Between police and community: A linguistic ethnographic exploration of heteroglossia in the discourse of Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs)

by

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Abstract

Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) are salaried members of police staff whose main responsibilities include providing reassurance to members of the public, primarily through high-visibility foot patrol. They are a cornerstone of community policing in England and Wales, meant to act as a bridge between the police and communities. The present study investigates how this liminal position is realised discursively. The analysis, grounded in linguistic ethnography and informed by interactional sociolinguistics, is applied to authentic interactions collected during nine months linguistic ethnographic fieldwork with PCSOs in a variety of contexts, including police-community meetings and fleeting encounters on the beat.

The thesis argues that PCSOs' discursive practices can be characterised as heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981), and it uses the lens of heteroglossia to explore three central themes. Firstly, the analysis shows how PCSOs perform and negotiate a multiplicity of roles. These roles represent a heteroglossic repertoire of resources, which can index the institution, communities and individual citizens. Secondly, the exercise and negotiation of authority in interaction is demonstrated. Authority claims are shown to be legitimised by a number of voices. And finally, talk about space is examined to reveal multiple layers of space that PCSOs and members of the public orient to in interaction.

I consider how heteroglossia is realised through the multiplicity of linguistic resources used by PCSOs, such as specialised vocabulary and strategic use of pronouns, and multiple voices, reflective of the institutional rules and procedures as well as individual citizens and heterogenous communities. The findings suggest that community policing is inherently heteroglossic, and PCSOs discursively negotiate a range of tensions in their daily interactions with members of the public. Such thinking about community policing contradicts somewhat the central premise of PCSOs as serving a simple bridge between police and community.

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Transcription conventions

(.)	a short pause
?	raising intonation
↓	falling intonation
=	latching
[text]	overlapping speech
xx	unclear; unable to transcribe
(text)	unclear; best approximation
<u>text</u>	emphasis
:	lengthened syllable
“text”	represented discourse
((text))	comments and extralinguistic features
@	laughing quality

1 Introduction

PCSO Natalie: you're so anti community (.) it's unreal

PCSO Jack: no (.) I'm so police

[Observation 33]

1.1 Between community and police

The above is a transcript of an exchange between two Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs). It comes from an event during which Natalie and Jack, the two officers[1], offer personal property marking services and crime prevention advice to members of the public. They have used an area next to the entrance to a community centre to set up an information point, with promotional material, such as leaflets, badges, and fridge magnets, laid out on a table in an attempt to attract the attention of centre's visitors. It is a rainy day and not many people step into the community centre, leaving the two officers on their own. Jack keeps complaining about how bored he is and questions the wisdom of sitting still and waiting for people to pass. He would much rather be out and about, getting on with some practical tasks, such as gathering evidence. Natalie, in charge of organising the event, reproaches him for not caring enough about the community. In response, Jack states he is *so police*, suggesting that the format of the event does not correspond to what the police do.

This short exchange juxtaposes two notions—community and police—which are central to what Natalie and Jack do. As Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) they are employed by the police and are tasked to engage with the community in a way that sworn police officers are not expected to. The way in which Jack juxtaposes the notion of police with community seems to suggest that the two terms are polar opposites, and

[1] Please note that I refer to PCSOs as officer interchangeably throughout the thesis. The term *officer* can also be applied to traditional police officers, but when that is the case I use the terms *sworn (police) officer* or *Police Constable*.

it is impossible to "be community" and "be police" at the same time. Indeed, the perceived gap between the police and the general public has served as the basis for adopting community policing models, of which PCSOs are a key element in England and Wales (see Section 1.2 below). However, PCSOs are supposed to serve as a bridge between the police and the community, rather than reproduce the difference between the two. The interaction between Natalie and Jack illustrates that forging links is difficult to achieve and even individual officers often orient to either the police or community. The dichotomy between the two, as well as between policing and community engagement, seems to remain in place.

This thesis examines the discourse of Police Community Support Officers and reports the findings of nine months of linguistic ethnographic fieldwork looking at the ways in which PCSOs interact with members of the public. Through an analysis of fieldnotes and interactional data, I demonstrate how language used within the community policing context cannot be understood simply in terms of juxtaposition of the police and community but instead presents a site full of complex relationships among many different actors, including the institution, local communities and multiple individuals within them. Taking an interactional approach, I conceptualise these tensions in terms of *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin 1981). The concept refers to a multitude of voices and discourses within one language. Bakhtin offers an example of an illiterate peasant who, even though seems to lead his life in isolation from many external influences, nevertheless uses several distinct varieties: the local language of the village, the Old Church Slavonic language of religion, the language of bureaucracy when dealing with the state, and so on. While the participants of my study do not necessarily adopt distinct varieties, in this thesis I focus on how within the discourse of community policing interactions draw on multiplicity of voices and discourses. Heteroglossia makes it possible to understand how PCSOs adopt a variety of linguistic resources and integrate a number of voices, representing different sociocultural and historical positionings.

This study contributes to a growing body of literature within language and communication using heteroglossia as a theoretical lens. By considering interactions between PCSOs and members of the public as heteroglossic, I argue that the broader notions of "the police", "community" and "citizen" are shaped and negotiated in these interactions. In particular I focus on three areas of negotiation which serve as a backdrop for the discourse of community policing: in particular the notion of roles performed by PCSOs, authority as it is negotiated in interaction, and space, both physical and constructed.

In order to scrutinise the specific ways in which entities such as "community" function in interactions between PCSOs and citizens, we must understand firstly what PCSOs are and secondly the particular context of community policing, as it is a site where several voices and discourses circulate. In the next section therefore, I will provide background information about PCSOs and community policing in general (Section 1.2), before considering ways in which a linguistic study of PCSOs can shed light on their practices (Section 1.3). After an overview of the term heteroglossia (Section 1.4), which is central to the thesis and has helped me to formulate specific research questions, I present what these questions are (Section 1.5) and outline the trajectory of the thesis (Section 1.6).

1.2 The context of community policing

PCSOs are central to the delivery of community policing in England and Wales. The term *community policing* continues to be used to describe a specific orientation to policing even though a number of researchers have pointed out the lack of clear definition of the notion (Bennett 1994; Skogan and Hartnett 1997: 5; Johnston 2005: 241; Tilley 2008; Cordner 2014: 153; Longstaff et al. 2015: 5). The beginnings of community policing are mostly associated with the American tradition of policing, in particular the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy. Skogan and Hartnett, who have researched policing in

Chicago, see community policing as "an organizational strategy that redefines the goals of policing, but leaves the means of achieving them to practitioners in the field" (1997: 5), suggesting therefore that the police have a different function but do not specify what it is. In a similar vein, Trojanowicz, Kappeler and Gaines describe it as "a philosophy that turns traditional policing on its head by empowering the community rather than dictating to the community" (2002: 1), pointing out the important place of citizens in policing.

Despite the fuzzy terminology, there are a number of principles that underpin community policing, such as organisational decentralisation and focus on community engagement. In an attempt to describe what community policing is, Cordner (2014) proposes a framework based on four major dimensions: philosophical (including focus on citizen input), strategic (putting emphasis on crime prevention and geographic focus), tactical (which values partnership working and problem solving) and organisational (mainly to do with changing structures allowing for the implementation of the previous dimensions). These different dimensions intersect and define the type of contact between the police and the public.

The broad principles of community policing have been adapted to the British context and articulated in various policies. Suggestions to reorient policing in Britain to engage more closely with the communities were made as early as in the 1980s, as suggested by the Scarman report following riots in Brixton in 1981 (Tilley 2008: 373). Since then the ideas of community policing have been gaining prominence in policy. A report produced by Povey (2001) suggested that the police needs to be visible, accessible and familiar.

More recently, two specific community policing initiatives were developed in line with the broad principles of community policing, namely reassurance policing, and its successor, neighbourhood policing. Reassurance policing was launched in October 2003 by the Police Standards Unit of the Home Office and the Association of Chief Police

Officers under the name of the National Reassurance Policing Programme. It was a pilot trialled across eight police forces, and, as Innes (2004) suggests, it was a strategy based on three elements: high visibility patrols carried out by officers known to the public, focus on signal crimes, that is any crimes, however minor, that are read by the community to mean that a situation will get worse, and informal social control performed by the communities. Following the evaluation of the programme, the Home Office committed to a national rollout under the name Neighbourhood Policing Programme (Fielding 2009:12). After the introduction of the programme by 2008, each area in England and Wales had their own Neighbourhood Policing Team.

Although it has been noted that in community policing in general the notion of community tends to be conflated with neighbourhood (Herbert 2006: 12), Innes (2005:159) points out that the semiotic shift from "community" to "neighbourhood" is significant, and it marks the policymakers' focus on localism, assuming that people living in the same area share concerns over safety with one another. The Neighbourhood Policing Programme is the specific name of a policy that can be directly linked to the introduction of PCSOs, but in this thesis I will use it interchangeably with the term *community policing,* to signal the broader values of citizen participation in policing which it embodies rather than to focus on the programme as a specific policy solution.

The changes in the approaches to policing at the time were reflected in legislation. Police Community Support Officers, who were central to the Neighbourhood Policing Programme, were introduced through the *Police Reform Act 2002*. They are what O'Neill (2017:21) terms a *policing auxiliary*. PCSOs are salaried members of a police force without the full powers of the sworn police officer, most notably without the warranted power of arrest. Specific powers granted to PCSOs may vary between police forces. Initially all powers were within each Chief Constable's discretion and were contained in Part 1 of Schedule 4 of the *Police Reform Act 2002*. In 2007, a list of 20 standard powers was introduced, with the remaining powers which had been detailed

in Part 1 of Schedule 4 becoming discretionary (Strickland and Beard 2012: 3). Standard powers included being able to issue fixed penalty notices (fines) for a variety of offences, require minors to surrender alcohol, seize drugs, remove abandoned vehicles, or stop cycles on a footpath.

Further changes have been brought about by the *Policing and Crime Act 2017*, removing the list of statutory powers and instead allowing chief officers to give any police powers except a list of powers reserved for sworn constables. It seems to be a conceptual change unlikely to result in increased powers being granted to PCSOs. Previous research has suggested that the extent to which PCSOs exercise their existing powers remains limited (Merritt 2010: 743). In fact, it has been argued that the lack of powers of arrest enhances PCSOs' potential to engage with communities (Paskell 2007: 359; O'Neill 2014: 272). Similarly, O'Neill (2017: 36) found that despite the possibility to exercise the citizen's power of arrest, as stipulated by Sections 2 and 3 of the *Criminal Law Act 1967* which gives this right to any member of the public, PCSOs were discouraged by their supervisors to use these powers for fear of blurring the boundaries between them and Police Constables. The *Policing and Crime Act 2017* also introduced the possibility of volunteer PCSOs. At the time of when the research was conducted, however, all officers were full-time, remunerated members of staff.

Although part of the police, PCSOs have a different role to play in policing than sworn police officers. As we have just seen, the powers given to PCSOs orient to what Innes (2005: 157) refers to as 'soft' policing, focused primarily on non-coercive aspects of exercising social control. The term 'soft' policing marks a new orientation towards policing, and signals an opposition to 'real' policing (McCarthy 2014: 4). The introduction of 'soft' policing, including PCSOs and the wider 'extended policing family' (Crawford and Lister 2004), marks a departure from the idea of police as the sole agent of crime control, and concerned with this task only. As a result, there was initial resistance to the introduction of PCSOs both from the police and the public, who, as

Caless (2007) suggests, did not fully understand that the role of policing in general has changed.

PCSO became one of the most important components of NPTs (Neighbourhood Policing Teams), focused on three main objectives: visibility, community engagement and problem solving (Greig-Midlaine 2014: 9). Visible presence is at the heart of neighbourhood policing and has been popular with the public (Wakefield 2007), and the iconic "bobby on the beat" is seen as central to police's operation (Reiner 2010). The focus on police visibility has meant that PCSOs wear a uniform that identifies them as such. The uniforms, which vary in each police force, are different than those worn by sworn officers, but nonetheless signal PCSOs' affiliation with the police. As pointed out by Cooke (2005), shortly after the introduction of the role, PCSOs' uniforms were not easily distinguished by the public, who are also confused about the roles and responsibilities of the then new kind of officers. On the other hand, survey research, although limited to policing of shopping spaces, has suggested that the public can generally identify PCSOs and distinguish them from other uniformed officers (Rowland and Coupe 2014). However, there is no conclusive evidence that the general public are aware of PCSOs existence and their roles, and it is not clear whether most individuals would be able to identify a PCSO. De Camargo (2016: 208) suggests that although PCSOs' uniform to an outsider simply identifies them as members of an institution, within the organisation individuals can draw on a range of resources to negotiate what the uniform means to them. Uniform becomes thus one of many resources, including linguistic ones, which officers have at their disposal to negotiate their position vis-à-vis individuals they encounter.

Although visibility is central to the values of community policing and certainly has shaped the policy in delivering neighbourhood policing, it is important to remember that PCSOs "have been introduced to bridge the gap between public demand for the reassurance and contact provided by uniformed police officers patrolling on foot in light

of increasing demands placed upon the service generally" (Association of Chief Police Officers 2007: para 3.1). It is, however, not clear what PCSOs' visible presence actually achieves. It is suggested, for example, that contrary to popular belief, police presence and high visibility do not reduce levels of crime but rather serve an important symbolic function (O'Neill 2011; Barker 2017: 853). Discussing the developments of community policing in Scotland, which came later than in England and Wales, Hamilton-Smith et al. (2014) suggest that the focus on visibility on its own is not enough to reassure the public and instead they propose situating the community policing approach within the procedural justice perspective, which focuses on the quality of police-public encounters. The notion of procedural justice, initially developed by Thibaut and Walker (1975) and developed by Tyler and colleagues (Tyler and Huo 2002; Tyler 2006, 2007), rests on the assumption that for people coming into contact with the justice system, including the police, fair and respectful treatment is more important than achieving desired outcomes. The procedural justice model has received increased attention among criminology scholars (see for example Hough et al. 2010; Hough 2013; Bradford 2014; Murphy et al. 2014; MacQueen and Bradford 2015) and in the context of policing is linked to the notion of trust and public confidence.

The need to increase public confidence in policing was one of the drivers for the community policing agenda. For many years this has been measured in England and Wales through the Crime Survey for England and Wales (formerly the British Crime Survey) which asks members of the public "do police do a good job in your local area?" (Roberts and Hough 2005). The establishment of neighbourhood policing could be seen a response to a reassurance gap—at times when crime levels were falling the public's confidence in the police, measured through the survey, was diminishing (Lowe and Innes 2012; Bullock and Sindall 2014). People's perception of the police is not symmetrical, as Skogan (2006) argues, demonstrating that individuals who had direct contact with the police in the preceding year are more likely to rate police negatively,

while positive contact does not lead to positive evaluations. This view has been challenged by Bradford et al. (2009), who suggest that positive encounters with the police have the potential to improve public confidence in the police, in line with principles of procedural justice. While they point out the importance of positive interaction between the police and members of the public, the research is based on survey results without the recourse to analysis of actual interactions. PCSOs, who work in public-facing role, can thus play a critical role in increasing public confidence in policing. Furthermore, as Tracy and Hodge (2018: 64) point out, procedural justice is assumed to influence citizens' assessment of the justice system but it is not clear how it is communicatively enacted. Study of PCSOs, with their focus on community engagement, offers the potential to study interactions between them and members of the public.

Research focussing on PCSOs has taken place in two broad areas. Firstly, there exists a body of literature which aims to evaluate the performance of PCSOs. And secondly, ethnographic approaches have tended to explore the tension between the principles of community policing and practice. I will now discuss these in more detail, pointing out some of the limitations of previous quantitative studies before describing main findings from research situated in an ethnographic tradition.

When it comes to evaluation of PCSOs, particularly in the early days of the role, most studies offered a generally positive picture of newly introduced officers. In one of the earliest studies of PCSOs, when they were first introduced in London, Johnston (2005) suggested that it was not clear what the purpose of the role of PCSOs within the organisation was. Similar conclusions were drawn by Cooper et al. (2006), who identified the positive reaction from the public, yet noted that PCSOs were used to carry out tasks outside of their remit. Although since then PCSOs have started to form Neighbourhood Policing Teams, with more clearly defined role, the issue of role

ambiguity is still an important one because it has often to be negotiated in interaction, as we will see in Chapter 4.

There is one fundamental problem with trying to evaluate the work of PCSOs. Performance measures focus on tangible results, while a lot of community policing work remains hard, if not impossible, to measure (Johnston 2005: 129; Fielding and Innes 2006). It is an issue recognised by Johnston (2005) when he states that "[i]f we want to reassure the public, we need 'indicators' that bring police work alive, give people memorable stories that function as moral emblems and whose principles are transferable to related, but not identical, circumstances. These will not be stories about numbers, but about engagement, negotiation and shared interests" (2005: 143). Furthermore, the insistence on performance indicators, most often expressed in numerical terms, can also be a sign of a tendency to treat community policing as embedded in and reinforcing the more traditional notions of crime control (Bullock 2013). There is therefore a clear need for more qualitative research assessing the quality of contact between members of the public and the police, and this thesis uses data which will illustrate the complexities of interactions between PCSOs and members of the public.

Some of the limitations of survey-based research have been overcome by a growing body of ethnographic research in criminology (Cosgrove and Ramshaw 2015; O'Neill 2015, 2017; Cosgrove 2016; Gasper and Davies 2018; Mangan, Thomas, Davies and Gasper 2018). Most of the research has tended to focus on the place of PCSOs within the police and the relationships with their colleagues. Cosgrove and Ramshaw (2015), for instance, suggest that PCSOs' ability to meaningfully engage with local communities is hampered by their structured position within the organisation, with law enforcement being given primacy over community engagement. It is a point reinforced by O'Neill (2014: 268), who reports that a few PCSOs in her study received awards for their service, which recognised their contribution to law enforcement activities, even though PCSOs

are meant to engage with communities rather than enforce law. This tendency to orient to law enforcement within community policing can also be seen in some PCSOs' attitude to their job, given that they see it as a stepping stone in their career with a view to progress to become a sworn police officer (Cosgrove and Ramshaw 2015: 85). Even when performing the tasks of PCSOs, officers have been found to a drift towards a "junior enforcer" role, which aims to assist constables with more traditional policing activities, from a "bridge builder," a community development worker (Merritt 2010). The emerging picture seems to suggest therefore that although PCSOs are meant to be distinct from sworn police officers, they seem to gravitate towards more traditional policing culture. PCSOs have been found to endorse aspects of the dominant culture, partly in an attempt to integrate (Cosgrove 2016: 121-122). For instance, O'Neill (2017) has demonstrated how PCSOs render their experiences in a dramatic manner, foregrounding aspects relating to law enforcement, when talking to their colleagues. However, as this thesis will demonstrate, PCSOs do not simply tend to become law enforcers but have to constantly negotiate their position along a broader continuum between law enforcement and community engagement.

Most of the studies have focused solely on PCSOs and their position within the police but there is relatively little research exploring interactions of PCSOs outside of the police setting. Some researchers have focused on the issue of partnership working, involving other state agencies (O'Neill 2015; Makin and Marenin 2017), but relationships between PCSOs and the communities PCSOs serve remain largely unexplored. Notable exceptions include a study of attitudes towards PCSOs which includes the voices of local residents (Paskell 2007) and research on community engagement more widely (Bullock and Sindall 2014; Gasper and Davies 2018). This thesis will add therefore to this body of knowledge by examining a crucial element of community policing that is individual encounters between PCSOs and members of the public. Some research has investigated interactions with citizens, but most studies were

concerned with a symbolic dimension of community policing, typically without consideration for the role of language. Mangan et al. (2018) and Gasper and Davies (2018) defy this general tendency and analyse audio-recordings but their analysis is limited to one context of PCSOs' work that is public meetings. This thesis will demonstrate how individual officers communicate with members of the public in a variety of settings. Through adopting a linguistic ethnographic perspective, I will be able to gain a broader view PCSOs' communicative practices, especially in the light of the expectation for officers to be visible and accessible, which is a requirement that extends beyond formal meetings.

1.3 Locating language in policing

This thesis is concerned with the language used by PCSOs, using a linguistic ethnographic approach. Even though the need to study "what the police say and how they say it and why they say it" (Mastrofski and Parks 1990: 476) has long been recognised, research into police-citizen encounters has remained limited, due to relative difficulties with obtaining live recordings (Linfoot-Ham 2006: 25; Ainsworth 2016: 36). For this reason, mediatised sources of data have often been used, in the form of television shows (Linfoot-Ham 2006; Limberg 2008; Shon 2008). The present study offers an opportunity to interrogate language use in an authentic setting.

This is not to say that there has been no linguistic research in policing contexts as such. On the contrary, a wealth of studies exist documenting language use in a variety of settings, from calls to the emergency services, which includes the police departments (e.g. Zimmerman 1984; Tracy 1997; Garcia 2015), through the language of arrest and detention (Cotterill 2007; Rock 2007), to police interviews (Heydon 2005; Carter 2011). For the most part, this body of research considers interaction between police representatives and members of the public as institutional interaction, which is goal-oriented and presupposes specific constraints on contributions (Drew and Heritage

1992: 22). However, the idea that PCSOs should be "accessible, visible and familiar", as outlined in the previous section, means that there are often no specific outcomes that all PCSOs should aim for. Instead, officers have to respond to local needs and invest in relational work. I will further problematize the notion of institutional discourse, contrast and compare it with professional discourse and consider its applicability to the study of language used in community policing in Chapter 2.

One of key implications of treating police interactions as institutional is the assumption of power asymmetry (Sarangi and Roberts 1999a; Thornborrow 2002; Harris 2003; Mayr 2008). This asymmetry has been associated with institutional representatives' expertise (Linell and Luckmann 1991; Candlin and Candlin 2002; Nguyen 2006). Agar defined institutions as "a socially legitimated expertise together with those persons authorised to implement it" (1985: 164). The boundary between the institutional expert and novice layperson has been called into question, particularly in medical contexts, where patients have been shown to display knowledge relevant to their personal medical history (Sarangi 2001; Prior 2003; Sanderson and Angouri 2014). In the context of community policing, the idea of expertise becomes even more complex, given that communities should determine policing goals in their area.

The potential for citizens to affect policing priorities needs to be considered alongside the relative weight of their views. Community policing is conceived of in term of a more egalitarian relationship between the police and the community. This idea, idealistic as it sounds, runs counter to what research into encounters between citizens and institutions or professionals suggests. For instance, Mishler (1984), based on his analysis of doctor-patient interactions, suggests a distinction between the voice of the lifeworld and the voice of medicine. An opposition between two differing perspectives is also put forward by Agar (1985), who considered that client frames and institutional frames compete whenever an individual comes into contact with an institution. Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996) also explored tensions which arise as individuals are faced with

bureaucracy, marking therefore an antagonistic relationship between the two. Moreover, individuals are typically placed in a position of disadvantage. As Dall and Sarangi state, "accounts/arguments endorsing the institutional order are treated as having greater authority than the accounts/arguments pertaining to the lifeworld of the client" (2018: 103). Analysis of the language of community policing, thanks to the ideals of the empowerment of community and collaborative working, has the potential to challenge this view of institutional relations.

At the beginning of the chapter, Natalie and Jack might have suggested that community policing is a site of tension where the lifeworld of policing is opposed to the lifeworld of community, to adapt Mishler's terminology. As we will see throughout the thesis, community policing is indeed a site of tension. However, the tension does not arise from a conflict between two different lifeworlds, but rather among many competing voices. They become even more evident when adopting an ethnographic perspective, looking at PCSOs' interactions in different settings across time. And because PCSOs' mandate resides in part within the community, it is impossible to talk about the institutional order simply having greater authority than the lifeworld of community. Instead, a more nuanced picture emerges in interactions, during which PCSOs and members of the public have to negotiate their authority. I will scrutinise this complex network of relationships between PCSOs, communities and individuals who inhabit them through the lens of heteroglossia, to which I now turn.

1.4 Looking at language through the lens of heteroglossia

The term *heteroglossia* is not universally understood. As Madsen (2014: 44) points out, the concept was created in the process of translation of Bakhtin's work to cover a range of multifaceted phenomena. Blackledge and Creese (2014: 4) suggest that heteroglossia can be understood in terms of *indexicality*, *tension-filled interaction* and *multivoicedness*, which I discuss in more detail. *Indexicality* refers to ways in which language indexes, in

the sense adopted by Peirce (1955) and Silverstein (1976), a certain point of view or ideology. For instance, the use of inclusive language in interactions between PCSOs and citizens, created by example through strategic use of pronouns, as we will see throughout the thesis, can index the community policing values of citizen engagement and joint decision making. The focus on heteroglossia makes it possible to demonstrate in this way how a given ideology is invoked in interaction in a given moment.

There exist multiple points of view and ideologies that create tension, and Blackledge and Creese (2014: 7) see *tension-filled interaction* as one of the key features of heteroglossia. They conceptualise this tension mainly in terms of struggles between the pressure towards the use of standard *unitary language* and the pull towards decentralised and *diverse language use*, drawing on Bakhtin's notion of centripetal and centrifugal forces, respectively. Rather than conceptualising tension in this narrow sense, I will consider tensions that are inherent in the community policing model and relate to different orientations of the police, individual officers, local communities and citizens. We have seen, for instance, how PCSOs, who are meant to deliver 'soft' policing, adopt at times to more enforcement related positions. In this sense, my work builds on research on the public service agents, such as social workers or counsellors, who are in a liminal position, between the institution and the public, and in Chapter 2 I examine in more detail how similar tensions have been conceptualised.

Finally, a heteroglossic approach to language sees it as *multivoiced.* In Bahkhtin's words, "[t]he world I language is half someone else's" (1981: 293). When people speak, they always do so in relation to the speech of someone else, either in response or in anticipation. As we will see, PCSOs incorporate multiple voices in interaction, for instance the language of legislation, or actual or hypothetical citizens' utterances. Multivoicedness becomes thus one of the ways in which the tensions, which I mentioned before, manifest themselves in interaction.

Heteroglossia offers then an outlook on interaction which foregrounds diversity, bringing in multiple voices and perspectives and referring to different points of view. The concept has in recent years been rediscovered by sociolinguists, particularly relation to youth language in diverse societies (Pujolar 2001; Rampton 2011; Madsen 2014; Sultana 2014; Purkarthofer 2017) and multilingualism in general (Frekko 2011; Rassool 2014; Jaffe 2015; Blackledge and Creese 2016; Kiramba 2016). In this thesis, I focus on multiple perspectives and tensions present within one language, showing how in the specific setting of community policing multiple voices and point of view interact. Furthermore, I will demonstrate that this complexity stems from the distribution of rights in responsibilities of PSCOs and citizens within a community policing model, which could be seen as necessarily heteroglossic, and I will examine how different tensions and voices are realised in interaction. I concur with Androutsopoulos (2011: 282), who argues that heteroglossia is made rather than simply occurs and suggests that "it is fabricated by social actors who have woven voices of society in to their discourses, contracting these voices and the social viewpoints they stand for". In this thesis, therefore, I will investigate the different linguistic resources and voices that PCSOs draw upon in their interactions with members of the public. Below, I outline the specific research questions this thesis will answer.

1.5 Research questions

As this thesis investigates the tensions and multiple voices which are the result of a particular circumstances of community policing, the central research question is*: In what ways is the language used by PCSOs heteroglossic?* There is a broad assumption underlying this question suggesting a priori that discursive practices within community policing *are* heteroglossic. Because of the nature of community policing, as introduced previously, the multiplicity of voices becomes inherent in the model of community policing, incorporating the voice of the police and the voice of the community. However,

during the ethnographic fieldwork, which I describe in more detail in Chapter 3, it became evident to me that members of the public and PCSOs alike did not just represent two seemingly opposing parties but rather the relationship between them was much more complex. This complexity was judged to be best explained using heteroglossia.

Given the contested nature of the term and its potential to describe multiple phenomena, heteroglossia remains a very broad concept. As Bailey points out:

> this openness and flexibility can be seen as an advantage. It allows us to "think big," offering space to envisage heteroglossic relations between signs of various kinds and structural properties, whose coexistence and dialogue may be established at different levels of discourse.
>
> (Bailey 2007: 263)

However, the flexibility of the term means it can be difficult to operationalise. Blackledge and Creese (2016: 284) suggest that heteroglossia can only serve as a starting point for the analysis of naturally occurring data, because its theoretical apparatus has been developed with analysis of novels in mind. Similarly, Androutsopoulos (2011: 283-284) recognised the flexibility of the term, pointing out that heteroglossia can be mapped at various levels of discourse. However, because of this openness, he argues that heteroglossia always requires an "anchor". For Androutsopoulos, who examines computer-mediated communication, which is multimodal, this means grounding the analysis in a pivotal point in discourse structure. Others have paired heteroglossia with other theoretical concepts. For instance, Jaworski (2014) sees heteroglossia in a fruitful conversation with the notion of metrolingualism (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015) when applied to the analysis of semiotic resources used in art, with the two notions supporting and enriching each other. In this thesis I similarly explore heteroglossia by grounding the analysis in specific theoretical concepts. Each of the analysis chapters will use a specific theoretical concept which allows to anchor heteroglossia.

Chapter 4 interrogates the notion of role, understood as "resources which actors draw on to carry out their everyday lives" (Hall, Sarangi and Slembrouck 1999: 293). Following Sarangi (2010), who demonstrates how the analysis of role performance uncovers complexities in understanding role that go beyond what is expected of individuals in professional contexts, I will demonstrate how the role of the PCSO is not simply normative, but rather includes an element of expectations that communities have of PCSOs. I argue that the roles officers perform cannot be reduced to either "police-work" or "community-work". Rather, it is work in which PCSOs necessarily draw on a wide repertoire of roles, through the use of multiple voices and indexing diverse points of view.

Following Chapter 4, in which I explore the multiplicity of roles, in Chapter 5 I focus on what might be some 'law-enforcement' roles, in situations where PCSOs attempt to enforce rules. Using Stevanovic and Peräkylä's (2012) term *deontic authority*, I argue that rather than simply exercising power, PCSOs appeal to their authority, which is grounded in police legitimacy. PCSOs rely on legitimising their claims by making reference to the rights of the community and individual obligations. I demonstrate therefore how deontic authority is negotiated rather than simply exercised. Police-citizen encounters are often conceptualised in terms of power struggle, which I challenge through adopting authority as a theoretical background of the analysis. As a result, I will be able to demonstrate the heteroglossic nature of community policing, as officers and citizens deploy multiple voices to legitimise their authority.

In Chapter 6, I probe the significance of space in PCSOs' work, given that the Neighbourhood Policing is based on assisting local communities, defined in terms of place. Adopting Lofland's (1998) distinction between private, parochial and public realms, and focussing on the first two, I demonstrate how space is invoked in interactions. The remit of PCSOs' work emphasises the importance of the parochial realm, relating to the communal aspect of space. However, the institutional conception

of space tends to feature in officers' talk, while when faced with individual members of the public, PCSOs also need to consider the private realm to which individuals orient to in interactions. I demonstrate therefore how talk *in* and *about* space serves as a resource to negotiate the tensions between institutions, spatially-bound communities and individuals. In doing so, I further problematise the distinction between police and lay categories of space, showing a multitude of possible ways in which space is categorised in interaction and represents many voices.

Each analytic chapter has therefore a narrow focus and will answer a different research question, relating to the thesis's main concern of addressing the question *In what ways is the language used by PCSOs heteroglossic?* A different theoretical focus of each research question and a corresponding chapter which aims to address it might give an impression that the research questions were specifically driven by theory. A clarification is therefore in place: although each research question is grounded within a different theoretical perspective, they were all formulated on the basis of repeated engagement with the data (and I will describe the analytical procedure in Chapter 3). Each of the research questions below offers thus a particular take on the ways in which language used by PCSOs can be considered as heteroglossic:

> **RQ1:** How are different roles performed by PCSOs in interactions? (addressed in Chapter 4)
> **RQ2:** How does the notion of authority feature in interactions PCSOs have with citizens? (addressed in Chapter 5)
> **RQ3:** What is the significance of space in PCSO-citizens interactions? (addressed in Chapter 6)

Through considering the configuration of different roles, negotiation of authority, as well as the use of space, I will demonstrate how PCSOs constantly use various linguistic resources and mobilise multiple voices. Rather than thinking in terms of binary oppositions (policing role/community role; exercise of authority/lack thereof; police-defined space/community-defined space), I will argue that each of the three research

questions, and concepts attached to it, contribute to essentially heteroglossic nature of community policing. The significance of the argument that community policing is heteroglossic is twofold. Firstly, it shifts focus away from static entities such as "police" or "community", foregrounding instead the dynamic relationships between the participants. Secondly, by focusing on what participants do in a given moment, I am able to demonstrate that contrary to what policy concerning community policing would emphasise, PCSOs are not, and cannot be, an element in between the wider police and community.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

In Chapter 2, I engage with previous scholarship which is relevant to the present study. Specifically, I turn to literature discussing the ideas of institutional and professional communication, before focussing on research on interaction within legal settings, with particular emphasis on language used by the police. Subsequently, I turn to theoretical matters. Building on the overview of heteroglossia above, I discuss the concept in more detail distinguishing it from similar terms. I also provide background to the key terms used in the analysis, specifically the notions of role, deontic authority and space.

Having established the research landscape in which this thesis is situated, I move on to presenting the research design and methodology in Chapter 3. I outline the principles of linguistic ethnography (Section 3.1), introduce the data (Section 3.2) and research participants (Section 3.3), consider the ethical challenges the research has presented (Section 3.4), and outline the analytical procedures, underpinned by the principles of interactional sociolinguistics, which I discuss. I will demonstrate the opportunities a linguistic ethnographic approach affords in the context of the study, with a particular emphasis on the importance of transcontextual analysis.

Chapters 4-6 offer an analysis of the data collected using the tools described in the methodology chapter, and address the individual research questions, as described in the previous section.

In Chapter 7, I bring together the findings from the three preceding chapters and do so along two main lines. Firstly, based on the analysis of linguistic resources and multiple voices, I demonstrate how the language used in the community policing context is heteroglossic. Secondly, I consider how the concept of community policing and its specific realisation in the form of PCSOs redefines the notions of policing and communities. This will show that heteroglossia is an inherent rather than accidental feature of community policing, and individual officers, who find themselves at the border between the police and communities, perpetuate a specific vision of policing, communities and citizens alike.

Chapter 8 concludes the thesis, providing a summary of the argument, with reference to the research questions introduced above in Section 1.4. I also consider the theoretical and methodological contributions that the work has made and touch upon the potential practical implications of the research. In particular, I will highlight the significance of metacommentary within linguistic ethnography, problematise the status of data and suggest that the heteroglossic approach to community policing could also be extended to other settings. I also suggest avenues for future research. I now turn to the review of literature which will situate the analysis in the traditions of professional communication, consider how previous research on police-citizen interaction and institutional discourse more broadly has tended to focus on institutional/lay opposition, and will argue for heteroglossia as a more suitable framework in a community policing context.

2 Literature review

As I indicated in the previous chapter, interactions between the police and citizens tend to be viewed as primarily asymmetrical and power-laden. I have already questioned the applicability of this view in the context of community policing, and in this chapter I continue to challenge this assumption. In Section 2.1, I start off by tracing the tradition of linguistic research into policing, locating it in the wider area of institutional discourse, which tends to be concerned with power relations. I propose to shift the focus of enquiry from power, traditionally associated with institutions, to authority, which because of underlying legitimacy is more suitable in the community policing context. In Section 2.2, I discuss the difference between institutional and professional discourse, highlighting the interface of institutional constraints and professional practice. This is relevant for language of PCSOs as they have to reconcile multiple goals, and I consider the intersection of the institutional and the professional in terms of bureaucracy. The notions of professional identity and values are also discussed, as they shape the nature of lay-professional interaction, which is a term I problematise. I discuss the applicability of hybridity to analyse the discourse of community policing before suggesting heteroglossia as a more suitable alternative in Section 2.3.

2.1 Language and the police

The context of community policing is unique. On the one hand it draws on traditional models of policing, for instance by evoking the iconic "bobby on the beat" and emphasising the need for police presence. On the other hand, community policing can be placed in opposition to traditional styles of policing, as it foregrounds citizen involvement. As a result, elements that both reinforce and depart from 'hard' policing can be expected in PCSOs' discourse. I focused on the background of community policing

in the previous chapter, with particular reference to the place PCSOs occupy in British policing. In this section, I critically examine existing body of literature concerned with language in policing contexts more widely. In particular, I highlight the tendency to treat communication in these contexts as an example of institutional discourse. PCSOs find themselves in between the institution of police and communities, and I draw parallels between existing studies on police-citizen interactions, while pointing out the areas where the particularities of the community policing context challenge some of the assumptions found in the literature on language and policing. I start by examining the role of power within institutional discourse, in relation to police-citizen interactions, before suggesting the concept of authority as a more suitable fit for the community policing context.

2.1.1 Power and institutions

In their seminal study of institutional talk Drew and Heritage (1992: 22) suggested its key characteristics: goal-oriented character, inferential procedures particular to specific contexts and special constraints on contributions. Examples of institutional talk in the policing context include suspect and witness interviews (see for example Thornborrow 2002: 37-59; Heydon 2005; Haworth 2006) as well as emergency calls (see for example Zimmerman 1984, 1992; Fele 2006; Cromdal et al. 2012). These situations do indeed have the three characteristics. Firstly, they have specific goals, such as gathering evidence in the case of interviews, or assessment of legitimacy of request for help in the case of calls to emergency services. Secondly, in both settings there are also inferential frameworks specific to the given context. For instance, lack of answer to a question in emergency calls is likely to be interpreted that the caller is not safe to speak, while in the context of a police suspect interview, silence is the interviewee's right, although in England and Wales the invocation of this right may have consequences in court. And finally, there are expectations about the distribution of talk: institutional

representatives ask questions, which suspects, witnesses and callers are required to answer.

Questioning has indeed been suggested as a central activity of institutional discourse at large (Tracy and Robles 2009: 131) and is often seen as an exercise of control. However, even in police interviews Newbury and Johnson (2006) and Haworth (2006) demonstrated that a suspect is able to resist the controlling nature of questions. Their findings were based on an analysis of a high-profile case—Dr Shipman's, a physician who was accused of murdering a number of older patients. Haworth (2006) suggested that he was able to resist some questions during his police interview thanks to his professional status. Typically, however, lay participants are often thought of as powerless in police interviews, dominated by police officers using strategies of dominance such as discourse markers (Macleod 2009) as well as interruptions and topic control (Yoong 2010). Police officers have also been shown to ignore suspects' requests for lawyers because they were not formulated in institutionally appropriate manner (Ainsworth 1993; 2008). These examples might seem not applicable in the context of community policing, and interaction between PCSOs and members of the public typically differs from the forms of institutional contact described above, as we will see throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, the institutional backdrop of traditional policing roles is important to understand, as occasionally PCSOs do perform roles typically associated with other settings, such as taking crime reports, as we will see in Chapter 4. Moreover, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, PCSOs can be potentially seen as police officers because of their uniforms, and members of the public can nevertheless have expectations that they draw on from their general knowledge of how the police work.

In institutional encounters, citizens are typically presented as being in a position of disadvantage, subjected to police officers' power. While it is clear how power struggles come into play in high-stakes situations, this may not be immediately evident in other forms of police-citizen contact. For instance, Shon (2008), who investigated the

language used during traffic stops, which present the most likely occasion for members of the public to come into contact with the police (Eith and Durose 2011: 1), warns us against the *a priori* treatment of such interactions in terms of power asymmetry:

> It would be tempting—and easy—to treat the talk between the police and citizens as an instance of organizational communication merely because one of the speaker occupies the role of an institutional representative (e.g., a police officer), and because the occasioned business is bureaucratically related (e.g., a traffic stop). (…) However, it is my contention that the talk between the police and the public has an interactional character and order of its own, aside from the respective roles of the speakers; and that the roles themselves (e.g., police officer, hostile citizens) are constituted in and through the language they use.
>
> (Shon 2008: 7)

Even though Shon suggests that power asymmetries should not be assumed, his findings suggest that members of the public are "socialised into acceptance of police power" (Shon 2008: 92). He also suggests that the police "cloak their power under the guise of a veil, and they exercise it in a sequential manner" (Shon 2008: 166). According to this view then the power always rests with the police, and it is necessarily reproduced in interaction. Kidwell (2018: 310) argues that the necessarily coercive nature of traffic stops needs to be overcome at the beginning of interaction to ensure cooperation and avoid conflict. Police-citizen encounters are therefore seen as a site of struggle, with the police occupying the dominant position. Although in the case of traffic stops motorists have also been found to deploy mechanisms of resistance (Smith 2010; Márquez Reiter, Ganchenko and Charalambidou 2016), the need to resist is also testament to the assumed asymmetry between the two parties.

The view of police-citizen encounters as being centrally influenced by power struggle, does not sit comfortably with the principles of community policing. The importance of citizen engagement and police accountability means that the potential to talk about power difference is limited. I would like to suggest that the notion of authority

is more productive in this context, as it does not simply assume dominance but rather considers how power is legitimate, which is a topic I explore in more detail now.

2.1.2 Power versus authority: the quest for legitimacy

Authority as a theoretical concept has a long tradition in philosophy and political sciences. Weber (1964), for instance, saw authority as power legitimised by tradition, leader's charisma and legal rationality. The key feature of authority is that it "involves the exercise of power that the subject of authority understands as *legitimate*" (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012: 297; emphasis in original). In other words, authority necessarily considers the source of legitimacy—whether it be one of three sources in traditional Weberian approach or emerges in interaction, as conversation analysts such as Stevanovic and Peräkylä would suggest. In the case of community policing, the legitimacy is built into the model through involving citizens setting priorities for policing in the local area but it will also be realised in interactions between PCSOs and members of the public.

Authority is a key term in the procedural justice model, which I mentioned in Chapter 1 (p. 8). Jackson, Bradford, Stanko, and Hohl (2013) suggest that "[f]or authority to be conferred, people need to believe that the police are fair in their procedures and just in their treatment and decision-taking" (2013: 10). The link between authority and police legitimacy stipulated here is problematic in the context of community policing. While it might be appropriate to talk about the importance of the fairness in procedures in traditional policing, PCSOs exercise a large degree of discretion (see Section 2.2.4). Moreover, linguistic research on procedural justice is emergent and scholars point out difficulties in operationalising linguistic realisations of the concept. Although both Lowrey-Kinberg and Sullivan Buker (2017) as well as Tracy and Hodge (2018) identify specific discursive mechanisms by which procedural justice is achieved during a traffic stop police-citizen interaction and in a courtroom, respectively, the link between

authority and legitimacy as well as their discursive realisations remain underexplored in policing contexts. This is not to say that it has not been explored in other areas, which I will turn to now.

The process in which legitimacy is expressed in interaction is sometimes referred to as *legitimation.* In the words of Berger and Luckmann, "[l]egitimation provides the 'explanations' and justifications of the salient elements of the institutional traditions" (1966: 111). Community policing, which moves away from a top-bottom view of authority as imposed by the institution and encourages instead input from the communities, becomes a site where legitimation of police action gains a new dimension. Van Leeuwen (2007: 97) proposes a framework for the analysis of legitimation in interaction, which moves beyond the Weberian tradition of seeing authority as rooted in either tradition, leader's charisma or legal rationality. Instead, van Leeuwen suggests that legitimation can also be achieved by reference to value systems or institutionalised ways of action. Indeed, as we will see, PCSOs are able to appeal to the notion of community which becomes an important way in which they justify their actions.

Given the wide applications of the notion of authority at large, in this thesis (Chapter 5) I focus on an interactional realisation of authority, namely *deontic authority*. Stefanovic and Peräkylä (2012) propose the term to describe the speaker's right to determine others' actions, both in the future as well as in relation to discussing what should have happened in the past (Sterponi 2003). Drawing on research on epistemic authority (Heritage and Raymond 2005; Heritage 2012), which highlights interactants' knowledge based claims, deontic authority deals with participants' rights and responsibilities. Authority here is not something that is given but rather has to be negotiated:

> Deontic authority is an interactional achievement, claimed, displayed, and negotiated at the level of the turn-by-turn sequential unfolding of the interaction. That is you may command someone to do something, or propose

> that it be done, or suggest it, or hint at it; all these things claim a certain degree of authority in how the world "ought to be." (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012: 315)

The term has been used within the framework of Conversation Analysis, particularly to study proposals and requests in informal interaction (Antaki and Kent 2015; Couper-Kuhlen and Etelämäki 2015; Stivers and Sidnell 2016) but there is also a growing body of research on deontic authority in institutional interaction, in particular in healthcare contexts (Ekberg and LeCouteur 2015; Lindström and Weatherall 2015; Pilnick and Zayts 2016). These studies have demonstrated how authority is negotiated on a turn-by-turn basis. As I have already indicated, however, legitimacy is built into the community policing model and while authority is negotiated, the underlying principle of the community influencing policing needs also to be taken into account. In particular, I will consider how voices of the community are mobilised by PCSOs and citizens alike to legitimise authority based claims.

Negotiation of authority in a decision-making process is particularly relevant to the community policing context. It is because deontic authority "relates to decisions and obligations and is concerned with who can set the rules about what should be done, or 'who prevails in decision making'" (Kent 2012: 713). Given that the public are supposed to have influence on and control over policing, the question of who decides what should be done becomes highly pertinent. On the one hand, there are rules and regulations PCSOs need to abide by, but, on the other hand, they need to have regard to the community's interests.

Given that the core tasks of PCSOs include visibility and community engagement, an exercise of authority in an attempt to determine what citizens ought to be doing is problematic, because it implies a more confrontational approach. Nevertheless, as data in Chapter 5 will illustrate, PCSOs sometimes find themselves in a position where they make a request or reprimand someone. Given their lack of formal enforcement powers,

such exchanges are carefully managed by officers in interaction. Negotiations of authority have been shown to be underpinned by claims about morality, both with relation to the epistemic, concerning knowledge (Shuman 1993; Stivers, Mondada and Steensig 2011), and deontic domain, concerning obligation (Sterponi 2003; Aronsson and Gottzén 2011). Moreover, as Linell and Rommetveit (1998: 471) suggest, professionals often disguise their concern about moral norms with discussing practical issues. One of the specific ways in which the moral values are invoked is through talk about responsibility (Matarese 2015: 343), and we will see how this notion is invoked by PCSOs. Responsibility has been found to intersect with moral categorisation in the context of social work (Kurri and Wahlström 2005; Hall, Slembrouck and Sarangi 2006; Juhila, Hall and Raitakari 2010). Community policing, through its citizen empowerment agenda, raises important questions about who is responsible for policing.

Invocation of responsibilities and rights that are often attached to them raises an important question of whose rights are given priority. It is a topic explored for example by Antaki and Kent (2012), who discuss a dilemma of care and control among staff in a residential home. While members of staff need to make requests relating to daily activities performed by adult residents with intellectual impairments, they also needed to balance their clients' right to making independent decisions. Antaki and Kent (2012) found that staff tended to resolve the tension in favour of completing the task, thus claiming high deontic authority and denying it to the residents. In a similar vein, Lindström and Weatherall (2015) argue that following an ideological shift towards a patient-centred ethos of healthcare, physicians need to reconcile their medical expertise with patients' experiences. Where the two rights to decide on treatment clash, doctors were found to suggest patient's right to refuse treatment. PCSOs, who are at the forefront of an ideological shift in policing, are similarly expected to work within community policing values, which emphasise the rights of communities to influence policing, but are simultaneously the face of the police and represent the institution.

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the dichotomy between powerful—and, often, authoritative—representatives of the police and powerless citizens can be called into question in community policing. The notion of authority, and the ways in which it is negotiated and legitimised, is one example of a specific way in which this asymmetry can be challenged. Reconceptualising citizens as consumers of policing services, which is a topic I will explore now, is another factor that troubles the assumption of police dominance.

2.1.3 Citizens as consumers

Power and authority are thoroughly discussed in the research on language of policing and their application extends beyond areas which are described as 'hard' policing, typically associated with instances of institutional discourse. Even more routine forms of police-citizen encounters, such as traffic stops mentioned previously, are often described in terms of citizens' obedience. For instance, consensual car searches during traffic stops have been shown to be in fact coercive (Nadler and Trout 2012; Ainsworth 2016). Citizens' compliance is not necessarily achieved through explicit formulations of requests. For example, Linfoot-Ham (2006) demonstrated how individuals who violated conversational maxims, forming part of Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle, were more likely to be arrested. This suggests that language used in police-citizen encounters plays a crucial role in shaping interactions' outcomes.

However, the explicit focus on community engagement rather than law enforcement within community policing models would suggest that the notion of citizens' compliance loses its relevance. In fact, even within mainstream policing there has been a growing trend of treating citizens as customers, and Baker and Hyde (2011) describe customer service charters adopted by some Australian police forces. In the British context, public attitudes have been found to demonstrate a consumerist ideology (Squires 1998), even though Ashby, Irving and Longley (2007) argue that police officers

themselves been resistant to the New Public Management paradigm (see for example Gruening 2001), which has seen public services turning to managerialism and introducing a customer service focus. The introduction of PCSOs could be seen as a move towards commercialisation of policing, by responding to the needs of the public to increase police presence and granting citizens greater involvement in policing. This has implications not only for the notions of authority, rights and obligations, as explored previously, but also for specific linguistic practices. The idea that policing becomes commercialised opens up the possibility to treat interactions with members of the public as service encounters.

PCSOs face the public, and they are often the first of point contact for citizens, and to understand the importance of this aspect of their role I will look at first point of contact in another context, namely a police front desk. Interactions in such settings are important because, as Rønneberg and Svennevig suggest, "conversation not only provides an important means to solve problems and exert social control, but also to build relations and inspire confidence and trust" (2010: 280). In the case of community policing, relationship building is central to citizen engagement but it can also be seen as contributing to a consumerist approach to interaction. Rønneberg and Svennevig (2010) found that rejections to requests made at a non-emergency police desk were typically accompanied by hedges, accounts and expressions of empathy, unless the requests were judged by the staff as not policing matters. Therefore, the institutional context does not imply exclusive use of strategies of dominance but also facilitates relational aspects of interaction, often overlooked but crucial in institutional interaction. As Coupland (2000) argues with relation to small talk in work settings, "in professional and commercial domains, small talk needs to be interpreted not only in terms of its relational function (establishing rapport between professionals and clients), but in terms of how that rapport furthers or contests the instrumental and transactional goals of the institution" (2000: 6). Furthermore, as Candlin (2000) warns us, "we should not be misled into

assuming that the distribution of relational and transactional talk among the parties in an exchange is some inevitable given, the choice of which mode of talk necessarily favouring inevitably the powerful in an interaction" (2000: xviii). Therefore, PCSOs, who are meant to primarily engage with members of the public, do also orient to more institutional and goal-oriented aspects of interaction.

Relational aspects of interactions are often considered against the backdrop of politeness. Harris (2003), who also considered interaction at the police station, argues that politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) can serve an important analytical tool in the study of interactions in institutional settings. Following Goffman (1967), Brown and Levinson make the notion of *face* central to their theory, and define it as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself," (1987: 61) with two related aspects: *negative face* (an individual's basic claim to territories, personal preserves, rights to non-distraction) and *positive face* (the positive consistent self-image claimed by individuals). Certain kind of acts can threaten the face of either the speaker or the hearer. If an individual decides to do an FTA (*face-threatening act*), they have an option of doing it with a redressive action, mitigating the potential threat. This can be realised in one of two ways: either *negative politeness* (strategies oriented mainly towards hearer's negative face) or *positive politeness* (oriented towards positive face, therefore attending to the hearer's positive image). Harris (2003) concludes that institutional representatives, particularly in position of power, make extensive use of politeness strategies, although her study investigated a very particular speech act, namely requests.

Insights from interactions at the front desk only reveal a limited range of tasks. For instance, Hewitt, McCloughan, and McKinstry (2009) analysed interactions taking place at a GP reception and found that receptionists mostly used verbal routines. The work of PCSOs is varied, and although it includes some typical elements, such as house to house visits (I provide a list of routine activities in Chapter 3), it would be misleading

to treat citizen-police interaction purely as service encounters. Community policing, with its focus on citizen input, does nonetheless demonstrate some similarities with a customer service model. In what follows I discuss one of the implications of consumerist approaches in institutions, namely competing frames.

2.1.4 Competing frames

In Chapter 1, I introduced Agar's (1985) suggestion that institutional frames compete with client frames whenever an individual comes into contact with an institution. The notion of frames, following Bateson (1972) and Goffman (1974), which become visible in an institutional encounter has been explored in a number of settings. For instance, Tracy (1997) argues that during calls to emergency services the caller and the call taker adopt two conflicting frames: members of the public's expectations and contributions are shaped by a "customer service" frame, while call takers adopt a "public service" frame. Following an analysis of calls and interviews with practitioners, Tracy (1997) identified three areas in which the expectations of the service differed between call handlers and callers: the amount of information required, geographic range in which the police would assist in an incident and the time needed to respond. The three features are illustrative rather than providing an exhaustive list of examples which define the differences in frames. However, such a view assumes a complete separation of frames and denies that callers can understand the call taker's perspective and *vice versa*. This separation suggests a marked divide between the two parties.

Frames not only suggest an opposition between lay and institutional participants but also point to an asymmetry. Tannen and Wallat (1993) describe a video of a paediatric consultation during which a paediatrician continuously shifts between three frames: the social encounter frame (which includes interaction with the mother and the child), the examination frame (in which the future audience of the videotaped interaction is addressed) and the consultation frame (which aims to address the

mother's concerns). Shifts in frame, even those triggered by the mother, were managed by the paediatrician. The institutional representative is thus portrayed as the dominant party in the interaction.

Viewing interaction in terms of frames suggests that parties in an interaction will have divergent definitions of a given situation. The position of PCSOs as a link between the police and community, however, presupposes that officers should be able to understand citizens' perspectives, diminishing therefore the applicability of the notion of frames. This is particularly relevant in the context of community policing, as PCSOs are expected to act on behalf of citizens. Before I consider the *professional*, as sometimes opposed to the institutional in Section 2.2, to consider the role of individual officers in mediating the institutional rules, I give an example of an area significant for the PCSOs where the institutional does not necessarily map on the actual discursive practice, namely space and its intersection with law.

2.1.5 Space and law

Space has been central to sociolinguistics since the discipline's inception (Baynham 2012: 115). It is also central to PCSOs' working lives, as their work is inscribed into the neighbourhood policing but also features in interaction. The notion of space in interaction can be understood in two ways. Mautner points out that space "not only provides the context for discourse, but may itself become the subject of discourse, creating discourse *about* space" (2017: 392). Indeed, as we will see in Chapter 6, space can be constructed and negotiated in interaction. Moreover, as Richardson and Jensen (2003) argue, the analysis of discourses about space informs both our understanding of discourse but also space. Interactions between PCSOs and members of the public are therefore a good site to investigate discourses *in* and *about* space. Space is clearly background to their activity, and an important one too, as already indicated, but also becomes the topic of interactions.

PCSOs find themselves at the interface of law and space. Although they are not legal professionals, officers sometimes make reference to legal rules or abide by regulations which are spatially based. An example approach to the intersection of law and space is legal geography:

> Legal geographers contend that in the world of lived social relations and experience, aspects of the social that are analytically identified as either legal or spatial are conjoined and co-constituted. Legal geographers note that nearly every aspect of law is located, takes place, is in motion, or has some spatial form of reference. (Braveerman, Blomley, Delaney and Kedar 2014: 1)

Space could be seen as a backdrop for legal activity but Blomley (2003) calls for a more critical approach and suggests moving away from the separation of law and space in favour of thinking about spatializing law and legalising space, emphasising co-production of the two. Bennett and Layard (2015) warn against thinking about law as spatially blind but equally they advise exercising caution in assuming an absolute significance of space. Instead they suggest that "what needs to be teased out of any encounter between law and spatiality is whether, and if so how and for what purpose (and what period of time), spatiality is being invoked or ignored, for an apparent absence of space is also doing spatial and legal work" (Bennet and Layard 2015: 418). The extent to which PCSOs' work is spatial and legal needs to be considered.

The ways in which PCSOs are involved in the production of space are varied. Firstly, they follow the institutional division of space. Individual officers work in assigned areas: they work from a specific police station and within its coverage they would have a smaller patch. Those divisions, as Manning (2010: 104-105) notes, often are realised in conceptualisations and vocabulary that mean little to citizens living in the areas concerned, such as for example "police district", "precinct" or "beat". In their daily work they navigate the streets of the city and embody these institutional categorisations of space. As PCSOs come into contact with members of the public, they at times assume

the role of legal broker, when they explain what the legal rules are, and we will see an example of that in Chapter 5.

Although in their interactions PCSOs do not always make explicit reference to law in the form of rules and regulations, their talk and actions are underpinned by legality, which is understood as "not limited to institutional structures of the law, but rather as an interpretative framework or set of resources with which, and through which, the social world is made" (Valentine and Harris 2016: 5).

2.2 The institutional and the professional

Analyses of institutional discourse have tended to focus on two main areas. On one hand, in line with a conversation analytic tradition, they have foregrounded the sequential organisation of talk (for example Drew and Heritage 1992). On the other hand, critical approaches have mostly been concerned with the distribution of power in institutional encounters, such as for example police interviews (Haworth 2006; Thornborrow 92: 37-59). Both seem to refer to a macro level by considering the institution. Within various institutions there are however their representative and a distinction between *institutional* and *professional discourse* can be made. Sarangi and Roberts (1999) make the comparison between the two with recourse to the everyday uses of the terms *institution* and *professional,* respectively. Just as institutions tend to refer to organisations based on a set of rules and regulations, so is institutional discourse associated with the features of language attributed to institutional order. Conversely, professional discourse can be characterised as "what professionals routinely do as a way of accomplishing their duties and responsibilities" (Sarangi and Roberts 1999: 15). This definition goes only a little way to consider who can be considered as a *professional* and what implications it has for analysis of interaction in this context, but it does acknowledge work that is carried out by individuals within an institutional framework. It is particularly important within the community policing context, where the institution

would seem to be the police, yet community policing, while drawing on traditional policing is distinct from it. Therefore, in what follows I consider whether PCSOs can be thought of professional. I start off by defining professional discourse, before discussing the differences between lay and professional orientations (Section 2.2.1) and the interface between the institutional and the professional (Section 2.2.2). I then focus on bureaucracy, as a site where the two intersect (Section 2.2.3), and then discuss the significance of professional identities in the context of PCSOs, suggesting that PCSOs find themselves in a place where several potential identities intersect.

2.2.1 Defining professionals

Definitions of *professional*, most often in relation to *professional discourse*, range from very general, such as Gunnarsson's (2009) view that it constitutes "a synonym to 'paid-work related'" (2009: 5), to more specific ones, attempting to capture specific characteristics of professionals. For instance, Kong (2014) defines professional discourse as "the language produced by a professional with specialist training to get something done in the workplace" (2014: 2), highlighting professional expertise and the transactional nature of discourse. As I have already suggested in relation to the institutional discourse, it is a simplification to talk about transactional character of language use, as relational aspects are often equally as prominent. Specialised knowledge (Gunnarson 2009: 9), or professional expertise, on the other hand seems to be one of the defining features of professionals.

The idea of specialised knowledge among PCSOs is contentious. PCSOs receive classroom-based training, which mostly covers the extent of legal powers, while most of the training takes place on the job. Moreover, given that community policing is meant to by driven by the needs of local communities, it can be argued that ultimately it is the citizens who have specific knowledge of their area, and the task of PCSOs is gain that expertise. However, professional expertise is not limited to knowledge. As Candlin and

Candlin (2002) argue, professional expertise relates not only to domain-specific knowledge and practices but also to the management of discursive practices in a given setting. Indeed, the mastery of language alone can be seen as a token of belonging to a given profession. For instance, as Mertz (2007) suggests, "a lawyer thinks like a lawyer because one speaks, writes and reads like a lawyer" (2003: 3). Similarly, *policespeak* has been identified as a specific way, or a register, in which police officers talk (Fox 1993; Hall 2008). Fox's (1993) study identified a number of features indicative of the register, such as the omnipresence of time references as well as specific lexical items, for example the use of a word 'vehicle' instead of 'car'. While her study was small-scale so only indicative, it identified examples of linguistic features that can be associated with the police. As we will see, PCSOs at times also make use of those features, which I suggest index their belonging to the police as an institution.

Bhatia (2002:55) adopts a wider definition of professional expertise, which moves beyond discursive competence to include professional practice. Similarly, apart from the importance of specialist knowledge and profession-specific language, Goodwin (1994) demonstrated how professionals share what he refers to as *professional vision.* Defined as "socially organized ways of seeing and understanding events that are answerable to the distinctive interests of a particular social group" (Goodwin 1994: 606), the notion highlights the interdependence of discursive practices, knowledge and specific professional activities. When applied to PCSOs, conceptualising what their professional vision might be, as compared for example to sworn police officers, contributes to defining the extent to which PCSOs can be claimed professionals.

One of Goodwin's examples was the testimony given by a police officer in court, and Goodwin argued that the viewing of a CCTV footage was interpreted and represented in line with the interests of the police. PCSOs are not exclusively answerable to the institution but rather also need to have community's interests at heart, and consequently their "ways of seeing" can include both traditional policing one, such as

awareness to crime control, and more community-oriented ones. It seems therefore that their professional vision is directed by a set of professional values. Pattison and Thomas (2010: 13) see values as "integral to frameworks for understanding the world and guiding behaviour, attitudes and actions in it." Values of community policing, such as citizen empowerment and community engagement but also providing reassurance and ensuring safety, provide a general rather than normative framework which includes elements of professional values of sworn police officers. PCSOs' values guide individual behaviour in specific instances, and in the course of the thesis I will argue how PCSOs often need to attend to multiple, at times contradictory, values, inherent in the community policing model, attesting to its heteroglossic character. The specific values of community policing, despite their overlap with those found in traditional policing, demonstrate how PCSOs are different from sworn officers. And although PCSOs need to orient to community, there is clearly a distinction between them and members of the community, which I examine in more detail now.

2.2.2 Lay–professional distinction

The term *lay* is typically used in binary opposition to *professional* or *expert* (ten Have 2008: 251). The distinction between lay people and experts relates primarily to differences in access to specialised knowledge (Fage-Butler and Anesa 2016: 197). In studies of healthcare communication, the degree to which patients can truly be seen as lay has been called into question (see for example Sarangi 2001; Ferguson 2007; Fage-Butler and Anesa 2016). Similarly, Matoesian (2001) demonstrated how a defendant, who was also a physician, could shift between the "lay" (witness) and "expert" (doctor) categories during a trial. In those cases, however, the specialist knowledge is evident. PCSOs, however, see their knowledge as derived from the communities (Bullock 2013: 130-131), which problematises the presupposed knowledge asymmetry between "lay" citizens and "professional" PCSOs.

PCSOs represent the police and do have some law enforcement training, which means that they have some background in legal rules and procedures, particularly in relation to the activities they are likely to monitor or manage. For instance, one of the common PCSO-relevant problems in many neighbourhoods is antisocial behaviour, and PCSOs will typically be cognisant not only with the principles of the legislation that regulates the problem but also with specific administrative procedures which support that legislation, and we will see examples of how similar knowledge is enacted throughout the thesis.

In this sense, one might consider language used by PCSOs in interaction with members of the public, as an example of *legal-lay* communication of PCSOs' knowledge of rules and regulations. Tracy and Delgadillo (2013: 228) present a few ways in which the term *legal-lay* can be understood and raise a number of questions this label brings, including whether *legal* is a category of people, or whether *lay* simply means absence of whatever is defined as *legal.* Adopting the latter perspective in the context of PCSOs would distinguish officers from citizens based on their link to the police and some of the training they receive. Rock, Heffer and Conley (2013: 9) suggest that conceptualising the *legal-lay* distinction as cognitive or discursive styles of discourse, as opposed to categories of participants or institutional talk, makes it possible to talk about legal-lay communication when one or more participants are either legal or lay. They also suggest it is possible to think of legal and lay voices in discourse. Throughout the thesis I will show how PCSOs, because of their position between the police and communities, are able to indeed mobilise legal voices, indexing the institution, and lay voices, referring to the community, often within the same interaction, showing multivoiceness of their discourse.

As for the *lay* element of legal-lay pair, the often informal character of interactions between members of the public and PCSOs, makes it difficult to use the term in systematic opposition to the *legal* character of PCSOs' work. Therefore, throughout

the thesis I make reference to *members of the public*, to underline the general character of populations officers engage with, or *citizens*, to situate the interactions within democratic policing (Manning 2010) and civic values. I favour the term *citizen* over *civilian,* sometimes employed in the policing encounters, because of its military undertones (Merritt 2009: 380). Moreover, PCSOs can also be technically considered as civilians as well, as they are not sworn police officers (Cosgrove 2016: 120).

2.2.3 The intersection of the institutional and the professional

Alongside the distinction between lay and professional orientations that PCSOs can display in their interactions, a distinction between the institutional and the professional can also be drawn. Sarangi and Roberts (1999) suggest that an *institution* is "an orderly arrangement of things which involves regulations, efficient systems and very different kinds of knowledge from that of the professional" (1999: 14), while *professional* refers to an individual who occupies this institutional space and displays agency. This distinction becomes blurry once we talk about corresponding institutional and professional discourse.

Roberts and Sarangi (1999: 480), investigating a site where institutional and professional discourses are present, namely an oral examination for the Royal College of General Practitioners in the UK, identify three modes of talk. These are: personal experience mode (linked to lay accounts and reminiscent of informal discussion), professional mode (relating to professional values of general practice) and institutional mode (referring to the medical discourse but also to a gatekeeping activity of an entrance interview). Roberts and Sarangi (1999) argue that all three modes can be found during the interviews, resulting in a hybrid discourse. The distinction between the three different modes is helpful in drawing attention to tensions that arise during an oral examination, and suggests a great complexity at the interface of institutional and professional discourses. However, the specific identification of modes can become

problematic in other contexts. For instance, the question of what constitutes an institution for PCSOs does not have a simple answer. Is it the police, understood primarily as on organisation? The notion of policing, which includes elements of social control? Or perhaps, the specific format of policing, which is community policing? In this thesis, I further demonstrate the complexities of tensions between institutional regulations and professional values by demonstrating how within the context of community policing the institutional relates not only to the institution of the police but also includes the needs of local communities.

2.2.4 Bureaucracy

The work of PCSOs can be situated at the site of contact between institutional representatives and citizens, and the examination of bureaucracy and bureaucratic practices highlights in particular how the institutional, the professional and the personal interact. Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996) use the term bureaucracy to demonstrate how institutional order is enacted in practice through language. They argue that social control is exercised by bureaucrats who represent the institution facing citizens. Even in the case of intermediary professions, such as mediators or counsellors, Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996: 146-178) demonstrate how these 'go between' agents sustain the institutionally preferred version of citizens.

Indeed, an important aspect of bureaucracy is the ways in which clients are discursively constructed, especially with regards to a specific moral order. For example, Codó (2011) demonstrated how employees at a Spanish immigration office reproduced the institutional order and exercised strategies of control aimed at producing a "good migrant", who would comply with state procedures and subject themselves to the moral hierarchy required by the institution. Similarly, Hall, Jokinen and Suonien (2003), based on the analysis of social work conferences with mothers who intend to give up their children, argue that "the negotiation of rejecting mothers could be seen in terms of social

workers creating morally validated identity categories in order to fit them into institutional processes" (2003: 43). Lay-professional encounters like these offer sites where extensive moral categorisation takes place. As Candlin (1997: xi-xii) argues, professional discourse demonstrates a "licensed belonging" to institution, which, in turn, grants professional authority. Through the appeal to the moral dimension and violation of institutional authority professionals are able to construct the desired version of their clients who will have to conform to it.

One specific way in which the moral order can be established by institutional representatives, even if it is done without specific reference to categorisation, is through the invocation of individual rights and responsibilities. Yngvesson (1988) demonstrated how a court clerk who had a discretionary power to either issue a criminal charge or handle a case informally effectively played a dominant role in the proceedings. The clerk, "a transitional figure linking court and community" (Yngvesson 1988: 411), effectively controlled the discourse by articulating particular notions of orders and rights, highlighting either neighbourhood relations or individual rights. By emphasising one acceptable set of rights and responsibilities over the other, the clerk was able to enact their vision of events which was institutionally accepted but allowed them to have a final say on the matter. PCSOs have a potential to play a similar role, as community policing emphasises citizens' right to decide on the direction of local policing, yet the delivery of policing is eventually up to PCSOs.

Professionals are often concerned about what is allowable within the institution (Sarangi and Roberts 1999: 18). For instance, in the world of policing, any requests made by citizens need to demonstrate "police-worthiness" (Meehan 1989). Therefore, bureaucratic encounters, particularly of a gate-keeping nature (Erickson and Schultz 1982; Roberts and Sarangi 1999; Kerekes 2007; Codó 2008) are not only an exercise in moral judgement but represent a test of applicability to institutional criteria more widely. Professionals might be tasked with ensuring that institutional rules and

procedures are met, but citizens will often realise the need to comply with what is expected of them. As Sarangi and Slembrouck argue, "bureaucracy is all about 'playing the game'" (1996: 37), pointing out that not everyone is aware of the rules, which leads to inequalities. In the context of community policing, this has important ideological implications, as citizens are meant to be empowered and it raises the question whether all individual PCSOs have access to the same set of resources.

Bureaucracy can therefore be seen as a specific form of dominance and social control. Such a view, however, only reproduces the assumption of institutional dominance and downplays the importance of individual agency. Lay participants, however, are able to exert some influence on the encounter's agenda. For instance, Matarese and van Nijnatten (2015), in their analysis of encounters between social workers and their clients, introduce the term *client insistence* to refer to ways in which clients persistently introduce and maintain topics which depart from those institutionally preferred. There is however no guarantee that alternative topics and framings, introduced by lay participants, will be successful. Van De Mieroop and Van Der Haar (2008) described a case of a client in a social work interview who actively attempts to construct two conflicting identities, only one of which is actively recognised and encouraged by the social worker as the competing identity would not be productive in institutional terms. Nevertheless, the client is able to position herself in some ways that the social worker cannot dispute (van de Mieroop and van der Haar 2008: 383). Therefore, even if lay participants have a limited possibility to shape institutional interaction on their terms, there are nevertheless ways for them to influence it. The community policing context provides a good site to investigate the phenomenon further with the values of citizen empowerment engrained in the construction of police-citizen contact. In particular, in Chapter 5, we will see how citizens are able to use the institutionally-preferred vision of events and construction of self as a good citizen to resist officers' deontic authority.

Not only do citizens have ways of challenging institutional dominance, but the role of bureaucrats cannot be reduced to exerting social control. Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996: 169) recognise that bureaucrats are able to help their clients thanks to their insights into how institutions operate. For instance, Paoletti (2012) suggests that emergency call operators "teach callers the system", explaining what procedures are in place. Baynham et al. (2018) adopt the term *epistemic flattening* to refer to strategies aimed at reducing knowledge asymmetries in lawyer-client interaction. In their case study, an immigration lawyer explains to her clients the legal complexities, checking whether they understand the legal concepts presented in everyday language, ensuring that lay participants' access is upheld. In this sense, the role of PCSOs in ensuring that citizens have access to the information they need is crucial. However, the role of bureaucrats can also be seen as working in partnership with citizens rather than as sole agents responsible for individual's success within an institutional setting. For instance, Cromdal et al. (2008) argue that both parties jointly produce an institutionally appropriate version of events during emergency calls. Treating citizens as partners, central to the ethos of community policing, does indeed suggest joint working, but as we will see, it does not always materialise in practice.

Ensuring lay participants' access to knowledge of institutional procedures, although crucial in legal settings, is only one strategy which institutional representatives can adopt to challenge interactional asymmetry. Equally important is the language and mode used within the institution, which institutional actors can influence. For instance, Trinch (2001) demonstrated how paralegals entextualised domestic abuse survivors' narratives into institutionally appropriate genres. Officials can thus act as mediators or translators (Blackledge, Creese and Hu 2018). Given that PCSOs are framed as a link between the police and community, they too potentially act in such a capacity. In Chapter 4, we will see how officers use their knowledge of institutional procedures not only to

help advance individuals' cases but also to make them comply with the habitual institutional ways of behaviour.

I have argued so far that contrary to the view of institutional and bureaucratic encounters in terms of asymmetry and dominance, officials often help lay participants advance their case. Bureaucrats nevertheless play a central role in navigating institutional rules and procedures. The notion of *street-level bureaucrats* is helpful in thinking about the interface of the institution and officials who face citizens on its behalf. Lipsky (1980) defines street-level bureaucrats as "public service workers who interact directly with citizens in the course of their jobs, and who have substantial discretion in the execution of their work" (1980: 3). Lipsky argued that discretion is a necessary part of bureaucrats' work. Lipsky's work explored the importance of discretion and has been taken up in particular in public management research, specifically with emphasis on policy implementation (see for example recent work by Sandfort 2000; Hoyle 2014; Tummers and Bekkers 2014). PCSOs are not necessarily tasked with implementing a specific policy, or rather the policy could be seen as broadly speaking community engagement. However, in their daily work they are nevertheless required to make decisions. As I mentioned in Chapter 1, they have a limited set of powers, and are able to enforce a range of rules, for example through issuing fixed penalty notices or confiscating alcohol. In opting to enforce these rules or deciding against it, PCSOs need to take into consideration multiple voices coming from the community.

Manyard-Moody and Musheno (2003), based on their analysis of interviews with social workers, police officers and counsellors, conceptualise the tensions that bureaucrats experience in terms of two opposing forces:

> We refer to the demand that workers apply law, rules, and administrative procedures to people's behavior as the expectations of law abidance. We reference the orientation of workers to concentrate on their judgements of who people are, their perceived identities and moral character, as the desire for cultural abidance.
>
> (Manyard-Moody and Musheno 2003: 4)

State agents need to exercise discretion because the need to reconcile two very different forces: on one hand professionals need to orient to the legal and procedural aspects of their work, mandated by the institution; and, on the other hand, they must consider the complex needs of the individuals they interact with. Although the broad distinction between *law* and *cultural abidance* signals the various pressures that professionals are subject to, it also reduces the complexity of individual experience and social interaction to the two opposing poles. As I will show in this thesis, the reality is much more nuanced and PCSOs have to navigate their working lives through a number of competing forces. Crucially then officers need to constantly position themselves *vis-à-vis* competing norms, which I would like to suggest is at the heart of their professional identity.

2.2.5 Professional identity

PCSOs are among a few professions that face similar conflicts of conflicting norms. This struggle often leads to a formation of distinct professional identities, which define a group of professionals. Research on professional identity had tended to adopt a constructivist perspective (Richards 2006; Angouri and Marra 2011; Van De Mieroop and Schnurr 2017), focussing on how identities are talked into being. Following Hall, Sarangi and Slembrouck, who argue that "role and identity are not regarded as fixed categories but as resources which actors draw on to carry out everyday lives" (1999: 293), I pay attention to performance, in discussing identity (see discussion of role in Section 2.3). Given the inherent tensions in the role of PCSO, as they need to adhere to institutional rules and take into account the needs of communities, the focus on "identity struggle" (van de Mieroop and Schnurr 2017) is particularly relevant.

Two main contexts in which professional identity is constructed can be identified. On one hand, professionals can strive to demonstrate in-group competence, performing belonging to a specific group and distance from others. In this case, most of the identity-work is done among colleagues, whether it is through the acquisition and

display of expertise by novices (Nguyen 2006; Gordon and Luke 2012; Rock 2016a; Reissner-Roubicek 2017), through the use of solidarity tactics such as humour (Holmes 2000; Holmes and Marra 2002; Richards 2010), or through navigating other identities related to age, gender or ethnicity (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011; Van De Mieroop and Clifton 2012; Baxter 2017). However, as already mentioned, I am primarily interested in interactions as they occur between PCSOs and members of the public.

Research in professional-lay encounters indeed suggests that professional identity is produced in face of their clients. An example of such construction is professionals' positioning at the interface of the institution and the client. For instance, Maley et al. (1995) demonstrate how lawyers use their knowledge of law to recontextualize clients' accounts into institutionally appropriate categories. Therefore, the interface of the institutional and the professional, as discussed above, becomes not only a site for construction of clients, but also the construction of their profession itself. It is particularly important in cases where professional identity is nascent. Iedema and Sheeres (2003) argue that the need to discursively construct the professional self is ubiquitous in modern workplaces. However, this need is particularly pronounced among professions which are emerging or in flux. For instance, Graf (2011) demonstrates how executive coaches employed metalinguistic talk about their activities in an endeavour to not only explain their professional role but also talk it into being. PCSOs, whose recognisability can be questioned, also face a similar problem, and I will present data which demonstrate how they explicitly state to citizens what their role is.

Professional identity construction not only takes place either facing other professionals or lay participants. File and Wilson (2017), for instance, demonstrate how rugby coaches switch between private-facing interactions, when they act as team leaders and motivators talking to other team members, and public facing interactions, when they give media interviews, acting as representatives of the whole team. It is a distinction which brings to mind Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical perspective,

according to which social life is performed in front and back regions. Although this thesis focuses on analysis of interactions between PCSOs and members of the public, thus taking place on the frontstage, I also examine instances of talk taking place in the back region. In doing so, I will demonstrate the explanatory power of the backstage talk, in particular in the form of commentary.

Most of the backstage activities relate to preparations for specific frontstage activities, as is often the case in the medical practice when professionals discuss a patient's case prior to their consultation (Wittenberg-Lyles, Cie' Gee, Oliver and Demiris 2009). However, as the dramaturgical model also exposes the talk involved *in* 'doing' as frontstage and the interactions that talk *about* 'doing' as backstage (Wilson 2013: 183), we will see examples of how PCSOs comment on communicative events, which will shed light on assumption shared by individual officers. As Georgakopoulou (2011) notes, "adding the level of reflexive discourses to the practical action environments yields certain contradictions and tensions between what people do (…) and what their normative expectations about their roles are" (2011: 152).

The notion of professional identity prioritises distinguishing a given group from others. For PCSOs this can mean specifically setting them apart from police constables, but also potentially from other helping professionals. The nature of PCSOs' work is varied and by virtue of continuous presence and engagement with citizens, officers are often asked to perform tasks that lie outside of (community) policing's remit. Crucially, PCSOs were introduced as a bridge between the police and communities, and in this thesis I scrutinise how their theoretical position of a "go-between" is discursively enacted in practice.

2.3 Theorising in-betweenness

The position of PCSOs as a bridge between a state agency and citizen is similar to many professionals: counsellors, mediators, social workers, legal advisors. Indeed, individual

officers end up performing some of the tasks typically associated with those professions. To explore many different ways in which PCSOs orient to the institutional and the professional, and occupy the space in between, I take up Sarangi's (2010) suggestion that the notion of *role* might be more productive in professional settings. As Marra and Angouri (2011) argue, "[t]here is a strong conceptual relationship between role and identity, terms that are often collapsed or used interchangeably. The operationalisation of the former can, however, shed light on the elusive nature of the latter" (2011: 1-2) The key difference between the two terms resides in expectations that roles imply. In the words of Zayts and Schnurr (2014), "[t]he identities that individuals construct (for themselves and others) are closely related to the expectations associated with their respective roles in a specific context" (2014: 347). Indeed, the notion of expectations has been central to the definition of the term, as we will see. Below, I critically review the development of the term, from sociological accounts of role to its discursive realisation. I then suggest that instead of conceptualising PCSOs as performing hybrid role, a heteroglossic approach is more appropriate.

2.3.1 The notion of role

The notion of role has been theorised from a number of different disciplinary perspectives, and in what follows I trace the development of the term, starting with sociological theory, which often saw role in normative terms, before moving on to more interactionist approaches. In the social sciences, role tends to associate a set of behaviours with a particular social position (Biddle 1979: 5). The nature of the relationship between these behaviours and given positions can be expressed in terms of societal expectations. For Mead (1934), assuming roles was an essential part of the socialisation process, with individuals discovering different social positions and what is appropriate for them. The notion of expectations was operationalised by Linton (1936), who introduced a distinction between status and role, defining the former as

"a collection of rights and duties" (1936: 113), with role being a realisation of status. As Linton put it, "[t]he individual is socially assigned to a status and occupies it with relation to other statuses. When he [sic] puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect, he [sic] is performing a rôle" (1936: 114). An individual therefore is able to perform a number of different roles but they are always linked to a particular status and a set of rights and obligations that go with it. Similarly, Parsons (1951) also saw role as a socially agreed set of rights and obligations. In his example of the sick role, a person who becomes ill is not only physically sick but has to take up the role of 'sanctioned deviance', with medical profession policing their behaviour. Role therefore is seen as part of social structure with individuals having to abide by the norms shared by the society.

This view makes room for an individual to perform multiple roles associated with different social positions they occupy, but roles are seen as dictated by social order. Yet, as Sarangi (2010) notes, roles are transformed all the time. Even Linton (1971) suggested that a traditional system of roles and statuses was breaking down with the rise of technology and increased social mobility (1971: 114). The changing nature of roles seems to be taken for granted in modern societies. Indeed, Giddens (1991) suggests that individuals need to establish roles for themselves. Given that PCSOs were introduced relatively recently, even though their role might be defined institutionally, their rights and obligations are not necessarily recognised by people who they interact with. This uncertainty means that roles need to be negotiated.

In his critique of a structuralist approach equating roles with statues, Turner (1990) argued that roles are created in interaction, whether individuals draw on their actual social positions or behave as if these positions were in place. Nevertheless, he recognised a normative element of role, whereby specific norms between people develop. Turner suggested that the actor needs to be consistent, in other words he suggests that "his behavior remain [sic] within the confines of a single role" (1990: 97).

He also noted that in institutional contexts, roles are often predetermined. Even though roles are created, or in Turner's terms "made", in interaction, it would seem that their performance needs to be repeated and patterned in some way. This model presupposes the priority of predefined roles which an individual may perform. In the case of varied interactions, such as PCSOs talking to people on the beat in different contexts and for various reasons, it may be difficult to identify roles that are consistently performed and thus made.

One way to overcome this problem of static roles is to conceptualise them as resources. Callero (1994), for instance, suggests that role can be seen as cultural object and resource. He argues that role is available not only to the individual performing it but also other individuals and institutions, who can use it for their purposes. Following an earlier argument put forward by Baker and Faulkner (1991), he gives an example of role of university professor, which can be appropriated by others, for instance filmmakers can use the cultural object of an absentminded professor to entertain. Callero suggests that the role as resource perspective "recognizes the unpredictable and changing nature of interaction" but it "does not find it necessary to presuppose structure in the form of preestablished position" (Callero 1994: 230). It is an idea that is echoed by Hall, Sarangi and Slembrouck (1999: 293), who conceptualise roles "as resources which actors draw on to carry out their everyday lives" and study how roles are used in discourse among social workers, their clients and other professionals. They argue that roles of both social workers and their clients are actively constructed through constant formation and reformation of client categories in interaction. Similarly, Halkowski (1990) demonstrates how role can be deployed interactionally to issue and avoid accusations in Congressional hearings. In a similar vein, Housley (1999) shows how roles at an organisational level, such as lay volunteer or social worker, are accomplished, negotiated and used as a resource in multidisciplinary team meetings. In Chapter 4, I take a similar position, demonstrating how PCSOs perform multiple roles, some of

which align with ones that are normatively prescribed and some of which are ascribed in interaction. As a result, roles need to be negotiated amongst a tension that arises from different expectations.

2.3.2 Goffman's *participation framework*

The notion of roles in interaction links to participation. Goffman's (1981) decomposition of the traditional speaker-hearer model led him to discuss the notion of footing, which he defines as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (Goffman 1981: 128). This definition can include a range of practices such as displaying stance and change in keyings (Sidnell 2009: 139-140; Dynel 2011: 456-457). The central aspect of footing relates to the production and reception of talk and it is against this background that Goffman suggests that the notions of speaker and hearer should be decomposed and considered in terms of 'production format' and 'reception framework', respectively. Production format is of particular relevance for the analysis of the data, as it makes it possible to focus on whose voices are brought into the interaction, offering therefore a potential to demonstrate how PCSOs' talk is multivoiced.

Goffman (1981: 144-145) specifies three possible roles a speaker can occupy: the *principal,* whose position is represented in the message, the *author*, who is responsible for the content of the message; and the *animator*, who utters the words. Goffman is very clear that these notions do not refer to any social roles but rather serve as analytic ones, and as such they are useful in mapping speaker's roles in production. This is relevant in the context of community policing because as we will see PCSOs sometimes act exclusively on behalf of the institution, which is the principal in their talk but on other occasions the voice of the community is privileged.

Considered against the backdrop of the concept of role, Goffman's model drew attention to the complexities of participation structure, demonstrating three various

roles that speakers can perform, depending on the relationship between the speaker and the message. Levinson (1988) proposed that a more detailed model would better capture the various roles participants can occupy. He suggested a systematic scheme which lists nearly twenty roles. However, Irvine (1996: 134-136) critiqued such a typology, arguing that the number of roles could be created *ad infinitum,* depending on context. An additional criticism could be levelled at the ownership of the specific labels to name particular roles: are they treated as simple analytical categories, devised by the researcher, or do they aim to represent an emic understanding of what roles mean to individuals who perform them? Irvine suggests the introduction of a limited number of primary roles, with types derived from situational frames and dialogic relations. However, she does not give specific examples of what these primarily roles could be. After all, roles are context-specific, and in this thesis I will demonstrate how they can be shaped by an individual citizen's expectations in an encounter with PCSOs.

2.3.3 Activity roles vs. discourse roles

Although Irvine (1996: 140-141) refuted the possibility of labelling all possible roles, she distinguished between participant roles at two levels—utterance and speech events: "[a]n utterance (…) occurs within a dialogue which is in turn part of a speech event—an organized stretch of discourse with some internal structure, performance conventions and an overarching structure of participation" (Irvine 1996: 140). This distinction mirrors *activity roles* and *discourse roles*, proposed by Sarangi (2010) and Halvorsen and Sarangi (2015), which I will discuss in more detail below.

Activity roles draw on Levinson's (1979) notion of activity type, which is defined as "a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-oriented, socially constituted, bounded events with constraints on participants, settings and so on, but above all on the kind of allowable contributions" (1979: 368). Activity role then refers to the relationship between participants and the activity type in which they take part, for example news

interviewer or meeting chair. However, the applicability of activity types to examine encounters between PCSOs and members of the public can be questioned, mainly due to a variety of formats and some activities being more institutionalised than others. In other words, it would be ill-guided to classify a chance encounter between a PCSO and a member of the public as a specific activity. Given PCSOs' focus on community work, not all their activities are necessarily goal-oriented, and the relative lack of awareness among members of the public about what PCSOs do means that there are not necessarily patterns recognised by people who come into contact with officers. Nonetheless, thinking about activity roles is useful in that it draws the analytic gaze to actions which are performed by individuals within a specific context, with specific interactional constraints attached to a given activity type. For instance, a meeting chair may intervene at any point during the meeting but also is expected to follow an agenda.

Discourse roles, on the other hand, mirror broadly Goffman's production and reception roles, and refer to participation at a level of an utterance. While someone can be a meeting chair for the duration of the meeting, they are very unlikely to occupy the role of speaker for the whole time, but rather their discourse roles will shift during the meeting. Nevertheless, there is a link between what position one occupies and discourse roles one assumes. Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996: 68) suggest that discourse roles are dependent on social mandate and are closely intertwined with social roles. PCSOs derive their mandate from communities they serve but their social roles, although institutionally defined in terms of community engagement, are less clear.

2.3.4 Among different roles: role set

I have already indicated that PCSOs can be seen as performing different roles typically associated with other professions. This multiplicity of roles at their disposal can be conceptualised as a *role set*. The term was introduced by Merton, who problematised

Linton's direct link between status and role. Merton argued that a given status has a number of associated roles:

> Role-set theory begins with the concept that each social status involves not a single associated role, but an array of roles. This feature of social structure gives rise to the concept of role-set: that complement of social relationships in which persons are involved simply because they occupy a particular social status. Thus, a person in the status of medical student plays not only the role of student vis-à-vis the correlative status of his teachers, but also an array of other roles relating him diversely to others in the system: other students, physicians, nurses, social workers, medical technicians, and the like. (Merton 1968: 42)

Merton distinguished between role set and multiple roles, the latter corresponding to various social statutes. The notion of role set takes into account the varied relationships that individuals have with others. Although Merton breaks away with a one to one correspondence between role and status, the relationship between the two is still strong. Goffman (1961: 85-86), on the other hand, adopts an interactionist perspective when he notes that one's "role enactment occurs largely through a cycle of face-to-face social situations with *role others*, that is, relevant audiences." For Goffman, the varied audiences collectively form a role set, and this determines three major ways of thinking about role. Firstly, role's interactional character is underlined, and it relates to the notion of role performance. Secondly, role set reflects multiple audiences and gives rise to a relational character of role, which can lead to potentially conflicting roles within one role set, depending on an audience. And finally, the notion of a set would suggest a number of finite options available to an individual.

For Merton and Goffman, the notion of role set in professional settings is a result of an inter-professional contact, for instance between doctors and students. This would suggest that there are clearly defined roles available to professionals. Sarangi (2010) suggests that in healthcare contexts, doctors "are continually exposed to a repertoire of professional role categories (role-set) through medical education, apprenticeship and

experience" (2010: 54). However, different roles can emerge in the course of an interaction in response to local needs. An interactional perspective, with the focus on actual role performance, allows us a detailed examination of the development of some of the different roles within a given role-set. As I will demonstrate, data across a number of events shed light on the ways in which the repertoire of roles gets constructed and contested not just in the course of an interaction but also across a range of encounters between PCSOs and members of the public.

Contestation of roles is possible because roles which sometimes conflict form part of the same role-set. Hall, Sarangi and Slembrouck (1999) show how during child welfare conferences a mother can be categorised as 'good mother' as well as 'bad parent'. Using interactional data they demonstrate how a social worker constructs client's conflicting roles: a caring mother who co-operates with the child protection services but at the same time does not exercise enough parental control. In this case professionals assign roles to a lay participant, but roles of professionals are also constructed in interaction. For instance, Zayts and Schnurr (2014) argue that genetic counselling nurses, apart from taking on roles typically associated with nurses, take on roles that emerge as a result of both institutional agendas and demands placed by the local environment of the session. As a result, they take on roles traditionally assigned to nurses, such as counsellor or information provider, while assuming roles not typically associated with nursing, such as mediator. This variability of roles taken on could stem from the relatively recent introduction of genetic counselling nurses, whereby the norms and expectations, and consequently different roles, are not clearly defined. Similarly, PSCOs can draw on resources typically associated with police officers, because of their institutional affiliation and uniformed presence but can also rely on the community policing spirit in formulating their roles.

2.3.5 Hybridity

The multiplicity of roles performed by PCSO and their position at the interface of the police and community might lead to their performance of *hybrid* role. The term hybridity has gained research currency in institutional settings, for example professional body entry examinations (Roberts and Sarangi 1999), genetic counselling (Sarangi 2000), broadcast interviews (Ekström 2011; Hutchby 2011; Kantara 2017; Wadjensö 2008), classrooms (Kamberelis and Wehunt 2012; Kohnen 2013) and courtrooms (Torres Amitza 2014). Despite its growing popularity, in this section, after defining the term, I will consider its limitations, before suggesting heteroglossia as an alternative theoretical concept, suitable for the study of community policing, in the next section.

Hybridity is generally understood to refer to some sort of blending of previously existing forms to create a new interactional form. These blended forms are often conceived of in terms of discourse roles, activities, styles or genres which can be mixed to create new ones (see Mäntynen and Shore 2014 for an overview of the topic with relation to genre studies). For instance, Sarangi (2000) sees genetic counselling as an activity type (Levinson 1979) which combines elements of many activity types, such as medical consultation, or gatekeeping and service encounters. Consequently, a genetic counselling session is seen as a hybrid entity, during which the counsellor takes on certain roles, such as expert, gatekeeper, service provider, etc.

For Sarangi (2000) a given activity type becomes hybrid because of various roles typically performed in a range of other activity types. Others have applied the notion of hybridity to specific professions. For example, Ainsworth, Grant and Iedema (2009) argue that following organisational changes in healthcare middle managers embody hybrid occupational roles. This claim, however, is only based on self-reports in interviews. Candlin (2011) too suggests that nurses occupy a number of roles, such as carer, counsellor, or information provider. The labels used to describe the roles only

serve an analytical purpose and, while they suggest what the roles entail and are activity-based, there is a danger of an analyst imposing arbitrary categories. The ethnographic lens mitigates against this risk, and in the analysis in Chapter 4 I will demonstrate how different roles can be linked to previous utterances or texts.

Hybridity, by its very nature, refers to new phenomena as it combines existing elements. Therefore, hybrid roles have mostly been discussed in relatively new contexts, such as genetic counselling (for example Sarangi 2000) or executive coaching (Graf 2011). Hybridity therefore focuses on innovation and using pre-existing resources. However, as Hasan (2000) argues "the metaphor of genre combination and hybridity inherently discourages reflection on the ways in which 'these different things' are fused into one, while retaining their own character" (2000: 44). Upon a closer examination of hybrid phenomena I would argue that there are two main problems with hybridity. They relate to what I refer to as the problem of component parts and the problem of the end product. The former relates to the difficulties in establishing the status of the individual components which can be hybridised and the latter questions the status of the fusion. While I will tackle the two issues separately for analytical ease, it seems helpful to think of them as two sides of a coin.

Firstly, when thinking about the component parts of a hybrid it is not always analytically possible to establish what they are, at what level they operate or where they come from. A similar point is made by Lemke (2008), who argues that hybridity "is something of a misnomer. It presupposes the essentialization of the categories across which we 'hybridize'" (2008: 19). Thinking about roles specifically, once again it is not always clear which roles are performed, at which level and whether their identification is just an analytical decision.

When it comes to the product of the process, that is a hybrid, a central question is whether, over time, the once hybrid made up of different elements, becomes a standard recognised element that can be further hybridised. For instance, one can

easily foresee a growing popularity of genetic counselling and what now seems as hybrid might be regarded as a standalone activity feeding into new hybrid activities to come. With regards to medical settings, Bonnin (2013: 690) suggests that reconfiguration of institutional roles is not exceptional but rather a constitutive feature of communication. The need to negotiate roles becomes even more salient in professional contexts which have recently come to be or are being contested, such as neighbourhood policing. Therefore, drawing attention to the unusual character of talk in those settings by marking them as hybrid may not be the most productive analytically. Instead, I suggest focussing on the resources used in interaction, paying particular attention to their heteroglossic nature.

Trying to link various elements forming part of hybrid roles, and in particular their interactional achievement, means that it is possible to see different subjects' positionings. The specific focus on interactional performance sheds light on the multivoiced nature of communication. Rather than directing gaze at the end product, which could be seen as a hybrid, it is possible to adapt the analytic lens focus to either specific interactional roles or professional role of PCSOs as such. Heteroglossia therefore offers an orientation that allows the analyst to look at how interactional resources are used in constructing roles. In other words, adopting a heteroglossic lens allows to focus on individual parts without losing sight of the whole, while simultaneously challenging the status of an end product.

2.4 Heteroglossia

As an alternative to hybridity I propose the engagement with Bakhtin's (1981) heteroglossia. Although heteroglossia was a term primarily developed to study literary texts, Bakhtin saw language as heteroglossic in principle:

> Thus at any given moment of its historical existence, language is hetergolot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between different epochs of the past,

> between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles, and so forth, all given a bodily form. These "languages" of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of forms, forming new socially typifying languages.
>
> (Bakhtin 1981: 291)

Although the quote above mentions distinct languages and a variety of forms, heteroglossia foregrounds the existence of social tensions within a language. Ivanov (2001) sees heteroglossia as "the simultaneous use of different kinds of speech or other signs, the tension between them, and their conflicting relationship within one text" (2001: 95). In the previous chapter, I already indicated tension-filled interaction as one of the key features of heteroglossia, and this tension is often expressed among social languages, which I discuss below.

Social languages represent discourses used by individuals respectively coming from different strata of the society, and includes, among other, "social dialects, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age group, tendentious languages, languages of the authorities of various circles and of passing fashions, languages that serve the specific socio-political purposes of the day" (Bakhtin 1981: 262). The language of any group expresses, on the one hand, belonging and identifies the speaker with a given group, but on the other hand, it marks difference and makes contradictions within one's language use evident. When I considered the language of PCSOs as an example of professional discourse, I dismissed the idea that they would be easily identifiable as belonging to a given group, with a unique social language. However, officers' position at the juncture of the institution, communities and individual citizens means that they are able to use elements of the range of social languages of groups they interact with. My decision to adopt the term heteroglossia highlights the diversity of resources that individual officers have at their disposal to negotiate their liminal position.

Madsen (2014: 44) states that heteroglossia is a concept which was created in the process of translation of Bakhtin's works, covering diversity on three different levels: socio-ideological languages, codes and voices. The first element relates to Bakthin's concept of разноречие (raznorechie), which demonstrates the multiplicity of social languages, genres and registers. The multiplicity of national languages, or codes, (разноязычие, raznoyazychie) refers to what would traditionally be understood as multilingualism. Finally, mutlivoicedness (разноголосица, raznogolositsa) implies various ideological positions. A great share of research using a heteroglossic lens has mostly attended to the second level of diversity, focussing a variety of national languages, especially in the context of majority-minority language communities. For example, Pujolar (2001) looked at the ways in which the linguistic repertoire of Barcelona, limited in this case mainly to Catalan and Castilian, is appropriated by two urban youth groups, who also develop distinct styles. Frekko (2011) also looked at the competition between the two varieties in radio broadcasts. A lot of research has focused on educational contexts, demonstrating the discrepancy between institutional monolingualism and multilingual practices of students (Sultana 2014; Huang 2016; Kiramba 2016). Busch (2014: 37-38), however, acknowledges that, even in the context of multilingual classrooms, a heteroglossic lens can showcase multidiscursivity, with learners initiating topics which interest them, and multivoicedness, which implies that learning and teaching take place in a dialogical manner, requiring a constant negotiation of learners' roles and allowing them to discover their voices.

There is, nevertheless, a growing body of research which does not put emphasis on the presence of distinct codes as such, but rather interrogates the nuanced ways in which people use various voices and semiotic resources to signal viewpoints and make personal histories salient. Creese, Blacklege and Takhi (2014), for example, look at the ways in which families construct their position in a social world, drawing on a variety of voices, registers, lects and jargons. Moving beyond a simple understanding of social

diversity based on the use of specific national languages, Creese, Blackledge and Takhi propose that we should focus on "what signs are in use and what these signs point to. A heteroglossic analysis enables us to better understand the tensions and conflicts within, among and between those signs" (2015: 501). In a similar vein, Peuronen (2013) argues that a youth group of Christian snowboarders forms a community of practice using heteroglossic resources, foregrounding different aspects of the group identity through the use of technical sporting vocabulary or Biblical references, both in face-to-face interactions as well as during their online practices. Tagg (2016), using data taken from digitally-mediated communication in the form of text messages, suggests that heteroglossia is also present in interactions between people sharing similar backgrounds and linguistic resources. This thesis contributes to this body of research and extends it to the study of heteroglossia in professional settings, with a focus on spoken interaction.

There are three main reasons why heteroglossia is a productive framework in my research: (a) it makes the plurality of voices evident; (b) it allows research on discourse beyond a bounded speech event, allowing investigation of relationships between different texts and contexts; and (c) as a theoretical concept it has scope for wide analytical application, using heteroglossia as a lens through which other theoretical and analytical terms take on new meaning. Let me now consider the three broad areas in more detail.

2.4.1 Multivoicedness

Blackledge and Creese (2016) suggest that heteroglossia is a framework particularly useful to investigate the complex communicative repertoires which characterise late modern societies, as it allows us to explore positionings in the social world. It relies on multiplicity of voices present in interaction, and as such underlines the dialogical character of interactions: "The word is born in a dialogue as a living rejoinder within it;

the word is shaped in dialogic interaction with an alien word that is already in the object" (Bakhtin 1981: 279). Dialogic discourses always respond to and anticipate the words of others.

Studies in sociolinguistics have tended to focus on the ways in which individuals overtly acknowledge other voices, often in a playful manner. For instance, Vigouroux (2015) examines how stand-up comedians use a variety of linguistic resources to construct their identity through the use of specific genre and performance. Similarly, Rampton (2006) demonstrates how urban youth use crossing and stylisation to mark ethnolinguistic difference. However, equally important is the notion of hidden dialogicality, which represents a dialogue where one of the speakers is not present, but whose voice in nevertheless represented, as "deep traces left by these words have a determining influence on all the present and visible words of the first speaker" (Bakhtin 1984: 197). Tagg (2016: 62) argues that people often voice others in implicit ways by adopting everyday signs with complex sociohistorical trajectories. As this thesis will demonstrate, it is precisely the complexity of many different signs that individuals incorporate into their repertoires, or have to respond to, that creates and sustains the number of tensions. As representatives of the police, as well as speaking on behalf of the communities and individuals they interact with, PCSOs are in situations where a number of voices are present.

Voice has been central to sociolinguistics. Critical approaches, following Hymes (1996), see voice as the capacity to make oneself understood on one's own terms (Blommaert 2005: 68) or as "the means of behaving appropriately through language" (Bartlett 2012: 15). The underlying assumption behind these approaches is rooted in existing inequalities which result in individuals' voice not being heard. The community policing ideology, however, has as its starting point the desire to empower individuals and make policing more democratic (Manning 2010). This is not to mean that inequalities do not exist, and that some citizens are not privileged while others are

marginalised. Instead, I am more interested in how individual officers respond to and use different voices available to them: the voice of institution, voices of communities as a whole and those of individuals that comprise them.

Mutlivoicedness thus represents a plurality of voices. These can be expressed explicitly, through use of reported speech of actual utterances (Buttny 1997; Holt and Clift 2007; Tannen 2007) or hypothetical ones (Myers 1999), but also in an inexplicit manner.

2.4.2 Indexicality

In a heteroglossic perspective, all words have political and sociohistorical associations, which, as Bailey (2007: 258) points out, overlaps with the semiotic notion of indexicality (Peirce 1955). As Blackledge and Creese (2014: 4) argue, "language points to, or 'indexes', a certain point of view, ideology, social class, profession, or other social position." As such, heteroglossia encourages us to think about the wider picture and the historical and political contexts of speech. As I have shown in Chapter 1, there were specific factors which led to the development of the Neighbourhood Policing Programme in the United Kingdom, most notably the "reassurance gap" (Skogan 2006), which means that the considerations of what PCSOs do and how they interact with members of the public can only take place against this backdrop.

Not only does heteroglossia allow us to locate specific events in larger political debates but also it allows for emergence of links between different resources at a smaller scale, in a similar way to intertextuality. Indeed, as Bauman (2005) argues, interdiscursivity "gives us a vantage point on social formations larger than those of the immediate interactional order, and it gives us ways of thinking of power and authority in discourse-based terms larger than those that are immediately and locally produced in the bounded speech event" (2005: 146). Heteroglossia offers the same potential, with the focus on relationships between different signs. In particular, we will see in Chapter

5 how PCSOs talk about and orient to a specific activity in different contexts in a way that cannot necessarily be characterised as intertextual, as separate events do not necessarily refer to each other, but are nonetheless linked.

2.5 Summary

The survey of previous literature which I have offered in this chapter points in two main directions. Firstly, police-citizen interactions have tended to be explored as examples of institutional discourse, and, consequently, in terms of power relations. However, the key feature of PCSOs' work is that they are positioned in between the police and the community, meaning that it is impossible to talk about a simple dichotomy between powerful officers and powerless citizens. Instead, I suggested that a focus on role performance can put a spotlight on how individual officers position themselves in a given moment. I focus on the notion of role in Chapter 4. Rather than seeing officers as occupying a hybrid role, linking the institutional world with the community, I proposed heteroglossia as a framework through which PCSOs' linguistic practices can be analysed. Specifically, I suggested that their language is essentially multivoiced and indexes different points of view, stances and ideological orientations.

Secondly, I signalled some of the ways in which the construct of community policing affects this multivoiced nature of interactions. In particular, I developed the notion of deontic authority, which will be the object of analysis in Chapter 5. Moreover, I suggested that the notion of authority, which is central to the procedural justice model, can be useful in understanding the changing nature of policing, with new emergent values and the shifting focus on citizen participation. Chapter 6 will engage with the notion of space, which I will review in detail then.

This literature review has situated the research in some of the main areas which will assist the analysis of data. Before I move on to engage with data, in the following chapter I present the research design and methodology.

3 Research design and methodology

In this chapter I discuss the research design and methodology adopted in the study. As mentioned in the Introduction, I adopt a linguistic ethnographic approach and here I start by describing the principles of linguistic ethnography, such as the reliance on interactional data as well as contextual information, the importance of researcher reflexivity, and its interdisciplinary character, before outlining the methodological approaches of Interactional Sociolinguistics. In Section 3.2, I then present the data collected in the study, in the form of fieldnotes and audio recordings of spontaneous interactions between PCSOs and members of the public in a variety of contexts, and detail my approach to transcription. In Section 3.3, I present the research site and introduce the participants, as well as offer an overview of activities observed, to provide some basic contextual information relating to what PCSOs do in their daily work. I then discuss ethical considerations, including the question of consent, in Section 3.4. Finally, in Section 3.5, I detail my approaches to data analysis, including the process of identifying the broader analytical themes.

3.1 Linguistic ethnography

The term *linguistic ethnography* denotes an interpretative approach which aims to understand language use situated in its wider social, historical and political context. In fact, echoing Goodwin and Duranti's (1992) assertion that "context and talk are now argued to stand in a mutually reflexive relationship to each other, with talk and the interpretative work it generates, shaping context as much as it shapes talk" (1992: 31), linguistic ethnography does not assume the primacy of language but rather sees it as a situated practice. Using an ethnographic approach has allowed me to investigate ways in which community policing is enacted in interaction, as previously described in

Chapter 1, are realised on the ground in the form of PCSOs' talk and action. Using this ecological approach, combining insights gained from close analysis of spoken language with the wider picture gathered through immersion, aims to understand an emic perspective, that is one as perceived by people whose practices are being researched.

Shaw, Copland and Snell (2015: 1) note that, despite a growing body of research labelled as linguistic ethnography, it is not possible to talk about a unified linguistic ethnographic approach. Rather, this umbrella term (Rampton 2007), brings together a multiplicity of theoretical orientations and methodological tools. The term itself has been contested on the grounds that its distinctiveness from similar approaches has not been clearly specified (Hammersley 2007). However, this lack of disciplinary boundaries should not be treated as a major flaw, but rather seen as an opportunity to use resources that belong to many disciplines. Rampton (2007: 585) characterises linguistic ethnography as a "site of encounter where a number of established lines of research interact", and an ethnographic approach has allowed me to engage with a range of theoretical concepts throughout the thesis coming from various traditions, such as sociology of space in Chapter 6, and conversation analysis, when I undertake the analysis of deontic authority (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012) in Chapter 5. Linguistic ethnography aims to bring together by "tying ethnography down and opening linguistics up" (Rampton et al. 2004: 4). By grounding my analysis in a set of theoretical frameworks and analytical tools, I have been able to ensure the robustness of analysis without losing the sight of the ethnographic experience.

Linguistic ethnography brings in tools, concepts and theories from linguistics, but it is also a form of ethnography. Lillis (2008: 355) argues that ethnography can be understood on three different levels. Firstly, it can be seen as "*deep theorising*" or an epistemology, which places great importance in the processes of knowledge production. Blommaert argues that "[k]nowledge construction is knowledge, the process is the product" (2006, no pagination). Linguistic ethnography places therefore a great

emphasis on researcher's reflexivity, and I will discuss my positionality in Section 3.4.3. Secondly, ethnography can be seen as a methodology, which for Lillis involves "multiple data sources and sustained involvement in contexts of production" (2008: 355). As a *methodology*, ethnography offers the researcher an analytical programme which goes beyond simply the here and now of the available data but rather aims to question how and why the data came to be. This involves reaching for any theories that can help to understand the social reality that forms object of the enquiry. The combination of different methodological tools and theories, associated traditionally with specific disciplines, is one of linguistic ethnography's defining features. Finally, at the very basic level, according to Lillis, despite being primarily interested in studying academic writing, ethnography as a *method* suggests researcher's awareness of the existence of sources of data other than text. In practice, this means accessing a diversity of data sources and their formats.

In order to understand the assumptions guiding an ethnographic enquiry and practical implications of these assumptions, I will focus in particular on two levels of understanding ethnography: seeing it as an epistemology, or in Lillis's terms "deep theorising", and a methodology, that is a systemic and strategic collection of individual methods. I will discuss both in turn.

The "deep theorising" level deals primarily with treating ethnography as an epistemology, considering what research can uncover. Blommaert (2007) argues that a key theoretical assumption is the recognition of the fact that "social events are contextualized, connected with other events, meaningful in a more-than-unique way, and functional to those who perform the practices that construct the event" (2007: 684). The focus on ethnographic inquiry is therefore placed on processes and not products (Jacobs and Slembrouck 2010: 240).

While an ethnographic approach takes into consideration the wider context of social events, researchers should never assume what the context is but rather

investigate it (Rampton, Maybing and Roberts 2015: 18). In other words, ethnography seeks to achieve ecological validity (Wilson 2017: 48). Similarly, Rock (2015: 149) notes that one of the distinctive features of linguistic ethnography is its holistic view on social action, which guards against a simple division between language and context, instead encouraging the researcher to consider the relationship between the two. This has important analytical implications. Throughout this thesis, language used by PCSOs in interactions is the primary focus of analysis, which however needs to take into account the specificity of community policing context, including its ideological underpinnings, policy objectives as well as officers' attitudes. For example, in Chapter 4, I draw on the legislation relevant to PCSOs to demonstrate how individual officers adopt specific vocabulary from the legal discourse in their interactions with members of the public.

One of the central features of linguistic ethnography is its ambition to provide an emic analysis of events. A common strategy to ensure an emic perspective is represented in sharing data with participants. I showed some transcripts to my participants but this tactic was not always productive. Firstly, due to PCSOs' busy and unpredictable schedules, it was difficult to arrange time to go through some of the data in detail. Secondly, on occasions when I shared transcripts with some PCSOs, the officers struggled to answer my questions. They were keen to find the "right" answer which would satisfy me and despite my best efforts that I wanted to know what their perspective was, it was not always possible to elicit remarks that would greatly enhance my understanding. I decided therefore not to have structured feedback sessions, but I kept asking questions, either in general about PCSOs' work, or specific in relation to a given encounter. On a few occasions, officers volunteered commentaries about specific events unprompted. These commentaries provided me with insights about the wider context, which I would have not been able to gain otherwise. I discuss the importance of informal conversations further in Section 3.2.2.

The epistemological assumptions underpinning ethnographic approaches have dictate methodological positions. Ethnography as a methodology "involves multiple data sources and sustained contexts of production, enabling the researcher to explore the complex situated meanings and practices" within the object of the study (Lillis 2008: 355). Copland and Creese (2015: 29) observe that linguistic ethnography does not prescribe a set of data collection tools. However, this does not mean a free choice of data collection tools and techniques. Practices of enquiry are shaped by the types of questions asked (Heller 2012: 24) but also by practical and ethical considerations of a specific research site. In my research, linguistic ethnography has given me an insight into a still under-researched, from a linguistic point of view, area of (community) police-citizen interactions through the analysis of spoken interactions, captured in audio-recordings. The specific position of PCSOs, in between the police and community, which I explained in the previous chapters, meant that I decided to observe what that means for the individual officers involved, and what kind of tensions they experience. For instance, as PCSOs spend most of their time on foot patrol, collecting language on the move was an important aspect of data collection in the research design. And continued and repeated observations, which I detail in the following section, meant that I collected data in a variety of contexts with a number of participants, which in turn reflects PCSOs' workplace norms. This large and varied body of data has allowed me to see both patterns as well as uniqueness, and map connections between different events.

Focussing on ethnography as a methodology has implications for data analysis as well. Using insights from Interactional Sociolinguistics (see below), I have been able to focus on language use. In order to understand the situated meaning of the linguistic data, however, linguistic ethnography, through immersion in a research site, allowed me to consider a wider perspective than examining linguistic data alone. In other words, ethnography highlights "the primacy of direct field experience in establishing interpretative validity" (Maybin and Tusting 2011: 517).

Linguistic ethnography lends itself particularly well to research within institutional contexts, such as education (see for example Maybin 2006; Creese and Blackledge 2011; Lefstein and Snell 2011; Pérez-Milans 2013), healthcare settings (Shaw 2010; Swinglehurst 2015) or legal system (Angermeyer 2015; Rock 2015). One of the most compelling reasons to adopt linguistic ethnography in institutional contexts is the possibility it offers of linking the institutional ideologies with local practices. As indicated previously in Chapter 1, PCSOs were introduced as a potential remedy to the reassurance gap, potentially instilling trust in the communities they serve. Through a linguistic ethnographic lens, I have been able to see how this assumption has been translated into actual interactions that take place on the ground.

3.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics

Interactional sociolinguistics (IS) is an approach which developed from the Ethnography of Communication (Gumperz and Hymes 1972). It has roots in linguistics, sociology and anthropology. In particular, it shares with anthropological tradition the preoccupation with context not only as situational but also cultural (Gumperz 1999: 458), and strives to integrate insights from the knowledge of grammar, culture and interactive conventions (Gumperz 1982: 4). The focus on cultural context has made IS particularly suitable to investigate intercultural communication (Tannen 2004) but its tools can be applied to a variety of contexts. For instance, IS has also been successfully applied to the study of communication in the workplace (Richards 2006; Mullany 2010) or in medical settings (Tannen and Wallat 1993). Researching PCSOs using an interactional sociolinguistic approach can also help to integrate wider socio-political forces, such as moves towards community policing, as described in Chapter 1. Rather than dealing with the cultural context, also understood in terms of workplace cultures, IS in my study can therefore highlight participants' orientations to other factors, such as institutional pressures and policy requirements.

An interactional sociolinguistic analysis typically involves "case-study microanalysis of the language of real interaction in the context of social relationships" (Tannen 2004: 76). In this sense, is compatible with the principles of linguistic ethnography, as it is also interested in studying language in use. The relationship between the two approaches can be seen as a "loose alliance" (Bucholtz and Hall 2008: 424), with broadly convergent aims. The main value that Interactional Sociolinguistics adds to Linguistic Ethnography is a set of typical analytical tools. Rampton (2017: 2) notes that IS brings together several major sets of resources: *discourse analysis*, to provide an overview of the linguistic resources used by participants in talk; *Goffmanian* and *conversation analysis*, to highlight the sequential character of talk; and *ethnography*, to situate interactions within a wider context.

It is against this backdrop that I adopt an Interactional Sociolinguistic approach. While my work is broadly situated within a discourse analytical approach, aiming to understand social life through the analysis of language use, the "discourse analysis" label remains a broad category, encompassing various traditions in approaches. By drawing on Interactional Sociolinguistics, I am able to specify the theories and tools I adopt. Firstly, Goffmanian analysis has been helpful in thinking about role performance, which I discuss in Chapter 4, providing a set of theoretical assumptions that helped me answer one of the research questions. Secondly, detailed transcription has allowed me to consider the sequential character of talk as well. Moreover, I have been able to consider interactional features such as emphasis, rising intonation and pauses. These features can be considered examples of contextualisation cues (Gumperz 1982), which are one of the central concepts in IS. They refer to signalling mechanisms, which speakers use to signal their stance and index interpretative frameworks. Contextualisation cues also include particular lexical, discourse markers, and pronouns used, and rather than analysing contextualisation cues as such, in the analysis I focus on specific items, salient in a given interaction. By paying attention to relevant cues, alongside with ethnographic

information, it is possible to analyse how participants interact against a background of cultural, institutional and societal norms.

As such, an interactional sociolinguistic approach is fruitful in demonstrating how different speakers, including PCSOs and members of the public, orient to and express the various interactional tensions, using resources from their heteroglossic repertoires. Rather than considering IS as an approach distinct from linguistic ethnography, I see linguistic ethnography primarily as an epistemology, which is operationalised by engaging with analytical tools that IS has to offer.

3.3 Data

Having introduced the principles of linguistic ethnography and its relationship with Interactional Sociolinguistics, I now move on to describe the data collected during the project. Data collection spanned a nine-month period and included fieldwork with a number of PCSOs, and I provide basic information about my participants in Section 3.4. In this section, I focus on two main formats of the data I collected: fieldnotes, which represent the results of participant observation, and audio-recordings, which cover a range of situations being recorded, before discussing the approach taken to transcribe spoken data.

3.3.1 Participant observation and fieldnotes

Participant observation, that is a method of participating in research activities and recording observations about them, has come to be seen as central to, or even almost synonymous with, ethnography (Gans 1999: 541; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 3; Gobo 2008: 5), and although some critical voices have been raised against equating participant observation with ethnography (Hockey and Forsey 2012), observation remains the primary ethnographic technique. Within anthropology, participant

observation has even been described as "the most complete form of the sociological datum" (Becker and Geer 1957: 28). In a linguistic ethnographic project, however, observation is not merely a form of data in itself. It allows researchers to contextualise language use by encouraging "sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims, pointing to the potential importance of what gets left out" (Rampton 2006: 394). Therefore, I considered it essential to collect the data myself, also for ethical reasons (see Section 3.5), and to document the process in the form of fieldnotes.

Gaining understanding of the circumstances in which the interactions take place is not the only function of observation. Establishing rapport and building mutual trust with participants is equally important (Copland and Creese 2015: 38). For that reason, I did not start audio recordings from the very start, feeling that they would be perceived as too invasive. This decision mirrored a model adopted by the wider research project that my work was part of[2]. I accompanied, or shadowed (Czarniawska 2007) the PCSOs for several weeks first, which allowed me to understand the nature of the work they do as well as identify potential challenges, both practical and ethical, which would impact on the viability of audio recordings. Given the importance of foot patrol in PCSOs' work, I spent most of the time taking part in "go-alongs" (Kusenbach 2003), which allowed me to directly experience participants' mobile practices and the sense of place. It has proven particularly useful as I have explored spatial practices, which I will discuss in Chapter 6.

I captured the lived experience of the field in the form of fieldnotes, that is written accounts of my experience in the field, documenting what I could observe but also my reactions. Fieldnotes are traditionally considered to be at the heart of ethnography. Johnstone (2000: 81-82) sees the rigorous and systematic documentation

[2] My doctoral research was part of a project "Translation and translanguaging: Investigating linguistic and cultural transformations in superdiverse wards in four UK cities" (TLANG, 2014-2018; Principal investigator: prof. Angela Creese). My work, although funded by the main project and characterised by similar methodological approaches and shared some of the theoretical foundations, was independent and took on different goals and objectives (for an overview of the TLANG project see Blackledge et al. 2018: xxxvii-xl).

as the distinctive trait of participant observation, making it different from casual looking. Fieldnotes *inscribe* social discourse (Geertz 1973: 19), rather than serving the sole purpose of documentation. In fact, the practice of note taking has an analytical component, as it offers a commentary on the events being described and invites further thought and analysis (Emerson, Fretz and Shaw 2001: 361).

One particular way in which the analytical gaze is made evident in writing fieldnotes is by answering the question of what to include in those notes. Talking about the practice of note taking, Wolfinger argues that "when in the field, ethnographers are already deciding what to write about" (2002: 86). As a result of specific decisions on what to document, there is not a given format of how to write fieldnotes. Clifford notes that "one finds an enormous diversity of experience and opinion regarding what kind of or how much note-taking is appropriate, as well as just how these notes are related to published ethnographies" (1990: 52). Fieldnotes can therefore take different forms in different projects. In mine I produced two types of notes. Firstly, when I refer to fieldnotes in the thesis I refer to the notes which have served as a basis for future analysis, and which I typed up shortly after each visit to the field. These fieldnotes were based on the second type of notes: those made directly in the field—"jotted notes" (Emerson et al. 2001: 356-357). In the case of shadowing, one of the practical difficulties is note-taking while being on the move (Czarniawska 2007: 57). I would therefore make jotted notes, while on the move, in a small pocketbook, and then type them up as soon as practically possible. My process of note taking is therefore a series of choices—from what to document while in the field, through the editions into neatly typed notes, where further details could be expanded on or omitted, to decisions about what to include when presenting the findings.

I produced fieldnotes about each of my outings with PCSOs. These amount to 39 sets of fieldnotes, totalling around 140,000 words. Rather than specific dates of the observations, numbers are used to represent the continuity of my experience in the field

and provide a sense of sequential relationship between events. All data excerpts quoted throughout the thesis are therefore labelled *Observation*, followed by a number between 1 and 39, corresponding to my subsequent outings with PCSOs. Moreover, through labelling data excerpts in this way, including audio recordings, I wanted to highlight the importance of my experience in the field in addition to the audio recordings, which I will describe now.

3.3.2 Audio recordings

The focus on the linguistic practices within linguistic ethnography means that audio recordings of naturally occurring talk were central to the project. The data were collected using a recording device, as I shadowed the PCSOs. I attached a digital voice recorder to a lanyard, which I wore around the neck, making sure it was visible at all times. Given the variety of contexts where the recordings took place, including substantial parts of activities taking place on the go, the quality of audio varied greatly. At times, I was able to record interactions in small places indoors with only a few participants resulting in a very good quality, and on other occasions a lot of background noise was included, for example coming from traffic. In those instances in particular, it was helpful to refer back to my fieldnotes to ensure whether I could supplement any information that was lost due to poor quality of recording.

I collected nearly 50 hours in total of audio recordings. The total recording time refers to the time when the recording device was running and does not indicate the numbers of hour of actual spoken data collected. During some observations, for example of PACT meetings (Police and Communities Together, see Section 3.4.2 for details), talk would account for nearly all of the time the recordings took place. Other activities, for example when I accompanied PCSOs to watch CCTV footage, contained prolonged periods of silence. Although I do not have the exact breakdown of how much spoken data was recorded, as I did not transcribe all my data (I provide more detail on transcription

below), I would estimate that it accounted for at least 50% of the time recorded, perhaps even more.

While I set out to investigate linguistic practices of PCSOs, and intended to primarily capture interactions between officers and members of the public, large portions of the recordings included conversations I had with the officers. The go-along technique meant that I could ask questions relating to their job as well as specific events observed:

> When conducting go-alongs fieldworkers accompany individual informants on their 'natural' outings, and—through asking questions, listening and observing—actively explore their subjects' stream of experiences and practices as they move through, and interact with, their physical and social environment.
>
> (Kusenbach 2003: 463)

Variants of this method have been used in various disciplines, such as health research (Carpiano 2009), human geography (Evans and Jones 2011) or organisational research (McDonald 2005; Raulet-Croset and Borzeix 2014). Evans and Jones (2011) label the activity of accompanying participants and asking questions as the *walking interview*, which refers to the determination of the route and choice of places participants decide to talk about as an important research tool. In my research, however, I did not ask PCSOs to follow a route according to a set criteria but rather I followed them in the course of their regular work activities. Even when interviews are considered from an ethnographic perspective as for instance being embedded within the fieldwork and following its rhythm and atmosphere (Beaud 1996: 234), there is an underlying assumption of question and answer format, with the researcher asking questions and participants providing answers. In my project, however, I did not have a specific set of questions prepared, but rather I became attuned to the PCSOs' working styles and practices and sought clarification when needed.

Czarniawska (2007: 57) suggests that during shadowing "the point is never to behave like a fly on the wall (…), but to behave like a responsible adult, showing respect

and sympathy to others" (2007: 57). It means that in the course of fieldwork it is impossible, and perhaps not desirable, *not* to engage in conversations with participants. These conversations can be seen as constant informal interviews (Agar 1996: 139-156), and apart from helping to maintain a good relationship, they served important methodological functions. Firstly, they allowed me to access reflections on activities which took place. The officers commented on the tasks they were undertaking. Secondly, apart from the contemporaneous commentary, the PCSOs would reflect more broadly on their practice, referring to past or hypothetical events, and in doing so they would situate the local events within a larger professional context. Finally, I was able to discuss particular officers' behaviour and compare it to practice I observed elsewhere.

3.3.3 Transcription

Given the centrality of close analysis of spoken data, I have transcribed the data which I analysed. Transcription conventions were chosen which demonstrate how interaction is jointly created, with attention paid to small details of this interactional achievement. The level of transcription I have chosen allows to trace a range of features such as sequential organisation in the form of turn-taking or pronoun choice. It also captures some prosodic features, such as emphasis, pauses or intonation, which are important from an interactional sociolinguistics perspective. There were, however, instances where I decided to transcribe just one extended turn to make a specific point, and in so doing I adopted what Roberts (1997: 170) calls a layered approach to transcription, offering different levels of detail. The decisions on what to transcribe and how to do it, were therefore reflective of Ochs's position that "transcription is a selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions" (1979: 44). Despite best efforts to note all the details, some of the interactional detail is always lost in transcription, and all transcripts are partial (Coates and Thornborrow 1999: 596). As Mondada argues, transcripts "cannot be autonomized from the recordings, which are the primary data"

(2007: 810). The excerpts selected for analysis were subject to close and repeated listening and formed the basis of the subsequent analysis. In other words, when analysing spoken data, I always referred to the recordings first, and used transcription as a representation of what was going on.

Analytical considerations in transcription start with decisions on what to transcribe. I decided not to transcribe the whole dataset available for two main reasons. Firstly, on a practical level, I judged the time-consuming process of transcription not justified considering the potential benefits it would bring. Having listened to the dataset repeatedly and made notes as well as having fieldnotes meant that I could identify the analytic themes without having to recourse to a body of written transcripts. Secondly, most audio files containing the recording from a given observation contained an array of different activities, as well as periods of silence and/or poor quality. This heterogeneity within the data meant that it would be difficult to maintain consistency within the transcripts. The boundaries between different activities and different participants present are not always clear, and while exploration of this constantly changing nature of PCSOs' linguistic practices would be interesting in itself, having transcripts of whole observations, as I call them, would potentially obscure the central question of what is going on, rather than illuminate it.

Having discussed the data collection procedures, I will now describe the research site, introduce participants and give an overview of the activities observed to demonstrate the variety of data collection settings and give contextual information which will provide background for the subsequent analysis.

3.4 Research site and participants

The data collection took place over nine months in an urban area, within one specific police force. To retain the anonymity of participants (see Section 3.5 for a discussion of

ethical considerations more widely), the exact location as well the time period have not been specified in this thesis. Given that ethnography places an importance on the process of knowledge production, in this section I discuss the procedure for gaining access to the research site, briefly introduce the participants and describe typical activities which PCSOs engage in during their work, giving some wider contexts to the interactions which will be analysed throughout the thesis in order to synthesise some of the field experience.

3.4.1 Officers

As previously explained, shadowing was the primary technique used in the field. I accompanied a number of different officers, but four of them I refer to as *key participants,* also mirroring the TLANG project. The term refers to participants who were central to my data collection, whom I followed on go alongs and who were my main points of contact. Depending on their availability, I spent various times with each of them, therefore some officers feature in the thesis more than others. They are the officers who were selected by a Sergeant who acted as a gatekeeper and granted me access to the site. The officers were based at two different police stations, located in two different areas of a large British city. I call these two areas Rosemount and Sunnyside. I was to work with four different officers in total—Chris, Judy, Tom and Jack (all names are pseudonyms), and some background information about them, gathered through informal conversations is presented in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Key Participants

Name	Police Station	Experience and aspirations
Chris	Rosemount	In his 50s; worked previously as a special constable (a voluntary police officer); has become an experienced PCSO who also acts as a tutor for new recruits.

Judy	Rosemount	In her early 20s; has been a PCSO for a couple of years already but is considering becoming a Police Constable.
Tom	Sunnyside	In his late 20s; has been a PCSO for a few years; interested in academic research into policing and has lots of questions about my research project specifically (holds a Masters degree in criminology).
Jack	Sunnyside	In his late 20s; has been a PCSO for a few years; seemingly reluctant to take part in community events and prefers engaging in activities more oriented towards traditional policing; sees being a PCSO as a stepping stone towards becoming a Police Constable.

While I was pleased to be given an opportunity to work with a number of different individuals, therefore being able to observe different individual styles and approaches, having the participants nominated by the Sergeant also came with some risks. Levon points out that in the case of gaining access to a research site via official channels, such as a broker (see for example Schilling 2013: 184-185) or a gatekeeper, "it may be difficult to shake off the aura of officialdom that such an introduction might carry with it" (Levon 2013: 74). For this reason, I had two specific concerns, which I will discuss below.

Firstly, I was concerned that the individual officers who were delegated to help me might not be willing to co-operate with me or might withhold their true opinions for fear of undermining their superior's request or casting themselves in a bad light. However, during the fieldwork there were occasions where officers specifically asked me not to observe and/or record them, which meant that the officers did not simply treat my presence in terms of an obligation and felt free to exercise their right not to participate.

Moreover, I was worried that the individual officers were selected according to criteria I was not aware of, and which could be a result of the Sergeant's ideological choice of who he thought the good officers to observe were. This concern was quickly

mitigated, as it soon became apparent that even though I was initially assigned to four different PCSOs, they interacted with a number of other officers. PCSOs frequently work in pairs, and at times, one of the key participants would be paired up with another officer, who might be from outside of the main four, for the day. I also spent some time inside the police station, where several PCSOs were present. Chris, as an experienced PCSO also acted as a tutor, overseeing new recruits' first weeks at work, after their classroom-based training. In fact, in the course of the fieldwork, I was also able to observe how a new PCSO, John, was being introduced into the Rosemount police station's Neighbourhood Policing Team. In other words, I also observed PCSOs who were not my key participants, this thesis includes data examples coming from more than just the four PCSOs introduced above. Finally, my concerns about the officers being model participants, and perhaps not representative of the NPT workforce were dispelled, as I witnessed how they circumnavigated and innovated on some of the procedures. As we will see in Chapter 5, for example, Chris admits to me that the activity I had observed was not strictly speaking the right course of action.

Working with both male and female officers presented an opportunity to observe working styles of men and women. One of the government's rationales for introducing PCSOs was to make the police workforce more diverse in order to better reflect the makeup of the general population in Britain. Indeed, the composition of the PCSO workforce shows a move towards achieving gender balance. As of the end of March 2017, 45 per cent of PCSOs in England and Wales were female, compared to 29 per cent among sworn police officers (Allen and Jackson 2018). Policing has traditionally been dominated by men and the issue of gender could be seen as influencing interactional norms and behaviour. However, McElhinny (2003) argues that, rather than reproducing or contesting gender norms, female police officers instead need to position themselves *vis-à-vis* the dominant ideology seeing policing as concerned with crime fighting, either by adopting or contesting it. Women who challenge this dominant ideology tend to

produce a persona of a cool bureaucrat instead, drawing on a specific definition of masculinity which emphasises professionalism and efficiency (McElhinny 1995). However, this strategy means that those who do not fit the dominant crime-fighting model of policing, men or women, risk being marginalised. With the advent of community policing approaches, the need for women to reproduce hegemonic masculinities is diminished (McElhinny 2003: 276). Indeed, as the relatively high proportion of women among PCSOs would suggest, neighbourhood policing does not follow the gender patterns found in the traditional models of policing. Analysis of gender is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the inclusion of one woman as a key participant ensured an important element of variety among participants, which at least somewhat approximated the national workforce.

3.4.2 Activities observed

In the course of the research I observed not only various officers also witnessed a wide range of their different tasks. PCSOs are expected to spend most of their time outside of the police stations (National Policing Improvement Agency 2010: 12; see also Chapter 6 where I discuss the importance of being out on the beat). Their primary job included foot patrol, during which spontaneous interactions with members of the public took place, and a typical working day of a PCSO mostly consists of tasks which arose spontaneously. There might be typical places where PCSOs call by on a regular basis—a school, a local community centre, a library—but in each of those places officers can be, and often are met by members of the public.

Some of PCSOs' time, however, was spent on more structured or goal-oriented activities. Below are listed the main examples of these activities, which I observed PCSOs take part in:

- *Door-to-door enquires*. Following a report of crime in an area PCSOs talk to neighbours to establish whether anyone has seen or heard anything

which relates to the incident in order to collect evidence. According to the PCSOs, such enquiries also offer opportunities for officers to provide reassurance and offer crime-prevention advice. I will present examples of interactions during door-to-door enquiries in Chapter 6.

- *Cuppa with a copper*. Regular meetings in public spaces (coffee shops, supermarkets, public libraries), where PCSOs are available to members of the public who are invited to discuss any potentially police-relevant concerns they might have. The details of these informal meetings are often publicised on social media or by putting up notices at the meeting venue in advance.
- *PACT meetings*. Police and Communities Together (PACT) is an initiative introduced by the Lancashire Constabulary in 2004 which aimed to encourage communities to influence policing in their local areas (Lee and Pearson 2011). The model was then adopted nationwide, and in 2008 it was included in the Policing Pledge, in which the police in England and Wales promised the public to "[a]rrange regular public meetings to agree your priorities, at least once a month, giving you a chance to meet your local team with other members of your community." Although the Policing Pledge has since been revoked and there is no statutory requirement to hold the meetings, many police forces continue to engage with communities in this way. In my case, I have observed PACT meetings in three different local areas. They were typically attended by PCSOs, local councillors and members of the public. The meetings are chaired by a member of the community and aimed to specify three priorities which the police then act on and report back about.
- *Personal property marking pop-up events*. PCSOs register personal property of value, such as bicycles or electronics, by marking the items

with a UV pen, making them traceable to the owner, and registering contact details and items' descriptions and photographs on a national database.

- *Special events.* A number of one-off events took place during my fieldwork including some organised by PCSOs. For example police station open days, during which members of the public were encouraged to visit the building, normally closed to the public, meet the team and ask questions. Other examples included multi-agency operations, with a specific aim, for instance working with the local authority and fire services to ensure housing regulations are adhered to in the area. Sometimes, PCSOs were invited to community events, where they would typically have a stall with information materials giving crime-prevention advice.

Apart from interactions between PCSOs and members of the public, a lot of audio recordings I collected include conversations between me and the PCSOs, which, as I mentioned, is inevitable but also beneficial during go-alongs, but I was also able to capture some interactions among the officers. Planning on what to do and what to say before an event, or commenting on activities that have just taken place can be seen are examples of what can be referred to as the back region (Goffman 1959), as described in Chapter 2. Previous studies equated back region with a specific location (e.g. teachers' staff room discussed by Richards 2010) and it was true to an extent for the PCSOs I observed. For instance, I was able to observe some interactions at the police station, normally closed to the public. However, as Wilson (2013) argues, front and back regions need not be linked to specific locations but can in fact overlap—a backstage conversation among some participants might take place adjacent to frontstage interactions, involving a different set of participants. As I was always present during data collection, I was able to observe the backstage conversations taking place in various

participation frameworks. For instance, in the case of a property marking event, PCSOs would engage in conversations with members of the public while registering their details and would talk among themselves when no one else was around (see the Excerpt opening the thesis, quoted in the Introduction). At times, their talk would concern conversations which they had just had with others. As such, they would provide metacommentary (Rymes 2014), which adds another layer to the analysis. Rather than analysing one type of speech event, thanks to an ethnographic approach then, I have been able to observe a whole range of activities and interactions.

Having described the participants and contexts of production, I now turn to considering my own position within the research process. As mentioned previously, it is an important aspect of linguistic ethnography and one that helps understand how I shaped the research outcomes.

3.4.3 Researcher positionality

Linguistic ethnography stresses the importance of researchers' reflexivity about their own intellectual assumptions (Rampton et al. 2004: 5). It is the researcher who is rigorously accounted for in the process of data collection and analysis (Copland 2011: 3834), and Tusting and Maybin (2007: 578) acknowledge that research outcomes are shaped by the researcher. I will now therefore discuss how my status as an outsider shaped the research process.

Berger (2015) argues that consideration of the degree to which the researcher shares their experience with participants is core to reflexivity in qualitative research. Although the dichotomy between the researcher's status as either an insider or an outsider has been questioned (Eppley 2006), it is still useful to consider my position in the research, as it shaped my understanding of some of ideas the PCSOs had about their own practice. At the start of the research, I considered myself very much an outsider to police work. Without previous direct experience of policing, all activities I observed

seemed to me new and interesting. I felt that I had maintained "critical proximity" (Gilliat-Ray 2011: 482), as someone who was attending to observe but who was free to ask questions and learn. However, the outsider status, so obvious to me, very soon problematized, as demonstrated by an extract from my fieldnotes:

> While we were sitting at the table, the lady who works in the café came round the table and asked me if I wanted a drink. I felt a little bit embarrassed not to have ordered anything, but I did not think that we would spend so much time at the table. I accepted the offer saying that I would like a cup of tea and got up. The lady at first used a hand gesture suggesting that I should remain seated, but then she said that I might as well come with her so I could put my own milk in. She served the tea in a white mug, and I wanted to hand her a pound coin. I knew that how much it was because I remembered from the previous visit. She declined, by saying that "none of them pay" and pointing to the table. I tried to argue and insist that I would pay for my own cup of tea, but she was having none of it.
>
> [Observation 3]

It was one of the moments that helped me realise that members of the public could see me as working with the police, and in their eyes I was the insider to the police. And with time, when I became familiar with my participants and their work routines, I did gain a good understanding of the PCSOs' perspective. Once, an officer commented that it felt like I was part of the team, which made me realise that I probably knew about the research site more than I assumed.

However, I was very careful to try to appear not as part of the police. For instance, I made sure to wear casual clothes and display my university badge at all times. Eckert (1989) in her ethnographic study of high school students tried to dress to blend in, while I wanted to make sure that to the outside world I appeared as an outsider. These efforts were particularly important for ethical reasons, which I will discuss now.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Ethics is not a standalone element of the research process, but rather it is embedded within it (Sin 2005). Ethical considerations need to be made throughout the research: in the planning phase, during the data collection period, and when reporting the results. Guillemin and Gillam (2004: 263) distinguish between *macroethics*, realised in institutional procedures as well as professional codes of conduct, and *microethics*, relating to decisions that are made in everyday research practice, or, in other words, *situated ethics* (Heggen and Guillemin 2012). Kubanyiova (2008) argues that often tension between the macroethical principles and microethical considerations arise in applied linguistics research, meaning that a more holistic approach is required, the process should be contextually sensitive. In what follows I present decisions I have been faced with at both levels before moving on to discuss two specific epistemological as well as practical considerations, which span both macro- and micro- approaches, that is the issue of consent and anonymisation.

3.5.1 Macroethical considerations

My project was designed to abide by the following frameworks: Cardiff University's *Research Integrity and Governance Code of Practice,* British Association for Applied Linguistics' *Recommendations on Good Practice in Applied Linguistics*, most recently revised in 2016, and any relevant legislation, such as the Data Protection Act (1998). And formal ethical approval was granted by the School of English, Communication and Philosophy's Ethics Committee. The application involved documentation, which can be found in the Appendix. I will discuss some of the protocol's main principles in Sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3 when discussing the issues of consent and anonymisation.

Institutional ethics, while outlining the general framework, is incapable of addressing all potential ethical difficulties. In fact, some criticism against ethical

regulations within institutions has been levelled on the grounds that it does more harm to the society by impeding research than it potentially would to an individual (Dingwall 2008). Ethics committees' expertise has also been called into question, based on the fact that ethical decisions need to be situated into practice (Hammersley 2009: 212-214). Specifically, the challenges that ethnography poses for anticipatory ethical regulations have been highlighted (Atkinson 2009; Murphy and Dingwall 2007). In other words, ethical protocols are not capable of predicting and regulating all possible situations that may occur during research, especially within such an open-ended paradigm as ethnography. It does not mean that it should not force the researcher, and the ethics committees, to think comprehensively about potential issues that may arise in the course of the research. Institutional ethical approval should not be seen as final and authoritative, but rather a starting point for reflection. I had to make specific decisions in the field, and I highlight some examples of these microethical considerations below.

3.5.2 Microethical considerations

From the very start of the fieldwork I was sensitive to potential ethical questions that would arise in the field. Miller and Bell (2012: 73) suggest using a research diary to document decisions made throughout the research process. I evidenced "ethically important moments" (Guillemin and Gillam 2004) in the fieldnotes. There were occasions where I would refrain from recording conversations. It typically happened for two reasons. Firstly, sometimes I did not feel it was appropriate to ask for consent, for example because an individual seemed vulnerable, or when I sensed that a conversation was of a sensitive nature. And secondly, I often trusted the officers' judgment when they asked me not to record.

My specific ethical concern, which was ongoing throughout the fieldwork, was that I did not want members of the public to think I represent the police and the institutional authority, which would endorse and normalise the fact that recording was

taking place. Therefore, I always tried to seek consent myself (see below), rather than deferring this activity to the police officers, highlighting the fact that I was carrying out research, showcasing my affiliation with the University rather than the police. Debriefing forms, handed out at the end and providing an overview of the research and my contact details, also served the function of making sure that people agree to be recorded by the researcher rather than the police.

3.5.3 Consent

In macroethical approaches, and consent risks being reduced to a "tick-box" exercise (Rock 2016b), as it assumes a singular event participants take part in by typically signing a consent form. Miller and Bell, however, argue that "consent should be ongoing and renegotiated between the researcher and researched throughout the research progress" (2012: 61). And indeed, during data collection, there were times when specific PCSOs would ask me to switch the recording device off, or would not allow me observe specific events, because they believed those measures were in the best interests of the specific communities they worked with.

There were two major challenges in gaining consent in my research project and they related to the two groups of participants I engaged with: the PCSOs and members of the public who came into contact with them, and I will now briefly describe the protocol as adopted in both scenarios. Firstly, PCSOs were given a consent form to sign, explaining the aims of the research and giving them an opportunity to withdraw from the study at any time. The possibility of obtaining informed consent has been called into question, on the grounds of the difficulties associated with communicating the purposes of the research (Dorian 2010: 181-182). It is an issue particularly relevant in linguistic ethnographic research, as the exact focus of the research might not be clear at the start (Copland 2018: 133). During each go-alongs, I always asked the officer(s) I was with whether they were happy to be recorded. And because on a couple of occasions I was

asked to pause recording, I was satisfied that my participants knew that they had the right not to take part in my research.

The second main issue stemmed from the fact that alongside PCSOs, my primary participants, I also obtained data from other individuals, as my interest lay in how officers interacted with members of the public. In some situations, such as PACT meetings, it was possible to discuss my study with the group prior to the event and gain their consent, but in others, particularly during fleeting street encounters, it was impractical. Individuals were always informed that the recording was taking place and given an opportunity to opt out, either at the start of their interaction or as soon as possible thereafter. In those cases, I relied on verbal consent, which was captured on the recording. Asking individuals to sign a consent form would have required them to reveal their identity, which is why I decided against asking these questions and assign members of the public quoted in the thesis random letters (e.g. Mr K, Ms A, etc.). Following an interaction, I would hand out a debriefing form (see attached in Annex A), providing a short description of the research project as well as my contact details, giving individuals an opportunity to raise any concerns at a future date.

This is just an example of ethical dilemmas encountered in everyday practice, but decisions related to ethics are not limited to the duration of fieldwork, but also extend beyond it. I will now discuss the practice of representation of the research findings in more detail, in particular the task of anonymization.

3.5.4 Anonymisation

Anonymisation of linguistic data is a common practice aimed at protecting participants' identity. Even though van den Hoonaard (2003) and Walford (2018: 518) argue that achieving anonymity in representing ethnographic research is impossible, as there is always possibility of tracing the information back to the individual, there are nevertheless steps that can minimise this risk. I concur with Saunders, Kitzinger and

Kitzinger (2015), who argue that anonymisation is a process which requires a flexible approach. On the very basic level, anonymization can be understood as concealing participants' names, but as Rock (2001: 2) argues, identity is often betrayed by other features. All the names presented throughout this thesis are pseudonyms but I have taken additional steps to anonymise the participants' details.

Firstly, as already mentioned, the name of the police force, which, by extension, would reveal a geographical location, has been withheld. Nespor (2000) suggests that while anonymising place in qualitative research has become the standard practice the practice decontextualizes research.

The two Neighbourhood Policing Teams I looked at are relatively small, with no more than 10-15 officers, and I wanted to ensure that I could protect participants' anonymity in every possible way. Even if the specific police force, and even the NPTs, could be identified, despite obscuring or withholding specific geographic details, I also took the decision not to disclose the time brackets of when the fieldwork took place. Given high turnover within the small team, whether due to career progression or moves to other geographical location, the temporal indeterminacy means that it becomes even more difficult to identify individuals.

Finally, I decided not to take photographs or videos, as I believed that these could reveal details, based on topography or architecture, which would identify the area where the fieldwork took place. Considering that PCSOs are serving local communities, once an area is known, it becomes very easy to identify a responsible officer.

3.6 Analytical procedure

In this section I describe my analytical procedure, although the term is a little bit misleading, as it suggests that analysis is something that happens after data collection. As I already suggested, I made analytical decisions in the field, when deciding on what to document in my fieldnotes, and afterwards, when listening to the data and deciding

what and how to transcribe. "Analytical procedure" here therefore is shorthand for the analysis that finally makes it into writing, even though it is only part of the actual analysis.

The openness of ethnography does not mean that the analysis is carried out without recourse to theoretical and analytical procedures. On the contrary, as mentioned previously, one of its features is the potential to engage with insights from many disciplines (Copland and Creese 2015: 23-25; Rampton, Maybin and Roberts 2015: 32-36). As a result, I draw on multiple theoretical traditions—Goffmanian analysis of role performance (Chapter 4), the conversation analytic concept of deontic authority (Chapter 5), and urban sociology accounts of encounters in public and parochial realms (Chapter 6). These served as sensitising concepts (Copland and Creese 2015: 49; Rampton, Maybin and Roberts 2015: 16, drawing on Blumer 1969) to explore different ways in which the theoretical framework of heteroglossia can be applied. These sensitising concepts only arose once I have repeatedly listened to the data and read through the fieldnotes.

The two datasets, interactional data and fieldnotes, formed the basis of the analysis. I read the fieldnotes, using a highlighter to mark potential themes that emerged from the data. When it came to the audio recordings, I engaged in what Rampton (2006: 32) calls "extensive listening" and made extensive notes, similarly marking developing themes (see for example Copland and Creese 2015: 107). While the initial identification of themes signposted a general direction of the enquiry, I have used theory to guide and structure my analysis. As explained in the previous chapter, a heteroglossic lens is particularly useful in exploring tension-filled interaction. I was therefore particularly interested in looking at interactive moments where this tension would surface. Some of those moments were what Agar (1996) calls *rich points.* Rich points refer to sections of data which strike the researcher as unusual or difficult to understand. For instance, a Sergeant's insistence on the importance of walking in PCSOs' work in my very first

meeting with the police, coupled with a number of instances where the topic of space would come up in interaction, directed my attention to the role of public space. I then identified further instances of the broad theme, in this case space. Finally, through grounding my analysis in a theory I was able to retain an analytical focus while representing the richness of ethnographic experience.

Once I settled on broad analytical themes, and identified concepts which guided the analysis, I carried out detailed analysis of spoken data, underpinned by methodological and theoretical tenets of Interactional Sociolinguistics, as described previously. Having listened to the entirety of the recordings, I had notes relating to the contents of the audio recordings, supplemented with information in the fieldnotes. Specific excerpts were selected with the aim to address specific research questions, relating to particular analytical concepts, in mind. The selection aimed to represent a variety of examples The data excerpts are also not limited to spectacular telling cases, representing the rich points mentioned above but include routine activities, such as door to door enquiries, to demonstrate that the phenomena depicted are in fact typical of exchanges between PCSOs and members of the public. Furthermore, I endeavoured to include excerpts from different settings and from different participants to demonstrate the phenomena observed across different individuals' practices and to replicate, in part at least, the richness of the experience for me as the researcher and the participants. Despite these attempts to represent a vast array of activities and different participants, voices of some of the officers will be heard more often than others. It is primarily due to the variable amount of time I spent with individual officers.

Data excerpts presented in the thesis do come nevertheless from various sources with a rich web of relationship between them. This enabled me to analyse discourse as it takes place at various points in time, in different space and among various participants. Wortham and Reyes (2015) suggest that discourse analysts should move beyond the analysis of single isolated speech events, focussing instead on language used

across pathways of linked events. In their framework, they argue that by looking at specific linguistic forms, such as reported speech or indexical signs, we can see how social action is shaped over time. While I was not my intention to demonstrate in a systematic way how specific events can form a linked chain, which in some cases, would not necessarily be possible when looking at isolated speech events, the focus on specific analytical themes has allowed me to explore the relationships between different events.

3.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I situated my work within a linguistic ethnographic approach and considered its relationship with Interactional Sociolinguistics, suggesting that my analysis is informed by the principles of IS and grounded in linguistic ethnography. I introduced the participants and the data, highlighting ethical challenges associated with data collection and representation. I have also outlined the analytical approach taken, paying attention to the theoretical concepts which will guide analysis. I will now turn to data analysis, starting with the next chapter looking at role performance.

4 Performing multiple roles: navigating multiple expectations

> *The fundamental role of the PCSO is to contribute to the policing of neighbourhoods, primarily through highly visible patrol with the purpose of reassuring the public, increasing orderliness in public places and being accessible to communities and partner agencies working at local level. The emphasis of this role, and the powers required to fulfil it, will vary from neighbourhood to neighbourhood and force to force.*
>
> (College of Policing 2015: para 3.3)

The guidance quoted above describes PCSOs' role, as prescribed by the police. It describes role through reference to some of the key tasks that officers are expected to carry out. As I highlighted in Chapter 2, the term *role* has long been applied in various theoretical orientations, including normative definitions in classical sociology work as well as more performance (e.g. Goffman 1961) and interactionist approaches, grounded in ethnomethodology (see for example Halkowski 1990; Housley 1999). Moreover, the term can also be used in its everyday meaning, such as the one adopted by the College of Policing above, where it essentially refers to PCSOs' job description. Such a definition of role provides a broad framework of what is expected of individuals, but it does not necessarily inform us how PCSOs see their role in practice and how they perform it in interaction. In this chapter, I will suggest that PCSOs' role does in fact include elements of what might be considered a variety of professional roles. Following Sarangi's (2010) suggestion that the study of role performance in professional settings can lead to important empirical and theoretical insights, I will scrutinise in this chapter how roles are negotiated in interaction. By drawing on discursive approaches to role, I will argue that the multiplicity of roles which PCSOs perform is a sign of systemic tension that the officers find themselves working within, which is a sign of heteroglossia. Rather than

performing a specific role that can be conceptualised as a normative role of a PCSO, officers draw on elements of multiple roles, including multiple voices and conflicting expectations.

In what follows, I start by differentiating among the normative elements of role (prescribed), roles as determined by expectations of others (ascribed) and actually performed roles in Section 4.1, where I also introduce the concept of role-distancing. I then move on to the analysis of role performance, demonstrating how various roles can be performed within one conversation, with a PCSOs shifting among many roles (Section 4.2.1), before moving on to discuss how different roles are performed for different audiences (Section 4.2.2). Throughout the analysis I will point out how PCSOs orient to the normative aspects of the role, understood as circumvented by official rules and regulations but also as expectations placed on PCSOs by individual members of the community and communities as a whole. In doing so, I will answer Research Question 1: *How are different roles performed by PCSOs in interaction*? My analysis will reveal a range of linguistic features, such as strategic use of pronouns or quotation, which PCSOs employ to negotiate a heteroglossic tension among many expectations placed upon them.

4.1 Roles as prescribed, ascribed and performed

In Chapter 2, I reviewed the development and usage of the term *role*, suggesting that the understanding of the term has shifted from a normative one—equating given roles with a particular social status—towards a more descriptive one, aiming to characterise a given role based on actual behaviour. This conceptual change lies partially behind the focus on role performance, often associated with a theatrical metaphor. However, even within such an approach, role is seen as a collection of expectations, linked to a set of rights and obligations associated with a given role. It is against those expectations that actual role performance is often analysed.

Goffman (1961) suggests that role, apart from the obligations placed on the role bearer, involves typical behaviour in a given setting but he stresses that actual role performance may vary from prescribed role:

> Where there is a normative framework for a given role, we can expect that the complex forces at play upon individuals in the relevant position will ensure that the typical role will depart to some degree from the normative model, despite the tendency in social life to transform what is usually done to what ought to be done. In general, then, a distinction must be made among typical role, the normative aspects of role, and a particular individual's actual role performance. (Goffman 1961: 91)

Role can thus be understood in three different senses: as a set of norms (the normative aspects), as a set of customary expectations associated with an individual in a given position (the typical role) and an actual role performance. In the case of PCSOs, it is easy to see how institutional norms can shape their role, particularly in relation to the few powers PCSOs have. However, as I suggested in Chapter 2, street-level bureaucrats apply rules and regulations, constituting the normative framework, at discretion. Indeed, the values of community policing place greater emphasis on responding to local needs rather than enforcing law. This flexible approach, which favours individual solutions to particular problems, similarly complicates the definition of what is typical. For Goffman, the typical roles refers to a set of expectations. However, in the context of community policing it is not clear who holds these expectations. Should they be formed by a broadly undefined community who holds responsibility for deciding on policing in their local area? Do they refer to the expectations an individual citizen has for a PCSO to act in their particular case? Throughout the chapter, I will argue that it can be a combination of both, often resulting in a heteroglossic tension among various expectations that various members of the community have of PCSOs. I will demonstrate how in interactions with

citizens PCSOs draw on roles afforded by the institution (the normative aspect of role), orient to roles projected onto them by members of the public (the typical aspect of role) and how they enact roles relevant to a given encounter (actual role performance).

The discrepancy between what is expected from one and what is performed led Goffman to talk about *role distancing*. Role distancing (Goffman 1961: 108) involves an individual's temporary detachment from the role they should be performing, whether seen in normative terms of as part of their typical behaviour (although Goffman [1961: 115] suggests that even role distance is to some extent part of typical behaviour). Goffman's example of role distancing involves the use of non-specialised vocabulary by a chief surgeon in order to create a sense of solidarity with other members of the operating team. However, it is not entirely clear how the expectations against which the distancing takes place are set. It is therefore far more useful to trace how roles are actually ascribed in interaction, which I will illustrate through the analysis of Excerpt 4.1, where a member of the public articulates his expectations of two PCSOs, who, in turn, resist ascription of this role through their appeal to the normative aspects of their role.

In the excerpt below, two PCSOs, Chris and John, are stopped in a street by a member of the public (M), who asks them a question about availability of bags used to dispose of domestic waste:

Excerpt 4.1

1	M	excuse me (.) you couldn't tell me where I can get xx bags of domestic waste
2	John	that would be a council matter that would=
3	Chris	=ye[ah library] perhaps?
4	M	[I don't the]
5	Chris	library may have them up on Rosemount Terrace
6	M	I I mean (.) you know just I'm getting I'm just trying to get rid of rubbish

7	Chris	yeah
8	M	about seven or eight bags of them and they won't let me into (any of the?) tips
9	John	right ((laughs))
10	Chris	yeah (.) the library probably Rosemount Terrace you know hand them out ehrm=
11	M	=oh no I don't want I don't want a bag
12	Chris	alright
13	M	I don't want a bag I just wanna get RID (.) of half a dozen bags of rubbish I've got there ((laughs))
14	John	aah right sorry (.) yeah you obviously have the they won't let you in with the van in the tip will they
15	M	nah I'm stranger to the area

[Observation 28]

The local authority in question requires its residents to segregate the waste and dispose of it in appropriate bags, with limited number of bags available for an individual to aid recycling. Any surplus waste can be typically taken to a council refuse site, but access by small vans is limited and only available to local residents. It is therefore a matter for local authority, which John emphasises in turn 2, interpreting M's question in turn 1 as a request for assistance. M tries therefore to ascribe a specific role to the officers, who distance themselves from it. They do it through the reference to the normative role PCSOs, which does not include dealing with waste disposal. John's reference to *a council matter* in turn 2 can be opposed to *a policing matter*, a term the PCSOs used throughout my fieldwork. Roussell and Gascón (2014), based on their analysis of community-police meetings in Los Angeles, the police exert control over the definition of policeability. Roussell and Gascón (2014: 241) see community officers as legal brokers, who have the institutional power to define what the police should respond to. In the excerpt above, John and Chris seem to assume a similar role, refusing to engage with a problem which falls outside of their remit. Instead they can be seen as exercising a role of local information provider. Chris's directions are hedged (*library perhaps* in

turn 3, *library may have them* in turn 5*, the library probably* in turn 10), which amplifies his position as someone whose role does not involve dealing with waste enquiries and who is not confident in how the appropriate institution works.

As the PCSOs distance themselves from the role they see M is ascribing them, M tries to redefine the role he is actually expecting them to perform. In turns 6 and 8, M attempts to reformulate his question but is not successful in saying that he is looking for a place to dispose of rubbish bags until turn 13. Effectively then he is trying to cast them in a role of local information provider, which PCSOs would find more difficult to distance from. It is a role that is institutionally prescribed, through the importance of providing support to local communities. In turn 14, Chris recognises that the role he perceived M to be ascribing to the PCSOs (waste disposal information provider) is different to the one M actually is trying to ascribe (local information provider).

For Goffman, role distancing is performed for an audience who understands what the prescribed or typical role is and appreciates any deviation. In the analysed example, however, Chris and John distance themselves not from an institutionally sanctioned or typical role, but rather one they thought that M was trying to ascribe them. In a way, this distancing can be seen as typical of PCSOs. As I discussed in Chapter 1, members of the public do not always recognise PCSOs and do not understand what their exact role is. This might be the reason why upon hearing the topic of waste, Chris and John instant tried to distance themselves from it. Over the course of the fieldwork, the PCSOs I spoke to often referred to a variety of problems members of the public approached them about, often asking to act in areas where the officers have no competence, waste being a common example. See for example an excerpt from a fieldnote below:

Excerpt 4.2

> A woman stopped Luke and told him that there was some asbestos dumped in a back alley. Luke thanked her and we walked over to the place she had

> indicated. There appeared to be simply a pile of rubbish that someone had fly tipped. Luke contacted someone over the radio, asking to report the instance of fly-tipping to the council. He commented that even though it was not a policing matter, they had to deal with it.
>
> [Observation 29]

The excerpt illustrates an important ambiguity in the institutionally prescribed role. Even though the normative aspect of the role does not prescribe dealing with the specific problem (*not a policing matter*), they often ended up performing tasks that fall outside of the area of policing, even if PCSOs involvement amounted to passing the query to the relevant agency. In doing so, PCSOs can be seen as brokering between members of the public and other institutions. And the community policing values also prescribe them a role of responding to residents' queries.

There is not necessarily a complete disconnection between what the members of the public expect from PCSOs and what officers are supposed to do. Excerpt 4.3 below demonstrates that citizens can have realistic expectations of PCSOs. The excerpt is taken from a fieldnote about a PACT meeting, one of the mechanisms for PCSOs to consult with members of the public (see Section 3.4.2), during which Jack, a PCSO, asked residents what issues affected the area:

Excerpt 4.3

> The people seemed to have switched to a complaining mode completely, because the next issue was littering. It was clearly a follow up from the last meeting, and Jack explained that the issue had been passed on to the council, but the people present saw it as an opportunity to complain about the state of the local area again. (…) One of the women said "I understand that PCSOs do not make laws" so people are quite realistic about the expectations, but they would still raise issues which are not directly related to the police (e.g. littering).
>
> [Observation 9]

The excerpt raises some questions about what the public expect from PCSOs and what PCSOs can deliver. The member of the public quoted above seems to recognise what the role of PCSOs is, or rather she recognises what it does not include. Despite this understanding, among some of the residents at least, "non-policing" matters are still raised and discussed with PCSOs. This could be seen as a feature of community policing. After all, officers' institutionally prescribed role is to be accessible to members of the public. There are also, however, some institutional constraints of what PCSOs are and are not responsible for. Even within the prescribed role then there are inherent tensions.

These tensions contribute to the ambiguity of what PCSOs' role is. The data examples presented in this section make it clear that the uncertainties about PCSOs' role are discursively negotiated, taking into consideration what the institutionally prescribed and ascribed by members of public roles are. There is not, however, a simple divide between the two sets of roles, as the prescribed role also requires PCSOs to engage with members of the public. These, in turn, make different assumptions about what PCSOs can and cannot do, and even if they recognise what PCSOs' prescribed role is, they might still expect officers to go beyond what a normative role, linked to rules and regulations, would suggest.

Role distancing can function as an important tool in negotiating a role that is ascribed by others as well as institutionally prescribed. In Excerpt 4.1, Chris and John regard the request in terms of policeability, while M challenges this position by stressing that he only requires information. Through distancing themselves from the role which they construe as being assigned to them, the two PCSOs attempt to define what their role is on their own terms. As Graf (2011) demonstrated, professionals working in relatively new areas, where there might be uncertainty of what is expected, often talk about what typically gets done in a particular setting. However, as we saw in Excerpt 4.2, what PCSOs talk about as belonging to their role does not necessarily translate into what they do. Even though a query might not be considered a policing matter, and thus not

belonging to the prescribed role, officers will engage with the problem as if it was within their remit. However, role performance is not limited to roles understood as tasks only but also are realised discursively. In the next section, I look in more detail at how different roles, relating both to discourse and activity, are performed.

4.2 Performing roles in community policing

The professional guidance, quoted at the beginning of the chapter, emphasises the flexibility of PCSOs' role. However, this flexibility only goes some way to addressing the tensions officers experience in their working lives. Community policing values mean that citizens' expectations of what PCSOs can do and the responsibilities placed on officers by legislation and their institution contribute to officers' conflicting role-set: on the one hand, they are supposed to work on behalf of and for communities but on the other hand they are part of the police and contribute to wider policing goals of the institution they represent. I will suggest that this reflects a wider repertoire of roles, which index multiple voices and can be thought of as heteroglossic. This section will demonstrate how a focus on role, both from organisational and interactional perspectives, reveals more than a hybrid status of PCSOs and shows how interactions with members of the public are shaped by some roles and make others evident. The analysis centres around two major themes, linked to two different activities: reporting a crime and dealing with drinking in public.

4.2.1 Reporting a crime: different roles relating to one task

One of the reasons why members of the public contact the police is to report crime. PCSOs are not typically tasked with accepting reports of crime. However, their presence in public places means that citizens who approach them might try to report crimes. In this section, I trace how a PCSO negotiates his role as a report-taker. Excerpt 4.4a shows

precisely such a situation in the form of an exchange between Chris, a PCSO, and B, a young man who has just approached Chris in the street. B's bike has been stolen and B attempts to report the theft. The excerpt starts after the initial statement of the problem, which for the reasons of very poor quality of recording, has been omitted. Chris tries to establish where the bike was placed at the time of theft:

Excerpt 4.4a

1	Chris	inside?
2	B	yes
3	Chris	in the main hallway?
4	B	yes
5	Chris	communal hall is it?
6	B	yes
7	Chris	was the door open or was it?
8	B	mmhm we've been moving the stuff out all day but xxxxx closed the door
9	Chris	where do you live?
10	B	on the ehrm I li ehrm I'm currently staying at a friend's house so I don't know exactly
11	Chris	the location it was stolen from
12	B	it's just by the White Hart ehrm like on the corner of like the ehrm reception xx
13	Chris	the White Hart pub there yeah?
14	B	yeah ehrm you go: I come ok I ca- I can't I can go and find out xx
15	Chris	right we <u>need</u> (.) because they'll ask you for the location where it was stolen from ehrm so you wanna what I would suggest is we could take the report from you but without the location it's a xxxx
16	B	yeah

[Observation 28]

In the excerpt, the institutionally prescribed role becomes manifest. Chris's contribution in turns 1-13 is limited to asking questions. The assumption of the discursive role of questioner appears to be realised in here with his activity role of crime report taker. Even though accepting reports of crime does not directly lie within the PCSOs role from

the organisational point of view, as we will see shortly, Chris very readily adopts a typical institutional questioning sequence. Even the type of questions asked clearly mark him as an institutional representative by his persistence to determine the specific location. Moreover, the formulation *the location it was stolen from* (turn 11) is an example of *policespeak* (Fox 1993), which further indexes the institutional world and the prescribed role. The problem of location is crucial for the police in general (see also Chapter 5), and ascertaining the location of crime is of paramount importance in calls to police departments in particular (Tracy 1997; Paoletti 2012). Chris's questioning sequence then is linked to an activity of information gathering in taking a report of crime.

The questioning sequence allows Chris to also fulfil another role, which is also found in emergency calls, and that is gatekeeping. Heritage and Clayman (2010: 72) distinguish between two criteria against which calls are evaluated: genuineness (defining whether there is a problem) and relevance (whether the established problem is relevant and policeable). The basic fact that the bike has been stolen is not disputed in the exchange, suggesting that Chris treats B's attempt to report crime as genuine. The discussion then refers to the relevance of the bike theft. The crime in itself would be certainly relevant for Chris as a representative of the institution, but Chris seems to focus on the procedural aspects of relevance. In other words, the problem here is not whether a bike theft report should be taken in principle, but rather whether all institutional criteria are met for the report to be accepted.

In Chris's enactment of the role of gatekeeper, there seems to be a distinction between the here and now gatekeeping activity and institutional gatekeeping in general, and he does that through his use of pronouns. In turn, 15 he starts off with the pronoun *we,* which is ambiguous. It could refer to (a) Chris and the other PCSO present, who would need the information about the address in order to progress, (b) the institution at large, or (c) Chris and the victim of crime together. Consequently, his gatekeeping role is ambiguous. He could be seen as either enacting the role on his own, and declining to

take a report as it is his prerogative, or justifying his actions by referencing the general institutional practices. Alternatively, if the *we* was to include B, Chris's role would not be solely of a gatekeeper but also an advice giver, by suggesting a solution that is institutionally appropriate. This interpretation would point to joint working between a PCSO and a citizen, central to the values of community policing.

The switch from *we* to *they*, further in the same turn, when Chris states *they'll ask you for the location*, might indeed suggest that he enacts a role of advice giver. However, the ambiguity over which role Chris is enacting remains. His ascribed role is institutional representative who can take a report crime, as B's reasonable expectation would be. However, it is not clear what Chris's proscribed role is; whether he should take the report or not. The ambiguity of pronouns, which reflects multiple possible roles, reflects the place of PCSOs within the institution. On the one hand, they represent the police, and Chis can orient to more institutional role (such as crime report taker). On the other hand, PCSOs' role, as expressed by the institutional guidelines quoted at the beginning of the chapter and underpinned by community policing values, suggests that they should work with citizens. I will further consider the significance of pronouns in relation to heteroglossia in Chapter 7.

Chris is resisting helping B in two main ways. Firstly, he does so through the enactment of a role as an advice giver. Advice giving in service encounters has been suggested to function as a technique used to mitigate the negative character of refusal to provide service (Vinkhuyzen and Szymanski 2005). In this case, Chris avoids explicitly stating that he will not take the report of crime. Instead, through explaining what the prescribed roles are and enacting the role of advice giver, he resists the role that B is trying to ascribe him. Secondly, apart from giving advice, Chris has also been explaining institutional constraints, which Ronneberg and Svennevig (2010: 283) found to be a common tactic among police officers at a police station duty desk declining to respond to calls made in person. This ambiguity whether Chris is not taking the report because

of either the lack of details or because it is not his role continues during the exchange, in Excerpt 4.4b below:

Excerpt 4.4b

19	Chris	it's difficult for us to take the report go go and find out xxx get the exact address exact postcode they'll ask that definitely and the road it's on because obviously you don't live there at the moment
20	B	it's hard to say is it St James' Place? It's like that (right along there)
21	Chris	this mate I'm not being rude
22	B	sorry
23	Chris	try yeah don't take a stab at it make sure go and find out get the name and the name of the house the number of the house
24	B	yeah
25	Chris	the description of the bicycle any photographs any serial numbers you've got you can either ring one zero one if you wanna do it from the telephone or pop in into Central Police Station they'll take the crime report for you they'll allocate an officer to investigate it we'll do some house to house CCTV enquiries and so forth but it'd be better if you could find the exact location out if you can do that
26	B	it's a really busy place so there must be CCTV
27	Chris	yeah I'm sure there will be go get the address and then ring 101 or the Central Police Station we'd take the report from you but without much information
28	B	no no of course
29	Chris	it's a little bit difficult
30	B	no that's fine no worries
31	Chris	if go and give them a ring straight go try to do it sooner rather than later like alright?

[Observation 28]

In turn 19, Chris alternates again between *us* and *they*, seemingly distancing himself from the role of report-taker. Instead, he seems to suggest the role belongs to someone else, by stating *they'll ask that definitely.* Moreover, through explaining what questions will be asked he displays his knowledge of the process of reporting a crime and the questions that are asked. This further emphasises his role as advice giver, or "legal

broker", as Roussell and Gascón (2014) saw police officers attending community meetings, providing general information about how the system works. B's attempt to guess what the address is in turn 20 only makes Chris reiterate the advice to ascertain the exact address.

Despite Chris's attempts to distance himself from the role of crime report taker, B continues to assign him this role. In turn 20, B tries to recall the address to satisfy the institutional requirement which Chris has been using as a way to legitimise his inability to take the report. This leads Chris to ask B to stop speculating about what the address might be in turn 23. He lists further necessary details in turn 25, such as photos or serial numbers, as well as instructions on how to file a report. The distinction between 'us' and 'them' is thus finally spelled out: the report taker, whether at the police station or over the phone, will log the case; someone else (*an officer* in turn 25) will be assigned to investigate; and *we* will carry out some enquiries. By describing the process, Chris explains activity roles (see Section 2.3.3) that form part of various officials' role-sets. Here Chris explains the prescribed role of PCSOs, reduced to conducting house to house enquiries. This explanation marks therefore an opposition between *us* and them and suggests different roles prescribed for police officers and PCSOs. The definition of the roles relies on explaining the distribution of tasks among different institutional representatives. It is worth noting that B might not even be aware of the fact that Chris is in fact PCSO, and therefore the descriptions of different roles might not actually clarify the process.

Chris attempts to distance himself from the role of crime report taker nonetheless. There might be a good reason for the persistent ambiguity of whether it is his role or not rather than an outright rejection of this role: PCSOs can in fact take crime reports. This is evidenced in Excerpt 4.5 below, in which I describe how Judy has just answered a phone call, during which someone decided to report a crime:

Excerpt 4.5

> When she finished, she told me that it was quite annoying that someone reported a crime. Earlier on she had been saying that she was glad to have completed most of her tasks for the day because she was off the following two days and she did not like not finishing anything and either passing things on or asking colleagues to pick things up for her. (…) Judy explained that she could not log the crime using the system on her phone. She used the radio asking if a constable was available for a point-to-point. She explained to me that it was best to use point-to-point because she was not using airtime. I wanted to ask so many questions, because my world of PCSOs as I knew it just opened up to a completely new event. I managed to establish that she needs to contact a PSC (public service centre, although it took Judy some effort to remember what the acronym stood for).
>
> [Observation 22]

The process is complex and relies on PCSOs co-operating with other parts of the police. The fieldnote continues to describe even more steps that Judy had to ensure that the report was correctly recorded on the system and how many different systems and technologies she had to use. There is an organisational preference for members of the public to report through more usual channels, such as through the non-emergency number or at a police station. Chris, who is an experienced PCSO, is aware of the process and makes the following comment to me after his conversation with B:

Excerpt 4.6

> yeah we're supposed to take crime reports (.) if we don't take a crime report and they ring 101 and say I spoke to an officer we'll be in trouble cause it's the first point of contact it the point where the customer service should start to kick in and like I said I'll take it off you but unless you've got all the information do you know what I mean go and get the information and I'd ring 101 like it's easier for them
>
> [Observation 28]

As Excerpt 4.6 demonstrates, Chris expresses that his prescribed role typically includes the task of accepting crime reports (*yeah we're supposed to take crime reports*). His comment also highlights a tension which underpinned the exchange in Excerpt 4.4a-b: while his prescribed role would require him to accept the report, he would also need to act in an institutionally appropriate way, gathering all information. In fact, in the beginning of the exchange Chris did enact the role of questioner which would allow him to gather all the information necessary to help B. There is, however, another important aspect of the prescribed role that Chris recognises, namely *the customer service* frame which he adopts. The reference to customer service raises questions about the prescribed role, refers to the expectation the institution places on a professional. Yet, in this case, the institutional expectations are clearly linked with an anticipated response from the public: Chris's role is not only defined by institutional procedures, but some of these procedures are partly driven by citizens' expectations. There are thus multiple expectations within the institutional domain and potentially competing voices which demonstrate the heteroglossic character of community policing, an issue which I fully explore in Chapter 7.

We have thus seen how Chris had to negotiate different roles relating to the task of reporting crime. Apart from the comment on the task, which was uttered for me, the different roles were performed in an interaction with a single individual. In what follows, I consider what PCSOs' prescribed role is through the analysis of relevant legislation but I also demonstrate how the prescribed role is negotiated in interaction. I then go on to examine actual role performance to probe the relationship among the prescribed, ascribed and performed roles.

4.2.2 Activity roles: PCSOs and drinking in public

As I have already indicated, the prescribed role of PCSOs does not simply reflect the institutional expectations, but these expectations include paying regard to citizens'

voice, meaning that even the institutionally prescribed role includes an element of allowing citizens to ascribe specific roles to PCSOs. As the guidance issued by the College of Policing, a fragment of which was quoted at the beginning of the chapter, suggests, the nature of tasks carried out by PCSOs evolves:

> There is an expectation that the PCSO role will continue to develop in the future and, in the light of legislative changes, forces may wish to explore the scope of powers appropriate to be designated. While this development is recognised to meet demand, it should always remain in the framework of neighbourhood policing with an emphasis on engagement as opposed to enforcement. For the sake of clarity, a clear distinction should be made between the role of a PCSO and that of a sworn police officer. (College of Policing 2015: para 3.4)

Police forces have thus a degree of flexibility in deciding what the role of PCSOs should be. Moreover, the prescribed role places engagement in opposition to enforcement, as if these were two exclusive orientations. In this section, I challenge this simple distinction by demonstrating how PCSOs can perform roles which reflect law enforcement roles not in contradiction to engaging with citizens but rather because of it. I will do that through the analysis of talk on a topic of an enforcement power that PCSOs have, namely a response to consumption of alcohol in public places. The analysis will focus specifically on one PCSO—Judy—throughout a range of interactions. Wortham and Reyes (2015: 19) argue that "a linked series of events" as an analytical unit can serve to see social processes develop. The interactions presented here do not necessary form what Agha (2007) refers to as "speech chains", and I do not intend to show a specific trajectory of how one officer's behaviour changes over time. Instead, by analysing interactions relating to a single activity but in many contexts, I aim to show how Judy performs a specific role, negotiates what the role should be and justifies her role performance.

Drinking in public was a theme which reappeared several times during the fieldwork, and Excerpt 4.7, taken from my fieldnotes, provides an example of a situation where Judy performed an enforcement role:

Excerpt 4.7

> There was a drunk man in the park drinking alcohol. I hadn't even initially noticed anyone sitting on the bench, but Judy spotted him from quite afar. She walked up and I was quite impressed with how confident she was. She explained that the man was not allowed to drink in public and she mentioned that she knew that the liquid inside his Costa [coffee] cup was cider. She asked him to pour it out. As if oblivious to her words, the man asked her whether it was ok to drink it instead, but Judy said no categorically. She used the example of young children who might want to use the park, and that's why he should really not be drinking in public. If he wanted to drink in public, the only place for it was the pub. The man was very quick to point out what he thought was a weakness of the argument and said that it was school time so the children should be in school. Judy remained very professional and did not even have to think twice what to respond. She explained that she also meant toddlers who do not go to school.
>
> When we left after the man had complied, I said to Judy that I was very impressed with her and the way she handled that issue. I asked her whether she'd found it difficult at first to learn to be strict with people, and she said that indeed it was quite difficult for her to start with, because she is actually quite a shy person, but after a while you just pick it up.
>
> [Observation 17]

Although PCSOs' primary role is to engage with the public, the excerpt demonstrates a slightly more confrontational approach. Judy's decisive actions and exercising the powers of confiscating alcohol (which I discuss later on) mean that a distinction between PCSOs and sworn officers, which the guidelines quoted on the previous page stressed, becomes blurred. As the rest of the analysis of data centred around the activity of policing drinking in public will demonstrate, this ambiguity cannot in fact be escaped.

Although PCSOs sometimes perform enforcement roles, sometimes they also talk about their prescribed role in relation to public drinking. Excerpt 4.8 below is precisely such an example. It is taken from a PACT meeting attended by PCSOs Judy and Chris, as well as local residents and a councillor for the area. The meeting is chaired by a local resident, who has, during the meeting, mentioned a number of problems in the

area. The chair in this excerpt moves on to suggest another potential problem he suggests needs to be dealt with, namely youth loitering in a park:

Excerpt 4.8

1	chair	the other one which again is more to do with the time of the year is park watch we've had historical issue of making use of the park in the past park watch was established the problems diminished and went away perhaps the youngsters involved grew up and moved away from the area but we're coming up to the time of year summer or (xx) half term holidays or summer holidays where if there's anything going on in the park overnight in the evening we want to make sure we deal with it promptly
2	councillor	I walk through the park quite a lot and I would say people may disagree but there doesn't seem to be any problem with youngsters causing problems I think that's fine I think the only thing that I have noticed is that we've had a few incidents with street drinkers during day time you know obviously particularly when the sun's out mhm sitting in the park having a bottle of wine you know not necessarily causing any any bother but you know it's just
3	Judy	yeah
4	councillor	that's the only thing I've noticed
5	Judy	if if
6	councillor	I've not really seen any xx kids of anything
7	Judy	okay if anyone does see ehrm anybody drinking alcohol anywhere on the streets of [City] could you please let us know phone it through to the 101 number because you know the whole of [City] is a what's the word
8	Chris	designated
9	Judy	designated area nobody is allowed to consume alcohol in you
10	councillor	no no one is allowed to cause disruption
11	Judy	or consume alcohol drink alcohol in the streets you know
12	councillor	no you are the police are allowed to take it off you if you're causing a disruption but but if somebody's sitting in the park having a you know a glass of wine with a picnic
13	Chris	it's a discre it's a discretionary power

14	councillor	it is but we I was chair of the committee that approved it and we were very clear about the fact it it's there to be used judiciously it's not there to ehrm to to you know if someone's not causing problem and not causing a disruption then the police can't and shouldn't
15	Judy	okay

[Observation 19]

The excerpt demonstrates differences in what Judy and the councillor see the PCSOs' prescribed role to be. The topic of drinking in the public is raised by the councillor, who although refers to *a few incidents*, suggests that the street drinkers do not actually pose a problem (*not necessarily causing any any bother*). Although Judy does not manage to fully express her position on the matter until turn 7, she attempts to gain a turn immediately after the councillor's contribution in turn 3, and then in turn 5, suggesting an opposing view to the councillor's.

Indeed, while the councillor does not frame street drinking as a problem, Judy appeals to the public to report this behaviour, flagging up different expectations in relation to the activity. She uses an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986) by appealing to *anyone* seeing alcohol being drunk *anywhere* and seems to be speaking on behalf of the institution (*let us know* in turn 7), suggesting therefore the strict approach that the police take in the matter. As such, Judy is orienting to an enforcement role. Judy seems to suggest that it is a prescribed role, as she refers to some form of regulation by stating that the city *is designated area nobody is allowed to consume alcohol* (turn 9). This description of rules is immediately opposed by the councillor, who specifies that there is no blanket ban on drinking but rather only unruly drinking should be policed. This opposing views on what the PCSOs' role should be continue throughout the excerpt.

In turn 11, Judy attempts to resist the challenge by reinforcing her original statement without rejecting the councillor's suggestion. The power that Judy refers to is one of the standard powers given to PCSOs under the *Police Reform Act 2002*. Paragraph 5 of the Schedule 4 states that:

> Where a designation applies this paragraph to any person, that person shall, within the relevant police area, have the powers of a constable under section 12 of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 (c. 16) (alcohol consumption in public places)—
>
> (a)to impose a requirement under subsection (2) of that section; and
>
> (b)to dispose under subsection (3) of that section of anything surrendered to him;
>
> and that section shall have effect in relation to the exercise of those powers by that person as if the references to a constable in subsections (1) and (5) were references to that person.

The word *designation* in the legislation and *designated area,* used by Judy, refer therefore to rules and regulation, contributing to the normative aspects of the role PCSOs should have in this specific situation. Paragraph 5 also gives PCSOs the same powers as police constables with respect to intervening in the consumption of alcohol in public places. Therefore, the boundary between a police officer and a PCSO becomes blurred in that for the purposes of this specific situation PCSOs act as if they were sworn police officers. The councillor in turn 12 even starts his contribution with the pronoun *you* and then moves on to state *the police*, as if he did not make a distinction between PCSOs and sworn police officers.

The argument in Excerpt 4.8 is therefore about what the prescribed role is, and both Judy and the councillor make reference to regulations in support of their definition of that role. Chris, the other PCSO present, tries to find a compromise in turn 13, pointing out the discretionary nature of the power, but both Judy and the councillors seem to have clear ideas about what the role of PCSOs should be in relation to drinking in public. While Judy simply refers to a supposedly unequivocal ban on drinking in public, the councillor invokes his experience of law-making within the local government in turn 14, using this experience to give legitimacy of what the actual role was supposed to be. His words *the police can't and shouldn't*, through the use of modals, clearly define what the

boundaries of the PCSOs' role should be. Here, the normative character of the role comes to the fore, mostly through intertextual links to legislation and local regulations.

However, the normative character of the role, even when the importance of discretion is taken into consideration, does not change the fact that PCSOs do occasionally perform enforcement roles, and I have already shown an example of that in Excerpt 4.7. The power to enforce the drinking ban is discretionary, which means that the actual performance of an enforcement role varies from one situation to another. The argument about what prescribed role is or should be during a PACT meeting in Excerpt 4.8 is different from actually performing this role. Excerpt 4.9 below provides an example of role performance. Judy approaches a woman (T) sitting on a bench located in a small inner city park, with only a few benches in a small playground area. The woman is holding a can and Judy addresses her:

Excerpt 4.9

1	Judy	hiya (.) is this? yeah it's alcohol (.) you can't drink in the park I'm afraid
2	T	hmm?
3	Judy	no:
4	T	oh I had no idea about that
5	Judy	yeah
6	T	sorry okay then
7	Judy	are you from [city] or? only cause the whole of [city] is a non-designated drinking zone
8	T	I had no idea it's news to me
9	Judy	yes you can't drink consume alcohol in a public place unless obviously you're in a pub or somewhere like that
10	T	okay
11	Judy	alright so if you wouldn't mind just putting that in the bin or

[Observation 30]

Judy greets T and immediately informs her that she cannot consume alcohol in the park (turn 1). This statement seems to function as a directive, meant to stop T from

continuing to drink. T, in turn 4, professes her lack of knowledge about the regulation, which could be seen as a move which might mitigate her behaviour and uphold her positive face (Brown and Levinson 1987), by positioning herself as someone who would not knowingly break the law. This distancing from a role of someone violating rules is also achieved by issuing an apology (turn 6). In response, Judy accepts the possibility that T might not be aware of the regulation, which can also be seen as an example of negative politeness. T admits that she is not aware of the regulation (turn 8), which provides Judy an opportunity to reiterate the rule in very unequivocal terms: *you can't drink consume alcohol in a public place.* There seems therefore no room for discretion, which was talked about during the PACT meeting in Excerpt 4.9, but rather Judy states a fact.

The enforcement role Judy performs is therefore justified by a reference to the regulation. It is achieved as intertextual link to, even though she refers to a *non-designated* area, while, as seen in Excerpt 4.8, the term is *designated zone*. This might be a result of a blend where the terms non-drinking and designated zone have come together. The use of the word *designated* indexes the institutional world, legitimising Judy's request and the role she is performing, suggesting that the performed role is derived from her prescribed role. Similarly, the use of a formal register *consume*, instead of for example *drink,* in turn 9 gives weight to the request through suggesting that it is institutionally valid.

Judy appears then to perform an enforcement role, temporarily acting as if she was a police constable. By requiring T to dispose of alcohol in turn 11, Judy reinforces the enforcement aspect. Even though she assumes a role which seems to be typically associated with hard policing rather than engagement, in turn 11 she formulates a polite request *if you wouldn't mind just*, using the *if* clause and the modal *would.* The hedge *just*, on the face of it, seems to distance her from the law enforcer role.

Even though Judy has cast drinking in the park as a banned activity during her interaction with T, she is nonetheless aware of the role of discretion. Not only had she been present during the PACT meeting described in Excerpt 4.8, which took place several weeks before the exchange with T, but also she provides a commentary on this interaction, as reported in Excerpt 4.10 below:

Excerpt 4.10

> she didn't sound like she was from here she sounded like she was [speaking with a specific accent] (.) it's a fine line with drinking (.) if you go to Rose or King's Park and you have a family there a picnic and they'll be having a glass of wine you're not gonna say "you can't drink" it's (xxx) she wasn't causing any issues (xxx) complaints if we if people are sat in their homes and they see me just walking past (xx) someone drinking in a children's park so yeah (.) gotta do it
>
> [Observation 30]

This commentary provides some important information about the exchange which has just taken place. Firstly, Judy speculates where T was from, which sheds some more light on why she asked her whether she was from the city. Secondly, she recognises that drinking in public might not always be sanctioned (*it's a fine line)*, unlike in her conversation with T, and performing an enforcement role might not always be possible. In particular, Judy uses hypothetical reported discourse (Myers 1999), that is a representation of imaginary or potential utterances, putting herself in a scenario where she would have to ask a family in a park to stop drinking. She does not make reference to the previous interaction in Excerpt 4.8, where the discretionary nature was discuss during a PACT meeting. Nonetheless, she orients to some of the points that were raised in the PACT meeting, for example through acknowledging the lack of disruption caused by T's actions. On the other hand, Judy brings up a tension between exercising the power judiciously and lack of enforcement. In doing so, she presents an alternative scenario where the lack of enforcement would be met with disapproval.

The employment of hypothetical complaints allows Judy to present an opposing view, attributed to a group of people, which in turn makes it possible for her "to enact tensions or contradictions, to bring out underlying motives, to acknowledge or elicit the likely responses of others" (Myers 1999: 587). And, as Holsanova (2006: 270) observes, based on analysis of public meetings, people often integrate voices of others, including the anonymous public opinion or common attitudes and approaches, to achieve specific goals in the current situation. The normative character of the role, linked to the existence of regulations on the subject, only partially addresses actual role performance. Instead, Judy signals what her role is as ascribed by local citizens. Role performance becomes therefore a result of different, often conflicting expectations, dictating what PCSOs' ascribed role is. Hypothetical families in a park enjoying a glass of wine, potential onlookers who might see Judy ignore a street drinker and complain, a local councillor who was part of the local law-making process all have beliefs about what Judy's role is or should be.

Gotta do it, uttered with a raising intonation, emphasises an obligation or a duty to perform the specific action. Even though Judy responds to potential concerns held by local residents, who would ascribe her an enforcement role, the conveyed sense of obligation seems to suggest that it is a prescribed role. And, and in a sense, both hold true in a community policing context. By making reference to the concerns of local people and her accountability to them, Judy not only justifies her recent action but also positions herself as someone who works for the benefit of the local residents, enacting therefore a community support role. Performance of a single action therefore allows her to enact two quite distinct roles: *policing*, understood as enforcing law, and *community support*, in the sense of responding to local needs. Judy, in her role performance orients therefore not only to the overtly normative elements of the role, specified by legislation or local regulations, but the prescribed role in a community policing setting necessarily takes into consideration citizens' considerations.

We have seen how the policing of alcohol consumption is part of the PCSOs' role-set and how it features in Judy's talk in different settings. Although there was not a clear consequential chain of events in the examples presented in this section, the interactions analysed here are nevertheless linked: in Excerpt 4.8, Judy specifies what her normative role is; in Excerpt 4.9, she performs the enforcement role; and in Excerpt 4.10, she provides a commentary on her performance, justifying the choice of her enforcement role through reference to the community. This shift among discussion of normative aspects of role, actual role performance and justification of adoption of a specific role demonstrates the elusive nature of role. The different expectations among different stakeholders within community policing are also testament to the many voices that Judy has had to negotiate. I will return to the multiplicity of voices as an important feature of heteroglossia in community policing in Chapter 7. In the next section, I discuss the implications of the multiplicity of roles available to PCSOs and the need to perform specific roles in a particular context.

4.3 Performing roles, employing repertoires

PCSOs perform various roles, which in turn can be understood in various terms: some of them relate to the type of work carried out (law enforcer, community bridge etc.), some refer to an activity type (advice giver, legal broker, etc.) and some operate on an interactional level (questioner, PACT meeting attendee, etc.). So far, I have adopted terms such as role-set, which I introduced in Chapter 2, or role distancing. In this section, I revisit some of the key terms and suggest that the complexity of role performance in community policing settings is a result of heteroglossia, which includes multiple voices that PCSOs have to respond to: institutional voice of rules and regulations, regard for the community as well as the individual.

Although I have referred to specific roles, and classified them into different types as I did at the beginning of the previous paragraphs, such labelling is problematic. It is

partly because people can perform multiple roles simultaneously. Moreover, an analyst's decision on how to classify a given role cannot be conclusive given the multiple possible categories, and it does not necessarily reflect the emic understanding of the term. This is not to say that identification of specific roles is a futile exercise. I concur with Irvine (1996), who suggests that while it might be tempting to abandon labels for roles altogether and simply scrutinise actual performance, there is no denying that some of these labels circulate either among individuals who perform them (note for example Chris's reference to *customer service* in Excerpt 4.5) or within research literature (for example with relation to questioner, see for instance Halkowski 1990 or Haworth 2006). A close look at how these roles are used, created, appropriated and negotiated gives important insights into what participants achieve in interaction, against the backdrop of expectations as well as rights and responsibilities that roles typically entail.

As I suggested in Chapter 2, following Hall, Sarangi and Slembrouck (1999), roles can be seen as resources. The central question that arises from such a treatment of the term is then what functions role performance has. Firstly, PCSOs perform different roles to satisfy multiple audiences they orient to. And secondly, this performance of multiple roles reflects the essentially heteroglossic nature of roles within community policing. I explore the two points in more detail below.

The multiplicity of roles that PCSOs perform is a function of their position in between police and community. Theoretically acting as a bridge between police and community, officers necessarily end up taking sides in a given encounter with members of the public. Crucially, however, they are not limited to either law-enforcement roles, associated with hard policing, or community based roles, such as legal broker or mediator. Instead, a whole configuration of roles is available to them, and some of them emerge locally. For instance, by responding to queries that typically lie outside of their area, such as litter collection (as I exemplified with a passage from a fieldnote in Excerpt 4.2), PCSOs may be seen as enacting purely community-oriented roles. In contrast,

dealing with a report of crime that Chris displays in Excerpt 4.4, where he effectively acts as an institutional gatekeeper, could be seen as a police-oriented role. However, as the example of policing drinking alcohol in public, demonstrates, there is not a clear boundary between the two. By asking a member of the public to dispose of alcohol in Excerpt 4.9, Judy performs a law-enforcement role, which could be seen as being at the same time in opposition to some voices (most notably the councillor in Excerpt 4.8) and in harmony with others (such as the hypothetical complaints that local residents would make, as expressed by Judy in Excerpt 4.10).

It might be helpful then to think of roles performed by PCSOs as forming part of a larger role repertoire, through an analogy to linguistic repertoire. Although initially situated within the works of Gumperz (see for example Gumperz 1964), the term has been taken up to represent the individual and subjective nature of linguistic, or even semiotic, resources available at one's disposal. In particular, Busch (2012), drawing on the works of Jacques Derrida and Judith Butler suggests applying a poststructuralist reading of the term, sees the notion of repertoire as individually experienced, situated in a broader cultural history. She asserts the heteroglossic character of the notion:

> Drawing on a broad range of earlier voices, discourses, and codes, the linguistic repertoire forms a heteroglossic and contingent space of potentialities which includes imagination and desire, and to which speakers revert in specific situations. (Busch 2012: 521)

A repertoire approach to language serves primarily to think beyond the notion of bounded linguistic systems, and when transferred to the notion of role, it emphasises that PCSOs not simply choose one over another role available to them in a role-set, but rather mobilise roles as part of a repertoire, which continuously evolves, and includes normative roles prescribed by the institution as well as roles which emerge in interaction.

As this chapter has demonstrated then, there is a repertoire of roles available to PCSOs which includes some roles that could be seen as associated with traditional policing and law enforcement. The following chapter examines in detail situations during which officers perform such roles, through the lens of deontic authority, before examining how space, which could be associated with more community-oriented roles, is constructed and negotiated in Chapter 6.

5 Getting things done: negotiating deontic authority

> I could see that there was a cyclist on the pavement coming towards us. (…) Even before the cyclist was close enough to speak to him Judy started talking a bit more slowly and became somewhat tense. It was as if she was preparing herself for a confrontation. As we came closer, she told the young man that he was not allowed to cycle on the pavement and he could face a 50-pound penalty notice. She pointed out to him that there was a cycling lane on the street, just next to the pavement he was cycling on. Her tone was decisive and professional. It made me think how people react to her words. I would be very apologetic and would feel really guilty, but the man seemed to comply reluctantly. He didn't even say anything.
>
> [Observation 18]

As we saw in the previous chapter, PCSOs, despite having community support as their main aim, find themselves performing law enforcement roles. Even though PCSOs' powers are limited, they can still tell people what to do, as the excerpt above, taken from a fieldnote, illustrates. A seemingly simple activity such as instructing a cyclist to get off a pavement is in fact complex. It involves some preparatory moves, an explanation that law is being broken, and a threat of a sanction. Of course, the weight of the words is also amplified by the fact that the person who utters them is wearing a uniform. The cyclist in this example silently complied with the request. In other words, he accepted Judy's authority.

This chapter will specifically address the second research question, which aims to interrogate how authority is exercised, challenged and negotiated. I will use the analytic concept of deontic authority, which Stevanovic and Peräkylä broadly refer to as "*determining* how the world "ought to be"" (2012: 298; emphasis in original). In other words, deontic authority refers to situations when individuals try to determine future actions, or evaluate what should have happened in the past (Sterponi 2003). Stevanovic

and Peräkylä (2012: 299) restrict their analysis to instances of participants coming together to decide about their joint future actions. As the example from the fieldnote demonstrates, PCSOs at times issue directives which do not relate to a joint action but rather aim to make an individual comply with a given rule. In this chapter, I will show how citizens can challenge PCSOs' authority and how deontic authority is negotiated, as participants necessarily have to orient to their deontic rights when determining future actions (Stevanofic and Peräkylä 2012: 299). This negotiation is of particular significance in the community policing contexts, where participants can invoke specific rights and responsibilities that individuals, communities and the police have. Given the inherent tensions in the community policing model, where rights of individuals and communities are privileged but can clash with institutional rules, I will demonstrate how individuals do not simply display a set of rights but rather draw on a variety of resources to achieve specific aims in a given moment. In doing so, both PCSOs and citizens rely on the heteroglossic nature of interactions in community policing, voicing rights associated with various constituents and signalling tensions that arise among individuals, communities and officers.

In what follows, I provide examples of how PCSOs exercise deontic authority in Section 5.1 before I exemplify how this authority can be challenged in Section 5.2. I analyse the exercise and challenges to authority with relation to deontic rights, and in Section 5.3 I suggest that sometimes despite having high deontic rights PCSOs can relinquish their authority. Finally in Section 5.4 I emphasise the importance of negotiation of authority, before moving on to discussing deontic authority in relation to heteroglossia.

5.1 Realisations of deontic authority

It would be tempting to see interactions where PCSOs issue directives as exercise of power. However, as I suggested in Chapter 2, authority is a more productive concept in a community policing context, because authority is underpinned by legitimacy (Stefanovic and Peräkylä 2012: 297). Given that legitimacy is one of the core values of community policing, the focus on authority opens up the possibility to investigate the nuanced ways in which authority is exercised. Specifically, exercises of deontic authority, along with claiming specific deontic rights that come with it, are often accompanied by a justification, particularly in situations where officers use their discretion to exercise their authority. In this section, I examine how PCSOs exercise their deontic authority, before highlighting how it is negotiated in the following section. However, the boundary between the two can be difficult to establish, and authority always needs to be negotiated. I maintain the distinction between exercising and negotiating authority merely to accentuate specific features rather than to suggest that typically either one or the other thing happens.

Excerpt 5.1a below demonstrates how officers issue directives to individuals, and therefore exercise their deontic authority. Judy, a PCSO, is out on patrol on her own, with me as a researcher accompanying her. She calls at a dead end street, as she knows that the residents have been making complaints about cars parking on the pavements. Because the specific street is within walking distance of a hospital, the residents are concerned that hospital visitors are taking up parking spaces on their otherwise quiet cul-de-sac. It is a problem that has surfaced during community meetings and in conversations with individuals, as Judy informed me while we approached the area. PCSOs routinely visit the road to check whether the problem persists. Judy spots a van parked on a pavement and approaches a man, referred to here as Mr C, who the van seems to belong to. As evidenced by my fieldnotes that accompanied this exchange,

although the van is parked on a pavement, it does not seem to block access. Judy tries to exercise her deontic authority by asking the man to move the van:

Excerpt 5.1a

1	Judy	hello?
2	Mr C	hi there
3	Judy	hiya↓ (.) sorry to bother you how long do you think you're gonna be parking by here
4	Mr C	don't know xx back
5	Judy	yeah only because we get a lot of complaints from residents on this street about vehicles parking up on the pavements and blocking access et cetera so just be aware .hh
6	Mr C	right
7	Judy	ehm (.) is there any way that you could park on the drive or?
8	Mr C	I don't know I don't know if any of the girls are I know there is a car that belongs here
9	Judy	right
10	Mr C	there's three girls (.) the guy xx with the xx he lives in Ireland
11	Judy	I see okay
12	Mr C	and the three students so=
13	Judy	=they're not in at the moment are they
14	Mr C	no one's in no I've got the've given me if I can find it ((opening his pocket)) (.) °oh there it is° I've got the house key
15	Judy	okay
16	Mr C	a::nd I let myself in I've
17	Judy	yeah
18	Mr C	I'm just pruning the garden
19	Judy	yeah=
20	Mr C	=keeping it tidy

[Observation 18]

Faced with lack of concrete material reasons to sanction Mr C, such as causing an unnecessary obstruction, and thus her weak deontic rights to request him to move, Judy's question *how long do you think you're gonna be parking by here* in turn 3 merely introduces the topic of parking and hints at the fact that his presence might be

problematic. The formulaic *sorry to bother you*, which is a parasitic apology (Galatolo, Ursi and Bongelli 2016), that is one produced *en passant* and showing the need to repair any potential trouble, suggests a move which would potentially damage Mr C's negative face. In turn 5, Judy specifies what the problem is in general terms, namely residents' complaints about vehicles parked on the pavement. Judy specifies that her intervention is needed *only because* of these complaints, demonstrating the weakness of her deontic rights in the situation by restricting them to a single reason. Moreover, she does not formulate a request for him to move the van at this stage, instead asks him to *just be aware*, where the use of downtoner *just* (Aijmer 2002) adds to the mitigating effect. It is thus clear that Judy, who seems to have weak deontic rights, derived only from local residents' complaints and weakened by the fact that the van does not in fact seem to block the way, has to carry out a lot of interactional work to exercise her deontic authority. However, as we will see throughout the remainder of this chapter, calling on the voices of local communities is in fact an effective strategy within community policing.

Nevertheless, in this instance the reference to unspecified residents' complaints does not allow Judy to authoritatively ask Mr C to move his van. She only tries to exercise her authority in turn 7, where she formulates a request, asking Mr C to move his van. She does so in an indirect way (*is there any way*), and finishes with a conjunction *or,* allowing space for an alternative solution. And indeed Mr C does not comply with her request and instead produces possible excuses. In turn 8, he suggests that none of the regular occupants are in, therefore his van is not blocking their parking space. He also presents a house key in turn 14 as a token of his legitimate presence. Through the combination of talk about the residents and the symbolic presentation of the key, he points out the weakness of Judy's deontic rights, suggesting that his presence there has been requested by the local residents, whose unspecified voices Judy invoked.

Mr C thus challenges Judy's deontic authority, and I will discuss how such challenges are posed and negotiated in more detail in the following section. Despite her

apparently weak deontic rights Judy perseveres in exercising her deontic authority, as the remainder of the conversation illustrates:

Excerpt 5.1b

21	Judy	yeah no I know I know I know (.) that's fine ehrm obviously if we do get any reports you'll have to re- mo:ve it
22	Mr C	yeah yeah
23	Judy	but we haven't had any reports [so]
24	Mr C	[I] I'm just concerned I tried to like ((goes to the other side of the van and points)) xxxxx
25	Judy	it's very narrow yeah that's it
26	Mr C	yeah
27	Judy	that's why we've come up here because we do get a lot of cars park up (.) on the pavements
28	Mr C	right
29	Judy	so I don't know if there's any chance you could possibly park on the drive
30	Mr C	I would be on the drive you know I've got no issues=
31	Judy	=and then if they do come back (.) just they they'll be probably aware of the parking issues that we get down here
32	Mr C	yeah I think only one (.) ehrm the one downstairs I think she's got a car (.) I think she's the only one her and xx
33	Judy	okay
34	Mr C	because they're in the dentistry and pharmaceutical so
35	Judy	yeah they're usually medical yeah okay
36	Mr C	yeah
37	Judy	if you could park it on the drive that would be great
38	Mr C	okay yeah if I can swing it in I will
39	Judy	lovely
40	Mr C	xx

Although in turn 21 Judy seems to accept her weak deontic rights by acknowledging that she understands Mr C's arguments *(I know I know I know (.) that's fine),* she nonetheless exercises her authority (*you'll have to re- mo:ve it*), albeit only conditionally (*if we do get any reports*). It is at this point that the significance of residents' complaints (or *reports*)

becomes apparent. The strong modality of the desired outcome (*you'll have to*) is a result of the hypothetical reports, which would exclude any room for negotiation. By making the request dependent on these reports, Judy not only demonstrates how her deontic rights in this particular situation have the potential to be strengthened but also makes a reference to the legitimacy of her demand.

Her exercise of authority on behalf of the residents is underlined by her use of pronouns. She adopts the pronoun *we*, although its use is ambiguous. For instance, when she refers to receiving reports, it is not clear who she means. Residents have seemingly voiced their concerns directly to PCSOs during a PACT meeting, as Judy informed me before her confrontation with Mr C, but reporting a blocking car would seem an ineffective means of reacting to the problem at a particular time. The use of the noun *reports* suggests that residents would contact the police to report an occurrence of a car blocking a pavement, most likely through a non-emergency phone line. In this sense, the *we* in turns 21 and 23 could be seen to index the institution. Moreover, in turn 27 she states that *we've come up here¸* which could potentially signal my presence, before she mentions that *we do get a lot of cars park up.* This use of the pronoun can be seen as a generic *we,* referring to what typically happens, but it could also be potentially interpreted as an inclusive *we,* which would identify Judy as someone working for and with the local residents. Similarly, in turn 31, she also mentions *the parking issues that we get down here*, further invoking her authority as legitimate thanks to the collaborative working with the people. Through this strategic use of pronouns, Judy shows her authority as legitimate, as it rests within the community and is supported by the institution which she is a part of. And I will further explain the significance of this alignment in Chapter 7. She is thus able to navigate between different social positions—a representative of an institution, a mouthpiece for the community and an apparent member of the local community—demonstrating thus the heteroglossic character of the exchange.

Adopting the position of a spokesperson for the local residents allows her to renew her attempts to exercise deontic authority in turn 29. However, given that her deontic rights remain unchanged and, as she admitted in turn 23, no specific complaints have been made with regards to Mr C's presence, she uses a range of mitigating strategies. The formulation *so I don't know if there's any chance you could possibly park on the drive* adopts some syntactic elements aimed to downgrade the request's illocutionary force, such as the use of *if* clause, as well as lexical ones. For example, the request is framed as a consultative device (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984: 204), which aims to involve the interlocutor in the process by asking them their opinion of the possibility of the action and which is a common negative politeness strategy in English (Ogiermann 2009: 202). Thus, even though Judy exercises her deontic authority following a demonstration of deontic rights that she could have by virtue of residents' complaints, their hypothetical character is reflected in the mitigation of the request.

Apart from the reference to local residents' reports and her use of pronouns, Judy formulates her request multiple times. She starts off with the conditional request in turn 21, before asking Mr C again in turn 29, using a consultative device and an adverb of possibility, and in turn 37 (*if you could park it on the drive that would be great*), using an *if* clause. The strategies Judy adopts seems to be successful in this example. Mr C eventually agrees to comply with the request in turn 38 (*if I can swing it in I will)*. This agreement is only conditional and mirrors the weak deontic rights Judy had, in particular her reference to hypothetical reports.

In sum, Judy consistently displays her deontic authority in a situation where her deontic rights seem weak. She achieves that through a combination of resources. Firstly, Judy adopts mitigation strategies, such as indirect forms of requests, such as use of downtoners and conditional constructs. Secondly, she invokes residents' complaints as the justification of her request, skilfully adopting pronouns that accentuated the legitimacy of her deontic rights. Finally, she made the request repeatedly. On the whole,

she has been successful as Mr C has committed to fulfil the request, even if only conditionally. So far, I have not examined the ways in which Mr C tried to negotiate authority. It is the topic of the next section.

5.2 Challenging authority

In the previous excerpt, we have seen how Judy was exercising her deontic authority, justifying it with references to the local residents' views. Mr C, however, is also a resident in a different area who has faced problems with parking, and, as we will see, calls on this status to challenge her deontic authority. I will suggest that the importance of valuing residents' voice in a community policing setting not only facilitates PCSOs' exercise of deontic authority but also simultaneously enables citizens to resist it, resulting in a heteroglossic tension.

Excerpt 5.2a, reproduced below, follows on from the interaction discussed in Excerpts 5.1a-b. After a short intervention from me, where I sought consent from Mr C to use the recorded interaction for research, Mr C shifts a topic and complains about parking issues in his neighbourhood, which he experienced, and explains that because of the planned change to the road layout, it will be even more difficult for him to park his van. This move has allowed him to position himself as a victim of crime:

Excerpt 5.2a

66	Mr C	I was parked on Hillside Road the other night I had it broken into
67	Judy	this van here?
68	Mr C	yeah
69	Judy	oh no
70	Mr C	I didn't bother reporting it because they didn't get in they got into into there like xxxx but they can't get in because it's got deadbolts so it's cost me money so it's pointless reporting it cause what's the bloody point
71	Judy	well (.) I know I would encourage you to report it though

72	Mr C	right
73	Judy	anything anything
74	Mr C	if it happens again
75	Judy	because obviously we like to know what's going on in the area anyway
76	Mr C	right
77	Judy	if we're getting (.) reports of if we get spike of reports of vehicles parked on Hillside Road getting broken into=
78	Mr C	=right=
79	Judy	=we need to do something about it do you know what I mean
80	Mr C	yeah
81	Judy	so it's really important that you phone it through
82	Mr C	right okay
83	Judy	even if nothing gets taken
84	Mr C	yeah
85	Judy	it could potentially still be CSI (.) for them opportunities in the vehicle if they've made an untidy search et cetera
86	Mr C	they cou they could=
87	Judy	=they might have cut themselves
88	Mr C	they couldn't get into the vehicle they've cracked the glass and they because obviously it's got deadbolts (.) so you can't get in anyway
89	Judy	even things like blood they might have cut themselves while breaking the window whatever you know it's all potential ehrm [opportunities]

In this excerpt, Judy tries to exercise her deontic authority by persuading Mr C to report crime. Her deontic rights, however, are even weaker than in the previous excerpt: in this case Mr C highlights the concrete damage he has suffered (*I had it broken into* in turn 66*; it's cost me money* in turn 70), as opposed to the hypothetical complaints mentioned previously. This positioning him as a victim of crime allows Mr C to challenge Judy's deontic rights in two ways. Firstly, he disputes the need to report the incident, highlighting the little value in contacting the police, and secondly he demonstrates his ownership of the situation (*they can't get in because it's got deadbolts*). He presents

himself as a responsible individual who has taken precaution in the form of installing secure locks, and therefore police's assistance is not only ineffective but also not required as he takes care of his own safety. By highlighting his personal responsibility, he diminishes Judy's deontic rights.

Judy nevertheless tries to persuade Mr C to report any incidents, exercising her deontic authority but given her weak deontic rights she needs to mitigate her claims. She starts her contribution with a discourse marker *well* in turn 71, marking disagreement (Beeching 2016), and she *encourages,* rather than asks, him to report incidents. She also uses extreme case formulations (Pomerantz 1986) when she mentions *anything anything* in turn 73. Most importantly, however, she highlights the institutional importance or reporting similar incidents (for instance, in turn 75 *we like to know what's going on in the area*). She refers the community policing values of responding to local needs: following complaints from residents the police will be obliged to take action (*we need to do something about it* in line 79).

Judy then in her exercise of deontic authority highlights the importance of the action to the police (turn 85 *it could potentially still be CSI (.) for them opportunities in the vehicle if they've made an untidy search et cetera*). It would seem therefore that she simply juxtaposes the institutional obligation to investigate all potential incidents with Mr C's right to be only concerned about his own personal safety. However, in a community policing context the institutional obligation is underpinned by values of working for the community, which accord community policing its legitimacy. Through invoking the need for the police to be aware of what is going on in the area, Judy not only derives her deontic right from her link to the police but also anchors them in the community, which potentially includes Mr C. At the heart of negotiating authority here is therefore this tension between the personal, institutional and communal interests.

This tension is further explored by Mr C, who challenges the institutional element of the authority and attempts to reject the obligations that Judy has been trying

to impose on him. As Excerpt 5.2b demonstrates, he expresses his dissatisfaction with the action the police have taken in the past:

Excerpt 5.2b

90	Mr C	[well I've] had my garage broken into three times every time I phone the police no one turns up xx
91	Judy	oh no
92	Mr C	they give me a crime reference number
93	Judy	I'm very sorry about that usually you know it's
94	Mr C	they they send like yourself a support officer
95	Judy	yeah
96	Mr C	comes round he looks and said there's nothing we can do there's no prints because it's on wood they broke proper locks off they did
97	Judy	ah right
98	Mr C	it's the third time last time it was October (.) last year
99	Judy	and is it like just like a normal padlock is it and they?=
100	Mr C	=I've got three I've now spent I've actually spend a hundred and fifty quid on padlocks (.) but if they get through that door (.) they don't realise it but there's another door three feet later
101	Judy	that you need to get through to get to valuables is it
102	Mr C	yeah because I've got over twenty grand worth of tools and there's a ten grand Harley in there so
103	Judy	oh wow
104	Mr C	so (.) you know it's (.) I know what they're after my motorbike (.) probably or my tools cause (.) you know
105	Judy	I see (.) well it's good that you keep them <u>well</u> secured though
106	Mr C	it's alarmed as well
107	Judy	yeah

Mr C not only reaffirms his position as a victim, this time through his reference of multiple incidents, but also casts the police actions as inadequate. Through his use of an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986) *every time I phone the police no one turns up,* he builds contrast between a good citizen, who has reported crime on every occasion, and the irresponsive police. Mr C's mention of the lack of effective police action in the

past can be seen as a complaint targeted at the institution and its representatives (Ruusuvuori and Lindfors 2009: 2432-2433) and can serve as a way to weaken Judy's deontic rights. These rights are further weakened when he makes a distinction between PCSOs (*like yourself a support officer*) and police officers (turn 94), suggesting that PCSOs only serve as a replacement for the police that might be expected to respond to the crime he reported. As a result, Judy does not exercise her deontic authority by renewing her calls to report incidents.

Mr C challenges Judy's authority not only through downgrading the effectiveness, and thus the legitimacy of the police, and potentially by pointing out her status being different from police officers, but also by continuing to highlight his personal responsibility for his safety. For instance, in turn 96, he makes reference to *proper locks*. It is precisely in this realm of personal responsibility that Judy tries to challenge him, for example by questioning whether the lock was in fact *just like a normal padlock* (turn 99). While Judy does not attribute blame directly, through lexical choice she introduces the possibility that there has been a degree of Mr C's responsibility in the ways in which the property had been secured, as an only attempt to maintain her authority. However, this attempt fails, as Mr C keeps highlighting the precautions he has taken to protect his valuables in turn 100, and Judy is forced to admit in turn 105 that he keeps them well secured. She therefore cannot claim any deontic rights on the basis of her institutional affiliation, because of the police's effectiveness, nor is she able to challenge Mr C's rights by undermining his personal responsibility for safety, which could give rise to the legitimacy of police assistance.

In a deadlock, Judy then tries to move away from either institutional or personal responsibility for Mr C's safety by shifting it onto a third party. In the continued exchange, Excerpt 5.2c, they discuss the exact location of Mr C's garage, which is situated in a lane behind a row of terraced houses. In a number of PACT meetings these lanes

have been identified as dangerous and a programme of lockable gates (referred to as *alley gates* below) was being rolled out at the time:

Excerpt 5.2c

108	Mr C	because we'd actually left to go on holiday and neighbour next door said=
109	Judy	=is it (.) a garage that's in the lane or is it on the on Sunnyside Avenue
112	Mr C	it's all in xx all in a lane
113	Judy	I see so I think they are gonna get alley gates soon
114	Mr C	they are are they
115	Judy	that's what I've heard that would be a great help wouldn't it because they put them all over the other side
116	Mr C	that sent all them nutters over all on this side
117	Judy	xx but if it all comes over to Elms Avenue I think that's the next
118	Mr C	yeah the next stage is it
119	Judy	next next phase so
120	Mr C	hope so because
121	Judy	[that'd be great]
122	Mr C	even like a few of you guys like turned up
123	Judy	yeah
124	Mr C	and you know nothing they can do about it (.) ehrm they all say the same it's one of the most vulnerable lanes because you've got to hop the fence and allotments and they disappear
125	Judy	yeah
126	Mr C	and my garage has been targeted a number of times because of what I do you know and this cost me a fortune alarms CCTV (.) I can't do any more than that
127	Judy	do you have cameras then by the lane
128	Mr C	I've got a camera in the lane
129	Judy	do you
130	Mr C	I've got a camera in th- in my back garden but I- I just can't afford to put one in the lane do you know
131	Judy	no no no
132	Mr C	I did put up a false one but they've ripped it off

133	Judy	honestly like (.) since the alley gates have been put the other side we've seen a decrease in crime
134	Mr C	you will do (.) yeah they- they've got nowhere to run
135	Judy	yeah
136	Mr C	that's the thing
137	Judy	that's it and they're usually on bikes as well so
138	Mr C	and the lanes are per:fect to escape
139	Judy	yeah
140	Mr C	you know even I know this=
141	Judy	=I agree
142	Mr C	it's frustrating for you guys
143	Judy	it <u>is</u>
144	Mr C	because you want to catch the buggers
145	Judy	I know I know
146	Mr C	and you're like you're chasing them but it's not happening you know
147	Judy	no I know

Having established that Mr C has taken reasonable steps to secure his valuables, and avoiding mention of police's responsibility for safety, Judy changes the topic to talk about *alley gates* in turn 113. This is important because she can resist the constant challenges to her authority by highlighting an area for which either she or the institution she represents is not responsible, therefore weakening Mr C's right to complain about the police ineffectiveness. In turn 115, she uses the pronoun *they* to distance herself from the responsibility for the gates and points out to the effects the gates have on crime in other nearby areas (turn 133).

And indeed, this strategy works. While Mr C continues to evidence his risk management by mentioning alarms and CCTV (turn 126), he recognises that the ungated lanes are partially to blame for the crime (turn 124). He even sympathises with the police in turns 142-146. In doing so, he acknowledges common ground regarding rights and responsibilities (Stevanovic and Perakyla 2012: 316). For Enfield (2006), one of the implications of common ground is the potential to create and sustain high levels of social

affiliation. Through the discussion of crime in the area, which seems to be independent of the police's actions in some respects, Judy has managed not only to resist the challenge to her authority but she has also created a sense of working towards a common goal, reinstating legitimacy at the basis of her authority. Even though Mr C displays a range of arguments where Judy's position as a representative of an institution concerned with his safety is challenged, he arrives at a shared understanding of rights and responsibilities that Judy presented.

As Raymond and Zimmerman (2007: 60) demonstrated in their research on calls to fire emergency services, the nature of expected responsibilities can and does change, and institutions have to adapt to these changes, despite institutional resistance. Judy here has acknowledged her responsibility towards the wider community, who complains about the parking issues but who would also benefit from reports of crime in the area, and the individual who has been a victim of crime, as a result of having to park his van elsewhere and who feels let down by previous police response. It seems here that the exercise of deontic authority needs to be negotiated amid these potentially conflicting forces. In this instance, Judy addresses this tension by exercising her deontic authority while attending to the sociality of the interaction. At times, however, PCSOs relinquish authority completely, which is something I will explore in detail now.

5.3 Relinquishing authority

So far we have seen that one of the ways of legitimising PCSOs' authority is through mobilising the voices of local residents, which grant officers deontic authority. Nevertheless, reference to complaints or reports does not automatically make PCSOs exercise deontic authority, as this section will demonstrate.

In Excerpt 5.3a below, two PCSOs approach a member of the public following a complaint from a local resident. In this case, however, rather than dealing with unspecified complaints from a group of residents, the PCSOs, Jack and Phil, address

a local resident on his doorstep following comments made by his neighbour, whom they briefly spoke to immediately before. See the opening exchange in Excerpt 5.3a below, where Mr K is the resident being challenged and where Jack specifies the reason for his visit:

Excerpt 5.3a

1	Jack	hiya mate
2	Mr K	hiya
3	Jack	nothing to worry about (.) just a quick word we've had a few complaints about football being played
4	Mr K	right?
5	Jack	in the street by children from the house here
6	Mr K	okay?
7	Jack	it's not an issue kids will be kids and obviously they've got to play
8	Mr K	yeah
9	Jack	and what have you like but a few residents have been worried about cars getting hit
10	Mr K	is it the man next door?=
11	Jack	=well I can't say where it's come from there's been other residents people are worried about
12	Mr K	xx
13	Jack	with the kids if you can (.) if you can just like keep an eye on them and stuff you [know]
14	Mr K	[norm-] normally what happens (.) when they play out here
15	Jack	yeah
16	Mr K	there's always someone in that room
17	Jack	yeah
18	Mr K	so they're always kept an eye on (.) like I said they're only little kids someone's gotta keep an eye on them

[Observation 28]

The complaint here is more specific than in Excerpt 5.1 as it has come from one specific neighbour, granting Jack strong deontic rights. Jack frames the reason for the visit as a result of *a few complaints about football being played* (turn 3), which he casts as to do

with the need to protect the complainant, as shown in turn 11 (*I can't say where it's come from).* Despite this seemingly strong evidence, Jack only exercises his deontic authority in turn 13.

Not only does Jack formulate his requests after several turns, but also the request itself is mitigated in two major ways. Firstly, Jack downgrades his deontic rights in turn 7 by pointing out that the "offence" is not serious at all (*it's not an issue)*. Consequently, the request *if you can just like keep an eye on them and stuff* could be seen as exercising deontic authority but not with the force that the apparently strong deontic rights might suggest, particularly when compared to the request asking to move a van we saw in Excerpt 5.1. Watching over children could be seen as general advice rather than request. Moreover, it is mitigated by an *if*-clause, and the general extender (Overstreet 1999) *and stuff* amplifies the vagueness of the request, while also serving a strategy for conveying interpersonal meaning (Terraschke and Holmes 2007: 200). Jack then acquiesces his deontic authority, and despite relying on specific worries of local residents issues vague instructions to *keep an eye* on children.

There is indeed a good reason for him doing so, which Jack elaborates on later on in the conversation with Mr K. After Mr K's guess that the visit is a result of his next-door neighbour's complaint he suggests that the man just likes to complain and make unfounded allegations. It becomes clear that there is some tension, which Jack tries to address (Except 5.3b):

Excerpt 5.3b

31	Jack	what we want to avoid is any obviously tension between neighbours
32	Mr K	yeah
33	Jack	because obviously you need to live next door to each other (.) and we're not the fun police to the kids you know we're not down on the kids for playing football per se
34	Mr K	yeah no of course

35	Jack	if you see and the ball is getting a bit sort of I know kids are kids I know I was a kid once you were a kid you know what happens when you sometimes we- things get out of hand if you see the ball being kicked about will you just give them a shout
36	Mr K	yeah no
37	Jack	keep it down like
38	Mr K	we always do that can't do can't do anything different
39	Jack	yeah
40	Mr K	he's just he's still gonna moan I can tell you that now I'll see you probably in another week or two probably ((laughs))
41	Jack	that's alright (.) as long as you know (.) we're not the fun police so just you know xx (.) personally we trawl along here all the time and we've never seen them do it

The underlying tension of the encounter results from two conflicting versions of the event. On the one hand, Jack is obliged to intervene following the resident's complaint. On the other hand, he needs to respond to Mr K's statement on the unreasonable nature of the neighbour comments (in turns omitted as well as in turn 40). Mr K's portrayal of the neighbour as someone who is *still gonna moan*, through the lexical choice, enables him to characterise the neighbour's complaints by pointing out the subjective and irrational cause of them (Edwards 2005: 23). Jack then explains what his role is in negotiating this tension is in turn 31: *what we want to avoid is any obviously tension between neighbours*. This is the reason why Jack has relinquished some of the deontic authority, using his discretion, which as I suggested in Section 2.2.4 is an essential feature of interactions between PCSOs and members of the public

Despite aligning with Mr K's position through not trying to enforce a ban on children playing in the street, Jack nevertheless attends to some of the elements of the initial request. In turn 35, he asks to *give them* [=kids] *a shout* but only when *things get out of hand*. This request is also mitigated through Jack's assertion *we're not the fun police*. Cammiss and Manchester (2012: 377) found similar phrases ("it is not my intention to be a killjoy") to function as techniques used to preserve one's face when

making complaints, highlighting acceptance of reasonable behaviour. In this instance, Jack similarly adopts this phrase to highlight that his deontic rights do not apply to what is typically considered to be socially acceptable. He uses two types of argument to make his point: a general truth (*kids will be kids*) and references to personal experience (*I know I was a kid once*), which allows him to build a sense of solidarity (*you were a kid*).

Jack technically expresses his deontic authority by asking Mr C to watch over the children playing and to *keep it down* (turn 37). However, in addition to the ways in which the authority is downgraded, such as through a conditional formulation of a request or adopting a negative politeness strategy through the reference of what is reasonable, he refers the evidential domain by stating that *personally we trawl along here all the time and we've never seen them do it.* The evidence is qualified as based on personal observation, thus not institutionally enforced, but it is formulated using extreme case formulations (*all the time*; *never*) which can be used to defend (Pomerantz 1986). As Hill and Irvine (1993: 4) note, attending to evidence can be made relevant in interaction in many nuanced ways, beyond a simple dichotomy of knowing and not knowing. In this case, Jack uses the evidence to "endorse the teller's perspective" (Stivers 2008: 32) and effectively relinquish his deontic authority.

References to the voices of the community can act as a way to legitimise authority, but as this excerpt has demonstrated, Jack did not fully realise his deontic rights. In this case, the obligation to act in a local resident's interests clashed with another resident's sense of freedom and responsibility for his children. The analysed excerpt thus demonstrates that community policing has a difficult task to attend to multiple, sometimes conflicting, interests within a community. Managing these conflicts is a topic which I will further explore in Chapter 7. Moreover, due the apparent lack of official enforcement rules, PCSOs can vary the degree to which they exercise their deontic authority. At the beginning of this chapter we saw how they exercise it, while this section has demonstrated how they relinquish it. In the next section, I will focus on

the ways in which officers negotiate deontic authority in instances where citizens also try to exercise their authority.

5.4 Negotiating authority

At the beginning of this chapter we saw how PCSOs can exercise deontic authority, while the previous section has demonstrated how they relinquish it. In this section, I will focus on the ways in which officers negotiate deontic authority in instances where citizens also try to exercise their authority and call on their strong deontic rights.

The basis of analysis is a long conversation, lasting over 30 minutes in total, during which two PCSOs, Chris and Dan, visit a local supermarket. They are following-up a call that was made the previous night reporting a man causing disturbance outside the store. An emergency response team attended the scene at the time, but it is now time for the local neighbourhood team to talk to the store manager to find out some background to the incident to try to prevent anything similar happening in the future. In the Excerpt 5.4a below, the store manager (*Manager*) explains how the previous evening she approached a regular visitor who has a history of causing trouble there. She described how she requested the intruder to leave:

Excerpt 5.4a

31	Chris	ehm (.) what happened exactly
32	Manager	so ehm he was in the trolley bay
33	Chris	yeah
34	Manager	and we were out for a cigarette and then he said (.) I said can you leave the property please you know you're not allowed on the property (.) he said I was putting a trolley back I said regardless putting a trolley back I do not want you on the property
35	Chris	yeah
36	Manager	and we continued to dis for a while and then he called me a waste of space which was friendly (.) ehrm (.) and then yeah it got quite heated and then I called the police because I got bored

37	Chris	right (.) di-what did he say did he swear at you
38	Manager	yeah
39	Chris	what sort of language like repeat it like we don't mind saying
40	Manager	he called me an ass (.) he called me a fucking waste of space (.) which was appreciated since I'd been here since 7am so I didn't (.) I swore back (.) I was just like
41	Dan	you swore back
42	Manager	yeah
43	Chris	yeah?
44	Manager	yeah (.) I called I said if I'm an ass you must be an ass (.) which is fair
45	Dan	was anything else said at all
46	Manager	no then I just kept repeating over and over can you leave the property
47	Chris	[please leave yeah]
48	Manager	[can you leave the] property and he said if you said please I would I said but if you were polite I would be polite to you but you're not polite so I'm not being polite to you (.) I spent like two years calling him sir↓ don't think he deserves that anymore
49	Chris	right you just said please leave the property
50	Manager	yes I just said please leave the property

[Observation 27]

The exercise of deontic authority in this excerpt is different to examples presented so far in two respects. Firstly, it is the manager who invoked her deontic rights, rather than PCSOs, which has been the focus of this chapter so far. And secondly, rather than it being an example of how deontic authority is exercised in a given moment, the manager's contribution constitutes a narrative about the incident. Nevertheless, this retelling provides information about the manager's assumed deontic rights, which will impact on her exercise of deontic authority in the conversation with the PCSOs. Specifically, in turn 34, she reports saying *can you leave the property please you know you're not allowed on the property*. She assumes therefore that there is a good basis for her to ask the man to

leave and that the man shares knowledge about this basis. In other words, he should have recognised her deontic rights.

Chris and Dan do not specifically address this deontic right, as we will see it is a source of disagreement between them and the manager. Instead, the PCSOs seem to be concerned with the specific language that the manager used. When the manager states she kept repeating *can you leave the property,* Chris wants to clarify whether she had used the word *please*, in turns 47 and 49. This concern with using polite forms has two underlying motivations. Firstly, Chris reveals later on that the man in question made a counter-allegation against the store manager, claiming that she was being abusive towards him as he was trying to bring a trolley back. Finding out what the manager said will then help assessing that claim. Secondly, the manager reports using the word *please* in turn 34, which is lost in the recounting of the event in turn 46 and 48. Chris, through his repeated questioning, ventriloquates (Bakhtin 1981: 299) the manager's words, not only asking whether *please* was said but rather suggesting that it was and checking that it was the case. Cooren and Sandler (2014: 234-235) suggest that the use of ventriloquism is linked to authority as it can lend weight to the words uttered. In this instance, it is not so much about specifically lending weight but establishing what the manager's deontic rights were. It is important here because Chris is about to challenge these rights. If she had used polite forms, with the word *please,* she would have effectively asked, rather than requested, the man to leave, and could have reasonably to expect him to co-operate. As Chris is about to argue with the manager in Excerpt 5.4b below, she did not have any other deontic rights to avail herself of:

Excerpt 5.4b

51	Chris	so he was in the trolley bays was he
52	Manager	yeah
53	Chris	coul- could he have been bringing a trolley bi- a trolley back?

54	Manager	yeah he could have but that's not the point he's not to be on the property he creeps my staff out he's not helpful he's abusive I don't want him on the property like Claire's been to court with him
55	Chris	yeah
56	Manager	and everything
57	Chris	he hasn't been to court yet=
58	Manager	=he has she hasn't gone she's given statements and all
59	Chris	yeah but it hasn't gone to court=
60	Manager	=alright
61	Chris	he was subject to an
62	Manager	xx
63	Chris	no he was subject to what's called an ABC contract
64	Manager	yeah which is
65	Chris	ehm an acceptable behaviour contract
66	Manager	yeah
67	Chris	which is run out (.) so
68	Manager	right
69	Chris	ehm as in the ASB process that's the third stage of the ASB process the next stage would have been court
70	Manager	right

In turn 53, Chris suggests the possibility that the man could have been simply bringing a shopping trolley back. The implicature of this assertion is that the manager's reaction was disproportionate. This challenge, however, is resisted by the manager, who, in turn 54, states that the man is *not to be on the property*. This statement is warranted by two main types of arguments: the types of behaviour that the man displays which can be characterised as disruptive (*he creeps my staff out; he's abusive*), thus requiring police assistance, as well as the legal background of the ongoing problems (*Claire's been to court with him*), dating back to the previous store manager Claire, who took the man to court. The declarative assertion *I don't want him on the property* shows the authority the manager exercises on two planes then: firstly, in regards to the man himself, allowing her to request him to leave, and secondly, with regards to the police, expecting action to

be taken. The indirect appeal to the legal background acts as a justification for PCSOs to intervene. Although the manager does not spell out the details of the court case, the invocation of the legal background seems enough for her to rely on her deontic rights in relation to the man's presence on the property and the police's reaction to the incident.

In turn 57, Chris challenges the manager's deontic rights to require the man to leave the shop and the police to help her in the task by questioning the manager's version of events. His statement that the man *hasn't been to court yet* invalidates the crucial aspect of the manager's claim, undermining the legitimacy of her authority to request the police to undertake some action. The manager tries to resist the challenge by reformulating the statement to agree that the previous manager has not been to court but has given statements (turn 58), remaining therefore in the legal domain, where she is trying to anchor her deontic rights. Those rights appear to be weak, as the manager is vague about the legal procedure, and uses the general extender *and all*, which, as in Excerpt 5.2c, demonstrates the vagueness of her claim.

In contrast, Chris challenges the manager's deontic right through description of the legal process. For example, in turn 63, he uses the metalinguistic description *what's called an ABC contract*. Furthermore, in turn 67, he indicates that the legal basis of the manager's claim is no longer valid, invalidating at the same time her deontic rights. This move allows Chris to challenge any potential deontic authority the manager might exercise over him by expecting the police to deal with the problem of the man causing disturbance. The reference to the specific legal background allows him to position himself as an expert and, in turn, claim deontic rights which will allow him to exercise deontic authority over the manager. Indeed, this is what happens immediately after, as shown in Excerpt 5.4c on the following page:

Excerpt 5.4c

71	Chris	the problem we've had in the past is the lack of reporting by your staff
72	Manager	yeah
73	Chris	because (.) I know you're not you're from a different probably
74	Manager	yeah yeah
75	Chris	you report things but some of the people who've worked here (.) and Claire reported everything as well
76	Manager	yeah
77	Chris	but some of the people are more reluctant less reluctant to report
78	Manager	yeah
79	Chris	whether it's because they feel it I don't know why but that they just feel they don't need to
80	Manager	yeah
81	Chris	so it's really important to report everything against this man
82	Manager	okay
83	Chris	mhm because we need to get him on an antisocial behaviour order
84	Dan	yeah
85	Manager	I genuinely thought he already was
86	Chris	no he's not at the moment and we need to get him on one

Not only has Chris already challenged the manager's deontic right but now, in turn 71, he attributes the blame to the shop staff. He uses the *lack of reporting* argument as a deontic right which allows him to exercise his authority in turn 81 by asking the manager, and her staff, to report any incidents involving the intruder. However, the present visit to the store is a result of a report the previous night, which means that Chris is forced to mitigate his authority, as clearly it is not the case that no reports are made at all. He mitigates his deontic authority by criticising the shop staff while recognising that the manager does indeed report incidents (turn 75). As a result of this mitigation, his exercises his authority using an impersonal construction *it's really important to report*, which could also potentially be seen as an example of general advice.

Previously, we have seen how Judy justified the need for reporting crime in Excerpt 5.2b, thus trying to achieve a similar outcome to the present excerpt, through the appeal to the common good, suggesting that the action would benefit the community as a whole. In this case, Chris justifies the request by stating that *we need to get him on an antisocial behaviour order* (turn 83). His authority is presented as legitimate, because it will benefit both the manager and Chris, rather than the wider community. This has implications for the exercise of authority in community policing as a whole. PCSOs do not simply use the same legitimation strategies to claim similar deontic rights but rather they need to negotiate their authority locally, and tailor the expression of their deontic rights highlighting their provenance on the continuum of the institution, local community and individual. In the analysed excerpt, Chris legitimises his authority through both expressing the institutional requirements, through his reference to the legal term *antisocial behaviour order* in turn 83, and serving individual needs. The inclusive *we* in turns 83 and 86 casts the required activity as a joint effort, in line with the values of community policing.

Despite the store manager being positioned as a beneficiary of reporting any incidents, she tries to negotiate the deontic authority Chris exercises. She does not challenge the deontic rights that underpin this exercise of authority, but rather targets the practical implications. She challenges the logistics of the proposed action in Excerpt 5.4d below:

Excerpt 5.4d

91	Manager	=so what I just ring every time he comes into car park?
92	Chris	yeah if he is in the car pa- yeah literally
93	Manager	so every night you're gonna get a phone call
94	Chris	that's alright
95	Manager	okay
96	Chris	don't worry about it (.) because we <u>need</u> that and we need you know we need statements taken

In turn 91, the store manager asks in an incredulous tone of voice whether she should phone every time the man arrives. Aikin and Talisse (2008: 522) suggest that incredulous restatement can typically act as opening a critique but it can also serve as a negative politeness strategy. By presenting the solution as impractical, she gives Chris an opportunity to retract. Chris, however, reinforces his initial request by rejecting the suggestion of incredible request though (*literally* in turn 92). The manager persists in challenging Chris by pointing out in turn 93 that the man's visits take place daily. The manager's strategy here can be seen in terms of the tact maxim (Leech 1983: 107-110), which aims to minimise the cost to the hearer (daily calls to the police) and maximise their benefit (showing concern for police resources).

Chris resists this challenge to his authority in two ways. Firstly, he discounts the suggested cost to the police by saying *don't worry about it* (turn 96). Secondly, he provides a justification for the required course of action by explaining that *we need statements taken.* The *we* used here is ambiguous again and has the potential to include the store manager as an active participant in the process. He again underlines the procedural aspects of the case, highlighting the deontic rights that come with the institutional order, which requires statements.

As Chris keeps resisting challenges to his exercise of deontic authority, the store manager adopts a different strategy. At one point, Chris mentions counter-allegations that the man had made against store manager, who supposedly was abusive as the man was simply bringing the trolley back. She further challenges Chris's authority and refuses to report incidents in Excerpt 5.4e below:

Exceprt 5.4e

184	Manager	but this is the problem I'm not I don't want to get into trouble with this guy counter-allegating me (.) I can't be bothered with that I'd rather not report it
185	Chris	it's difficult right (.) no I

186	Manager	that's more effort on my part
187	Chris	if you want him to stop
188	Manager	yeah but is he=
189	Chris	=if you want him to [stop doing it]
190	Manager	[is he gonna stop?]
191	Chris	he will stop because an ABC contract I mean an antisocial behaviour order
192	Manager	okay so when did his=
193	Chris	=the only way to do this=
194	Manager	=when [did it run out]
195	Chris	[is to report it] (.) it ran out last year
196	Manager	right because I worked here two years ago and it didn't stop him coming into the place so when I
197	Chris	well Claire Claire was fully aware
198	Employee	I've worked here since you worked here
199	Manager	yeah
200	Employee	and it's never been stopped
201	Manager	no he's always been there so regardless of the piece of paper he can't it's not gonna make a
202	Chris	[well]
203	Manager	[differ]rence is it
204	Chris	well the fault there lies with yourselves in the shop because you need to report it

As opposed to the previous example, where the focus on cost to the other could be seen as part of the tact maxim and a politeness strategy, here the cost to self is foregrounded (*that's more effort on my part* in turn 186). In line with this change in the way the manager is trying to resist Chris's authority, Chris also uses a slightly different tactic. In turn 187, he puts the store manager in the position of authority which she can exercise vis-à-vis the man by stating a condition *if you want him to stop*. In this sense, Chris formulates an *activity contract*—a notion introduced by Aronsson and Cekaite (2011: 139) to denote "spoken agreements about future compliance" which makes the manager morally accountable for the successful outcome of the process. By doing so, not only does

he resist the challenge to his deontic authority but also emphasises the procedural aspects of dealing with the problem.

The whole conversation started with two layers of the manager's deontic authority—she wanted to determine actions of the intruder on the one hand and the police on the other hand. Chris, on his part, is trying to exercise deontic authority to convince the manager to make reports, but in doing so he skilfully addresses one of the two original layers of the manger's authority. She, however, keeps resisting her authority and puts the effectiveness of the measure in doubt again. In turn 196, the manager starts off her criticism of the process with a discourse marker *right.* Tan (2010: 237) suggests that this particular discourse marker is often used to negotiate epistemic stance, and in this instance the store manager is about to introduce her personal experience as as a counter-argument to the value of the antisocial behaviour order. This situation echoes Ekberg and LeCouteur's (2015) findings, showing how epistemics of experience can be used to resist deontic authority. The manager continues to challenge this solution by stating in turns 201 and 203 that *it's not gonna make a difference*, extrapolating from her previous experience.

So far the resistance to the need of reports have come in a variety of formats, such as the displays of entitlement, foregrounding the cost to the police and using personal experience. In turn 204, Chris counters the most recent challenge with a direct statement *the fault lies with yourselves*, attributing blame to the shop employees. And although he does not address the shop manager specifically, there is a clear sense of responsibility for what is going in and obligations that follow. The emphatic *you <u>need</u> to report it* might only be a repeated expression of deontic authority running throughout the conversation, but Chris expresses his deontic rights by virtue of making reference to the morality of the shop staff's conduct. The staff are responsible for the management of their case, which they initiated by calling the police in the first place. At the bottom of the negotiation therefore lies a conflict of expectations with regards to responsibilities

each party needs to assume. The manager seems to dispute the need for her involvement in the process and tries to get the police to do things, that is exercise her deontic authority, while the PCSO expects a greater sense of ownership from the store manager.

Ultimately, despite the ongoing resistance on the part of the manager, she acquiesces to Chris's deontic authority and agrees to report the incidents. The moment when she does that further illustrates the divergent expectations of the services PCSOs can offer, as demonstrated in Excerpt 5.4f, taken from the very end of the conversation:

Excerpt 5.4f

399	Manager	well I'll tell my guys on closes=
400	Chris	=yeah=
401	Manager	and they can just ring every night @and annoy the police@
402	Chris	@hh@
403	Manager	seems like such a waste of police ti:me=
404	Employee	=mhm=
405	Manager	like when there's people being stabbed and stuff=
406	Chris	=yeah but it's our=
407	Manager	=[it's like]
408	Chris	[it's our] job see
409	Manager	alright
410	Chris	we don't deal with people being stabbed
411	Manager	yeah (.) [I suppose]
412	Chris	[we'll] deal with [all the neighbourhood]
413	Manager	[but? last night] it was like a police footing (.) with a taser? (.) and everything
414	Chris	yeah they will if you (.) if you ring (.) sometimes but (.) we've got the time to follow up these en[quiries]
415	Manager	[I was] quite impressed as well
416	Chris	we've got the time to follow up these enquiries
417	Manager	yeah
418	Chris	and (.) mhm [we can]
419	Manager	[and then it'll be dealt with xxx]
420	Chris	we can deal with it
421	Manager	okay

422	Chris	they firefight (.) we do all the: [M:talk xxx] ((laughs)) @all the nitty gritty stuff@ you know
423	Manager	yeah
424	Chris	neighbourhood stuff and that like

While she seemingly agrees to co-operate in turn 399, accepting thus Chris's deontic rights, she persists questioning the practicalities of the solution. Similarly to the way she framed the need to report in Excerpt 5.4d, the cost to other is maximised (*seems like such a waste of police time* in turn 403*)*. The emphasis of the perceived ineffectiveness of the need to report the incident also enables the manager to present herself as conscious of the pressures the police are subject to and as a good citizen.

The argument, however, is quickly countered by Chris's assertion that it is PCSOs' job to deal with similar enquiries (turn 406 and 408), suggesting that the manager's attempts to display solidarity with the police have failed due to her misunderstanding of PCSOs' role. In turn 413, the manager uses her experience of the previous night's incident, which prompted a visit from the PCSOs, as evidence that the resources deployed by the police are greater than one might expect (*like a police footing; with a taser*). This could be interpreted as a return to the negotiation of deontic rights, as the manager presents the previous night's intervention as legitimate. Implicit in this statement is the idea that the police did carry out an action that amounted to exercising the deontic authority on behalf of the manager and asking the man to leave. Consequently, she displays her deontic rights that accorded that intervention. Chris then highlights the difference between other parts of the police structure by using the pronouns *we* and *our* as opposed to *they*, which is best illustrated in turn 422, when he juxtaposes the two by saying *they firefight (.) we do all the: [M:talk xxx] ((laughs)) @all the nitty gritty stuff*@. In doing so, he resists the challenge by drawing the manager's attention to different levels of authority that sworn police officers and PCSOs exercise.

This explanation of PCSOs' role foregrounds the community aspect of their work and points towards the less urgent nature of their work than of sworn police officers (*we've got the time to follow up these enquiries* in turns 414 and 416). And it is precisely the specific context of community policing that makes the PCSOs' exercise of deontic authority subject to negotiation. The whole conversation started off with the store manager claiming her deontic rights which granted the police attendance the previous night. However, Chris claimed his deontic rights in the lack of attendance, exercising deontic authority to get the manager to report all incidents. This ongoing negotiation is a result of tension that exists between different deontic rights. I will discuss this in more detail, as I bring together findings from the analysis so far in the next section.

5.5 Discussion

In this chapter, I have shown how PCSOs exercise their deontic authority and how citizens can challenge it or even exercise their own authority towards PCSOs, which results in negotiation. The focus on deontic authority in interaction allows us to see nuanced ways in which officers and members of the public try to get one another to do things. At the heart of authority is the question of legitimacy, which is reflected in deontic rights.

As we have seen, these rights can be justified through the appeal to the voice of the community, as was the case of PCSOs acting in reaction to complaints, or an individual or those of her employer, when the store manager expected action to be taken to safeguard her interests. PCSOs can also appeal to the institutional procedures, like for example when Judy in Excerpt 5.2 explained that the police needs to always look for evidence, warranting thus the requirement to report all crime. PCSOs therefore have at their disposal a number of resources that they can use, anchoring their deontic rights in community values, institutional requirements, individual citizens' needs, or

a combination of any these, which contribute to the heteroglossic character of exchanges between PCSOs and citizens where authority is exercised and negotiated.

Central to the issue of negotiation of the authority is the question of responsibility. PCSOs are accountable not only to the people they immediately speak to, but also to others who they have spoken in the past. They also have to work within institutional constraints, which guide their actions and actions of others. In their exercise and negotiation of deontic authority PCSOs claim deontic rights which can be attributed to a variety of sources—benefits to the community, safeguarding personal interests and institutional processes.

The negotiation of deontic rights is linked to a network of duties and obligations of which PCSOs are part. As Hill and Irvine (1993: 22) suggest, "responsibility distribution may be a key site for the production and reproduction of rank and 'significance,' inviting the close analysis of discourses in which responsibility is at issue." Through the analysis of authority it has been possible to show the struggle among different deontic rights, which are often linked in a nuanced way. For example, PCSOs can rely on the voice of the community to exercise deontic authority but simultaneously the voice of community, or specific individuals, can also be mobilised by citizens in their attempt to exercise deontic authority.

Mondada (2011) states that rights and obligations that are linked to specific categories "produce moral, normative and even contractual expectations—occasioning blame and accounts, issues of mutual trust as well as negotiations about who is responsible for the case, who 'owns the case.'" (2011: 33) In the community policing context this question of ownership is complex because of the assumed joint responsibility of PCSOs and citizens for policing their local area. In practice, however, there is no blueprint on how this joint responsibility should be operationalised and who is responsible for what. Instead, this responsibility has to be negotiated each time. For example, PCSOs' insistence on reporting all incidents in Excerpts 5.1 and 5.4 points

towards greater ownership of the case on the part of citizens. Similarly, in Excerpt 5.2, Mr C challenged the authority through assuming responsibility for the safety of his own possessions. In the final excerpt, on the other hand, the store manager is unwilling to play her part in policing.

These tensions about what the role of citizens and PCSOs should be in community policing make deontic authority a suitable ground for demonstrating how their interactions are heteroglossic. They adopt multiple strategies and use different linguistic resources, such as mitigation or strategic use of pronouns. Furthermore, they never just exercise authority but rather negotiate it, making various, sometimes conflicting, deontic rights evident. Even though PCSOs are tasked primarily with community engagement, their exercise of authority moves along a continuum.

In the next chapter I will take space as a starting point to show how the local character of neighbourhood policing, which might seem to privilege citizens' perspective, is also negotiated.

6 Putting *neighbourhood* in *Neighbourhood Policing*: Space in PCSOs' talk

As we saw in the previous chapter, PCSOs in contact with citizens often perform law enforcement roles and exercise their authority. However, the main goals of community policing revolve around engagement rather than enforcement. In this chapter, I focus on the notion of space, as a central element of neighbourhood policing, in and through which officers engage with communities. The introduction of PCSOs was indirectly a result of the broader political discourse of "new localism" (Ashby 2005: 414; McLaughlin 2005), emphasising the importance of neighbourhoods. PCSOs therefore are intended to respond to the needs of local residents. This aim is realised by anchoring PCSOs in specific spaces, which highlights the sense of responsibility these PCSOs have for a given area and which signals to members of the public who to turn to with any problems. Through the analysis of talk *in* and *about* space, in this chapter I will examine the ways in which space features in interactions among PCSOs and members of the public.

I start by highlighting the mobile nature of PCSOs' work (Section 6.1) before briefly spelling out the theoretical orientation that this chapter adopts. In particular, in Section 6.2, I draw on Lofland's (1998) conceptualisation of urban space, and her classification of space as taking place in public, parochial and private realms, to scrutinise how officers interact with members of the public in various spaces, focusing on the parochial and private realms. I focus my analysis on two settings—a police-citizens meeting and a door-to-door enquiry—to examine whether the more communal environment of public meeting facilitates communal relations (Section 6.2.1) while the more private setting of a doorstep favours private realm (Section 6.2.2). In doing so, I will answer Research Question 3, which probes the significance of space in PCSO-

citizens interactions. Through the analysis of talk *in* two different settings which is *also* about space, I demonstrate how interactants refer to multiple spaces, drawing on the heteroglossic character of space.

6.1 Community policing as policing on the move

Space features in the work of PCSOs in many ways. Firstly, they are representatives of the police, and as Harvey argues institutions are "produced spaces of a more or less durable sort" (1996: 122). Institutions operate within a spatialized framework of spatial boundaries, based on historical reasons and predefined spaces (Herbert 2006) but also territories of control and surveillance (Richardson and Jensen 2003: 10). Secondly, the role PCSOs have to play within the organisation and the society can be conceptualised in terms of a spatial metaphor: just as middle managers described by Ainsworth, Grant and Iedema (2009: 17) position themselves in between different elements of organisational structure, PCSOs are sandwiched between police and communities. Finally, PCSOs inhabit space in a more literal sense by virtue of foot patrol, which forms the cornerstone of community policing, as I indicated in Section 3.4.2.

Community policing is primarily work on the move. The study of PCSOs' practices on the beat could be seen as fitting in what Sheller and Urry (2006) label the *new mobilities* paradigm. It stipulates the recognition of the increased mobility of people and objects, as well as the reasons and consequences of movement occurring at various scales, from walking and car journeys to mass migrations. Against the backdrop of research traditionally focusing on transnational migration, Sheller and Urry argued that "studies of human mobility at the global level must be brought together with more 'local' concerns about everyday transportation, material cultures, and spatial relations of mobility and immobility" (2006: 212). The focus on mobilities has now evolved to include research on everyday travel (e.g. Cass and Faulconbridge 2017; Pearce 2017), or impact of technology and digital mobilities (e.g. Laurier, Brown and McGregor 2016;

Licoppe 2016). The everyday practices of PCSOs traversing urban space could also be therefore considered in terms of mobility.

Research on mobilities has also engaged with institutional and professional contexts. For instance, Ferguson (2016) argues that practices of social workers can only be fully understood when considered in the context of their mobility. However, he signals that it does not mean that street-level bureaucrats, such as social workers, and potentially also PCSOs, carry out all of their tasks on the move (Ferguson 2016: 194). As Merriman puts it, "a focus on movement, mobility, flux and change overlooks the importance of fixity, stability and stillness in the modern world" (2012: 5). Mobile practices cannot be considered without the institutional context that surrounds them. In the case of PCSOs, fixed categories of space are coupled with an institutional requirement to spend most of their working time out of the police station (National Policing Improvement Agency 2010:12). Mobility is thus forced by the institution, and their compliance is often monitored and can be used as a performance measure. This imperative to be out and about was often present in officers' comments, such as one made by Judy below:

Excerpt 6.1

> We carried on walking and Judy said that the reports were back and she had 85% out of station time, which is above the target of 80%. I questioned her on that, because it seemed to me that they were required to spend a minimum of 70% out of the station, or at least that's what I recalled from the very first meeting with the police. She said that maybe the 70% was the absolute minimum, but she thought the target was 80%[3]. I also asked how it's calculated because I could not imagine anyone looking though the pocket books and

[3] Specific targets are not mandated by legislation. Although several police forces on their websites provide a guidance document produced by the National Policing Improvement Agency (2010), which simply describes that 80 per cent of PCSOs' time is spent on foot patrol, particular requirements and potential monitoring mechanisms are the responsibility of an individual police force.

> tallying up the time, but the answer explained my doubts—it was done through the radio system.
>
> [Observation 17]

The requirement for PCSOs' time to be spent within the community clearly shaped their practices, as they often carried out administrative work on their mobile devices in public spaces, such as libraries, community centres, markets, etc. Most importantly, it meant that officers were on the move a lot. The significance of walking was marked in a couple of ways. Firstly, the constant movement translated into practical considerations of movement. For instance, as Judy demonstrates in Excerpt 6.2 below, the need for appropriate footwear becomes a serious concern:

Excerpt 6.2

> Judy complained that she had her feet all wet because one of her boots had a hole in it. She had only got them around three months before, and she took them back saying that she had only had them for a couple of months, but the man said that it was really wear and tear. (…) It turned out that in fact they have to buy their own boots, so I could understand why she was so annoyed about having to get a new pair after only three months. I asked what kind of boots they are obliged to wear and she explained that there was a standard that the boots had to comply with, but they could get them anywhere. Some of her colleagues buy boots which cost £100.
>
> [Observation 22]

Walking is not just an idle activity, but rather a core practice, which requires preparation. Similarly, PCSOs tried to plan their routes at the beginning of their shifts. In Excerpt 6.3 below, I ask Tom about how he gets about planning his day.

Excerpt 6.3

> I asked Tom how he decided where to go. He said that he always liked to check what tasks were awaiting him for the day so he could plan his route. He said it was impossible to stick to one because of ad-hoc requests that come in during

> a working day, but he liked planning, which also helped him ensure to walk through most of the areas of his patch at least once a day.
>
> [Observation 10]

PCSOs therefore recognise the significance of space in their daily work and feel a sense of responsibility to walk through the areas which they are assigned to. Smith and Hall (2013) suggest that PCSOs, alongside with other urban patrols, such as outreach workers, produce and negotiate urban space, particularly in relation to vulnerable street-populations, for example the homeless or sex workers. Negotiation of space is thus an intrinsic part of PCSOs' work. It is also realised in interaction. Before I present some examples, I will now provide the theoretical background for the subsequent analysis.

6.2 Interaction in parochial and private realms

Because the work of PCSOs is work on the move, they are available to citizens in many different places. Often those fleeting encounters take place in public places, which echoes Lofland's definition of a public realm. She distinguished between three types of space which she refers to as "realms"—private, parochial and public:

> A private realm exists when the dominating relational form found in some physical space is intimate. A parochial realm exists when the dominating relational form found in some physical space is communal. A public realm exists when dominating relational form found in some physical space is stranger or categorical. (Lofland 1998: 14)

Lofland sees space as a facilitator of social relations. The boundaries between different types of these relations are necessarily fluid, as distinctions between "intimate", "communal" or "categorical" relations are analytically difficult to specify. An important aspect of Lofland's theory is that it moves away from treating physical space as determining the type of relations people engage in. She acknowledges, however, that certain environments favour particular realms:

> To oversimplify a bit, the private realm is the world of the household and kin network; the parochial realm is the world of the neighbourhood, workplace, or acquaintance network; and the public is the world of strangers and the "street".
>
> (Lofland 1998: 10)

As I explained in the previous section, PCSOs mostly work in the streets but their task is to engage with communities. In fact, the public realm, which is typically associated with the public space, is characterised by the primary relationship of people as strangers, and PCSOs' aim is to be familiar to the public. It could be argued that community policing attempts to move away from the public realm into the parochial realm (to serve communities) and perhaps the private realm (to address needs of individual citizens). Therefore, in my analysis I focus on the two realms, which dictate the presentation of data in the next two subsections. Firstly, I will look at data coming from a public meeting to ask how successful the communal venue is in producing a parochial realm. I will then look at interactions taking place at an individual's doorstep, trying to establish to what degree, if at all, private realm can be created.

6.2.1 Exploring the parochial realm: the case of a community meeting

A particular realm can occur in any physical space. However, in order to examine how the parochial realm is expressed, I will looking into a communal space *par excellence*—a PACT meeting (Police and Communities Together). PACT meetings are designed to let the local community shape policing in their area, privileging therefore community of place (Innes 2005). The analysis then will look at interaction *in* a communal space but also *about* space. Excerpt 6.4a below comes from the PACT meeting, which is taking place in a church hall in Rosemount. The meeting is relatively well attended, with around twenty residents, local councillors, and two PCSOs—Judy and Andy. Judy has just provided an update on policing activities in the area since the previous meeting. Having

provided statistics on crimes committed and arrests made in the ward, one of the residents—referred to as Ms R—seeks clarification about the very term *ward*:

Excerpt 6.4a

1	Judy	but apart from that (.) that's that's all we've got to say on the police part of things
2	Ms R	could you just clarify you mention all the figures and everything which is great (.) what exactly is the wa↓:::rd (.) I mean what area just (xx)
3	Judy	ehm so Rosemount we yeah I know it gets a little con[fusing
4	Ms R	[because sometimes it's like (.) just us in this little area including the city centre . you've mentioned like King's Road which I understood was [Rickford]
5	Councillor 1	[yeah it's xx]
6	Judy	[yeah] Rickford
7	Ms R	Ferry [Road] I thought that was [Riverdale]
8	Councillor 1	[yeah] [it's ((*cough))*]
9	Judy	[Riverdale]
10	Ms R	could you clarify the ward please
11	Councillor 1	*((quietly))* that's a good point

[Observation 9]

The definition of the term *ward,* which would be simply seen as an example of institutional vocabulary unclear to the lay audience, is central in the excerpt. However, Ms R does not simply ask for a definition for the sake of understanding what the word means but rather, through her concern about communal space, she speaks on behalf of the community, creating a parochial realm. In turn 2, Ms R picks up on the word *ward*, which Judy had used previously when providing an update on the local policing team's activity. The slow articulation of the word *ward* marks it as something an ordinary member of public would not use, marking it therefore as an institutional term.

Judy is quick to intervene apparently casting the term as difficult to understand (*it gets a little confusing* in turn 3), recognising therefore why a similar question could be asked. The main reason would seem to do with the difference between institutional and lay understanding of the term. However, in turn 4, Ms R explains that the term is not used consistently: *sometimes it's like (.) just us in this little area including the city centre,* suggesting that there is not just one institutional usage of the term. Moreover, through the usage of pronoun *just us*, she signals an existence of a local community. It is also ambiguous, as it can refer to one of three groups: (a) all of Rosemount's residents, (b) those residents of Rosemount who are present at the meeting, and (c) the residents and PCSOs present at the meeting. Furthermore, Ms R refers to a specific location (*King's Road*), which she recognises as belonging to a different area—*Rickford*. In turn 7, she gives another example of a similar discrepancy. Judy mentioned these roads before the excerpt was reproduced, when she provided an update on policing in the local area.

The question therefore is not just what a ward is. Even though in turn 10 Ms R rephrases her question as *could you clarify the ward please,* what is at stake here is what specific area all the statistics, which Judy provided prior to the start of this excerpt, refer to. In turn 11, a councillor states *that's a good point*, and the point being here is precisely whether the *ward* that PCSOs refer to matches the local area of Rosemount, where the PACT meeting is taking place. The exchange continues, as Judy tries to define the central term:

Excerpt 6.4b

12	Judy	yeah Rosemount ward would be Queensway (.) that's where the top would be (.) down to the bottom well down to as far as bottom of Spring Road . that would be the ward of Rosemount
13	Ms R	right=
14	Judy	=[and then Hi]lton
15	Andy	=[in relation to] just to clarify in relation to all the figures that were mentioned there (.) all the arrests and everything was

		mentioned in the arrest part were all Rosemount (.) nothing to do with=
16	Ms R	=I- I- =
17	Andy	=Rickford [nothing to do] with
18	Ms R	[I I know] I know but hmm sorry (.) I've forgotten your name
19	Judy	[Judy]
20	Andy	[Judy]
21	Ms R	hmm said . within the ward=
22	Andy	=yeah yeah that's [fine]
23	Ms R	[and] earlier on you'd mentioned=
24	Andy	=yeah be[c-]
25	Ms R	[C]raven Road
26	Andy	yeah
27	Ms R	and George Street which
28	Judy	yeah
29	Ms R	and I just wanted clarification of <u>the ward</u>=
30	Andy	=because when we do operations in the area it's usually it's classed as the Rosemount NPT so we do it for Rickford all the way up to the top end of Riverdale at the Riverdale [flyover]
31	Ms R	[and some]times when the councillors or even the police are giving figures it includes the city centre
32	Councillor 2	yeah I was just gonna say because the <u>electoral</u> ward of Rosemount includes the city centre
33	Councillor 1	that's the ward
34	Councillor 2	but the but city centre's got its own PACT which comes up to Clifton Road isn't it
35	Judy	[yeah]
36	Andy	[yeah] which doesn't include us
37	Councillor 2	so it <u>is</u> confusing
38	Andy	yeah
39	Ms R	thank you

This excerpt demonstrates again the difference between the definition of the *ward* and the relevance of this definition for the local community. While Judy starts off by providing a definition of the ward by delineating its geographical boundaries in turn 12, her colleague Andy joins in in turn 15, and recognises that the relevance of Ms R's questions. He makes the discussion relevant to the residents by stressing that *all the arrests* (listed in their update previously) referred to the local area that the PACT meeting represents. He further emphasises the local relevance through the contrast between *all the arrests (…) were all Rosemount* and *nothing to do with* [=*Rickford*, in turn 17], both examples of extreme case formulation (Pomerantz 1986), serving to amplify the argument.

Andy seems to orient to what Ms R's concern was, that is the relevance of previously produced statistics for the local area, but she keeps challenging the definition by quoting street names (turns 25 and 27) which Judy mentioned, suggesting that they lie outside of what Ms R would classify as Rosemount. Quoting has been found to be a strategy used to hold officials accountable (Buttny 2010: 647-651). She specifies her concern in turn 31, by stating that *sometimes* when figures are given *it includes the city centre*. She also recognises that the ward in this sense is an institutional term, used by the police and councillors alike. However, opposed to that term is not just any lay understanding of the *ward*, but rather a space that is relevant to the local community.

Moreover the term *ward* does not have one institutional referent either, as one of the councillors points out in turn 32. She makes a distinction between an *electoral ward*, which also refers to an institutional categorisation of space, and includes the city centre. However, from a neighbourhood policing point of view, the city centre would have its own PACT meeting (turn 34), representing therefore a different ward for the purposes of policing. It is therefore sometimes impossible to talk about *the* institutional space, and multiple organisations of space can co-exist. Space is thus seen as heteroglossic, with different layers that can be expressed and clash in an interaction.

In turn 36, Andy comments that that PACT meeting *doesn't include us*. Through the use of the inclusive personal pronoun suggests that the Rosemount meeting includes PCSOs and local residents alike. This idea of inclusivity is an example of a parochial realm. The main way in which the parochial realm is constructed, however, is through Ms R's questioning what the ward is and whether the crime updates were relevant to the local area. By doing so, she acts as someone who speaks in the interests of the neighbourhood. As Stokoe and Wallwork (2003: 556) argue, the concept of neighbourhood is expressed in a discourse of spatial practice. Through quoting street names, Ms R ensures that what the PCSOs refer to as a ward has the same significance for them as it does for the local community. And, paradoxically, she establishes a sense of parochial relations, expressed in the concern for the local area, through challenges posed to the PCSOs. Specifically, Ms R does that through engaging in what Kusenbach (2006: 294-296) calls *proactive intervention,* and suggests it is one of key principles of behaviour characterising the parochial realm. The term refers to neighbours watching out for any potential threats to the area and averting them. In the case of Ms R, of course, she does not intervene to stop a physical danger but rather she steps in to ensure that the adequate information for the local community is provided. In a way, she represents a voice of the community, which is central to community policing, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 7.

As this excerpt has demonstrated, a public meeting, which, as its name suggests, is expected to bring police and communities together, uncovers divides between the institutional and lay understandings of space. Various competing definitions of space are referred to, bearing testament to tensions between lay participants and PCSOs. However, it is not just a matter of two competing understandings of space, but rather a multiplicity of them. Despite these difference, or perhaps thanks to them, a sense of the community is formed and a parochial realm is created. It still contains room for potential clashes, such as the one over the exact understanding of the term *ward*. Having

discussed the significance of space for a local community, which formed a parochial realm, I will now consider the potential for PCSOs to create a private realm when interacting with members of the public.

6.2.2 Exploring the private realm: what happens at the doorstep

As I showed in the previous section, during a PACT meeting it is possible to see how space can take on significance differently for PCSOs and the community, and I suggested that there is not a simple institutional vs lay categorisation of space. In this section, I further problematise this apparent contrast by examining the significance of space in interactions with individual citizens. In particular, I will look at how space is talked about during door-to-door enquiries, when PCSOs, following a crime in an area, talk to local residents to find any potential witnesses, provide reassurance that the police are looking into the matter and provide crime prevention advice.

There is also an important element of police accountability, which Excerpt 6.5 below demonstrates. It comes from a fieldnote taken after a PACT meeting, during which one member of the public complained that no officers were to be seen, following his house being broken into:

Excerpt 6.5

> They [=PACT meeting attendees] kept talking about the incident. The man explained that he phoned the police ("you guys") and they could not do anything forensic-wise. He seemed a bit disgruntled because not only he was a victim of a crime but also the police were meant to do house to house enquiries and according to him it was not done. Both Tanya's and Jack's faces showed a great surprise at this revelation. In a way, it looked like they were suspicious of the news. They did, however, reassure the man that they would look into it. Matt took note of his address and said they would check if door to door has been done.
>
> [Observation 9]

Victims of crime are therefore seen as a potential audience for whom door-to-doors are performed. Although the PCSOs I spoke to doubted the evidentiary value of these enquiries, as no one ever sees or hears any details, there is a strong symbolic value that door-to-door enquiries have. Through moving from one door to another PCSOs perform engagement with citizens. PCSOs are seen as institutional representatives who undertake actions, showing therefore that citizens' problems are dealt with. And by documenting that they have carried out door-to-door enquiries, PCSOs can demonstrate their responsiveness.

PCSOs can be seen as occupying a liminal position at the doorstep (Latin *limen* meaning a threshold), physically created by them entering into a conversation with individuals who come out of their houses. Therefore, officers make a move from the public space of the street, which also acts as their workplace and area of responsibility, towards the private space, while residents, by opening their doors and engaging in conversations, need to make a move in the opposite direction.

This liminal character of these interactions situates them potentially close to one's private realm. However, the exchanges often remain quite general and refer mostly to the parochial realm of the local neighbourhood. Excerpt 6.6 below presents an example of a typical exchange, where Judy asks questions about a car that was broken into in the area:

Excerpt 6.6

1	Judy	oh hiya
2	Mr C	hello
3	Judy	sorry to bother you (.) mhm I'm just doing some house to house enquiries
4	Mr C	okay
5	Judy	there was a vehicle broken into just down the street literally within the last hour
6	Mr C	oh
7	Judy	ehm I was just wondering whether you've seen anybody [o:r]

8	Mr C	[no] I‘ve just got back from town about half an hour ago=
9	Judy	=oh alright=
10	Mr C	=I can ask my housemate
11	Judy	yeah if you don’t mind
12	Mr C	((calls the housemate down))
13	Mr C	did you hear anything about a car being broken in in the past hour?
14	Miss B	no (.) sorry
15	Judy	no worries mhm yeah a car down there has just been broken into
16	Miss B	no I’ve been in but I literally haven’t heard anything or seen anything sorry
17	Judy	that’s okay (.) do you mind if I just take a name so that I’ve spoken to someone at this address

[Observation 24]

Judy uses a lot of formulaic expressions, such as the greeting in turn 1, or the preface *sorry to bother you* in turn 3. In turn 7, the core request to report whether the person has seen anything is formulated. This is typically met with a negative response, often mitigated with *sorry* (turn 16) or sometimes supplemented with an offer to help in an alternative way (turn 10). The excerpt then concludes in turn 17 with Judy asking to take the details to document that the exchange has taken place, in line with the concern for accountability, which I described previously.

Despite a relatively private space then, or perhaps because of it, a typical door-to-door enquiry, such as the one in Excerpt 6.6, does not facilitate closer social relations. And although these visits also have a reassuring function, the talk often remains vastly transactional, with PCSOs simply asking for evidence. However, this is not always the case. Below, in Excerpts 6.7a-c, I discuss an example in which a local resident, Ms P, used a door-to-door enquiry as an opportunity to complain about a series of car windows being smashed in the area. During the interaction, PCSOs Chris and Andy, engage in a conversation about the safety in the neighbourhood:

Excerpt 6.7a

1	Ms P	the couple that got home because the girl rang (.) rang yourselves
2	Chris	yeah
3	Ms P	to say that it'd happened (.) and we could do with community police officers walking round here (.) cause we used to have them (.)

[Observation 37]

Ms P sets up a distinction between the PCSOs (*yourselves* in turn 1, which could also refer to the police as an institution) and local residents (through the pronoun *we*). Ms P refers to indeterminate *round here* rather than to a specific area. However, the *here* of her house temporarily becomes a centre around which the conversation about more patrols starts to revolve, and the topic continues:

Excerpt 6.7b

18	Ms P	yeah they used to come up and down yeah (.) that's what we'd need is
19	Andy	do you not get enough presence (.) is that what you're saying
20	Ms P	we don't get enough <u>no</u>
21	Andy	right (.) that's good
22	Chris	yeah
23	Andy	I noted that down and I'll tell the local NBM that they need to

Policing of the local area is of central concern here to Ms P. However, the mention of needs of the local community (*what we* need), suggesting therefore a concern for the communal space, does not seem enough to warrant a reaction from PCSOs, for whom the local agenda is typically really important. Instead, the need for more officers needs to be expressed using institutionally adequate vocabulary, such as the word *presence* (turn 19), which Andy volunteers. Not only is the word an example of *policespeak* (Fox 1993), and I will consider how specific lexical resources are an example of heteroglossia in Chapter 7, but also indexes the wider discourse of community policing. PCSO guidance, for example, states that:

> PCSOs have the potential to enhance neighbourhood policing; to increase dramatically the police service presence on the streets, thereby providing reassurance to the public; and to free up the time of regular officers for the tasks which require their higher level of training skills.
>
> (Association of Chief Police Officers 2007: para 2.6)

Once Ms P's remark is reformulated using the appropriate vocabulary, Andy offers a solution in turn 23: he will instruct *the local NBM* [=Neighbourhood Beat Manager] to increase patrols in the area. Therefore, the policing of local area, even though at the heart of neighbourhood policing, is not simply the domain of PCSOs in general, but rather there is a specific individual who oversees policing in the area. Space is thus heteroglossic, with its various categorisations within the institution. This layering of space becomes evident as the exchange continues, and interactants joke about different levels of policing in different areas:

Excerpt 6.7c

29	Andy	wouldn't have this (.) if you was to live further up you know where we work you'd see us all the time (.) only joking
30	Ms P	don't know why
31	Andy	if you wanna move come to a safer area ((laughs))
32	Ms P	how far to how far to?
33	Andy	what's that
34	Ms P	how far to
35	Andy	what's that
36	Ms P	where to?
37	Andy	up on station beat up round about the station
38	Ms P	(1.8) what station?
39	Chris	[police station]
40	Andy	[Rosemount]
41	Ms P	(1.6) oh King's Road way?
42	Andy	[yeah]
43	Chris	[yeah]
44	Ms P	(see it's Rosemount too down to the other one?)

45 Andy we drive all the way down here that's the thing see (.) no I'm only joking ((laughs))
46 Ms P that's that's what it is (.) riff-raff is coming down
47 Andy ((laughs))
48 Ms P if we (got) next door to your station would we be safe there?
49 Andy oh you'd be megasafe yeah
50 Ms P ((laughs))
51 Andy tell you what (.) Fort Knox ((laughs))
52 Ms P well put a few around the streets here
53 Andy no I'll make a note just to keep them coming back round here (.) makes sense don't it
54 Ms P because they u- honestly they used to come around at least once a day (.) just walk up and down
55 Chris I'd imagine they would
56 Andy no but no we'll definitely make sure that this street is covered then
57 Ms P mhm because I think this street needs it
58 Andy that's fine
59 Ms P you know (.) there's
60 Andy no I'll definitely (.) I'll send out the email (.) and
61 Ms P if I could do anything round here (I'd run around the corner?)
62 Andy ((laughs))
63 Ms P no but definitely it does need (.) but no we didn't see

The tone of the conversation is jovial. The excerpt starts with Andy's joking in turn 29 that Ms P would be safer if she lived in a different area. The joke relies on the fact that Andy and Carl do not typically patrol Ms P's neighbourhood but rather work in the adjacent area (*further up you know where we work*). In doing so, he signals boundaries of space which are relevant to PCSOs. However, individuals do not necessarily understand officers' territorial responsibility and how the institution divides the urban space. After all, the presence of a uniformed officer indexes first of all the institutional affiliation rather than a relationship with a specific area.

The mismatch between Andy's understanding of space and Ms P's is then evidenced by her asking *where to* several times. When she finally recognises the spatial

reference in turn 41, Andy continues in a humorous way and points out that they drove to her area (turn 45). Just like specific territorial responsibility, the significance of driving might similarly not be immediately clear to Ms P. In fact, this arrangement was very atypical, as PCSOs mostly focus on foot patrol but on that specific day they had been assigned some tasks to carry out in a car.

The conversation is risky, with Andy not only making references to the institutional practices, which are likely not to be understood by members of the public, but also through suggesting that Ms P's area is not the safest (turn 31 *if you wanna move come to a safer area* implies that her area is not adequately policed). The jovial character of the exchange, however, makes it possible for Ms P to join in. In turn 46, in response to Andy's remark that they drove down, she states that *riff raff* also travel to the area. This could be seen as a joke at the expense of the PCSOs who, like the *riff raff* she refers to, invade her neighbourhood. The conversation continues in a humorous tone, with assurances from Andy that if she moved next to the local police station she would be *megasafe*, until the woman takes up the topic of the PCSOs presence again in turn 52. Humour seems to facilitate this negotiation of space which takes place along the axis of institutional space, regulating where PCSOs work, versus private space, relevant to Ms P's safety. However, even within the institutional space, the officers mark different spaces: the usual space where they work is opposed to the space in which they find themselves now. Ms P also does not just refer to the personal space but makes reference to the neighbourhood. She does that through a reference to *streets here* (turn 52). However, Ms P shifts slightly from talk about the general need for more PCSOs in the area to *this street* which requires more frequent patrols (turn 57). As a result, she displays two different understandings of space: the local area, which should see more officers, and her immediate surroundings, her street specifically, which is even more local to her and her interests. Just as it was not possible to talk about one institutional space, the space centred around an individual can also have multiple referents. For Ms

P, her street is the most relevant area in this given situation, while in Excerpt 6.2 the local resident was concerned with the relevance of ward in order to understand something that concerns the whole community.

Although the whole neighbourhood would benefit from increased presence, Ms P and Andy create a private realm. It is possible thanks to the rekeying of the initial request. Goffman's defines *key* as "the set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by participants to be something quite else" (Goffman 1974: 43), and rekeying refers to change between keys, resulting in changes in tone or tenor of a conversation. In the Excerpt, Andy introduces the humorous key in turn 29, which continues throughout the conversation, until Ms P says *but no we didn't see.* These words seem to be a response to the typical question posed during all door-to-door enquiries, where residents are asked whether they have seen anything (this was asked in portion of the conversation not reproduced here). By returning to the main activity of door-to-door enquiry, Ms P switches from a joking and humorous key to a serious one.

Tannen (2006) demonstrates how rekeyings can be seen are resources used to both escalate and resolve conflicts within families in private and public settings. Excerpts 6.7a-c demonstrate that rekeyings are also an important feature in interactions in more formal settings, if we consider PCSOs are to be seen as representatives of the institution. The function of the rekeying here is to create a private realm, and the relationship that Andy and Ms P build in the course of the interaction is encapsulated in the unique encounter. Thanks to humour, which moves from Ms P's suggestion to increase police presence to Andy's jokes that she should move to an area which he works in, the interactants move beyond discussing potentials for the communal area, situated in the parochial realm. They ground the jovial conversation in more personal details: Ms P's house and Andy's area of work. The talk about space becomes then a vehicle driving the formation of the private realm. However, elements of the parochial realm are also

present, with both Ms P and Andy jointly caring for the community. I further problematise the distinction between the two realms in the next section.

6.3 Blurring the boundaries: PCSOs in liminal spaces

The audio data excerpts—PACT meeting in Excerpts 6.4a-b and a door-to-door enquiry in 6.7a-c—demonstrate the importance of space for both PCSOs and communities. PCSOs work on the move and are expected to engage with communities, contributing to the creation of the parochial realm. This realm is not given in community policing but rather has to be actively created. During the PACT meeting, the setting of a community meeting did not automatically result in a creation of parochial realm, but rather it was formed with a resident asking for information on behalf of the community. In an encounter during door-to-door enquires, the setting of the neighbourhood, which is typically associated with the parochial realm, was in turn dominated by the private realm, which arose as a result of the humorous tone of the conversation.

Boundaries between realms seem fluid (Blackledge, Creese and Hu 2015: 61) and the different realms always have to be negotiated. We even saw in the latest data Except that apart from the private realm, elements of the parochial realm were present too. PCSOs are in a position which facilitates this movement across different realms: functioning between the institution and local communities they find themselves in a liminal space. Liminality was defined by sociologist Turner (1969) as entities "neither here or there; […] betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial" (p. 95). I will consider in what ways PCSOs occupy liminal spaces and what is the significance of the talk *about* space in that endeavour.

Hazel and Mortensen (2013) examine what they term liminal institutional interactions, which take place in a kitchen at a multilingual university. They argue that the space, although firmly anchored in the institution, allows students to negotiate and resist norms implemented in other spaces. In the case of PCSOs, apart from some of the

more formally marked spaces, such as the police station, the city provides a space in which they operate within their institutional framework with a number of concurrent bodies and voices. In their work, therefore, PCSOs create spaces using not only physical locations, which simply occasion their talk, but primarily interactions with members of the public.

Apart from the physical liminality, PCSOs are located among conflicting voices of the institution, communities and individual citizens. In Excerpt 6.7c, Andy's position as a link between Ms P and those responsible for determining patrols in her area is foregrounded. Andy acts as someone who will mediate the woman's suggestion into the language and procedures of the institution. The language used in the conversations, with the rekeyings discussed above, attests to the liminality of the situation, where the participants are not quite sure which register to use. Similarly, regarding the reference to the word *ward* in Excerpts 6.4a-b, Judy uses the term in the institutional sense, which, in principle, was coined to facilitate the delivery of neighbourhood policing, as each ward has their local officers. However, a local resident at the PACT meeting, wants to ensure that the definition of the word corresponds to what the local community would ideally see this term to mean.

It is thanks to that liminal position that PCSOs are able to enact various relations with members of the public in different settings, resulting in different realms. In this chapter, I have used the talk about space, which is central to the work of PCSOs to demonstrate that. Instead of difference between institutional and lay conceptions of space, which I discussed in Chapter 2, the focus on parochial and private realms has demonstrated that space needs to be negotiated in interaction. As such space is heteroglossic, because PCSOs orient to many points of view on how to categorise it. They can invoke the institutional boundaries, exemplified by wards, or smaller patches which they work in but which they transgress. They also align with communities making sure

that they work with them in their communal spaces. Finally, they can orient to the space of a specific individual and her needs.

This multiplicity of spaces has its discursive realisations in multiple voices and linguistic resources. It is a theme which I continue in the next chapter, which looks back at the analysis so far to consider specific ways in which community policing is heteroglossic.

7 Re-examining the data so far: Heteroglossia as a result of community policing

As I have been suggesting throughout the thesis, PCSOs perform a variety of roles as they engage with members of the public representing different points of view. In their position as a bridge between the police and community, PCSOs embody the principles of community policing, including democratic decision making, accountability towards local community and responsiveness to the needs of individuals in the neighbourhood. However, their liminal position is also a source of tension. As I demonstrated in chapter 4, PCSOs perform a variety of roles, both in institutional and interactional terms, and have to reconcile often conflicting goals, such as community engagement as well as representation of the police. In chapter 5, I considered the ways in which the officers exercise deontic authority, as an example of officers' alignment with a law enforcement role. I suggested that the authority is not simply given but rather has to be negotiated and often involves reference to the value of the community. The community, however, does not always share the meaning of space with the police, as chapter 6 has shown. These discrepancies are uncovered, shaped and negotiated in interaction.

This chapter considers the key themes which have emerged across the data and situates them in the theoretical framework of heteroglossia. First, in Section 7.1, I address the central question of this thesis *In what ways is the language used by PCSOs heteroglossic?* Specifically, I consider different resources which the officers draw on and various voices which they animate. In doing so, I will demonstrate how the three different analytical notions adopted so far—role performance, deontic authority and space—can be seen working together as heteroglossic in the context of PCSOs-citizen interactions. Then, in Section 7.2, I suggest that PCSOs' heteroglossic language use reflects of tensions inherent in community policing. In particular, I consider the role of

the police, communities and PCSOs in community policing and I argue how the three entities are constructed in and through the interactions between officers and members of the public, showing the heteroglossic character of community policing as a whole.

7.1 Heteroglossia within PCSOs' interactions

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous research in linguistic practices of professionals in a range of settings has tended to focus on the notion of professional identity. In doing so, professional identity has been seen as constructed in interaction with clients (e.g. Hall, Sarangi and Slembrouck 1999; van de Mieroop and van der Haar 2008) as well as among themselves, in the back stage (File and Wilson 2017). However, such a view, even though it suggests that identity is produced, still focuses on an end product of the process—that is, a given identity. In the case of the interactions of PCSOs analysed throughout the thesis, rather than focusing on key elements of what could be contributing to their professional identity, the central point I have been making is that they have to constantly navigate a multiplicity of interests because they interact with various stakeholders. The tension inherent in the community policing model has its expression in the interactions PCSOs have, and I would like to consider them in terms of heteroglossia.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the term *heteroglossia* can in fact be seen as a blanket term covering diversity in relation to socio-ideological languages, codes and voices. *Heteroglossia* has most often been applied to study typically multilingual environments (e.g. Busch 2014; Pujolar 2001), where it has been used to characterise the diversity of linguistic codes and sometimes seems to be equated with the study of multilingualism. However, as Hymes (1974: 30) noted, the study of bilingualism itself does not provide an adequate basis for a model of the interaction of language and social life. Heteroglossia's key feature and great utility is that it describes the multiple levels of diversity that contribute to a totality of a linguistic repertoire. The data presented throughout the thesis have all been in what one might consider standard English, yet we

have seen multiple examples of how the language used by PCSOs reflects the multiplicity of resources they have at their disposal.

7.1.1 Multiple resources

One of the key resources employed by PCSOs was the policing register, with specific vocabulary. They did not adopt *policespeak* (Fox 1993), which I mentioned in Section 2.2.1, consistently but there were lexical items and expressions that clearly pointed to the institutional background of the interactions. These references took a number of different formats. Firstly, they adopted words and phrases typically associated with the police and that may be hard to understand for lay participants, such as *the local NBM, station beat, CSI, ABC contract, antisocial behaviour order.* Secondly, PCSOs employ terms which can typically be used outside of the policing context but mean something else, as the example of *ward* clearly demonstrated, or belong to a different register, such as *vehicle* in reference to car or a van, or *location* as a way of referring to a place. Similarly, an expression to *make an untidy search* comes from a policing register, but as a set phrase it also signals previous and future usages, bearing a mark of intertextuality. Finally, on a few occasions the officers used nominalisations instead of verbal constructions, which is another element typically associated with *policespeak* (Fox 1993). For instance, in Excerpt 5.4c (p. 151) Chris bemoans the *lack of reporting*, while Andy in Excerpt 6.7b (p. 175) asks his interlocutor whether she *gets enough presence*. The latter example also reveals a degree of intertextuality, where the word *presence*, which is key to the construction of the Neighbourhood Policing Programme and appears throughout the scholarship as well as policy and regulations pertaining to PCSOs, is recontextualised and used during a conversation with a member of the public.

Another important aspect pointing towards the heteroglossic nature of PCSOs' interactions was the ambiguous and flexible use of pronouns, through which PCSOs displayed points of view which included or excluded the institution, the communities or

the current interlocutors in an interaction. The officers used the pronoun *we* in a variety of senses. For example, Chris clearly referred to all PCSOs when he summarised the professional identity of PCSOs in opposition to police constables by stating that *they firefight we deal with the nitty gritty stuff* (Excerpt 5.4f, p. 157). Such a clear opposition, however, is not always easy to draw. When Judy asks people present at a meeting in Excerpt 4.8 (p. 115) to *let us know phone it through*, she cannot possibly be referring only to PCSOs. Instead, the pronoun *us* marks her affiliation with the police at large, with community officers being part of a larger organisation. This identification with the police is not stable and can change depending on the circumstances and desired goals. For instance, Chris explains how to report crime he notes that *we <u>need</u>*, before quickly switching to *they'll ask* (Excerpt 4.4a, p. 106). The differences in the use of pronouns are testament to the flexibility that officers can benefit from thanks to their position in-between the police and community, as they are able to adapt their affiliation at will. Apart from operating on the continuum which sees PCSOs as either part of the police as a bigger institution or a discrete entity in opposition to "proper" police, pronouns also have the power to include members of the public they interact with. As we saw in the analysis of Excerpt 5.4c when Chris suggests that *we need to get him on an antisocial behaviour order,* he indicates that the business at hand is not only the responsibility of the police but also involves the citizens. The use of first person plural pronouns marks the fluid nature of the positions PCSOs adopt, as they skilfully navigate their perceived professional identities.

7.1.2 Multiple voices

The use of multiple pronouns, which I referred to in the previous section, reflects a wider phenomenon, namely the use of different voices by PCSOs. Although scholarship to date has focused on overt realisations of voicing, such as repetition leading to constructed dialogue (Tannen 2007) or examples of Bakhtin's (1986) double-voicing, in the

argument presented here I follow Tagg's suggestion that heteroglossia is realised through "the ideological associations which all linguistic signs and practices accrue" (2014: 77), which includes both overt instances of intertextuality and indexical relations. Multiple voices that PCSOs then embody refer to both actual intertextual links as well as voices understood broadly as social positions (Wortham 2001: 50). The data presented throughout the thesis demonstrate the many ways in which PCSOs make multiple voices audible in their interactions. Although they are often interrelated and difficult to separate, there are at least three major areas that the voices can be attributed to: the institutional world, the community and the individual. Let us consider them in turn.

As already mentioned, one of the resources available to PCSOs is the use of words or phrases derived from the institutional world, such as the general policing discourse or specific legislation (for instance, *antisocial behaviour order,* discussed in Excerpt 5.4c (p. 151), or the importance of the word *designated area* to mark the acceptability of drinking in public, as shown in Excerpt 4.8, p. 115). The presence of such terms signals PCSOs' awareness of them and their strategic use. Through their appeal to institutional vocabulary, rules and procedures, PCSOs animate, in Goffman' terms, the voice of the institution.

In a similar vein, the officers also animate the voice of the community, which, as discussed earlier, becomes an important resource. The notion of community is not just used in an abstract sense, indexing the values of community policing, but also refers to a group of individuals, whose voices PCSOs can draw on. For instance, we have seen how officers refer to complaints made by the public and justify their actions as responding to the voice of the community (for example, in Excerpts 5.1b, p. 131 and 5.3a, p. 143). They also hypothesise future voices, as exemplified by Judy, who justified her enforcement of a highly problematic drinking ban through a reference to potential complaints that her lack of action would give rise to (Excerpt 4.10, p. 120). Apart from explicit references to

what citizens say (or might possibly say), PCSOs also acknowledge the general principle of responsiveness to the needs of the community. In itself, responsiveness can be linked to the ideological foundations of community policing as a whole, but the officers reproduced this discourse in their interactions with members of the public. The insistence on reporting crimes is a case in point. Often mentioned during PACT meetings, it is often framed as a force giving the police a direction to act. As Judy mentioned in Excerpt 5.2a (p. 135), "if we get a spike of reports (…) we need to do something about it". Individual calls, mediated through the organisational chain, from a report to the phone contact centre, mediated to a response provided eventually by a Neighbourhood Policing Team, gain a potential to represent a unified voice of community.

Finally, even though the notion of the community voice might give us the impression that individuals speak in unison, there are in fact many voices, representing different views, needs and opinions. This becomes clear in the case of neighbour disagreement, presented in Excerpt 5.3b (p. 144), PCSOs speak to a local resident following a complaint made by his neighbour, who suggested that children play in the street unsupervised. This complaint is then mediated and negotiated by the officers in his lieu, bringing in elements of their evaluation (*personally we trawl along here all the time and we've never seen them do it*). The initial complaint becomes thus entangled in a conversation involving the represented complaining neighbour, the PCSOs institutionally obliged to act on the complaint but contributing their personal remarks and the individual who is the subject of the complaint. The officers also voice the concern for the neighbourhood, stating that *what we want to avoid is any obviously tension between neighbours*. The short encounter exemplifies therefore that there are also dissenting voices within the community, and not just between the community and the police.

PCSO-citizen interactions are not simply exchanges between two individuals, but necessarily involve a variety of viewpoints, stances and opinions. This creates

a heteroglossic mosaic, where different ideas about the role of policing, responsibility of citizens and stories of individuals meet. PCSOs occupy a central place in this network of influences, so I will now consider how their position can be seen in terms of heteroglossia.

7.1.3 Heteroglossia as a result of PCSOs' liminal position

Peuronen (2013: 317) sees heteroglossia primarily as a resource. In her study of young Christian snowboarders, the participants try to make sense of their gender, religious and sporting identities, through the use of different lexicons, registers and texts, not unlike PCSOs who need to negotiate their positions among the multiple voices coming from policy, institution, community and individual citizens. We have seen how individual officers employ words from legislation or wider policing discourse as well as appeal to the authority of the local community. In this sense, heteroglossic repertoires serve as a significant resource, but simultaneously heteroglossia is a *result* of PCSO-citizens encounters, reflective of inherent tensions which research in management and organisational studies have conceptualised as contradictory logics (Ashcraft 2006), paradox (Smith and Lewis 2011) or hybridity (Skelcher and Smith 2015). An interactional sociolinguistic analysis demonstrates how these inherent tensions come to the surface and are shaped and negotiated. PCSOs perform complex interactional work, and even though these performances can be seen as everyday (Bell and Gibson 2011) or mundane (Coupland 2007), like any performance they "move the use of heterogenous stylistic resources, context-sensitive meanings, and conflicting ideologies into a reflexive arena where they can be examined critically" (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 60). Indeed, interactions within the community policing setting reveal a number of different ideological positions relating to the rights and obligations that both the police and communities assume.

As I suggested in Chapter 4 with reference to the notion of role, although it is possible to label the different roles that PCSOs perform, the key to understanding interactions among officers and members of the public is the acknowledgement of the multiplicity of roles and their layering. In a similar vein, it might be possible to dissect the multivocality of PCSOs' interactions. Indeed, I have demonstrated how the notions of police, community and individual are invoked and how their voices are integrated in the discourse of PCSOs. As Bakhtin (1986: 91) put it, "[e]ach utterance is filled with the echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication." PCSOs do not act therefore as conduits, simply animating the voices of others, but rather employ them strategically in order to reconcile the number of tensions officers are subject to in a given situation.

In general terms, the underlying broad principles of engagement with the citizens in delivering policing are translated into complex interactional work that highlights some of the areas of tension among the theoretical principles of community policing, institutional and organisational logic, the varied needs of heterogeneous communities as well as individual motivations of officers and citizens alike. Contrary to the view that Neighbourhood Policing could be seen as a simple response to lack of trust in the police, bridging the gap between the police and the public, close analysis of actual interactions has demonstrated that PCSOs do not simply diminish the distance between the police and citizens. Instead, using their liminal position they harness the different available resources to either emphasise their institutional affiliation or foreground responsiveness to the needs of the community. This approach could be seen as flexible rather than static, with PCSOs using different resources depending on context. In this sense, heteroglossia offers a productive theoretical framework, in which the negotiation of these resources and underlying tensions come to the fore. Rather than thinking of the interactions PCSOs have and their role as hybrid, suggesting a blend of resources, adopting a heteroglossic view forces us to consider what specific resources are being

used in a given moment. It allows us to move beyond binary oppositions, which would like to see participants align with one voice while distancing from the opposing one. Instead, heteroglossia helps us uncover a much more complex set of relationship between the key players.

Indeed, this thesis, through the focus on interactions, has also some implications for the nature of community policing at large, which I will now explore.

7.2 Community policing as a site of negotiation

Community policing in general, and Neighbourhood Policing in particular, is meant to bridge the gap between the public and the police. It was "constructed around a set of discourses that re-valued local policing in terms of active citizenship and cohesive communities" (McLaughlin, 2005: 480), which highlight the active role of citizens in policing. Even though Bayley (2009) suggests community policing is often erroneously equated with democratic potential, prioritising citizen participation goes some way towards democratising policing. In particular, the Neighbourhood Policing Programme has aimed to empower communities to set local policing agendas. This goal might be considered as an idealistic one, as the majority of citizens do not actively participate in policing (Bullock and Sindall 2014). Those who do engage with the police in the forum of police-public meetings have been shown to have limited access to information, given the confidentiality rules by which the police are bound, which means that the transparency of policing and its democratic potential are difficult to realise (Harkin 2015).

My analysis, although not primarily concerned with interrogating the democratic character of community policing, through the analysis of PCSOs' interactions with different constituents contributes to our understanding not only of their individual practices, but lets us see them in relation to other entities. Through tracing the construction of the core elements of community policing, I am able to demonstrate

further ways in which community policing is heteroglossic. In the previous section, I considered concrete linguistic realisations of heteroglossia, whereas in this section I examine community policing on a more conceptual level. In what follows, I will discuss how PCSOs challenge the traditional thinking about policing (Section 7.2.1), before discussing what this change has meant for the construction of communities (Section 7.2.2), and finally I will consider how individual officers act as nexus for the construction of community policing and the vision of communities that this particular style of policing puts forward (Section 7.2.3).

7.2.1 The place of the police in community policing

The introduction of PCSOs, and the definition of their roles in terms of being "visible, accessible and familiar" (Povey 2001) to communities and the performance of tasks typically associated with reassurance and community engagement all provide a broad picture of community policing as a style of policing. Although community policing is typically juxtaposed with traditional models of policing, the work of PCSOs redefines the role of the police in a certain way. The introduction of the Neighbourhood Policing Programme was dictated not only by a general change in the conceptualisation of what community policing should be but also as a policy response to a specific problem. As discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2, p. 8), it was hoped that the introduction of PCSOs would contribute towards bridging the reassurance gap (Lowe and Innes 2012; Bullock and Sindall 2014). In other words, community policing can also be seen as a part of building the police's positive image. Wee (2015) argues that organisations should be seen as agents using specific resources to style themselves, that is they project a specific image with an intention to be recognised. The mere introduction of PCSOs could be seen as an element of organisational styling. Even though throughout this thesis I have been more interested in the position of individual officers, by the virtue of being on the

frontline of the institution and facing the public in their daily work, they act as a face of the police.

Because of this position on the frontline, in their interactions with citizens PCSOs actually perform important interactional work for the police as a whole. The model of procedural justice, as mentioned in Section 1.8, considers in particular the implications of individual police-citizen encounters on public's perception of the police. It does so by assuming that when citizens are treated with fairness and respect, they tend to trust the police more. PCSOs therefore contribute to increasing trust in police.

Linguistic approaches to trust have emphasised the interactive nature of the phenomenon. As Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo (2014) put it, "whether we trust others has a lot to do with what they say (including what they do not say), and with how they say it, as well as with what we tell them and how we do that" (2014: 7). Trust is often built through strategic and systematic deployment of discursive resources in a given speech situation or text (see for example contributions in Candlin and Critchton 2012). By comparison, the procedural justice model sees trust as the result of fair treatment citizens receive from the police (Hough *et al.* 2010: 204). Research on procedural justice tends to rely on quantitative analysis, based on large-scale surveys (see for example Hough *et al.*, 2010; Tyler, 2011; Reisig, Tankebe and Mesko, 2014) and examines the general processes by which the police treat citizens in particular settings. In other words, procedural justice suggests that there are standard ways of dealing with specific situations.

This approach does not take into account the importance of discretion, a key feature of PCSOs' work, as I explored in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2.4, p. 46). Moreover, because of the variety of interactions PCSOs have and the multiplicity of goals they are expected to achieve, there might not be a procedure that would adequately address specific problems changing from one interaction to another. Even within a specific encounter, it is possible to see multiple goals and various stances that officers adopt. For

instance, in Excerpt 6.7c (p. 176-177), we saw how during door-to-door enquiries, aimed at both providing reassurance and gathering evidence, Andy ends up using a lot of humour with a local resident, which could be potentially seen as damaging to the view of the institution. Similarly, when Judy tries to exercise deontic authority (e.g. Excerpt 5.2b, p. 136), she also apologises on behalf on the police. In interactions with members of the public, PCSOs therefore attend to potentially conflicting goals: they represent the police as institution while simultaneously demonstrating the changing character of policing, which community policing is an example of. In this sense, community policing can be considered as heteroglossic because, even though it was conceived as an alternative to traditional policing models, it cannot escape including some elements of these models.

A specific example of how the ideas about policing have changed within community policing while retaining elements of traditional policing is the citizens' empowerment agenda. Sarangi and Slembrouck (1996: 182), suggest that the lay participants' perspective is mediated through the context of the institution. The institutional perspective is thus meant to mediate the voice of the community. Moreover, PCSOs, in theory at least, represent *both* the institution and the community, both technically as civilians (Cosgrove, 2016: 120) and through their main task of engagement. This paradoxical position is realised for example through the attempts to recruit officers to reflect the diverse communities they serve, which I mentioned in Section 3.4.1 (p. 82).

A specific example of how community policing interacts with traditional models of policing can be observed when PCSOs explain to members of the public the details of institutional procedures. Akin to advisers in a trading standards office analysed by Torode (1995), PCSOs equip people with tools and vocabulary to advance their case. However, contrary to impartial advisers, PCSOs display an institutional affiliation and represent the police's point of view as well. We have seen a few examples of officers

encouraging citizens to report incidents to the police. Even if the reports will eventually serve the public, or even are necessary for individuals if they want to advance their case, as the example of a report of the stolen bike (Excerpt 4.4a, p. 106) demonstrates, it is always in the interest of the police. Similarly, in the Excerpt 5.4c (p. 151), Chris offers the store manager a solution to her problem by explaining the legal procedures relevant to her case. However, rather than simply educating the manager about all the possible outcomes and scenarios, the PCSO offers a specific vision for solving the problem. Even if it is meant to benefit the store manager, she has no option but to conform eventually, despite many protests and challenges on her part. Moreover, Chris used his knowledge of institutional procedures not only to educate the store manager, but also reprimand her for not reporting incidents in the past. PCSOs thus seem to see the world through lenses tinted with the police's professional vision (Goodwin 1994), even though they are also expected to understand and represent the communities they work for and with. In doing that, they simultaneously hold multiple positions, highlighting in interactions the ones that are relevant at a given time.

I have highlighted some of the ways in which community policing is both influenced by traditional models of policing, which suggests that even at a conceptual level community policing draws to some extent on traditional models of policing, suggesting its heteroglossic character. I will now discuss how community policing draws on the idea of community in a similar way.

7.2.2 The place of communities in community policing

Community, very much like the whole concept of community policing, where it features prominently, lacks a clear definition. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Innes (2005) suggests that the construction of the Neighbourhood Policing Programme maintained the primacy of communities of place, despite the growing importance of communities of interest in modern societies. This has important implications for the ways in which

PCSOs interact with members of the public, with officers presupposing the significance of local communities. To an extent, this is true. If we recall Excerpt 6.4, a citizen during a PACT meeting challenged the police's definition of the word *ward*, expressing therefore the interests of a spatially-bound community. However, the representativeness of PACT meetings has been questioned (Bullock and Sindall 2014). One citizen's concern for her neighbourhood could not therefore support a claim that neighbourhood is a binding unit for citizens. On the contrary, we have seen how individuals more than an abstract notion of neighbourhood, value space which is relevant to their own interests. For instance, in Excerpt 6.7, a local woman is primarily concerned about her own safety in the context of cars being broken into in the vicinity, or in Excerpt 5.2a (p.134-135) a gardener, who was asked to move his van, described problems in his local area as a way into positioning himself as a victim. As both examples demonstrate, citizens draw on the notion of neighbourhood, which could be seen as an example of a spatially bound community, to advance their goals and present their particular interests.

The mere fact that citizens act in their own interests should not in itself come as a surprise. However, it is the way in which individuals pursue their goals and justify their claims that reveals how people use the notion of community as a resource. In the examples above, it is used because it corresponds directly to what PCSOs should be concerned with, even though the problems presented might be particular to a given individual. Citizens can benefit from employing the discourse of community because community policing puts them at the heart of what the police does.

The apparent democratisation of policing has also led to the appropriation of the blurry concept of community resulting in treating the police as a service provider. In a similar way that advertising in commercial settings creates communities of consumption which can then be transferred to other settings, such as education (Critchton, 2010: 112), the direction to valorise and engage with communities turns

them into communities of consumption. The *community* in *community policing* risks becoming bereft of the meaning which led to the change in conceptualisation of the police as engaged and responsive, with citizens adopting an instrumental approach rather than strategically shaping the policing for the benefit of a larger group.

Treatment of the police service as a service provider was identified by Tracy (1997) as a specific frame, which enabled citizens to make requests and bring a set of expectations relating to interaction with the police. Tracy (1997), subscribing to the oppositional view of the police and citizens, which I explored in Chapter 2, argues that a customer service frame, displayed by callers to emergency services, stands in opposition to a public service frame, displayed by the institutional representatives. In a community policing setting, however, there is not a clear distinction between the two. The customer service approach is inherent in the construction of the Neighbourhood Policing Programme, and PCSOs recognise this, for example when Chris refers to it in Excerpt 4.3, commenting that "the customer service should start to kick in" when taking a crime report. PCSOs then have to constantly navigate the customer service and public service aspects of their interactions with members of the public, rather than just adopting a clear stance. An opposition between the two forces becomes similar to what Bakhtin (1981: 667-668) refers to as centripetal and centrifugal forces in relation to language. Centripetal force pushes a language to be more standardised, while centrifugal force diversifies it. Similarly, the focus on customer service pushes PCSOs to recognise individual interests, while on the other hand they are responsible for pursuing the institutional agenda. Their interactional behaviour is therefore always situated on a continuum between the two and constantly shifts.

The notion of community can be seen at the centre of the opposing tensions. I have already indicated that citizens can use it to advance their own interests, pushing PCSOs towards complying with the interests of the community these individuals represent. However, officers themselves can also treat the notion of community as

a resource. In Chapter 5 in particular, we saw how officers appeal to the notion of community as a way of justifying or amplifying their requests. In Excerpt 5.1a (p. 129) for example, Judy refers to previous complaints made by local residents to exercise her deontic authority, and in Excerpt 5.2a (pp. 134-135) she tries to persuade a victim of a crime to report incidents even when they appeared to him too petty for reporting. Although dictated by the institutional requirement to record crime, the request to report is framed as benefitting the community. The abstract notion of community is constructed as a common concern for the police and members of the public. And both the officers and individual citizens can make use of this notion for their aims. This is not to say that community becomes necessarily a token word with very little actual concern for the shared good, but rather the concept has a potential to be used in an instrumental way and occasionally this potential is realised.

In fact, PCSOs often operationalise the notion of community not only to legitimise action but also as an anticipatory measure. For instance, in Excerpt 4.9 (p. 118), where Judy reveals that she had asked a woman in a park to dispose of alcohol because of hypothetical complaints of local residents, she does so in an attempt to justify her request but also to pre-empt a local citizen's reaction. Anticipating citizens' complaints could be in PCSOs' interests, as it would mean that these complains can be prevented in the first place. However, we have also seen instances where PCSOs clearly appeal to their disinterested concern for the wellbeing of the community. As Chris in Excerpt 5.3b (p. 143) puts it, "what we want to avoid is any obviously tension between neighbours (…) because obviously you need to live next door to each other". PCSOs orient thus to community as part of a professional ethos. In contrast with more established professions, for example within healthcare (Thomas and Pattison 2010), where professional ethos is a large part of professional identity (Candlin 2011), PCSOs do not have a set of fixed professional guidelines which are articulated by the professionals themselves. Similarly, their training is primarily practice-based. Despite

many PCSOs treating their role as a stepping stone to become a police constable (Cosgrove and Ramshaw, 2015: 85), their reliance on community as a resource demonstrates how this notion, which is a cornerstone of their job, has been embraced by individual officers and permeates their interactions.

Although the notion of community underpins what PCSOs do and how they interact with citizens, it is shaped by specific conceptualisations of the term. It is not only about any community, or a group of people who happen to share a neighbourhood, but rather members of the public who care about their own and their neighbours' safety. Similarly, as shown in Chapter 4, Judy's decision as to when it is acceptable to enforce a no drinking ban (a person in the plain sight of others) and when it would not be (a family drinking wine in a park), suggests that PCSOs play a part in constructing what a community should be. Moore (2008) argues that officers, who typically hold more lenient views towards marginalised groups thanks to direct interaction, are influenced by largely middle-class communities in an attempt to silence and marginalise those members of society who do not conform to typically modern urban lifestyle. Even though it is the community that gives the police legitimacy, ultimately the two constructs—community policing and community—remain in a productive tension, defining and reshaping one another's rights and obligations. As I mentioned at the beginning of the section, community policing is necessarily a site of tension.

A concrete realisation of this tension, inscribed in community policing, is its accountability to the people (Sklansky 2005). The capacity of neighbourhood policing to offer citizens tools for holding police officers to account has however been questioned:

> Community policing seeks to offer an alternative way of configuring the discretionary activities of officers to allocate resources in ways that the residents, rather than officers, prioritize. That we know little about how officers do so raises yet new questions about the nature of accountability embedded in neighbourhood policing.
>
> (Bullock and Leeney, 2013: 212)

Most research aiming to explore accountability has focused on police-citizen meetings (Brunger 2011; Gasper and Davies 2018; Mangan et al. 2018). These are indeed sites that give some insights into mechanisms of accountability. At each PACT meeting, participants are typically required to identify three priority areas that the citizens and the police agree on. An excerpt from a fieldnote below shows how PCSO Joe takes note of priorities:

Excerpt 7.1

> Joe changed the tone a little bit, and went through the priorities, which were dog fouling and bikes on pavements. He then asked people what they wanted the third one to be. OL1 was very quick to respond that it would be to get the councillor to attend. Man1 then suggested no lights on bikes. Joe said "it's a struggle. We're trying our best, but we can't be here 24 hours." Man1's phone went off and interrupted Joe, who then continued "It's frustrating for you guys, but it's as frustrating to us." He then said "you raised litter as an issue, should I put it down as a third one?"
>
> [Observation 1]

As the excerpt makes clear, there is not a rigid mechanism of accountability in those meetings. Joe managed to avoid agreeing to accept cycling with no lights on as a potential priority, which PCSOs in the area would need to report back on at the following meeting. This might be to do with limited resources and the fact that PCSOs in the area mainly worked during daytime, but the situation raises questions of how accountability is enacted. It might not necessarily be limited to formal meetings only, often associated with institutionalised forms of governance. As we have seen throughout this thesis, PCSOs are often challenged by citizens, particularly in relation to matters that are central to them as individuals. Recall for instance a member of the public who complained about the lack of foot patrols in her area in Excerpt 6.7a (p. 174). And while these fleeting encounters cannot be systematically considered as forms of accountability, the analysis of PCSO-citizen interaction can inform our understanding of not only how citizens can

hold officers to account, but it can also bring new insights into the subjects of construction of communities and citizenship as well as police authority.

Accountability is associated with forms of bureaucracy (Sarangi and Slembrouck, 1996: 181). As I signalled in Chapter 1, early research in encounters in institutional contexts assumed an *a priori* asymmetrical relationship between representatives of the institution and lay participants (for example, Mishler, 1984; Agar, 1985). Studies of police-citizen interaction have also tended to perpetuate this assumed dichotomy between the two parties, not only in highly institutionalised encounters, such as police interviews, but also during more routine and potentially less threatening forms of contact, such as traffic stops (Shon 2008; Nadler and Trout 2012). However, as I demonstrated for example in Excerpt 6.5 (p. 171), where a local resident complains that following his house being broken into no enquiries were made in the local area, PCSOs' actions can be challenged by citizens. Moreover, as I mentioned in Section 7.1.2, officers have to act following complaints from local citizens, even if they do not always find these complaints unfounded. It was the case where they admitted that they did not see children playing in the street, which was what the initial reason for visit was. Interactions between PCSOs and members of the public demonstrates that the relationship between individual officers and citizens is far more complex than it might appear.

While the principles of community policing are based on a simple premise of bringing policing closer to the community, it is the individual officers that carry on policing the citizens, albeit in a different formant to hard policing (Innes 2005). As such, even within an environment which is supposed to foster community relations, elements of policing discourse can be found. Even in the case of PACT meetings, which are chaired by members of the community, the interests of the community have to be negotiated. This supports Harkin's (2015) findings, suggesting that police-community meetings are a site where power differences are perpetuated rather than diminished. Similarly,

Gasper and Davies (2018) argue that PACT meetings do not seem to deliver on a promise of a new form of police governance but rather reinforce the top-down model of policing. Close interactional analysis, however, shows that seeing forms of interaction between the police and the public such as community meetings simply in terms of power play obscures a more nuanced picture. In Excerpt 6.4a (p. 166), a member of the public not only seeks clarification of a specific policing term, but also potentially challenges the data reported by the police. It is not the case therefore that the officers simply dominate the interactional agenda and shape the meeting's outcomes on their terms, but rather the meeting, as well as any other site of interaction between PCSOs and members of the public, becomes a site of negotiation.

7.2.3 PCSOs as central to community policing

Although PCSOs are at the forefront of the change into the new style policing, as the data presented throughout this thesis demonstrate, there is not a single way of delivering community policing. Officers whom I observed joke, advise, inform, but also reprimand, warn and enforce rules. They engage in community meetings but represent the interests of the police. They use discretion in enforcing rules, as we saw in the analysis of policing drinking in the public. It might seem that the vast array of approaches employed by individual officers is simply a result of their responsiveness to a local situation. However, some of the conflicting stances were displayed in the course of one interaction. For instance, in Excerpt 4.4a (p. 105) Chris starts off taking details of a reported bike theft, suggesting that he was dealing with the matter, before quickly changing his stance to trying to persuade the young man who had stopped him in the street to phone up or visit a local police station. Similarly, Judy starts off her interaction with the gardener in Excerpt 5.1a (p. 128) by requiring him to move his van, when the conversation then turns into providing him reassurance when it transpires that he had been a victim of crime (Excerpt 5.2c, p 139). PCSOs do not simply respond to the local emergent needs of

an interaction but rather constantly negotiate inherent tensions that community policing presents. And as I suggested in Chapter 4, this negotiation can be considered in terms of role performance.

A simple suggestion that PCSOs absorb mainstream policing culture (Cosgrove 2016) does not find its manifestation in PCSO-citizen interactions, as officers need to attend to the needs of the community. This is not to say that PCSOs do not attempt to demonstrate their belonging to the policing culture as they engage in conversations with constables (O'Neill 2017). In fact, it might be argued that their engagement with colleagues in canteen talk, identified as a key site for construction of policing culture (Waddington 1999; van Hulst 2017), bears testament to their ability to adapt and move between different subject positions. Therefore labelling individual officers according to their attitude to work or style in which they fulfil their duties, such as *professional, law-enforcer, disillusioned* etc. (Hough 2013; Cosgrove 2016) seems futile. The study of situated encounters with members of the public has shown the nuanced ways in which PCSOs have to negotiate their position among the many roles available to them.

This negotiation takes place because PCSOs have to exercise discretion in their work. I recall here an analysis of street-level bureaucrats' narratives, which led Manyard-Moody and Musheno (2003) to propose that two orientations guide professionals' decision-making process: law abidance and cultural abidance. However, conceptualising the tensions individuals face in their work in terms of two opposing forces necessarily reduces their experience to either "law" or "culture". Even the term *cultural abidance,* defined in terms of "perceived identities and moral character" (Manyard-Moody and Musheno 2003: 4), suggests that that "cultural" element encompasses a number of factors that constitute the said "culture". After all, perceived identities are not set in stone, but rather evolve, particularly in interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). In the context of community policing, in particular, framing the tension that PCSOs face in terms of simple opposition between two conflicting forces—law and

culture, or whatever labels one might want to apply—runs into the problem of defining a uniform set of criteria to judge the source of tension. PCSOs do not appear to be torn simply between law, or institutional concerns, and specific circumstances that apply to an individual. Instead, their interactions are highly heteroglossic. Rather than seeing PCSOs as positioned between the institutional norms and the needs of the community, heteroglossia also recognises the multiplicity of voices and points of view within those two broad areas. Institutional rules and procedures are not always clear, and in any case, often emphasise the importance of both discretion and the community's input into how policing should be carried out. Communities, however, are made up of multiple individuals and when an action might seem to serve for the benefit of the community, it might simultaneously be against the interests and wishes of a specific individual. PCSOs find themselves in the midst of these often conflicting points of view and are central to not only to the delivery of neighbourhood policing but also negotiating the tensions that come with it.

7.3 Summary

This chapter has consolidated the findings of my research, as demonstrated across Chapters 4-7 along two main lines. Firstly, I considered the central question which has guided my analysis, namely the ways in which PCSOs' interactions can be seen as heteroglossic. I have argued that in their daily practice, officers mobilise a number of discursive resources, indexing the many points of reference they are expected to reconcile and animating a number of voices.

Secondly, I discussed what the analysis of PCSOs' interactions reveals about the changing approaches to policing. Specifically, I demonstrated some ways in which authority and accountability feature in officers' talk. In doing so, I challenged some of the assumptions behind the procedural justice model, suggesting that police-citizen interaction in a community policing context reveals a more nuanced understanding of

legitimacy. The position of PCSOs as actors at the forefront of new approaches to policing, also meant that individual officers need to constantly negotiate a number of tensions.

In the final chapter, I revisit some of the key findings in relation to the research questions, discuss methodological implications of my research and suggest future avenues of research.

8 Conclusion

This thesis has looked at language used by PCSOs in interaction with a number of constituents—colleagues, members of the public, councillors. Through analysis of spoken interactions and fieldnotes I have demonstrated that PCSOs, seen as a bridge between the police and the public, negotiate a number of tensions. PCSOs' liminal position results in conflicting goals that the officers are expected to achieve. The tensions inherent in a community policing model have their discursive realisations, and in this thesis I have examined specific examples of how these tensions manifest themselves. In Chapter 4, I showed that PCSOs assume a multiplicity of roles, both in relation to what they do (e.g. law enforcer, advice giver) and how they perform them in interaction (e.g. through questioning sequences, advice giving or formulating requests). In Chapter 5, I considered how PCSOs' authority is limited by the needs of individuals and communities, expressed in interaction. In Chapter 6, I demonstrated how talk about space, crucial to neighbourhood, does not simply reproduce spatial relations of local communities but instead reveals officers' institutional agenda. In Chapter 7, considering the data presented hitherto, I responded to the main question that has guided my research, namely *In what ways is the language used by PCSOs heteroglossic?*

In this final chapter, I revisit the individual research questions, discuss theoretical and methodological findings of the thesis and suggest areas for future research.

8.1 Revisiting research questions

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the productivity of heteroglossia as a theoretical concept relies on its coupling with other concepts and theories. Therefore, in this thesis I have anchored my analysis in three different concepts: role performance, deontic authority

and interaction in private/public realm. These concepts have served to answer the research questions, and below I offer the summary of findings, corresponding to analysis presented in Chapters 4-6.

8.1.1 RQ1: How are different roles performed by PCSOs?

Following Sarangi's (2010) call for examination of role performance at the interactional level, I discussed how PCSOs have various, often conflicting, roles at their disposal. Contrary to previous research which considered professionals' hybrid roles, incorporating expectations and demands from multiple domains, I emphasised the multiplicity of roles PCSOs need to navigate to reconcile different expectations. Moreover, these roles are realised at multiple levels of analysis: from roles prescribed by the rules and regulations, which boil down to PCSOs' job description, through roles that officers adopt locally, for example law enforcer, to interactional roles, such as questioner.

My findings suggest that the multiple roles performed by PCSOs emerge locally. As a result of discretion that officers necessarily exercise in their decision making process, and with different actual or hypothetical audiences, officers will perform different roles. Contrary to previous research that sees roles as hybrid (e.g. S Candlin 2001), I have argued that PCSOs have a number of roles within their repertoire at their disposal, and rather than creating a new hybrid role, they adapt to specific conditions. Through their comments, it also became apparent that individual officers are aware of the tensions that performance of a given role is caught up with. For instance, the need to provide "customer service" and listen to the voice of the community, might be at odds with the interests of specific individuals within the community or institutional pressures that officers are subject to.

8.1.2 RQ2: How does the notion of authority feature in interactions PCSOs have with citizens?

Although in linguistic literature police-citizen interaction tends to be treated in terms of power, the context of community policing, with its emphasis on citizen participation and empowerment, redefines power relations between parties involved. Rather than focusing on the notion of power, I have anchored my analysis in the notion of authority. Drawing on theories on procedural justice, authority is understood as legitimate use of power. The question of legitimacy is thus inextricably linked to authority, and PCSOs often invoked the notion of community as a way of justifying their claims.

At an interactional level, I looked at the ways in which deontic authority is realised. Previous research in the area focused on decision-making as well as issuing directives. In the context of community policing, I showed how PCSOs not only exercise but also relinquish their authority as a result of police legitimacy rooted in community. They persuade people to carry out certain actions either through a direct invocation of the greater good of the community, for example when telling individuals to report all instances of crime to better serve a given area, or through justifying their actions *post hoc* as carried out in the interests of local residents.

The underlying multiplicity of roles is built into the design of community policing. PCSOs, who are supposed to represent the police and work with communities, are subject to competing interests. As I discussed in Chapter 4, roles come with sets of rights and responsibilities. With the changes to the model of policing, and underlying conceptualisation of it, come changes to the expectations of what the responsibilities of PCSOs are and who they are accountable to. On one hand, as part of the police, they need to conform to institutional goals, as they are assessed based on criteria set by the organisation. Even if these criteria are designed with the benefit of the community in mind, for example setting the requirement to spend most of officers' working time

outside the police station, they are ultimately set by the police with little input from the communities. Community policing relies therefore on assumptions which are difficult to sustain in practice. Community engagement and the involvement of citizens in shaping the policing agenda might be considered an ideal, but the actual interactional tasks of achieving these goals fall to individual PCSOs, who are caught up in a network of different points of view and interests.

8.1.3 RQ3: What is the significance of space in PCSO-citizens interactions?

Through the final research question, I set out to probe the significance of space, as expressed by PCSOs in their interactions. The introduction of the Neighbourhood Policing Programme contributed to the discourses of new localism, and PCSOs in particular were intended to respond to local communities' needs. Although previous research has flagged up discrepancies in the ways in which institutions and individuals conceive space differently, my findings suggest that space is produced beyond a simple police/citizens boundary.

In particular, space seems to be produced in a given context. While PCSOs do make references to institutional classification of space, through references to *wards* and *beats,* these terms need to be negotiated in actual interactions with members of the public. For a particular individual a specific street might be the centre of their activities, which can then serve as a point of reference in a given interaction and reshape the notion of centre and periphery.

Finally, my thesis has demonstrated the importance of investigating discursive practices on the move, as they are central to the ways in which PCSOs operate. I will discuss the significance of this observation when talking about methodological implications of my research. For now, let me turn to the consideration of theoretical contributions to knowledge that this research has generated.

8.2 Theoretical implications

Taken together, the research questions contribute to demonstrating how communication within the specific context of community policing in England and Wales can be seen as heteroglossic. In adopting this approach, I have moved away from treating heteroglossia as occurring in situations where a number of named languages are present. In doing so, my research contributes to a growing body of research which looks at heteroglossia in everyday encounters which would traditionally be seen as monolingual but where multiplicity is nonetheless in play (e.g. Tagg 2016). This thesis has demonstrated that heteroglossia can also be present in face-to-face interactions among individuals who mostly share linguistic resources at the level of languages.

Caronia and Chieregato (2016: 415) suggest a term "inner polyphony" to describe communicative practices of different professionals (physicians, nurses and responsible clinicians) within one intensive care unit. Treating communication within the community policing context as heteroglossic not only demonstrates polyphony at intra- and inter-professional levels but extends the study of heteroglossia as it is produced among different participants, including members of the public. As a result, the heteroglossic nature of exchanges can be seen not only as outcomes of multiple institutional goals, such as law enforcement associated with the police generally and community engagement specifically linked to community policing. Instead, multiple voices and different linguistic resources associated with different modes of talk are reflective of tensions arising where many points of view come together and include individuals who often are thought of as lacking power.

Most importantly, I suggest that interactions within institutional settings are not easily reduced to lay/institutional asymmetry. Instead a complex web of relationships needs to be investigated, and I present these relationships schematically in a diagram labelled as Figure 8.1:

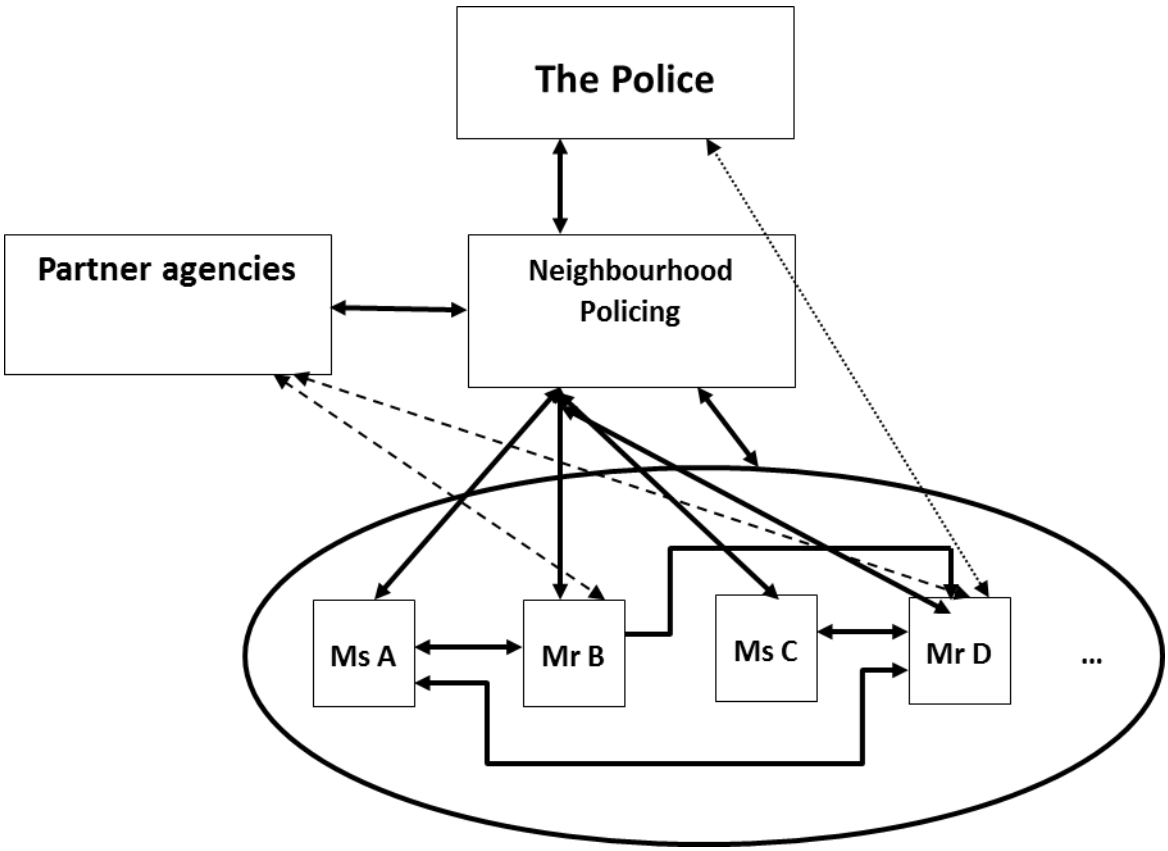

Figure 8.1 Schematic representation of participant interactions in a community policing context

The Neighbourhood Policing, presented in the middle, acts as a focal point for all participants. PCSOs mediate between the police (at the top) and community (a circle) at the bottom, while co-operating with partner agencies. At the same time community is not seen as a homogenous entity but rather as a collection of different individuals who interact with one another but also approach the police directly and use the services of partner agencies, such as the local authority. It is therefore clear that not only is the discourse of community policing multivoiced but also that the interactions take place at various levels. Although in this thesis I have focused mainly on the intersection of PCSOs and individual citizens, it is possible to trace interactions between PCSOs and the wider institution or other agencies. In doing so, tensions emergent in a given setting can be uncovered.

The approach I have taken in the thesis could be extended to other settings, traditionally thought of as institutional or bureaucratic sites. Interactions in healthcare

context, with increasing importance of patient-centred values, social work, counselling, and mediation, are among many that could be thought of as heteroglossic. Such an approach would facilitate moving away from the often-assumed notion of interactional or systemic institutional dominance. In particular, heteroglossia allows to incorporate the voices of those typically seen as powerless. Although there has been some move to recognise the importance of voices of patients or clients, for example through pointing out client's insistence (Matarese 2015), theoretical approaches aiming to demonstrate the complex relations remain scant. Roberts and Sarangi's (1999) distinction between three modes of talk—professional, institutional and personal experience—goes some way to address the above problem. However, their model reduces the complexity of institutional encounters by proposing specific three categories. Analysis of similar settings through the lens of heteroglossia allows us to see the multiplicity of interconnected voices and resources.

8.3 Methodological implications

This thesis has brought together analysis of spoken interaction with insights gained from an ethnographic immersion in the research environment, in line with the principles of linguistic ethnography. Linguistic analyses value pattern while ethnographic reality proves messy. There are a few implications of this productive yet elusive coupling.

Firstly, my decision process in the research design raised some important questions. My research was part of a large research project, which included sixteen ethnographic mini-projects. In each case, the same methodological assumptions guided the research design, including types of data collected and an approach to the analysis. I wanted to mirror the carefully designed methodology and have adopted some of the solutions worked out as the whole team. For instance, I included an observation phase before taking audio recordings and took detailed fieldnotes. In other instances, however, the specifics of my project meant that I had to adapt the team-wide methodology. And

so, for instance, I decided against my key participants taking recordings on their own mostly because I was concerned with the practical and ethical dimensions of PCSOs recording citizens. For a similar reason, I opted against the collection of video recordings. My research also took longer than the typical sixteen weeks that the other team members collected data for. In making those decisions, I highlighted the situated nature of my own research project, which nevertheless was inspired by the wider project, and complex ethical and practical considerations which I needed to make.

My research contributes to the debate of what counts as data within linguistic ethnography. Linguistic research in general displays a preference for authentic spoken interaction, and linguistic ethnography aims to broaden the analysis through including other data sets, such as fieldnotes. However, there is still an emphasis on different data types, for example naturally occurring spontaneous speech, either in conversation or as a part of monologue, or interviews. In my research, I have come across data which sometimes escape an easy categorisation. In particular, my conversations with the officers, although could not be seen as typical interviews, but shared some of their characteristics. I typically asked a lot of questions, most of the time in an attempt to make sense of what was going on around me, but a lot of the interactions did not necessarily have an explicit information-finding goal. Even when I simply entertained casual conversations, which one might be tempted to label as a more relational types of talk, I would sometimes find out information about the officers' personal experiences, aspirations and attitudes to the tasks performed.

The thesis has also grappled with the question of what qualifies as a unit of analysis. The decisions on what constitutes a unit of analysis demonstrate the arbitrariness of boundaries imposed by analysts on the data. It was one of the difficulties which lay behind my decision not to transcribe everything, as there were often long periods of silence, which would then turn into a specific talk activity (such as a door-to-

door enquiry for example), which again could change into yet another activity very quickly (for instance, a spontaneous interaction on the street).

The decisions on what to include in the analysis has particular implications for the representation of the data. Where I presented analysis of longer excerpts, I typically split the transcripts into fewer smaller chunks for ease of analysis. On a few occasions, I have presented analysis of data coming from different sources but in relation to the same object of enquiry. For instance, in Chapter 5, I showed how the activity of drinking in public is debated during a meeting, then I demonstrated how it was interactionally enforced and, in the end, justified. Joint analysis of interactional data from a PACT meeting and a PCSO-citizen encounter as well as commentaries on the action provides insights that would be otherwise impossible to obtain by looking at one form of data only. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to design such opportunities, it is important to use them when they present themselves. Ultimately, the presence of such linked interactions raises a question about what any analysis could miss if similar links do not materialise. Linguistic ethnography has allowed me to make similar connections where possible, which is one its major strengths.

Making connections has been particularly important in my thesis which looked not only at more regular forms of officer-citizen contact, such as PACT meetings, but also abounded in a number of fleeting interactions. Mortensen (2017) argues for the importance of investigating transient multilingual communities, that is configuration of people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds coming together momentarily around a specific activity. Although my research has not looked specifically at individuals with largely different backgrounds meaning that interactions typically lack shared cultural and linguistic norms, and I would not like to venture as far as saying that in many of the interactions individuals formed communities, the transiency of encounters is central to understanding what is going on linguistically. It was during those fleeting encounters that the number of tensions that PCSOs are subject to came to

surface and had to be negotiated. Therefore, rather than insisting on consistency of genres, settings, adopted research techniques, it is also important to recognise the variability and heterogeneity of data collected within linguistic ethnography as a major strength.

Finally, my research has contributed to a growing body of work using mobile methods. Although the work in the area seems to only assume that the researcher moves with their subjects, Merriman (2014: 169) suggests that the focus on mobility of people obfuscates a broader understanding of materiality and practice. As I argued in Chapter 6, space is central to the work of PCSOs but it is clear from the ways in which officers discursively engage with the notion of space, that there is a multitude of spatialities that mean different things to different constituents. This insight would have been difficult to obtain if I had decided to carry out research in one setting only, such as PACT meetings for example.

8.4 Avenues for future research

The focus of this thesis has been on interactions between PCSOs and members of the public, as an instantiation of community policing principles. It is a very specific context and a particular example of enactment of community policing values in practice, anchored in a given time and supported by policies developed in response to a problem and supported by research. Albeit central to the system, PCSOs are a part of the Neighbourhood Policing Programme, which also involves sworn police constables as well as in some areas members of administrative staff. Future research could try to address a wider scope of participants to demonstrate the full scope of the fragmented nature of community policing. The focus on participants could also be extended.

In this thesis, I was mostly interested in interactions between PCSOs and members of the public, although I have also shown an example of local councillor making a contribution during a PACT meeting. Given the emphasis on partnership working, it

would be beneficial to see how individual officers interact not only with citizens but also with other state agents. Recent research in criminology, using interviews and observation of multi-agency meetings, suggests that officers involved in partnerships find them effective (McCarthy and O'Neill 2014; O'Neill and McCarthy 2014). A linguistic approach which focused specifically on partnership working with agencies such as local authorities and fire service would shine light on how partnerships work in interaction, contributing to a body of research in interprofessional settings (see for example Roberts and Sarangi 2003).

This research centred on PCSOs working within an urban context. However, PCSOs in the UK are also present in rural areas and they work in transport hubs and on trains, as part of the British Transport Police. Although there has been some research in community policing in rural areas (Yarwood 2011), the thrust of research has focused on policing the city. Future research in the nature of community policing outside urban centres could investigate the impact of different kinds of communities on the ways in which PCSOs interact with members of the public.

I have focused on face-to-face interaction as a primary mode of contact between PCSOs and citizens. One possible area where future research could add to our understanding of the nature of communication in a community policing context is written communication. The officers in my studies engaged in a number of literacy practices, including digital literacy, which included drafting written letters, emails and producing notes. The impact of changing technology has clearly been visible. During my fieldwork, the officers were using mobile phones to manage their workload, and in fact often talked about the role of phones in their work. They were able to see tasks that were allocated to them, look up specific cases or check information on national databases, in certain instances.

The impact of technology can also be seen in the increasing use of social media by the police, and there is emergent research in the area. The potential for social media

to increase citizen participation has been highlighted (Brainard and McNutt 2010; Crump 2011; O'Connor 2017). Findings point towards one-directional nature of social media use by the police, who use social networking sites to provide information, advertise events and give crime-prevention advice (Crump 2011; Procter, Crump, Karstedt, Voss and Cantijoch 2013; Williams, Fedorowicz, Kavanaugh, Mentzer, Thatcher and Xu 2018). Therefore, despite its transformative potential, social media has been shown to have limited impact on increasing citizen engagement (Grimmelikhuijsen and Meijer 2015). Analyses have tended to focus on the content produced by the police on social media. Bullock (2018), on the other hand, interviewed police officers about social media use and demonstrated that police forces have not fully embraced social media communications, with some officers showing reluctance to this form of communication.

Future linguistic research could contribute by examining the modes of production rather than focusing on outputs. During my fieldwork, I observed how one of the officers decided to share an update of the activity she was engaging in. This experience was incidental but future research could answer questions relating to who produces content in online environments and why. Previous research has also looked at pragmatic use of apologies by companies (Page 2014) and similar analysis in the community policing context would extend the research into an area which, although not corporate, bears traces of marketization. Specific uses of social media affordances, such as hashtags, have been shown to be a mark of conversational style (Scott 2015) and a way to display affiliation around shared values (Zappavigna and Martin 2018). A linguistic analysis of language of social media practices would contribute to understanding how community policing values are communicated not only in face-to-face interactions but also in online environments.

Finally, in Chapter 6, I have already mentioned the importance of embodiment in PCSOs' work. Interest in embodiment has been growing in linguistics (see for example

Bucholtz and Hall 2016) as has the focus on the multimodal nature of communication. In the thesis I have limited my analysis primarily to verbal interactions, and, for ethical and technological reasons, I did not obtain video recordings. A number of police forces in England and Wales, however, have been equipping police officers and PCSOs with body-worn cameras (Grossmith, Owens, Finn, Mann, Davies and Baika 2015; Spencer and Cheshire 2018). Although Voigt et al. (2017) had access to body camera footage their analysis was limited to how respect was realised linguistically, without paying attention to multimodal features, such as gesture, gaze or facial expression. Future research could address this gap to offer a fuller understanding of the nature of police-citizen interactions.

8.5 Concluding notes

Following the end of fieldwork, and in the process of trying to make sense of the practices I had observed and was weaving into the account presented in this thesis, I met with some of the PCSOs who had taken part in my research (and some new ones who have joined the Neighbourhood Policing Team since then) to update them on my progress. When I mentioned the central idea of this thesis, that in their work they have to constantly negotiate their position and demonstrate different allegiances depending on the context of a given situation, they recognised their daily struggles. One officer welcomed my comments, suggesting that it is not something they often think of but my account of my research represented their experience. Another officer recognised the importance of talk in PCSOs' daily lives by stating that *talking to people is our job.* Their comments suggest that I have done some justice in representing the reality of officers' working lives.

In June 2018, the College of Policing published a new set of neighbourhood policing guidelines. The guidelines aim to modernise neighbourhood policing, taking into account the changing nature of crime, the role of new technologies available and

increasing demand on policing services in an era of diminishing resources. Three main areas have been identified: delivery of neighbourhood policing, supporting neighbourhood policing (through for example promoting the right culture or providing relevant training) and filling evidence gaps to further develop this model of policing. As for the actual delivery of policing, the guidelines point out the importance of engaging with communities but equally emphasise problem solving, prevention and early intervention. It becomes therefore evident that neighbourhood policing does not simply attend to the needs of the community but also fits into the wider network of actors, including traditional policing and partners.

The guidelines still pay regard to the cornerstone of neighbourhood policing—community engagement—through prioritising contact between officers and communities. They state that community engagement should "provide an ongoing two-way dialogue between the police and the public". Yet they make little reference to how this contact might be achieved in practice. The interactions PCSOs have with individuals, whether among colleagues, with police constables, partners and agencies or members of the public, are indeed part of their job, but in engaging in those conversations they perform multiple roles and navigate a complex network of relationships, including the police, communities and individual citizens. The multiplicity of tasks, as well as the multiplicity of voices and linguistic resources PCSOs employ in their interactions, raises important questions about their status as a bridge between the police and communities. PCSOs do in fact much more than engage in a two-way dialogue, as their interactions are essentially heteroglossic.

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Appendix

The appendix contains a full ethical application which was submitted as part of the ethical approval process. It contains a completed proposal form, detailing ethical considerations, a consent form which was distributed among key participants, and two versions of debriefing forms: one for individuals who have signed consent and one given out where verbal consent was granted.

Proposal Form B: Full approval[4]

Use this form if your research involves vulnerable participants or requires deception, or where there is some other reason for ensuring full approval is gained (e.g. as part of a funded project).

Submitted by: PG (MPhil or PhD)

Date: 15 January 2015

Researcher's Name: Piotr Wegorowski

Principal Investigator/Supervisor if different: Dr Frances Rock

Project Title: Investigating Translation Zones in Law (part of Translation and translanguaging: Investigating linguistic and cultural transformations in superdiverse wards in four UK cities)

Proposed dates of research: 1 October 2014 – 30 September 2017

Reasons for choosing Full approval route (please tick):

	Tick
I will be gathering personal data about individuals (e.g. names, contact details, biographical or educational information, or other personal information) that needs to be held securely.	✓
I will be gathering opinions, or making observations or measurements of individuals' behaviour.	✓
My participants are under 18 years of age.	✓ potentially
My participants are members of a vulnerable group.	✓ potentially
My participants are in a temporarily in a vulnerable situation.	✓ potentially
My procedures entail deception.	
My research involves the collection of human tissue.	

Indicate whether the following basic procedures have been/will be adhered to:

[4] This form is available electronically via the Research folder on the ENCAP Shared drive.

	Tick
Completion of the checklist, with no issues arising other than those identified on this form	✓
All the participants or their representatives will sign a consent form	✓
All the participants or their representatives will receive a debriefing document	✓
The procedures will fully comply with the information given in the consent and debriefing documents	✓
Students and research assistants: I have fully discussed this project and this application with my supervisor/the Principal Investigator	✓

You will be required to discuss your plans with a member of the Ethics Committee. Please indicated below any specific issues you would like to include in that discussion.

Brief description of the research:

1. Aim, hypothesis:

The aim of my research, which is a part of the Translation and Translanguaging Project funded by the AHRC, is to investigate the ways in which Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) communicate with members of the public.

Given the focus that has been placed on community policing by the policymakers, I would like to look at language practices to see to what extent the PCSOs embrace the idea of engaging with local communities by linguistic means. As [REDACTED] is a diverse city, the officers will come into contact with people from various linguistic backgrounds. Some of them might not speak English as their first language or even at all.

When speakers do not share a common language they may rely on translation by professionals, friends or family, or by digital means. Such practices occur in 'translation zones', and are at the cutting edge of translation and negotiation. Previous research in multilingual communities found that speakers are not confined to using languages separately, but rather they 'translanguage' as they make meaning.

I will look at the ways in which the linguistic practices of the PCSOs and the people they come into contact with co-construct meanings in professional encounters.

2. Description of participants, how they will be recruited. Indicate if any screening is required (e.g. hearing, handedness, cognitive abilities) in order to determine eligibility to participate.

An initial contact with [POLICE FORCE NAME REDACTED] has been made. I would like to work with Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) in two areas of [REDACTED] – Rosemount and Sunnyside. As high rank officers have agreed to the research being undertaken with their member of staff, I will ensure to gain written consent from individual PCSOs, stressing that participation in the project is voluntary.

However, in the course of fieldwork PCSOs will come into contact with colleagues and members of the public. As my research focuses on linguistic practices, I would like to include the secondary participants in my research too. It means that anyone who is present at the time of research might figure in my fieldnotes, and could possibly be audio-recorded (always with explicit consent, see point 5 for more details).

3. Explain why it is necessary to use this group rather than a non-vulnerable group.

The primary participants (Police Community Support Officers) are not thought to be vulnerable, but the nature of their work involves working with people who might be vulnerable or find themselves in a vulnerable position.

4. (If applicable) Measures being taken in relation to protection of participants and gaining informed consent (e.g. presence or advocacy of a responsible adult; consent from head teacher, care home manager, local authority or health service, etc.)

If any members of the pubic who is known to be vulnerable or aged under 18 comes into the research site, we will seek not only their consent but also that of a relevant responsible adult, where possible.

5. Summary of method. Explain any risks to the participants or researcher associated with this method and how they will be minimised.

I will 'shadow' PCSOs in their work place for 3-6 months, recording interactions through field notes, research diaries, photographs, and audio-recordings of naturally occurring conversations as well as research interviews. 'Shadowing' offers a mobile research method which allows me to follow PCSOs in their professional role. Ethnographic observations recorded as field notes will be supplemented with audio-recordings. All data will be stored securely. Any data used for analysis and publications will be anonymised.

Consent will be gained through negotiation and finalized in PCSOs signing consent forms. However, consent is an on-going issue and will be revisited throughout the data collection period through discussion. Consent form will provide information about the following:

- Information about the project;
- Length of involvement on the project;
- Rights during data collection;
- The uses to which the data will be put during and after the project;
- How to withdraw from the project during and after the data collection period.

Other people will be involved in data collection through audio-recordings. These will be obtained in various environments.

In most cases, I would expect the data to be collected during street encounters or in the police station, where members of the public approach PCSOs and interact with them. Consent will be gained *post hoc* by asking for oral consent. Given the fact that the PCSOs will come into contact with a range of people on a daily basis, I will ensure to let them now that recording is taking place. Given the nature of the professional activities, gaining written consent prior to recording seems impractical, if not impossible, in most cases. By signing a consent form, people who come into contact with the PCSOs would be forced to reveal their identity. If permission cannot be gained, the data will be discarded. Where permission is gained, the speaker's identity will be protected using pseudonyms and, if requested, technology to blur voice and image.

In case of an intervention, which does not leave any time to explain to people what is going on, while the recording device is switched on, I will attempt to gain consent from people whose voice has been captured. If this proves impossible, I will not use any audio data, but I will still be able to record my observations in the fieldnotes.

There will also be situations where meetings with members of the public will be pre-arranged. In such cases, I will most likely have a chance to obtain written consent prior to data collection.

In any of the above scenarios, a debriefing document will be offered, detailing the aims of the research and providing contact information in case of any queries.

6. If deception is involved, explain what and why, and how you will debrief participants afterwards

My procedure will not involve any deception.

7. Type(s) of information that will be obtained and in what format. Will it be anonymised or only held confidentially?

Data collected will include: digital audio-recordings of spoken interactions; digital audio-recordings of interviews; digital photographs of multilingual signage in the police station as well as in the public space. Material will be stored securely on the personal space on university network, and backed up on University of Birmingham Sharepoint used by the research team as a part of the Translation and Translanguaging project. Arrangements will be made to ensure that

while data is stored on a shared space, they will only be accessible to me.

All participants will be anonymous (unless otherwise requested by the participants). All data will be treated as confidential.

8. If you are using an existing dataset, indicate why the data require consideration from the point of view of ethics, and how you have obtained them.

Not applicable

9. If you are applying/have applied for ethics clearance from another organisation (e.g. a Health Authority, Local Education Authority, or Ethics Committee in another School or institution), give details below, including (anticipated) date of outcome. If you have prepared documents for that purpose and can append them here, please do. Similarly, if you have prepared an ethics statement for a funder in relation to this project please append it.

Ethics Committee has approved research proposed by Frances Rock and Amal Hallak for the project entitled 'Translation and translanguaging: Investigating linguistic and cultural transformations in superdiverse wards in four UK cities'. My research is funded by the project and adopts a very similar methodology.

If your research involves the collection of human tissue, please arrange a meeting with the School Ethics officer to discuss compliance with the Human Tissues Act.

Remember to append the following documents as applicable:

- A copy of any application made for ethics clearance to another body
- A copy of the ethics statement made to the funder in relation to this project

Be prepared to supply, if requested, a copy of:

- the checklist
- the consent form
- the debriefing document
- examples of the materials being used (e.g. questionnaire, stimuli)

Consent Form for PCSOs

'Translation zones in law'

- I understand that my participation in this project will involve taking part in ethnographic observation, which means that the researcher, Piotr Wegorowski, will 'shadow' me in my daily work for several weeks. I understand that the researcher will be taking notes and will audio record some of the interactions. The purpose of the study (research into the communication with the members of the public) has been explained to me.
- I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.
- I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I experience discomfort during participation in this project, I can discuss my concerns with the Researcher.
- I understand that all information provided by me will be held confidentially, such that only the Researcher can trace this information back to me individually. The information will be retained for up to 10 years when it will be deleted/destroyed. I understand that I can ask for part or all the information I provide to be deleted/destroyed at any time.
- I understand that information provided by me for this study, including my own words or photographs, may be used in research reports, but that all such information and/or quotes will be anonymised.

I, _____(PRINT NAME) consent to participate in the study conducted by Piotr Węgorowski, School of English, Communication & Philosophy, Cardiff University under the supervision of Dr Frances Rock.

Signed:

Date:

Please provide your email address, if you would like to be provided with additional information and feedback at the end of the study. This is entirely optional, and your email will only be used to communicate with relation to the research.

E-mail address: _____

Debriefing form (following written consent)

'Translation zones in law' - Debriefing form

Thank you for taking part in this study.

The aim of this research is to investigate the ways in which PCSOs communicate with the members of the public.

The data you have provided will be held confidentially. You retain the right to withdraw your data without explanation and retrospectively, by contacting the researcher named below.

If you have any questions about this study or your participation in it, please contact:

Piotr Wegorowski, doctoral researcher, WegorowskiP@cardiff.ac.uk

The project is supervised by Dr Frances Rock (RockF@cardiff.ac.uk).

Feel free to take a look at our website for more information. You can find us on http://bit.do/tlang Alternatively, follow us on Twitter @TLANGProject

Debriefing form (following verbal consent)

'Translation zones in law' – information for members of the public

Thank you for taking part in a research study. Your interaction has been recorded as a part of a research project 'Translation zones in law,' which looks at ways in which Police Community Support Officers communicate with members of the public. My research is a part of a bigger project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, entitled 'Translation and Translanguaging: Investigating Linguistic and Cultural Transformations in Superdiverse Wards in Four UK Cities."

Any information you provide will be held confidentially. If any information you provide is used in the research it will be anonymised so that you cannot be identified. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

If you have any questions about this study or your participation in it, please contact me:

Piotr Wegorowski, doctoral researcher, WegorowskiP@cardiff.ac.uk
The project is supervised by Dr Frances Rock (RockF@cardiff.ac.uk).
Feel free to take a look at our website for more information. You can find us on http://www.bit.do/tlang/ Alternatively, follow us on Twitter @TLANGProject