not very skilled I would actually prefer them not to get involved very deeply in the emotional side."*

This leads to what trainers said about the skills and personal attributes that good EO trainers need. There are a number of passages which talk about trainers' skills, summarised here as:

*T6: "... intervention, facilitation, teaching methods, strategy, objectives, you can teach all those, what you have to have to be able to stand up in a classroom and*



*take it on the chin day after day, you have got to believe in what you are trying to do or you have got to believe in the issues that are there.”*

*T12: “...so I think in terms of trainer skills you need the whole thing about being able to handle process, conflict, you need all the facilitation skills, being able to juggle mentally and ask tough questions ...”*

*T22: “Now unless you have got a very deep understanding of the issues you can't pursue them because the questions that come back to you are very sophisticated, they don't know how sophisticated the questions are but very often people who are hurting the most can throw up a question which requires a great deal of sophistication to answer and if you haven't got the answer, that has only got to happen to you 2 or 3 times in a morning and you have lost your course if you haven't got an answer.”*

*T30: “I think you need trainers who are first of all they have a positive outlook, they know where their limits are. They recognise the limits of their own competence and they are very adept at dealing with group conflict and some of the sensitivities which crop up for example resistance to change quite apart from being in tune with the knowledge, the legal implications, the practical and the policy issues involved in EO.”*

To make more sense, the skills and attributes can be tabulated as in figure 4.5 below. The table includes what the trainers said about preparation for the training in terms of their self-awareness (see above) and also draws on the passages that have not been used as illustrative extracts.

Skills	Attributes
Intervention	Resilience ("take it on the chin")
Facilitation	Belief in what you are doing
Conflict management	Mental agility
Ask tough questions	Deep understanding of issues
Flexible	Positive outlook
Manage group dynamics	Recognise own limits
Knowledge of law	Been through the process
Manage resistance strategies	Sincerity
Knowledge of policy issues	Sensitive to people's needs and concerns
Knowledge of own prejudice	Non-neutral in facilitation
	"Walk the talk" / "Own the ethos"
	Motivation in the subject
	Well trained in EO

**Figure 4.5 Skills and attributes of good EO trainers**

The third aspect of this theme is the importance attached in the data to the notion of "owning the ethos", a phrase which is used by T16. In addition to many of the passages coded as talking about trainers which included this idea, there were sixteen passages that were similarly coded. Another way of expressing it for example was "walk the talk" as used by T15. Owning the ethos and walking the talk were not seen as consistent with a neutral style of facilitation. T11, for example, said that not expressing a view on an openly prejudicial statement in a discussion was not only incongruent with his own belief, it allowed people simply to reinforce their own stereotypes. Another way of expressing the idea is to be found in T19 who describes it in terms of commitment.

*T19: "It might not be delivered in the best way but you could still get through the package but when you look at EO and then CRR in one barrel if you like it is very emotive, you are working in the affective the majority of the time and if the trainer doesn't understand firstly and actually doesn't have a degree of commitment to what they are training that comes across and actually devalues it so for me the biggest issue is the commitment of the trainer in delivering the package."*

This section concludes with an extract from T20 who was asked what qualities a well qualified trainer would have:

*T20: "Certainly motivation in the subject, hopefully some experience of matters EO. To be well trained in equal opportunities and to walk what they talk if possible."*

### Stress on trainers

A number of trainers reported stress arising from their role as EO trainers. In two cases I felt that the interview itself was being used by the interviewee as a cathartic opportunity. Reasons why EO trainers may feel stress include, being challenged, negative group dynamics, and feeling devalued.

*T30: "Well it (EO training) can make you feel devalued"*

A further dimension to this is that the build up of stressors in the lives of EO trainers were not easily identified without the intervention of someone else.

*T19: "The subject is quite a tiring one and I don't think you always recognise it yourself, my wife told me it was the most stressful 18 months I have had in the job in 24 years and probably it is easier for someone outside looking in to identify that than yourself, so maybe the build up of the stresses of doing it, also the lack of commitment all ties in together to be quite honest and some people were more committed than others to see that through over the period of time."*

For T26 it was dealing with challenges that became wearing for her, and in terms of the group dynamic it sometimes seemed to her that a whole group was challenging her.

*T26: "Perhaps because some of the sessions get quite uncomfortable and you will be challenged back and you have to be able to deal with that challenge and that can be quite wearing and you get people, if you get a whole group who generally are in together in some views and you don't feel like you are getting anywhere that can be very tiring, very tiring and you might think well what is the point, what is the point of me being here..."*

The solution, according to T19, is to have a support mechanism for trainers engaged in EO training:

*T19: "Other trainers saw us as having a cushy time but we actually needed that to deal with stress levels etc., and for me it was really important that there is a*

*mechanism where you can talk to each other for support because it is a stressful thing."*

### Civilian support trainers

A number of forces employ full time civilian trainers to deliver EO training, sometimes as a speciality and sometimes as part of a wider training programme. There is a strong link here with the stress on trainers, discussed above, because the data reveal that credibility can become an issue and one transcript refers to the experience of being bullied by the students.

*T24: "There are problems from a personal perspective because, not that we get a lot of it but we do get some if you get outrageous behaviour, if you get bullied yourself as a trainer, you have entered into a contract where you have allowed people to sort of operate on a very confidential, private level and there is a dilemma then between the costs and benefits of actually dealing with outrageous behaviour, bullying behaviour, disrespectful behaviour whatever and actually how to deal with that.*

*PC: Have you ever experienced bullying and disrespectful behaviour?*

*T24: Yes."*

Another civilian trainer explained her strategy for dealing with a challenge to her credibility as a trainer that revolved around the assertion that, as a manager with management experience, she was well placed to teach management skills and that she was not trying to teach them to be police officers.

A completely different view of the situation is also present in the data, being that police officer trainers may not be best placed to deliver this training at all. Given that EO training may be an uncomfortable or even painful process, it is all too easy for police trainers to opt out of the imperative to engage with learners at this level and collusion with a group (of police officer) colleagues can be a strategy adopted to avoid this. T30 makes this point.

*T30: "I think sometimes the (police officer) trainers will collude with the group they are working with and if one is looking at in the Police context it is quite difficult for a Police trainer to confront colleagues because you actually have to be quite courageous and I think morally courageous."*

### **Summary of this element**

- The range of skills needed by trainers of EO and CRR may be greater than for trainers in other areas.
- The skills and attributes needed by trainers can be identified, and these are summarised in figure 4.5.
- Trainers should not engage in EO training until they have identified their own prejudices, worked through their own positions in relation to CRR issues, and had their own attitudes exposed.
- Trainers who do not have the appropriate skill to work in sensitive and emotional areas may actually cause psychological damage to learners.
- Trainers need to be sincere and committed to what they are doing. They need to have values and behaviour that are congruent with what they are training.
- Stress can be a problem for some EO/CRR trainers. This can range from feeling devalued to feeling that the trainer is not getting anywhere.
- One of the solutions to this stress is to have a support mechanism for trainers.
- Civilian support trainers may have particular problems that may range from their credibility being challenged through to actual experiences of being bullied.

## Chapter Five

### An experientially derived model of equal opportunities training

From the analysis of trainers' experience a model was constructed. Reference has already been made in the opening chapter of the thesis to the lack of an effective model of EO training in the literature, so there is little guidance as to how the model itself might look. There are, however some principles that may be followed. The literature is not extensive, but Boshear and Albrecht (1977, p.3) do address the issue of developing models for what they call the 'behavioural sciences'. In describing their process for determining what is a model and what is not, they outline six characteristics of a model, all of which have been incorporated into the model developed in this chapter. In summary these are:

- *It will have a conceptual framework.* The EO model is grounded in the experience of the trainers interviewed, and sits within a hermeneutic / interpretative paradigm.
- *It will have a definable area of interest drawing on information from the real world.* In this case the area of interest is EO training as delineated in the IFS (chapter 2) and the data is drawn from practising trainers.
- *It will define the data elements within the scope of its application.* These are defined as the four elements: Objects, Act, Process, and Trainers.
- *It will structure information in a way that can be diagrammed.* As this chapter progresses, each element will be diagrammed and then these are drawn together to make the complete model - figure 5.6.
- *It will describe the structure between the data elements.* At each stage, and at the end of the chapter the relationship between the elements is commented on. A key feature of this is that the elements of the model are not mutually exclusive but interdependent.
- *It will permit inferences that can be demonstrated by real-world experiences.* This aspect of the model will be demonstrated as it is tested in the field - one of the implications for further work referred to in chapter six.

Boshear and Albrecht describe the benefits of models with these attributes in the following terms:

*“Although, speculation, conjecture and especially labelling and classifying constitute the bulk of behavioural science work, the significant contribution to the communication of these ideas has been the development of simple conceptual models” (p.253).*

So, drawing on the above, it is reasonable to argue that the development of a model of good EO training is more than just a diagram or a sequence and in many ways will flow quite naturally from good quality research. For example, as previously discussed, the conceptual underpinning both epistemological and ontological, of the research itself needs to be made explicit as it does also in the building of a model. The assumption that the information can be diagrammed may be more problematic, particularly where there are a range of complex relationships to present. Having said that, the production of a diagram can be of great assistance in helping to see the structure of connections of ideas within the model. Cohen and Manion (1989 p.16) support this view in their explanation of models in research as being *“explanatory devices or schemes having a broadly conceptual framework... to give a more graphic or visual representation of a given phenomenon.”*

The model is grounded in the data generated by the trainers. In the sections that follow, the key points arising from each theme (given as summaries in chapter four) are drawn together and presented with commentary where appropriate. In the previous chapter, the analysis of the data presented everything that the data had to say about good EO training. The four elements that arose out of the analysis have been retained as a useful way of collating the themes and for each of these elements a diagrammed model will be constructed.

## 1. **Objects of EO training**

Aims and objectives are a necessary component of training that conforms to the systems-based product model that predominates in police training. They can sometimes give the illusion that there is clarity of purpose, when in fact they may create a dissonance between what is specified for trainers to achieve and what they (trainers) believe they should be aiming at. They do have a role to play in helping to making training accountable to the many stakeholders in it but they may not be entirely helpful to instructors or learners where the processes and outcomes of training may not be so easy to express, certainly in pure behavioural terms. In vocational training paid for out of public funds there must be a concern for accountability, but this does not have to get in the way of specifying training which works with learners at a deeper and more meaningful level than merely aiming at behavioural competencies. In the data there are frequent references to the differences in ways in which learners approach EO training and this can be coupled to an outcome of phenomenographic research into learning which has been that *what* is learned is dialectically linked with *how* it is learned (Marton and Booth, 1997). Bowden and Marton (1998) give an account of how such thinking has been applied to a range of subject matter in such learning contexts as physics, economics, computers and history. Their concern is to illustrate the re-coupling of ideas of learning with the object of what is being learned. For them, the notion of competence and quality in education has led to a focus on outcomes which has ignored at its peril ideas about how the process of learning a particular thing can affect that outcome.

If, as described above, learning cannot be de-coupled from its object then we need to know about how people go about learning different things, so the what and the how of the model become important. The objects of a deeper approach to EO and CRR training will centre on challenging learners to self-exploration and a common thread in such training will be raising their awareness. An understanding of the nature of awareness is important for this research because of the frequency with which the word 'awareness' is used both in the data and in the literature. What does awareness mean? Marton (1994) describes how a person may experience the same object in different ways according to the context in which it is experienced. In the data awareness is often taken to be synonymous with knowledge, both internal to the individual. usually



their attitudes, values, beliefs and prejudices, and external issues such as culture. Awareness may also develop out of personal experience or hearing about the experience of others and so there seems to be little inconsistency with Marton's view of awareness. That being the case, it is reasonable to suggest that the model of good EO training needs to have built into it a component not only of raised awareness, but a recognition that the learners, and, indeed trainers, may experience the same thing in different ways. One of the objects of good EO training will therefore be to engage with the different ways in which people experience the issues surrounding EO and CRR.

This of course has implications for the way trainers of EO are taught. The data reveal that trainers' awareness and experience of EO training are different. So it is also for the learners. The model helps to make explicit how some trainers follow a more complete conceptualisation than others. This idea will be taken forward into the last chapter.

Another component of the model, which is strongly related to awareness, is knowledge. Marton *et al* (1993 p.284) in their study of conceptions of learning found, in their words, that the increase in knowledge was "*prior and superordinate*" to all the other ways of experiencing learning that they identified. The interview data in this study also features increasing knowledge as a similarly key issue, but there is an inconsistency in what the trainers said in that, for some, they were content to stop short and focus on knowledge of things external to the student, such as knowledge of the law, policy, culture (historical and contemporary), duties, responsibilities, liabilities and theoretical perspectives on prejudice and discrimination. EO training will need to have this as one of its constituents but will need to go further. The model therefore needs to embody an element of knowledge of self as well. This is of course linked to the ideas about awareness above and will mean exploration at a deeper level of an individual's behaviour, values, attitudes, beliefs, prejudice, experience, socialisation and way of seeing the world.

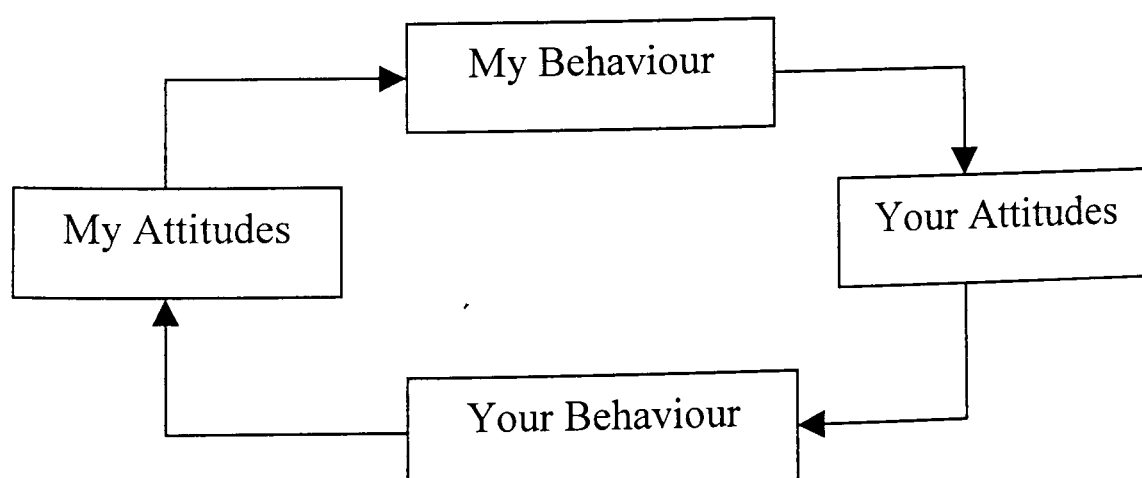
The relationship between attitude and behaviour is a vital component of the model. This closes on a crucial difficulty that EO training has faced, and which Meaklim (1999 p.5) suggests represents the mistakes of the past which we must not build upon

in the future. In short, this is that the de-coupling of attitudes from behaviour undermines the effectiveness of EO training, because it is not just the behaviour that is the problem, it is the attitudes that drive it. Where trainers are unclear about their stance on this or where they actually acquiesce in the separation of the two, it is unlikely that effective learning will take place, or at least learning which is at a deeper level than just the acquisition of knowledge.

A deep level of training is unlikely to be achieved if the trainer is content to deal with behaviour as a disconnected entity and allow students to go unchallenged about what may be driving that behaviour. The very fact that there are three ways of expressing the relationship suggests that there is ambivalence and uncertainty amongst the trainers interviewed, and that the model of 'good' EO training should not have such uncertainty. There is a close link with the theme in the 'process' element of the model that has a component of the perceived authority of the trainer to engage with the learner. Trainers who are sure of their ground about attitudes and values and their connection with behaviour present as much less hesitant to engage with the learners at a deeper level.

A reference to Betari's Box was made in the data as a model for illustrating the causal relationship between attitudes and behaviour. The reference is an interesting one since many trainers in the police are aware of it. Three transcripts contain specific references to it and many others talk about it without using the title. It is also a model that I have come across as a trainer in the police. Essentially it describes a cycle of cause and effect (illustrated in Figure 5.1 below).

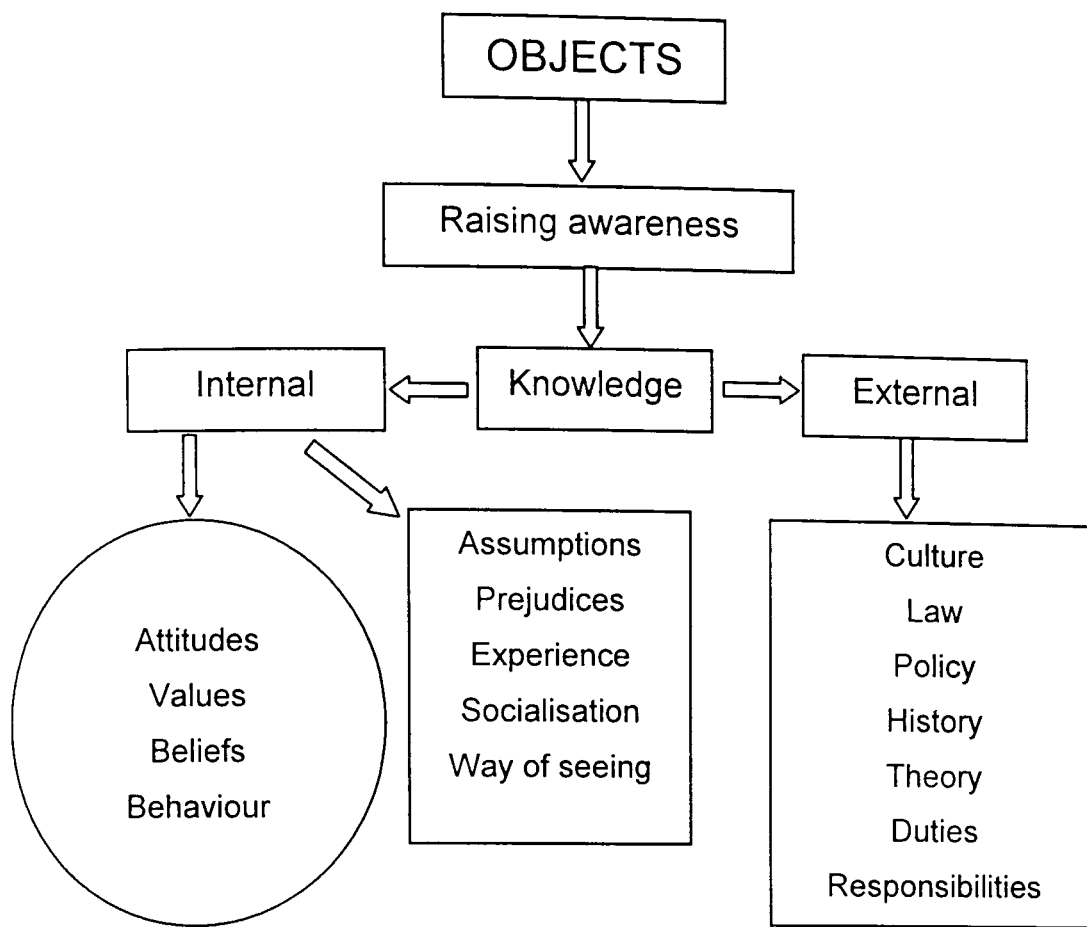
**Figure 5.1 Betari's Box**



Interestingly, all my attempts to trace a literature source for the model were unsuccessful. One line of enquiry led to a Metropolitan Police trainers' handbook published in 1986 where the model appears but is un-referenced. Traditional library searches proved negative and only one reference to the model was found on the Internet and this appears as an overhead projection slide in a US Army equal opportunities training session, and again the source is not shown. There does seem to be more than a passing similarity with the concept of "Life Positions" found in Transactional Analysis (Stewart and Joines 1987 p.117). The problem with the model is that it perpetuates the view that behaviour and attitudes can be seen as separate entities and does not sufficiently reflect their interconnectedness.

The relationship is an important one at the organisational level. If it really is the case that values and attitude are a private issue because they can be divorced from behaviour, why do the police organisations (all 43 in England and Wales) have statements of their common purpose and values? There must be an assumption that individuals working for the organisation will share the values of the organisation. The question is a big one and there is no easy solution, but is any police service, for example, really willing to allow a (police) student to say they are racist or hate this or that group and believe them when they say this will not affect their behaviour? This would be a high-risk strategy indeed. One answer to why the issue is not really addressed is expressed by Waddington (1999 p.108), a noted police commentator who supports the view of separation when he argues (from a psychological perspective) for the *"obvious chasm between what police officers say and what they do"*.

One of the specific objects of EO and CRR training should be prejudice. In line with what has been said above, addressing people's personal value systems may be a way into helping them identify their prejudices. It will help in the training if there is an acceptance that everyone has prejudices of one form or another. Trainers need to have worked through their own prejudices before they engage in this training and it will be helpful if they offer some personal self-disclosure to the learners. Some training situations may be more difficult if people do not accept that they have any prejudices. Figure 5.2 presents these points in diagrammatic form.



**Figure 5.2. The objects of EO training**

## 2. **The act of EO training**

The act of EO training is an element of the model that has its focus on what the learner is doing when he or she engages in EO training, in other words it refers to how the learner is personally engaging in the process to achieve the objects. The data suggest that the notion of understanding is key to this and it will therefore be an important component of the model. Additionally the model will need to contain seeing the world in different ways, reflection and realisation as acts that trainers should be encouraging in good EO training. These will facilitate the deeper level of exploration that is implied by the objects of good EO training.

Awareness was linked with knowledge above, but it is also strongly connected with understanding. Just to know things about EO or to know things about oneself in relation to EO is not enough. There needs to be meaning attached to this awareness and that is embodied in understanding. The need to encourage understanding is embodied in the Police Training Council training strategy document (1985) where the overall purpose of training was identified:

*"To provide the training necessary to ensure that everyone working in the Police Service develops the knowledge, understanding, skills, attitude and behaviour required to meet the present and future needs of the service"*  
*Police Training Council Strategy, 1985 (restated 1989)*

This links with the previous theme about addressing attitudes and behaviour and there is also a clear statement about the need to address understanding as a component of training. The trainers often express the search for 'meaning' in terms of visual metaphors such *"looking into"* that which is being learned or *"looking at"* it in the sense of seeing that which is being learned as a whole, or gaining *"insight"* into the situation, or *"examining things"*. These visual metaphors parallel those that Marton *et al* (1993) found in the way Open University students conceive of learning as understanding.

Seeing things in different ways is very important because we need to recognise that others may see the world quite differently to the way we see it because, as identified above their way of experiencing a certain aspect of the world might be quite different. Our assumptions tend to be built upon our own way of experiencing and therefore all

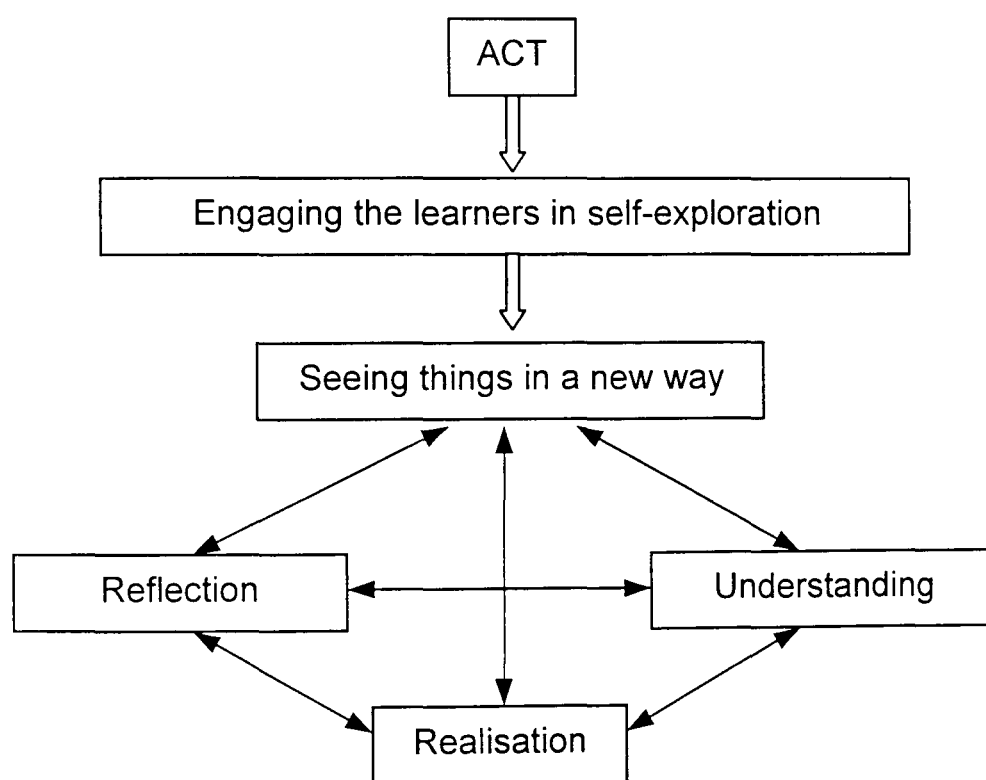
our assumptions need to be challenged. Not necessarily that we do see the world differently but certainly to reach a point of realisation that others might, and those other ways of seeing are equally valid to our own. Coming to see the world differently, and having our assumptions challenged is very likely to be an uncomfortable, even painful, process and this needs to be taken account of in a model of good EO training, particularly in terms of the trainers ability to create a learning environment where it is safe for the learner to take risks in her learning. Coming to see things in a different way may or may not be a sudden experience for the learner, but however it happens a process of exploration will precede it, and this exploration will be either internal or external in that it may be knowledge of issues or knowledge of self.

One act of learning in which the learners may engage in good EO training will be reflection, which is seen in different ways by different trainers. This immediately raises a question of semantics, which has to do with the variation in the way 'reflection' can be understood. For example there is the "reflective practitioner" described by Schön (1983) as well as other ways 'reflection' may be used variously to mean 'reflect back' in the sense of mirror, 'think about', 'dwell on' or think about in a way that leads to some change. It is the last two that are most prevalent in the data, and in addition there are some qualities of reflection that are useful for the model.

- There are a range of objects for reflection on the part of learners.
- It can only happen effectively as a voluntary act on the part of the learner.
- Reflection may happen during, after or some time after the training event.

Truthful and honest reflection on the part of the learner may result in them becoming 'consciously aware'. This is expressed by trainers as an act of 'realisation'. The outcome of realisation is also expressed as a state of 'heightened awareness'. The timing of realisation runs in parallel to the act of reflection described above. Realisation may happen suddenly in the context of a classroom session where for some this will be like a light switching on and may be connected with experiencing a new way of seeing something. There are some parallels here with gestalt psychology and "aha" moments or the achievement of *pragnanz*, or meaningfulness (Hill 1985), and the idea of focal awareness in phenomenography (Marton and Booth 1997).

Although realisation is often sudden, it may be the result of a period of reflection which may be during the day of the training overnight or even over a longer period. This is an important point for the model since some trainers may have unreal expectations of what they can achieve in a short time and may not take into account the power of reflection on the part of the learner. A final point for the model in relation to realisation is that in connection with 'heightened awareness' there may be dissonance set up for the learner. This is because they may discover aspects of their lives that they are not happy with and it is likely that this will be an uncomfortable experience. This leads us on in the construction of the model to the penultimate element, the process, which of necessity includes some statements about the discomfort and pain that may be involved. Figure 5.3 presents these points in diagrammatic form.



**Figure 5.3 The Act of EO training**

### **3. *Process of EO training***

The process of EO training is an element of the model that has themes from the data which are neither objects nor the specific act of training but relate either to the conditions under which the training is taking place or some qualitative aspect of it. So this element includes an assessment of issues about authority to engage with the learners at other than merely a cognitive level, and the way in which EO training is likely to involve an element of discomfort or pain for the learner (and sometimes the trainer). Several trainers made an analogy between EO training and being on a journey so the helpfulness of this to the model will be assessed.

Some trainers say that they are mandated by the organisation to challenge learners and take them into areas where they may feel uncomfortable. An alternative view in the data is that if a learner does not want to take part in the process then the trainer would have to accept that. A further way of seeing the problem is that trainers feel that they want to engage with learners in a way that challenges them to explore their attitudes, values and beliefs because they know this makes for effective EO training, but they are reluctant to do so because they do not feel they have either organisational sanction or the moral right to do it. Clearly a model of good EO training cannot embody all three approaches. Given what has been built up so far in terms of the object and act of EO training, it becomes apparent that to adopt a position which expresses reluctance to engage with learners is to approach the training from a standpoint which is unlikely to succeed. Trainers need to be clear that they are mandated by the organisation to deliver this training, that organisational values embody the expectation that the employees will share in them, and that learners who are unwilling to engage in the process are effectively distancing themselves from the values.

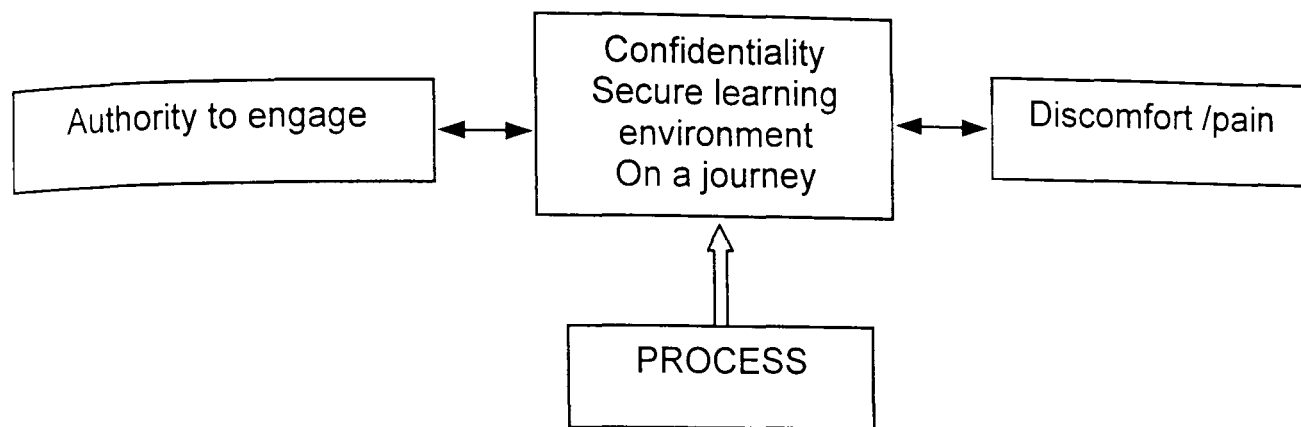
The model of good EO training will recognise that when people engage in an exploration of their attitudes, values and beliefs, this may be an uncomfortable process. For some they will find things about themselves that will cause them emotional pain, and often the tension in the learner will be how they should respond. This discomfort may be a necessary factor in personal growth in EO training terms and, rather than shy away from it or try to avoid it, the process should be constructed in a way that discomfort can take place in a secure and supportive environment. This



will involve skill on the part of the trainer, and carefully thought through issues of confidentiality and group contract. Trainers need to recognise that the way some learners will respond to discomfort may include discrediting the course, avoiding the process, and retreating into a safety-net / comfort zone. Ironically this may be taken as an indicator of successful process, and that the person is being effectively challenged.

The analogy of the journey is one frequently used by trainers to describe the overall process of EO training. It is a powerful one and has a number of qualities that may be carried forward in to a model. The analogy stresses, for example, the need for the training to be learner centred, in the sense that each person's journey will be an individual one and will have a different starting point. The learner must complete the journey in a model of good EO training. So it would not be good training to exit just at the point of increased knowledge. The learner needs to go further in a process of self-exploration to achieve the objects in the first element, such as understanding, seeing the world in different ways so that they feel they can sit comfortably with the purpose and values of the organisation. Through reflection, realisation, and understanding the journey will be one of exploration - things will be discovered that may not have been planned for, and each person will experience the exploration in different ways. A successful outcome of the journey would be where the student had been empowered to make his or her own choices, and that those choices were then congruent with the values of the organisation.

Being on a journey with the trainer may have the effect of making the training less threatening, and will help to engage the learner's interest. The journey should be made in the context of the individual's life experience. The trainers can act in the role of guide and will have metaphorically gathered together the equipment needed for a journey of exploration. Figure 5.4 gathers these strands together in diagrammatic form.



**Figure 5.4. The process of EO training**

#### **4. Trainers**

The final element includes themes about the trainers themselves. This includes the skills that EO trainers need, and their own knowledge, understanding and acceptance of the issues. The skills and attributes needed by trainers can be identified and these are summarised in figure 4.5. and will not be repeated here, but in constructing the model of good EO training a number of points can be made.

Trainers need to be able to facilitate effectively because they need to work with learners at a level that is much more than one of knowledge transmission. They have to be clear about what they are trying to do and how they will do it, but at the same time will need to be flexible to adapt to changing circumstances in the classroom. Trainers who do not have the appropriate skill to work in sensitive and emotional areas may actually cause psychological damage to learners.

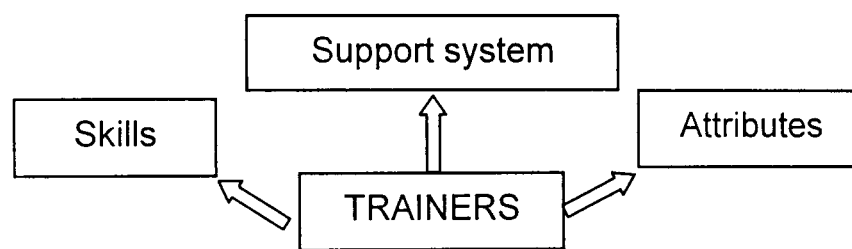
They should not engage in EO training until they have identified their own prejudices, worked through their own positions in relation to CRR issues, and had their own attitudes exposed. This will be important for a number of reasons. Firstly they need to be sincere and committed to what they are doing and will need to know how they personally respond to the issues around which they will be facilitating. They need to have attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviour that are congruent with what they are training and therefore also need to have had the opportunity to work through the areas of difficulty for them as individuals.

They need to recognise that if they are to engage in this type of training, stress can be a problem. This can range from feeling devalued to feeling that they are not getting anywhere. Some classroom situations will be very emotionally charged and challenging to deal with and they need to be able to cope with such situations. Working at a level which is effective will involve the discomfort pain, even trauma that self-exploration may involve. To deal with this the trainer will need to be not only a skilled facilitator, but also resilient, sensitive, flexible, able to read body language, skilled in recognising and responding to group dynamics and confident to lead learners on a journey which may be difficult.

EO trainers may find they suffer stress quite unlike the stresses involved in training other topics. The phenomenon is not new and is reported in literature outside the police context (Kandola, 1991, Garrett and Taylor, 1993). HMIC (1996 p.45) contains a telling statement from a female EO trainer.

*"I don't think that the senior officers of this force know how much we have suffered in trying to move the organisation forward".*

One of the solutions to this stress is to have a support mechanism for trainers and the model should include this. Civilian support trainers may have particular problems which, according to the data may range from their credibility being challenged through to actual experiences of being bullied. It will be particularly important that they are given adequate access to support. Figure 5.5 draws these ideas together.



**Figure 5.5. The trainers engaged in EO training**

***An experientially derived model of EO training***

Figure 5.6 below brings together the elements that have been discussed. The model, of course, cannot be understood if it is disconnected from the context in which it was developed. The underpinning research, the data containing what the trainers said and the subsequent analysis and commentary are all necessary, albeit hidden, components of the model. Figure 5.6 does however show how the elements interrelate with each other and that the how and the what of EO training are symbiotically connected and supported by a process which in turn is facilitated by skilled trainers.

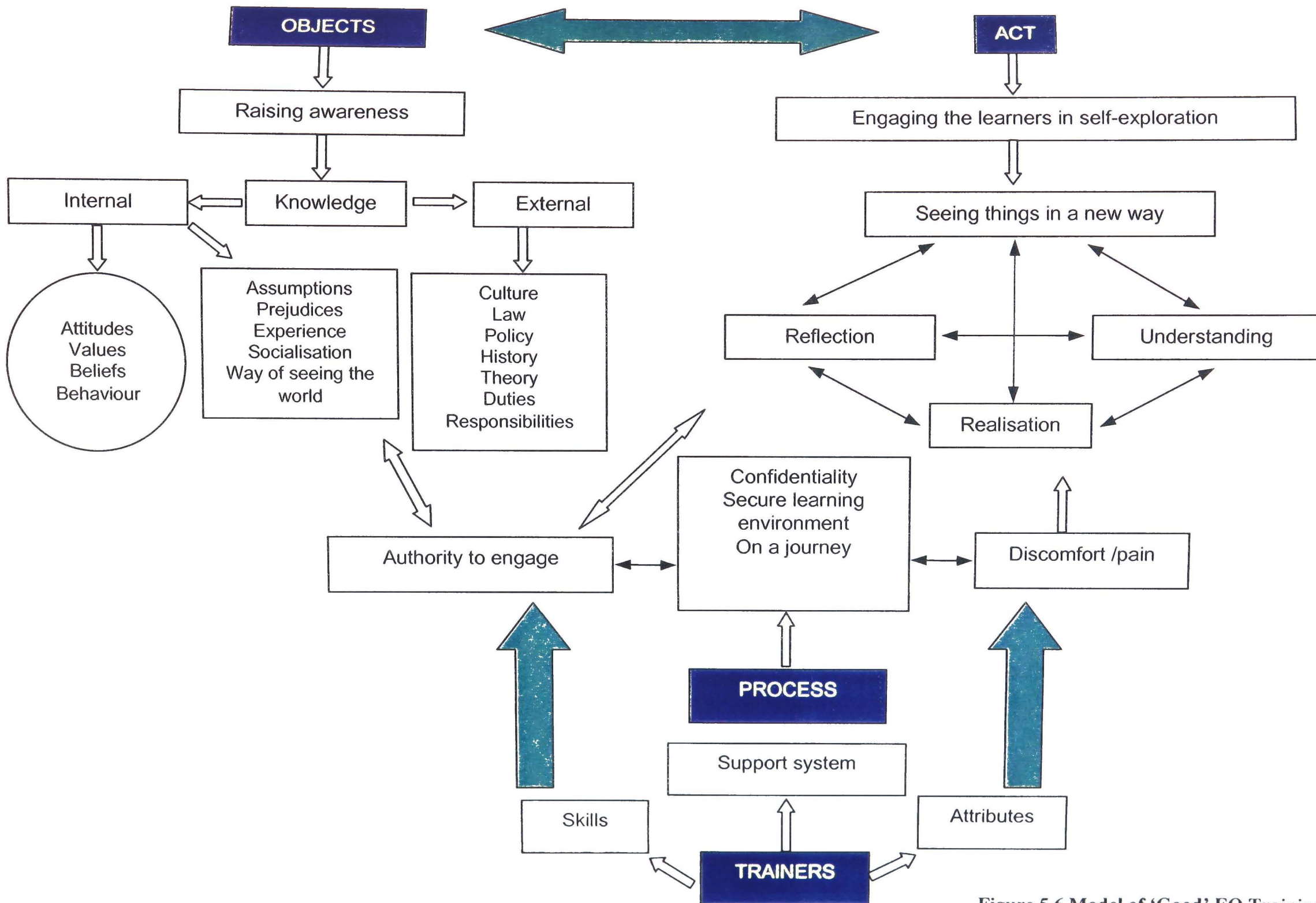


Figure 5.6 Model of 'Good' EO Training

One important feature of the model is that it represents the way trainers experience EO training. If it is related back to the transcripts, a clear issue emerges that, although the model is derived from data across the transcripts, if individual interviews are taken into account, then it is clear that not all trainers experience EO training in the same way. Only one transcript (T8) appears to contain all the elements of the model. Others, for example, T1 and T6 focus predominantly on component parts of the model.

A number of studies have revealed differences in teachers' ways of experiencing teaching (for example, Trigwell and Prosser, 1997; Alexandersson, 1994; Wood, 2000) and how teachers' different understandings of the content of teaching are translated into different knowledge objects for their students in the classroom (for example, Tullberg, 1993; Patrick 1992).

Trigwell and Prosser (1997, p.246), interviewed teachers in a first year university physics context. The five conceptions of teaching they identified were as follows:

- A: teaching as transmitting concepts of the syllabus
- B: teaching as transmitting teachers' knowledge
- C: teaching as helping students acquire concepts of the syllabus
- D: teaching as helping students acquire teachers' knowledge
- E: teaching as helping students develop conceptions
- F: teaching as helping students change conceptions.

Trigwell and Prosser are clear that the conceptions are hierarchical, where 'F' represents the most sophisticated way of seeing teaching because it includes the others, whereas those who work at the level of 'A' may not see the possibilities beyond it.

Patrick (1992) has shown how physics takes on different meanings for different teachers and that they establish different curricula at the classroom level and teach accordingly.

Returning to the model at figure 5.6, it is apparent that Patrick's and Trigwell and Prosser's work has relevance to, and is consistent with my study. For example, the element of the model to do with the act of EO training contains themes around seeing

things in a new way and the developing of understanding. These acts are associated with the more sophisticated conceptions of teaching identified above. There is also a strong link with conception 'F' in terms of the authority that trainers feel they have to work with learners to enable them to change. Instead of being an aspect of the model that trainers may feel unsure about, helping students change their conceptions is actually an indicator of a sophisticated view of teaching.

Another study that is consistent with the model is that reported by Wood (2000). Wood found that the data gathered from student teachers revealed three ways of understanding teaching. In the first, the focus was in the agent of teaching - the teacher. Knowledge transmission was seen as important and the communication process used to achieve this was paramount. So qualities of the teachers came to the fore, such as "*charisma*", "*being respected*" and "*having power*" (p.83). This conception mirrors two aspects of the EO model which are interrelated. In the first the 'trainers' element focuses on the agent who will engage in the process and the 'acts' of EO training, and in the second, for some, the credibility of the trainer as a transmitter of knowledge is held in focus.

The second conception identified by Wood was the focus on the act of teaching. In this conception there is a two way process between teacher and learner. Again there are clear parallels between this conception and the Act of EO training element of the model. All of the themes of that element have implicit within them a two way process between trainer and learner. So the trainer encourages the learner in reflection, or understanding, or realisation to bring them to the point of being able to see things in a new way.

Thirdly, Wood delineates a conception that focuses on the object of teaching: "*teaching is understood as preparing students to understand and be aware of their own thinking and learning*" (p.84). Again, this is consistent with the model where one of the objects is to raise the awareness of the learners and that is intertwined with the way that is achieved, i.e. through self-exploration. Another link with the model is the way in which this conception of teaching embodies preparing students to be reflective, which is a strong component of the act of EO training. Finally, and crucially for a

trainer training programme, Wood establishes that student teachers' conceptions are capable of change in a programme of teacher education.

So in the studies above, and consistent with the model it is clear that individual trainers emphasise or hold in focus different aspects of training EO. And this has a corresponding outcome for the learners. This theme will be taken up in the closing chapter which outlines the implications of this research.



## Chapter Six

### Implications

This research has fulfilled its purpose in developing a model of good EO training based in the experience of those who are engaged day to day in its design and delivery. It has made an original contribution to the debate by seeking to examine EO training in the police from the perspective of the trainers and by taking their experience of the training as the point of departure for the construction of a workable model. The research has focused on an issue which is of pressing importance for the police service, since at the time of writing this chapter there are some fifteen current projects within National Police Training dealing with EO and CRR training nationally. So by way of conclusion to this thesis it is appropriate to consider four groups of implications arising out of the research.

#### **1. *Implications for Policy***

The model contains a number of themes within the elements that may require a policy response. In summary these are:

- An acceptance that competency frameworks have their uses but do not represent the whole picture. Competence must also be about understanding. Trainers need to be allowed the freedom to explore issues with learners that may have indeterminate outcomes but which nevertheless represent effective EO training. It is likely that a knock on effect of this will be the need to develop an evaluation strategy that will capture and take account of all the outcomes rather than just those that can be measured relatively easily.
- Trainers need to feel empowered to train people in sometimes difficult and sensitive areas. Where they do not feel they have the legitimate right or authority to engage with learners' attitudes values and beliefs, they are less likely to be effective. The police service espouses organisational values and trainers need to be sure that they have the power of those values behind them when they take learners into the self-exploration that is essential for effective EO training.

- Trainers need to be given organisational support as a matter of policy. This means not only the emotional support networks they need when they are regularly ground down by resistance, but also the support of appropriate resources such as enough time to do the job properly, co-facilitators where appropriate and good quality, comprehensive trainer training.

## **2. *Implications for testing the model in the field***

What I have presented in this research is a model of good EO training arising out of the experience of police officers and civil staff engaged in its design and delivery. Whether it is sufficiently comprehensive, in terms of what is needed in EO training remains to be seen. Three areas for testing the veracity of the model are apparent:

- Firstly, it will need to be presented to the community for whom it is intended, i.e. the designers and deliverers of EO and CRR training and in this way, establishing its validity and reliability will be an ongoing process. One way in which this will happen is through its publication as part of the Home Office funded research project. This will ensure that all forty-three police forces in England and Wales have the opportunity to comment.
- Secondly, a related issue is that the model needs to be presented to those members of minority groups who now have an increasing involvement in the development and delivery of police training. One of the recommendations arising out of Macpherson (1999) was that members of local minority ethnic communities should be involved in police training. Whilst this recommendation was referring specifically to lay involvement in local training programmes, the principle is established that involvement of minority groups is an important facet of all police training design and delivery. An example of this is the Advisory Panel which meets quarterly to advise National Police training on all aspects of diversity in its curriculum. Unpublished minutes of a meeting of the panel held on 26<sup>th</sup> may 2000 show the importance that is attached to CRR trainers working through their own issues in relation to diversity. This reflects my findings, and it will be important to look for other areas of similarity and difference in the views of the advisors.

- Thirdly, ways will need to be found of building the model into the design process for EO and CRR training, constructing an evaluation strategy to assess its worth, and then delivering such training.

### **3. *Implications for training trainers***

Arising out of the implications above is a need to address the training of trainers. The data were quite clear that trainers need to have explored and worked through their own attitudes values, beliefs and prejudices if they are to be able effectively to train others. Again, this was a theme picked up by members of the National Police Training Advisory panel. Several key areas will need to be addressed:

- The model refers both to the skills and attributes that are required of EO trainers. This implies that selection procedures will need to focus on the suitability of individuals to undertake this type of training.
- The model will need to be taken account of in the design and delivery of training for trainers to ensure that trainers are exposed to all of its elements. This will include as a foundational part of the training the journey of self-exploration that is a key theme in the 'process' element.
- In the previous chapter, reference was made to the studies of teacher learning work that is currently being done in relation to teacher training, and how this relates to the model that has been developed in this research. Wood (2000) found that some trainee teachers' conceptions changed over time and that the highest level of conceptualisation of teaching could be achieved through a focus on the object of teaching as being helping learners to understand and be aware of their own thinking and learning. In this characterisation the focus is not on outcomes per se but on the relation between the learner and what is being learned. The notions of variation and reflection may be powerful tools in helping achieve this learning.

Variation refers to the different ways in which something may be experienced and is important as a tool of learning because it allows the learner to experience what is critical in a powerful way of seeing, in this case, teaching. If trainee trainers can be exposed to the variation that is suggested by the model they will better be able to make sense of what it is they are

experiencing. Reflection on the other hand has a quality of autonomy about it in that in this context it means thinking about one's own thinking about the content. In other words trainers are able reflect on how it is they are handling the content of what they are teaching. Such approaches are not common in trainer training in the police. Normally the focus is on the communication strategies, the outcomes and the observable skills of the trainer. By contrast in the scenario above, the focus is on the relationship of the trainer to the content of what is being trained, or on the learners' relationship with the content.

#### **4. *Implications for further research***

Some areas of the data need further examination and exploration. As explained in chapter four, phenomenography was not used as the method of data analysis but in terms of the outcomes of this thesis that has not presented a major problem. By taking the broader approach to the analysis, a working model of EO training has been achieved and in doing so has satisfied the object of this research, and the requirements of the Police Research Award Scheme funding.

Having said that, I have found that the analysis adopted in this study has, in some respects delayed the opportunity to explore other avenues that present as interesting but which would have diverted me from the main objective. An area that seems to suggest further work is the way in which the trainers conceive awareness, since this is such a common thread throughout the data and in the literature relating to EO training in the police. The data would lend itself to such a content analysis perhaps drawing on phenomenographic principles (Marton and Booth 1997).

Such analysis could equally apply to other aspects of the model, for example trainers' conceptions of reflection, prejudice, or authority. A greater understanding of the way these, and other aspects of the model, are experienced would only serve to increase its impact both on police trainers and, ultimately, those whose service delivery to the public we seek to improve.

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## **Schedule of appendices**

Appendix A - Statement of confidentiality

Appendix B - Interview focus sheet

Appendix C - Questions developed for research seminars

Appendix D - Summary of research seminar output



Home Office Police Research  
Award Scheme Project

Fair Enough? – Improving  
the teaching and learning of  
equal opportunities



Policing &  
Reducing  
Crime

Researcher: Phil Clements – Metropolitan Police Royalty Protection Department – Buckingham Palace

### Explanation and Statement of Confidentiality Agreement

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research. It is very important that you feel able to speak freely and I would ask you to consider the following arrangements for confidentiality.

1. Your interview tape will be sent to an academic secretary in Bristol for transcription into word processed text. The tape and transcript will be given a number. Only I will know what number has been allocated to what name. The schedule containing the numbers and names exists on a floppy disk which only I have access to.
2. No other person will know, or be given access to, the names that match the numbers of the transcriptions and tapes.
3. When the tapes have been transcribed they will be overwritten or wiped.
4. You will be offered a copy of your transcription should you want one. This will be sent by me direct since only I will know which transcript matches which name.
5. Your transcript will be analysed in conjunction with many others and the object will be to look for variation between them. The analysis of the transcripts will include the quoting of extracts. No extract will be used if it appears that this would reveal, or tend to reveal, the identity of the interviewee.

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Home Office Police Research  
Award Scheme Project

Fair Enough? -- Improving  
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equal opportunities



Policing &  
Reducing  
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Researcher: Phil Clements – Metropolitan Police Royalty Protection Department – Buckingham Palace

Survey into EO training conducted 1993. Trainers statements...

"If racism is inherent in the community, why should we try to change this?"

"Is it racist to state facts? E.g. most crimes are committed by blacks"

"I think people make a big deal out of racism and discrimination and you are one of them - just trying to keep yourself in a job"

"I don't have any prejudices"

"I am paid the Queen's shilling to do a job, what I think is my business"

"What's wrong with calling a WPC Doris or plonk if they don't mind?"

"As long as I keep my opinions to myself what's the harm?"

"Homosexuality is wrong, it's as simple as that"

## Improving the learning and teaching of equal opportunities

Research Seminar - NPT  
Harrogate 15th November 1999

## Improving the learning and teaching of equal opportunities

Research Seminar - NPT  
New Scotland Yard  
November 23rd 1999

### Purpose of the day

- to continue to involve in the research process the people who generously gave up time to be interviewed and to extend the sample;
- to present the data to them as part of the validation process and explore the implications;
- to seek their contributions and advice with regard to the pedagogical issues raised by the research;
- to maintain the momentum of the project as a potential influence on the developing national strategy for EO training in the British Police

### Two interesting questions:

- How do we gain knowledge about the world?
  - If everything in the world was red - how would we know what green was?

### Three interesting answers:

- We know about the world because we experience it
- Without variation there can be no learning
- We need to discern that variation simultaneously and contemporaneously

### An assertion:

- Take any phenomenon and there will be a limited number of qualitatively different ways in which people will experience it

An assumption:

- There will therefore be a limited number of qualitatively different ways that police officers experience or understand EO training

A prediction:

- If we can find out what they are then we should be able to teach it better

Why do we want to teach it better?

- Because we want them to be able to use their learning in the future in new and unusual situations
- We want them to be able to handle variation
- We want them to be able to handle diversity

We want them:

- To be able to deal with variation
- By experiencing variation
- So we need to help them discern variation

What gets in the way of seeing variation?

- You tell me!
- But first I'll tell you how learners see EO training

This is how we can learn about EO training



EO as seeing oneself - critical aspects

- Internalising
- Realisation
- Self awareness as knowing oneself
- World-view
- Process (pain and discomfort)
- Attitudes and behaviour are constituted together and cannot be de-coupled
- Authority to engage at a level of feelings

EO as focusing on behaviour - critical aspects

- Awareness as knowing about one's behaviour - externalising
- Behaviour as an objective entity and a concomitant de-coupling of behaviour from attitudes
- Authority to engage at the level of behaviour as an objective entity

EO as about gaining knowledge - critical aspects

- Self-awareness as knowing about oneself
- Awareness as knowing about the issues
- Authority to engage at the level of knowledge (as an objective and comfortable entity)

Issues for teaching and learning (1)

- EO training as seeing oneself
- EO training as focusing on behaviour
- EO training as about gaining knowledge

Issues for teaching and learning (2)

- Trainers' skills
- Civilian support trainers
- Resistance and how to manage it
- Aims objectives and the rationale for EO training
- Process as an end in itself - the analogy of the journey
- Stress on trainers



Home Office Police Research  
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Fair Enough? – Improving  
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equal opportunities



Policing &  
Reducing  
Crime

Researcher: Phil Clements – Metropolitan Police Royalty Protection Department – Buckingham Palace

Seminar output:

Harrogate 15<sup>th</sup> November 1999 ;

London new Scotland Yard 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1999

- Make the training longer
- Decide what outcomes the organisation wants
- Do you want a Mini or a Rolls Royce?
- Working to METLS are evidence of standards for the outside world
- We should select our trainers better
- Bring the top people on board properly - they need to see the issues properly
- Ideals versus conflicts
- Emperor's new clothes
- What are the consequences of saying what you feel?
- Honesty, integrity and assessment - maintain the confidentiality contract
- Be clear about the contract and its bounds
- Draw your authority from the group
- Leave some people in the swamp (Jerome Mack)
- Value of outside trainers high because they are not in the cultural group
- Trainer must have the authority to work in the process
- Trainer needs to show they truly believe it
- Personal credibility of the trainer:
- Knowledge of what real police work is about.
- How recent and relevant does the experience need to be?
- You gain power in the training environment by giving it away
- Get them to tell you how the subject fits the world
- Give practical scenarios for them to work on
- Technique can overcome resistance
- Mixed group training including support staff so they can identify with the organisation
- External consultants have the separation and credibility of an academic background
- It is important to have background knowledge of the organisation
- The training needs to be situated in the experience of the organisation
- Must be delivered in people's own circumstances and how it relates to their work