Balancing value and effort: a classic grounded theory of frontline police practice

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to explain the behaviour of frontline police officers engaged in incident work. Policymakers try to improve police legitimacy by changing how individual police officers interact with the public at police incidents. However, police practice has been particularly resistant to change, and professional and academic work that explains why this might be the case is underdeveloped. This thesis explores these issues from an interactional perspective; asking the questions – how do police officers behave, and why do they behave in that manner? The classic grounded theory method was used to collect and analyse data from officer interviews and body-worn video footage from police incidents within an English county in 2019. It is argued that officers seek to balance the level of effort they use at an incident against the value that they perceive that the incident represents. An incident is of value if an officer is afforded an opportunity to perform the role of an imagined police identity involving socio-culturally constructed notions of 'real' crime, 'real' victims and 'real' criminals. If value and effort are 'unbalanced', then an officer feels frustration and seeks to correct that imbalance by subconsciously shaping the behaviour of incident participants. Officer behaviour can be categorised into one of two types: *binary retreat* or *binary deconstruction*. Officers alternate between these two behaviour types to shape the behaviour of incident participants; trying to achieve a balance between value and effort. The theory can be used to improve police practice by changing how training is designed and how policy is created. The significance and relationship of value and effort in driving police behaviour have, to date, not been explored within existing literature as an explanation of frontline police practice.

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This thesis is dedicated to Chris and Paul Ash (mom and dad).

In memory of Doreen and Ken Ash: I am sorry that I did not get this finished in time for you to see it.

Nerth gwlad, ei gwybodaeth

(The strength of a nation is its knowledge)

THE STUDY PART I
(DESIGN & EXECUTION)

Chapter one: introduction

The effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy of the police in England and Wales are issues that have come to the fore in recent years as the police have sought to improve their practice in response to decreased public confidence and increasing demands on their services (Institute for Government, 2020). Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) describe this as

> *'about what the police must, should and could do for the public; how they have to do it as part of a wider system that isn't working properly; dilemmas facing the Government over police funding; and how the policing landscape must change, if the service is to meet the demands of now and the future' (HMICFRS, 2019a: 16).*

In seeking greater legitimacy[1], the police have undergone periodic cycles of organisational change and reinvention within the context of increasing public demand on their services (Winsor, 2019; Mawby, 2002). However, despite these changes, public perceptions of police legitimacy have stagnated recently with HMICFRS (2020a) noting that there continues to be a lack of practice innovation directed towards the improvement of police legitimacy. The number of emergency calls made to the police that requires frontline officers to attend has increased, but the public's confidence in the police being able to respond decreased (HMICFRS, 2019b). When the police do answer a call for service, only 50% of victims are satisfied with their contact or interaction with the police when they report a crime or other incident (BMG, 2018). The assessment of Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS, 2019a: 12) is that

[1] There are numerous definitions of police legitimacy in the literature, however a general definition that fits most perspectives that deal with procedural justice and helps to explain its use in this thesis, is as follows: 'Legitimacy is a property of an authority or institution that leads people to feel that that authority or institution is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed' (Sunshine and Tyler, 2003: 514).

'there is a widening gap between the needs of the public and the police's capacity and capability to meet them'.

Police policymakers and scholars have argued that, among structural changes to the police organisation, a primary source of police legitimacy is the way that frontline officers behave and interact with members of the public at police incidents (Walters and Bolger, 2019; Worden and McLean, 2017; Harkin, 2015; HMIC, 2014; inter alia). Policymakers have sought to improve police legitimacy by training officers to behave differently at incidents (HMICFRS, 2019a; HMIC, 2015), by increasing police oversight (Holdaway, 2017; Loader, 2014) or by constraining practice through policy creation (Bowling, Reiner and Sheptycki, 2019; Fleming and McLaughlin, 2012). Despite these measures, the way that officers behave at incidents has generally been resistant to change (Fielding, 2018; White, 2006), and there is a paucity of theoretically developed research that explains why this might be the case (Willis and Mastrofski, 2017; Mastrofski, 2004).

Without a more thorough understanding of why interventions, aimed at improving police practice, have failed to produce significant changes in the way that officers interact with the public, such interventions are unlikely to generate the increases in legitimacy that police leaders and policymakers are seeking.

This thesis, *Balancing value and effort: a classic grounded theory of frontline police practice*, seeks to address this gap in the existing academic research and professional literature. By analysing officer interactions at police incidents, this study attempts to explain the variations in officer behaviour; offering a framework that could be applied to incident policing in support of practice improvements.

The scope of this study

As a study of how frontline[2] police officers carry out their practice when engaged in incident work, this thesis will attempt to explain why police practice is resistant to change, to offer a new perspective on how this might be overcome by attempting to generate new theory from empirical data. The research was conducted with an English county police force between 2018 and 2019. While the circumstances of police incidents are infinitely diverse, there are commonalities that many police incidents share. Police incidents are usually attended by frontline (patrol) officers, and they typically involve at least one 'victim' and 'offender'[3]. This study focusses on the behaviour of officers when they interact with these incident participants. However, the conceptual framework that has been developed can be generalised across other areas of police practice because the resulting theory is an abstract model of police behaviour that could be applied to policing circumstances beyond those explored in this study[4] (Glaser, 1998; Wiseman, 1994; Strauss, 1994).

This thesis was developed by applying the classic grounded theory (GT) method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), an approach which is explained in more detail in chapters three and four. The study aims were focussed during the research process by considering the following research questions:

- What are frontline police officers most concerned with achieving through their practice; i.e. what incident outcomes are they working towards?

[2] In this study, frontline officers are defined as those who wear a police uniform and attend police incidents in response to calls for service from members of the public.
[3] The labels of victim and offender have been used in this study because they are the labels that police officers used when they talked about their incident work. Using these 'in-vivo' labels has helped to maintain a link between the new concepts of this theory and existing practice concepts; to aid dissemination within the profession. Focussing on these two incident participant roles has also supported the delimiting of this study so that it retains some focus on one aspect of police practice.
[4] See chapters six and seven for a discussion of how this GT can be generalised and applied.

- How do they work towards achieving these outcomes?
- How does this work manifest as patterns of behaviour?
- What are the conditions that enable, constrain and shape that behaviour?
- What are the implications of those behaviours for police practice?

These questions helped to underpin the inquiry undertaken within this thesis, which has, more broadly, attempted to explain how police and incident participants interact with each other, and how those interactions manifest as patterns of behaviour in the context of police practice.

Why this area of interest?

My interest in this subject stems from twenty years of professional experience as a frontline police officer in England. During that time, I attended (as a frontline patrol officer) and supervised (as a police sergeant and acting inspector) thousands of police incidents. Throughout that period, I developed a fascination with trying to understand why both myself and my colleagues would attend incidents and manage those incidents in seemingly paradoxical ways. At some incidents, we would spend many hours conducting a 'belt and braces' investigation, providing thorough and considerate victim care; at others, we would be economical or tokenistic in our approach. With the advent of body-worn video (BWV), I spent some of the last parts of my service viewing footage of incidents as a frontline supervisor, and I observed that officers would often dispense with policy requirements or processes when managing incidents. However, based on my own experience of incident attendance, and from viewing video footage, I was unable to explain why ostensibly upstanding, high performing officers would routinely practice what amounted to policy avoidance. Especially, I was unable to explain my own incident

behaviours and choices when reflecting on years of service. These experiences prompted my decision to undertake this doctoral study to explore police practice and to seek answers to these questions. I hope that this study will help to support police practitioners and policymakers to understand police practice better. The findings of this study indicate that what amounts to ostensibly deviant practice has deep-seated causes that are, in part, generated by the very policy environment in which policing happens[5].

Thesis overview

This thesis develops and presents what is argued to be an original contribution to knowledge and professional practice; the substantive classic grounded theory of *balancing value and effort*.

Data was obtained from social research undertaken with an English police force. Forty pieces of BWV footage from thirty-seven police incidents were collected, and interviews were undertaken with twenty-six frontline police officers. This data was analysed using the grounded theory (GT) method to explain and contextualise what was observed. From this analysis, a theory was developed that seeks to explain the behaviour of officers.

The thesis explains that police officers try to avoid feeling frustrated when working at incidents. It was found that officers feel frustration whenever the amount of effort they need to use when resolving an incident is not 'balanced' with the amount of value that they perceive that the incident represents[6]. When officers feel frustration, they are prompted to try and shape the course and outcome of an incident. Officers shape

[5] In chapter 2, I will discuss how my professional experience has helped me to appreciate the importance of carefully selecting the research methods used for studying police practice if professional impact is the goal.
[6] How value, effort and balance are defined, and how officers perceive them, are explained in chapters 4 and 5.

incidents by modifying their behaviour; trying to elicit changes in the behaviour of the other participants[7]. In doing so, the balance of value and effort are changed as the interactions between officers and participants occur. Officers continuously seek to achieve and then maintain a balance between value and effort throughout an incident. Although there are arguably an infinite variety of behaviours that officers might use to shape an incident, this thesis argues that there are two categories that all officer behaviour can be partitioned into; binary retreat and binary deconstruction. These two opposing styles of behaviour have their consequences for practice and are fully explained in chapter five.

Later in this thesis, the GT developed in this study has been extended by a literature review[8] (see chapter six) to argue that the mechanism explaining the balancing of value and effort can also be conceptualised as part of an ideological-identity process that models Althusser's (1971) interpellation process. This interpretation has implications for how the theory might be used to change practice, which is explored further in chapter seven.

How this thesis is structured

This thesis has been shaped to reflect the exploratory nature of this study. The research process began by considering a general social area of interest that appeared to be problematic for those involved (Glaser, 1978) – in this case, frontline police practice. I did not know in advance of conducting the study, how my understanding of police practice would evolve and, therefore, what literature may relate to the findings. It is typical to find that exploratory studies, such as those produced by using the GT method, do not relate to

[7] They are often unsuccessful in this endeavour, the implications of which are discussed further in chapter 5.
[8] Conducting a literature review to expand the conceptualisation of a GT, after the theory has been developed, is part of the classic GT method.

existing professional or scholarly concerns in the topic area being studied[9] (Glaser, 1998). Hence, the structure of this thesis helps to manage this problem by providing the literature discussions and analysis after the theory has been presented in full.

Consequently, the structure of this study does not follow a more familiar PhD structure, such as that proposed by Perry (1998), whereby a substantial literature review of the research topic is presented first. It has been argued that moving away from this more 'traditional' structure better suits the professional doctorate thesis because primacy is given to analysing and solving workplace problems instead of giving centrality to a broad, descriptive account of the literature within the chosen field (Uncles, 1998; Charles et al., 2017). Hence, this thesis has been structured to remain focussed on the main aim of a professional doctorate, 'to develop and produce new knowledge and novel approaches within the workplace' (Fulton et al., 2012: 132) by presenting the developed theory first, before situating it within the relevant literature for a more substantial examination of its implications for practice

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part I contains chapters one, two, three and four, and it relates to the design and execution of the study. Part II contains chapters five, six, seven and eight, relating to the analysis and implications of the theory that eventually emerged from the research process.

The chapters can be summarised as follows:

PART I

Chapter one has provided an intentionally brief introduction to the problem space explored in this study, including the importance of the topic area, the problems facing

[9] This was also the case in this study. What officers were trying to achieve through their practice did not relate to existing policy or practice areas of interest, so exploring that area of literature prior to conducting the study may have been fruitless.

professionals when trying to improve practice, and the research questions that have helped to focus the study. It also provides an overview of the thesis scope and structure.

Chapter two explains the methodological choices for this study, including its ontological basis and its epistemological position. It also discusses which professional and pragmatic considerations were influential when choosing the approach for this study.

Chapter three sets out the research methods that were selected for use in this study.

Chapter four explains the application of the method. The chapter sets out a sequential narrative to explain how the study unfolded and how a new theory was developed.

PART II

Chapter five is a formal presentation of the classic grounded theory of *balancing value and effort*. This chapter represents the main original contribution to knowledge and professional practice offered by this thesis.

Chapter six is where the theory, introduced in chapter five, is 'nested' within the existing literature so that its position among other scholarship can be established. This chapter also extends the GT conceptualisation by considering identity and ideology as significant factors influential in police practice.

Chapter seven continues the exploration of existing scholarship undertaken in chapter six by discussing the professional implications of this thesis, including examples of how policymakers might apply the theory.

Chapter eight draws the thesis to a close, by considering the study implications, opportunities, limitations and areas for further research. The contributions to scholarly and professional knowledge that are claimed within this thesis are also stated.

The appendices contain the ethical approval documents and other documents relating to the execution of the research process.

Chapter two: methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to set out the reasons for the methodological choices made in this study. The chapter explains the ontological position adopted (critical realism) and the epistemic considerations that shaped the study design and the choice of method (classic GT). How these choices might affect the professional impact of the study are also considered. The combination of critical realism and classic GT in a social research study is not new (see Holton and Walsh, 2016). Notwithstanding, there is a paucity of policing research that uses or combines these approaches. The reasons for their use in this study will be discussed in this chapter.

Before explaining my methodological choices, it is perhaps important to mention that I arrived at using classic GT at a late stage in this research study. It was after the first two years of work on this doctoral programme, just before collecting study data that, having explored many other possible research approaches, e.g. conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, constitutional criminology, inter alia, I settled on the use of GT (for the reasons given in the remainder of this chapter). As explained in this chapter, I was looking for a way of providing a novel perspective on policing, yet these pre-existing theoretical approaches seemed to limit my thinking to the boundaries of what had gone before. I was determined to seek new ways of conceptualising policing. This chapter explains how I navigated these aims, beginning with an explanation of my ontological choice – critical realism.

Critical realism

This study was influenced by my critical realist assumptions about the world. Taking a clear position has allowed me to have confidence in the methodological choices for this study as an appropriate way to develop an abstract conceptual theory from data. Critical realism will now be explained before describing how this perspective helped to clarify which methods might be appropriate for this study.

Critical realism,

> *'maintains that the world consists of natural and social objects and structures with particular 'causal' or 'generative mechanisms' [...] that make events occur, and that reality is stratified into three domains: the domain of the 'real' (made up of these natural and social objects, structures and their mechanisms) the 'actual' (comprised of events, that is, what happens when mechanisms are activated) and the 'empirical' (which refers to our perceptions and experiences of these events)' (Hoddy, 2019: 112).*

Critical realism is an ontology or meta-theory that provides a framework for understanding the nature of reality, the events that emerge in that reality and our empirical understanding of them. The critical realist ontology is stratified, with 'reality' and knowledge about that reality existing in separate but overlapping domains (Bhaskar, 1978). From this position we can assume that there is a 'real' objective world in which we exist, where we can 'assume that 'something' has happened, or that 'something' is there; and that that 'something' has an existentially intransitive reality' (Price and Martin, 2018: 90). Critical realism differs from positivist views of an objective reality or post-modern, and social constructivist claims that the task of the researcher is more about constructing a narrative than discovering the truth (Cruickshank, 2003). Because of critical realism's stratified ontology, the conceptualisation of problematic social events or situations 'allows causal explanations of unobservable phenomenon which positivist, constructivist and

post-structuralist approaches do not' (Clubb and McDaid, 2019: 514). For critical realists, a causal mechanism of social events can exist but be unobservable if the conditions for its manifestation are not in place. For example, in this study, until the police are notified of an incident, they will not attend the incident, and therefore incident related behaviour patterns will not be triggered. However, the capacity for officers to behave according to those patterns is real, notwithstanding the absence of the conditions necessary to trigger the expression of those behaviours: they are latent in the absence of the conditions needed to trigger them; when conditions are right, they emerge. As such, the generative mechanisms of behaviour can exist in the real domain regardless of whether, in any given moment, they trigger events in the actual domain or are detectable in the empirical domain. It is the generative mechanisms of the real domain that this thesis seeks to uncover.

Critical realism avoids the collapse of ontology and epistemology into one domain of reality that is often seen in other philosophies or perspectives that have adopted an anthropocentric perspective (claiming that reality does not exist other than through the interpretation of people (Bhaskar, 1998)). With the loss of stratification between the domains of reality comes a loss of differentiation between generative mechanisms, social events and observations of those events. Critical realism allows for an exploration of the different layers of reality as an 'open system' (Archer et al., 1999: 12), helping the researcher to understand to what degree observed events are emergent from specific social or natural intransitive objects of the real domain. However, identifying generative mechanisms within an open system can be difficult because there are often multiple mechanisms in operation when an event emerges, meaning that assigning causality or correlation is problematic if not impossible. One way of tackling this issue is to study actual social events (actions and interactions) by triangulating 'a variety of different methods in order to tease out the different levels of analysis and the real, deep causal processes at work'

(Ibid). For example, Archer (1998: 199) states, 'we do not uncover real social structures by [solely] interviewing people in-depth about them'; to do so would collapse the empirical domain into the other domains of reality. The critical realist seeks to understand what events and generative mechanisms may be outside of the awareness of the research participants and the researcher, so combining research methods that allow access to information from the different stratified layers of reality helps to achieve this.

Within this study, interviews of officers (whose views and beliefs exist in the empirical domain) were combined with observations of practice occurring in the actual domain (video footage of practice events), allowing for the triangulation of social events[10]. This was essential for uncovering the 'main concern'[11] of officers since, for example, participant accounts of practice only made sense when those practitioners were observed working at incidents. They were often unaware of why they behaved in particular ways, or they assigned meaning to their actions that were not justified when their actual behaviour was observed (see chapter four). This is an example of why focussing only on how participants construct their world, or the symbolic meaning of the interactions they experience, may not allow the researcher to access the generative, causal mechanisms of practice.

Causal mechanisms generate emergent events only when the conditions for emergence exist, but this does not mean that participants have no choice in how they behave: critical realism is not a deterministic perspective. Critical realism does not deny the existence of human agency, which is defined in this study as the free-will of individuals, constrained by social or real structures (Crewe, 2013). These emergent events can change the agency of individuals, which might then change how they interact with others or experience and

[10] Both data sources are fully discussed in chapter 3.

[11] The 'main concern' in a classic GT study is what might be described as a condensing label that defines what the participants are trying to do within the context of their practice environment, which moves beyond 'concern' in the ordinary sense to include a wider consideration of how their knowledge, experiences, behaviours and proclivities affect how they act and therefore what they are focussed on achieving.

interpret their world. An individual's agency can influence the conditions necessary for the emergence of an event from its generative structures. This means that critical realism's treatment of agency is one where a feedback loop exists between agency and social structure. Both can affect each other, leading to changes in real emergent events, which can then be observed and interpreted; changing how future events emerge (Archer, 2020). The generative mechanisms involved in police incidents can be influenced by those involved in them if those participants make changes to the conditions necessary for an event to emerge, whether consciously, or not.

Officers involved in interactions have agency when deciding how to think or act. This means that they might sometimes behave in ways not predicted by a theory that models their behaviour. By positioning this study within a critical realist perspective that unifies agency and structure, rather than adopting an 'either, or' treatment of their relationship, we have an opportunity to study social events and their causes by relating the choices individuals make, to their conditions of practice. In this way, it may be possible to combine a theoretical model with the changeable concept of agency to develop a theory that predicts the behaviour of the research participants most of the time, *ceteris paribus*.

When developing the concept for this study, alongside ontological and epistemological considerations, there were other matters to consider relating to the potential impact of the research, e.g. how the policing profession might receive this study and its findings. These issues are discussed in the next section, which is followed by a discussion of why, the classic GT method was used for this study, given the arguments presented in this chapter.

Professional and pragmatic concerns

One of the main purposes of a professional doctorate is to have an impact on professional practice (Fulton et al., 2012). The methodological approach of this study needed to reflect this need. Two pragmatic areas of concern were addressed when developing the study design to maximise any impact of the study on the policing profession. First, the study should have the capacity to produce new knowledge about policing that could be used by police professionals to make effective changes to practice; second, that approach to obtaining knowledge should be rigorous enough for the resultant theory to be accepted by police professionals as a valid contribution to their practice.

Producing new knowledge

Regardless of whether the literature contains knowledge that might improve practice, if professionals do not use it, then it will have limited impact. The police have framed many practice problems as being caused by officers not adhering to policy (as an example, see HMIC, 2014). Inspections of the police by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and fire & rescue services (HMICFRS, 2020b) have attempted to make sense of police practice by speaking to police officers, holding focus groups, exploring quantitative data and, more recently, reviewing BWV footage of incidents. However, their analysis of practice has not explored or made explicit what the main goals or practice objectives of officers might be when they are engaged in incident work. It seems that most HMICFRS reporting focusses on the observable symptoms of problematic police interactions, suggesting solutions to counter those symptoms, without providing a more in-depth analysis of officer encounters, or considering the possibility that officer practice goals might not be aligned with those of the organisation.

While there is a growing body of literature that discusses police incident work, police cultural issues or organisational structures that might be contributing to practice problems (See chapters six and seven, for an in-depth discussion of these topics), there is a paucity of theoretically developed work that can explain how police practice might be improved. As Mastrofski (2014) poignantly described, it seems that theory in police studies has taken 'a holiday'. Changes to policing practice have been broadly limited to improvements in training for officers (which presupposes that a lack of knowledge or skill is the cause of existing practice problems) or a tightening of policy and process rules through either the College of Policing approved professional practices or local policy changes; see College of Policing (2020a).

When considering a research approach for this study, the aim was to develop a theory of policing that could offer new ways of thinking about how practice occurs without necessarily relying on existing approaches. There are many substantive pieces of research dating back to the 1960s and more recently (See chapter six for a discussion of this research), which attempt to explain police practice by using pre-existing theoretical frameworks for exploring practice problems. However, this type of research examines practice through a lens which may not capture what is driving officer behaviours. For example, much policing research focusses on risk management and its importance to police leaders and policymakers (Myhill and Hohl, 2016; Ariza, Robinson and Myhill, 2016; Smith and Green, 2015; inter alia), but in this study, managing risk did not appear to be important to officers. Had the study focussed on risk, even though it did not appear to be an issue they were concerned with, their responses may well have been framed in a risk management context, while the main driver of their behaviour, which is not risk-related, may have been obscured.

When research focusses on existing professional issues (such as in the risk example, above), this can be because the choice of analytic perspective has restricted the interpretation of findings. Much of the research that is carried out by, or sanctioned by, the College of Policing uses deductive and quantitative approaches that focus on a positivist ontology (Lum, Koper and Telep, 2011). These can be difficult to operationalise in open social systems (Bhaskar, 1978) where policing happens, and they often lean towards outcomes that are organisational centric - focussed on constraining individual practitioners in the pursuit of broader organisational goals (positivist research based on statistical analysis often obscures 'the individual') (DiCristina, 1995).

When deciding which method to adopt for this study, the classic GT method was examined with the above issues in mind. The method seemed to offer an alternative approach to policing research because it supports the development of theory, which a priori thinking does not constrain because the initial stages of GT are inductive; with deductive work only being carried out once the conceptual framework, based on induction and abductive analysis, has been established. One of the central tenets of the classic GT method is to generate a conceptual framework that is not linked to pre-defined approaches unless the data naturally leads the researcher towards those existing frameworks in an unforced manner (Glaser, 2001; Glaser, 1978), i.e. conceptualisation is led by the analysis of observable patterns in data, not by logico-deductive hypothesising about what they may, or may not mean.

A GT focusses on the 'main concern' of participants (what it is they are trying to do or achieve within the constraints of the practice environment). The way that participants continually try to resolve this 'main concern' accounts for most of the behaviour that is observed in a GT study (Glaser, 1978). To date, there is a paucity of literature that focusses on developing practice solutions based on what might concern police officers the most

because, as suggested above, much existing work focusses on organisational needs. By adopting the classic GT method, which allows the researcher to examine the micro-sociological interactions of practitioners as a product of wider social structures, we may be provided with an opportunity to address this gap in knowledge without the constraints of pre-defined frameworks or privileged perspectives.

Being rigorous enough

Stemming from what could be described as an enduring police obsession with new public management performance targets (Fleming and McLaughlin, 2012) is a continuing need of police leaders and policymakers to have access to 'methodologically rigorous evaluation studies in policing' (Lum, Koper and Telep, 2011: 4). The College of Policing is the standards body that determines what type of knowledge should be used in policing to make changes to practice and is part of the 'what works'[12] (Hunter, May and Hugh, 2019; Lumsden and Goode, 2018; Lumsden, 2017) network of centres that promote and commission studies that focus on research that is part of the Evidence-Based Research Matrix (College of Policing, 2020b; Lum, Koper and Telep, 2011).

The College of Policing uses a strict criterion to determine what is 'gold standard' (Lumsden and Goode, 2018), reliable research, which according to the 'what works' framework[13] only includes research from experimental research methods, such as randomised controlled trials. This approach, also known as evidence-based policing (Sherman, 1998), borrows from the medical-model of research where 'objective' research produces statistical results that allow the creation of packaged interventions, which practitioners can then use to tackle practice problems. However, some argue that such

[12] The slogan 'what works' is replete with a positivistic sense and outlook.
[13] The College of Policing's what works approach uses the Maryland scientific methods scale to determine what research is of value (Farrington et al., 2003).

methods can never be fully effective because they fail to capture the complexities of the social environment in which policing operates (Green, 2014; Williams, 1999). Privileging research approaches, regardless of the needs of the research problem, can provide findings that lack analytic power when used to describe the realities of practice[14] (DiCristina, 1995).

These issues were explored when considering which research method to use. The classic GT method stood out as having specific properties that might support its professional acceptance as a rigorous approach for examining police practice. While not being an experimental method, it is methodologically rigorous; the forerunner of GT was designed for use with statistical data (Glaser, 2008), with its foundations laying in the quantitative analytic work of Paul Lazarsfeld (Glaser, 2003). GT has retained the method structures used for quantitative work, which have since been repurposed for use with qualitative data. Also, the output of a GT study is typically a theory that is conceptually abstract and easily applicable, by practitioners and organisations, within general practice situations (Glaser, 1978). Grounded theories are often described as having 'grab', 'fit' and 'relevance' (Glaser, 1998), meaning that practitioners can understand the theory and its implications (grab), and apply it to problems in practice that are important to them (fit & relevance). Despite the dominance of the 'what works' approach in accepted policing research, a growing number of forces in England and Wales are keen to find ways of developing their own practice; often discovering that 'what works' findings are challenging to apply in practice because forces are often unable to reproduce the conditions under which research experiments were initially conducted (Lumsden, 2017; Hammersley, 2005). From my professional experience, which also echoes recent research in this area (see Lumsden and Goode, 2018), if police forces are provided with research results that are rigorous, relevant

[14] Much of the research that explores police practice is either quantitative, based on surveys, or is ethnographic (for those studies conducted beyond the influence of the College of Policing), which can provide a rich description of policing, but often lacks theoretical development (This is discussed further in chapter 6).

and have the potential to improve practice, then they are more likely to use that research. This is regardless of whether it fits with the 'what works' approach[15]: officers are seeking solutions to their problems, not theoretical dogmatism.

Furthermore, a GT typically does not rely on an ideal set of practice circumstances for its operationalisation (Glaser, 1998); it consists of an abstract set of probability statements, providing a conceptual framework that can be applied to novel substantive situations (Glaser, 1998; Glaser, 1978), which can then be applied independently from the original data on which it was based. As such, GT transcends many of the problems inherent with the 'what works' approach, such as external validity relating to sample sizes, diverse operational populations or difficulties in replicating the exact original experimental conditions when operationalising the results.

GT has the potential to produce knowledge that is rigorous enough to be accepted by police forces as a way of improving practice. However, there are limitations inherent with the use of the method that may mean that *national* uptake of GT study findings, by bodies such as the College of Policing, may be more problematic because of the philosophical basis of the GT method (see below for a discussion of these issues). Notwithstanding, the possibility of allowing this study to be driven by inductive data collection and abductive analysis rather than existing deductive approaches was a compelling reason for selecting the method for this study.

[15] Although GT does not conform to the 'what works' standard of research, the potential impact based on the rigorous method of this approach has already generated interest from an English police force.

What is 'classic' about grounded theory?

When first considering the use of GT for this study, it became apparent that there were several different iterations of GT that have been developed. A full account of the different types of GT will not be provided here. However, I will summarise some of the general underpinning ideas, assumptions and limitations of grounded theory as a research method, and their implications for research practice. I will also explain why the original GT method developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), now known as 'classic' GT, was the best fit for this study; referring to other forms of GT where it seems instructive to do so when elaborating this discussion.

All types of GT have their origins in the 'classic' 1967 work of Glaser and Strauss (1967), which

> *'at its most essential level [...] simply requires that researchers look for patterns in data, any kind of data, name (conceptualize) [sic] those patterns, identify relationships between the conceptualized [sic] patterns, and write them into a theory, maintaining grounding in the data throughout' (Simmons, 2011: 24).*

Other forms of the GT method developed from 'classic' GT, with an early iteration being a collaboration between Corbin and Strauss (1990). Classic GT is distinct from other iterations because it does not place restrictions on the conceptualisation (coding) process. For example, Corbin and Strauss used a conditional coding matrix (Scott, 2004) that the researcher uses to develop hypotheses between concepts. However, the conditional coding matrix is a pre-defined coding framework. Using the matrix means that the researcher asks a series of pre-determined questions about the patterns in data, regardless of whether they are relevant to what is observed (Glaser, 2001; Glaser, 1978). In retrospect, this approach would not have supported the emergence of a significant part of the theory that was developed in this study because the novel algorithmic theoretical codes that I

used to integrate the data patterns were unlikely to have been discovered by using the conditional coding matrix or another predefined coding system.

Other versions of GT also place restrictions on how data is collected and interpreted, such as Charmaz's (2006) constructivist method. In that approach, data is viewed as constructed by participants and researcher, together; often facilitated by lengthy structured interviews that actively encourage the inclusion of the researcher's subjectivity, producing a co-constructed and descriptive 'story' of practice rather than a theory based on patterns of observed social behaviours. This type of approach collapses epistemology and ontology into one, which would not have aligned with the critical realist approach adopted for this study.

Each GT approach has its proponents who have taken up many thousands of words in journals and books to argue for their version or against other iterations of the method. I have entered into no such rhetorical exercise in this study. I chose classic GT, above any other version of the method, because it appeared to provide the broadest range of possibilities for fitting theoretical codes to data patterns, supporting one of the aims of this study, which was to understand police practice without being constrained by existing theoretical or professional frameworks. However, using GT means accepting that some of its basic philosophical assumptions and limitations may hinder, to some extent, its influence on national policy and practice. This will be explored in the next section.

The philosophical underpinnings, assumptions and limitations of classic grounded theory

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), GT is a research method, rather than being a research method with its own specific research philosophy (methodology). Glaser (2001)

argued that GT is a general method and therefore should not be claimed/privileged as belonging to any epistemological perspective or approach. Glaser went further by appearing to shut down discussions about the philosophical position of GT; writing books that specifically argued against philosophical appropriation of GT and the dangers it represented for the remodelling of the method (e.g. Glaser, 2003). Specifically, Glaser feared that the proponents of different philosophical approaches might remodel the GT method to become more congruent with their perspective, and precipitate a dilution of the GT 'recipe' through the removal of unique elements of GT that make it rigorous (e.g. Theoretical coding) (Glaser, 2005). This position has been the subject of much debate in the years following the first coining of the term 'grounded theory'. The problem inherent with Glaser's 'a-philosophical' claim was summarised by Nathaniel (2011; 187):

> *'[u]nfortunately, neither Glaser nor Strauss articulated a philosophical foundation for the method. So, through the years various authors have proposed piecemeal explanations of the method's ontological, epistemological, and methodological underpinnings, thus promoting erosion and remodelling of the grounded theory method and creating a variety of notions about the method's philosophical foundation [however], the first principles, assumptions and beliefs of a given philosophy contribute the ontology and epistemology to a* ***methodology*** *[emphasis in the original] and hold it together'.*

It seems that Glaser created a vacuum of philosophical reasoning that underpinned GT, which was then naturally filled by other scholars as they sought to define where GT sat in relation to their perspectives. As such, Glaser's fears became self-fulfilling, with arguments about the philosophical basis of GT persisting in a polarised and polemic fashion (Kendall, 1999), which led to different versions of GT being developed – the remodelling that Glaser wished to avoid. This has led to GT, as a method, being difficult to learn as a novice researcher because different texts on GT confuse and conflate GT concepts in a way that makes it necessary to understand the historical development of GT before one can make an informed choice about which approach to take (O'Connor,

Carpenter and Coughlan, 2018). More recently, authors have recognised the need to discuss the relationship between GT and research philosophy as part of a requirement of most research studies (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007). However, some GT scholars have resisted conducting a full treatment of the philosophical underpinnings of GT; instead, describing GT as having flexible epistemological assumptions (Holton and Walsh, 2016). While this description of GTs epistemology is an advance on Glaser's refusal to engage with philosophy, it does little to support those who wish to use GT but are unsure how to justify its basic methodological assumptions. Unfortunately, epistemological flexibility does not necessarily provide the surety of philosophical foundations that are demanded within many research activities. For example, with flexibility might come confusion for the novice researcher, PhD candidate and even PhD committee members who seek to clearly understand the ontological and epistemological position of examined work (Ahmed and Haag, 2016; O'Connor, Carpenter and Coughlan, 2018).

There have been occasional philosophical discussions about GT that have adopted a more extensive examination of the methodology of GT. For example, Nathaniel (2011) argues that GT is closely aligned to the pragmatism of Charles Sanders Peirce. Nathaniel uses the lens of pragmatism to explore the ontology of GT – claiming that classic GTs latent assumptions of an 'objective' reality, there to be discovered by the researcher through the identification of patterns in human behaviour - echo the ontological and epistemological assumptions of pragmatism. Likewise, the inclusion of the 'human perspective' in GT studies in the form of participant interviews, etc., where it is accepted that participants will communicate through socially constructed symbols or signs to explain their practice (Charmaz, 2006), echoes the semiotic roots of pragmatism.

While it could equally, and has been, argued that GT could potentially be aligned with a range of different philosophical perspectives - ultimately, it is for the GT researcher to define their perspective and how GT is to be included as part of their theoretical framework (Glaser, 1998). For example, as described in chapter two of this thesis, I have adopted a critical realist perspective, which seems to complement the GT method assumptions because critical realism bridges the gap between objective and interpretivist assumptions (Bhaskar, 1979). According to the critical realist view, the assumptions latent within GT - that a real-world exists where people cause patterned social events to occur, which can then be conceptualised and understood – are an example of a stratified ontological and epistemological approach to social scientific enquiry. Hence, GT can be combined with a philosophical approach, like critical realism, to provide ways of thinking about practice without adopting an either/or position on the objectivist/interpretivist divide. Likewise, the separation of the 'objectively' knowable real world from the actions of social agents, which is supported by GT assumptions, avoids limiting the explanatory power of a GT study by preventing what Bhaskar (1971) describes as the epistemological fallacy[16].

Some of the limitations of GT as a method derive from its position as a theory-making approach rather than a theory making and testing approach. In other words, 'it is more suited for exploring initial [theoretical] discoveries' (Ahmed and Haag, 2016: 1) rather than for the simultaneous discovery, development and testing of theory. This is because the GT method avoids the use of positivistic tests such as falsifiability. Instead, it relies on the specific procedures of the method (such as constant comparison and the interchangeability of indices – see chapter four). The rigour of a GT is provided, in part, by Glaser's tests, which include the fit of a GT with the underlying 'reality' represented in

[16] The epistemological fallacy being where our (socially constructed) knowledge of the world is confused with the 'reality' of the world that we are seeking to know and understand.

the data that is subsequently confirmed by practitioners. What provides the researcher with confidence that the GT method will produce a cogent, relevant theory that suitably explains an area of practice (without using scientific tests), is the close adherence to the GT method (the idea being that the method has and will continue to produce GTs that are accurate representations of practice). This is perhaps why Glaser was adamant that the method should not be remodelled through philosophical elaboration.

Not using scientific tests as part of the discovery process of a GT is likely to affect the uptake of GT studies by the College of Policing who adhere to the 'what works' positivistic research philosophy (Lumsden and Goode, 2018). The College of Policing demand the adoption of the scientific method for 'evidence-based' policing research that is used to inform *national* standards of practice and policy. However, most police forces will often adopt *local* approaches to practice and policy standards, where there is a space for non-positivistic research to be adopted. While the preceding discussion of GTs philosophical positioning perhaps aligns with Glaser's argument (that GT is a flexible method for use with many philosophical positions), likely, adopting Glaser's a-philosophical GT position (ergo, not-positivistic) will impact the appetite for dissemination and adoption of GT by a new generation of police-researchers while the 'what works' approach dominates.

My position as a 'pracademic'

When this study was first designed, I was coming to the end of a twenty-year career in policing. As the study commenced, I then transitioned out of practice and into academia, full-time. My changing status may well have led to a differing outlook and view of policing as the study has progressed. In the closing year of my service, I did detect a slight change

of perspective from being a police officer researching to that of being a researcher doing police work. Unfortunately, being able to define or understand what difference this change had made in my ability to interpret or carry out police research has, to date, been beyond my reflective powers. Any changes have been so gradual that they did not 'jar the senses' at any point.

Notwithstanding, the significant researcher training and knowledge that I have gained during this time has certainly helped to develop my understanding (and the potential problems) of subjectivity in the research process. This is probably the difficulty that most researchers wrestle with at some stage: how much have my experiences (in my case, as a police officer) affected my engagement with the research process? My occupational experiences will have undoubtedly affected my ability to see policing in a purely objective manner; however, I am not sure it is possible to empirically define to what extent this has occurred or the impact on my role as a researcher.

Glaser (1998) has argued that sometimes it is easier for a practice 'outsider' to conduct a GT study because one's familiarity can obscure the conceptual importance of mundane aspects of social practice. By implication, this also suggests that one does not need an expert level of knowledge about a field before carrying out a successful GT study. This certainly resonates with my experience of conducting GT. The 'art' of GT, it seems, is the diligent application of theoretical coding and memoing that are unique to the method (see chapter four). These are the elements of GT that draw together the researcher's conceptualisations into a coherent theory. Glaser (1978) states that if you have not used theoretical coding, then you have not produced a GT. Having now been trained as a GT researcher (see chapter four for a discussion), I believe that careful application of the method, not my knowledge of policing, has allowed me to produce what I hope is a coherent theory of practice. What my policing experience has provided me with is

familiarity with police processes (so I could meaningfully orientate myself to the data), and an understanding of the types of practice incidents or situations I should expect to find in the data (and by definition, whether the coverage achieved in the data was representative of the range of police practice one would expect to observe).

Glaser (1998) has argued that many elements of the GT method help to neutralise unwanted effects based on the subjective proclivities or biases of the researcher when they collect and analyse data. The unseen impact of researcher experience on the research process, whereby systematic errors affect the 'objectivity' of a research study (Hammersley, 2000: 144) are perhaps best managed on a systematic basis. This is where the study design can help to provide confidence that the researcher has recognised and managed subjective bias in the data during data collection/analysis (or bias is at least acknowledged as a limitation of the study).

For this study, the adoption of critical realism and GT both offer ways of helping to manage systematic bias. For example, the analysis of two separate domains of reality was undertaken according to the critical realist meta-theory. With social action being observed taking place in the actual domain (officers doing police work), understanding and reducing researcher bias in the interpretation of those events was important because in a GT study we are seeking to understand what officers 'objectively' do and say, not what the researcher might *think* is happening (Glaser, 1998). When collecting data from officers in the empirical domain (e.g. through interviews), the aim was to collect their interpretation of events (even if those accounts were without an objective basis), but the researcher still needs to try and record these without further interpretation or elaboration; otherwise, we find we have an interpretation of an interpretation before analysis begins.

While it could be argued that all types of research involving human researchers will always involve some degree of subjective interpretation of data (Martin and Gynnild, 2011), the

classic GT method supports the reduction of this to a minimum during data collection, analysis and theory generation (Glaser, 1978). To begin with, the classic GT approach of postponing the use of the extant literature (for situating or 'nesting' the discovered theory within), until the core category of the GT has emerged, is a central plank of the approach for reducing subjective influence on collected data. As already stated, this helps the researcher to avoid, where possible, influences from existing theory and professional sources. In my case, when conducting this study, because of my policing experience and daily engagement with criminal justice literature, it was not possible to ignore what I already knew about the area being researched. However, on commencing the research for this study, I suspended any purposeful reading in the specific topic area related to this study until the core category had emerged.

I found that the constant comparison process of classic GT allowed me to continually check the analysis conducted; balancing potential biases in the interpretation of data. For the 'constant comparison' technique (see chapter four for a demonstration of this technique) (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), data is collected and then continually, iteratively compared with other data and concepts that have already emerged during analysis. Continually checking conceptualisations against different parts of the data set that has already been analysed, allows for further triangulation of different participant responses/sections of video footage, helping to attenuate the impact of any 'outlying' datum on the emerging theory. This approach was particularly effective as it allowed me to identify, for example, that during the open coding stage, existing professional conceptualisations of the research space had crept into my analysis (see chapter four for a discussion of this example). Hence, in that instance, I recognised (through the constant comparison of data) that a biased interpretation had crept into the research process, and I was able to correct it.

The GT technique of theoretical sampling (see chapter four) helps to reduce unnecessary researcher influence or bias[17] when carrying out data collection because decisions on what data to collect are guided by continual analysis of data *during* the collection process, i.e. data collection and analysis are continuous processes, not separate activities.

Glaser (1998) claims that 'all is data', which means that any data in this study, even if it might be biased in some way (because of the subjective interpretation of a situation by the research participants, for example), does not invalidate the developed theory. If data is collected that shows an emergent pattern that gains importance within the theory by its increasing connections to other data and concepts, then it has earned its way into the theory, regardless of whether that data is biased in some way. If participants are giving accounts that are divergent from each other because of differences in their subjective experiences or beliefs, then the cause of that subjectivity 'has its own proper consequences for behaviour [sic]' (Glaser, 2003: 142) and is therefore of interest to the researcher if patterns emerge that are related to it.

Six months before the commencement of the main study, I carried out a self-interview; exploring police practice from my perspective as a researcher and ex-practitioner[18]. I wished to establish whether there was a divergence between my perceptions of practice, and those of other participants, that might need to be understood. On commencement of this study, I was a serving police officer but became a full-time criminal justice academic at an English University a few months before the fieldwork began. Hence, this self-interview coincided with my change of career. From this exercise, I found that my account of practice was consistent with that of the other participants. What did emerge from this exercise was that I could not explain why some of my practice behaviours had occurred.

[17] Collection bias might emerge as unconscious preferences in the types of incidents being selected for observation, for example.
[18] Those self-interview field notes were coded and included in the study at the selective coding phase, once the core category had been discovered.

It was only when the theoretical coding stage took place, and the GT emerged, that I could reflect on my practice and understand how it had been shaped. This was also a test of the 'grab', 'fit' and relevance tests of GT (Glaser, 1998). As a former practitioner, it was clear that the emergent GT accounted for my behaviours and perceptions of practice. This gave me confidence in the relevance and fit of the developed theory. While it is not clear how much of the data collection or analysis was subjectively biased by my knowledge and professional experience, I decided to present the theory to groups of former and current practitioners and academics; exploring whether the theory could explain their experiences. While this type of activity is not formally part of the classic GT method, Glaser and Strauss (1965) do demonstrate that sharing a GT with practitioners is a useful way of understanding its usefulness and fit. This informal activity consisted of three one-to-one meetings to explain the theory to two senior frontline officers and a frontline supervisor; a one-hour presentation and discussion in a seminar of criminal justice academics and former practitioners; and a two-hour presentation and workshop session with fifteen police officers, all with less than two years of service[19]. The general feedback received was that the recipients understood the theory, recognised its relevance, and could use it to reframe their own experiences (with some amusing and at times earthy anecdotes of past incidents being explored with the theory). Importantly, none of the people that the theory was shared with raised any concerns about the data examples or analysis being divergent from their experiences or understanding of police practice.

In chapters one and two, the groundwork has been laid for explaining why the frontline policing activity was chosen as an area of interest in this study, and why critical realism

[19] These officers were studying in the final year of an undergraduate policing degree at a British University. This exercise will be discussed in a planned future publication.

and classic GT have been selected as the framework to support this endeavour. The next chapter will explain the research methods in more detail, with the remainder of part I explaining how the method was directly applied to this study.

Chapter three: research methods

This section will now describe where, when and how the study was conducted, including the methods used for selecting and collecting research data.

Classic grounded theory

The classic GT method of data collection and analysis was chosen for this study based on the reasons outlined in chapter two. A GT study begins with the collection and coding of data that relates to social behaviour that is problematic for those involved (Glaser, 2001). That behaviour is conceptualised by the researcher; producing an abstract, explanatory theory. GT is a departure from other types of qualitative research that seek to produce a detailed description of the substantive area being researched. Instead, it models social processes and actions (Breckenridge, 2014); providing abstract hypotheses/probability statements to explain those observations (Glaser, 1978). A GT 'transcends the time, place and people of any and all units sampled and conceptually generates the fundamental patterns yielding hypotheses which can explain the behaviour of participants' (Glaser, 2001: 5).

The method consists of the following discrete elements:

- Data collection and open coding
- Analytic memoing (this is done throughout all stages of the study)
- Selective coding and theoretical sampling
- Theoretical coding
- Sorting theoretical memos

- Writing up the GT based on theoretical memos

These steps of the method are expanded more fully in chapter four when they are introduced as part of a narrative that explains how they were applied to the research problem.

The fundamental concept that underpins the GT method is that of the core-category (Glaser, 1978; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In this study, the core-category was conceptualised as 'balancing value and effort'. The core-category emerges from GT as a central, organising element that explains how the research participants resolve what it is they are trying to do. As such, the core-category is the hub of the emerging theory from which all other theoretical concepts are connected. The core-category explains the action seen in practice situations. Its centrality in GT is more fully explained in chapters four and five.

Restating the research questions

This study aimed to answer the following research questions:

- What are frontline police officers most concerned with achieving through their practice; i.e. what are the incident outcomes they are working towards?
- How do they work towards achieving these outcomes?
- How does this work manifest as patterns of behaviour?
- What are the conditions that enable, constrain and shape that behaviour?
- What are the implications of those behaviours for police practice?

As stated previously, to address these questions, two types of research data, collected by doing social research within an English police force, were used. Interviews with police

officers were conducted, and BWV footage from police incidents was collected. The contents of these data sources were documented within researcher field notes. These notes were analysed and conceptualised to develop an abstract, algorithmic theory of frontline police practice (which is formally presented in chapter five).

The collection and analysis of data occurred over twelve months between 2018 and 2019 from a single English police force. A single police force was chosen as the study site, rather than several forces across England or other countries, to delimit the study within the time and financial resources available to carry it out. Working with a single police force meant that arranging security clearance and access to data (which are lengthy processes) only needed to be carried out once. The learning obtained from conducting a pilot study had shown that obtaining information-sharing agreements for access to police organisations can take up to a year[20]. Obtaining access to the research site also required the sponsorship of a senior police leader, which was gained from this police organisation and was essential for accessing people and data.

The selected police force was a mid-size[21] police organisation, situated in an English county that comprises several large urban towns, smaller rural villages and sparsely populated rural areas. This mix of locations provided an opportunity to study police incidents covering a wide range of populations and communities of varying demographics.

[20] The pilot study tested the collection and analysis processes, which then shaped the method choices in the main study. While a pilot study does not form part of the GT method, it was required as part of the doctoral degree for which this thesis has been written.
[21] The number of police officers working in the force was between 1000 and 2000.

The research data (overview)

The initial stages of a GT study are inductive. Hence, the researcher seeks to use the collected data to develop a theory based on patterns of social behaviour (Glaser, 2001). Police incidents involve patrol officers interacting with incident participants, and for this study, those interactions were the problematic area of practice to be explored. Therefore, I needed to collect data about the social patterns that occur during those encounters. The options for doing this were to attend incidents, myself; speak to officers about their practice; speak to incident participants about the encounters; examine video footage recorded by police officers on body-worn cameras; examine documents generated from the incident occurrence, or speak to other police staff who were aware of the incident, but who did not attend. From these options, I decided to speak to police officers who attend these incidents and examine BWV footage recorded at incidents. These choices will now be explained.

Observing police officers by patrolling with them was discounted. That approach would have required long, irregular hours in the field alongside police crews, with no guarantee of the number of incidents that they would attend. Also, creating contemporaneous field notes at or between incidents would have been difficult because of the dynamic nature of some police incidents and my limitations as a dyslexic researcher. Field notes collected in this way would have needed to be handwritten and then typed into a document on a computer for later analysis; adding steps and time to the collection and analysis process. Attending incidents was not a viable option because I work in full-time employment and the number of hours that would likely be needed in the field before my presence, as a researcher, would be accepted by officers would have been unmanageable[22]. I also

[22] Other police practice studies that have used direct observations have required a significant 'bedding in' period before officers accepted their presence. This acceptance is often marked by a change of officer behaviours towards something more like their typical incident behaviours (see Loftus (2009) or Westley (1970) as examples).

discounted obtaining data by speaking to non-police incident participants such as victims or offenders because I wanted the study to focus on the main concerns of officers rather than an interpretation of these concerns from the perspective of other participants. I considered using documents or other information relating to police incidents for understanding the main concern of police officers. However, limits on time precluded the serious study of the content of police intelligence and other police information such as crime or incident reports, (which would have provided interpreted information about incidents from officers attending or from support staff recording what officers had told them). This interpreted, documentary data did not seem to be the best evidence of the behaviour of officers at incidents.

The data sources

As stated previously, the data sources used in this study were:

- observations of policing activity recorded on BWV cameras;
- verbal accounts about police practice obtained from serving frontline police officers (officer interviews).

The BWV recordings were observed, and an account of these observations was recorded in researcher field notes. Likewise, fieldnotes were created as a record of the verbal accounts obtained from police officers, but these 'interview' notes were taken immediately after, not during, interviews. Hence, the interviews in this study were not contemporaneously recorded in any way; whether by audio recording, making notes during an interview or any other recording method. Instead, the interviews took place but, as soon as practicable, comprehensive field notes were written, recalling what was

said, including the main themes and the topics covered in the interview. This style of interviewing is the interviewing style that Glaser (1978; 1998) recommends for classic GT studies and its use in this study will be further explained later in this chapter.

The field notes created from both interviews and observations of video footage were the texts that were analysed in this study. It was bringing both data sources together into one type of text allowed for a clearer, unencumbered view of both sources together, in the same format, during the conceptualisation process. All data sources included in a GT, once conceptualised in this way (via fieldnotes), achieve parity of utility through this process[23]. As mentioned in chapter two, there are advantages of collecting different kinds of data from varying sources; they provide multifarious 'views or vantage points from which to understand a category and to develop its properties' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 65). The homogenisation of the analytic product (within fieldnotes) simplifies the entire process so that the differences between data do not restrain conceptualisation.

Fieldnotes - explained

In this study, whenever a police officer was interviewed, or a piece of body-worn footage viewed, a separate fieldnote was created. The field notes were written as individual Microsoft Word documents, and each line of text within a fieldnote was numbered sequentially. Each fieldnote was also provided with an alphanumeric identifier. This was done so that when the coding process was carried out, the data underpinning a code could be traced back to a fieldnote and individual line of text. This approach allows the researcher to easily find and compare the data that underpins the concepts being developed.

[23] Because abstraction transcends the differences between different types of data.

Fieldnotes resulting from officer interviews were assigned with the sequential identifiers 100, 101, 102, etc. Similarly, fieldnotes from body-worn footage observations were assigned 201, 202, etc. For example, the first interview had the identifier 100, whereas body-worn footage five had the identifier 205.

Once a fieldnote had been written, the text was initially analysed using the GT open coding method (see chapter four). The coding process involved a second 'coding' document being created in Word. That document was opened in 'outline' mode. Then, as new codes were identified, a code label was written into the coding document as a first-order title, and the line of text that related to that coding was then copied underneath as a second-order title. Whenever subsequent data lines were coded to that same code, they were also pasted into the coding document under the relevant code label. This method allowed all the data lines associated with a single code to be viewed together. This aided the constant-comparison approach of GT coding. An example of a coding document is shown in Figure 1.

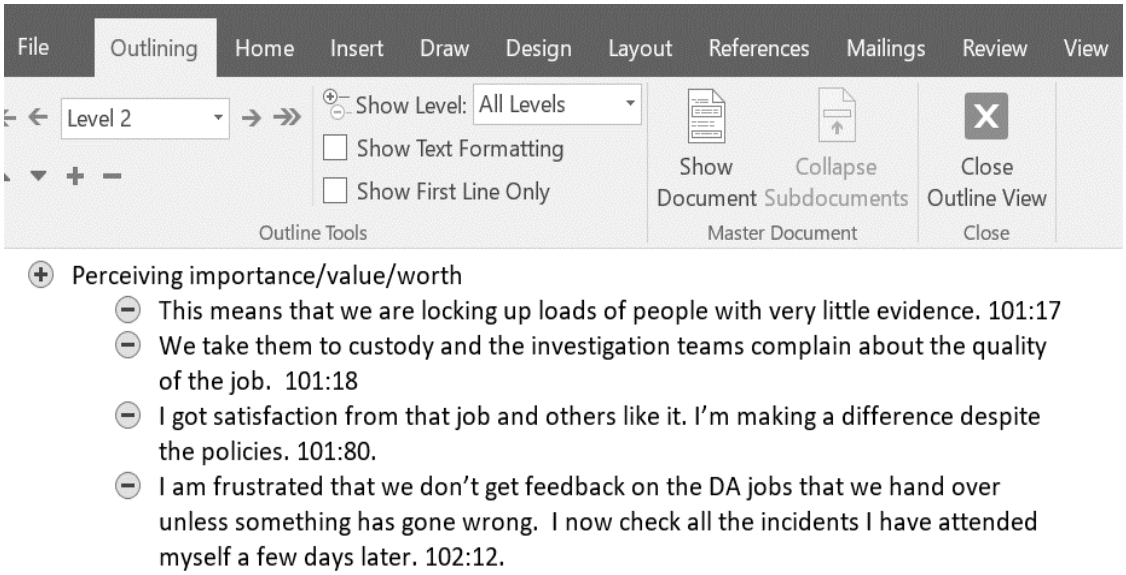


Figure 1: example of data coding in Microsoft Word

By collating fieldnotes in this way, lines of data could be pasted into the coding documents from both interviews and video footage observations, so that both types of fieldnotes could be coded together. This is an example of how the classic GT method supported the use and analysis of different data types that offer information from different domains of reality (in this case, the actual and the empirical).

In the initial stages of the study, when the first data was collected, it was unclear what the importance of the data was, concerning the developing theory. This means that the fieldnotes collected in the open coding stage were more extensive than later fieldnotes. For example, the first interview fieldnote ran to several pages long and captured much information that was later deemed as not conceptually relevant to the patterns emerging in the study. This was because the conceptual framework had not developed at that early stage. In later interviews, I was aware of the patterns and concepts that had already emerged across previously collected data, so later fieldnotes were confined to noting down data examples that were connected to, or relevant to the emerging conceptual framework, but only for those concepts that were either new, unsaturated or requiring development.

GT analysis is not an exercise in complete descriptive capture (Glaser, 2001); it is a conceptualisation process that involves increasing amounts of data being discarded by the researcher as not relevant to the emerging theory *during* the data collection process in the later stages of the study. For example, field notes for BWV analysis reduced in size from several pages of notes for the first observation to only several lines of notes for later videos. The final eight observations of video, while being of footage lasting between thirty and forty minutes long, produced no new fieldnotes because the footage contained no new examples of concepts, properties or dimensions of concepts that had not already been saturated. In such cases, these videos contained many and varied examples of existing conceptual properties or dimensions, but they did not need to be recorded because they

were examples of what is known within classic GT as 'interchangeable indices' (Glaser, 1978). They are interchangeable such that one can take the property of a theoretical concept and find another descriptively different data example that demonstrates the same property. If adding this new data example causes no change in how the concept operates or is represented (Glaser, 1998), it is not recorded. Creating fieldnotes in this way is another delimiting property of the classic GT method: superfluous notetaking is prevented while researcher confidence in the conceptualisation continues to grow because hundreds of examples are observed within both new and existing data, which reinforce the researcher's choice of concepts. For example, in the final stages of analysis, I reviewed all of the previously collected data and found the 'main concern' and the core-category (balancing value and effort) to be present throughout all of the existing data – those concepts were everywhere. When data was initially collected and analysed at the beginning of the study, conceptualisations that featured in the later analysis had not yet developed. By going back to this data and seeing that it was saturated with examples of these later, more mature conceptualisations, the theory was further enriched and confirmed as a reasonable way of explaining the data.

Fieldnote writing is a dynamic process because the researcher is making decisions about what to record based on their growing knowledge of the underlying conceptual framework, filling in the gaps in this framework as the study progresses. Writing fieldnotes involves sifting and decision making rather than being a passive activity like transcribing. Hence, because some fieldnotes can be brief for lengthy interviews or video observations, the fieldnote method offers a high level of accuracy when recalling and recording the content of interviews without the aid of a contemporaneous interview record (see the discussion below) – significant detail can be captured in the fieldnotes, even though they are being created from memory. Since writing fieldnotes aimed to capture hypothetical, conceptual connections between observed social actions, the notes

were recorded in such a way that they reflected, as recalled, the turn of phrase used by the officer. However, the accuracy of this recall will not be the same as using transcripts. Notwithstanding, this approach is not problematic in a GT study because, as previously explained, conceptualisation, not descriptive accuracy, is the analytic goal.

When using 'quotes' from fieldnotes to illustrate sections of this thesis, the grammar, spelling and formatting of some quotes were corrected to make it easier for the reader to understand the quote and to keep in line with the formal style of this document. Where fieldnotes had on occasion been made in brief note form, those cryptic notes were expanded into sentences that maintain meaning while not being vexatious for the reader to decipher. Fieldnotes, by definition, were captured quickly, in the field (particularly following interviews); they were not recorded with grammatical correctness in mind. So, corrections were needed wherever errors in these areas might have affected the understanding of the content of the fieldnotes when presented in this thesis.

Data source 1: interviews with police officers

When writing this thesis, I hesitated to use the term 'interview' for verbal officer accounts because this term perhaps leads the reader towards a set of assumptions about what a research interview 'should' be. The verbal accounts obtained are different from what might be described as a more traditional research interview; one that is semi-structured and recorded, perhaps with a digital device and later by a transcript of the words spoken. In this and many other classic GT studies, the 'interview' has been structured and documented differently, but these differences serve specific analytic purposes.

For classic GT, interviews are conducted, structured and recorded to maximise the emergent nature of the theory that arises from data collection and conceptualisation; delimiting the study, so that data collection is led by theory development, and increasing

the likelihood that research participants talk about what is important to them: their 'main concern'[24] (Glaser, 2001; 1998)

As previously stated, the interviews in this study were carried out without recording the interview contemporaneously. Hence, the fieldnotes were based on researcher recall following the interview. Relying on the memory of the researcher to recall details about an in-depth interview may, at first glance, seem problematic. However, there are several structural aspects of the interview design that support accurate recall and the conceptualisation process.

All interviews were based on an open question and then followed by listening to the participant, allowing them to talk about their practice, without interruption (Glaser, 1978). Before each interview, an introduction to the study was conducted, using the completion of the participant information sheet (Appendix 2) as an 'ice-breaking' exercise while also providing context for the interview. The participants were engaged in rapport building chats over tea or coffee for about ten minutes before the interview began, proper, which consisted of keeping the conversation to topics of polite conversation[25] not related to their personal police practice. On a small number of occasions, officers did start to talk about their practice, but I politely asked them to 'hold that thought' until we had run through the participant sheet and started the interview. During this conversation, I also explained my background and previous police career history and my current role as an academic. Although it is difficult to ascertain, it did seem that once I had disclosed my police connections, many of the participants appeared to relax and drop some of their 'official' tone and behaviours in my presence.

[24] See chapter two for a discussion of the condensing label 'main concern'.
[25] Extraordinarily, the state of the British weather was discussed on several occasions.

The interviews all varied in length, ranging from fifteen minutes to forty-five minutes, depending on what the participant wished to say. The GT method is exploratory. As such, the number of interviews needed to complete the study was unknown until the point was reached when all the theory categories, related to the core-category, had become saturated[26]. The total number of interviews carried out for this study was twenty-six, and they were conducted with police officers who were engaged with frontline police work. During open coding, fifteen interviews were conducted with police officers while the remaining interviews were conducted during the selective and theoretical coding stages. The interviewed officers were responsible for policing a wide range of urban and rural locations and demographics. The officers worked across three police stations within the studied English county. Two other policing locations within the same county were discounted as research locations for practical reasons. To reach those locations would have required a two-hour round-trip journey for the researcher, which was prohibitive because of available time and resources when repeatedly attending stations to carry out interviews. The police role, policies and approaches used for incident policing were homogenised across the entire county area, and officers from each policing area often crossed into other policing areas to do incident work. As such, the incident experiences of all frontline officers across the county were likely to be broadly similar. Notwithstanding these restrictions on interviewing, the BWV analysis was representative of incidents that occurred across the entire county with no area having primacy.

Interview participant recruitment

I initially attempted to recruit officers for this study by sending emails to police officers whom I knew from previous work carried out with the police. They subsequently

[26] The relevance of the core-category when making data collection/coding decisions is explained earlier.

forwarded the email to frontline officers on response shifts at several police stations. However, I received no replies. The reasons for this are unclear; however, I suspected that officers might have been suspicious of such a 'cold-call' approach, or they may have been too busy to read or respond to the email.

I then decided to attend police stations, myself, to try and locate officers that I could ask directly, to engage with the research. On the first few occasions that I attended police stations, I could access the building myself, as I had been provided with an access card and security clearance. I initially approached several officers when they were sat in the police 'crew room' and tried to engage them in conversation about joining the research. The crew rooms, at that time, were busy with many officers completing paperwork or relaxing and discussing 'jobs' that they had attended while laughing and joking. When I entered the crew rooms, officers stopped talking, and when I approached officers to join the research, this was politely but firmly declined.

I had previously considered the effect of my position as a researcher and being an 'outsider' entering a police station. However, I had believed that my previous policing experience would allow me to talk to potential participants in a way that put them at ease by using the jargon of the profession and an informal, reflexive approach. Unfortunately, it was clear that there was great suspicion generated by my presence.

This led me to adopt a different approach to recruiting participants. Instead of entering a crew room full of officers, I decided to stand in the vehicle yard of police stations and wait for individual officers to go to and from their police vehicles. Using this approach worked well. I could speak to police officers on their own, without the pressure of a group of other officers being present. In this environment, outside the station walls, officers were more receptive, and many were happy to informally talk before I invited them to participate in the study. Each potential participant was provided with a copy of the ethical consent form

(appendix 2). A time and place were arranged for the interview, but it was made clear to participants that they could withdraw at any stage before, during or after the interview, in-line with the ethics requirements for this study. Interviews were held at a time and place that was chosen by the participant, with all interviews taking place in private rooms within police stations. Participants signed the ethical consent forms before the interview taking place. No notes or other recordings were taken during the interviews, and after they had ended, I remained in the room to complete field notes based on my recall of the ideas, phrases and topics discussed.

The process of interviewing by using open questioning of participants (open coding) ended when the core-category (balancing value and effort) had emerged. The questioning for the interviews that followed then became progressively more focussed (selective coding) by asking specific questions relating to the core-category, alongside some initial open questioning at the beginning of interviews. This continued until the substantive concepts had been saturated (Glaser, 1998) with the final four interviewees only being asked questions relating to some of the emergent theoretical codes and the main concern of officers (Glaser, 2005).

As a research population, police officers are often described as being suspicious of outsiders (Demirkol and Nalla, 2019; Campeau, 2015; Paoline, 2003; inter alia) particularly if this involves them discussing their behaviour and practice. My own professional experience of policing confirms that this suspicion exists among frontline staff; it is a view that I also held as a frontline officer. These suspicions are increased if an interview with a police officer is recorded, particularly if that recording is 'on tape'.

Police officers are only normally interviewed, on record, when they are the subject of a criminal or disciplinary investigation. As such, there can be suspicion when recording officer responses because there is always the potential that the recording could be used

against them. After all, 'it can be played for others and used in incompatible ways for the interviewee' (Glaser 1998: 110). Indeed, some of the officers interviewed for this study, when deciding whether to take part, first asked the question 'it's not being recorded, is it?' Notwithstanding, it is the case that many researchers have been able to engage with police officers for research purposes successfully and that such reluctant participation may not have been apparent in some studies. As a police officer, I experienced being a participant in a university police research project where a researcher interviewed me, recorded digitally, and I was happy to engage in that research. This may, at first glance, seem paradoxical given my statement about the reluctance of officers to be recorded. However, my own experience is that officer cooperation is conditional on whether the researcher is asking questions that require the officer to uncover aspects of their own, personal practice, especially if that practice is suggestive of potential deviations from policy, standards or expectations (and such disclosures risk betraying an officer's personal views or moral standpoints that are ostensibly incompatible with the office of constable). An interviewed officer may be happy to discuss the failings of policy, other officers or even senior leaders, but talking in-depth about their own personal failings, mistakes and idiosyncratic practices; admitting that they, for example, might treat people of different social classes less favourably (see chapter five), is another matter[27]. Glaser described such disclosures by practitioners as an interviewer 'instilling a spill' (Holton and Walsh, 2016), which is difficult to do if police officer responses are contemporaneously recorded. For this study, the uncovering of the core-category, which is the concept that models how an officer processes their main concern, necessarily requires officers to discuss behaviours that have been conceptualised as 'binary retreat'[28], which by definition, is often behaviour that is

[27] The test to apply here could be whether an officer believes that a personal disclosure may risk them being brought to the attention of police professional standards department officers as a result of their interview comments.
[28] The term 'binary retreat' is a concept from this thesis that will be explained in chapter 5.

contrary to police policy or the spirit of police leadership direction. Hence, such behaviours, if described in interviews, would be an example of a 'spill' by participants.

Not audio recording interviews helped to delimit the study by reducing the amount of time needed to transcribe recordings (Holton and Walsh, 2016; Glaser, 1998; Glaser, 1978). The field notes that I made as soon as an interview had ended, allowed me to record the themes, ideas and arguments without recording every utterance made during the interview. Many qualitative studies try to obtain full descriptive coverage of the substantive area being studied. However, this is not only time consuming, but unnecessary for a GT study, as Glaser (1998: 107) explains;

> *'The confusion is between the traditional use of interview as complete evidence for substantiating or verifying a finding compared to grounded theory's use of interviews for conceptualization [sic] or for the generation of concepts and hypotheses. When doing grounded theory there is no need for complete recording of the interview as one would want in descriptive completeness. Theoretical completeness only requires those notes written down after an interview to be later used for constant comparisons'.*

When I first began listening to participants in the initial interviews, I found that their talk covered many topic areas, which produced several pages of field notes after the interview had taken place. However, once I had conceptualised these notes, each interview that followed became easier to conduct. This was because the conceptualisations became a mental framework that I had in mind as I was listening during interviews, enabling me to 'hang' new concepts from the framework as they arose, aiding post-interview recall of content. As part of the constant comparison process, if data is analysed that challenges the importance or previous conceptualisation of data analysed earlier, then this new data is added to the framework and helps to modify it. The framework is continually being modified as new data emerge and patterns recede or rise in importance.

This structuring approach for the recall of interview content is also supported by using a free recall process throughout the post-interview phase. This means that the first words recorded on a fieldnote, post-interview, were the first to rise to the surface, from memory. In doing this, the most impactive or memorable comments were recalled initially, which then provided an additional framework of comments to prompt the recall of less impactive comments by the participants. This recall sometimes continued after the formal fieldnote creation activity. On several occasions, I found that additional interview comments arose into conscious thought several hours after the interview had concluded. This suggests that using this technique to recall interview content is likely always to provide less coverage of what was said when compared to using interview transcripts; however, remembering interview content based on recall by association with the emerging conceptual framework is likely to have aided the recall of information most germane to the emerging conceptual theory.

Not audio recording interviews allowed me to conduct an interview, create the field notes, and then analyse the notes immediately, before collecting any further data. This approach of almost simultaneous collection and analysis of data (this approach is known as theoretical sampling in GT (Glaser, 1978)), means that conceptualisation was a continuous process rather than one that only occurred after 'bulk' amounts of data had been collected and transcribed[29]. Words being noted in field notes were accompanied by the noting of subtleties of non-verbal communication where this imbued the words with meaning or context.

As previously stated, grounded theories are discovered by collecting and analysing data without being constrained by pre-existing theoretical or professional frameworks. One

[29] Bulk data collection refers to a common approach in some studies where several interviews are conducted and transcribed before any purposeful analysis is completed, or data collection decisions made, based on that analysis.

way of ensuring that a GT emerges, free from these pre-conceived perspectives, is by designing the interview process to minimise their impact. In this study, I followed the guide provided by Glaser (1998) that recommends that questions put to participants be open and general so that they do not feel confined to speaking about topics that are suggested by the interviewer. Before I conducted the interviews, I had been concerned about this approach. I worried that participants might need prompting before talking about their practice. However, I soon discovered that I had the opposite problem. During interviews for open coding, I asked one open question being a variation on 'how are you?' and then most participants began talking about themselves and their practice, without the need for any further prompting. I let them talk. Any other questions asked were only to clarify something the participant had said if I had not understood one of their responses. This style of interviewing provided a rich source of data without officers being forced to discuss specific topics or issues imported from outside of the study (Holton and Walsh, 2016).

Data source 2: body-worn video footage

BWV footage is created whenever police officers attend a police incident and activate their digital video and audio recording cameras, attached to their uniform[30]. The footage examined within this study was recorded as police officers carried out incident work.

The incidents ranged from between twenty minutes and one and a half hours long with the median being approximately one hour. This number of recordings was sufficient for all the concepts of the emergent theory to be saturated, so no further footage was required. Incidents to be studied were selected at random by using police intelligence systems to identify incidents that could be included in the study according to the criteria within the

[30] There are occasions when they do not do this, which is discussed later in this chapter.

information-sharing agreement with the police (Appendix 3). The inclusion criteria are discussed further at the end of this chapter in the ethics section. Each video was viewed in private by using a desktop computer within a police station, linked to the police network. Video footage was downloaded into a folder on the computer before viewing it. Permissions for using police computer systems in this way had been obtained before the commencement of the study from the police service (see appendix 3).

A GT typically begins with nothing other than a broad problematic area of social behaviour that is deemed as worthy of study. As such, there is no defined starting point for data collection. The researcher can 'jump in'; collecting and analysing at a place that is practical and convenient. The collected data then dictates where one must look next. As such, video recordings were selected at random in the early stages of the study (in accordance with the agreements in place with the police (Appendix 3) and the principles of open coding). When the study moved into the selective and theoretical coding phases, incident footage was selected according to incident outcomes (such as incidents resulting in a crime or an arrest). This was done only where the emerging theory indicated that data from these specific incident types might provide further information that could saturate the core category and its associated sub-categories[31].

Video footage was viewed, and during that viewing, I recorded field notes to capture what was said and done by the police officers and the context in which the encounter took place. The response of participants was only recorded if it was needed to make sense of the police interaction. The fieldnotes are not complete records of every scene, action or utterance within the footage. I made decisions on which information to capture from the videos. Those decisions were made based on whether I believed that what was left out of the field

[31] For example, when seeking to saturate the theoretical code of binary retreat, data already analysed had indicated that incidents involving arrests might shows different types of shaping behaviours, so video footage of both arrest and non-arrest situations were analysed to work towards saturating that category.

notes did not affect the conceptualisation of the footage. For example, on several occasions, victims would spend a significant amount of time explaining the circumstances on an incident to an officer. On many occasions, it was sufficient to simply record, 'victim provides first account' if the footage was not instructive in its content within the overall context of the social action of the scene. These decisions were made on a case-by-case basis. In many instances, it was sufficient to summarise what was said, and then record any reaction (or lack of reaction) by police participants. I believe that these decisions on inclusion of material in fieldnotes supported the overall aim of the collection and analysis process, which was to capture patterns in social interaction rather than thick description and complete coverage of the area being studied.

When recording fieldnotes about video footage, I moved through the text using a stepwise approach (creating the text line-by-line). For video footage, stepwise meant playing back the footage in discrete steps of 5-20 seconds of video, or whatever amount was needed to capture the action, a spoken sentence and its response (or lack thereof) from another participant. For example, an officer might have asked a question of a victim. That question would then be noted in the field note, including the context of that question (such as any preceding or accompanying social action or body language, tone of voice of the participants, and so forth that was germane to the situation). This was repeated until the footage had been viewed in full.

The analysis of video footage was carried out to a depth of information that allowed for the coding of patterns in what was said or done by police officers in a similar way to the technique used by classic ethnographers, whereby the researcher captures conversations or comments, and their context, while trying to remain impartial, objective and invisible within the captured text (Mantzoukas, 2012). This meant treating the observed social interactions as units of discernible and understandable communication rather than as

discrete, unintelligible utterances or fragments of communication as is often employed in techniques such as conversation analysis (Clift, 2016).

Viewing footage in this way meant that I faithfully attempted to record the actions and interactions that I saw and heard, without interpretation, or elaboration, while summarising any parts of the interactions did not appear to add to, or detract from, the conceptualisation process. Observing the video was approached in a similar way to how I would have observed the events if I had been in the room with the officers conducting non-participatory observations or ethnographic work, but with the added benefit of being able to pace my viewing of the footage to capture more information than might be possible when viewing the action by being present in the room[32]. As with classic ethnographic approaches, the researcher is making decisions continually about what seems important, attempting to 'objectively "tell it as it is" and transform the contingent observations into fixed and structured accounts' (Mantzoukas, 2010: 423). For GT, such observations are not meant to generate accurate reproduction; they are simply intended to catalogue and describe what is seen and heard by the researcher, accepting, as with ethnography, that the researcher will not necessarily see and hear everything that happens (this is discussed further later in this chapter). While some might argue that this will always produce a partial, subjective account, the same could be argued about all research, no matter how objective the methods, whenever a human subject is involved in the collection and interpretation of results or findings.

The decision to use BWV as a data source was also based on my professional experience of using it for supervisory purposes when I was a serving police officer. As a police supervisor, I would view BWV footage of incidents to gain a better understanding of their

[32] It is accepted that the researcher is perhaps able to have more choice of what to observe when present in the room compared to watching video footage recorded by someone else; however, the audio track of captured video is likely to provide a similar level of exposure to the occurring events, as compared with the researcher listening by being present in the room.

circumstances. Some studies have suggested that the presence of a recording camera affects the behaviour of officers at incidents (Stalcup and Hahn, 2016; Pelfry and Keener, 2016; Ready and Young, 2015; inter alia). However, studies reporting the effects of video recording on police interactions tend to be inconsistent. For example, some show that officers reduce the number of arrests they make while increasing the use of other sanctions such as citations for offences (see Ariel et al., 2018); contrariwise, other studies have shown an increase in arrests by officers using video cameras (Morrow, Katz and Choate, 2016)[33]. It has also been suggested that officers, rather than avoiding the use of body-worn cameras when on patrol, are more inclined to proactively use them to avoid complaints against police and to show the police in a positive light, (Sandhu, 2019). More recent studies have concluded that the presence of a body-worn camera does little to change the behaviour of patrolling officers (Yokum, Ravishankar and Coppock, 2019). In all these studies, what seems to be missing is an analysis of the effects of BWV on the interactions of officers; most focus instead on incident outcomes. Hence, it is difficult to assess the literature on BWV relevant to this study.

Notwithstanding the limitations of other research, in this study, officers appeared to interact in a way that seemed natural, being consistent with my understanding of how police incidents are typically policed. I considered that this could be the result of several possibilities. Either, officers became so accustomed to the cameras that over time they behaved as if it were not there; or, because there were few supervisory checks carried out on video footage, officers may have considered footage of policy deviations or inappropriate behaviours as a reasonable professional risk to take; or, officers believed that how they were dealing with incidents was appropriate, so they did not adjust their behaviour on video. In any case, the GT method does not rely on 'baseline' data for a

[33] The inconsistency in findings of the effects of BWV on behaviours may be due to methodological weakness in many of the studies conducted, to date (Cubitt et al., 2017).

theory to be produced; it is still able to produce theory regardless of the intentions, biases or moderated behaviour that participants may use (see the discussion earlier in this chapter).

Ethics

Having selected BWV footage of police incidents and verbal accounts (interviews) from police officers as sources of data for this study, several key ethical considerations needed to be addressed. These issues centred around accessing and handling data alongside privacy and confidentiality. These considerations are laid out in length in the ethics application for this study (Appendix 1)[34]. Many ethical concerns were related to legal and policy requirements when handling police and personal data.

There are limitations on accessing police data for people who are not a member of a police force. Any data that is shared with non-members is regulated and particularly so if the data includes personal, private or sensitive information about any person (Data Protection Act, 2018)[35]. This was problematic for the research that I intended to carry out with BWV. The footage shows incidents involving members of the public who have not given their consent for non-members of the police to view it. Also, locating video footage on police servers required access to several key systems containing sensitive police data, including intelligence. I solved this problem of access by taking an unpaid police role as a researcher (police volunteer) with the police force where the research study was conducted. Under an existing arrangement that pre-dated this study, members of the public can be security

[34] The discussion of all the detail surrounding the use of police data sources stretched to nearly twenty thousand words in the original ethics application (part of which is reproduced in appendix 1). Because of its length, the full content is unsuitable for reproduction in this thesis within its word limitations. However, a summary is provided in this section.
[35] https://www.gov.uk/data-protection [Accessed 10th Feb 2020].

vetted and enrol as police volunteers who are then members of the police service. By becoming a police volunteer, I gained access to police systems, including BWV, and access to police stations, which was invaluable when recruiting study participants[36], in accordance with all UK and EU legislation, The Human Rights Act 1988 and English common law.

Only willing volunteers were recruited to be interviewed, and before being recruited, potential participants were asked to read and sign the participant information sheets (Appendix 2), after having the content of the sheet carefully explained to them.

As part of the pilot study for this research, I developed an information-sharing framework. It allowed me to obtain ethics approval (Appendix 5) from Keele University successfully and permission from the police to access police systems, identify suitable BWV footage, lawfully handle BWV footage, analyse the footage and report on the analysis; in line with all relevant policing policies, UK / EU laws, common law and ethical considerations. That information sharing framework was updated and re-authorised by the police to support this main study (Appendix 3).

Regarding the BWV footage selected for analysis – only the researcher knew the identities of the people who were shown in the footage. Those identities were already recorded on police systems and associated with the footage, but the inclusion of the footage in this study was only known to the researcher[37]. An alphanumeric code identified footage used

[36] These parameters of access as a police volunteer were agreed with the senior police officer who sponsored this study. Becoming a volunteer was agreed, by the police sponsor, as the best approach to lawfully accessing data for this study.

[37] It would be technically possible for the police to identify the footage accessed or participants spoken to for this study if they chose to interrogate police systems to track my usage of them. However, I had a written agreement from the police that this information would remain anonymous. To my knowledge, the police have not breached this agreement and the participants and footage used have remained anonymous, even from the police.

in the study[38], and the link between that code and any personal or confidential information related to the footage was kept in an encrypted file on police servers, and only the researcher had the encryption key.

To ensure that the handling of BWV remained within the confines of the agreement set out between the researcher and the police, unsuitable footage needed to be filtered out. This filtering was achieved by making initial checks on police systems, which the police had authorised, to ascertain whether the footage could be used without needing to view it first. However, once incident footage had been identified, I needed to view it to ensure that it was suitable for analysis and that it did not breach any of the conditions set out in Appendix 3.

The risks of using BWV or, indeed, obtaining interview accounts from police officers can be summarised as follows:

• Risk of intrusion into the private lives of participants who are within video footage or described by police officers;

• Risk of breach of data protection laws, police policies and information commissioner guidance;

• Risk of breach of The Human Rights Act 1998;

• Risk of the breach of common law principles of confidentiality;

• The risk to life and limb of participants captured in BWV footage or from disclosures made in an interview.

The framework set out in the appendices was designed to reduce these potential risks.

[38] As described earlier in this section, the BWV footage has the same alphanumeric code as the fieldnotes that were generated from them, with the addition of the prefix of BWV. E.g. the second video footage used was identified as BWV202.

The proposed use of BWV footage in this project used the same legal and ethical framework that successfully supported the use of BWV footage in the pilot study in 2018. The GT in this study focusses on the behaviours of police officers as they carry out incident work. As they do so, they interact with members of the public; however, the focus of the analysis was on the officer's words and actions rather than the other people that may incidentally be captured in the footage. As such, personal data was not collected or obtained about any person in the BWV footage other than the police officers, and the personal data collected about police officers were only collected within the framework agreed in Appendix 3[39].

When the police use BWV cameras at incidents, the camera units are considered, in law, to be overt CCTV recording devices. The camera units vary in design, but they are typically covered in a yellow fluorescent material, have a large, bright, prominent flashing light on the front of them (which indicates that they are recording) and 'CCTV' written in bold across the front of the unit. They are designed to be clearly visible, particularly when they are recording. The use of BWV camera at incidents is subject to strict policies provided by the College of Policing, the government body responsible for national police standards. Those policies (Appendix 1 and Appendix 3) state that, according to all U.K laws, including the Human Rights Act 1998, the police do not require the permission of those filmed (at police incidents) to record footage of those incidents. Policy does clarify that where objections are made to recording, officers will consider ceasing the recording if continuing to do so would be against the College of Policing policy (Appendix 1). However, the policy states that there is a presumption that recording will be continued because making the recording is an activity for a legitimate policing purpose. Often, any person captured in the footage would be aware that the police were filming them because, where practicable,

[39] Personal data was not used for analysis in this study, which is explained further in the next chapter.

their attention is drawn to the BWV unit, by officers (although this is not a policy or legal requirement).

These policies further explain that footage captured for one legitimate policing purpose (e.g. preventing or detecting crime) can be used for another policing purpose (e.g. training or research purposes, for the future improvement of police practice). It is on this basis that the police allowed the use of BWV footage in this study. The College of Policing further state that the police can

'use BWV material to review and enhance how incidents are dealt with, improving the professionalism of policing and providing a powerful tool for behavioural change and continuous improvement' (College of Policing, 2014: 18).

Using police data, collected for one purpose (e.g. BWV footage collected for an operational policing purpose), and then using that data for subsequent research purposes is compatible with the Data Protection Act 2018 and the data protection principles. At the conception of this research study, the police were both consulted and aware that BWV footage was a key text that would be analysed. The police positively encouraged the researcher to conduct this research, using BWV, as they recognised the potential benefits of improving police services, balanced against any limited intrusion into private or family life that may arise from using BWV footage on the limited basis as laid out in this study.

The police balanced the risk of intrusion into private lives against the improvements to policing that might lead to a reduction in future risks of serious injury and death to victims of crime. Several subject matter experts within the police (see Appendix 3) considered this balance according to data protection principles, The Human Rights Act 1998 and common law rights to privacy.

The Data Protection Act 2018 and The Human Rights Act 1998

The handling of BWV footage under this agreement is in line with Article 8 of the Human Rights Act 1998 – namely the right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence. While handling BWV footage in some circumstances could conflict with article 8 - 'The right to respect of private life, home and correspondence', the sharing of information proposed in this study was of direct benefit to 'the citizen' and was therefore in the public interest. This is a legitimate aim, proportionate (only the minimum information necessary was accessed by the researcher who was a member of the data controlling organisation) and wholly appropriate within a democratic society: being reasonable for the protection of the most vulnerable in society.

The data handling principles from the Data Protection Act 2018 were also considered and adhered to in accordance with the agreement set out in Appendix 3.

Police officers captured in BWV footage are fully aware and accept, as part of their duty, that footage will be used in court, disciplinary cases, for training, research and development purposes (such as this research). Such usage is covered in the College of Policing policies for Body Worn Video (Appendix 1) and is not in conflict with the Human Rights Act 1998. As such, consent was not sought from police officers to use BWV footage in this study (a discussion of these issues is provided in Appendix 1).

Limitations

Three limitations to this study relate to BWV footage and its analysis:

First, the English police force that was the site for this study has policies that require police officers to be personally issued with a BWV unit and to carry it always and use it to record incidents that they attend. If officers record footage at an incident, they download it onto

police servers after an incident so that it is available for use if the footage is evidence to be used in a criminal case or if it captures footage that is related to a complaint against the police. Although these policies are in place, not all officers activate their BWV units when they attend incidents or download the footage. As such, it might be argued that the video used for this study is only that which officers were willing to record (and by definition, does not contains footage of an alternative set of incident behaviours – perhaps even breaches of behavioural standards). However, the triangulation of footage with the accounts of officers and my own extensive experience of incident work, combined with the fact that most of the behaviours of interest in this study could arguably be defined as vapid or uncontroversial, means that I am confident that what was captured and analysed in the footage is broadly representative of the behaviour of officers on patrol.

Secondly, BWV footage provides a view of incidents that do not include the officer wearing the video unit. This means that the non-verbal communications or physical actions of the officer using the video unit was not always available for analysis.

Thirdly, the original focus of this study, before data collection and analysis commenced, had been to focus on domestic abuse incidents. As such, all the BWV footage used in this study was from this type of incident. However, the early stages of a GT study are inductive and exploratory. When doing open coding, it was clear that officers wanted to talk about all facets of their incident work and not just domestic abuse. This meant that I did not attempt to force them back to talking only about domestic abuse.

Consequently, the discovered GT relates to all frontline police incident work, but the BWV footage used for analysis was of domestic abuse incidents only. The reason I continued only to examine these incidents was that they provided the widest range of footage (most domestic abuse incidents are recorded due to policy mandates, whereas many other incident types are not). Also, this incident type is the most regulated for frontline officers,

so there is more incident work for them to carry out, meaning more opportunities to explore variations in their behaviours. Finally, although officer interviews diverged from domestic abuse, officers would continually raise the domestic abuse incident as an example of where their role and work was most contested and problematic.

These three limitations relate to the same issue: not all parts of an incident or all possible examples of incidents have been captured in the footage used in this study. This raises the question of whether incidents, or parts of incidents that were not filmed or not included in this study, might represent data that is markedly different from those included, or would change the concepts generated by that analysis. The research method used for this study (see the discussion earlier in this chapter) helps to alleviate such concerns because even when not obtaining complete coverage of all incidents, we can still produce an abstract theory capable of explaining social behaviour.

If some data related to the substantive area is unavailable '[t]here is no cause for fear of distortion of accuracy [because] conceptualizing [sic] the problem makes it abstract of time, place or people' (Glaser, 2001: 101). The generation of concepts and the saturation of their properties does not rely on using data from all possible incident scenarios or all parts of an incident. Generated concepts are abstractions of patterns of behaviours and are not incident or officer dependent. Likewise, whether an incident involved one, two or many officers or different numbers of incident participants, this should not affect the fit of the theory to the substantive area. If such variables were a core part of the theory, they would have arisen as patterns in other data and been conceptualised (Glaser, 1998). If this were not the case, then one would only be able to use the discovered GT to explain officer behaviours for a strict subset of incidents, which is not the case[40]. The abstract conceptual GT approach and the interchangeability of indicators (Glaser, 1978) described earlier,

[40] See chapter 8 for a discussion of the generalisability of grounded theories.

mean that the conceptualisation and theory generation for a GT study is unaffected by incomplete coverage of the study area. Ultimately, the patterns that were discovered in this GT were found among the most mundane of policing activities, practice talk and routine activities, as well as the more controversial aspects of practice, such as policy avoidance. As such, there is no reason to suspect that the police officers being studied have purposefully hidden or changed the most ordinary and uneventful aspects of their role; hence, the patterns of practice were still there to be discovered in the data.

Study validity

Other, non-GT studies often seek to understand the validity of the study based on, among other things, the volume of data items collected for analysis. Some statistical studies seek large sample sizes to provide 'safety in numbers' when making claims about the meaning of data because many statistical tests require a certain threshold volume of data points before they can provide meaningful conclusions on the validity of that data set. However, a GT study is conceptual. We are seeking conceptual, abstract patterns in data, which does not require the same sample size as a statistical study to make defensible claims about patterns in data (Glaser, 2008; Glaser, 1978; Glaser and Strauss, 1967). That is not to say that larger sample sizes do not produce grounded theories that are conceptually denser; they do. However, it is not necessary to collect such volumes of data before making claims about the basic theoretical/hypothetical connections between concepts in a GT study (Glaser, 1998). As such, GT studies can be a valid way of identifying data patterns within less voluminous data sets, complementary to statistical studies, because of the use of the analytic technique, 'constant comparison' (see chapter two) (Glaser, 1978). For example, in this study, if we assume (conservatively) that each collected data item (interview/video) contains just one datum point that forms a pattern with one other

point within every other data item (i.e. each data item is theoretically linked once and only once with each and every other item in the data set), then the number of potential theoretical connections linking concepts in a study with sixty-six data items (which is the number in this study) increases significantly with the addition of each new data item. We find that for (n) data items, n(n-1)/2 = the number of theoretical connections. For (n) = 66, this number is (66 x 65) / 2 = 2145. Hence, as can be seen in Figure 2, as the number of data items increases, the number of potential theoretical connections that exist between data items that are constantly compared with one another increases exponentially (a parabolic curve).

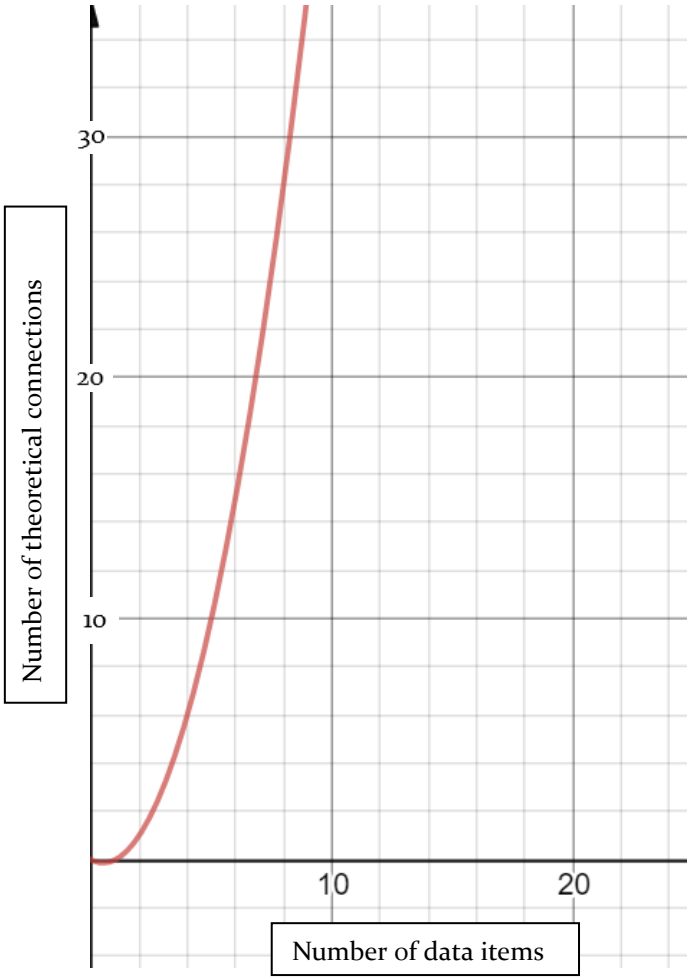


Figure 2: number of potential theoretical connections per total number of data items (assuming just one connection between each and every other data item).

This is how 'constant comparison' operates. While this is a simplified model of the potential number of theoretical connections that might be uncovered by using constant comparison, it demonstrates that small data sets (i.e. smaller than those which a typical statistical study might use) can yield rich, densely conceptualised GT studies to complement existing approaches that use statistical data sets to understand policing problems.

This chapter has explained the method used to identify and collect data based on the methodological considerations laid out in chapter two. The next chapter, being the final chapter in part I of this thesis, provides an account of how the GT method was used to discover the main intellectual contribution of this study, the classic GT of balancing value and effort.

Chapter four: doing the study

In the first sections of part I of this thesis, I explained how I set out to answer the research questions for this study by collecting and analysing data using the classic GT method. This chapter will provide a narrative, explaining how the data collection and analysis journey unfolded. This chapter has been included to provide the reader with a clearer understanding of how a GT emerges[41].

As previously stated, adherence to the classic GT method is an essential element of producing a GT that is firmly grounded in the data. However, adherence to the method is not simply a case of epistemological dogmatism. There are pragmatic reasons for closely following the method. For example, missing out stages, such as theoretical coding and memo-sorting, can produce a superficial, underdeveloped theory because the researcher is unlikely to be able to raise the level of abstraction in their study needed for the discovery of GT (Glaser, 2005; Glaser, 2003).

If the GT method has been closely, rigorously followed, then the production of a 'successful' theory should be the outcome. Whether a GT has been 'successful', can be understood by examining and using the final product itself – the GT. As Glaser (1998: 17) explains,

> *'the proof is in the outcome. Does the theory <u>work</u> to explain relevant behaviour in the substantive area of the research? Does it have <u>relevance</u> to the people in the substantive field? Does the theory <u>fit</u> the substantive area? Is it readily <u>modifiable</u> as new data emerge? [emphasis in the original]'.*

Hence, this chapter aims to provide a clear narrative of how the GT method was used, laying the foundation for part II of this thesis, where the 'success' of the GT product can

[41] The emergent theory is presented, in full, in the next chapter.

be assessed by using Glaser's criteria. The concluding chapter of this thesis will state whether the GT produced from this study and the research process leading to its emergence, meet Glaser's criteria of 'workability', 'relevance', 'fit' and 'modifiability'.

Preparing for the study

Glaser states that GT is an experiential method; it is best learned by doing (Guthrie and Lowe, 2011; Glaser, 1998). When I first attempted to use the method, as part of the pilot study that preceded the main study, I recognised some fundamental gaps in my knowledge of the method. This included knowing how to effectively code observed patterns in the data, and the use of memoing and theoretical coding to produce an abstract theory (that is still grounded in the data). I addressed this knowledge gap by engaging in development activities with experienced GT practitioners.

I attended a two-day GT seminar held by one of Glaser's mentees, which helped me to gain a better understanding of the basic steps of a GT study. Once I began the main study, there were several practical difficulties that I experienced. For example, I was unable to settle on an approach for recording my data analysis. I initially tried coding directly into the margins of field notes; however, I soon found that this made the codes difficult to collate. Therefore, I decided to take up one-to-one mentoring from the Grounded Theory Institute over six months, to gain professional knowledge on how to conduct my study from experienced, publishing grounded theorists. Glaser (1998: 5) writes that being 'minus-mentor', as I was when I first started this study, can be a long and difficult path for a student to take because '[t]hey run aground easily'.

The GT method is a precise recipe that can be challenging to learn by ones-self, and many students deal with this challenge by mixing GT with other, more familiar qualitative

research methods (Glaser, 2003). However, the result is often a lack of theoretical conceptualisation because many qualitative methods aim for complete descriptive coverage rather than an abstract conceptualisation of social patterns; (Holton and Walsh, 2016). Having now benefited from this research training, and by adhering strictly to the GT method, it is my view that the most challenging parts of the method are memo sorting (Glaser, 2014) and theoretical coding (Glaser, 2005), which provide the theoretical cohesion needed to produce a substantive theory; neither of which I could have successfully navigated while being 'minus-mentor'.

Following the classic grounded theory 'recipe'

The rest of this chapter will take a chronological approach to describe the research process. The chapter sections will closely follow the GT method steps (see chapter three for a summary of the steps) so that adherence to the method can be followed and verified by the reader. The steps described in this chapter are listed below, and are explained in more detail as they are sequentially introduced:

- Open coding
- Selective coding
- Memo sorting
- Theoretical coding

While there are other steps involved in doing the GT method, such as theoretical sampling and memo writing, these steps are carried out alongside the other stages and will be discussed at the appropriate juncture.

In describing the journey, I will be using samples of analytic memos, interview field notes and BWV footage field notes to illustrate the discrete stages of analysis; however, a GT study is not intended to provide full descriptive coverage of the study area (Glaser, 2001). Whereas some qualitative research methods aim for a full description of a social phenomenon, GT is conceptual, based on latent patterns in social behaviour. As such, once patterns are identified and labelled with theoretical codes as part of the final theory, endless descriptive data is not used to explain or justify those codes (Glaser, 2001; Glaser, 1978). The theoretical codes are abstract of time and place. This means that GT can be applied to a similar social environment, and the theory should still represent what is happening, regardless of whether the descriptive detail being examined is different in any given situation. Hence, a GT study is generalisable (see chapter eight). In-line with the suggestions from Glaser (1998) on writing up a GT study, I will be using occasional descriptive examples of data to illustrate and contextualise how the identified concepts operate and link with other parts of the theory – but these will be sparingly applied so that the abstract structure of the underlying theory is not obscured by voluminous description.

This chapter will not provide an account of how all concepts and their properties or dimensions were discovered at each stage of analysis. To do so would be beyond the limits of this thesis and would not add value for the reader because most steps are repetitive.

Instead, I have selected some key highlights and important milestones from the analysis process. I hope that doing so will demonstrate to the reader that:

- the GT method has been correctly followed and applied;
- the process of conceptualisation was both logical, methodical and explicit;
- the theory that emerged was a natural progression of discoveries and realisations based on conceptualised patterns in the data.

Open Coding

In open coding, the fieldnotes created from either the observation of BWV or from verbal officer accounts are treated as lines of data for analysis. Each line/sentence of data is analysed individually as a fragment, separate from the whole fieldnote. Those fragments were compared with each other. When patterns are identified between data, those fragments are categorised or labelled (coded). New data fragments are then constantly compared with other existing fragments and their categories; any further patterns are then categorised accordingly (Glaser, 1998: 3; Stern, 1994; Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 39).

I categorised patterns by continually asking questions of the data: 'What category or property of a category does this [data] indicate? What is the participant's main concern?' (Glaser, 1998: 140). The labelling of categories produced concepts that were grounded in the data, and it is called open coding because the data collection process, at that stage of the study, is open; meaning that open questions are used to obtain broad, unforced accounts and no pre-defined theoretical framework is used with either participants or BWV footage analysis.

As open coding continues, the volume of coded categories grows, and as new fieldnotes are coded, new data fragments are compared against others already coded within existing fieldnotes. This analytic process is continued until a 'core category' emerges. The core category is a category of data that rises above the other categories in the study because the patterns it represents are connected to almost all other categories in dense and complex ways. It is central to all other patterns in the data (Breckenridge, 2014), and it conceptualises how the participants continually resolve their main concern.

As Glaser (1978: 93) describes, the

> *'core category accounts for most of the variation in a pattern of behaviour [and] has the prime function of integrating the theory and rendering the theory dense and saturated as the relationships increase.'*

Open coding began in this study when I wrote my first field notes following an interview with a police officer, and then analysed them as soon as practicable after the field notes were made (which was usually within one to two hours). I then followed this with collecting, transcribing and analysing BWV footage. I continued in this step-wise approach, alternatively collecting data from interviews and video footage until the discovery of the core-category, which signalled the transition to selective coding. I did this because neither data source had primacy and I did not know what these sources might provide in terms of data patterns, so alternatively collecting and analysing interviews and video footage appeared to be a reasonable way forward in the first stages of the study. Because the GT that eventually emerged was not known at the commencement of the study, it was not possible to predict what patterns would emerge from different research activities and different sources. Selectively choosing data sources to understand more about emergent patterns in the data took place later in the study during the selective and theoretical coding phases.

When open coding, I kept a piece of paper near to where I was working that had the questions suggested by Glaser (1998: 25), that help the analyst to consider what might be happening in the data:

> *'comparing [data] when coding his field notes, the researcher begins to see a pattern and a concept emerges that fits it. A category or its property has emerged. The researcher keeps asking "what category does this incident indicate?" or "what property of what category does this incident indicate?"'*

The coding and constant comparison process require one to work 'line by line'. It is inviting, when collecting data and reviewing it globally, as a single artefact, to be captivated by gross, general patterns observed in the data, particularly if the data is interesting or novel. Breaking the data down into fragments using the line-by-line approach prevents this from happening and forces one to take notice of the smaller, latent patterns within the data (Glaser, 1978). It is these subtle patterns in the data that eventually become the properties, dimensions or other parts of the conceptual categories, so identifying them is an important part of generating a conceptually rich, saturated theory.

Once a pattern has been identified as a potential category, a label is given to that pattern. At the early stages of labelling categories, some of my labels were descriptive rather than conceptual. Nevertheless, as the study progressed, my labels evolved to become more conceptual. Whenever a thought arose about why I had used a label, a category was conceptualised, or properties or dimensions of a category were created, I wrote a memo. Memos are the 'glue' that binds the GT process together (Glaser, 2014). They provide not just a place to record analytic ideas, links and questions; they are an essential part of the final stages of the method because it is the memos, not data, that are sorted during theoretical coding, which is how the theory is eventually produced.

In the first stages of open coding, I identified a collection of categories by spotting patterns in what officers were saying or doing. Those initial categories were:

- Process
- Process (perceptions)
- Shaping the process
- Being valued
- Agency

- Reprioritisation
- Workload
- Process decision making

The initial labels for these categories were broad, and I found it difficult to tease apart the subtle patterns in the data. However, this improved with practice and with many hours of thinking about the patterns and their properties. As an example, within the broad label of 'process' were lines of data where officers talked about doing a police process:

> *'[...] going to domestic incidents is frustrating [...] regardless of whether the incident involves a verbal argument or whether it involves an assault, we have to go through the same process for each one' [officer interview 101:1].*

When the category of 'process' was created, more data lines were added if they provided new information about the pattern. A memo was produced each time new patterns were identified in the data, to capture my analysis or reasons for adding the data to the category. For example, in this memo excerpt:

> *Memo: Process*
>
> *Talk about the process of DA policing seems to pervade the entire interview. This was not prompted – this is where the participant started, stayed and ended.*
>
> *The process is described as a constraint that involves doing a lot of work. The participant had a view that the process doesn't help people.*
>
> *This concept of 'process' has dimensions/properties. I'm unsure how to differentiate these two categories.*
>
> *Properties: Frustrating (this is not necessarily an inherent property – this seems to be the impression of the participant (being frustrated)*
>
> *Dimensions: The process is discussed in terms of the level of perceived help it provides versus the effort put in by the officer.*

As I collected and analysed more data, I felt that the labels I had initially created were unsatisfactory. They seemed too broad and did not capture the many dimensions and properties that were emerging as patterns between data: social action. It took some weeks of careful reflection before I realised that the labels I had created for the patterns in the data, were labels that were inadvertently 'borrowed' from the policing profession discourse, such as 'process', 'risk', 'decision-making' and 'workload'. Why this occurred could perhaps be explained in two ways. First, this was the language being used by officers in interviews (because they were working within this discourse); second, because of my previous experience as a police officer, I had not initially 'noticed' my adoption of this discourse when labelling categories.

My eventual realisation that these category labels were unsatisfactory had occurred because of my use of the constant comparison (chapter 2). While the researcher is continually comparing and reviewing new conceptual categories; properties, connections and theory development are automatically and continually reviewed/modified during the process of constant comparison. This helps ensure that the researcher is not unduly influenced by *a priori* thinking or influence from professional knowledge (Glaser, 1998). In this respect, the GT method 'worked'; helping me to spot potential bias in my conceptualisation of data. I was able to modify the conceptual labels and unlock new ways of thinking about police incidents. It should be noted that while the labels given to phenomena by the interview participants should not be ignored, it is the emergent patterns of social behaviour they point towards that are of greater interest in a GT study. Choosing new analytic labels for familiar phenomena allows the study to remain grounded in the data while unlocking new ways of thinking about the phenomena being observed.

On resuming analysis, and before collecting any more data, I printed off the coded data and associated memos; removing the category labels. I then went through the data and

looked more closely at the patterns using the constant comparison method. I realised that by removing category labels such as 'process' and focussing on the underlying patterns, new categories not relating to policing concepts began to emerge. For example, I noticed that much of the data under the 'process' categories related to processes being a constraint on officer behaviour, preventing them from doing what they wanted to do. This realisation led me to search the data for signs of what it was that they are being constrained from doing and how they managed that constraint. Although this search did not mature until much later in the analytic process, defining the conceptualisation of 'what officers want to do' eventually evolved into the core-category (balancing value and effort) of the study.

The following example from an officer interview had been initially coded as 'process', because the officer was talking about 'paperwork', a component of police processes, as being problematic:

'The amount of paperwork they create is huge, but so few of the incident outcomes really help the people involved' [officer interview 101:10].

However, the concept of 'process' did not capture the social action or processing of the problem. It is a static, structural term in and of itself. By re-coding this data fragment as 'high effort – low value' I was able to capture the conditional nature of the statement. The officer was complaining about paperwork, but conceptually they were identifying that paperwork is a high effort activity. The second part of the statement shows that the officer evaluated incident outcomes and compared them to the high level of effort required to resolve incidents. Likewise, where I had coded data with the label 'risk', on review, it was clear that risk was just a frame for officers to talk about their contemporaneous experience:

*'There are times that I have gone to incidents where I have completed the policy mandated risk assessment form, to manage the risk, and the score has come out very low. However, everything about that incident is telling me that this is a very serious incident or something serious has happened, but I am not being told by the victim' [*officer interview *101:31].*

Hence, this data fragment was re-coded under the category 'incident experiencing'. Later work explored the properties and dimensions of the category to capture fine-grain detail and differences between data fragments. Of note for this type of coding is that the code labels are intentionally abstract. This supports the researcher when searching for other ostensibly unrelated data when trying to saturate these abstract categories. Taking the 'incident experiencing' code as an example, if this data example had instead been coded by using a descriptive code such as 'risk assessing' then this would have limited the process of saturating properties and dimensions because it is likely that I would have only explored other data relating to risk assessment situations. Instead, I explored all varieties of practice situations to saturate this category and eventually discover that an officer's immediate incident experience is determined by concepts such as the cooperation of the participants, their social worth and the seriousness of the offence.

I began relabelling categories and moving data between them while making constant comparisons. I began to feel a sense of freedom and confidence that the categories that were now evolving were based on what the data patterns indicated, not according to a pre-defined professional framework. Although I changed the conceptual labels of many of the early categories, these changes were based on patterns in the underlying data. I did not dogmatically exclude professional policing concepts from this process; rather, I made sure that concept labels were only used if they represented emerging patterns in the data.

The new categories began to take shape, but they were still not a coherent framework for indicating what the core-category might be. For example, a new category was formed called 'perceiving importance/value'. This related to patterns in the data where officers

were saying or doing things that demonstrated that they were recognising different levels of importance or value in what they were doing and that the level of importance or value affected how they felt, and how they did their job.

As these new categories were forming, I made memos about the process and the patterns in the data, as this memo example shows:

> *Memo: Perceiving Importance/value*
>
> *A consequence of processes is a higher volume of lower quality outcomes*
>
> *Variables that affect perceptions of incident outcome quality are:*
>
> *Level of assault*
>
> *Level of cooperation from the victim*
>
> *Level of internal consistency between policies.*
>
> *A consequence of a perceived low incident quality - work viewed as 'waste of time' and frustration or annoyance.*
>
> *Policy deviation can be rewarding to officers if it leads to incident outcomes with a higher value for incident participants than the mandated policy outcome.*

It transpired that some of my original labels, such as 'process' did begin to re-appear in the data. However, they had now become properties of other conceptual categories, having earned their place in the analysis, based on patterns in the data. As the process continued, I identified a set of categories that could account for a significant proportion of the patterns identified in the underlying data. Those categories were:

- Perceiving importance/value
- Effort
- Time
- Physical energy
- Mental energy

- Calculating effort
- Shaping the victim
- Shaping the offender
- Incident experiencing
- Atmosphering
- Pseudo-friending

At this stage, I was yet to discover the core-category. Within these new categories, I had identified two subsets into which the categories could be split. First, some categories were related to perceptions of officers, when doing incident work, about the level of work they had to do, or what work they found rewarding, interesting or important. The second sub-set is related to what officers do when they attend incidents and how what they did, changed or maintained incident outcomes. I was struggling to understand the relationship between these two sub-sets of categories, so I continued to look for properties or dimensions of them in the existing data and by collecting further data. The interviews I conducted provided an account of what police officers thought about their work, with some occasional explanation of how they do incident work, but being able to watch incident work on video footage helped me to carefully watch what was said and done at incidents to gain a deeper understanding of the categories that had emerged. In this way, the two data sources worked in synergy to provide more depth of understanding during the analysis. For example, the categories of victim shaping and offender shaping related to officer behaviours at an incident. In the video footage, officers could be seen interacting in ways that pushed an incident participant towards a preferred outcome. For example, in these BWV fieldnotes,

Officer asks, 'so what happened?'

[allows the male victim to give account uninterrupted].

[BWV footage - 208:4];

Okay. What's gone on then tonight? Just a bit of an argument over...?

[said before the victim has given any account]

[BWV footage - 209:42].

These are examples of officers behaving in different ways towards victims. The first example was an officer allowing a victim to provide an account, before the officer conducted any of the process requirements for the incident, such as taking personal details from the participants or completing police procedural tasks such as 'paperwork'. The second example was of an officer suggesting a possible incident outcome to a victim before the victim had a chance to give their account of what had happened and before any incident investigation taking place. These two approaches to dealing with incident participants were eventually conceptualised as part of a 'shaping continuum' of behaviours, with officers adopting different approaches to obtain different incident outcomes by shaping the behaviour or decisions of an incident participant. I continued to write memos to capture the development of these conceptual categories and their properties and dimensions, for example:

Memo: Shaping (the victim)

Influencing victim responses to achieve a preferred outcome

This influence is by:

Not allowing a victim to provide their account when they want to and at the time that, according to the processes, they should be [i.e. letting victim provide an initial open account] (device of 'taking details' seems important here in preventing victim account giving – used to interrupt)

It is providing hints to the victim of the officers' preferred outcome. The device of 'taking details' is often used to provide opportunities to give

hints of a preferred outcome.

Shaping the victim diminishes once it is made clear that the victim is agreeable to the officers' preferred outcome. – e.g. victim now allowed to provide account uninterrupted.

As the categories began to take shape, and more memos were created, I identified that the 'shaping' of incident participants was a device being used by officers to achieve a goal. However, that goal was still not clear in the data patterns because there was so much variation in the circumstances connected with shaping behaviours. I went on to identify that the level of effort officers were prepared to use when resolving an incident was linked to the value that they perceive that an incident represents. At that stage, the conceptual labels for the categories of data patterns reached a point where I began to consider what the main concern of officers might be (what was their goal when shaping?):

Memo: ideas about the main concern

Officers believe that they are best placed to identify problems and manage them. The process gets in the way and frustrates.

They achieve this by, among other things, shaping the incident.

The officer experiences the incident=> they believe that they know what to do=> doing that becomes their main concern.

This memo was a first step in identifying the main concern, hinting at an officer's experiences and beliefs as a driver of their behaviour. However, the main concern did not fully form until the final stages of analysis during theoretical coding.

I collected and analysed more data until a sudden realisation occurred that related the categories of 'perceiving importance/value', 'effort' and 'shaping' (victim/incident/offender). I saw that the pattern that linked these three categories was related to a balance that officers were trying to maintain between how much work they had to do, and the value that they placed on the incident. Also, the process of balancing

was done by shaping the behaviours of incident participants. The following memo was written at the time of this realisation:

> *Memo: Balancing?*
>
> *The process of making a valuation/judgement and then adjusting the variables towards a ratio between effort and value is all throughout the data.*
>
> *Perhaps it is 'balancing'? The word 'balancing' can represent both the continuing act of judging with the act of changing variables to 'balance' the equation: where effort = value then effort/value=1, a constant that the officer seeks to achieve or/and maintain.*
>
> *What I need to keep an eye out for are patterns in the data where judging has continued but the calculus changes – a tipping point. I have already seen this in the data, typically where an offender does not behave in a way that allows the officer to maintain the level of effort in line with the perceived value.*
>
> *There is a point where the officer judges that the incident value has changed and they decide to use more effort. [This needs exploring further in the data].*
>
> *There seem to be factors which prevent officers from reducing the effort to match the perceived value (such as policy).*
>
> *They are avoiding this frustration because the incident value does not match the effort required to resolve it. Is their main concern reducing frustration?*

This memo explored the basic framework of what became the core-category – 'balancing value and effort'.

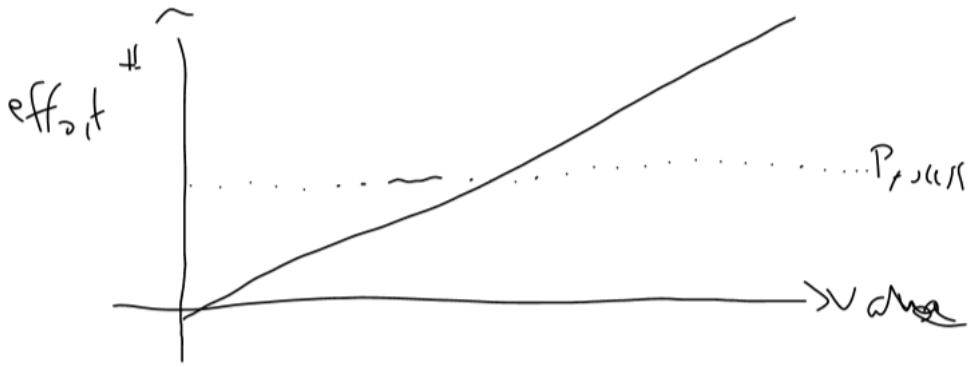
Discovery of the core-category – balancing value and effort

As described earlier, the core category within a GT is the category to which most of the other categories connect or relate (Glaser, 1978). As such, it accounts for most of the patterns of social behaviour that the data represents: it is what is happening.

The core category, in this case, 'balancing value and effort', was how the research participants were resolving their main concern. I was still to uncover the precise nature of their main concern; however, the patterns in the data nearly all led to the core-category of balancing value and effort, so I had confidence that this conceptual category was accounting for what police officers were trying to do during incidents.

I captured the core-category in a memo by hand-drawing a diagram, which is shown, below:

> *Memo: Valuing the incident*
>
> *Officers establish the value of an incident.*
>
> *The effort can be manipulated by varying how the participants behave.*
>
> *They try and get the value to fit the effort or the effort to fit the value.*
>
> *If the value matches the level of perceived effort, then no shaping occurs.*
>
> *If the value is perceived as less than the effort needed, then officers will work to either increase the value or decrease the level of perceived effort.*



This is a graph of perceived effort versus perceived value of any police incident to an officer.

Figure 3: hand-drawn graphical depiction of value and effort

In the data, officers were assessing what value was associated with different incidents, circumstance, outcomes and participants. They were then trying to balance the level of effort used to resolve an incident with the value of that incident. How they did this had been conceptualised as 'shaping' behaviours, but these behaviours still had too much variation to be understood fully. Having discovered the core-category, I ceased open coding and moved to the next stage of the GT method, selective coding.

Selective coding

Selective coding uses the same method of data collection and analysis as open coding except that instead of asking open, general questions of the participants or the data, the researcher begins to focus on categories, properties and dimensions of the discovered concepts that are yet to be 'saturated'. In this context, saturation occurs when no new properties or dimensions of a category can be identified by the addition of more data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

During open coding, the data collection and analysis process is not focussed on any specific areas of the emerging theory. However, during selective coding, theoretical sampling is a more active process. Each cycle of data collection and analysis prompts new questions and considerations about the discovered categories and their properties. Theoretical sampling during selective coding provides more direction regarding which data to collect and analyse. This helped to delimit interview and footage analysis because many concepts were already saturated and required no further descriptive examples from the data.

When I conducted the first officer interview in the selective coding phase, I attempted to ask the participant some direct questions at the start of the interview relating to the

concepts that I was trying to saturate. However, I found that the interviewee had difficulty answering them. They could not retrieve the information I needed. I had not considered that the questions I was asking were perhaps confusing to the participants. I had been immersed in the study for some time and had developed my detailed understanding and use of vocabulary, specifically related to the study. Hence, when I asked my first question: 'How do you think the value of an incident changes how you resolve it?' – the participant seemed slightly bemused and lost for words. I changed my approach and reverted to asking an initial open question, which then encouraged the participant to talk more generally about their practice. I then re-introduced my earlier questions later in the interview, which was answered by the participant with ease because the general discussion had provided much-needed context. I took this learning forward into other interviews and did not have any further problems with participants being 'stuck' on how to answer selective coding questions. By initially asking questions relating to already saturated categories, this was a departure from the strict interpretation of selective coding; but for this study, police officers required a 'warming-up' period before being asked more complex questions about their practice.

As selective coding continued, the categories began to saturate. The number of memos that I wrote began to increase significantly as new connections in data patterns were discovered. Whenever I posed questions to myself within a memo regarding missing information relating to a category, its properties or dimensions, I sought to answer that question by revisiting previously collected data, before collecting new data. Often, these questions were answered by examining existing data using the constant comparison method. When data had been analysed during open coding, the theory was in its early stages of development, so many of the questions I was asking of the data, in the later stages of the study, had not been relevant earlier.

For example, the question at the end of this memo prompted interview questions relating to whether past incidents affected an officer's perception of value at future incidents:

> *Memo: Perceiving value*
>
> *Once an incident has been dealt with, by definition, the officer dealing will have balanced value and effort and either been successful or not in achieving a balance (more balance means less frustration). If, because of a decision by others regarding the case (which is a post-incident process), the perceived value of the case is reduced from where it was when the officer completed the incident (e.g. the case is dropped by CPS) – the officer will feel frustration because the effort and perceived value for that incident will now be out of balance.*

Eventually, selective coding saturated the categories that had been identified, but there were still gaps in my understanding of the balancing process. First, I had not fully identified what the main concern was. I had written several memos on data patterns that showed officers feeling frustrated when an incident was unbalanced, but why were they feeling frustrated? What was it about an unbalanced incident that was so important to them? Second, the process of shaping was multivariate; relating to officer perceptions of victims and offenders. I was confident that I had identified all patterns of variance in shaping because new data was not providing any new properties or dimensions for the concepts already discovered. However, the conditions and contexts under which the concept of shaping was occurring were widely variable, so it was difficult at that stage to make sense of how the concept fully operated. For example, sometimes officers were behaving passively towards offenders, but in other similar circumstances, they were behaving towards them in an officious manner; there was no obvious connection between the two situations. These multivariate connections would eventually become clear when theoretical coding took place.

During selective coding, two new categories emerged that accounted for how officers viewed incident participants and the value that they represented. They were 'social worth'

and 'balance compliance'. These concepts had arisen in the data during open coding, but their importance only became apparent when the shaping concept had developed. Social worth related to officer perceptions of other incident participants and their value to society; balance compliance related to how cooperative participants were with an officer's attempts to balance value and effort. Selective coding continued until all categories became saturated, and no new categories, properties or dimensions were discovered. Reaching that point, I had a large bank of memos written about the categories, but the theoretical connections between those categories were not mature. I decided to advance onto the next part of the GT method: sorting memos and theoretical coding.

Theoretical coding, memo sorting and writing up the theory

The theoretical coding stage begins with the sorting of analytic memos so that the substantive categories can be organised and integrated. Sorting memos is a physical process to be done by hand where possible. The researcher moves memos around, trying different theoretical codes out for fit against the underlying substantive codes (Glaser, 2005). Theoretical codes are different from substantive codes because they 'implicitly conceptualize [sic] how the substantive codes will relate to each other as interrelated, multivariate hypotheses in accounting for resolving the main concern [of the participants]' (Glaser, 1998: 163). It is only by sorting theoretical memos that the GT emerges. At the stage of theoretical coding, the data incidents underpinning the concepts, codes and categories are still indelibly linked to the conceptual ideas in the theoretical memos, but the data is not used directly during this stage of analysis. This frees the researcher to think theoretically and to develop a GT that is abstract and conceptual, which can be explained and used without the need to describe all the data that underpins it.

As memos are sorted, more memos are written to capture the theoretical coding that results from the sorting process. This continues until the researcher is unable to improve upon the fit of the emergent theory with the underlying memos. The sorted memos provide the integrated conceptual framework needed to write up the theory (Glaser, 2014). Theoretical codes are abstract concepts. They can 'come from all fields and their theoretical perspectives, whether social psychology, sociology, philosophy, organizational [sic] theory, economics, political science, history, bio-chemistry etc' (Glaser, 2005: 6). The researcher selects theoretical codes by 'trying them out' to see if the codes can be used to explain how the substantive codes operate with each other. Whichever theoretical codes the researcher uses, their fit must be emergent and never forced.

In this study, moving to the stage of theoretical coding was accompanied by a temporary cessation of data collection and analysis. Having discovered and saturated the core-category of balancing value and effort and the categories associated with it, I attempted my first sort of the memos that had been written during the open and selective coding phases. The memos totalled in the hundreds. There were many memos relating to the same categories that were spread across multiple memo documents because they had been written at different stages of the process. Each memo contained information relating to emergent patterns, but they were difficult to handle or visualise in their current form.

The process of sorting memos

> *'is an essential step in the grounded theory process that cannot be skipped. It begins to put the fractured data back together. It consists of setting up memos in a theoretical outline in preparation for the writing stage. Writing grounded theory requires a "write-up" of the theoretical sorting of memos. [...] Since the sorting is of ideas not data, it is conceptual sorting, not data sorting, which many sociologists are accustomed to from other methods' (Glaser, 2014: 99-100).*

Memo sorting is a physical process, allowing the researcher to raise the level of abstraction in the study (Glaser, 2014). Sorting memos does not require the researcher to refer to the underlying data: the work of grounding the memos in the data has already happened. This frees the researcher to think about how the memos relate to each other conceptually, in more abstract, theoretical ways, without being pulled back into a descriptive narrative, which can stifle theoretical development.

For sorting, I printed memos onto paper, and each idea or thought within the memos was cut into individual strips. Each strip was labelled with the original category it had been part of. Once the memos were cut up, they were laid out within their original categories. This allowed me, for the first time, to view the individual memos relating to a single category, simultaneously. Figure 4 is a photograph, showing the physical, hand-sorting of memos during the sorting process. This approach to memo sorting is recommended as part of the classic GT method:

> *'Hand sorting of memos provides theoretical order and integration of ideas and requires the theorist to theoretically discriminate as to where each idea fits in the emerging theory [...] The physical act of hand sorting memos further facilitates the preconscious processing of matured ideas'*
>
> *(Holton and Walsh, 2017: 109).*

Once the memos relating to a category were viewed together, this allowed me to better

Figure 4: photograph of memos being hand-sorted during theoretical coding

appreciate the properties of each category, and how they linked together theoretically. I then began systematically comparing memos to other memos to identify patterns.

The researcher does not begin the process by picking a theoretical code of interest and then trying to fit the memos to those codes. The process starts with the sorting of memos; looking for theoretical connections between categories and their properties. Whether the researcher can 'spot' where theoretical codes might be used, depends on their sensitivity to different theoretical codes, based on their general knowledge, professional and educational background[42]. If a researcher does not try to remain open at this stage and instead applies a 'pet' code that does not fit with the emergent patterns between concepts, then they will have forced the study concepts into a theoretical structure that may not provide a satisfactory account of what is happening in the substantive area of interest. Glaser (2005; 1978) provides lists of examples of theoretical codes or coding families that

[42] My prior undergraduate studies in pure mathematics undoubtedly sensitised me to the algorithmic theoretical codes that form the core of this thesis; however, they were not 'pet' codes that I consciously decided to use. They emerged at the end of a long discovery process that did not initially focus on algorithms.

are offered as a prompt to researchers while being clear that the source of theoretical codes is endless.

I did not start with any pre-defined theoretical codes for this study, so I explored some of the theoretical code examples that Glaser provided, for inspiration. On examining those code examples, I realised that the substantive code 'balancing value and effort' (the core-category), was related to the theoretical code of 'balancing' (Glaser, 1978). The theoretical code of 'balancing' is a basic social process (BSP), which is also another category of theoretical code. The BSP is a concept that models a process of change in two or more stages through which a social problematic is processed. BSPs integrate complex variations of behaviour while at the same time, remaining stable (*Ibid*). Having a BSP emerge in an unforced manner, as a theoretical code that modelled the core-category of this study gave me increasing confidence of its centrality within the theory.

By sorting the cut-up memos into different piles, what appeared to be the separate events of 'perceiving value' and 'calculating effort' during the balancing process, were now identified as the same perception-evaluation process; they happened simultaneously. I also identified the theoretical code of binary retreat[43] (Glaser, 1978) (retreating into one's organisational/professionally defined role), as a pattern within the memos:

> *Memo: Perceiving value/calculating effort*
>
> *Taking details is part of shaping*
>
> *Taking details before the victim account is given reduces effort by discouraging disclosure of issues that would require additional effort to resolve.*
>
> *Taking details is a form of binary retreat*

[43] Binary retreat is explained further in chapter 5.

Having identified binary retreat as a potential theoretical code that linked some categories together, I sorted the memos into piles relating to different parts of a binary process to see if this might explain the multivariate connections between them. I continued to write memos on this sorting process:

> *Memo: Shaping*
>
> *Shaping is either passive or active*
>
> *Passive shaping is used to reduce potential effort by preventing any change in value.*
>
> *Active is used for all types of balancing (increase/decrease value & increase/decrease effort)*
>
> *Policy constraints contribute to shaping activities*
>
> *Taking an account is also a binary continuum. Taking details etc. is retreat. Listening, allowing uninterrupted account and encouraging are deconstruction.*
>
> *Officers frequently jargonise—a form of Retreat.*

I examined many different codes during this process and sorted the memos into different piles as I 'tried out' theoretical codes to see if they accounted for the variance in the memos (Glaser, 2005). This process of trying out codes and resorting memos was iterative and took over 100 hours to complete.

After many different memo sorts, punctuated by periods away from sorting to reflect on the patterns and the codes being worked on, I had an epiphany. By applying the theoretical code that represents a binary process (two polar-opposite states of being, across a continuum), I had unlocked a problem in reconciling many of the officer shaping behaviours seen in the memos. Originally, I had coded two substantive categories to account for different shaping behaviours. They were 'atmosphering' where officers 'heat up' or 'cool down' an incident situation to antagonise or calm the responses of the participants, respectively, and 'coaching' where officers created a 'parent-child' paradigm

with a victim or offender, condescending them because of their actions. However, this behaviour could take one of two forms. Either the officer used an officious approach, or they used a supportive approach. Nevertheless, both appeared to shape how an incident participant would behave in different circumstances. Both 'atmosphering' and 'coaching' accounted for a large proportion of the types of officer behaviour seen, but there was still much variance in the observed behaviour that was unaccounted for.

It was only by applying a theoretical code, related to the concept of a binary (polar-opposite) continuum, that meant all patterns of officer behaviour could finally be accounted for under one theoretical model. The model placed officer behaviours on a continuum from one pole to another, where changes in their behaviour could be categorised as representing one of two states of being (binary retreat or binary deconstruction). The realisation that this model, constructed from theoretical codes, could capture all officer behaviours seen in the substantive codes was captured in a sorting memo:

> *Memo: Shaping*
>
> *With the binary model for shaping – officers operate at extreme ends if there is a sudden change in the balance of the incident that requires large units of effort or value to rebalance. As it is a continuum, the middle represents passivity associated with no active shaping (i.e. no active balancing activity)*
>
> *Where do separate shaping activities fit in here? Coaching/atmosphering?*
>
> *I just realised! Atmosphering/coaching - not separate shaping activities. Part of the continuum model because atmosphering can be either binary retreat or binary deconstruction! Likewise, with coaching. All the other bits of shaping that I couldn't previously reconcile fit within this one continuum.*

I could use this model to compare memos; plotting them on the binary continuum. Having identified this model, there were some gaps in the data that I felt could be dealt

with by returning to some selective data collection in interviews. I also returned to the existing data and confirmed that the binary continuum consistently explained that data. I interviewed more officers and asked them for specific examples relating to behaviours that sit on the binary continuum. For example:

> *Theoretically sampled Question. Asking about balance constraints and binary:*
>
> *'I use a much softer and conversational approach with victims if I think that they are covering up what has happened at a serious job. Once I have understood what has happened, then I will tell them that I need to make an arrest.*
>
> *They might not want that to happen. But I insist in those cases that an arrest must be made, especially if there is a serious crime. In those instances, I change the way I talk to them and tell them that an arrest is happening and it is not their decision. I have to communicate this in a much firmer way' [officer interview 125:1].*

In the final stages of the theoretical coding process, I examined the main concern of officers. The main concern is what officers are trying to do/achieve when balancing value and effort. As part of another memo sort, I noted that the main concern of officers had emerged as the feeling of frustration related to not doing work that they valued. However, I did not have enough information to explain what it was fully they valued. I initially categorised the main concern as 'becoming/being' a police officer. A memo captured this stage:

> *Memo: Becoming/being*
>
> *Values related to being:*
>
> *-Helping victims of crime (dimensions of this are around the two words victim and crime. Both are qualifiers as to how much a victim matches this ideal within being. i.e. victim has dimensions related to behaviours of the victim - related to agency & 'victim-ness'. AND the seriousness of the crime (need more data for this).*
>
> *-Emergency work*
>
> *-Law and order (contains values regarding proud to wear uniform etc. as*

an officer is the law personified. Order includes the Queen's peace. Law includes ensuring people respect and obey the police).

At this stage, I decided to return to data collection, specifically to improve the clarity of the main concern of officers. I interviewed several officers and asked them about why they like doing police work, what they do not like, and what frustrates them. I also found evidence in previously collected interview field notes relating to the frustrations of officers. This allowed me to conceptualise the main concern of officers by comparing their responses to the rest of the collected data. The main concern related to three specific policing activities that they prefer doing which, for them, are the embodiment of what an archetypal police officer is and does. When they cannot do these activities, they feel frustrated because they are prevented from 'being' that archetype. Hence, because balancing value and effort is a continuous process, officers are in a continuous state of 'becoming'. They are trying to reify an archetypal policing identity as they practise. Failure to do so results in frustration and behaviour changes. Hence, avoiding frustration, which they feel when not being able to *be* that archetype through their work, is their main concern, which they resolve by balancing value and effort.

Finally, after multiple memo sorts throughout several months, I had a collection of theoretically connected, abstract processes, grounded in data, which accounted for and explained all the patterns of social behaviour seen within the data. The theory explained the main concern of police officers and how they continually processed that concern (the core-category).

This chapter has been written as a narrative, explaining the GT process. Applying the GT method in this study has produced an integrated set of concepts linked by probability statements/hypotheses that explain the observed behaviour. Throughout this chapter, by

utilising theoretical sampling and other GT methods, I have sought to demonstrate that the theory is 'modifiable' when new data is added to the emerging framework (Glaser, 1978). This chapter has aimed to provide the reader with examples of how the theory developed from substantive data; demonstrating, in part, that the theory both 'fits' the phenomena studied, and 'works' as an explanation of social action within the substantive area.

The next chapter is a presentation, in full, of the classic GT, *balancing value and effort*. It is hoped that the reader will examine the theory and judge for themselves, whether it provides a reasonable explanation for police behaviour at incidents.

THE STUDY PART II
(The grounded theory: analysis & implications)

Chapter five: the grounded theory of balancing value and effort

In Part I, the design and execution of this research study were explained. In Part II, we consider the study outcome, which is a new theory of police practice. This part explores the theory's position within existing professional and academic research and its implications for practice.

First, this chapter will present the main intellectual output of the study: the grounded theory of *Balancing value and effort*. The theory is my original contribution to knowledge and professional practice. It was discovered by using the classic GT method (see Part I), and it seeks to explain the behaviour of frontline police officers in England and Wales when they engage in incident work. The theory discovery process was focussed by the research questions posed in chapter one.

Within this GT, the main concern of officers (what it is they are trying to achieve during incident work) was the avoidance of frustration. They experience this frustration whenever the value that they have placed on an incident is not balanced by the amount of effort needed to resolve it. Officers continually try to resolve their main concern by shaping the course and eventual outcome of police incidents, and their shaping efforts are influenced by their experiences and the context in which they find themselves practising. This chapter presents the mechanism through which they resolve their main concern, while the next chapter explains the genesis of their main concern, including why it continues to be reproduced within the police occupational and wider societal environments[44].

[44] The next chapter conceptualises the resolution of the main concern of police officers as an ideological-identity process.

Classic GT is a systematic research method. Its application in this study has produced an algorithmic theory, derived from the patterns observed in social behaviour. As already mentioned, GT is never intended to provide a complete descriptive account of the area of interest (Glaser, 2003; Glaser, 2001; Glaser, 1998; Glaser, 1978; Glaser and Strauss, 1967); it is an abstract theory that conceptually models social behaviour. Applying this GT to police incidents helps to explain the way that officers behave and why they do so. However, this GT does not suggest that police practice is deterministic and that all police officers will behave in the same way in the same circumstances: they do not. Rather, the theory consists of concepts that are linked by a series of probability statements. This means that when police officers operate in the described occupational environment, most will behave in ways that align with what the theory predicts. These patterns of behaviour occur because generative mechanisms are being activated within incident situations that make some patterns of social behaviour more likely than others (see chapter two). That is, officer behaviour can be predicted by this theory most of the time, *ceteris paribus*. However, there will always be exceptions.

This chapter begins by providing a complete overview of the theory of balancing value and effort. This is followed by an in-depth explanation of the concepts that underpin the theory and their relationship to each other. The theory comprises of two core processes, the *balance calculus* and the *incident shaping continuum*. These processes will be introduced separately before being discussed conjointly.

Fieldnote excerpts are used throughout this chapter as an illustrative aid. However, the chapter contains no discussions on the relationship of the theory to existing scholarship, which is intentional. The theory is both abstract and conceptually dense; the aim of presenting it without citations is to allow the reader to delineate what is new (the GT in this chapter) from what has gone before. Notwithstanding this, to begin orientating the

reader to the existing literature, concepts identified in previous scholarship have been highlighted with a footnote. The literature that is most germane to this theory is discussed later in chapters six and seven.

The discussion presented in this chapter is solely based on the hypotheses discovered when studying how police officers conduct incident work or talk about their work. It is presented without any logical-deductive elaboration on the part of the researcher (it does not stretch beyond those patterns identified from the empirical work of this study). Ergo, all the concepts, their properties, dimensions and theoretical connections between them, presented in this chapter, are grounded in patterns of social behaviour identified in the empirical data collected and analysed in this study.

As with all GT studies, the level of detail that was discovered relating to this theory, including the number, depth or scale of the properties or dimensions of concepts, was limited by the scope and the scale of the study (see below for a further discussion).

The theory of balancing value and effort: an overview

This section presents an abstract, theoretical overview of the GT, which is then expanded upon later with data examples to illustrate key concepts.

Officers like to do incident work if they perceive that work to be valuable. How valuable an incident is perceived to be, changes how much effort officers use to resolve it[45]. How officers determine the value of their work will be explained shortly, but for the moment it is sufficient to note that for every incident an officer attends, they evaluate value and effort at incidents, including whether they are balanced. If value and effort are balanced, then we could say that, Value = Effort (Incident is balanced). Rearranging this we get, Effort/Value = 1, which can be represented by the line in Figure 5, below:

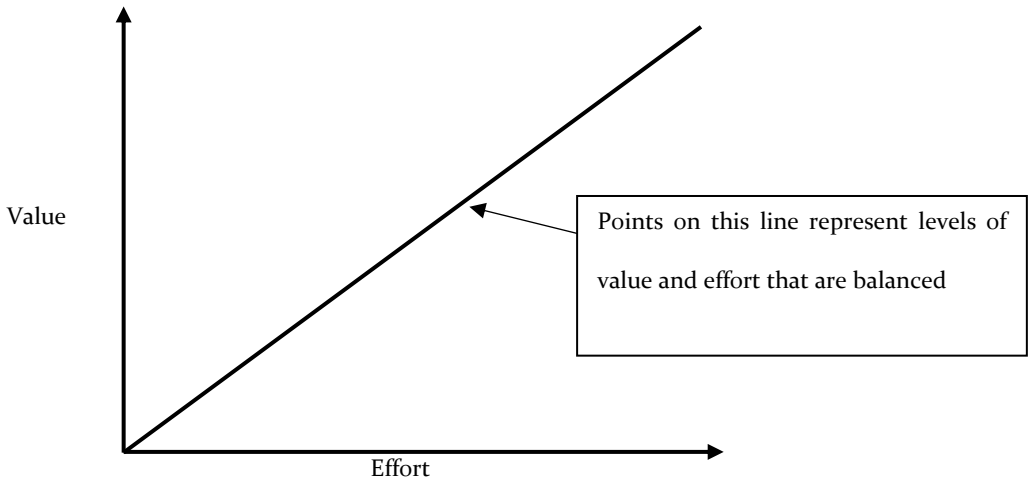


Figure 5: balancing value and effort graph

[45] The complementary theory of effort-reward imbalance (Siegrit, 2002) describes the effect of diminishing employee perceptions of job satisfaction or reward against increasing needs for work effort.

In Figure 5, effort and value balance if they meet on the diagonal line. Any point that is not on this line represents imbalance because the amount of effort is not equivalent to the level of value. Officers continually work to balance an incident by trying to change or maintain levels of value and effort so that they 'sit' on this line.

This balancing process is modelled by the GT of balancing value and effort, an overview of which is shown in Figure 6.

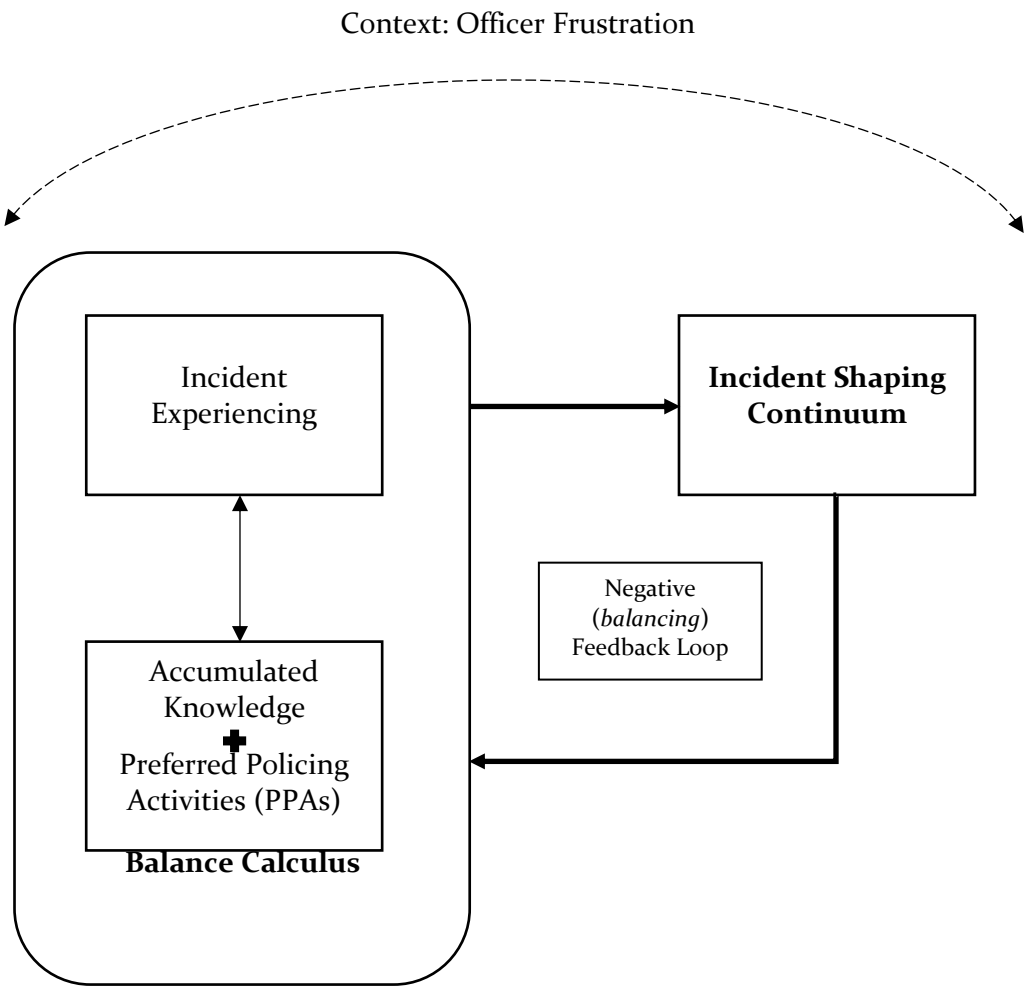


Figure 6: the theory of balancing value and effort (an overview)

The theory is a two-stage process of evaluation and action. The *balance calculus* explains how value and effort are evaluated/determined by officers, while the *incident shaping*

continuum models the action taken by officers to alter or maintain the balance[46] of an incident. The process is a continuous, iterative, negative feedback cycle of evaluation and action. When engaged in this cycle, officers are continuously trying to balance the levels of value and effort that they have associated with an incident. An overview of the balance calculus is shown in Figure 7, below:

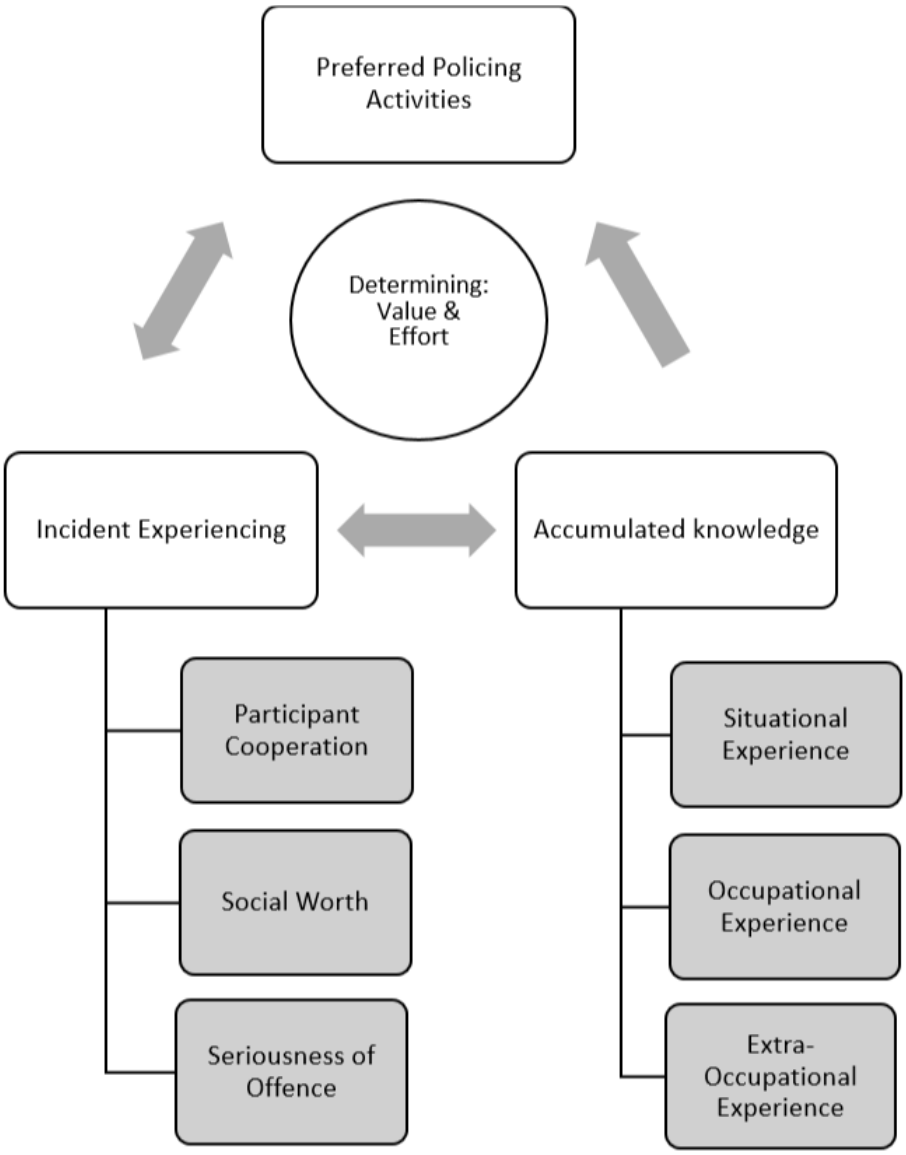


Figure 7: the balance calculus (an overview)

[46] Balancing is identified as a basic social process by Glaser (1978).

The balance calculus is a process whereby officers compare the present incident circumstances (incident experiencing) with their prior experiences (accumulated knowledge). They compare this information to a subset of their accumulated knowledge (their preferred policing activities). If an incident is closely aligned with their preferred policing activities (the work officers want to do), then they will perceive that incident to be of higher value than if the incident does not relate to those activities. As part of this process of evaluation, officers also determine the amount of effort that they believe is needed to resolve the incident. If an officer judges that the level of effort, when compared with the incident value, is too high or too low, the officer will feel frustrated[47] by the lack of balance. The intensity of frustration felt by officers in response to this evaluation drives changes in their behaviour. A higher level of imbalance leads to higher levels of frustration, precipitating more significant changes to their behaviour. Consequently, changes in officer behaviour affect the behaviour of other incident participants, and it is the changes in the behaviour of these others that alter the balance of value and effort. The balancing process is iterative and continuous.

The second stage of the theory of balancing value and effort is the incident shaping continuum, which models changes to officer behaviour in response to an imbalance of value and effort. The incident shaping continuum is a continuous process whereby officers utilise two specific, yet opposite behavioural approaches. We can categorise all police incident behaviour in this way. Officer behaviours shape the behaviour of incident participants, which in turn changes the levels of value or effort associated with an incident. The two different categories of behaviour are *binary retreat* and *binary deconstruction*[48], which can be modelled on a linear continuum as two opposite poles on a single line; each

[47] Officers report experiencing an embodied sense of frustration when an incident appears to be unbalanced.
[48] Binary retreat and deconstruction were identified by Glaser (1978) as theoretical codes.

pole represents an opposing category of behaviour. Both categories of behaviour are equivalence classes, such that each possible officer behaviour belongs to only one class, but together both classes represent all possible officer behaviours. The incident shaping continuum can be seen in Figure 9. Officer behaviour that can be plotted more towards either end of this continuum will elicit greater changes in participant behaviour. Binary retreat is officer behaviour that promotes the 'retreat' of themselves and other incident participants into the incident roles of 'officer', 'victim' and 'offender'. Binary deconstruction, as the opposite of binary retreat, is officer behaviour that promotes the 'deconstruction' of incident roles so that participants interact on a 'human' level by dispensing with official incident requirements and formalities. Both binary retreat and binary deconstruction are explained in more detail later in this chapter. The more imbalance there is between value and effort, the more actively an officer will use binary retreat or deconstruction to correct that imbalance. To understand the precise nature of the balance calculus and the incident shaping continuum, including how value and effort become unbalanced and how officers rebalance them, requires a more detailed exposition of the underlying concepts of the theory; the next section explains these processes in more detail.

The Balance Calculus

The balance calculus models the evaluative process that officers use to understand what levels of effort or value are associated with an incident and whether they are balanced[49]. We begin by introducing a definition of both effort and value, including an explanation of

[49] The weighing up of situational information by police officers to judge an incident situation in this way is also mentioned by Willis and Mastrofski (2017).

the 'preferred policing activities', before discussing the other components of the balance calculus, *incident experiencing* and *accumulated knowledge.*

Effort (applied to the resolution of an incident)

Doing police incident work takes effort. Officers must do work to resolve an incident, including their physical attendance at the incident, interacting with the incident participants and often tackling complex or challenging problems. Effort comprises of the physical and mental work needed to resolve an incident and the time it takes to do so. The effort algorithm is shown in Figure 8.

Effort = Time x (Physical work + Mental work)

Figure 8: the effort algorithm

The effort needed to resolve an incident can be increased or decreased by either changing the time taken to do the work or the amount of physical and mental work exerted. In this study, officers would frequently describe completing tasks at police incidents that were perceived to take effort to complete. Many officers felt that the 'routine' tasks, in most cases, were excessively laborious and would often lead to frustration:

> *'It was frustrating that even though the case was never going to end in a prosecution, and everyone knew this, we still had to spend all day collecting evidence and putting together a crime package, which was a waste of time' [Officer interview 104:14].*

Incident value

An officer perceives an incident to be of value if it strongly relates to three types of activity. Officers prefer these activities because by engaging in them, they believe that they are afforded an opportunity to realise a specific policing identity through their practice. The identity that officers seek to reify through their practice is that of an imagined, ideal archetypal officer that is produced and reproduced within the police occupational environment and in wider society as part of a frontline policing ideology[50]. Officers will often describe a sense of calling or vocation that compels them to carry on working, even when they are unhappy with their 'lot'. Many officers could not clearly identify or articulate when reflecting on their practice, what it was that compelled them to continue policing (which is typical of the impact of ideology on behaviour and identity (see chapter six)):

> *'I know that if tomorrow our pay was cut by 5%, most police officers would continue to come to work because they are not doing it for the money'*
>
> *[Officer interview 110:22].*

Officers find value in incident work when it is related to these three categories of police activity because such work is ideological. When officers are not policing ideologically, they feel frustration.

> *'The humdrum and day to day work keeps getting in the way. It keeps interfering with doing the stuff we joined for'*
>
> *[Officer interview 100:134].*

[50] How and why this archetype is produced and reproduced in this way, including its connection with a policing ideology is explicated in chapter 6.

Before explaining the nature of the value that officers find in their work, it is important to note that while police officers are seeking to reify this archetypal policing identity through their practice, this does not imply that all officers have the same identity. The identity they are seeking to reify through their practice is imagined/mythical. The degree to which officers evaluate levels of value and effort is likely to vary between officers (because their experiences are not identical). The strength of association between the preferred policing activities and the archetypal identity are likely to vary between officers depending on the different combinations of life and occupational experiences that an officer has had.

Patterns emerged in the data collected for this study, which showed that officer identities centred around this archetypal policing identity and could be categorised into three preferred types of activity. The precise magnitude of how strongly officers identify with that archetype and its associated activities is not possible to determine within the scope and limits of this study. What we can say is that for frontline officers, the archetypal identity is a central driver of their behaviour, which generates patterns of social behaviour at incidents: all officers within this study balanced value and effort at incidents.

While officers all have different occupational and extra-occupational experiences, there are some social structural commonalities among their experiences, which are particularly germane when we consider the highly structured police occupational environment. These shared experiences likely bound officer identities, but with some variation between officers. When behaviour was analysed by carrying out this study, patterns emerged to show that officer behaviour can be explained in relation to a core identity, the archetype, notwithstanding that some of their individual experiences may vary.

The archetypal identity in this theory was conceptualised from patterns in the underlying data as encompassing three distinct categories of policing activity. These three 'preferred' policing activities (known henceforth as the PPAs) are:

- Helping victims;
- Maintaining law and order[51];
- Emergency work.

For officers, doing these activities is the embodiment of how an archetypal police officer would practise in an ideal world. These activities provide value in the work that officers do; if an incident does not involve these activities, then the incident holds little value for them. Officers often characterise incidents that involve these preferred policing activities as 'real' or 'proper'[52] police work, and police incidents might involve all, some or none of these PPAs. The more an incident is related to these activities, the higher an officer will perceive its value to be:

> *Officer 1, who has just arrived, says-*
>
> *'Is it a proper job?'*
>
> *Officer 2 says-*
>
> *' It's a common assault; a punch to the face. She probably won't want to support any police action. She never does. She just wants him out – but we've had to arrest him'*
>
> *[BWV footage 206:57].*

The PPAs of helping victims, maintaining law and order and emergency work will now be defined, followed by an explanation of how officers determine whether an incident is strongly related to these PPAs, or not.

[51] This concept is also identified by Herbert (1998) as a driver of police behaviour.
[52] This concept is also identified by Loftus (2009) as a way that officers differentiate incident value.

The preferred policing activity: helping victims

Officers have a strong drive to help victims[53]. They view this as a high-value activity.

> *'I am pleased to see that our Chief has asked us to take a more pragmatic approach to DA (domestic abuse) incidents, doing what is right for the victim. This is in line with my own experience of dealing with DA'*
>
> *[Officer interview 105:45].*

As such, officers will willingly engage in activities that help victims, and they will expend a significant amount of effort doing so.

> *'I might be thinking, 'not another crock of shit' and then walk up the garden path to see blood on the floor and a broken down front door and world war three going on inside. It changed the job, as all of a sudden [...] I had a job to get done and a victim to help'*
>
> *[Officer interview 100:77].*

However, for officers, all victims do not represent the same level of value; officers perceive that helping some victims is more valuable work than others.

> *'There are 'victims', and then there are victims. Some victims call us and they just want to tell us about an argument they have had, or we are called about an argument from a third party; but this isn't a police matter because there isn't any real help we can give them and they don't end with a prosecution as they won't support it'*
>
> *[Officer interview 114:16].*

[53] Officers being driven to help victims is also identified by Paoline (2004).

This can be problematic because officers perceive some victim to be less 'genuine' (of less value), so they are less willing to help[54]. In these cases, the victim does not align with the police 'victim' ideal:

> *'Regarding domestics, I would say that a proper job is one where the IP [the victim] genuinely needs our help' [officer Interview 114:15].*

One key component of this PPA relates to victim choice. If officers perceive that the choices made by a victim were voluntary, and those choices somehow contributed to the incident occurrence, then officers are less willing to help the victim because they have not behaved in a way that aligns with the officer's idealised view of what a victim is and does (or *should* do).

> *'I went to a job with a nice middleclass family with a bit of money and the victim was just horrible. She was horrible to the kids and didn't deserve our help. That affected the way I dealt with them'*
>
> *[Officer interview 115:9].*

Victim and offender behaviour and social status all affect officer perceptions of incident value and are discussed later in the sections 'participant cooperation' and 'social worth', respectively.

The preferred policing activity: maintaining law and order

This PPA relates to what officers do when maintaining law and order and the sense of both moral and legal authority that they believe the office of constable represents.

> *'I like the police because it is a public service, a uniform service and has*

[54] The evaluation of a victim's identity as 'genuine' or 'innocent', and its effect on the service they receive from the criminal justice system is also described by Loftus (2009), Hoyle and Young (2002), and Mawby and Walklate (1994) [See chapter six for a discussion].

> *discipline like the armed forces [...] I have a very strong moral centre, a sense of right and wrong. This drives how I do my job'*
>
> *[Officer interview 112:14].*

If an incident allows officers to exert their authority, engage in 'crime-fighting'[55] or the prevention of crime, then it is closely aligned to the PPA of maintaining law and order.

> *'I particularly like burglary dwelling jobs. In these, the victims are 'real' victims. They didn't have a choice in being a victim and these are proper crimes'*
>
> *[Officer interview 109:5].*

If an incident involves the commission of an offence, then whether it aligns with the PPAs will depend on an officer's perception of how serious the crime is.

> *'There are some domestics where it is low-level and a non-crime. I think that domestics that don't involve a crime should be dealt with by someone else, not by the police. It's a waste of our time and effort'*
>
> *[Officer interview 109:15].*

Serious crimes that require an emergency response often allow the police to engage in work relating to all three PPAs of maintaining law and order, helping victims and emergency work, which means that these incidents represent higher incident value. How officers define which crimes are 'serious' will be described shortly.

[55] 'Crimefighting' as a preferred police activity is also identified by Paesen, Maesschalck and Loyens (2019), Paoline and Gau (2018), Willis and Mastrofski, (2017), Terrill, Paoline and Manning (2003), Loftus (2009), inter alia.

Regardless of whether an incident is crime-related, officers have a strong sense of identity as an authority figure[56], and they believe that all incident participants should respect them.

> *'This uniform and everything about it is about authority; dealing with law and order'*
>
> *[officer interview 110:4];*

> *'My policing is driven by an idea that there is right and wrong and I manage everything through that paradigm'*
>
> *[Officer interview 113:1].*

Any challenge to an officer's identity viz. their authority, can trigger an increase in incident value relating to the PPA of maintaining law and order. If an incident participant challenges the decisions made by police officers or shows disrespect towards their authority, this increases incident value because officers then have an opportunity to maintain law and order by challenging that dissent. This outcome is most likely during offender-police interactions, which often transpire when an offender is aggressive towards the police or refuses to follow directions. Other elements of the PPA of maintaining law and order are a desire to keep-the-peace or prevent public disorder. For example, an increase in incident value can occur if an incident involves a quarrelsome or violent disturbance. The more violent the disturbance, the higher the incident value will be. Police officers are drawn to these types of encounter because of the value they symbolise. If incident participants fight with each other, this can increase the value of an incident.

[56] This concept is also identified as part of an officer's identity by Demirkol and Nalla (2019), Paoline and Gau (2018), Westley (1970), Skolnick (1993), inter alia.

However, if incident participants fight with the police, then the incident value increases significantly.

> *'[I'd] crew with a mate and go out hunting for some 'quality work', which would typically involve looking for wanted people, a stolen car to chase, a crime in progress or a pub fight'*
>
> *[Officer interview 100:31].*

These are the high premiums that officers place on maintaining order and, in doing so, reifying the imagined archetypal officer identity.

The preferred policing activity: emergency work

Emergency work incidents[57] are those which are urgent and exciting that typically require dynamic and autonomous decision making to resolve them. Officers view emergency work as an essential part of their primary role, which includes driving police cars at high speed with blue lights and sirens activated, saving lives, chasing criminals, and so forth.

> *'I enjoy the exciting work that we do. I love driving to grade one jobs, locking up criminals and dealing with crimes. This is what I joined to do'*
>
> *[Officer interview 110:9];*

> *'I like the variety of response work. The excitement of the different types of jobs. You never know what you might be sent to'*
>
> *[Officer interview 117:4].*

However, once the emergency phase of an incident has ended, the level of value that an incident represents begins to fall away, and officers can quickly become bored or

[57] Campeau (2015) and Loftus (2009) identified that officers prefer exciting activities related to emergency work. Likewise, Skolnick (1993) identified emergency work as important to officers.

frustrated with the non-emergency phase of an incident because there is a sudden drop in incident value, which can then unbalance an incident, because the remainder of the incident still requires significant effort to resolve.

> *'For sus-circs jobs (suspicious circumstances reported to police) – I like the initial excitement of the chase. The blue light run and running towards a potential offender. But often when we get there, it's ASNT (area searched, no trace), and there is nothing to do and no outcome. It's dull [...], it's pointless'*
>
> *[Officer interview 109:10].*

While some incidents involve an emergency phase when police officers rush to attend the scene, manage a dynamic situation, arrest an offender or provide emergency first aid, this sort of emergency is not representative of most police incidents. For example, many domestic abuse incidents are notified to the police as non-emergency calls and officers can often attend these incidents several hours or even days after the initial incident has occurred. As such, incidents that do not include an emergency response component are often perceived by officers to be lower value incidents.

Having described the concepts of effort and incident value, we will now examine the other components of the balance calculus: *accumulated knowledge* and *incident experiencing*.

Accumulated knowledge

Officers accumulate knowledge throughout their working and personal lives. This knowledge changes from moment to moment because, as officers experience more, their knowledge about the world changes. Accumulated knowledge, in this context, is both subjective and individual to each officer; it is their interpretation/understanding of the world. Within the balance calculus, there are three distinct accumulations of knowledge.

They are *situational experience, occupational experience* and *extra-occupational experience*. We will now explore these concepts in more detail.

The main concern of officers engaged in incident work is to balance levels of value and effort. If an incident is balanced, they do not feel frustrated when doing the work. However, incidents are dynamic, complex social situations, and officers are not always able to balance incidents effectively. Many times, incidents are left unbalanced. When officers leave incidents unbalanced, they experience an enduring sense of frustration, which they carry with them into future incident work.

> *'[...] that is frustrating, and it really makes you wonder what the point is. I know it definitely affects my motivation to carry out this sort of work over time'*
>
> *[officer interview 118:6].*

Any frustration carried into the future affects an officer's assessment of incident value in future incidents. They are less likely to recognise the value in future work even if it is strongly related to the PPAs; this is a form of disillusionment with their practice caused by leaving previous incidents unbalanced. This type of knowledge is conceptualised within the balance calculus as situational experience.

The second type of accumulated knowledge is occupational experience. This is an officer's experience of what it is to be a police officer engaged in frontline work. It includes their experience of being socialised into the police occupational environment, including the physical environment, the rules, processes, policies, and so forth. The preferred policing activities are a distillation of both occupational and extra-occupational experience[58].

[58] The mechanism of PPA formation from both occupational and extra-occupational experience is discussed in the next chapter.

While each officer's occupational experience is unique, there is a commonality among the experiences of all frontline officers. These relate to the basic social structures[59] within the occupational environment. Therefore, frontline officers working in similar occupational environments are likely to share the same PPAs (which was found to be the case in this study[60]).

The third type of accumulated knowledge is extra-occupational experience, which is those experiences outside of the police occupational role and environment. How officers are educated, their home life, their formative experiences, their exposure to media messages, and so forth, all relate to this type of experience.

This type of experience also affects how officers process their occupational experience, including how strongly they relate to the PPAs *viz*. their perceptions of incident value.

In summary, an officer's accumulated knowledge comprises of situational, occupational and extra-occupational experience. All three types of accumulated knowledge influence an officer's PPAs and the strength of the value officers associate with them. An officer's accumulated knowledge provide the experience they use to determine the levels of value and effort associated with an incident. However, officers must compare their accumulated knowledge with the immediate circumstances of an incident before they can determine what the incident levels of value and effort are. Within the balance calculus, this more direct, experiential knowledge is conceptualised as incident experiencing, which will now be described.

[59] Examples of these structures include the way that officers are trained and deployed, the team paradigm, the working patterns, the police uniform, the incident paradigm and so forth.
[60] Exploring the PPAs of officers in different roles would be an interesting avenue for further research.

Incident experiencing

Incident experiencing is the direct, contemporaneous experience of working at an incident. Incident experiencing is how officers gain knowledge and understanding of what is happening at an incident they are attending, both intellectually and as an embodied sense of knowing[61]. The information gained from incident experiencing has a powerful effect on how police officers behave at incidents because of the richness and immediacy of the information gathered in this way. Officers hold a genuine belief that they know what is best when deciding the outcome of an incident. The effects of incident experiencing are so strong that officers often worry that a complete understanding of the nature of an incident can never be accurately communicated, either verbally or in writing when they pass the responsibility of managing the incident on to other police colleagues. Officers often believe that being present at an incident is *the* only way of understanding the 'true' nature of the events and their implications:

> *'When I'm at an incident I see so much and pick up on so many subtle things when I'm dealing with the victim, the offender or the kids – it is impossible to put this into words on the handover'*
>
> *[officer interview 102:7].*

Incident experiencing can cause officers to ignore incident policies. They believe that incident policies can never account for the richness of information to be gained from being present at an incident. This poses a problem for police leaders because officers strongly believe that policy mandates or directions from leaders, made without the benefit of incident experiencing, are advisory only.

Incident experiencing represents a paradox for policymakers. On conducting this study, officers talked about their experience of incidents. Most of the participants who were

[61] Officers consider their incident work to be a craft. This perception of craftsmanship and its antipode, professionalism, are discussed in chapter 6.

interviewed as part of this study held a genuine belief that they make 'good' choices when resolving incidents, yet many officers could be seen in video footage making decisions that were at variance with police policies (such as those that mandating arrests in specific situations), or holding attitudes that suggest officer decision-making is at least rationalised, if not always in-line with policy:

> *'We should use arrests for jobs where a crime has actually happened and the victim is vulnerable. So many of these victims aren't'*
>
> *[Officer interview 110:11].*

Most officers observed, acted according to their assessment of need, not the level of service prescribed by policy.

When analysing behaviour at incidents, or attitudes towards their practice, officers were sometimes observed behaving in ways that were unsympathetic, officious or antagonistic towards incident participants, which is behaviour that police policymakers would most likely characterise as 'deviant' or unprofessional.

> *'Policing is about solving crime and dealing with the rule of law. It isn't about being a social worker and doing all of those other tasks that take most of our time. They should be dealt with by other agencies'*
>
> *[Officer interview 110:1].*

However, the theory of balancing value and effort predicts that officers might behave in this way as a by-product of how they process their main concern: shaping the behaviours of others using 'binary retreat' behaviours, which will be explained in more detail shortly.

Incident experiencing has three components, which are *social worth*, *participant cooperation* and *seriousness of offence*. These components change how officers perceive incident value and will now be explained.

Social worth

When police officers attend incidents, they judge the social worth[62] of the incident participants involved. In this study, the social worth of an individual is conceptualised as the utility of that person to society. We might determine the utility of an individual by considering how much of their labour, knowledge, talent, resources, time, and so forth they could potentially contribute to the functioning of society (this is not an exhaustive list). If their contribution is perceived to be low, then they are considered as having low social worth (by officers). Examples of factors that could be viewed by officers as indicators of low social worth might include drug and alcohol dependency, unemployment, age, poverty, lack of education, being criminal, and so forth. Officers often link low levels of social worth with the conditions of living that they observe when attending incidents:

> *'If you go to a shitty family on a scuzzy estate, then you kind of expect them to behave in a dysfunctional way, so it's sometimes factored into how we deal with things.' [officer interview 115:12].*

When police officers attend an incident, they always have incomplete information about the social worth of incident participants. Some officers might already know the participants from previous incidents or interactions, or they may have gleaned information about their social worth from other sources, e.g. speaking to other officers who have already interacted with them or from the incident controller who has briefed the attending officers about a pending incident. However, most attending officers are unlikely to have any knowledge of the social worth of the incident participants before arriving at the scene; they must make a judgement based on what they see and hear. How officers judge social worth is predominantly determined by what they experience at

[62] The social worth of participants affecting the service they receive is identified by Picket and Nix (2019), Schulenberg (2015), Loftus (2009), Glaser and Strauss (1965), inter alia.

incidents. Personal attributes of the participants, such as their deportment/bearing, accent, choice of words, their living environment, what they wear, what activities they are engaged in, whom their associates are, and so on, provide the clues that form officer perceptions of social worth.

> *Officers arrive onto a council estate that they visit often (as commented by the officer).*
>
> *They approach the house and it is a terraced house in a litter filled street. It looks in disrepair.*
>
> *From inside, there is a bull terrier dog barking and jumping up at the window and the television can be heard at full volume from outside.*
>
> *The female victim can be heard screaming at the dog.*
>
> *The victim opens the door and the officers walk into the entrance hall. The house is untidy and victim looks unkempt.*
>
> *The entire victim-police encounter takes place standing in a dark narrow hallway which is not inviting.*
>
> *The entire encounter appears to be very transactional [...]*
>
> *During the account and since the beginning of the police arrival – the officer has had a PNB (pocket note book) held up in front of them, taking down details of the incident. This creates a barrier between the victim and officer*
>
> *[BWV footage 201:26].*

The objective social worth of a participant is irrelevant: how they are treated at an incident depends on officer *perceptions* of social worth.

> *Officers arrive at a house in a very affluent area of town.*
>
> *The house is large and immaculate, and the male victim is well dressed, sounds educated/very well spoken and is polite and welcoming to the officers.*
>
> *The officers seem to adopt a deferential and overly polite approach.*
>
> *Officer 1 opens with*
>
> *'What's gone on then?'*
>
> *Male victim gives an account. He describes family difficulties and then*

states that he has been assaulted by the female.

The officer allows him to make this account uninterrupted and encourages him to speak (with verbal encouragement)

[BWV footage 202:5].

Officer assessments of these factors are determined by their previous experiences (for example, they might prejudge all residents who live on a specific housing estate according to these prior experiences). Officers compare their more immediate experiences at an incident (incident experiencing) with their accumulated experiences (occupational/extra-occupational/situational experience). Officer's judge incident value by considering the perceived social worth of both incident participants[63]. If officers perceive the social worth of a victim to be high, then the value of an incident is raised; if their social worth is low, then the incident value is reduced.

'I remember a colleague saying to me, 'when you go to a job where you have a nice family and some bastard knocking his missus around; always deal with those jobs like you are helping your mum and dad – give them a gold service'

[Officer interview 100:40].

Contrariwise, if officers perceive the social worth of an offender to be high, then the value of an incident is reduced; if their social worth is low, then the value of an incident is raised. The reason why social worth affects incident value in this way is twofold. Officers consider victims with high social worth to be more deserving of police help because of their utility to society, so officers are more willing to provide a service to those victims. For low social worth offenders, the incident value increases because officers are afforded an opportunity,

[63] If an incident involves both a victim and an offender.

through the incident, to control an individual whose value to society is low[64]. Therefore, the social worth of victims strongly relates to the PPA of helping victims, whereas the social worth of an offender is strongly related to the PPA of maintaining law and order.

Participant Cooperation

The behaviour of incident participants can strongly affect the value of an incident. Participant cooperation[65] changes the police response to an incident and, in this context, cooperation relates not only to the actions or omissions of participants during the incident but also to their behaviour before police attendance.

> *'I know that how the victim presents at a domestic has an influence on the approach we might take. It's right that we make that assessment and that it influences our decision making'*
>
> *[Officer interview 114:38].*

Officers judge participant cooperation by considering these key factors:

- Could the incident have been avoided if the participant had made different choices?
- Is the participant cooperative with police instructions?
- Is the participant calm and behaving rationally?
- Is the participant voluntarily intoxicated?

[64] The reason why this happens is related to the identity of police officers. Both historically and in the present day, most frontline police activity was, and still is directed towards the working classes and the, so-called, societal residuum. This is part of the policing identity (this is discussed at length in the next chapter) and affects officer behaviour.

[65] Participant cooperation affecting the police response is also identified by Marier and Moule (2019), Alpert and Dunham (2004), Loftus (2009), Hoyle (1998), inter alia.

Officers perceive victims to be uncooperative if they believe that the victim's behaviour has contributed to their victimhood.

> *'The victim's response frustrates me. Most of them have a choice - they could leave if they chose to, but they don't' [officer interview 106:21].*

If the police attend multiple incidents involving the same victim (a repeat victim) and an officer believes that the victim could have prevented those incidents by removing themselves from the relationship or situation, then officers will view that victim as uncooperative. Contrariwise, officers often believe that a fully cooperative victim is likely to have become a victim through 'no fault of their own'; in other words, there was nothing the victim could have done to prevent the incident from occurring:

> *'I don't think that victims are all the same. If you get a repeat and they are always calling us then, I shouldn't really say this, but you just don't feel like helping them because they aren't helping themselves'*
>
> *[officer interview 115:6].*

A cooperative victim will freely provide details about an incident and any history leading up to the occurrence, often spontaneously. They are likely to follow all police instructions, requests and advice. Likewise, a cooperative offender will work with the police to swiftly resolved an incident by being compliant and deferential if the police are to detain or arrest them. Contrariwise, if a victim or offender behaves in an aggressive, emotionally charged, irrational, obstructive or deceitful manner, then this makes it more difficult for the police to resolve an incident. If officers believe that this conduct is voluntary, then it is a sign of low participant cooperation.

> *'When I arrived, she was very verbally abusive to me. This took me back and threw me because she wasn't being the victim that I had expected - a*

distraught mother. That changed the way I dealt with her'

[Officer interview 113:26].

One of the most pervasive factors that impacts on officer perceptions of participant cooperation are whether a participant is voluntarily intoxicated through drink or drugs. Intoxicated participants have less emotional control and are less able to make rational decisions. Officers believe that voluntary intoxication contributes to a participant's inability to prevent an incident from occurring. Whether a participant can follow police instructions and requests at an incident is also affected by intoxication. Frequently, in the first moments of an incident, officers will seek to establish whether any incident participant is intoxicated to establish their level of cooperation[66].

Officer asks about who started the altercation.

Male victim begins to repeat the first part of his account. [stating he was assaulted].

Officer interrupts: 'how much have you had to drink'?

[The officer seems more interested in the victim's level of intoxication than his account of being assaulted].

[Body worn footage 202:12]

If an officer perceives participant cooperation as low, this reduces incident value.

Seriousness of Offence

If an officer perceives that an incident involves an offence that they believe to be 'serious', then the incident value increases significantly.

[66] Loftus (2009) identifies intoxication as an important factor that officers consider when they are deciding how to help a victim.

Serious crimes[67] are more likely to involve significant, life-changing or fatal harm against a victim, and the serious-crime offender is more likely to be given a custodial court sentence if arrested. This means that the 'stakes' are higher, so locating a serious-crime offender and detaining them becomes a police priority. Officers are more likely to believe that a victim of a serious offence is a cooperative participant because these victims are unlikely to have been complicit in the apprehension of such a high level of harm.

> *'I dealt with a DA incident once that involved an Honour based assault on a female. It was a 'proper' job and I spent hours investigating it, taking statements and victim impact statements. It was a serious rib injury'*
>
> *[Officer interview 109:18].*

The police response to serious crime is often an emergency response, requiring the provision of first aid or other urgent activities to secure and preserve evidence. In short, a serious offence encapsulates all the activities and elements of policing that relate to the three PPAs. For officers, this is important work:

> *'When deciding whether something is a 'serious' job, I ask questions to try and establish whether there have been issues involving injuries or sexual assaults etcetera' [officer interview 105:32].*

In the preceding pages, we have explored the concepts that underpin the balance calculus process, which is a component of the theory of balancing value and effort. The elements of the balance calculus contribute to how an officer perceives the value or effort associated with an incident. Once they have made that determination, they understand whether the incident is balanced. If value and effort are unbalanced, officers feel frustrated, and their embodied sense of frustration compels them to act; they seek to balance value and effort.

[67] The seriousness of the offence is commonly cited in previous studies as a factor that affects how officers perceive the value of an incident. See Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski and Moyal (2015), Schulenberg (2015), Dawson & Hotton (2014), Kochel, Wilson and Mastrofski (2011), inter alia.

How they act is explained by the *incident shaping continuum,* which we will explore in the following sections.

The Incident Shaping Continuum

Balancing value and effort is a continuous process that police officers engage in during an incident as they process their main concern (the avoidance of frustration that is caused by incident imbalance). How police officers process their main concern is by attempting to balance value and effort, which they do by changing their behaviour. This change then affects the behaviour of the incident participants who react to the change in officer behaviour[68]. How these behavioural changes occur is explained by the incident shaping continuum (see Figure 9), which will now be presented.

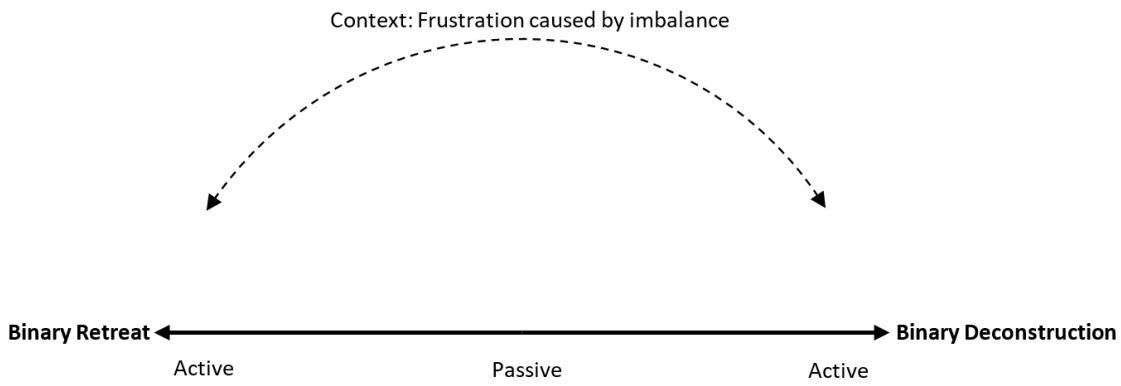


Figure 9: the incident shaping continuum

How shaping takes place

When police officers attempt to make changes to the probable trajectory of an incident or, conversely, prevent its deviation from a preferred path, they are shaping the incident

[68] Officers changing their behaviour to shape the behaviour of others is also identified by Fielding (1988), Muir (1979), Bittner (1974), inter alia.

outcome. Incident shaping involves two distinct and opposite approaches to social interaction between officers and participants. Those approaches are binary retreat and binary deconstruction. They both elicit different responses from different participants.

Binary retreat and binary deconstruction behaviours can be applied by an officer at different levels of intensity from passive to active. A more active approach leads to a higher probability that levels of value and effort will change, whereas a subtler, passive approach has a lower probability of making change happen. If an incident is balanced, an officer will try to maintain that balance by using neither binary retreat nor binary deconstruction. In such cases, officers become passive, allowing the incident to unfold. Passive officer behaviour is represented as the midpoint of the incident shaping continuum. Officers use varying intensities of binary deconstruction or binary retreat behaviours to elicit behavioural changes in incident participants. Officers often move back and forth between these behavioural styles as they try to balance an incident against a changing incident environment and shifting participant behaviours[69].

Binary Retreat

Binary retreat[70] is a collection of behaviours that promote the 'retreat' of incident participants into their incident or organisational roles, at that moment. When police officers engage in binary retreat, they often appear transactional, unsympathetic and single-minded. When interacting with victims, officers will be focussed on getting the police process done rather than listening to what is being said. This often truncates interactions to the 'bare-essentials' needed to resolve an incident. Officers using binary

[69] Officer behaviour changing in complex ways, as related to the values of officers was also noted by Willis and Mastrofski, (2017).
[70] Binary deconstruction type behaviours being used in response to situational factors at police incidents was also identified by Mastrofski et al., (2016), Nix, Pickett, Wolfe and Campbell (2017), Loftus (2009), inter alia.

retreat can make the victim less likely to disclose significant incident details, personal information or details regarding other unreported incidents. This is because officers in binary retreat will control the conversation with a victim and obtain information that allows them to resolve an incident more quickly. Binary retreat creates an atmosphere that is not conducive with a victim feeling that they are important within the process, and it does not allow victims to feel safe in disclosing personal details: an officer in binary retreat is behaving like an official, not a supportive confidant.

> *[Officer is completing a witness statement with the victim].*
>
> *The officer has just had a conversation with a colleague about the 'waste of time' involved in this incident – they perceive that the victim and offender are routinely calling the police but never following through on a complaint of crime].*
>
> *Victim receives another phone call.*
>
> *Officer sounds irritated and shuffles papers,*
>
> *'can you turn that [mobile] off for the time being now, because it is quite distracting. We need to crack on'.*
>
> *[BWV footage 203:33]*

When officers are in binary retreat, they will jargonise to obfuscate, and they will often patronise or condescend. From an incident shaping perspective, binary retreat is an efficient way to service policy and process requirements. Officers in binary retreat routinely use the collection of personal information, known among officers as 'taking details', as a device to interrupt and distract a participant from either elaborating on incident circumstances or from providing a long and detailed personal history. In doing so, an officer can delimit the incident parameters to control the levels of incident value and effort.

> *Officer 1 is 'taking details'.*
>
> *The victim continues to look at the injuries on her arms and is crying.*

The victim is continuing to talk to the officer about her relationship with her son and appears distressed.

Officer 1 interrupts the victim mid-flow: ' what's your date of birth?'

[BWV footage 214:20]

When officers disrupt a victim's account, a victim's affective state can change from emotional to that of low emotional arousal as the victim responds to questions. This means that binary retreat can change an interaction from emotionally charged to an efficient, unemotional exchange of essential information. An officer in binary retreat will often use leading questions or comments, to push a victim towards a specific incident outcome:

[Before the victim has given an account of what has happened, one of the officers interrupts her]:

'if it was just a verbal altercation, then that's fine'.

[BWV footage 201:20]

Binary retreat is also used by officers when they are dealing with offenders. In doing so, officers will often appear to be authoritarian, punctilious and officious. This typically leads to verbal and physical conflict. Binary retreat makes it more likely that an offender will react against the authority that officers represent because officers, through binary retreat, can appear to be unyielding:

Officer 1 says to the offender:

'Unfortunately, you don't dictate to the police how this goes; we dictate to you. This is how it's going to be … please don't talk over me…'

[BWV footage 202:105].

In doing so, officers are provoking a response from the offender, which makes confrontation and arrest more likely. When officers use binary retreat with offenders, they are leveraging their status as authority figures to 'heat up' the offender so that they react against the authority that the police represent.

> *Officer 1 seems agitated - determined to wind up the offender who is refusing the officer entry into a dwelling house.*
>
> *Officer 1 [shouting] – hello. Can you let us in, please..*
>
> *Female offender – I can't open the door.*
>
> *Officer 1 – well there's a key somewhere, I know there is, cause I heard you lock it and told us to fuck off [very assertive voice].*
>
> *So either we come in through the window or you get the key and unlock it.*
>
> *Female offender– You'll have to come through the window.*
>
> *[BWV footage 209:5]*

A summary of how binary retreat affects levels of value and effort can be seen in Figure 10.

If an officer uses binary retreat with an offender, this can increase low offender

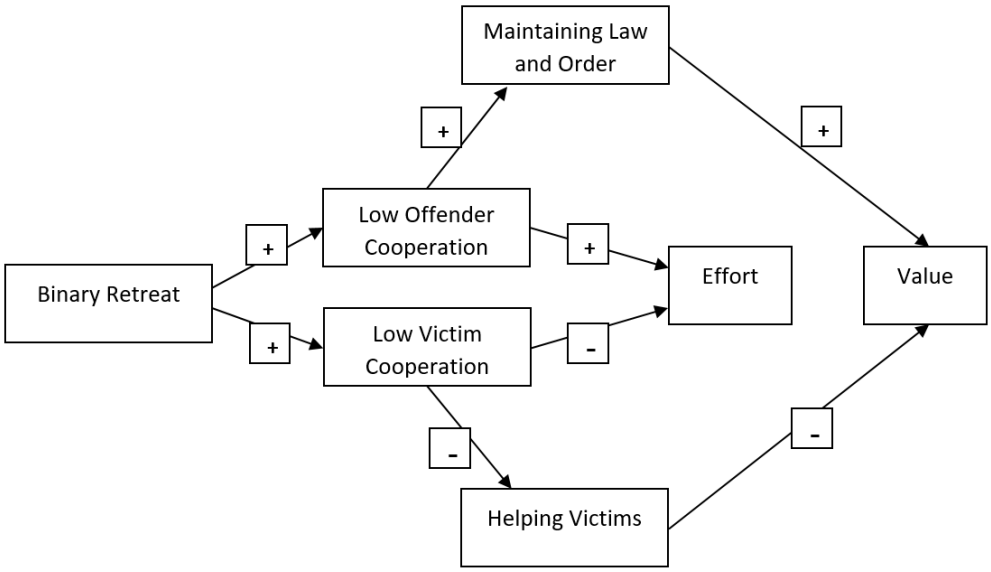


Figure 10: the effects of binary retreat on value and effort

cooperation, which increases incident alignment with the PPA of maintaining law and order. Hence an increase in incident value occurs. If an officer uses binary retreat with a victim, this reduces victim cooperation at an incident because the police are controlling what the victim discloses and how they behave. In this sense, even if a victim is willing to cooperate, officers in binary retreat will prevent them from doing so; hence the outcome is the same as if the victim was uncooperative.

Binary retreat also affects the level of effort required to resolve an incident by increasing the chance of low offender cooperation, which can trigger incident activities that require more effort to complete them such as violent arrests among others.

> *'Things were a bit different if you got there and the offender, usually the man, was up for a scrap [...] it wouldn't take much for him to get locked up'*
>
> *[Officer interview 101:62].*

For victims, the increased chance of low victim cooperation, because of binary retreat, reduces the likelihood that a victim will provide a detailed account of what has happened, or pursue a criminal case: they are discouraged from doing so. Hence, the effort needed to resolve an incident is reduced. How binary deconstruction affects levels of incident value and effort will now be explained.

Binary deconstruction

Binary deconstruction is behaviour that promotes the 'deconstruction' of incident participant roles, which is the removal of the interpersonal barriers that incident roles can create. Deconstruction is where incident participants interact on a human level rather than as an officer, victim or offender. When police officers engage in binary deconstruction, they often appear to be empathetic, friendly, supportive or even permissive. For victims, officers often dispense with procedure or process and will just sit and listen, which encourages a victim to give a more comprehensive account. This can make it more likely that a victim will disclose that they have been a victim of crime, provide a witness statement and attend court.

> *Female victim is talking to officer 1 [The officers are trying to encourage the victim to make a complaint].*
>
> *Female victim [staring at officer 1 with look of suspicion], 'no, you just don't look like you trust me. I don't want to speak to you, sorry'.*
>
> *Officer 1: 'That's fine. You can speak to my colleague if you like' [friendly tone]*
>
> *[BWV footage 213:83].*

When binary deconstruction takes place with offenders, officers may appear friendly, understanding and respectful, and they often give wide latitude to an offender who is argumentative or aggressive.

> *Female offender and female 2 are now arguing and female offender is passive aggressive and swearing.*
>
> *Officer 2 tries to calm things down and still has a happy, light conciliatory tone*
>
> *[BWV footage 209:77].*

Binary deconstruction can be used to reduce tensions with an offender when officers first arrive at an incident. If an offender believes, because the police are involved in an incident, that they are probably going to be arrested, this can create a tense incident atmosphere and a volatile and unpredictable offender, which can generate a violent escalation. Officers can reduce this type of offender behaviour by using binary deconstruction. Officers communicate with an offender in a friendly or jocular way to indicate to the offender that they are not at risk of arrest or sanction:

> *'Come out, mate. There has been some sort of domestic and you're both making allegations. What I don't want to do is start having a fight with you. So, come out and have a chat with us' [BWV footage 213: 33].*

There are occasions during incidents when officers have already decided on an incident outcome that does not include arresting the offender, yet the offender is so aggressive or argumentative that an arrest has become almost inevitable. In these instances, officers use active and purposeful binary deconstruction behaviours, to the extreme, as they try and prevent the arrest from occurring. As can be seen in Figure 11, binary deconstruction behaviours affect both value and effort.

If an officer uses binary deconstruction with an offender, this increases the chance of high offender cooperation, making the incident less closely aligned with the PPA of maintaining law and order. Hence, a decrease in incident value occurs. If an officer uses binary deconstruction with a victim, this encourages and facilitates victim cooperation at

an incident, and the victim is then more closely aligned with the PPA of helping victims. Hence, an increase in incident value occurs.

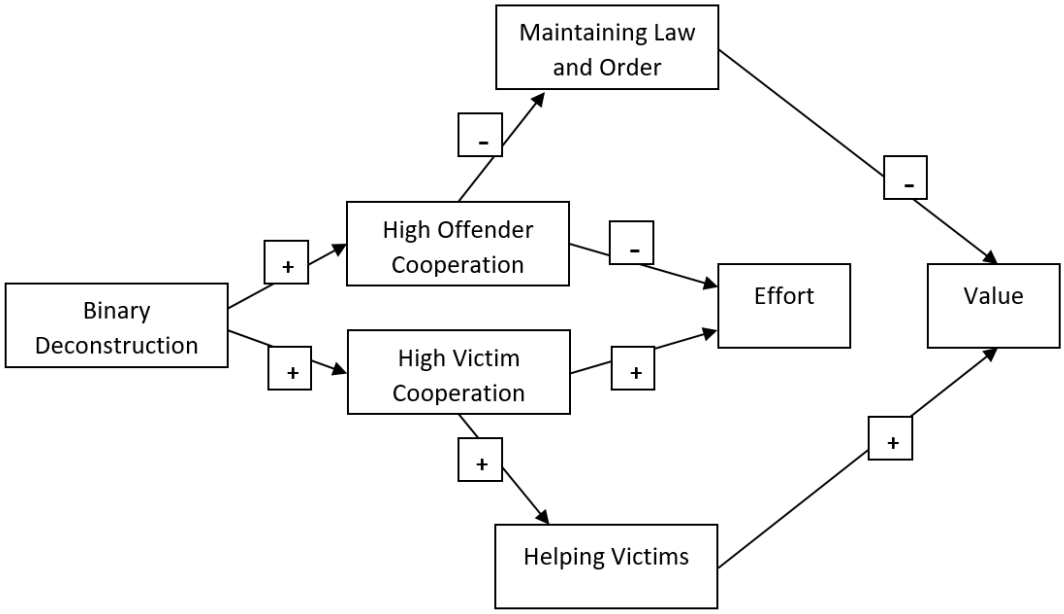


Figure 11: the effects of binary deconstruction on value and effort

Binary deconstruction also affects the level of effort required to resolve an incident by increasing the probability of high offender cooperation. A cooperative offender is more likely to follow police instructions and allow officers to manage an incident without resorting to an arrest, which is a high value and high effort activity. For officers dealing with victims, binary deconstruction leads to high victim cooperation, which increases the length of an incident (because a cooperative victim will disclose more information). In these cases, the victim is being allowed to set the pace and widen the scope of the incident, which increases the amount of effort needed to resolve it.

The table in Figure 12, summarises the effects of binary behaviours on value and effort. Both binary retreat with a victim and binary deconstruction with an offender has the same effect; to reduce the likelihood of value and effort rising. Binary deconstruction with a

victim, and binary retreat with an offender, increases the likelihood of value and effort rising.

	Binary retreat	**Binary deconstruction**
Victim	Decreased ⬇	Increased ⬆
Offender	Increased ⬆	Decreased ⬇

Figure 12: a summary of the effect of binary retreat/deconstruction on value and effort

Summarising the use of binary behaviours by officers, they could arguably be considered as a kind of 'valve' that officers use to regulate the behaviour of the participants – maintaining equilibrium in line with officer perceptions of the needs of balancing from moment to moment.

Officer attempts to shape behaviours using binary retreat or deconstruction can be constrained by the police regulatory environment within which officers work. Police operational policies mandate a minimum set of actions that must be carried out at an incident, regardless of incident circumstances. By setting a minimum amount of work that officers must do, incident policies constrain attempts by officers to reduce the level of effort they use at an incident. The effect of policies is most obvious at domestic abuse incidents because those incidents are the subject of significant regulation and oversight by police leaders. For example, even if a domestic abuse incident does not involve a crime, policies mandate that officers must still investigate the incident, record a non-crime report and carry out a risk assessment process. These actions are expected at all domestic abuse incidents, regardless of the circumstances:

'The existing policy is one size fits all, and it generates a huge amount of work for us, often with no result'

[officer interview 105:48].

If an incident involves a crime, then there are additional processes that are also mandated by policy, including the arrest of an offender, which often involve a significant amount of additional effort to carry out. Figure 13 shows the constraining effect of policy on the level of effort needed to resolve an incident. Under such constraints, officers, restricted by policy from reducing levels of effort, are unable to balance an incident effectively. This causes frustration.

'We are told what to do by the organisation such as take 'positive action', but this just takes away my ability to decide what should happen. I don't like it'

[Officer interview 109:13].

The drive to balance value and effort is so strong in officers that policy constraints on effort can unintentionally generate officer behaviours that police leaders view as deviant.

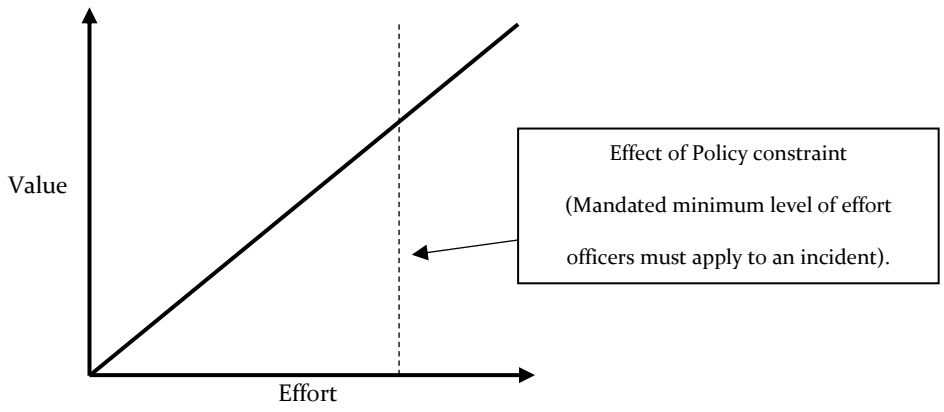


Figure 13: balancing value and effort (constraint)

For example, policies that restrict balancing behaviours are particularly problematic when officers deal with incidents that have low levels of value, such as those involving a non-serious crime, victims of low social worth or offenders with high cooperation, among others.

If we consider that many frontline officers have the situational experience of dealing with many previously unbalanced[71] incidents, then a policy requiring a mandated minimum level of effort can mean that balancing future low-value incidents becomes challenging. For example, officers learn quickly that their effort at incidents can often be fruitless because many criminal cases do not gain a positive justice outcome post-incident. This type of situated knowledge accumulates and reduces officer perceptions of incident value when they attend further incidents:

> *This lack of support and proper sentences from the court definitely affects how we approach DA incidents [...]*
>
> *I think that poor job results are annoying and make you feel like not putting in the effort, next time*
>
> *[Officer interview 114: 32].*

In response to imbalance generated by policy requirements, officers often find ways to circumvent policy or process requirements by either influencing how the incident is reported by the participants or by disregarding the policy requirements altogether.

> *I am very strong on this: I don't arrest just because the policy says so. I only arrest if there is a genuine need for help and an arrest is the way to do it – or, if it means that we will likely get a positive result at court*
>
> *[Officer interview 114:19].*

[71] As explained in the section on 'situational experience', leaving incidents unbalanced affects an officer's evaluation of future incidents. Typically, this reduces the value that an officer associates with future incidents.

As such, officers will often use binary retreat with a victim so that the victim is discouraged from disclosing any information that would precipitate the need for an officer to increase the amount of effort they expend at an incident; for example, by making an arrest. In such cases, officers can use both binary retreat with victims and binary deconstruction with offenders to 'downplay' and contain an incident.

> *Officers try to dissuade the victim from making a complaint after the victim stated that she was pushed by the offender [which is an assault that the officers should be recording as a crime].*
>
> *Officer 1:*
>
> *'so, you have had just a verbal argument?'.*
>
> *Officer 1 seems intent on avoiding an arrest of the male who pushed the female [no arrest occurs at the incident].*
>
> *Officer 1 to the male - 'there's no problem'*
>
> *Officer asks the offender to come outside and talk to him, stating - 'there's no issue'.*
>
> *[BWV footage 201:47].*

Officers believe that they are best placed, because of the powerful effect of incident experiencing, to understand which outcomes will benefit incident participants the most. On that basis, many are happy to ignore policies if this removes constraints on balancing, even if this includes taking steps to ensure that supervisory checks do not interfere with the balancing process.

> *'We have to justify what we have done on the crime report. Our sergeant has to endorse any decisions we make, but I make the decisions based on what is best for the victim. I don't seek the permission of the sergeant for those decisions'*
>
> *[officer interview 105:64].*

The incident shaping continuum is a dynamic representation of a set of behaviours that are used by officers to change levels of value and effort when balancing an incident. It should be noted that several of the research participants appeared to have good insight into these types of behaviours and used them consciously to shape incidents. However, this does not mean that these behaviours are consciously applied by all officers, in all instances. Indeed, there were some examples observed where officers switched back and forth between binary deconstruction and binary retreat over a period of seconds as they responded to volatile and unpredictable incident participants. While switching between the two approaches, as balancing needs fluctuated, was fully consistent with the model presented in this study; those changes happened so quickly, that it was unlikely that officers were consciously choosing to switch approaches in response to incident demands.

Discussion and summary

This chapter has presented the classic GT of balancing value and effort. The theory explains how officers behave depending on situational incident circumstances and their accumulated knowledge from their life and occupational worlds. Officers evaluate how much effort is needed to resolve an incident, and what value they believe that an incident represents. They aim to balance levels of value and effort so that they avoid feeling frustrated by incident imbalance. If incidents are left unbalanced, officer frustration is carried forward between incidents, meaning that officers then perceive there to be less value associated with future incidents, restricting their options when balancing future incidents. Officer behaviour affects incident participant behaviour. In turn, this changes the levels of value and effort associated with an incident. Police policies constrain balancing, and this can lead to officer behaviours that fall outside of approved professional

practices as officers continue to balance incidents, even if their shaping attempts are not policy compliant.

While the theory of balancing value and effort establishes how officer behaviour leads to changes in value and effort, it does not provide the precise magnitude of those changes. Understanding the magnitude of changes predicted by the model, and whether such change is linear, would be an interesting area of further research.

One of the limitations of this study was not being able to differentiate between officer responses according to a typology of officers, whether that be according to gender, race, experience, and so forth. Likewise, I could not identify whether one, two or many officers attending an incident affected each other's overall balancing behaviours. These factors did not emerge as patterns in the data because of the limits of data access and collection (as described earlier in this chapter and chapter three). Hence, these factors did not earn their place in this GT study because the volume of data collected was not sufficient to allow typologies to emerge (e.g. only two officers interviewed had identified themselves as non-white, so a comparison of officer behaviours based on differences in race would not have been possible). However, with more time and resources, it may have been possible to extend data collection and analysis to such an extent that factors such as officer typology might have then emerged as new patterns in the data[72]. Understanding whether typologies are concepts that might be included in a study would require a significantly larger volume of data collection than was carried out for this study. Exploring more data from different social units through theoretical sampling is a common expansion of an existing GT, and can often yield more granularity in the concepts and properties already discovered; hence, this would be a worthy avenue for future research (see chapter eight).

[72] Some classic GT studies found the emergence of typologies among the data patterns (see Scott, 2007 for an example).

The theory of balancing value and effort has at its centre the idea that officers have a main concern that they work towards fulfilling, and that this concern relates to their aims of *becoming* an archetypal/model officer (according to how they imagine a model officer to be) through their practice. Integral to this conceptualisation is the idea that to become, one must have an identity which they are trying to leave behind, and an idealised identity they are trying to attain: becoming is an identity *process*. As such, the following chapter will discuss the concept of identity in relation to its existence as a function of an overarching policing ideology, which, it is argued, determines the range of responses to practice situations that have been discovered and modelled by the theory of balancing value and effort[73]. It will be shown that the theory of balancing value and effort provides a mechanism that explains the operation of an ideological-identity process, which accounts for the main concern of police officers that underpins this GT.

[73] Loftus (2009) identified that policing ideologies affect officer identities and that this was linked to their practice; although the theory put forward to describe the mechanism of those connections was arguably underdeveloped. The next chapter sets out to offer a theoretical mechanism to explain this ideological-identity process.

Chapter six: nesting the grounded theory - the extant literature

The previous chapter presented balancing value and effort, a classic GT of frontline police practice. The theory explains that police officers seek to do work that is of value to them while avoiding work that is not. In this study of frontline police officers in an English police force[74], valuable work was discovered to be any practice activities that relate to one or more of three preferred policing activities (PPAs): helping victims, maintaining law and order, and emergency work[75]. Doing work aligned with the PPAs is work that officers associate with the activities that an archetypal police officer would do. How this archetypal policing identity has formed and why officers would identify with it are questions that this chapter sets out to address.

By situating or 'nesting' the theory of balancing value and effort within the extant literature, this chapter will show how the theory models a mechanism that underpins an ideological-identity process, which influences the identities of police officers and shapes their practice. This chapter will show that police practice, conducted by an officer who wishes to become or attain this archetypal policing identity, is ideological practice[76].

The chapter begins with a section titled *Police culture*: *an explanation of police practice*, which discusses how previous studies have dealt with frontline police work and how existing concepts within this genre relate to the GT in this study. A section then follows called *The identities of frontline policing*, which is a discussion of the temporary and evolving nature of identities constituted during police encounters. Next is a section titled

[74] As discussed in chapter five, different police settings/jurisdictions may produce variations in the PPAs that underpin the main concern of officers.
[75] See chapter five for a discussion of these multivariate concepts.
[76] Ideological practice brings with it its own problems, which is explored further in chapters 6 and 7.

The emergence of the archetypal policing identity, which describes the historical genesis and development of the police officer archetypal identity. This is then followed by the section, *Cementing the archetypal policing identity*, which explains how the notion of the archetypal identity is produced and reproduced within the police occupational environment and more broadly within society. The chapter closes with a section titled *The archetypal policing identity: a police ideology,* which draws on the concept of interpellation (Althusser, 1971) to provide an account of the ideological-identity process that shapes police practice when officers balance value and effort during incidents.

Police culture: an explanation of police practice

Before considering an alternative conceptualisation of police practice, it is useful to explore how scholarship has previously dealt with this subject area. Studies of policing cover a broad area of practice concerns, but the literature that seems most germane to this study is that which explores the practice of the patrol or frontline police officer and the interplay between police practice (what officers do and why they do it) and their occupational and extra-occupational experiences. Police studies often use the term 'police culture' to describe a nexus of practice and practice influences, and yet police culture is a term that has been described as both broad and vague (Ingram, Paoline, & Terrill, 2013). However, the concept has dominated police studies for several decades, not least because it has become a useful form of 'shorthand' among scholars and police-professionals for describing ostensibly problematic policing and its conditions (Mastrofski, 2004).

Although this thesis will argue that 'police culture' may not be theoretically developed enough to allow practice to be influenced by studies that use it as a framework, this does not mean that 'police culture' should be 'thrown out with the bathwater'. Regardless of

whether the main organising concept being used to explore this area of interest is 'police culture', 'balancing value and effort' or something else, these concepts are based on observations of policing that are descriptively similar and, in many cases, conceptually the same. In other words, this thesis does not offer a set of previously undiscovered behaviours or habitual tendencies among frontline police officers, uncovered by applying GT to this problem area; rather, the behaviours being studied are like those already uncovered in the data of previous studies, even including those that date back to the middle of the twentieth century (see below for a further discussion). What differs in this study is the way that this data has been conceptualised and how those concepts have been organised.

GT offers a method for studying an abstraction of social events that transcend, for example, the thick description of ethnography or other qualitative or interpretive approaches that are so often deployed in 'police culture' studies. Using GT has allowed for the police practice nexus to be represented as a series of algorithms, probability statements and concepts that explain police behaviour, including how it might be transformed, rather than providing endless description of variations in behaviour for determining the theoretical boundaries of practice. Hence, this study is an example of familiar data producing a novel outcome by deploying a novel research methodology.

Several of the concepts inductively discovered within this study have already been identified as being operative in other studies. Examples of these concepts were highlighted as a series of footnotes in chapter five, indicating the connections between the theory of balancing value and effort and some of the most relevant scholarship within the genre. The rest of this section will aim to develop further some of the connections between this study and previous 'police culture' works to hopefully demonstrate how existing ideas have been developed or extended by the present study.

Orthodox models

While not all studies of policing explicitly use the term 'police culture' (Campeau, 2015), most studies still explore frontline police practice, which later studies then described as the study of 'police cultures' (Reiner, 2017). The differences in attempts to define 'police culture' partly derive from the accumulation of cultural traits or factors that have been added to this definition over the years, without either a clear theoretical rationale for the choices made (Paoline, 2017) or agreement among scholars about what constitutes a 'police culture'. Definitions of 'police culture' vary between studies to such a degree that being able to compare analytic results and derive a unifying theoretical framework for explaining police practice has been problematic (Cockcroft, 2014; Chan, 1996). However, these studies all share one commonality: they relate the behaviour of police officers to their conditions of practice (Crank, 2004).

There have been several models proposed for how a 'police culture' might affect officer behaviour, with two main 'orthodox' frameworks being at the fore. One model suggests that officers do not all share the same occupational approach or outlook. Instead, they tend to display attitudes that gravitate towards certain styles of policing or officer typologies, with different styles producing different responses to the occupational environment (Worden, 1995; Reiner, 1992; Jermier et al., 1991; Brown, 1988; Muir, 1977; inter alia). Another perspective, the monolithic model of 'police culture', suggests that officers all share a set of specific traits, outlooks or dispositions (Paoline, 2003; Westley, 1970; Skolnick, 1993, inter alia) that influence how they conduct their work. Studies of the monolithic model have generally 'focused on the widely shared attitudes, values, and norms that serve to manage strains created by the nature of police work' (Paoline, 2004: 207). Paoline (2003: 200-201) suggested that the existence of a monolithic 'police culture' among officers is a response to the stress and strain of police work in the occupational environment. For example, officers engage in behaviours such as 'suspiciousness towards

citizens' in response to the danger faced on patrol; or they might adopt a 'crimefighter attitude' in response to increasing supervisory oversight[77]. Suggestions for a coping mechanism affecting police practice are not new. Before studies began to use the concept of 'culture' to define police practice, Skolnick (1993) and Westley (1970) noted strains relating to the danger of police work, as well as the authority held by officers as being factors that affect officer interactions with incident participants.

Many later studies focus on the 'cause and effect' of practice conditions and officer behaviours to produce a theory of police practice (for an example, see Paoline and Gau, 2018). However, many have tended to conflate the causes and antecedents of officer behaviour with its consequences. For example, we can consider some elements of an orthodox model, such as the following statement, which forms part of the monolithic framework: 'suspiciousness helps officers cope with the stress of a dangerous street environment' (*Ibid*: 680). In this statement, the danger of the police role is cited as a driver of behaviour changes in officers by making them more suspicious. This statement places danger as the antecedent of stress, and suspiciousness as the consequence of that stress. However, it is possible to reconceptualise this statement if we consider how the parts of the statement operate together. We could say that, within this statement, the danger is a context in which stress happens rather than being a cause of it (see Glaser, 1978: 74 for a model of social causation and contexts).

We can draw similar comparisons between other orthodox 'police culture' statements that relate concepts to one another. For example, coercive power, cynicism, social isolation, 'us versus them', supervisor disdain, loyalty, and so on (Paoline and Gau, 2018) are suggested as causal or antecedent factors, but we could equally consider them to be

[77] For a comprehensive list of the different types of attitudes and their proposed effect on officer behaviours see (Paoline and Gau, 2018: 673)

practise contexts that are not causally linked with practice outcomes. The implications of this reconceptualisation are that by moving away from treating practice contexts as the 'root' causes of practice outcomes, we uncover other theoretical possibilities when explaining practice behaviours. For example, this thesis suggests that officers actively balance incident factors according to a multitude of contexts rather than there being a simple line of causation that exists between discrete factors. In other words, outcomes are not deterministic according to a set of linear causal pathways: officers shape incident outcomes according to the needs of the situation and not according to a fixed model of causation. One of the fundamental aspects of existing 'police culture' studies that restricts their explanatory power is this adoption of linear input/output models of causation that do not account for the fractal[78] nature of social events (which might be best represented by feedback loops/iterative cycles).

More recent studies have sought to understand whether the orthodox elements or models of 'police culture' are still present in contemporary police settings. For example, Loftus (2009) found that some 'cultural' traits were no longer present among police officers, but others had endured despite there being significant changes to the occupational environment. Other recent studies have sought to test for the presence of orthodox models of 'police culture' by exploring correlations between the elements of the orthodox models and officer attitudes. For example, (Paoline and Gau, 2018) carried out empirical work that sought to test the monolithic 'police culture' model. They found that there was more variety in officer attitudinal responses than were predicted by the orthodox 'police culture' models. Another study found that a lack of correlation between the categories or

[78] Fractal events are those that incorporate chaotic and random (non-linear) aspects to depict the shape and structure of natural phenomenon.

cultural sub-types proposed by orthodox models brought into question the existence of a 'police culture' that can account for variations in practice (Demirkol and Nalla, 2019).

Overall, we only need to consider the broadly diffuse theoretical development of 'police culture' to understand its limitations (Mastrofski, 2004). Even when scholars have sought to produce an explanatory theory of police practice (see Loftus, 2009; Paoline, 2004; Hoyle, 1998; Chan, 1997; inter alia), they have stopped short of developing a theoretical framework that explains and predicts police practice in all contexts. Also, where studies have made attempts to explain officer behaviour, they have not been sufficiently generalisable to account, more broadly, for wider practice encounters or situations. For example, Hoyle's (1998) thought-provoking study of police domestic abuse practice provides a framework of linear decision-making flowcharts. However, that model is theoretically limited when applied to situations or contexts that are outside the scope of the study's discrete, descriptive conceptualisations.

Interestingly, despite a growing departure by many scholars from the orthodox views of 'police culture', studies continue to discover evidence of 'orthodox', 'police culture' concepts within their findings. One explanation for this is provided by Loftus, (2009), who argues that the essential elements of police practice, such as the environment in which it takes place, and the tasks that are required to be performed, are an enduring part of the police role, which may account for why there are core elements of the orthodox 'police culture' that continue to emerge. This draws us to an underlying implication of this thesis; that there must necessarily be limits to the variations that we can observe in police practice because policing is a generic social activity with a limited number of potential practice outcomes. There are, of course, differences within the milieux being studied: policing in Alabama (USA) in the 1960s was substantively different from policing in an English county village in 2019. However, the core *raison d'etre* for the existence of

the policing function within a developed society (maintaining law and order for the perpetuation of societal structures, e.g. capitalism)[79] is ultimately the same. Therefore, how the generic activity of policing operates within society transcends time, place and people. It is this core idea that means many 'police culture' studies naturally share conceptual similarities, despite being descriptively diverse.

The reconceptualisation of orthodox models

Within this thesis, the theory of balancing value and effort has hopefully demonstrated that many concepts relating to orthodox presentations of 'police culture' have also emerged within the data of this study, albeit their non-linear theoretical treatment has been different. If we consider the concepts within this thesis, we can observe that, as a collection of factors that affect the evaluation and management of an incident, they have already been discovered elsewhere, to varying degrees[80]. For example, both Skolnick (1993) and Herbert (1998) identified that officers use a nuanced approach for weighing up incident factors and experience (balance calculus), such as the likely effectiveness of an action versus the compliance of the incident parties (participant cooperation) when deciding how to act. The act of 'balancing' is also identified in some studies as an evaluation of 'cultural' elements and situational factors (Campeau, 2019; Marier and Moule, 2019; Marks, Howell and Shelly, 2016; Cockcroft, 2012; Paoline, 2003; Herbert, 1998; Chan, 1996; inter alia).

Previous studies provide a wealth of different descriptive examples of police work that can help us to understand the depth of many of the concepts that have been identified in this thesis. At the heart of the theory of balancing value and effort are the concepts of binary

[79] This idea is explored further later in this chapter.
[80] The concepts highlighted in round brackets in this paragraph are concepts found within the theory of balancing value and effort.

retreat and binary deconstruction that underpin the shaping of police practice. As explained previously, all officer behaviour can be partitioned into one of these two categories. It is instructive at this point to show how different behaviours, reported in previous literature, can be also be partitioned in this way. In doing so, we can show the links between the present thesis and previous works, while also elucidating the nuances of how binary behaviours can be discerned and discriminated among the 'noise' of qualitative description.

Binary retreat[81] occurs whenever an officer 'retreats' into their occupational role rather than interacting as a fellow human being with incident participants. For example, the coercive use of police power, which is the use or threat of force towards incident participants (see Banton, 1964; Bittner, 1970; Muir, 1977; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; inter alia); an 'us versus them' attitude among officers (see Drummond, 1976; Sparrow, Moore, & Kennedy, 1990; inter alia); loyalty among fellow officers (see Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Van Maanen, 1974, inter alia), and a crime-fighting mentality (see Bittner, 1974; Ericson, 1982; Herbert, 1996; inter alia), are all suggestive of attitudes or activities that lead to binary retreat behaviours. In these examples, regardless of whether coercion is state-sanctioned or not, the act of coercion necessitates the retreat of the officer and participant into their respective incident roles. The same can be said for an 'us versus them' or 'loyalty among officers' attitude. Both necessarily require officers to view themselves as separate and fundamentally different from incident participants. Likewise, a 'crime-fighting' attitude or disposition places officers in a position of societal and moral superiority that can lead to 'morally' justified actions against 'the other'. If we explore the data underpinning some of these conceptualisations, we can see that most officer attitudes and behaviours can be categorised in this way.

[81] As explained in chapter 5.

For example, considering further the concept of binary retreat, evidence of this concept can be found in the most jejune of data examples. However, it can sometimes be difficult to spot when binary retreat is occurring in such cases; not because of its subtlety as a concept, but because binary retreat can be hidden within the discourse and practice of policing, which for officers can seem unremarkable because it is embedded within their practice[82]. For example, when Loftus (2009: 95) noted an officer's response during a research interview,

> *'[i]t's just people who can't look after their own lives and need us to come in and sort them out. Don't engage in conversation with them, just take down what's needed and get out of there',*

the officer is suggesting a course of action and conduct that can be labelled as binary retreat. First, there is a judgment of the social worth of the incident participants, who are deemed to be not capable of managing their life problems, i.e. they are a burden on public services, ergo of low social worth. Second, that basic, humanising, rapport building activities between police and participants (engaging in conversation, ergo binary deconstruction), should be avoided in such circumstances. Third, that these police/participant encounters should be reduced to a basic transaction before 'getting out of there', ergo minimising the time spent at the incident (effort) to balance low incident importance (value). Fourth, the officer has suggested leveraging the procedures/role of an officer, 'taking down' only the essential details (essential for completing a police report: an official (retreat) process), as a mechanism for creating separation between themselves (as an officer carrying out an official process) and the participants (the recipients of that process).

[82] This is because of the effects of ideology on practice, which is explained in more detail later in this chapter.

Other examples of binary retreat can be found across this, and a variety of other studies. For example, we might observe officers who stretch their discretionary powers to issue multiple citations against motorists who have not demonstrated sufficient deference/cooperation towards them (Skolnick, 1993); or a lack of officer interest in a victim, that manifests as officiousness, when that incident is not deemed, by the officer, to be serious enough (Hoyle, 1998). These examples can be collectively viewed as diverse demonstrations of the properties or dimensions of binary retreat. While the concept of binary retreat has been used in this section to illustrate the points being made, similarly, most of the other concepts identified in this study can be either located within other studies, or they naturally emerge from previously collected data. Hence, this study extends other 'police culture' work by examining the same behaviours and contexts from an alternative perspective.

A latent concept within 'police culture' studies is that of identity. Whether monolithic, orthodox or otherwise, most studies point to the idea that the identity of frontline police officers is linked to their attitudes and behaviours during practice. How identity intersects with frontline policing, and its importance within the wider criminal justice system is discussed in the following section.

The identities of frontline policing

In this thesis, the theory of balancing value and effort is based on the concepts of identity: identity realisation and identity preservation. As such, the theory conceptualises identity, and in particular the construction of the identities of police officers, as an "ideological constitution of the self' [whereby] the development of the individual becomes a process

of acquiring a particular ideological version of the world' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2011: 31). The link between officer identity and ideology will be explored more fully later in this chapter. However, first, we might consider how officer identities interconnect with the identities of other individuals that become involved in police interactions. It is through social interaction that the identities of 'victim' and 'offender', which we could describe as the central identities of policing and of the broader criminal justice system, are constituted. Before exploring the interplay between identity and ideology, it is necessary to understand how identities form because the identity formation process acts as 'a colonising force, shaping and directing the individual in service of [...] ideology' (*Ibid*: 31).

The identity of victims and offenders within the police incident paradigm are part of an interdependent system of identities, perceptions and interactions that are in a state of continual flux as events unfold:

> *'Becoming a 'victim', in short, is an emergent process of signification like many others, possibly involving intervention and collaboration of others whose impact and meaning change from stage to stage, punctuated by benchmarks and transitions, and lacking any fixed state' (Rock, 2002: 17).*

Within this process of signification, the perceived identity[83] of say, a victim, affects whether a police officer can fulfil their attempts at becoming an archetypal officer through police practice. The importance of this statement will become clearer later in the chapter. However, for now, it is sufficient to say that officers attempt to reify an imagined archetypal policing identity through their practice by interacting with victims and offenders in a restricted range of incident circumstances. For example, officers will seek to establish 'whether there is a 'real' victim and a 'real' crime' (Mawby and Walklate, 1994: 96) involved in an incident before deciding on a course of action. The behaviour of officers

[83] Perceived by the police officer who is interacting with them.

towards victims and offenders changes depending on how the officer perceives the identities of these 'others'. In this way, the police incident paradigm 'establishes a frame in which networks of identities may be transformed' (Hoyle and Young, 2002: 16) through practice.

How this occurs is by incident participants being labelled[84] by officers, who then assess the degree to which the incident circumstances, and the appearance or behaviour of those incident participants, are aligned to an officer's idealised view of what a victim or offender 'should' be. In these circumstances, officers determine the 'genuine' nature of a 'victim' or the 'real' nature of an 'offender' by considering factors that include, among others, the 'occupation-based definitions of crime and its seriousness and the moral worth of the complainant' (Mawby and Walklate, 1994: 96)[85]. Whether a police officer believes a victim is 'genuine' depends on the officer's perception of the victim's 'innocence'. More broadly, the need to determine whether someone is an 'innocent victim' or 'real offender' is not isolated to the police. The entire criminal justice system discriminates based on the genuine or real nature of victims and offenders (Young, 1991).

The determination that an officer makes about the identities of victims or offenders is a function of the pragmatic requirements of their occupation (for example, they need to establish who is the offender, to make an arrest) and a bi-product of the unseen generative structures (Hoddy, 2019) of the criminal justice environment in which the police operate. For example, the criminal justice system constitutes victims through its processes, procedures and the discourse of crime and justice:

> *'By the social construction of law itself, all crimes have a victim. Acts, in fact, are defined as criminal because someone or something is conceived of as a victim. In this sense, the victim – that is, a conception of the victim*

[84] This labelling process can be both consciously and unconsciously done by officers.
[85] Within the theory presented in this thesis, 'moral worth' is conceptualised as 'social worth'. Both moral worth and the seriousness of offences are part of the balance calculus of the theory of balancing value and effort.

> *– precedes the definition of an act as criminal. If a victim cannot be imagined, a criminal law is neither created nor enforced' (Drapkin and Viano, 1974: 103).*

From the early twentieth century, victims of crime had the ability removed, in most cases, to bring their own criminal prosecution, with the police and prosecutors later taking on that role, instead (Walklate, 1989)[86]. Part of deciding which criminal cases should be sent to court, and the outcome of such court cases, rests on the state making decisions about not only the evidence, as it is known, but also the antecedents of the victim and the offender (McDonald, 1976). For example, whether a victim is a reliable and credible witness, affects decisions to prosecute and can affect the perception of the court about whether they are a 'true' or 'innocent' victim. The role, and therefore the identity of the victim in the court process, can be considered as a function of their utility for providing the state with an opportunity to mount a successful prosecution (Walklate, 1989) rather than their needs as a victim, which often appear to be secondary.

Other parts of the criminal justice system also reinforce stereotypes regarding the 'innocent' or 'genuine' victim. The allocation of funds to victims from criminal injuries compensation processes are determined according to rules that are centred on the 'innocence' of the victim (*Ibid*). These rules include the withholding of compensation if a victim has been assaulted by a partner living in the same household (domestic abuse) unless the victim is no longer living with the offender[87] (Ministry of Justice, 2012). However, since many victims cannot or will not leave their family home after being the victim of domestic assault, the Government rules for the allocation of funds to victims indicate that the criminal justice system does not recognise domestic abuse victims in

[86] This was reversed at the end of the twentieth century with the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) assuming the role of prosecutor for police criminal cases.
[87] Sensibly, this policy was rescinded by HM UK Government in 2019.

these circumstances as 'innocent'[88]. It is unsurprising that we then see these views reflected by police officers at incidents, such as those involving domestic abuse, where the refusal of a victim to leave the family home is considered by many officers to be a lack of cooperation with the police process, negatively affecting an officer's view regarding the innocence of the victim[89] (Hoyle, 1998). Police perceptions of victims 'contributing' to their own victimhood are partly based on what Sparks (1982: 27) describes as the concept of 'facilitation',

> 'even if the victim does not take anything that could be called an active part in the crime, he or she may still facilitate its commission by deliberately, negligently or unconsciously placing himself or herself at risk'.

There are problems inherent with officers determining whether a victim is 'true', 'genuine' or 'innocent' based on an ostensibly fleeting interaction with them during a police incident. Some victims of crime behave in ways that we might consider to be atypical in some circumstances, and this can change officer perceptions of the truthfulness of their account. For example, when a rape victim presents to the police as calm and composed, some officers consider this behaviour to be an unusual response to such crimes. The victim response affects how 'genuine' officers perceive them to be. However, this type of victim response, known as the 'reorganisation phase', can be a typical way for a victim to cope with the trauma of being victimised (Ask, 2010: 1134). Situational factors surrounding an incident and its participants can also affect how officers perceive victims and offenders.

[88] While it could be argued that withholding funds in these circumstances could prevent the funds from benefiting the offender, the symbolic effect of this policy on victim identity within the CJ system is still valid.
[89] This is seen in the theory of balancing value and effort where participant cooperation affects officer perceptions of incident value.

Knowing the history of a victim or offender can impact on the police response to them both (Loftus, 2009; Hoyle, 1998).

Some scholars argue that the 'just world' hypothesis might explain these officer reactions towards both victims and offenders (See Gonzalez, Cordoza and Chapman, 2015; Wolfradt and Dalbert, 2013; Lerner and Simmons, 1966).

> *'[The] hypothesis refers to a preferred belief that the world is a fair place. By extension, when an event occurs that threatens this belief in a just world, perceivers have a tendency to understand or rationalize [sic] the event by reasoning that the victim must have done something to deserve it' (Weller, Hope and Sheridan, 2013: 323-324).*

For example, if a police officer is aware that a victim has a criminal background, low social status and is uncooperative, those attributes will not align with the officer's belief regarding what a 'genuine' victim should look like, meaning that the officer's behaviour might then change towards that victim.

Contrariwise, if an officer is aware of similar attributes for an offender at an incident, then officers are more likely to perceive them as a 'real' offender because they more closely resemble the offender archetype. As such, in a 'just world', the 'genuine' victim would receive the full help and support of the police whereas the 'real' offender would enjoy the full force of the law. A significant element of an officer's calculus, when deciding on the 'genuine' nature of a victim or offender, is related to the social status of that individual (Mawby and Walklate, 1994). This includes their education, socio-economic situation, where and how they live their lives, and so forth. Therefore, it can be argued that a significant element of the policing service delivered to victims and offenders is a

discriminatory practice based on social status[90] (Schulenberg, 2015; Loftus, 2009), which aligns with the conceptualisations of the theory of balancing value and effort.

In some cases, after an incident has been reported to the police, a criminal justice investigation is generated, and a case is prepared and presented to the courts. At the court stage, victims are excluded from the investigative process because the court system considers prosecution to be a matter for the state, alone (Bottoms and Roberts, 2010). The victim is removed from that process so that the rights of the defendant, and the integrity of the evidential chain, are not violated[91] (Haynes, 2011). Although it might appear that victims do have some say over how police officers resolve an incident, this is not necessarily the case. When a victim reports a crime and the police attend, officer perceptions of victim identity as being 'genuine' or otherwise, have a significant impact on how the police manage incidents. A victim has little agency in changing police perceptions of their status as a victim because those perceptions mainly relate to the victim's social status and the seriousness of the reported crime (Mawby and Walklate, 1994), neither of which can be purposefully influenced by the victim. In practice, this means that a 'genuine' victim (as perceived by the police), will be constituted by the police as a more deserving victim. Why the constitution of victim and offender identities affect the way that police officers practise can be more fully understood if we consider how the identity of frontline police officers is both produced and reproduced. The next section will explore this process by discussing the historical emergence and the contemporary development of the archetypal frontline policing identity.

[90] This discussion about social status will be continued later in this chapter when the archetypal policing identity is explored.
[91] Although victim support services are common in many countries and police and prosecution services are increasingly guided by victim support policies, once a criminal case is in motion, a victim has little say over the investigation and timeline of the case.

The emergence of the archetypal policing identity

The identity of frontline police officers has been influenced by a combination of historical and contemporary symbols and images, which have been continuously produced and reproduced by police forces, the media and society more broadly. We can understand the genesis of this identity by examining the historical account of how the contemporary English police service - as a bureaucratised, centrally organised institution (Emsley, 2009) was first formed - and how it has developed until the present day. While there had been some form of policing presence in England over many previous centuries, it was the creation of the Metropolitan police force in 1829, referred to by some historians as the 'new police', that represented the beginning of what became a proliferation of homogeneous policing organisations across England (and eventually Wales) in the decades that followed (Palmer, 1988). What was distinct about these police forces was that they represented a body of uniformed men whose deployment and training (which, in the early days of the 'new police' consisted of a simple set of instructions for officers to follow) was based on a set of principles defined by the 'new police' founders[92], which included a statement of intent, that 'the principle [*sic*] object to be attained is the prevention of crime' (Reith, 1956: 135).

When the founders created the 'new police', they wanted policemen[93] to demonstrate their legitimacy by sharing the values of the community from which they were drawn – the working classes (Clapson and Emsley, 2002). As such, new policemen were required to walk set 'beats' or areas of patrol so that they could become familiar with the people in their area and they wore a standardised uniform, carefully chosen so that they did not

[92] Sir Charles Rowan, the first commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, produced the detailed plans for the creation of the 'new police', which were then agreed by Sir Robert Peel, the then Home Secretary.
[93] Women were not permitted to serve in the English police until decades later.

resemble a military force[94] (Emsley, 1996). The founders expected the 'new police' to deal with an array of activities predominantly related to 'the maintenance of public order on the city streets, and the control of activities such as prostitution, drunkenness, and vagrancy which were identified with its disruption' (Davis, 1991: 8). The founders wanted officers to be affable and approachable during their work, but the dangerous realities of policing the working-class areas of London meant that officers often needed to assume the role of the 'working-class hard man' instead (Dodsworth, 2011: 123)

When the 'new police' was being planned, there were several considerations that the founders felt were important. With a growing population in London of over one million people in the closing years of the eighteenth century, the number of police officers that were to make up the 'new police' was to be small in comparison to the policed population (Emsley, 1983). While the prominent commentator and magistrate, Patrick Colquhoun, estimated that a 'residuum' of just over ten per cent of London's population was involved in crime and immoral activities (arguably a more manageable number of people to police), this was a similar-sized group to that which was involved in the massacres of the recent French Revolution, so English policymakers and commentators were acutely aware of the risks in not controlling these sections of society. Colquhoun, therefore, suggested that a combination of a strong police force and welfare reform might help to avoid a similar fate for London (*Ibid*). In the creation of the 'new police', these two objectives were partly met by producing a police force that was primarily concerned with social security among the working classes and urban poor rather than law enforcement for the whole of society. The police focussed their work on the smaller population of 'residuum', who were necessarily the urban indigent (Neocleous, 2000). Hence, the primary task of the 'new police' officers

[94] There was great suspicion in England about military bodies carrying out law and order functions in the way that policing was carried out in France and other countries.

was to police those of low social status[95], but cognisant of Colquhoun's concerns, the 'new police' had to maintain legitimacy, and by definition, needed to maintain some level of cooperation among those they policed if they were to be effective in such small numbers.

Why the 'new police' was ever needed has been contested by some historians. 'Orthodox' scholars have suggested that the 'new police' were a response to the need for order within rising urban populations due to the growth in industrialisation that was occurring in England in the early nineteenth century (Reiner, 2010). Other 'revisionist' accounts have suggested that the 'new police' was a response to the same urbanisation and industrialisation, but that industrialisation, as part of a more extensive capitalist project, was responsible for class divisions between those who owned the means of production and the working classes (who were viewed by the upper-classes as a threat to social order) (See Reiner, 2010; Emsley, 2009; Taylor, 1997). In these 'revisionist' accounts, the 'new police' were needed to control the 'dangerous' lower classes; a form of social control in a capitalist environment (see Neocleous, 2000; Taylor, 1997; Palmer, 1988). Some viewed the 'new police' as '"missionaries" bringing alien values of work and discipline to a reluctant proletariat' (Palmer, 1988: 8).

Where both narratives agree is that the creation of the 'new police' occurred during a period of increasing wealth creation within England from industrial growth, and the attention and activities of the 'new police', whatever the ideological motivation, was overwhelmingly directed at the lower classes and specifically the urban poor. While the founding principles of the 'new police' had included a need to legitimise the 'new police' force, the often violent repression of working-class activities and the urban poor meant that police legitimacy was often, and still is contested by those being policed.

[95] The policing and control of those of low social status is an enduring theme that runs from 1829 through to contemporary times. It is therefore not surprising that social worth is a central concept that emerged within the theory of balancing value and effort.

The way that the police had been deployed in the first decades of their creation for managing public disorder was a threat to their legitimacy. They 'had become something of a National riot squad. Detachments of the force had been sent far and wide to suppress disorders provoked by the New Poor Law and to keep the peace at parliamentary elections' (Emsley, 1983: 69). In this regard, they were viewed by many in society as a military force with some parliamentary reform groups 'commonly referring to constables as "police soldiers"' (Emsley, 2009: 46). The use of repressive force, mainly linked to public disorder, also involved repression of the Chartist movement, which sought suffrage for the working classes (Neocleous, 2000). Policing in this way, was a demonstration of the mission of the police through their actions, which was unfortunately at variance with the policing image that the founders might have wished for, as a legitimate force for policing the working classes.

How the legitimisation of the 'new police' manifested was through a combination of practice and identity or 'image' work, which continues today (Mawby, 2002). Practice instructions, from policymakers and police leaders, focussed on restricting officer behaviours, such as not allowing them to drink on duty and an insistence that officers behaved in a polite and approachable manner towards members of the community that they policed[96] (Emsley, 2009). In later decades, and up until the middle of the twentieth century, the official instructions given to police officers, for guiding their work, evolved from the more pragmatic instructions regarding behaviour, into more idealistic, symbolic representations of the English 'bobby' on the beat; for example, 'instruction books were saturated with language painting a picture of the ideal policeman [...] including noble histories of English policing, linking policeman, not just to 1829 but to valiant medieval traditions' (Klein, 2012: 201).

[96] Similar instructions from the 1800s have persisted to the present day.

The change in tone within the instructions given to police officers was derived from a need to increase legitimacy among the non-working classes of society, who began having increasing contact with the police[97], while at the same time, being driven by rising public disquiet caused by the increasingly repressive methods used by the police to quell disorder (Palmer, 1988). In the decades since the creation of the 'new police', the police have taken strides towards generating an image of the police officer as a steady, honourable, fair and consistent individual (Taylor, 1997). Managing the image of the police was a form of police legitimation which helped to transcend earlier public views of constables as a body of mainly unskilled, working-class men, unworthy of having wide-reaching power over the non-working classes (*Ibid*). Police 'image work' (Mawby, 2002) marks a trend of 'looking back' to earlier times and often romanticising the role of the patrolling frontline police officer as an honourable institution. This 'image work' has become part of a continual process of producing and reproducing the image and identity of the police whenever their legitimacy is challenged (*Ibid*). It is when society believes that the police are a repressive force that a more active approach to 'image work' is needed to regain legitimacy (Waddington, 1998). The founders of the 'new police' tried to create a police image of a force that policed on behalf of *all* English citizens, but how the 'new police' operated was to disrupt the lives of working-class and poor people for the benefit of others (Reith, 1956).

To increase police legitimacy, the founders drew on ideas of 'Englishness' as an ''official identity' and 'cultural ideology' forged during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and by the years of empire' (Mawby, 2002: 7). When attempting to integrate the 'new police' approach of consensual policing by 'citizen officers', '[t]he consent negotiated was perennially tenuous and liable to be disrupted in times of crisis. Normally, however, the

[97] For example, the explosion in motor vehicle usage in the early 1900s lead to new road traffic laws, which needed to be policed, inevitably increasing contact between middle class road users and police officers.

police painted a surface gloss of serenity over the volatile conflicts of capitalism' (Reiner, 2010: 53). For the working classes, there was resentment of police interference in their actions and movements, while the middle classes were unhappy because they were paying for a centrally organised police force, which they could not fully influence (Emsley, 2009).

Despite these unsteady beginnings, as the nineteenth century progressed, the new policemen had already risen to the level of an English institution, with the bobby on the beat, a symbol of English society, finding its way into official discourses by the mid-nineteenth century (*Ibid*). Early attempts by police leaders to shape the police image to increase legitimacy have produced and reproducing an idealised police image, still known today as the English bobby. The symbolic image of the bobby on the beat has evolved to become one of the primary tools of police legitimation (Mawby, 2002) over the last two centuries. However, because society has changed, and new media technologies have proliferated, methods of legitimation have also needed to evolve. Despite this evolution, the image of the bobby has remained a stable mainstay of police 'image work'.

The icon of the bobby on the beat is a powerful symbol. While some might argue that the police were created and exist today for preventing crime for the good of *all* society, the activities of the police were, and still are, predominantly directed towards the poorest or most disadvantaged in society. Police targeting of the activities and civil life of the working classes and urban poor persists. Most English criminal laws still target activities most associated with these sections of society[98], and contemporary police still focus on what Neocleuos (2000) described as social security, which typically requires police involvement in the social problems of the working classes and the so-called societal

[98] Contemporary laws are mainly focussed on tackling inquisitive crime, violence, licensing, public order etc.

'residuum'. How the historical development of such police images have affected the identity of patrolling police officers will be explored in the next section.

Cementing the archetypal policing identity

During the empirical work conducted for this study, one of the patterns that emerged from the data was that police officer felt there was an archetypal image, or identity, of the 'ideal' officer, which they aspired to emulate. A core element of that archetypal identity can be traced to an enduring image in English culture, the bobby on the beat. Why this historical identity might have influenced contemporary police practice will be explored in this section. The image of the bobby is reproduced in contemporary society as 'an ideal (and idealized) [sic] male character capable of representing all that was best about English society, its institutions, and its virtues' (Loader and Mulcahy, 2003: 69). This image has endured beyond the nineteenth century and maintained a treasured place in English culture because police image work, as a process of legitimation, is a continuous state of being for the police service. Because the police have continued to produce and reproduce this policing image as a tool for legitimation, its visibility as a cultural symbol has been produced and reproduced in both popular culture, news and official texts (Mawby, 2002).

In the late twentieth century, this image took its place as 'the icon of the so called 'golden age' of police legitimacy and high tide of consent in the 1950s' (Brunger, 2014: 125). During this period, 'the bobby was a prime symbol of national pride owed much to the creation of a particular image, often belied by the substance of policing behind the façade' (Reiner, 1994: 12). Put another way; the so-called 'golden age' was perhaps more myth than reality (Woolnough, 2013). Beyond the early 1950s, with an influx of migrants, withering industries and increasing populations, the police were increasingly being called on to

tackle unrest, such as workers strikes, political marches and inner-city riots during the 1960s and through to the 1980s (Stephens and Becker, 1994). The police become increasingly involved in the use of repressive tactics to quell public disorder in a time when media depictions of police activity were increasing, and police legitimacy was being contested (Reiner, 2010; Taylor, 1997). It is in troubled times when police legitimacy is being threatened that the police make use of images like the English bobby. Such images are 'condensing symbols' (Loader, 1997: 16) that represent the proud tradition of Englishness, which can be mobilised by police leaders to increase legitimacy.

The more contemporary symbolic role of the 'bobby' encompasses a narrative in which the police officer is depicted as 'a faithful, incorruptible public servant who is unwavering in his commitment to the community; part of the 'thin blue line' that marks out an orderly society from a disorderly one' (McLaughlin, 2007: 2). The image of the bobby has continued to maintain relevance within contemporary English society, which is reflected by the continued reproduction of its symbols and icons. The police helmet, tunic and truncheon are among the many consumer items still directed at London tourists (Loader, 1997). Also, contemporary media, for example, English newspapers, routinely produce stories of social decline linked to the ostensible demise of the bobby-on-the-beat' (The Telegraph, 2019[99]; Daily Mail, 2018[100]; inter alia). The continuous reproduction of such images suggests that

[99] https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/01/10/third-people-have-not-seen-bobbies-beat-last-year-say-situation/ [Accessed: 12 Oct 2019].

[100] https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5216437/Our-vanishing-bobbies-beat.html [Accessed: 12 Oct 2019].

> *'the public image of contemporary policing is of a 'profoundly old-fashioned' institution [and] its commitment to the conservation of social order and its association with a moral vision reified as an absolute, timeless standard of right and wrong [...] invests the police institution with a sense of tradition which is itself a significant source of public respect and veneration' (Walker, 1994: 38).*

One of the main ways in which the image of the English bobby has been reproduced is through the news and entertainment media. However, such depictions of the frontline policing image are not a recent phenomenon. Images of the bobby on the beat have their roots in newspapers and dramatic or music theatre performances in the nineteenth century (Cannadine, 1992; Williams, 1961). Typically, these were a mix of satire (at the expense of the police) and pro-policing images aimed at passing commentary on the police role (Emsley, 2009) of enforcing the law among the working classes and urban poor. The readership or viewership of these publications or performances was limited, meaning that the active management of the police image needed to be achieved by other means. Those means were the face-to-face work of the police on patrol and structural significations, such as the mode of beat patrolling, demographics of officers (i.e. drawing officers from the working classes), the appearance and conduct of officers, and so forth (Mawby, 2000).

The instructions given to officers, about how they should behave and present themselves, were a crucial part of attempts to control this image; even though the realities of policing have rarely matched the image portrayed. This image is still called upon within contemporary media, or by the police themselves, when seeking to justify or leverage, for legitimation purposes, the unique relationship that the police have with parts of the English population. However, increasingly, the traditional image of the bobby is now accompanied by an alternative, emergent image of the police officer. Portrayed in film and television, the frontline police officer as crime-fighter, responsible for the maintenance of law and order (Reiner, 1992; Chibnall, 1977), and a more recent image of

the police officer as an emergency worker or saviour of the vulnerable, have found their place in regular reality-television, ''fly on the wall' documentary series' (see Beck, Hellmueller and Aeschbacher, 2012).

These, and other forms of media, have increasingly produced a mix of news and entertainment that blur the edges between 'real' and fictional representations of police practice; presenting much police work as exciting, dangerous or even heroic (Sparks, 1992). A significant increase in media representations of policing has occurred because of an increased appetite among the public for policing stories and images, so the mode of media communication, the volume of coverage, and the variety of messages has continued to diversify and increase. Media depictions of the police influence not only the public's perception of the police but also their broader life-world reality and identities because

> *'media systems undermine the received distinctions between public and private life. The routine extension of access by very large numbers of people to information, opinion and imagery via mass media makes those media fundamentally constitutive of the 'public sphere'' (Ibid: 4).*

The confluence of media messages experienced by the public culminates in public perceptions of media narratives about the police, which the public believes to be representative of both the realities of policing and of wider English society. Hence, through these narratives, the police are believed, by the public, to be not only essential to the prevention of chaos and disorder, but the only means of achieving it (McLaughlin, 2007).

With the advent of new technologies such as the body-worn video (BWV) camera, voyeuristic images of frontline police work have proliferated in the media, with images of arrests and foot-chases; the use of tasers and firearms; helicopters and drones being normalised. The public consumes these images of contemporary policing, yet they are

detached from the realities of 'everyday' policing, to produce a 'hyper-reality' (Chairiyani, Herawati and Widayanti, 2017). For example, the media or popular entertainment often provides portrayals of the police tackling the most serious or grave crimes (since these are arguably the most entertaining or compelling to view). However, these situations are far beyond the real, everyday experience of most members of society, and they do not represent the majority of situations faced during police work, which is mostly mundane and unexciting (Deschamps, 2003).

Such representations of policing are 'hyper-real' because there is no real experience against which the public can measure them. As such, there is an 'increasing distance [between] the sphere of dramatic action from public experience [and] less contamination by the equivocations of the real' (Sparks, 1992: 27). Even when media representations of the police are claimed to be a candid 'real-life' account of police work, media presentations of 'reality' police shows are heavily edited. In one example, to produce an hour of usable 'reality' of policing required over one-hundred hours of filming and careful editing (Lawson and Lawson, 2016). Contemporary media representations of the police in increasingly hyper-real ways allow the mythical images of policing to be produced, reproduced and accepted by the public as 'real'.

Why then, if the public is increasingly exposed to such compelling images of exciting and dangerous police work, might they continue to hold onto the more traditional images of policing such as the bobby on the beat? We can understand this by remembering that traditional images of the police are condensing symbols, so they include an affective component, which can trigger an emotional response (such as nostalgia). Because traditional images of the police, such as the bobby on the beat, are both historical and mythical, this arguably provides those images with stability in the face of societal progress. The act of embracing these more stable, traditional, albeit anachronistic symbols may be

a form of self-soothing by the public in increasingly uncertain times because the sentimental image of the bobby suggests a time when communities were peaceful and harmonious.

From when the 'new police' were formed through to the present day, the principles of policing have always been aspirational, or even fanciful, rather than real. Despite attempts to produce 'citizens in uniform', instructed to be friendly and affable among society (Critchley, 1978), the reality of the police function was, and still is, that of a force for domination or repression. Whether policing the working classes, the urban poor or those demonstrating for their collective civil or industrial rights (see Neoucleous, 2000), the police, in action, often do not resemble the idealised images that the founders and subsequent police policymakers have sought to represent. The image of the English police officer is ideal, but this idealised notion persists within police policymaking because it is called upon whenever the police need to increase their legitimacy among the public when that relationship is strained. Nevertheless, this ideal image, mobilised by police leaders is 'dominated by the 'law-and-order' myth' (Bowling, Reiner and Sheptycki, 2019: 101); that is, the police officer is portrayed as fighting crime on behalf of *all* society as a 'service' for all (Reiner, 1994), rather than as a force for social control of the working classes and societal residuum (Neoucleous, 2000).

An example of such image work is the creation of the so-called 'Peelian principles'. These principles are an amalgam of policing tenets, produced in the early 20th century by police leaders trying to codify earlier, informal policing principles and practice[101] (Loader, 2014). The principles capture the essence of the aims and objectives of the police (reflecting many of the attributes assigned to the mythical symbol of the English bobby). The Peelian

[101] The Peelian principles are often attributed to Sir Robert Peel, or claimed to have be written in 1829 when the 'new police' launched. However, there is no evidence for this account (See Loader, 2014) for a discussion of the history and myth associated with the principles.

principles have had a resurgence in importance and visibility in recent years, with the police inspection body for England and Wales using the principles and the symbolic acronym 'PEEL' for their framework of police inspection criteria (HMICFRS, 2020a). However, when examining the nine principles[102], we see that only two of them relate to preventing crime and disorder. In comparison, the other seven principles relate to an acknowledgement that police legitimacy can only be achieved through the consent and respect of the public through impartiality and the fair use of police powers or force. Therefore, most of the Peelian principles relate to the management of the police image for legitimation purposes.

The continual cycle of police image work for legitimation purposes described in this chapter has been happening for nearly two centuries and, as well as influencing public perceptions of the police; it has heavily influenced how police officers view their occupational identity. If we acknowledge that police officers are part of the society they police, then they are necessarily subjected to the same images, ideals and myths as the rest of society. Loader and Mulcahy (2003: 69) note that 'the *idea* [emphasis in the original] of the English bobby continues [...] to exercise a powerful, affective hold over at least some sections of the English 'populace", and one of those sections of society is that of the contemporary frontline police officer.

The symbolic images or English policing constructed in broader society have combined with more contemporary policing images to produce the archetypal policing identity that police officers aspire to realise through their practice. This identity is multidimensional; a distillation of the myths, images and symbols of the English bobby, with a 'sharpening of the edges' by more recent contemporary policing images; however, the traditional

[102] See College of Policing ethics document for a list of the principles: https://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Ethics/Ethics-home/Documents/Code_of_Ethics_ReadingList.pdf [Accessed, 01 Nov, 2019]

police image is still at its core. While this image can, and frequently is, mobilised by police leaders to improve police legitimacy, there are facets of this identity that are yet to be resolved[103]. This strikes at the core of some of the most enduring problems within police practice and the relationship between the police and communities.

Unfortunately, for police leaders and policymakers, the archetypal image of the police officer that is produced and reproduced in society, the media, and by police leaders (whenever they conduct 'image work'), encompasses *all elements* of the archetype, which is problematic for police leaders because when reified through practice, some of those elements can have the effect of reducing police legitimacy. Unfortunately, contemporary police leaders cannot 'have their cake and eat it' when mobilising such symbols. For example, the autonomy of the symbolic English bobby in carrying out their patrol work in discretionary ways conflicts with contemporary approaches to new public management or attempts to professionalise the police service (both being forms of 'image work'), because such contemporary policing frameworks are prescriptive, providing little room for individual (discretionary) autonomy.

Hence, the contemporary police organisation is a constraint on officer autonomy and discretion (Holdaway, 2017). The most obvious example of this issue can be found when we consider that officers, as public office holders, retain their status as a constable when they are off-duty. When a crime in progress confronts an off-duty officer, they can exercise their powers to deal with the crime in the absence of any supervision, process or direction. The determinant factor in such scenarios is the law itself, and the autonomy and discretion of the officer in exercising their powers. However, when officers are on-duty, they are subject to orders, directions and regulation by policies or processes, many of which have been created for legitimation purposes by the organisation. Scholars have attempted to

[103] The most significant of these problems will be discussed in the next chapter.

explain the effects of police discretion on practice. Some have argued that discretion is nebulous (Schulenberg, 2015; Nickels, 2007), with officer behaviour and actions existing within a loose set of rules that govern patrol activities. Others have suggested that discretion is defined according to the legal limits on an officer's actions, as compared to the *potential* actions that an officer could take, within and up to those limits (Gottfredson and Gottfredson, 1988; Sykes and Brent, 1983). Most literature in this area examines officer actions, such as arrests, within the context of the attributes of incident participants, situational incident factors and sociological contexts (Shulenberg, 2015; Mastrofski, Worden, & Snipes, 1995; Worden, 1989; inter alia). However, most studies or interpretations of discretionary police behaviours are ultimately descriptive, which makes them difficult to generalise across different practice contexts. For example, Nickels (2007: 577) argues that

> *'[i]f discretion is to be spoken of as a real and variable aspect of policing that is believed to influence police behavior [sic], then it needs to be defined in such a way that it lends it to direct observation and to quantification. Such a measure must put discretion apart from its proposed causes and consequences [...] rescued from its presently hazy existence in the descriptive, theoretical and ethical police literatures.'*[104]

Wider influences on discretionary practices within the occupational environment are factors such as the attitudes of others, e.g. police leaders, towards officers and their practices. For example, if a senior officer is not concerned with achieving legitimisation through image work, then they are less likely to place restrictions/constraints on officer autonomy and discretionary practices. During the 1970s and 1980s, some chief officers became more vocal in public, becoming 'police heroes' for the public and their officers, alike. This often included fighting for an ideal vision of policing, authority and justice,

[104] The theory of balancing value and effort could arguably be viewed as a framework that conceptually models the use of police discretion while also accounting for the 'causes and consequences' that Nickels highlights.

which aligns with the archetypal policing image (Loader and Mulcahy, 2001). Reinforcement of this identity, vicariously by senior officers, resonated strongly with officers and contributed to the reproduction of the archetypal policing identity. However, more recently, the senior police ranks have become more professional in a public space that is increasingly more politically correct (ergo more aware of the importance of 'image work'). Contemporary policing institutions such as the National Police Chiefs Council (2020), the College of Policing (2020c), Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services (HMICFRS) (2020d), and others, are now more closely integrated with the state. Policing has, therefore, become more standardised, so there is less space or need for individual police voices to be heard.

The absence of individual voices means that officers increasingly feel that they have no one 'standing up' for them, and the increasing role of professionalisation in contemporary policing means that the police role is becoming more diffuse and less autonomous (Holdaway, 2017). When contemporary senior leaders or politicians do make public comments that seem to legitimate the archetypal policing image, this has a powerful effect on the reproduction of that identity among frontline police officers. For example, the former UK Home Secretary, Theresa May (2011) set out, in a speech to the Conservative and Unionist Party conference:

> *'the first thing I did as Home Secretary was abolish all police targets and set chief constables one clear objective: cut crime. I haven't asked the police to be social workers, I haven't set them any performance indicators, and I haven't given them a thirty point plan, I've told them to cut crime'.*

This tone of message reinforces the autonomy associated with the frontline policing identity and invites police leaders to reduce the use of new public managerial approaches for legitimation purposes. Despite there being some public and political support for this approach, there has been a coordinated effort, by policing and government institutions,

to professionalise the police. In doing so, they have ushered in a new wave of managerialism as part of a 'de-traditionalisation' process within the police; mirroring the evolving views within society about policing (Loader and Mulchay, 2003), i.e. an increasing public demand for police accountability. Because officers spend an increasing amount of time servicing the managerial and accountability requirements of the police organisation (Mawby, 2002), policing has evolved so that only a small part of a patrol officer's role now relates to their preferred policing activities that they associate with the archetypal policing identity.

Alongside changes to the management of frontline police work, other changes brought about by the professionalisation process include increased use of research to inform practice. The development of academic-policing ideologies, such as the Evidence-Based Policing movement (EBP) (Lum, Koper and Telep, 2011) provide research that the police can operationalise. However, a by-product of this approach is a further restriction of frontline officer autonomy. Because most EBP research is 'packaged' as interventions based on experimental or quantitative research (Thacher, 2001), this approach is only effective if the deployment of research findings aligns with the original experimental conditions in which the intervention was tested (Hope, 2009) (see chapter two for a discussion in the context of methodology selection). Hence, EBP interventions restrict how officers patrol. For example, when police managers deploy EBP initiatives such as 'hot spot' patrolling, which require officers to remain in small patrol areas for extended periods, frontline officers can be hostile towards the restrictions placed on their patrol autonomy (Telep and Lum, 2014).

Despite the determination of policymakers and police leaders to professionalise the police, the use of 'new public management principles, in pursuit of the professionalisation of the service, can actually 'reinforce the existing and pervasive crime control mindset"

(Lumsden, 2017: 22). In other words, if professionalisation means that an officer is restricted in using their discretion, then an officer's ability to balance value and effort at incidents will be constrained. If officers are unable to balance, then frustration will be the result and could lead to disillusionment with their role[105]. Alternatively, officers will continue to balance incidents, but when doing so, they will naturally subvert policy and procedure. Officers need to maintain or protect their policing identity and will go to great lengths to do so.

One of the reasons for this is those frontline police officers, trying to become or attain the image of the archetypal officer, consider their police role to be akin to an artisanal craft (Crank, 1990). Consequently, officer deference towards new ways of working, such as those required in an increasingly professionalised environment, are incompatible with autonomous craftsmanship. There is a tradition of drawing officers from the uneducated working classes into an apprenticeship as a constable and new officers learn their patrol skills through the first-hand experience on the beat (Taylor, 1997). Officers view measures that control their craft, such as professionalisation, as incompatible with the image of the archetypal policing identity. The craft-based element of the archetypal identity has developed over time 'from the bottom-up', with its roots in a tradition dating back to 1829; while the relatively new 'discourse of professionalisation [is] articulated 'from above" (Heslop, 2011: 312), and is accordingly treated with suspicion by many frontline officers.

The production and reproduction of elements of the image of the archetypal policing identity, including the roles of the bobby on the beat, crimefighter or emergency worker, have influenced how contemporary police officers practise. However, their practice is often at variance with the wishes of police leaders because it does not necessarily serve legitimation, even though, paradoxically, police leaders routinely mobilise elements of the

[105] See chapters four and seven for a discussion of this problem.

idealised policing image for legitimation purposes. This situation can be better understood if we apply an alternative conceptualisation to the idealised images and roles of the English police officer by condensing these archetypal strands into an ideology of frontline policing. We will explore this conceptualisation in the following section.

The archetypal policing identity: a police ideology

Using Althusser's (1971) concept of 'hailing' or interpellation as a framework, this section will reprise concepts introduced as part of the GT presented in the preceding chapter by exploring the interplay between identity, ideology and police practice.

Police activity, carried out by patrolling officers, takes place within a frontline policing ideology. For contemporary police officers, the frontline policing ideology 'represent[s] their real conditions of existence to themselves in imaginary form' (Althusser, 1971: 163). For officers working in this ideology, their 'world outlook' of what policing *should* be, is that of a practice performed by an imagined, archetypal police officer, which they try to become by practising ideologically[106]. Despite there being divergence between the imagined archetypal identity and the realities of the policing role, officers seek to become this imagined identity by shaping interactions with victims and offenders during police encounters. They do this by proactively seeking opportunities to practise in ways that are congruent with that imagined identity while avoiding activities which are not.

Not all policing activities provide equal opportunity for officers to reify the imagined archetypal identity through their practice. For example, if a law is broken and an officer has the option to make an arrest, they are more likely to choose that course of action if by

[106] Officers are in a continual state of becoming because this idealised image is, by definition, unattainable.

doing so, that arrest is congruent with the frontline policing ideology, i.e. by making the arrest, the officer can reify the imagined archetypal identity through that practice. This phenomenon of discretionary practice is seen in other policing studies (see Bolger, Kremser and Walker, 2019; Wentz and Keimig, 2019; Phillips, 2016; Schulenberg, 2015; Sobol, 2010 for further discussion). For example, Banton (1964) argued that police officers spend most of their time avoiding enforcement of the law; instead, choosing to deal with offences in ways that do not amount to enforcement. While it is true that police officers often try to manage incidents by not making arrests or recording crimes (Myhill, 2018; Loftus, 2009; Paoline, 2004), their avoidance of specific enforcement activities is not because of an avoidance of law enforcement, as Banton argued. Rather, officers avoid enforcement activities if, by engaging in those activities, they are not afforded an opportunity to police as the imagined archetypal officer. The difference in motivation associated with these two examples of work avoidance by officers is important. It is not, as Banton suggests that officers are motivated to avoid certain categories or types of activity. Officers will expend effort on *any* activity if the activity, and the interactions it provides, are ideologically consistent, i.e. they provide an officer with the opportunity to reify the imagined archetypal identity by doing that activity. Put another way, policing activities that are congruent with the image of the archetypal identity are the activities related to ideological practice.

Officers will often be observed engaging in activities that are not directly related to law enforcement, such as providing help to someone they consider to be 'genuine'[107]. Likewise, one of the bi-products of practising within the frontline policing ideology is that officer perceptions of the social status of incident participants affect what service they deliver to those participants. This occurs because, within the frontline policing ideology, an

[107] The use of the term 'genuine' here, has the same connotations as when it was discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter.

archetypal police officer would only render help to an archetypal incident participant, (e.g. the 'genuine', cooperative victim with high social status[108]). In a previous study, Westley (1970: vii) noted an example of this ostensibly paradoxical police behaviour when conducting observations of officers[109]:

> *'Days went by when he would sit in the squad room, and the men would not even pass the time of day with him. The ice broke only when he observed one day that the hard-bitten patrol sergeant came in, evidently delighted with himself, and explained that he has just helped a lady put some packages in her car. This was so incongruous that the interviewer checked his field notes and found a series of small incidents in which different policemen had expressed what he felt to be excessive pleasure in helping someone'.*

Because police work is often procedural and predictable, it offers few opportunities to engage in activities that officers associate with the image of the archetypal officer. Therefore, officers seek alternative ways to practise ideologically in their everyday work, as was noted by Westley. Officers achieve this by avoiding activities or interactions that do not allow them to reify the imagined archetypal identity through their practice. When officers interact with incident participants, they are continually seeking opportunities to maintain or protect their identity, but they do not have full control over this process. Interactions can be unpredictable because they involve citizens who may not cooperate with the process or even seek to subvert it, and ideological practice can often breach policies or professional standards because some of the mandated incident processes are not ideologically compatible[110].

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[108] This occurs because, as described in a previous section, the archetypal policing role has its roots in the social control of the working classes and societal residuum who are, by definition, of low social worth; and this image of the police role has been reproduced and now affects contemporary policing.

[109] Although Westley was observing US officers in this example, similar behaviour patterns can be observed in English officers, as was found in this study.

[110] The problem of police policy conflicting with the frontline policing ideology are discussed in the following chapter.

How the frontline policing ideology enables officers to maintain or protect their archetypal identity can be understood by considering the concept of interpellation, put forward by Althusser (1971). Interpellation is the mechanism through which the 'ideal' interacts with the 'real'. An ideology exists through the process of interpellation because '*all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects* [emphasis in the original], by the functioning of the category of the subject' (*Ibid*: 173). This means that interpellation, between officers and incident participants, concretises the frontline policing ideology. It becomes more than just an ideal way of practice; it *is* police practice because the actions of officers, policing in the ideology, are an expression of the underlying ideas, images, symbols and ideals that underpin the ideology.

Without being expressed through practice, ideology has no real existence:

> *'Ideology is a set of social practices and social representations and rituals. It is a structure of social relationships which is both determined by other social relations and which has a determining effect on them. So the analysis of ideology is the analysis of social relations' (Eagleton, 2014: 116).*

Officers are unlikely to be aware that they are practising ideologically because the policing ideology is a misrepresentation of the relationship between officers and their conditions of practice. This means that motivations and actions can be shaped by ideology (Burger, Pfattheicher and Jauch, 2020), but officers may not realise that they are being shaped in this way. Examples of this phenomenon were found within the research conducted as part of this study. For example, officers spoken to as part of this study expressed views that were indicative of them being prejudiced towards victims of low social worth. However, many were insistent that they did not discriminate in this way. On the other hand, the same officers expressed views that the practice of *other* officers was probably discriminatory, based on social worth. Nevertheless, when examining the BWV of policing

incidents, the footage showed that the practice of most officers was discriminatory to some degree based on social worth.

This apparent contradiction can be explained by ideology. Ideology, as an underlying generative mechanism of thought and social action, is concealed from those acting from, and within, that ideology. As Althusser (1971: 47) explains,

> *'what thus seems to take place outside ideology, in reality, takes place in ideology. What really takes place in ideology seems, therefore, to take place outside it. That is why those who are in ideology believe themselves by definition outside ideology: one of the effects of ideology is the practical denegation of the ideological character of ideology by ideology: ideology never says 'I am ideological' [...] As is well known, the accusation of being in ideology only applies to others, never to oneself'.*

During police incidents, officers and participants are 'hailed' (*Ibid)* by the frontline policing ideology, and they respond to that hail, unaware that their response is ideological. However, by responding to the hail, they have committed to their subjugation by and for the ideology. For example, if a police officer avoids helping a victim because they perceive that the victim is not 'genuine', then through that interaction the officer has been provided with an opportunity to reify the imagined archetypal policing identity (because that officer has not violated the frontline policing ideology by rendering help to a non-genuine victim). In the moment of interacting with the victim and declining to help them, both the officer and the victim were hailed by the ideology, and both respond to that hail. The officer has responded to that hail as an archetypal frontline officer; that is, as one who only helps genuine victims. The victim, by allowing the officer to treat them as non-genuine have 'played' their role by assuming the identity of a 'non-genuine' victim. In doing so, the victim has responded to the ideological hail with their acquiescence. The victim and officer, at that moment, have acted from within the ideology. In the process,

the victim has been subjugated by the ideology as a non-genuine victim in the service of the officer's attempts to reify the imagined archetypal identity through their practice.

For Althusser (1971), when interpellated by ideology, the physical human beings involved in that interpellation are 'concrete' individuals, and those concrete individuals are constituted as concrete *subjects* by interpellation. Ideology is the 'Subject' that defines the relationship between those concrete subjects. In this way, ideology is constituted through police practice because, by interacting within the frontline policing ideology, an 'officer', 'victim' or 'offender' 'recognize [sic] themselves as free subjects in the Subject, and are therefore subjected to It. Individual subjects are thus constituted as such by submitting to the Subject; they act in so far as they are acted by ideology' (Larrain, 1979: 159). As such, the frontline policing ideology is a 'positional-existential' ideology, meaning that it 'subjects one to, and qualifies one for, a particular position in the world of which one is a member' (Therborn, 1980: 25). Specifically, practising from the frontline policing ideology allows officers to reify the archetypal policing identity through their practice by subjugating the other incident participants, and themselves, as concrete subjects of the ideology.

Notwithstanding this, officers are only interpellated as an archetypal subject of the frontline policing ideology if an interaction during an incident allows them to reify the imagined archetypal identity in the process of doing so. Interpellation is not confined to the interactions during police incidents. It also occurs between police officers and police leaders or policymakers. For example, if an officer decided to ignore a policy that required them to record a crime at an incident that involved an uncooperative victim, and their choice to ignore that policy was because the victim was uncooperative, interpellation still takes place. At the point that the officer is considering whether to follow the policy or not, they are interacting asynchronously with policymakers. If the officer chooses to

ignore the policy, they are reifying the imagined archetypal identity, because, in that moment of decision, they become one who only assists archetypal victims (who are, of course, cooperative with the police, always)!

Contrariwise, if the officer follows the policy, they are still hailed by the frontline policing ideology, however, by assisting an uncooperative victim (a non-archetypal victim), the officer has answered the hail by constituting themselves as one who is not behaving as the imagined, archetypal officer. At that moment, the frontline policing ideology has constituted them as a subject in the Subject (as an officer who has not behaved archetypally). Officers, responding to an ideological hail in this way, experience frustration and stress: not necessarily because they have failed to reify the imagined archetypal policing identity through their practice, *but because they have recognised themselves as doing so*. Regardless of which choice an officer makes, the frontline policing ideology hails them, and they duly respond to that hail.

Hailing occurs because interpellation is a specular process, meaning that an officer will be interpellated as an archetypal officer when interacting with an individual whose interpellated identity is consistent with the frontline policing ideology. The 'genuine' (or otherwise) nature of all parties is reflected toward each other during the interaction (because the behaviour of the 'other' is a reflection of how that 'other' perceives one's own identity: this is seen and understood). A 'non-genuine' victim is not consistent with the type of victim that an archetypal officer would help, so whether an officer is interpellated as archetypal depends on how they choose to interact with that victim. Officers still have agency when making this decision because ideological practice involves officer agency, so it is not deterministic (see chapter two for a discussion of agency and structure in this context, according to the critical realist perspective).

Kleinig (1996: 23) argues that what might be regarded as the role of the police is more than just 'habits or patterns of conduct', but I would argue the contrary. To suggest otherwise is to say that the policing ideology exists separately from police practice rather than being a set of condensed symbols, images and ideas, expressed through practice as a response to being hailed by ideology. Police practice encapsulates many different types of activity, and it would be accurate to state that very few of them are related to activities that support the reification of the imagined archetypal identity through practice (*Ibid*). However, it is the nature of interpellations that occur, when officers engage in their practice, regardless of the which activity is involved, through which the frontline policing ideology can be realised. Ideology is not just a collection of ideas, symbols, images or ideals; it is real practice, conducted by real, concrete individuals who behave ideologically without recognising that their behaviour is ideological. Ideology is the relatively stable core that defines police practice within changing and unpredictable practice circumstances. Regardless of the practice circumstances, the frontline policing ideology always hails participants, all participants respond to those hails, and the process of interpellation influences their interactions.

The concept of ideology provides an opportunity to consider an alternative theoretical framework through which we might understand police practice. By thinking of identity as central to police practice, and understanding that identity recognition is the mechanism through which interpellation concretises ideology, an alternative perspective for explaining police practice can be considered. This is an extension of previous studies that have used the concept of 'police culture' to make sense of policing practice because identity and ideology explain the variations in officer behaviour that are not possible by using 'police culture' alone, as an integrating concept. In the previous chapter, a substantive theory of police practice was introduced; the theory of balancing value and effort. That theory centred on two, theoretically abstract processes to explain variances

in police practice. Those processes were the balance calculus, (accounting for how identity perception happens), and the shaping continuum, (which explains how identity perceptions shape practice interactions). By taking a moment to compare these processes with the ideological-identity process proposed in this chapter, we can see that the theory of balancing value and effort explains this ideological-identity process, in the round, with the balance calculus relating to the perceptions of identity that occur when an individual is hailed by ideology, and the behavioural changes and choices made by officers and incident participants in response to the hailing process. The preferred policing activities are representative of the conceptual elements of the ideology (they represent the drivers of officer behaviour) and the shaping continuum provides the mechanism of response to the hail through interpellation.

Summary

In this chapter, an ideological-identity process was introduced to explain variances in police frontline practice. Previous literature, commonly known as 'police culture' scholarship, was explored and its conceptual connections to this present study were demonstrated. The identities of people involved in police interactions were then examined, including how the identities of 'victim' and 'offender' are constituted within the criminal justice system during police incident work, and how an archetypal police officer identity, which has its roots in both historical and contemporary images and symbols of policing, has been produced and reproduced in society, the media and within police forces. In recent times, this so-called 'image work' has included a professionalisation agenda, increased use of research-informed practices, and the development of new public management approaches.

Image work is a method used by the police to control public perceptions of police legitimacy when that legitimacy is contested. A bi-product of image work is the elevation of both the image and work of the frontline police officer to that of an archetypal myth or public institution. The resulting archetypal policing identity is an ideal that police officers try to attain or become when they practice. When engaged in police practice, interactions between the police and incident participants are a function of the continual attempts, by police officers, to reify this imagined, archetypal identity through their practice. By practising in this way, officers are working within a frontline policing ideology, which hails them through the process of interpellation. Hence, when officers practice in ways that reify the imagined archetypal identity, that practice is ideologically consistent. However, a practice that is not ideologically consistent causes officer frustration and stress because they recognise that they are not practising ideologically (even though, paradoxically, they may not consciously recognise that they exist within ideology).

By linking the identity of officers to a frontline policing ideology, and to the theory of balancing value and effort that was presented in chapter five, this chapter offers the theory of balancing value and effort as a model of generative mechanisms that underpin an ideological-identity process. This theoretical framework can be used to understand, explain, and in some cases, predict practice outcomes[111] based on initial conditions, by accounting for variables within the police occupational, extra-occupational and incident/situational environments. In the next chapter, the GT of balancing value and effort will be used as a framework to explore ways that police practice might be improved or changed within the context of contemporary frontline police work.

[111] Chapter 7 explains how prediction of practice outcomes can be attempted, based on policy decisions, by using this theory.

Chapter seven: policy and practice implications

In the previous chapter, the theory of balancing value and effort was situated within the existing literature and conceptualised as the underlying mechanism of an ideological-identity process. The theory explains how the identities of officers, in the service of a policing ideology, shape the course and outcome of police incidents as officers continually try to reify an 'archetypal' policing identity through their practice.

The GT of balancing value and effort is a conceptual framework that links the influences on officer behaviour to the interactions that happen during practice. The theory predicts that one or more of these influences needs to be adjusted for changes to occur in officer behaviours. This chapter explores the possibilities, and potential outcomes, of making changes to these influences by contextualising the theory within the existing policy and practice environment.

As previously described, the theory of balancing value and effort is a collection of concepts that model a policing process. The theoretical codes that connect the concepts within the theory are a set of probability statements based on patterns in data, collected during this study, that explain the process of policing, which is grounded in observable social activity. When considering how we might use the theory to understand or change police practice, we can consider both the context provided by each of the concepts, individually or in combination, or we might examine the connections between concepts to understand how the process operates globally.

The question of how these concepts and processes can be used to make changes to practice can be elucidated if we consider the stratification of reality that a critical realist perspective provides. As explained in chapter two, this ontology separates reality into three domains, the real, the actual and empirical. The generative mechanisms of the real

domain exist, regardless of whether they are activated during a police incident. Some of these generative mechanisms, which are responsible for most police behaviours observed during incidents, are modelled by the theory of balancing value and effort. These mechanisms are latent because the contexts in which they can be activated already exist, but the mechanisms are only activated when the social conditions are right for their emergence (see Blom and Morén, 2011). One fundamental property of a generative mechanism is that merely being aware of its effect does not mean that it ceases to operate. However, awareness does provide an opportunity for 'emancipation' from the effects of such mechanisms (Archer, 2020) by allowing practitioners and policymakers to understand and then take control of the conditions from which a generative mechanism emerges. In this study, the subtext of the main research questions was to 'generate practical, actionable knowledge of the mechanisms underlying' (Edgerton and Roberts, 2014: 193) police practice.

The place to begin any work that is intended to change police practice is to understand that the main concern of frontline officers (which is what drives their behaviour) is an emergent property of police practice. The rest of this chapter will argue that, by trying to change police practice, police leaders and policymakers have made changes to the conditions of practice without a complete understanding of how the generative mechanisms of policework operate, viz., the main concern of officers. They have attempted to tackle the effects of these mechanisms but not necessarily their causes — the theory of balancing value and effort models these mechanisms and therefore offers new ways to approach practice improvement.

Seeking improvements to police practice

Police leaders consistently view problems in frontline police practice as caused by officer attitudes rather than being a problem of organisational, policy, leadership or training dysfunction. As such, police leaders often attempt to change officer behaviours by focussing remedial action towards the behaviour of officers rather than other potential causes (Cordner and Shain, 2011: 281; Kappeler, Sluder and Alpert, 1998). There has been little work towards understanding how practitioner problems link into broader organisational and societal conditions (Manning, 2005). Such an anthropocentric approach to practice improvement typically includes the systematic training of officers, the creation and application of policies that constrain and limit practice, and the elaboration and expansion of the rules of conduct and discipline for controlling officer behaviour (Rowe and Garland, 2003).

Within the literature, including the professional police literature, changes to frontline practice are discussed under several headings. These include the professionalisation of the police (Fielding, 2018; Holdaway, 2017; inter alia), discretionary police practices (Donner, Fridel and Jennings, 2016; Belur et al., 2015; inter alia), procedural justice (Picket, Nix and Roche, 2018; Mastrofski et al., 2016; inter alia), and so on. These areas of interest explore the nature of frontline practice and, in some cases, offer possible solutions to current practice problems. Typically, police policymakers focus on two approaches for improving practice: they train officers or make changes to policy/organisational structures. Both measures are aimed at changing officer behaviours at incidents. Because the most common policymaker approach to changing officer behaviour centres around the training of officers, the middle sections of this chapter will focus on this topic. The latter half of the chapter will then explore how the theory of balancing value and effort

can be used to understand attempts to change practice more generally through policy and process.

Training police officers

Training police officers to change how they practice is part of broader attempts by the police to establish themselves as a profession (Fielding, 2018). As described in the previous chapter, professionalisation is a form of legitimation that the police actively use when seeking to improve their image among the public. The College of Policing (2015) have argued that public perceptions of the fairness of police officers during interactions are positively correlated with public perceptions of police legitimacy. As such, police policymakers have focussed on providing training for police officers to change how officers behave during police encounters.

In recent years, for changing the image of the police from a craft-based institution to a profession, the training of police officers has undergone continual evolution, culminating in police training being extended to the higher education of new and existing officers and a focus on police-academic collaborations to encourage knowledge transfer between scholars and practitioners (Lumsden, 2017). Officer training has been based on a developing framework of professional standards and competencies (Schulenburg and Warren, 2009), which provide the context not only for training changes but also for changes to policies and processes. Policymakers want officers to adhere to policies and approved practices, believing that this will increase professionalism and legitimacy (HMICFRS, 2020a; Neyroud, 2010).

Recently, the search for legitimacy has been enshrined in a formal inspection process by HMICFRS. Since 2014, the PEEL framework of inspections has been introduced:

> *'Forces are assessed on their effectiveness, efficiency and legitimacy. They are judged as outstanding, good, requires improvement or inadequate on these categories (or pillars) based on inspection findings, analysis and Her Majesty's Inspectors' (HMIs) professional judgment across the year' (HMICFRS, 2020c).*

How the police meet these inspection requirements is broadly left to individual forces to resolve. Forces are provided with recommendations by HMICFRS, and the College of Policing explores different approaches to practice improvement by commissioning research or carrying out systematic reviews, 'rapid' evidence assessments and providing officer training (see College of Policing, 2020b).

While the police have periodically made claims that they are a profession (Holdaway, 2017), the use of a framework that supports a continuous inspection regime, like those used in other professions, such as teaching (Ofsted, 2020), provides a space in which the legitimation process moves away from a periodic use of image work (Mawby, 2012) towards a permanent and overt claim to legitimacy and professionalism through continual improvement. However, through these inspections, whether the public views forces as legitimate is perhaps not as important as the police being able to give the impression that policymakers are holding forces to account within a permanent legitimising framework of professionalisation.

This approach can be problematic because although the inspection regime is standardised across different forces, the police's 'vision of professionalism is as mechanistic as laying down "national occupational standards" and providing checklists to show they have been met' (Fielding, 2018: 226). In the service of checklists, forces are at risk of managing performance problems by establishing 'an increasing tendency toward training that is reactive, standardized [sic] and focused on liability' (Campeau, 2015: 680). Neyroud's (2011) report on police leadership and training supported the view that the training of

police officers was often (and still is) carried out in response to public disquiet, which triggers a 'training' response to correct the situation. However, such a response assumes that officers do not adhere to policy or process because they either do not know what to do, or they choose not to do it. The arguments in this thesis have suggested that these assumptions are precarious. The main concern of police officers, which is not the main concern of policymakers or leaders, was found to be the basis for why officers operate outside of policy or in ways that are not preferred by police leaders.

In many ways, training officers as part of a professionalisation programme is a form of constraint on their autonomy and their ability to use discretion when policing. The constraints of professionalisation are compounded when we consider that much police training is standardised. This means that officers become passive recipients of training packages without the ability to influence what is being studied, or there is a lack of integration of the training package into the practice environment that officers usually operate in (Fielding, 2018). When training becomes a one-way transmission of ideas and competencies, an officer might not 'feel' like a competent, autonomous professional because of the non-reflexive mode of knowledge transfer being employed (Fielding, 2018; Bhaskar, 1998). As described in the previous chapter, restraints on autonomy have the effect of restricting the reification of the archetypal police identity through practice. In such circumstances, the theory of balancing value and effort shows that the restraint of reification can strengthen the attempts made by officers to overcome it.

For policymakers, this may not seem problematic because many of them might assume that being trained means that officers are less likely to deviate from policies because of an increase in practice knowledge. Recently, after the roll-out of a national training package for the policing of vulnerable people (College of Policing, 2019), HMICFRS (2019a) claimed, in a general statement on improvements to police vulnerability management,

that such training had improved police practice. However, research on the effectiveness of this training showed that while there had been

'small increases in officer understanding of some aspects of dealing with vulnerable victims such as gaining a better understanding of the victim response, areas such as officers being more willing to listen or showing empathy were either unchanged or showed a small deterioration after training' (College of Policing, 2018: 24),

which is a more mixed picture of training efficacy. Problems with police practice often come to light when they affect vulnerable victims or diverse groups who might already have a strained relationship with the police (Miles-Johnson, 2016). Because training is the primary method used to tackle such problems, any failure of officer training in making changes to practice are likely to have an impact on police legitimacy.

Despite the questionable efficacy of training for improving police interactions, officer training has become the go-to response of the police when faced with dissatisfaction among vulnerable or minority groups. As Fielding (2018: 22) explains,

'[police training] has grown from the risibly cursory to the ostensibly comprehensive, the ground its curriculum covers, the pedagogy it employs, and the structures through which training operates have been contested, troublesome to manage, and blamed for policing's failures'.

Research is routinely conducted by the College of Policing to establish whether training has an impact on practice. When carrying out new domestic abuse training for frontline officers, it was found that the training intervention provided some increases in knowledge but had 'no effect on officers' [*sic*] wider attitudes to domestic abuse' (College of Policing, 2017: 1). Likewise, training officers to increase the 'procedural justice' employed in police interactions with the public have shown limited efficacy in providing real changes to police practice (Antrobus, Thompson and Ariel, 2019; College of Policing, 2013). Policymakers often view officer attitudes as a root cause of many practice problems, which

are often described as problems of 'police culture'. In tackling culture issues, the police have delivered training on unconsciously biased thinking/decision making. However, conducting training that is based on assumptions that officers are biased in some way can cause officers to resist the training and its implications, with some officers either seeing such training as practice 'window dressing' (Cashmore, 2002) or feeling that they are being 'press-ganged' into mandatory training that they do not want or need. Officer resistance to training is problematic when we consider the College of Policing's assessment

> *'that education or training programmes may be more effective when participants are engaged and motivated (e.g., they participate willingly) and the intervention is part of a broad [...] strategy that aims to change organisational culture' (College of Policing, 2018b: 2).*

Why the training of frontline police officers has such a marginal influence on their practice can be better understood if we consider the methods used to both deliver police training and to evaluate its efficacy.

Most police training follows a similar pattern. Officers attend a training session, they are provided with information, and they may be allowed to undertake discussion and 'role-playing' within the training environment to simulate practice scenarios. When the College of Policing conduct research on police training, they predominantly use surveys or questionnaires with officers to check knowledge and assess their attitudes towards an aspect of their practice covered in their training. Surveys are sometimes administered pre- and post-training. This approach aims to assess whether an officer's practice is likely to change because of the training they have received. As an example, officers were provided training to increase their awareness of how abusers use controlling behaviours; to improve officer attitudes towards victims of abuse. However, the training evaluation found that the training 'Domestic Abuse Matters 2.0' (College of Policing, 2017) was found to provide minimal improvements in officer attitudes or knowledge as measured by

surveys implemented post-training. Why this type of training might offer limited benefits for police practice can be understood by applying the theory of balancing value and effort and critical realism.

An alternative approach for officer training

The theory of balancing value and effort models the generative mechanisms of frontline police practice. Those mechanisms drive officer behaviour. As such, any training or other interventions that are intended to change how officers practice should take account of these mechanisms. How this might be achieved has already been hinted at by the National Policing Improvement Agency, the predecessor of the College of Policing:

> *'There is strong evidence in a health context that training that is integrated into routine practice is more effective at changing individual's attitudes and behaviour than traditional classroom based approaches' (NPIA, 2010: 4).*

This view aligns with Glaser and Strauss's (1967: 245), assessment of the most effective way of applying a GT in a frontline services context:

> *'The person who applies the theory must be enabled to understand and analyze [sic] ongoing situational realities, to produce and predict change in them, and to predict and control consequences both for the object of change and for other parts of the total situation that will be affected.'*

Synthesising both views suggests that a training intervention that is embedded in practice, with practitioners being aware of the generative mechanisms of practice, might be a more effective training approach.

Why this might be the case can be understood by examining how the theory of balancing value and effort explains officer behaviour. The theory indicates that two processes drive

officer behaviour; an officer's incident evaluation - establishing how much work they need to do and whether that work is worth doing, and their engagement in incident activities – shaping the course and outcome of an incident following on an officer's evaluation of the situation. How officers evaluate an incident is dependent on their past experiences and their contemporaneous experience of the incident itself. Officers in this study explained that their experience of incident work was embodied as much as intellectual, and they often did not have full awareness of why they chose one behaviour over another. This can be understood if we consider that officers are driven to balance incidents because of unseen mechanisms, and because such mechanisms are outside of the awareness of most officers, the resulting practice is ideological[112].

Because an officer's experience of an incident is more than an intellectual understanding of what needs to be done, any training that only deals with intellectual matters (such as improving knowledge or awareness of incident factors) is unlikely to change how officers react in live incident environments. The generative mechanisms of their practice only emerge when conditions are right, which is challenging to simulate using classroom-based training. Even if training includes material that is designed to trigger an affective response in officers being trained, it is unlikely to simulate how officers experience live incidents. The theory of balancing value and effort indicates why this might be the case.

Class-based training does not trigger the generative mechanisms that are usually activated at an incident. This means that even if class-based training utilises more immersive teaching approaches, such as role-playing, some generative mechanisms will not be activated if those immersive techniques do not replicate the right situational conditions. Without the activation of generative mechanisms in a training environment, an officer is

[112] As described in the previous chapter, officers acting from the frontline policing ideology are mostly unaware that they are doing so. The ideology distorts their reality and they act based on that distortion.

not 'hailed' by the frontline policing ideology, and they are unlikely to balance a training scenario in the same way that they would balance a real 'live' incident. A 'text-book' non-ideological response is likely to be the result because there is a disconnect between the training experience and live incident work. If such training was being evaluated, then the officer responses may well show that they have experienced improvements in their attitudes towards their practice. However, because they are not being hailed by ideology, their responses are not distorted by ideology. This might mean that when they are engaged in incident work, post-training, and they are hailed by ideology, that the training effect will be absent.

In this study, almost all officers, when interviewed, knew what to do at incidents and how they should be doing it. However, when observed working at incidents, most officers, at different times, could be observed using behaviours to shape incidents, which were not aligned to what the College of Policing and HMICFRS prescribe as best practice. For example, whenever officers wished to reduce levels of value and effort, they would use binary retreat behaviours with victims. This type of behaviour with victims is precisely the behaviour that most officer training on vulnerable groups is designed to prevent (College of Policing, 2019). However, binary retreat behaviours emerge because generative mechanisms activate them. For officers, their occupational and extra-occupational experiences combine with their experience of an incident, in that moment of practice. This confluence of experiences can trigger the generative mechanism of balancing value and effort, but balancing occurs if and only if those three types of experience simultaneously intersect, *ceteris paribus*.

If training utilises simulated role-play or other exercises that do not trigger the balancing mechanism, then how that training might subsequently affect officer behaviours during live incidents will not be possible to ascertain. For officers, part of 'incident experiencing'

during live incidents relates to their perceptions of the identities of the other incident participants. The value that officers associate with an incident is also affected by their perceptions of the social worth and the cooperation of both the victim and offender and the seriousness of the reported offence. It is in the interactions of practice that the drivers of behaviour emerge and activate. This is in line with '[t]he view of educationists [...] that learning is not systematic, but determined by interaction with personal and social factors' (White, 2006: 396).

When officers are incident experiencing, all their senses are engaged. There are factors such as where incident participants live, how clean and tidy their home is, what they are wearing, whether they appear to be educated, their accent, deportment and bearing, whether they are strident or passive, whether they have called the police before, whether they are intoxicated, whether they are deceitful, and even whether the officer 'likes' the participant and so forth. These can all affect how officers determine the social worth and the cooperation of incident participants. Many of these factors cannot be reproduced in a training environment. Even the most sophisticated simulated environments cannot replicate all factors that affect officer perceptions of incident value. Hence, the true extent of how an officer would balance an incident (and therefore whether any training has been effective in changing their behaviours or attitudes) cannot be readily determined outside of a live incident environment.

Likewise, replicating the amount of effort required to resolve a real incident is difficult to achieve in training. While a training scenario might be able to reproduce some of the process decision making required at an incident, or the most immediate actions or tasks needed to resolve an incident, broader elements of incident work are more challenging to reproduce. For example, voluminous form filling, the time needed to write a detailed witness statement, protracted post-incident enquiries, the journey to custody with an

offender and the hours of custody process associated with some incidents, all generate effort, and they are calculated by an officer when they are balancing value and effort at a live incident. If these pressures are absent from a training environment, then an officer will not include them in their balancing calculus. However, without their inclusion, even if officers do engage in balancing value and effort, their balance calculus will be skewed by the absence from the training environment of the other 'real-world' activities and considerations that require effort to complete.

Notwithstanding this, if simulations are the only available tool for training, then compared to class-based training, they are likely to be superior:

> *'There is some evidence that simulation-based training may have some advantage over more traditional classroom methods. A systematic review of simulation training in a clinical context found that in six of the twelve studies included, simulation training achieved additional gains in knowledge, critical thinking ability, satisfaction or confidence over and above those achieved using traditional training styles' (NPIA, 2010: 5).*

The efficacy of simulation training will be dependent on how many of the contextual influences on balancing behaviours can be simulated (the more influences that are replicated, the more likely it is that the generative mechanisms of practice will be activated)[113].

Improving officer training: a specimen example

While the theory of balancing value and effort indicates that existing training approaches may be inadequate, the theory can also be used to develop a template that shows under what conditions officers would be best placed to benefit from training interventions. Any

[113] Exploring how simulation training improves with the addition of different balance influences would be an interesting area for further study.

training that activates the generative mechanisms of balancing value and effort is likely to produce a practitioner response that more closely reflects how they would behave in a live incident environment. However, as we have seen, the conditions of activation are so complex that they can only be comprehensively activated during live incidents. As such, where practicable, any officer training should be carried out in that environment. Based on the discussion above, a specimen example of the type of training intervention that might be possible can be considered.

For a training intervention to be effective, where possible, it should address the following points:

- Trainees should understand how the mechanisms that drive practice behaviours are both generated and activated [Principle: emancipation begins with knowledge of the unseen mechanisms of practice (Glaser, 1978; Bhaskar, 1978)];

- Training should include a component of practice in a live incident environment [Principle: Generative mechanisms are latent until their conditions of activation co-occur (Glaser, 1978; Bhaskar, 1978)];

- Trainees should be supported by a trainer/mentor at live incidents so that confidential and contemporaneous advice can be provided at appropriate junctures, which would include talking through trainee decisions and actions; making overt their balancing considerations and choices
  [Principle: When engaged in practice, officers are hailed by ideology, which distorts their view of practice, making reflexivity during practice difficult if the

behaviours being reflected on were being triggered by unseen generative mechanisms (Bhaskar, 1978; Althusser, 1971)];

- Practitioners should be provided with an opportunity to undertake 'what if?' scenario explorations, which they can test during their practice/incident work and review through *guided* reflection

  [Principle: Exploring the impact of generative mechanisms helps to uncover their effects; supporting emancipation from those mechanisms through purposeful practice (Bhaskar, 1978)].

This template is based around supporting officers to recognise their real conditions of practice so that they can take control of the 'actual' events that happen during incident work; increasing their agency[114] when practising.

While the training of officers is a substantial element of the policing profession's existing approach to making practice changes (and police image work- see chapter six), the theory of balancing value and effort can be used to understand how the structural elements of the incident environment affect balancing behaviours, such as operational policies, processes and procedures. The next section explores these issues.

[114] See chapter 2 for a discussion of officer agency in the context of critical realism.

Making changes to policy and practice

If policymakers wish to make changes to frontline practice, this thesis indicates that this can only be achieved by altering how the generative mechanisms of practice emerge. As stated, a GT consists of concepts that are linked by hypotheses, which indicate how people might behave when generative mechanisms are activated. Policies that successfully affect the operation of these probability statements between concepts provide an opportunity for policymakers to change practice.

However, all changes to probability statements are not equal. Different conceptual changes provide differing levels of behavioural control. Glaser and Strauss (1967) advise that changing variables independently, without using a framework such as GT to contextualise their impact, might cause unintended practice consequences, or be ineffective. Because balancing incidents is a process - an iterative cycle whereby changing one or more of the initial conditions can lead to varying outcomes in the system being studied - making changes to policy without a holistic understanding of the social system being affected can be problematic.

There are some variables that practitioners can change without the intervention of policymakers. However, policies and other structural constraints often limit how much change, and what type of change, practitioners can affect without policy interventions. For example, in this GT, 'effort' is a variable that officers have a significant ability to control without policy intervention. However, officers do not have full agency when controlling the effort they apply to incident work. Police policies reflect social structural requirements that mandate a minimum level of effort needed at police incidents (see chapter five). Policies reflect requirements regarding the recording of crimes, professional standards, ethical, moral and legal considerations, and so forth. Hence, policymaking has its limits, generated by these structures. More broadly, the limitations on policymakers

and practitioners, when trying to change levels of effort at incidents (or any other variable), are a product of societal structural limits. A GT can help policymakers to understand these limits. This is important when we consider an argument made earlier that policymakers often blame practitioner engagement with policy, for failures in policymaking. Having a clear policymaking framework may help to address this ostensibly partial view of the policy/practice space.

An alternative approach to policymaking

The main concern of police officers is not the same as the main concerns of leaders, policymakers, victims or offenders[115]. Ostensibly, most police policies are designed to control risk (see Barlow and Walklate (2018) as an example). Specifically, police policies are typically focussed on the risk to incident participants and reputational risk for the police *viz.* legitimacy. By demonstrating to policymakers that the main concern of officers is not related to these areas of risk, this might then allow policymakers to explore new ways of changing policies that are cognisant of the main concern of officers. The theory of balancing value and effort predicts that changes that are not aligned with this main concern are likely to be ineffective.

Practice policies can be manifested in two ways. Either a policy can provide directions for how police officers are prepared for practice, e.g. through training, or policy can place a framework around practice activities. Policymakers have little influence over an officer's extra-occupational (life-world) experiences. Attempts to control these experiences are likely to be beyond the means of policymakers and leaders without collective action

[115] While a GT has not been carried out with these other groups, to discover what their main concern is (although this would be a productive area of future research), it is clear from the literature used in this thesis that it does not align with the main concern of officers in this study.

among police organisations and wider society. However, the police occupational space is one where policymakers can make changes. For example, by making changes to practice discourses that reinforce or promote officer identity[116]. While it is difficult within the limits of this study to explore the discourse of all forty-three police forces in England and Wales, some guiding principles can be considered.

The preferred policing activities of maintaining law and order, helping victims and emergency work are linked to officer identity and helpfully partition policework into distinct concepts for analysis. The activities of maintaining law and order and emergency work are those most likely to trigger binary retreat behaviours among officers, which are the behaviours that the police want practitioners to avoid when engaging with victims (College of Policing, 2019). However, while the police are encouraging or training officers to use binary deconstruction with victims, the way that officers are deployed is often incongruent with this aim. Incident attendance is carried out by uniformed police officers in protective equipment in fast-response vehicles. They are also subject to command and control management[117]. Everything about the way that frontline officers are deployed, what they wear, their role and how they are supervised lends itself to the reinforcement of the maintaining law and order and emergency work elements of an officer's identity, which are the most likely identity elements to produce binary retreat behaviours towards victims.

This dissonance between what the police say they want officers to do (use binary deconstruction with victims) and the way that forces expect their officers to police

[116] See Lawson (2014) for a discussion of how police identities are affected by organisational discourse.
[117] Command and control relies on the quasi-militaristic structures of the police to deploy officers and control their work from a central control room. They are required to service high volumes of incident work and to do so efficiently. Their time at incidents is often managed by the control room and they are supervised by sergeants and inspectors.

(maintaining law and order & emergency work) is recognised and described by (White, 2006: 397):

> *'Police officers express this contradiction as the organization [sic] "ticking boxes" or "paying lip service" to their espoused principles. What police officers learn from this ambivalence is that "the organisation" does not mean what it says. Police officers continue to act according to their traditional rationalities [...] and the succession of policing initiatives (e.g., [...] customer-focused policing) appear as fragmented, management fads. This provides a theoretical framework for understanding why the police service has been unable to treat change issues [...] as more than "add-ons" to policing'.*

This example indicates that practice contradictions created by policymaking can be a significant cause for concern among practitioners, which is likely to affect their engagement with policies. A GT, such as balancing value and effort, can help to avoid such policymaking complications by representing the practice environment as an interconnected problem space.

The potential changes that can be made to police policy are uncountable; however, by using a GT framework, the task can be approached conceptually. For example, any change process should have at its core the following activities:

- a review of existing policies, the current state of the occupational environment and the discourse employed in that space by using the GT framework;
- an application of the GT to existing policy scenarios - exploring the predicted effects of policymaking on behaviours and practice outcomes (this would also provide confidence in the fit and relevance of the GT (Glaser and Strauss, 1967));
- application of the theory to new policy proposals, running 'what if?' scenarios for different policy combinations.

This thesis indicates that these policymaking processes may be enhanced by using information sources that include officer interviews and the use of BWV footage of practice situations to illustrate policy effects[118].

Policymaking: officer wellbeing, performance and complaints

The theory of balancing value and effort attempts to explain officer behaviour at incidents. However, the theory can also help to explain other occupational issues and outcomes relating to officer wellbeing, performance and complaints. We might imagine a situation where the strength of an officer's association with the archetypal policing identity has diminished, e.g. the accumulated frustration from policing unbalanced incidents means that they struggle to see the value in any incident they subsequently attend. A*ny* amount of effort expended at such an incident is likely to cause them to feel frustration or stress. This is a form of disenchantment or dispassion and could manifest as a stress-related response from officers such as sickness, a reduction in productivity, cynicism or a decision to leave the service (Allisey, Rodwell and Noblet, 2016; Siegrit, 2002).

Alternatively, instead of trying to reduce effort expenditure, an officer may seek to raise the incident value significantly. This could take two forms. They might increase value with victims, meaning that they adopt extreme deconstruction behaviours, e.g. by taking an excessively long time to deal with the incident in a manner that is unnecessary or unwarranted in the circumstances (as reported in other studies such as Loftus (2009) and Westley (1970)). Alternatively, they may seek to raise the incident value by using extreme retreat behaviours with an 'offender', which might include purposefully 'winding-up' them up to trigger a violent (viz. high value) situation.

[118] The use of BWV footage was shown to uncover balancing and shaping behaviours in officers within this study, so it has the potential to allow policymakers to see the effects of policy on practice.

In both situations, balancing behaviours can lead to ostensibly dysfunctional situations that culminate in either a reduction of work done by an officer, public complaints or unnecessary injury offenders (caused by excessive use of force). While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore all possible scenarios that these problems may generate, these are some examples of how the theory of balancing value and effort can be used by policymakers to conceptualise and explore such issues.

This chapter has explored how police leaders and policymakers attempt to make changes to police incident practice by combining officer training and policymaking to constrain and influence practice. Policymaking has been focussed on correcting a lack of officer knowledge or ability with training interventions. In contrast, the theory suggests that the source of problematic incident behaviours and outcomes is more nuanced, involving situational, occupational and societal influences on the balancing evaluations made by officers. It has been argued that existing training approaches are not effective because policymakers are not cognisant of these complexities. By using this theory, practitioners and policymakers can seek ways to change practice by influencing the generative mechanisms that drive practice behaviours. It is argued that creating training interventions that closely simulate the 'live' incident environment will have the greatest training effect post-intervention, and a specimen example of how this might be achieved was provided. Wider policy-making exercises could be enhanced by using the theory to explore existing and new policies by applying the theory as a framework to understand complexity. Specifically, it is argued that the theory can be used to conceptualise common policing problems such as office attrition, sickness, excessive force complaints, and so forth, to help policymakers understand these issues better.

Chapter eight: conclusions

This chapter concludes the study by bringing together various strands of the thesis so that statements can be made about the potential contributions to knowledge and practice.

This thesis has sought to understand the behaviour of frontline police officers when they engage in incident work. There has been a voluminous body of work written in this area since the 1950s, and there is a growing genre of professional literature that ruminates on the links between officer behaviour and declining police legitimacy among the general public. The police believe that the cooperation offered by members of the public is contingent on public perceptions of police legitimacy. A lack of public cooperation across large parts of society often causes the police to respond with coercion and force rather than persuasion and negotiation, and this can lead to a collapse in legitimacy if it is not corrected. Policymakers have therefore sought to improve police legitimacy by changing how individual police officers interact with the public at police incidents; however, police practice has been particularly resistant to change, and there is a paucity of professional and academic work that explains why this might be the case.

This thesis has explored these issues from an interactional perspective; asking the questions – how do police officers behave, and why do they behave in that manner? The study has used the classic grounded theory method to collect and analyse data from officer interviews and body-worn video footage filmed at police incidents within an English county in 2019.

It has been discovered that officers seek to balance the level of effort they use at an incident against the value that they perceive that the incident represents. An incident is of value if the incident circumstances afford an officer the opportunity to reify an

archetypal, imagined policing identity that they aspire to become. That imagined identity has formed from their exposure to societal and occupational influences.

If value and effort are 'unbalanced', then an officer feels frustration and seeks to correct that imbalance by shaping the behaviour of incident participants so that frustration is reduced. All officer behaviour can be categorised into one of two types: *binary retreat* or *binary deconstruction*. When officers use binary retreat, they retreat into their incident role of the officer, official or law enforcer. When officers use binary deconstruction, they dispense with their incident role and interact with participants on a human level, as an empathetic, supportive and caring individual. Officers alternate between these two behaviour types to shape the behaviour of incident participants; trying to achieve an incident balance between value and effort. The thesis also explains that the process of balancing provides a mechanism that explains Althusser's model of interpellation and, as such, the theory of balancing value and effort is claimed to represent an ideological-identity process.

The thesis has explored how policymakers could use the theory to improve police practice by changing how training is designed and delivered and how policy is created. The relationship between value and effort, and the drive to balance them at incidents, are at the heart of the theory developed in this thesis, which has, to date, not been established within existing literature as an explanation for frontline police behaviour. Hence, this theory offers a novel approach to explaining and predicting officer behaviour.

Contributions to knowledge

There are several contributions to knowledge or professional practice that are claimed in this thesis. These will now be listed by the area of knowledge or practice that they are most closely associated with.

Police studies

- The thesis provides a new substantive theory that can be used by practitioners and policymakers to predict how their practice might change according to changes in policy or structural conditions in the police occupational environment;
- The theory organises many existing and new concepts to explain and predicts how police officers behave at police incidents according to situational determinants and the occupation and extra-occupational environments that officers are socialised into;
- This thesis has demonstrated that using critical realism to explain police practice can uncover previously unseen generative mechanisms of practice;
- This thesis has presented an ideological-identity process as being central to the value that officers place on incident work. It is a stable theoretical core that organises the variations seen in practice interactions. It provides an alternative conceptualisation to that offered by the concept of 'police culture'. In doing so, ideology and identity, combined with the theory of balancing value and effort - which is a mechanism that models the ideological-identity process – can both explain and predict officer behaviour. In contrast, the concept of 'police culture' can be theoretically limited in this regard.

Sociological studies

- The theory provides a substantive mechanism that explains and extends Althusser's concept of interpellation by linking ideology, identity and social action in a practice context.
- The theory of balancing value and effort reconciles agency and structure within a coherent explanation of professional practice.

Methodology and research ethics

- The theory adds to the GT method literature, being a new study in the substantive area of frontline policing where there is a paucity of existing GT research;
- This thesis adds to and supports the GT literature by showing that the method can be used to produce an abstract theory that is relevant, fits, works and is modifiable in a practice environment;
- This thesis has extended the GT method by amending the selective coding process to meet the needs of the study participants. Contrary to the original design of the selective coding process, this study required the use of open questions of a general nature during selective coding interviews to orientate and encourage police officers to engage with selective questioning. This indicates that the receptivity of the study population needs to be considered when applying the selective coding method;
- The thesis has developed a novel information-sharing framework that supported researcher access to police data, including BWV, for research purposes. The framework included the police allowing the researcher to undertake an unpaid position as a member of a police force to gain lawful access to police data, people and premises.

Generalisability, recommendations and limitations

One of the properties of GT is that it is a conceptually abstract theory consisting of concepts linked by hypotheses that have been generated from substantive data. Where a GT differs from some other qualitative approaches is that, by being an abstract conceptualisation of a substantive area of interest, the theory can transcend the original research context and conditions. Hence this thesis, as with other GT studies, can be applied beyond its original context to generate mid-level or formal theory[119].

It follows that this study is generalisable to other social contexts where people may try to balance value and effort by shaping the behaviour of others. However, generalisability, in this case, is *potential,* not realised. This means that the theory in this study can be generalised to other areas of policing, other services, and any other social contexts where people balance value and effort. However, it should not be generalised without further research to ground the theory in new data collected from other areas of interest. Hence, the theory produced in this thesis is generalisable, but more work is needed. To do otherwise would be to engage in logical-deductive reasoning that provides no empirical basis for the theoretical claims being made – which would not be a GT.

Some scholars might consider conducting future research involving the expansion of this theory by quantitatively testing its validity. However, an alternative approach might be to adopt Glaser's test of a successful GT by examining the fit, relevance, workability and modifiability of the theory in the presence of new qualitative data (see the next section).

[119] See Glaser (1994) for examples of formal grounded theories.

Grounded theory and falsifiability

When considering how we 'test' GT, there are fundamental research-philosophical differences between GTs (social scientific theories) and natural scientific theories[120] that must be taken into account when we are seeking to assess the practice value that each type of theory is capable of providing in any given context (Glaser, 1978; Bernstein, 1983). Recognising these differences is the key to understanding the contribution to knowledge claimed within this thesis and the reasons why the GT has been developed and presented but has not been tested using the natural scientific method. At the core of the scientific method is the positivist concept of falsifiability, which according to Popper (1968) means that for a theory to be considered as scientific (and therefore, according to the positivistic perspective, of explanatory value (Mingers, 2004; Keats, 1971)), it must be testable. The theory must, at least logically, be testable in such a way that we may establish whether there are conditions under which the theory was expected to operate, but where it then fails to operate. A GT is not a natural scientific theory, it is a social scientific theory; however, it can still be tested for falsifiability (using the scientific method). For example, a GT would potentially be falsifiable if one were to identify inter-rater measures of reliability associated with the theoretical conceptualisations provided by the theory, which could then be tested experimentally. In this way, GT can, in theory, be tested for falsifiability.

There will always be outlying examples of social events that are not predicted by a GT. Consequently, most grounded theories will be falsified under some set of specific conditions, but this does not negate their value as a theory of social practice (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This is because social events representing interactions between social

[120] The term 'grounded theory' in not intended to mean 'grounded *scientific* theory', although it is easy to see how, in the West (within a scientifically dominated cultural environment), that this appropriation of the term 'theory', as scientific, seems natural.

objects – human interactions - necessarily involve the exercise of human agency – choice (Crewe, 2013). People can and do behave in ways that are not predicted by social theories. But most of the time, they do not. Therefore, a GT is explanatory, most of the time (because it is developed by abductively analysing a broad sample of 'culturally typical' practice events), and is therefore sufficient for making improvements to practice in most practice situations. In this thesis, the typicality of social events that were analysed when developing the GT were verified as 'culturally typical' by triangulating the researcher's extensive professional experience; making checks with current practitioners; by comparison of academic and professional literature; and as a consequence of using the GT method components of constant comparison, and the interchangeability of indices (see chapter four). Hence, the explanatory or predictive accuracy of a GT is provided through a culturally defined knowledge framework in a relativistic approach to testing that is *good enough* for praxis (Bernstein, 1983) without resort to natural scientific tests of objectively defined accuracy, such as falsifiability.

Hence, it is not necessary to establish, via falsifiability, the surety or precision of a GT before practitioners can effectively deploy it as a way of improving their practice (Rosenbaum, 2011); and a GT can even be falsified and yet still be of significant practical use[121]. A GT is an interpretation of practice (and in the case of this thesis, a critical realist interpretation); intended to help practitioner-understanding, not to establish an objective 'truth'. Importantly, a GT is not claimed to operate in all observable circumstances; it is a set of probability statements (Glaser, 1998; Glaser, 1978) claimed to operate most of the time, *ceteris paribus,* which represent social[122], not natural objects of inquiry (Bhaskar,

[121] This is also the case with many natural scientific theories that have subsequently been falsified (e.g. Newton's theory of gravity has been falsified by observing gravitational effects on the movement of planets; however, the theory is still useful for most, everyday calculations of the effects of gravity on earth).

[122] While social objects are emergent from natural objects, they are not irreducible to them; however, they can still be studied using the natural scientific method (Bhaskar, 1979).

1971). Practitioners can still use a GT that has been falsified (or where falsification has not been attempted) to make improvements to their practice by dealing with *most,* if not all problematic elements of their practice. Experienced practitioners can assess the relevance and fit of a GT to their practice without the need for the confirmation provided by formal scientific methods (Glaser, 1978); they 'try it out' (logically or practically), and it either makes/or is likely to make improvements, or not. In other words, a GT is tested through a form of judgemental rationality (Bhaskar, 1979), not natural scientific objectivism because, within a social science paradigm (where social events occur in an open, not closed system), 'practical adequacy' is the test being applied for the purpose of establishing the value of a theory (Sayer, 2004). That is, whether the theory produces knowledge that adequately explains or predicts social events. As mentioned above, this thesis has already been shared with police practitioners, and they found the theory to mirror their practice at a level of consistency and accuracy that allowed them to explore practice changes. Notwithstanding this, a natural next step after this study would be the exploration of falsification so that the level of fit can be quantified and then potentially improved – enhancing the usefulness of the theory beyond praxis, to include the promotion of scholarly debate and for the development of the theory by both natural and social scientists.

Other limitations

Because this study was limited by available time and resources, and because of the confines of the doctoral thesis paradigm, the study necessarily delimited to explore a narrow social context, which was frontline police incidents (calls for service attended by patrol officers) in an English county. These limits did not support the expansion of the study into other areas of interest such as undercover work, public order activities and so

forth; or other countries, other service occupations, and so on. However, taking up future opportunities for research that involve the expansion of this study into other areas of interest would provide a basis for generalising the GT that emerged from this study.

While this study provided hypotheses/probability statements that linked officer behaviours to their conditions of practice, the precise magnitude of those links was not quantified. Also, it is not known whether a linear model best represents the relationship between those concepts. A linear model was used in this study because it sufficiently illustrated the basic links between concepts, but the volume of data collected was not sufficient to uncover any non-linear system traits. Parts of the theory may behave in a nonlinear way (I hypothesise that this might be the case). Consideration should be given to mapping the theory to explore whether the process of balancing is non-linear.

Further limitations relate to data sources. The use of BWV footage was restricted by limitations placed on the use of footage by law and policy. The footage could only be used if it met strict legal and policy criteria as defined by data-sharing agreements with the police set out in appendix 3. Also, the nature of the camera footage was such that only a narrow view of the incident was observable, and the officer carrying the camera could not be seen in the footage. Notwithstanding this restricted view, it was still possible to generate a GT from the footage. Whether obtaining a complete view of the entire incident would have generated any new concepts (or properties of concepts) cannot be determined. However, GT is modified, not disproven by the addition of new data. Although it has not been possible to capture all information from incidents, a GT is not intended as a completed descriptive coverage of the study area, so this is not problematic for the development of the study. The fit, workability and relevance of the theory still

demonstrate its validity for explaining the main concern of officers, despite limited access to all information from the studied area[123].

This study focussed on the main concern of police officers when doing police incident work. However, a possible area of future research would be the production of complementary GT studies, conducted with other participating groups in the policing process. This might provide increased clarity of how the potentially competing main concerns of the interacting groups might align or otherwise be contested. For example, separate GT studies could be conducted with victims, offenders, police supervisors and policymakers, providing a suite of competing or complementary GTs, providing a more integrated view of police practice.

The theory predicts that if the strength of the PPAs, as a source of value for officers, became so low that an officer no longer identified themselves with the archetypal policing identity (for example, because of disenchantment or dispassion with their occupation) then they would struggle to find value in incident work. Any amount of effort then expended at incidents might cause them frustration or stress (because negligible levels of value would constrain balancing). This would be an interesting avenue for further research because this situation might lead to an accumulation of physical and psychological problems among officers. Existing literature has shown that imbalance of this nature can lead to mental wellbeing problems such as stress-related sickness. This phenomenon could also be involved in issues of unsatisfactory performance, problems with frontline officer retention and even the generation of complaints against officers, which may be of interest to police policymakers and practitioners, alike.

[123] It is questionable whether all possible information can ever be collected from research observations.

Final reflections

Having moved into academia after spending twenty years as a police practitioner, I entered the fold of a small yet growing number of academics that have enjoyed the benefit of viewing contemporary policing problems from two distinct perspectives. The contemporary problems that I am referring to are not problems relating to risk management, professionalisation, efficiency, effectiveness or legitimacy; I am referring to the problem created when police leaders, policymakers and practitioners fail to understand each other's worlds. Policymakers and leaders set the standards and expectations, but I imagine that few are likely to pause for reflection on what it must be like to be a frontline police officer in the third decade of the twenty-first century. Likewise, most frontline officers are probably unaware of the relentless, unyielding weight of responsibility that rests precariously on the shoulders of police leaders and policymakers as they juggle political, bureaucratic and financial demands, which at times seem futile. It is said that when academics and the police speak to each other, it often resembles a 'dialogue of the deaf'[124]; however, that could just as easily describe the relationship between practitioners, leaders and policymakers. This thesis is my modest contribution to making their lives slightly more bearable by offering a theory that might help them to develop a shared understanding of what shapes police practice. However, real practice change is likely to remain elusive unless the solutions are co-produced in a learning process that also involves a touch of empathy.

[124] Bradley and Nixon (2009: 423).

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Appendix 1: Main study ethics application (redacted)

Faculty HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES Research Ethics Committee (hUMss FREC) Application Form

1 Instructions for completing this application form

This application form must be completed in full and submitted along with all project documents to apply for Keele University Humanities and Social Sciences Faculty Research Ethics Committee (HumSS FREC) review. Information on how to submit for HumSS FREC review can be found here.

2 Contents

3 Project Details

ALL QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE **MANDATORY** UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.

FULL Project title:

Exploring practice: a classic grounded theory of police domestic abuse incident work.

Name of applicant:

Daniel Paul Ash

NAME(S) of Keele Co-applicant(s):

None

Academic unit:

School of Social Science and Public Policy

Proposed start date:

IF YOU ARE UNSURE, PLEASE PROVIDE AN ESTIMATE.

15 January 2019

Proposed end date:

IF YOU ARE UNSURE, PLEASE PROVIDE AN ESTIMATE.

15 December 2020	Estimate

Status of funding:

INCLUDING INTERNAL SOURCES.

Awarded

Funding references: (Where applicable)

Click here to enter a RaISE reference number if the project is seeking / has obtained external funding.	
If there is external funding, is this provided by the Economic and Social Research Council ESRC?	No
REDACTED	

does the project meet any of the following criteria that would require central research ethics committee (CREC) review?

The research could expose participants to potential civil, criminal or other proceedings. (e.g. through disclosure of past events or prospective activity)	No
Administering a substance to participants including drugs, nutritional supplements and challenge agents or other intrusive intervention e.g. hypnotherapy, transcranial magnetic stimulation.	No
The research involves human exposure to ionising radiation / X-Ray.	No
The research involves a risk of significant[1] or permanent physical, mental or emotional harm, psychological stress, anxiety or humiliation requiring medical attention, treatment or other amelioration/mitigation/alleviation.	No
The research involves prisoners and/or young offenders.	No
The research involves participants without their consent in activity that will have a direct impact upon those participating.	No
The research may bring the reputation of the University or other body into question (eg controversial sources of funding, engaging with issues that may cause offence to groups or individuals, or engaging in areas that might be misconstrued as endorsing illegal practices)	No
The research could involve the generation of knowledge that could potentially be weaponisable.	No

[1]*Significant is the threshold of harm that justifies compulsory intervention.*

Does the project involve the use of Security Sensitive Information?

FOR GUIDANCE ON WHAT CONSTITUTES SECURITY SENSITIVE INFORMATION GO HERE

No

4 Aims and Objectives & Experimental Design

ALL QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE **MANDATORY** UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.

Project synopsis:

DESCRIBE THE PURPOSE AND RATIONALE FOR THE PROPOSED PROJECT. THE DESCRIPTION SHOULD BE IN EVERYDAY LANGUAGE THAT IS FREE FROM JARGON. ALL TECHNICAL TERMS, ACRONYMS OR DISCIPLINE SPECIFIC PHRASES MUST BE CLEARLY EXPLAINED.

Domestic abuse[125] is increasingly being recognised by policymakers as a serious and significant issue that 'ruins lives, breaks up families and has a lasting impact' (Starmer, 2011) on victims and their children (Swerin et al., 2018). In England and Wales, the police have primacy when intervening in domestic abuse, however their ability to effectively tackle domestic abuse has come to the fore in recent years with policymakers reporting that '[t]he overall police response to victims of domestic abuse is not good enough' (HMIC, 2014: 6). In more recent years, this assessment has created an 'impetus for dramatic changes in the policy structures and recommended practices of police officers' (Robinson, Pinchevsky and Guthrie, 2018: 189). Yet despite such changes, the way that individual police officers *do* domestic abuse incident work has remained a 'black box' phenomena, with police incident activity only being understood 'objectively' through quantitative outcome measures: a neo-positivist approach with its genesis rooted within the response to UK Government austerity measures after the 2008 financial 'crash' (Goode and Lumsden, 2018).

This limited way of examining professional practice has proliferated through policies set by the College of Policing, which privilege quantitative methods while actively discouraging other forms of research. While there is domestic abuse research being conducted within the academy that is not directly connected to or commissioned by the College of Policing, there is a paucity of research that empirically explores the

[125] 'Any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive or threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are or have been intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. This can encompass but is not limited to the following types of abuse: psychological; physical; sexual; financial; emotional' (Home Office, 2018).
Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-definition-of-domestic-violence [Accessed 1 June 2018].

development of new substantive policing theories (Myhill, 2018) for supporting changes in professional practice to improve victim outcomes.

This proposed doctoral project,

Exploring practice: a classic grounded theory of police domestic abuse incident work,

aims to remedy this gap by examining domestic abuse incident work from the perspective of first-responding police officers by using inductive, qualitative research methods.

The project will seek to understand what the main concerns of those police officers are, and how they attempt to resolve them, framed by the following research questions:

- What are the issues facing police officers when they practice at domestic abuse incidents?
- How do they resolve or process those issues?

References

Goode, J. and Lumsden, K. (2018) 'The McDonaldisation of police–academic partnerships: organisational and cultural barriers encountered in moving from research on police to research with police', Policing and Society. doi: 10.1080/10439463.2016.1147039.

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary, 2014. Everyone's business: Improving the police response to domestic abuse. *Report, HMIC, UK*.

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Swerin, D. D. et al. (2018) 'Police Response to Children Present at Domestic Violence Incidents.', Child Maltreatment. 1 Boise State University, Boise, ID, USA.: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 1077559518778795–1077559518778795. doi: 10.1177/1077559518778795.

Methodology:

PLEASE GIVE A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE METHODOLOGY OF THE PROJECT. THIS SHOULD NOT BE A REPETITION OF THE STUDY PROTOCOL.

Using Glaser and Strauss's (1967) classic grounded theory approach, three data sources, connected with police domestic abuse work, will be carefully examined:

- Officer-worn video (BWV) footage captured by police officers deployed to domestic abuse incidents;
- Interviews with first-responders who routinely attend such incidents;
- My own recalled experiences as a police practitioner.

These sources of data contain the 'patterns in everyday life' (Glaser, 2014: 2) which, in a grounded theory study, are collected into conceptual categories. This process is

recorded in analytic memos which, in the later stages of the study, are also analysed and theoretically coded.

The contents of the analytic memos are sorted and developed into an 'integrated set of conceptual hypotheses'[126] (Glaser, 1998: 3) from which a substantive theory can emerge that explains the main actions of the research subjects as they try and resolve their main concerns. In grounded theory studies, the simple explanation of why practitioners behave the way that they do has both 'grab' and 'fit'[127] and is recognised by practitioners and others as having credible, explanatory power (Scott, 2007; Glaser, 2001; Glaser, 1998).

The officer worn (BWV) footage being studied will have been recorded by police officers at domestic abuse incidents as they manage the incident.

References

Glaser, B. G. and Phd, H. (2014) 'Applying Grounded Theory', The Grounded Theory Review, 13(1). Available at: http://groundedtheoryreview.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Applying-Grounded-TheoryFinal.pdf (Accessed: 29 June 2018).

Glaser, B. (2001) 'The grounded theory perspective: Conceptualization contrasted with description'. Available at: https://scholar.google.co.uk/scholar?hl=en&as_sdt=0%2C5&q=glaser+2001+grounded+theory&btnG= (Accessed: 10 April 2018).

Glaser, B. (1998) Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussions. Sociology Press.

[126] Glaser describes these hypotheses as a set of probability statements about the patterns in the data.
[127] The theory fits with what is observed by practitioners and researchers.

Glaser, B. G. and Strauss, A. L. (1967) The discovery of grounded theory : strategies for qualitative research. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction.

Scott, H. M. P. (2007) The Temporal Integration of Connected Study into a Structured Life: A Grounded Theory. Available at: http://www.groundedtheoryonline.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Temporal-Integration-Helen-Scott.pdf?x84956 (Accessed: 28 July 2018).

What are the primary outcome measures/AIMs?

The primary research aim is to produce a substantive theory of domestic abuse policing, discovered from conceptual patterns that are grounded in the social activity of police officers when they engage in domestic abuse incident work. This will be achieved by watching police officers carry out incident work (via BWV), analysing accounts of policing practice provided by practitioners in interviews, and analysing a self-reflective account of the researcher's own experience as a police practitioner.

What are the secondary outcome measures/AIMS?

IF THERE ARE NO SECONDARY OUTCOME MEASURES ENTER 'NOT APPLICABLE'.

Not applicable.

What is the significance or benefits of the project?

This project offers a novel inductive approach to policing research that could support the development of a substantive theory of domestic abuse policing. There is a paucity of theorising in this area of policing that might support practice change and improve victim outcomes. This project seeks to address that gap.

Does the project involve any of the following?

Human Biomaterial	No
Personal Identifiable Information transferred into the University	No
Personal Identifiable Information transferred out of the University	No
Security Sensitive Information	No
Ionising Radiation	No
HRA approval (to be sought after REC approval)	No

5 Identification & Recruitment

WHEN SUBMITTING YOUR APPLICATION FORM YOU SHOULD ALSO ATTACH A COPY OF THE PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (IF APPLICABLE), THE CONSENT FORM (IF APPLICABLE), THE CONTENT OF ANY TELEPHONE SCRIPT (IF APPLICABLE) AND ANY OTHER MATERIAL THAT WILL BE USED IN THE RECRUITMENT AND CONSENT PROCESS.

ALL QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE **MANDATORY** UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.

Describe the participant population:

INCLUDE RELEVANT IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS SUCH AS AGE, GENDER, LOCATION, AFFILIATION, LEVEL OF FITNESS, INTELLECTUAL ABILITY ETC. DESCRIBE ANY RELEVANT INCLUSION/EXCLUSION CRITERIA.

The project will focus on the observable actions of police officers and their verbal accounts of their practice.

They will all hold the public office of constable and the age range will be between 20 and 55 years of age. They will have all passed police aptitude tests, and therefore be skilled communicators and decision makers. They will all be on operational (active) duty and hence, 'fit to practice'.

How many participants do you intend to recruit?

DESCRIBE PER POPULATION GROUP WHERE APPLICABLE.

Grounded theory studies are inductive, evolving and iterative. As such, prior to the commencement of the study, it is not clear how many participants will need to be recruited. However, classic grounded theory uses the process of theoretical sampling, a delimiting process where data is collected and immediately analysed before more data is collected. The researcher makes decisions on what data to collect next, and how much, based on the analysis at that stage. Hence, data isn't bulk collected prior to analysis and this allows the researcher to limit the number of participants involved, according to the emerging theory, rather than by a predefined arbitrary value. This is also in line with the data protection principle of 'data minimisation'.

From which source(s) do you plan to recruit your participants? E.G SCHOOLS, CHARITABLE ORGANISATIONS, UNIVERSITIES, ETC

The police officers being interviewed will be front-line, uniformed staff, recruited from one English police force: REDACTED. Police officers are based in police stations across the county, covering diverse populations. As such, the initial stages of the study will seek to recruit police officers equally from REDACTED in the county to provide a population of officers who work in varied conditions. This will allow the emerging substantive theory to have greater depth and fit. As the study progresses, participant selection will be more focussed and specific as recruitment decisions are made according to and guided by the emerging theory through the process of theoretical sampling.

How will potential participants, records or samples be identified? Who will carry this out, what resources will be used?

There are two distinct elements to the data collection in this project:

1. Recruitment of participants for interviews
2. Locating BWV footage for analysis

These will be dealt with separately, below, as they demand distinct ethical considerations and responses.

1. **Recruitment of participants for interviews**

The researcher was a police officer for twenty years REDACTED. Having resigned as a police officer to take up an academic position with a university in June 2018 REDACTED

by taking up the position of Academic Researcher (unpaid post); retaining full security vetting.

As such, the researcher has full access to police stations and police information for the purposes of this research, in accordance with all UK and EU laws, the Human Rights Act 1988 and common laws. The researcher will attend police stations and potential participants will be approached, by the researcher, at a police station where the officers are on duty. The decision to recruit will be based on which officers are on duty and available, subject to operational commitments. Officers will be selected according to which station they are based from, and their policing role. Only willing volunteers will be recruited. Prior to being recruited, potential participants will be asked to read and sign the participant information sheets (Appendix D), first having had the content carefully explained to them by the researcher.

1. **Locating BWV footage for analysis**

Security access arrangements are in place that allow the researcher to have access to police stations, police officers, police information systems and body worn video footage, for the purposes of this research, as a continuing member of REDACTED. BWV footage will be located by interrogating police systems and police servers, where the footage is stored. This process of access was successfully tested in the 2018 pilot study.

As part of the pilot study for this research, an information sharing framework was developed. It allowed the researcher to successfully obtain ethics approval from Keele University and permission from REDACTED to access police systems, identify

suitable BWV footage, lawfully handle BWV footage, analyse the footage and report on the analysis; in line with all relevant policing policies, UK / EU laws, common law and ethical considerations. That information sharing framework has now been updated and re-authorised by REDACTED the purposes of supporting the proposed main study REDACTED

The process of identifying BWV footage for analysis

BWV footage will be found by the researcher, using police information systems, to identify domestic abuse incidents that have taken place. Incidents will be sought that have taken place in the policing area within the county. Only incidents that occurred more than four weeks previously will be considered. This is because it can often take several weeks for an outcome of an incident to be established and recorded. This will mean that the researcher can apply the police conditions of use (Appendix B) to incidents that are not ongoing. To look at incidents that are less than 4 weeks old would risk the researcher missing important information, which has not yet been updated on police systems, and which could affect the use of the footage according to Appendix B. Incidents will initially be selected at random, guided by checks on police systems, to establish whether any BWV footage exists for selected incidents (footage does not always exist). Once footage has been located, checks will be made on the incident and the participants in accordance with the agreement in Appendix B. Once suitable footage has been identified, it will be placed in a folder allocated to the researcher on police encrypted servers.

Will any of the following be used:

WHEN SUBMITTING THE APPLICATION FORM A COPY OF EACH OF THESE THAT ARE BEING USED SHOULD BE UPLOADED. FOR WEB CONTENT, INSERT A LINK BELOW.

Posters in public spaces	No
Advertisements	No
Social Media	No
Websites	No
Click here to enter links to web content.	

Describe what measures will be taken to ensure there is no breach of any duty of confidentiality owed to the public, service users or any other person in the process of identifying potential participants

For the recruitment of police officers for interviews – this process will take place inside police stations which are not open to members of the public. REDACTED

For the BWV footage selected for analysis – only the researcher will know the identities of the people who are shown in the footage. These identities are already recorded on police systems and associated with the footage, but the inclusion of the footage in this study will only be known to the researcher. Footage used in the study will be identified by an alphanumeric code and the link between that code and any personal or confidential information related to the footage will be kept in an encrypted file on police servers and only the researcher will have the encryption key.

Will consent be obtained?

DESCRIBE HOW.

No
Full informed consent will be obtained from any police officer who is interviewed. However, consent will not be obtained from any of the participants of the BWV footage.

The reasons, ethics and pragmatic considerations regarding this decision can be found in the 'other ethics' section of this document, below.

Will participants be deceived in any way about the purpose of the study?

IF YES, PLEASE DESCRIBE THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE DECEPTION INVOLVED. INCLUDE HOW AND WHEN THE DECEPTION WILL BE REVEALED, WHY, AND WHO WILL ADMINISTER THIS FEEDBACK.

No

If yes, provide justification and details of how they will be deceived.

Describe how participants will be informed of and act upon their right to withdraw from the project:

There are two populations of participants in this research that will be dealt with separately:

1. Interview participants will be provided a copy of the project consent information sheet. Their rights to withdraw from the research will also be verbally explained to them at the same time. Participants who wish to withdraw are asked to contact the researcher by email or telephone. The researcher will then ensure that any data collected about the person is destroyed, according to the agreement in the project consent sheet and in line with data protection laws and principles.
2. BWV footage participants will include police officers who are on duty and carrying out policing activities. Other people also captured on the footage will be members of the public. No permission will be sought from any participants captured in the BWV footage as part of this project. The reasons, ethics and pragmatic considerations regarding this decision can be found in the 'other ethics' section of this document, below.

Will research participants receive any payments, reimbursement of expenses or any other benefits or incentives for taking part in this research?

No

If yes, describe how.

Will you inform participants of the results?

No

Please see the 'other ethics' section below for a detailed discussion of the reasons for not providing the results to members of the public captured in BWV footage. Otherwise, the results of the research will be made available to participating police officers when the final dissertation and publications are REDACTED Such dissemination is as an important part of providing impact and the professional doctorate aims of contributing new knowledge to professional practice.

6 Participant Procedures

ALL QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE **MANDATORY** UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.

Give details of all procedure(s) that will be received by participants as part of the research protocol.

THESE INCLUDE SEEKING CONSENT, INTERVIEWS, IMAGING INVESTIGATIONS, TAKING SAMPLES OF HUMAN BIOLOGICAL MATERIAL, OBSERVATIONS AND USE OF QUESTIONNAIRES.

FOR EACH PROCEDURE INDICATE:

- TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVENTIONS/PROCEDURES TO BE RECEIVED BY EACH PARTICIPANT AS PART OF THE RESEARCH PROTOCOL.
- IF THIS INTERVENTION/PROCEDURE WOULD BE ROUTINELY GIVEN TO PARTICIPANTS OUTSIDE THE RESEARCH, HOW MANY OF THE TOTAL WOULD BE ROUTINE?
- AVERAGE TIME TAKEN PER INTERVENTION/PROCEDURE (MINUTES, HOURS OR DAYS)
- DETAILS OF WHO WILL CONDUCT THE INTERVENTION/PROCEDURE, AND WHERE IT WILL TAKE PLACE.

Interview participants: Police officers who are interviewed will have an initial interview, which is likely to be less than 1 hour in length. Dependant on the emerging nature of the inductively developed theory, interviewees may be approached again with specific questions about the emerging conceptual theory and their practice, as theoretical sampling and theoretical coding is carried out.

BWV footage participants: BWV footage will be viewed by the researcher but this is historic footage. As such, the participants are not actively involved in the research and will not be asked to engage with the researcher. The events shown in the footage have already occurred so no prior consent will be obtained from the participants, by the researcher. Please see the 'other ethics' section, below, for a discussion of the ethics of this element of the project.

What are the potential risks and burdens for research participants, the research team and the general public AND how will you minimise them? What procedures will be adopted to manage adverse events?

This is covered in section 6.4, below

What are the potential risks to the environment and Society and how will you minimise them and what procedures will be adopted to manage adverse events?

If the controls are adhered to in the agreements and policies in appendices A, B, C and D – all potential risks to participants, or more broadly society, should be minimised to a level that is acceptable by the police and Keele University. Any breach of those policies or processes would be reported and managed according to police and University policy and, if applicable, the Information Commissioners Officer.

Are there any other ethical issues raised by the research?

The use of officer-worn video footage (BWV) as a research text:

BWV footage is created whenever police officers attend a police incident and activate their digital video and audio recording cameras, attached to their uniform. The footage examined within this study will have been recorded as police officers carry out domestic abuse incident work.

BWV footage will be selected within the confines of the agreement set out by REDACTED This requires the researcher to filter out unsuitable footage. This filtering will be achieved by the researcher making initial checks on police systems, which REDACTED have authorised, to ascertain whether the footage can be used, without having to view the footage first. However, once footage has been identified, it will need to be viewed by the researcher to ensure that it is suitable for analysis and that it does not breach any of the conditions set out in Appendix B.

The risks with using BWV or, indeed, obtaining interview accounts from police officers can be summarised as follows:

- Risk of intrusion into the private lives of participants who are within video footage or described by police officers;
- Risk of breach of data protection laws, police policies and information commissioner guidance;
- Risk of breach of The Human Rights Act 1998.
- Risk of the breach of common law principles of confidentiality.
- Risk to life and limb of participants captured in BWV footage or from disclosures made in interview.

The framework set out in the appendices are designed to reduce these potential risks.

The proposed use of BWV footage in this project uses the same legal and ethical framework that successfully supported the use of BWV footage in the pilot study in 2018. The grounded theory in this project focusses on the behaviours of police officers as the carry out incident work. As they do so, they will interact with members of the public; however, the focus of analysis is on the officer's words and actions, themselves; not on any of the other people that may incidentally be captured in the footage. As such, personal data will not be collected or obtained about any person in the BWV footage other than the police officers, and the personal data collected about police officers will only be collected for the purpose of adhering to the framework agreed in Appendix B and limited to their last name and collar number.

BWV footage could potentially contain other personal, sensitive, confidential or restricted data in its images or audio track. Hence, the handling of BWV is carefully explained and lawfully authorised by the police in Appendix B. Adherence to the agreement in Appendix B allows for the considered and lawful handling of these texts by the researcher, for the purposes of the proposed research project, within a

framework authorised by the police (having been previously authorised by the police and a Keele University ethics committee for the 2018 pilot study).

BWV footage is recorded digitally on cameras that are attached to the uniform of a police officer. The footage is colour, high definition, as well as audio. The camera typically captures a field of view of approximately 150deg width and 130deg vertically. Police officers activate this equipment whenever they attend a domestic abuse incident. The cameras are usually switched on to record during the journey to the incident. This may capture conversations between police officers, radio transmissions between police officers and police control rooms, and footage of the journey on public roads. On arrival, the police conduct their incident work, which could involve them speaking with and physically interacting with other people at the incident. The incidents can take place inside private dwellings, in private buildings or areas, or in areas considered to be in public, or in public view. The incidents can involve people carrying out abusive, lewd, insulting, aggressive or violent behaviour.

When the police use BWV cameras at incidents, the camera units are considered, in law, to be overt CCTV recording devices. The camera units themselves vary in design, but typically are covered in a yellow fluorescent material, have a large, bright prominent flashing light on the front of them (which indicates that they are recording) and 'CCTV' written in bold across the front of the unit. They are designed to be clearly visible, particularly when they are recording. The use of such camera, at incidents, is subject to strict policies provided by the College of Policing, the government body responsible for national police standards. Those policies (REDACTED) state that, according to all U.K laws, including the Human Rights Act 1998, the police do not

require the permission of those filmed (at domestic abuse incidents) to record footage at such incidents. The policy does clarify that where objections are made to recording, officers will consider ceasing the recording if continuing would be against College of Policing policy REDACTED However, the policy states that there is a presumption that recording will be continued, as such recording is for a legitimate policing purpose. It is unlikely that any person captured in the footage would not be aware that they were being filmed by the police, as part of the incident and, where practicable, their attention is drawn to the BWV unit, by officers (although this is not a policy or legal requirement).

These policies further explain that footage captured for one legitimate policing purpose (e.g. preventing or detecting crime) can be used for another policing purpose (e.g. training or research purposes, for the future improvement of policing practice). It is on this basis that REDACTED are allowing the researcher to undertake research activities with BWV footage recorded at domestic abuse incidents. The College of Policing (REDACTED further state that the police can

'use BWV material to review and enhance how incidents are dealt with, improving the professionalism of policing and providing a powerful tool for behavioural change and continuous improvement'. (College of Policing, 2014 – Body worn video policy)

Using policing data, collected for one purpose (e.g. BWV footage collected for an operational policing purpose), and then using that data for subsequent research purposes, is compatible with the Data Protection Act 2018 and the data protection principles.

At the conception of this research project, the police were both consulted and aware that BWV footage was a key text to be analysed. The police have positively

encouraged the researcher to conduct this project, using BWV, as they recognise the potential benefits of reducing domestic abuse and improving the safety of future victims, balanced with any limited intrusion into private or family life that may arise from using BWV footage for research on a limited basis, as is proposed.

In general terms the research aims of this professional doctorate project are to discover new knowledge about policing and to impact on policing practice through the examination of policing texts. On this basis, REDACTED have supported the researcher in exploring incident work using BWV footage and interviewing police officers have, therefore, agreed to the research being carried out REDACTED REDACTED).

The researcher is a member of REDACTED Any authorised member of REDACTED) can view BWV footage in its original form (unredacted) if it is for a policing purpose. This includes the undertaking of research for the purposes of improvements to policing, such as this project. Therefore, the researcher, as a member of REDACTED is lawfully authorised to view and analyse footage in its unredacted form.

The police have balanced the risk of intrusion into private lives against the improvement of policing that could reduce future risks of serious injury and death to other victims of crime. Several subject matter experts within REDACTED for this research project, have considered this balance, according to data protection principles, The Human Rights Act 1998 and common law rights to privacy - the result being the agreement and authorisation set out in the appendices to this application.

There may be a requirement to show examples of footage to members of Keele University in the pursuit of academic rigour and quality assurance. There is

precedence in the UK for showing the content of redacted BWV footage of policing incidents to non-police groups. This occurs routinely on television programmes that broadcast BWV footage to provide insight and entertainment for the public. There is also precedence set, in the 2018 pilot study, where redacted BWV footage was shown to two Keele University academics in accordance with all laws, and all policies of Keele University and the police.

In the pilot study the researcher discovered that it was not necessary to handover copies of redacted footage to Keele University staff. Instead, the researcher could retain possession of the redacted footage and allow doctoral supervisors to view the footage, without them needing to take possession of it. Therefore, it is proposed that in this main doctoral study, no video materials will be handled by Keele university. This has several benefits: the likelihood of a data breach involving Keele University is reduced (including the accidental identification of participants and disclosure of personal or sensitive data contained within BWV footage); a complex data processing agreement between Keele University and the police is not required (reducing the time burden on Keele University, the researcher and the police); Keele University do not need to make special arrangements for lawfully handling police material. The decision not to handover BWV materials to Keele University, yet achieving the same academic aims, is in line with the data protection principle – data minimisation.

If Keele University wish to view any redacted footage, the researcher would redact the footage so that no person could be identified from it, and it no longer contained any personal, sensitive or confidential data. The footage would then be shown to the university personally, by the researcher, who would retain possession of the footage. Any requests to view redacted footage will be considered on a case by case basis;

discussed and agreed with the police. This activity is entirely lawful under current data protection laws, common law and human rights legislation.

The redaction of BWV will include:

- The pixilation/blurring of faces within footage to prevent the disclosure of the personal identities of any person;
- the muting of audio at relevant points, to remove any utterances or other sounds which could lead to the disclosure of personal, sensitive or confidential information about any person;
- the pixilation/blurring of any identifiable marks, scars or tattoos which are likely to lead to the identification of any person;
- the pixilation/blurring of any papers, sign or object which could lead to the disclosure of any personal, sensitive or confidential information.

Any footage that contains images of persons, including children, in a state of undress which shows their genitals, buttocks or breasts (in the case of females), or where those areas are only covered by underwear, will not be shared as part of this agreement. Any footage showing a person engaged in any private act[128] will not be shared as part of this agreement. The pilot study showed that redacting BWV footage is a technically complex and labour-intensive task, taking many hours to redact just one hour of footage. In the pilot study, the researcher had the redaction carried out by a police analyst. However, the redaction was not precise enough and most of the video and audio was obscured. Also, the police have noted that they do not have the capacity to carry out this task for the researcher in the main study.

Addressing the common law duty of confidentiality:

[128] A private act, in the context of this agreement, has the same meaning as that provided by S.68 Sexual Offences Act 2003 whereby a person is doing a private act if the person is in a place which, in the circumstances, would reasonably be expected to provide privacy, and—(a)the person's genitals, buttocks or breasts are exposed or covered only with underwear, (b)the person is using a lavatory, or (c)the person is doing a sexual act that is not of a kind ordinarily done in public.

If information is given in circumstances where it is expected that a duty of confidence applies, that information cannot normally be disclosed without the data subject's consent.

The researcher is a member of REDACTED so access to BWV footage by the researcher is not considered, in law or policy, as the sharing of information with an external body or person. No sharing will take place, beyond REDACTED, of confidential, personal or sensitive information within BWV footage or any other research text.

Addressing the Human Rights Act 1998:

The handling of BWV footage under this agreement is in line with Article 8 of the Human Rights Act 1998 – namely the right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence.

Whilst handling such information, in some circumstances, could be in conflict with article 8 - 'The right to respect of private life, home and correspondence', the sharing of information proposed in this doctoral research is of direct benefit to 'the citizen' and is in the public interest as the proposed professional doctorate research is for a specific policing purpose – the improvement of domestic abuse policing (Appendix B). This is a legitimate aim, proportionate (only the minimum information necessary will be accessed by the researcher, a member of the data controlling organisation, REDACTED) and wholly appropriate within a democratic society: being reasonable to protect the most vulnerable in society (those affected by domestic abuse) by allowing

activities that contribute to the improvement of policing outcomes for vulnerable people.

The below data handling principles from the Data Protection Act 2018 will be adhered to, in accordance with REDACTED:

Principle 1 – Fair, lawful and transparent procession

Lawful data handling will be undertaken using the legal powers set out below. Partners to this agreement will respond to any notices from the Information Commissioners office that imposes requirements to cease or change the way in which data is processed. REDACTED will be responsible for complying with access requests in accordance with relevant legislation.

Principle 2 – Purpose limitation

BWV footage that is accessed as part of this research will be used for a legitimate policing purpose: research that is part-funded by the police in pursuance of domestic abuse policing improvement. Body worn video footage is collected for a legitimate policing purpose, and the proposed data usage is compatible with the purpose for which it was originally collected. This is also in line with College of Policing policy on the use of BWV footage (REDACTED

Principle 3 – Data minimisation

Only the minimum BWV data necessary to achieve the project aims will be accessed by the researcher, under this agreement. Any footage that is shown to persons, who are not authorised members of REDACTED will be supervised by the researcher (who

will retain possession of the materials at all times), and that footage will be redacted to remove personal, confidential or sensitive data. No person will be identifiable from redacted BWV footage. However, to remain compliant with this principle of the Act, consideration of which redacted BWV footage will be shared, shall be considered (under the terms of REDACTED policies) on a case by case basis only. Personal data will only be collected for identifying suitable BWV footage in accordance with A REDACTED

Principle 4 – Accuracy

All information collected as part of this research project will belong to REDACTED who have policies and processes in place to ensure data is accurate. Any other personal data collected from interview participants will be checked with the participant for accuracy.

Principle 5 – Data retention periods

BWV footage data will be destroyed in accordance with REDACTED retention and disposal policy. Any personal data collected by the researcher from interview participants will be retained only for as long as necessary, for the completion of the research; which will be no longer than November 2024 (maximum allowable research period by Keele University).

Principle 6 - Each party to this research project will comply with its own information security arrangements, as well as any additional requirements set out in this ethics application or Appendix B. Each partner may request, and be provided with, a copy of the other signatories' relevant policies.

Principle 7 – Accountability

No data will be transferred to any country outside of the UK or the EU.

BWV Participant Consent

For any of the BWV footage used, no consent will be sought to use the footage for research purposes, from any of the subjects in the footage, including police officers.

Practically, BWV footage needs to be viewed by the researcher to determine its suitability for inclusion in this study (subject to the strict criteria REDACTED As part of this sifting of available footage (which amounts to tens of thousands of hours of potentially available footage on police servers) – a viewing must take place, by the researcher, to determine the suitability of the footage according to REDACTED. This viewing would take place before any consents were obtained from persons in the footage, making it impossible to obtain prior consent to sift the footage. It would be impossible for another member of the police to carry out the sifting process on behalf of the researcher because sifting is a labour-intensive activity which can take many days of work to sift, locate and check pieces of footage according to REDACTED (which the police do not have the capacity to do).

It was identified in the pilot study that footage needs to be viewed in an unredacted form for analysis (redaction blocks out portions of audio if anything is uttered that could be considered personal or sensitive information); unfortunately, all other audio is

blocked at the same time – rendering large portions of the footage that is redacted as unusable for analysis, restricting theory development.

The researcher, as part of the process of theoretical sampling described above (selective identification of footage according to previous analysis of research data) will also need to view the data in its unredacted form so that decisions can be made about inclusion of footage in the project.

In any other case, it is not appropriate to obtain consent from the non-police persons shown in any footage for the following reasons:

The nature of domestic abuse often involves close partners causing each other physical injury or using psychological techniques to control and coerce. The police are often called at a time of crisis but once the police have left, further coercion, control and physical harm can take place as part of a cycle of violence – and sometimes directly because of police involvement. The police revisiting domestic abuse incidents after a crisis has receded can be hazardous because there is a risk that police re-attendance (to obtained consent) could distress victims or agitate offenders. If this occurred, there could be a risk of loss of confidence from victims and an increase in offending behaviour of offenders. Therefore, to approach subjects shown in BWV footage, to seek consent to use the footage for research, could put those subjects at risk and would not be considered as an appropriate step, or authorised by the police, as part of this research. In this regard, the gaining of consent (right to private / family life) is outweighed by the risk of harm (life and limb) to individuals and loss of public confidence in REDACTED.

Such additional risks would be eliminated by not approaching non-police participants for consent to use footage within the research.

Police officers captured in BWV footage are fully aware and accept, as part of their duty, that footage will be used in court, disciplinary cases, for training, research and development purposes (such as this research). Such usage is covered in the College of Policing policies for Body Worn Video (REDACTED and is not in conflict with The Human Rights Act 1998. As such, consent will not be sought from police officers for the purposes of using BWV footage.

The analysis of any research texts will be carried out in a way which anonymises the participants (in footage), or the participant of any interview. This anonymisation applies to both the original texts (suitable redaction) and the analysis and discussion that forms part of the research findings (which will be conducted in such a way as to maintain the anonymity of research subjects).

No person will be identifiable from the research findings or publications that may arise. Any analysis and discussion contained within the research results will contain no personal, private, sensitive or confidential data, unless its disclosure has been lawfully agreed by the relevant data controller or the participant to which the data is connected.

Any reference to anonymisation of research data will be carried out by using an alphanumeric coding system and the key for that system will be retained by the researcher on an encrypted drive **on police servers only,** to which only the researcher has access; separate from any other research materials and encrypted using government level encryption at the file level (to reduce the risk of a potential data breach). No personal data will be kept on university, researcher or any other non-police devices or servers.

Approval from REDACTED is recorded in REDACTED and the authorities to carry out specific activities involving data are contained within REDACTED

7 Confidentiality & Data

ALL QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION ARE **MANDATORY** UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.

Will you be undertaking any of the following activities at any stage (including in the identification of potential participants)?

CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.

Transferring personal data electronically or by hard copy, including by public/private transport, courier and postal services.	No
Storing personal data on University Servers	No
Storing personal data on University computers, laptops, digital devices, phones, tablets	No
Storing personal data in University Premises	No
Storing personal data on cloud services	No
Storing personal data on private computers, laptops, digital devices, phones, tablets.	No
Storing personal data on any form of removable storage media.	No

Will participants be anonymous/rendered anonymous?

PLEASE DESCRIBE HOW DATA WILL BE RENDERED DE-IDENTIFIABLE/ANONYMOUS. SEE ICO GUIDANCE.

No
See notes above in 'other ethics' section: The researcher will handle unredacted participant information, but this will be made anonymous by the processes described, above.

Please describe the physical security arrangements for storage of personal data during the study?

The analysis of BWV will be carried out in two ways. Either on a police desktop computer within a police station, or on a police laptop, encrypted to government

standards and not connected to any network. Any other personal data will be stored on encrypted police servers only and not accessible to anyone except the researcher.

How will you ensure the confidentiality of personal data?

CONSIDER DATA THROUGHOUT THE STUDY LIFESPAN AND ANY PUBLICATIONS/DATA SETS MADE AVAILABLE.

No personal data will be included in any materials that are to be published, either in the final thesis or other publications. No footage of BWV will form part of any publication or thesis. Any BWV research notes or interview notes will be redacted, by the researcher, so that no personal or sensitive data is contained within, and no person can be identified from the material. Participants will sign the interview information sheet to confirm whether they wish for any of their direct quotes to be used. In any case, no research data will be reproduced in the thesis or publications, if it could lead to the identification of a person, without their explicit consent.

Where will research data be stored during the project's activity?

Research data will be stored on encrypted police servers during the project activity. The thesis will be written on the researcher's own laptop, but no personal or sensitive data will be contained on that device. All such data will have been redacted or sanitised at the stage where research notes are made during the officer interview process or the viewing of BWV footage. Any reference to data, within the thesis will have been sanitised to prevent the identification of any person and will contain no personal or sensitive data.

Describe the arrangements for storage of research data after the project has ended?

PLEASE REFER TO THE UNIVERSITY'S RECORD RETENTION SCHEDULE (FOUND HERE) AND THE KEELE UNIVERSITY RESEARCH DATA MANAGEMENT AND SHARING POLICY (FOUND HERE).

BWV footage will be retained by REDACTED and handled according to their policies and processes in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018. Any personal data collected as part of this research project will be destroyed, by the researcher, once the

research has been completed and either the researcher has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Criminology and Criminal Justice, by Keele University; or, it is November 2024 (the time limit for the degree to be conferred) – whichever is sooner.

8 FURTHER INFORMATION

Once the REC Application Form is complete and all documentation is prepared and ready for submission, follow the process outlined in ***UREC-SOP-20-Applying for HumSS Faculty Research Ethics Committee Review*** available here.

Appendix 2: Information sheet for interview participants (redacted)

INFORMATION SHEET

Study Title: Exploring practice: a classic grounded theory of police domestic abuse incident work.

Invitation

You are being invited to consider taking part in the research study 'Exploring practice: a classic grounded theory of police domestic abuse incident work'. This project is being undertaken by Daniel Ash, a doctoral research student at Keele University. Before you decide whether to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being carried out and what it will involve. Please take time to read this information carefully and discuss it with colleagues, friends or Police Federation representatives if you wish. Ask the researcher if there is anything that is unclear or if you would like more information.

Aims of the Research

The purpose of the study is to understand better domestic abuse incident policing, from the perspective of the practitioners who carry out that work. The researcher will seek to understand what the main concerns of policing practitioners are, when carrying out incident work, and how they attempt to resolve those concerns.

Why have I been invited?

You are being invited to participate in this study because you are a police practitioner and you may be able to provide information that helps the researcher to understand better domestic abuse incident policing, in pursuit of the study aims (above).

Do I have to take part?

You are free to decide whether you wish to take part or not. If you do choose to take part, you will be asked to read and sign some consent forms. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reasons.

What will happen if I take part?

You will be asked to take part in an interview with the researcher. The interview will take place at a location and time that is convenient and comfortable for you. It should last for less than an hour and during that time you are free to stop the interview, at any time, and withdraw your consent to participate in the research. During the interview, the researcher will ask you a series of questions about your experiences as a practitioner. The interview will not be recorded (audio or image), and no contemporaneous notes will be made. The interviewer will make research notes after the interview has finished helping the recall of what was discussed in the interview. If you would like to view or have a copy of those post-interview

notes, you can do this at any time by contacting the researcher by email at d.p.ash@keele.ac.uk.

What are the benefits of taking part?

By sharing your experiences, you will be helping the researcher to understand the practice of police officers as they carry out domestic abuse incident work and this may contribute to the improvement of policing practice.

What are the risks (if any) of taking part?

This study has been reviewed and approved through Keele University's formal research ethics procedure. There are no significant risks associated with participation. Your employer, REDACTED has signed an agreement with the researcher and Keele University which sets out how this research can be conducted (please ask the researcher if you would like to view a copy of this agreement, which is called '*Memorandum of Understanding Between* REDACTED *Professional Standards Department and Daniel Ash'*). In that agreement, REDACTED Professional Standards Department has recognised that on occasion, some practitioners may carry out acts that could be classed as unsatisfactory performance, non-adherence to policy and procedure, or misconduct when engaged in police incident work. They have recognised that to improve practice, a better understanding of this type of activity is needed through independent research. As such, REDACTED have agreed that any disclosure by participants within research interviews of:

- Non-compliance with policy/procedure,
- Unsatisfactory performance,
- Misconduct,

will be kept entirely confidential by the researcher (i.e. **this will never be reported to your employer, the police**).

Conversely, any interview disclosures about policing practice that disclose:

- gross misconduct
- a criminal act,

would be reported to your employer by that agreement. The researcher will be asking you questions about your police practice; therefore, if you are likely to disclose any act of gross misconduct or a criminal act (or omission) carried out by yourself or another member of REDACTED, then you are asked not to take part in this research. If you are unsure whether you are likely to make such disclosure, you are asked not to take part in this research. If you are uncertain which acts or omissions might amount to gross misconduct or a criminal REDACTED whether you might disclose such an act or omission by yourself or another member o REDACTED then you are asked not to take part in this research.

How will information about me be used?

Your data will be processed in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (EU) 2016/679 (GDPR) and the Data Protection Act 2018. All information collected about you will be kept strictly confidential. The researcher notes made after your interview will not be connected to your name or other personal details. Instead, your personal details will be kept as secured data using 128-bit AES encryption on a password-protected computer file, on a computer device only accessible by the researcher. The encryption key will be kept in a confidential, secure location separate from the encrypted data. Only the researcher will have access to this information and only the researcher will know which interview research notes are attributed to you. Specifically, the police will not have access to that encrypted information or the key to decrypt it. The researcher will ensure

that there is nothing recorded in the researcher interview notes that allows any person to identify yourself or another person, based on anything recorded in those notes. Your consent information will also be kept separately from the researcher interview notes to minimise any risk to you in the event of a data breach. The researcher will take responsibility for data destruction and all collected data will be destroyed on or before October 2024. Any personal or interview data that is destroyed shall be deleted by using file shredding software that obliterates the file, making it impossible to recover.

Keele University is a Data Controller for the information you provide. You have the right to access information held about you. Your right of access can be exercised in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). You also have other rights including rights of correction, erasure, objection, and data portability. For more details, including the right to lodge a complaint with the Information Commissioner's Office, please visit www.ico.org.uk. Questions, comments and requests about your personal data can also be sent to the University Data Protection Officer - dpo@keele.ac.uk

The researcher works within the confines of current legislation over such matters as privacy and confidentiality, data protection and human rights and

so offers of confidentiality may sometimes be overridden by law. For example in circumstances whereby the researcher is concerned over any actual or potential harm to yourself or others then this information may be passed to the relevant authorities.

Who is funding and organising the research?

The research is being conducted by Daniel Ash, a doctoral research student, as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Criminology and Criminal Justice with Keele University. REDACTED

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you may wish to speak to the researcher who will do their best to answer your questions.

You should contact Daniel Ash at REDACTED

Alternatively, if you do not wish to contact the researcher you may contact the research supervisor:

Dr Tony Kearon – Senior Lecturer in Criminology

REDACTED

If you remain unhappy about the research and/or wish to raise a complaint about any aspect of the way that you have been approached or treated during

the course of the study please write to Nicola Leighton who is the University's contact for complaints regarding research at the following address:-

REDACTED.

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Exploring practice: a classic grounded theory of police domestic abuse incident work.

Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Daniel Ash (REDACTED

Please initial box if you agree with the statement

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated ..... (version no .....) for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time

3. I agree to take part in this study.

4. I agree to allow the dataset collected to be used for future research projects*

5. I agree to be contacted about possible participation in future research project*

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
Daniel Ash_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

***please delete as appropriate**

CONSENT FORM

(for use of quotes)

Title of Project: : Exploring Practice: a classic grounded theory of police domestic abuse incident work.

Name and contact details of Principal Investigator: Daniel Ash (REDACTED

Please initial box if you agree with the statement

1. I agree for my quotes to be used

2. I do not agree for my quotes to be used

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Researcher	Date	Signature

Appendix 3: police information-sharing agreement (redacted)

REDACTED

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING
BETWEEN
REDACTED

The selection and use of research materials for the purposes of university research which supports the improvement of domestic abuse policing within REDACTED

Name	**Position**	**Signature**	
Daniel Ash	Police volunteer (academic researcher)		13th Oct 2018
REDACTED	Detective Inspector Professional Standards Department, REDACTED		15th October 2018

MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING FOR THE SELECTION AND VIEWING OF BODY WORN VIDEO FOOTAGE OWNED BY REDACTED

This memorandum of understanding relates to criminological research that is being part-funded by REDACTED and supervised by Keele University. The research, in support of the improvement of domestic abuse policing in REDACTED – a legitimate policing purpose – will involve the analysis of body worn video (BWV) footage of policing practice at domestic abuse incidents and interviews of policing practitioners (herein after referred to as 'the research'). As part of that process a member REDACTED [129], Daniel ASH (herein after referred to as 'the researcher'), will be viewing sections of BWV footage which has been filmed by police officers, at domestic abuse incidents attended by the police; and interviewing police officers. The interviews will not be audio or video recorded and no contemporaneous notes will be made. The interview notes will be made after the interview and will be anonymised so that only the researcher knows the identity of the participant (unless there is a duty to report the interview contents – see below).

The BWV footage will likely show images of police officers as they engage in domestic abuse incident work, as well as the parties involved in the incident, itself. The interviews will be asking police officers to share their experiences of being a practitioner.

This memorandum allows the use of BWV and the interviewing of police officers, by the researcher, in specific circumstances which are now described:

1. The researcher will use police systems to identify domestic abuse incidents that may have related BWV footage. This process may involve sifting through several incidents until suitable footage is located.
2. No confidential, sensitive or personal data held on police systems will be provided to any person who is not a member of REDACTED and such material will not be published as part of any research findings. Any such information will be handled according to the policy for Management of Police Information (MOPI) and General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).
3. Once BWV footage has been selected for inclusion in the study, the details of the footage, and the incident which it relates to, will be anonymised by the researcher. Likewise, the details of interviewed officers will be anonymised. Anonymisation will be done by allocating an alphanumeric identifier to each individual in the incident, and the key which links those identifiers to a person, or other relevant information, will be retained by the researcher as encrypted data. Hence, only the researcher will be able to identify the following details:

    - Officer names, collar numbers, team and station;

[129] A members of a police service include police officers, police community support officers, police staff, special constables and police volunteers.

- Incident number, crime number or any other occurrence number or identifier;
- Date, day or time of the incident;
- Personal details of any other incident participants.

4. Police officers are expected to adhere to certain professional standards. Police officer actions (including inaction, words and other utterances) captured within BWV could be categorised as constituting either none, some, or all of the following categories of police officer conduct:

    - Unsatisfactory performance[130]
    - Misconduct[131]
    - Gross Misconduct[132]
    - A criminal act

5. On viewing BWV footage, the researcher may discover footage which shows potential breaches of some, or all, of these categories. Likewise, upon interviewing officers, they may disclose potential breaches of some, or all, of these categories. It is important that research which supports the improvement of domestic abuse policing is carried out in a manner which does not require the researcher to continually report all manner of minor breaches of some of these categories to the police professional standards department, when footage is viewed. To do so could hinder the research process and also cause difficulties for the professional standards department who may suddenly be required to sift large volumes of BWV footage which has been identified by the researcher, and which would not ordinarily have been reviewed by the police. Also, much learning and benefit could come from allowing the researcher to explore officer actions which fit some of these categories. This could potentially provide sources of wider improvement for professional practice, whereby such breaches are studied in order to understand them more deeply, rather than just using punitive measures to tackle individual breaches. Also, by reporting breaches of all such categories, the research project could be viewed, by potential participants, as a disciplinary hazard that should be avoided; thus, affecting recruitment to the project. To avoid these issues, the researcher does not have to report to the police, for investigation, individual cases which fall under the following categories:

    - Unsatisfactory performance
    - Misconduct

[130] Unsatisfactory performance or unsatisfactory attendance mean an inability or failure of a police officer to perform the duties of the role or rank he or she is currently undertaking to a satisfactory standard or level
[131] Misconduct is a breach of the Standards of Professional Behaviour.
[132] Gross misconduct means a breach of the Standards of Professional Behaviour so serious that dismissal would be justified.

6. The researcher has already met with a member of the Professional Standards Department who has guided the researcher as to what types of behaviours fit the categories listed in point 4, above. This advice, combined with the researcher's professional experience of handling complaints, will allow for a robust and professionally appropriate approach to identifying footage that needs to be referred to the police, or not included within the research.
7. Notwithstanding any other part of this agreement, the researcher must report to the police professional standards department any footage or interview content which the researcher believes shows evidence of sexual predation[133] being commissioned by any member of a police service; or any incident where it appears that the victim or any other person may have been left at risk of harm because of the actions or inactions of any person connected with the incident.
8. There are limitations upon the types of incidents which can be selected by the researcher. Incidents which cannot be used for the research include:

    - Any incident which is the subject of an ongoing disciplinary or criminal investigation, against any member of REDACTED by the police or by the Independent Office for Police Conduct[134] (IOPC);
    - Any case which is subject to an ongoing civil case, against the police, or any appeals process arising from that case.
    - Any case which is the subject of an ongoing serious case review by any Local Safeguarding Children Board (LSCB).
    - Any other incident where the head of the professional standards Department has specifically determined that it should not be used for the purposes of research (no explanation need be given, by the police, for any such determination).
    - Any incident which, if included in the research, could compromise the safety of an individual e.g. honour based violence incidents.
    - Any incident which is the subject of an ongoing criminal court case or any appeals process arising from that case.

9. The researcher, in the interests of promoting the professional impact of research, and providing timely feedback for key stakeholders, will give periodic general thematic updates to the police about the research (providing this does not compromise any confidentiality of participants, or the continuation of the research process).
10. This memorandum of understanding will be signed by the researcher and a member of the Professional Standard Department and will be reviewed annually from the date of enactment.

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[133] The Code of Ethics states that officers/staff must not engage in sexual conduct or other inappropriate behaviour on duty and must not establish or pursue an improper sexual or emotional relationship with a person with whom they come into contact in the course of their work who may be vulnerable to an abuse of trust or power.

[134] https://www.policeconduct.gov.uk/

Appendix 4: police letter of authorisation for the research project (redacted)

REDACTED

Chief Superintendent REDACTED

REDACTED

Date: 17th October 2018

Our Ref: MS/BC

Research Ethics Committee
Keele University
Keele
STAFFORDSHIRE
ST5 5BG

To whom it may concern

Dear Sir or Madam

Re: Daniel Ash (police volunteer)

Daniel is working as a police volunteer for REDACTED, carrying out domestic abuse research as part of his Doctorate in Criminology and Criminal Justice with Keele University REDACTED we believe this will assist us in adapting our approach to domestic abuse. Daniel has explained to me that he proposes to view footage from officers' body-worn video (BWV) cameras which have captured domestic abuse incidents, and interview officers about their experiences of being police practitioners.

Our Force has set policies in relation to the use of BWV and access to information collected for a policing purpose in line with data-protection legislation, the Human Rights Act, and common law requirements of confidentiality. Daniel has liaised with our Professional Standards Department and e-Forensics Department to ensure that his use of BWV footage will comply with the necessary laws, principles and policies. I am pleased to endorse this research project, the use of BWV and interviewing police officers. I am satisfied that any collected data will be used solely in accordance with the agreement between Daniel and our Professional Standards Department.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require any further information.

Yours sincerely

Chief REDACTED

Appendix 5: Ethics approval (Keele University)

Keele University HumSS Faculty Research Ethics Committee
humss.ethics@keele.ac.uk

18 January 2019

Dear Daniel Ash,

Project Title:	Exploring practice: a classic grounded theory of police domestic abuse incident work
REC Project Reference:	HU-180006
Type of Application	Main application

Keele University's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee reviewed the above application.

Favourable Ethical opinion
The members of the Committee gave a favourable ethical opinion of the above research on the basis described in the application form, protocol and supporting documentation.

Reporting requirements
The University's standard operating procedures give detailed guidance on reporting requirements for studies with a favourable opinion including:

- Notifying substantial amendments
- Notifying issues which may have an impact upon ethical opinion of the study
- Progress reports
- Notifying the end of the study

Approved documents
The documents reviewed and approved are:

Document	Version	Date
Keele Uni ethics consent form 1.2 - Dan Ash.pdf	1.2	18/01/2019
UREC-QCD40-HumSS FREC-Application Form D ASH v1.2 - Dan Ash	1.2	18/01/2019
HU-180006 - Submission form	1	18/01/2019

Yours sincerely,

Professor Anthony Bradney
Committee Chair