
Book Section:
Bacon, M. (2023) Police ethnography in exceptional circumstances. In: Fleming, J. and Charman, S., (eds.) Routledge International Handbook of Police Ethnography. Routledge , Abingdon , pp. 373-390. ISBN 9780367539399

https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003083795-26

Police ethnography in exceptional circumstances

Matthew Bacon

Abstract

This chapter provides a methodological reflection on police ethnography in exceptional circumstances. More specifically, it considers what police ethnographers can do to pursue their craft when fundamental aspects of doing ethnographic research are no longer feasible or severely restricted. The COVID-19 pandemic is used as a case study because it has given rise to a range of legal and ethical issues that have impacted on the capacity for ethnographers to immerse themselves in the field to study police work through direct observation and in-person interactions. By focusing on methods that enable ethnographers to explore the inner world of policing while physically distant, the chapter discusses the potential benefits and practicalities of embracing unconventional and innovative approaches to ethnographic research. Particular attention is given to visual images, digital technology and utilising the police as observers through cameras and diaries. It is argued that police ethnographers should integrate such methods into their toolkits in order to enhance their adaptability and broaden their horizons in terms of data sources and avenues of inquiry.

Introduction

The coronavirus pandemic has shocked, strained and brought suffering to people everywhere. While the brunt of the pressure has been shouldered by the healthcare sector, its impact has been felt throughout society and few among us have been left unscathed. The economic, social and psychological consequences of COVID-19 'will cast a long shadow into the future' (British Academy 2021, p6).

Across the world, police forces have grappled with various problems posed by this unprecedented event. Police personnel have been exposed to greater occupational risk than usual, tasked with securing compliance with new regulations, and responding to changing patterns of crime, disorder and vulnerability. Strategic and operational demands have raised important questions about the role, powers and discretion of the police, as well as the policing and public health interface (HMICFRS 2021; Wood and Griffin 2021). There has been a pressing need for research to document the impact of the pandemic and inform the responses of policymakers and practitioners. Police researchers have been presented with bountiful opportunities to apply existing theories and undertake empirical studies. At the same time, however, many researchers have faced extraordinary challenges, as health risks and associated restrictions have required them to (re)design their research methods for use within the pandemic conditions of COVID-19. With regard to ethnography, the most significant effect has been that lockdowns and social distancing measures have prevented researchers from immersing themselves in their respective fields and getting up close and personal with their research participants (Bassetti et al. 2020; Nind et al. 2021).

This chapter provides a methodological reflection on police ethnography in exceptional circumstances. More specifically, it considers what police ethnographers can do to pursue their craft when fundamental aspects of doing ethnographic research are no longer feasible or severely restricted. The focus is on how ethnographers can study the meaning of social phenomena while physically distant, especially in situations where individuals, groups and communities are inaccessible to direct observation. This is essentially what Mead and Métraux (1953) called 'the study of culture at a distance'. COVID-19 acted as a catalyst for writing this chapter and provides the case study. Much of the discussion is broader in scope though, in that it is applicable to future exceptional circumstances that might have the same or similar consequences for police ethnography. In addition to public health crises, examples of such circumstances could include natural disasters, armed conflicts and civil unrest.

The chapter starts by reviewing research on policing in the context of COVID-19. This section outlines the numerous ways in which police researchers have studied the pandemic in order to identify their methodological approaches and adaptability. In so doing, my principal aim is to highlight the absence of ethnography in this emerging body of literature. The next section examines the impact of COVID-19 on ethnography and social research more generally. It discusses the value of police ethnography, explains why participant observation is a vital method for studying the world of policing, and considers the ethical issues raised by doing fieldwork in risky environments. The discussion then moves on to explore police ethnography at a distance. Taking a 'bricolage' approach (Rhodes 2015; Boswell et al. 2019), it focuses on socially distant methods and the potential benefits of embracing unconventional and innovative approaches to ethnographic research. Particular attention is given to options for utilising the police as observers, visual images and digital technology.

COVID-19, policing and police research

COVID-19 has created myriad complex and unfamiliar challenges for police organisations worldwide. To prevent and control the transmission of the disease, police officers have been tasked with performing public health functions and enforcing a constantly evolving set of laws and guidelines. While there are national, regional and local variations, these new rules generally involve the need to maintain physical distancing and restrictions on freedom of movement, access to premises and social gatherings. A temporary social order has been created and the role of the police has been extended beyond established boundaries. Writing at the onset of the pandemic, Sheptycki (2020, p158) describes COVID-19 as 'a massive global field experiment in how different practical manifestations of police power are operationalized under different local social and political contexts'.

A crucial issue for policing the pandemic has been determining what is reasonable, appropriate and fair in terms of the application of police powers to achieve public health goals (Boon-Kuo et al. 2021; Mazerolle and Ransley 2021;

Terpstra et al. 2021). Accordingly, policing practices, police legitimacy and public compliance are prominent themes in the literature. Drawing lessons from an earlier observational study of policing antisocial behaviour in the night-time economy through penalty notices for disorder, Grace (2020), for example, applies the theories of motivational posturing and procedural justice to examine influences on cooperation during police-citizen encounters and implications for securing compliance with social distancing regulations. In order to study how community policing helped limit the spread of the virus in Vietnam, Luong (2021) employed a mixed methods research strategy that involved analyses of official police statements, minutes and data collected through online focus groups and interviews with police leaders and frontline officers. Waseem (2021) used telephone interviews and an online survey to investigate police responses to the COVID-19 crisis in Pakistan. Another area of research focus has been the impact of the pandemic on responses to crime and vulnerability. Dai et al. (2021) examine changes in the quantity and nature of police service calls before, during and after the lockdown in China. Nikolovska et al. (2020) analyse the use of Twitter for crime mitigation and reduction by police in the UK. Walklate et al. (2022) present findings from an online questionnaire of policing leads for domestic abuse in England and Wales to analyse police responses during the initial national lockdown. Researchers have also studied the impact of the pandemic on everyday police work and officer wellbeing. De Camargo (2022) carried out interviews over Zoom, with a focus on emotional labour, anxieties of contracting COVID-19, issues with safety guidance and limited access to appropriate personal protective equipment (PPE). Other studies have used online surveys to explore police experiences and working conditions (Fleming and Brown 2021; Kyprianides et al. 2022).

This brief and selective review of the literature shows that police researchers have successfully applied existing knowledge and undertaken empirical research to study policing during the COVID-19 pandemic. Methodologically, researchers have proven their resourcefulness by utilising a range of methods that can operate within the rules of the temporary social order. Common amongst the aforementioned studies are online surveys and analyses of legal instruments, policy documents, police data, news reports and social media. Another commonality across the qualitative studies is that the vast majority of interviews and focus groups have been conducted telephonically or via online platforms owing to the legal and health implications of meeting in person.

Ethnography is noticeably absent from the emerging body of literature on policing the pandemic. This absence is perhaps to be expected and should not be taken to imply that police ethnographies are not happening. Aside from 'hit-and-run' (Geertz 2001), 'rapid' (Vindrola-Padros 2021) or 'short-term' (Pink and Morgan 2013) ethnographies, which are designed to generate findings within relatively short timeframes, ethnographic research is typically a lengthy and resource intensive process. Publications are often years in the making.

A noteworthy exception is Alcadipani et al.'s (2020) research on the practical challenges of preventing the spread of COVID-19 for police officers in São Paulo. With regard to data collection and analysis, the authors adopt 'an ethnographic

sensibility research style' (p396). Their definition of 'ethnographic sensibility' draws on the anthropological work of McGranahan (2018), who characterises ethnography as 'both something to know and a way of knowing' (p1): it is 'attention to the conditions and experiences of life as actually lived (p7), grounded in participant observation and supplemented by other methods as needed. Alcadipani et al. (2020) were able to take this ethnographic approach because two of the authors – a serving police officer and a scholar – were undertaking police ethnographies when COVID-19 arrived in Brazil. In other words, from a research perspective, it was fortuitous that they already had access, were in the field and in a position to incorporate policing the pandemic into their study. However, due to social distancing requirements, the researchers were not able to observe police officers at work on the streets or in the station. Instead, the researchers had regular informal chats with key informants to capture their views and experiences. The police officer researcher also started to take detailed daily notes of how COVID-19 was affecting his work and the organisation.

The COVID-19 pandemic has generated a host of research questions about policing and the police that are ideally suited to ethnographic research. Terpstra et al. (2021, p169) suggest that in times of crisis 'it may be easier to observe the often-hidden and self-evident routines and assumptions of policing agencies'. At the same time, however, COVID-19 has made it temporarily impossible – or at least created a range of legal, ethical and practical issues that make it extremely difficult – for researchers to immerse themselves in the field in order to study police work through direct observation and social interaction. While this is understandable and necessary in the short term, the lack of ethnography has significant implications for knowledge in that on-the-ground observations are missing, or severely curtailed, when they are needed to understand the lived realities of policing and inform evidence-based policy responses. In respect to enforcing rules on social distancing, for example, Grace (2020) asserts that observations allow for consideration of the dynamic nature of police-citizen interactions and examination of how, when and why people move from more to less compliant postures. Without observation, Waseem (2021, p589) recognises that her research 'is largely a product of self-reported perceptions and experiences'. This limitation was addressed in part through analysis of police data and open sources such as newspaper reports and webinars. However, she argues that 'procedural informality' warrants greater ethnographic exploration to help explain the causes and effects of informal police practices in the global South.

Ethnography and the impact of COVID-19

The health risks and public health mandates to contain the virus have had a profound impact on the design and implementation of empirical research. Since the onset of the pandemic, social research has seen widespread disruption and many projects have been brought to a grinding halt. Researchers have had to re-think their approaches to research. Having drawn attention to the absence of

police ethnography, this section further explores why this might be the case and considers some of the implications for ethnographic practice.

The need for social distancing

It was quickly accepted – and expected – that projects should be designed to be COVID-resilient in that the planned activities are achievable within the restrictions that will, or might, be in place when the research is conducted. Nind et al. (2021) carried out a rapid evidence review of evidence available in academic publications to chart how social research methods have been adapted for, or designed for use within, the pandemic conditions of COVID-19. The pandemic condition that is most reported in the literature as driving adaptation of methods is the need for social distancing. The literature also shows how particular studies and methods have been impacted by closure of sites for research, forced cancellation of events and travel restrictions. While some largely autoethnographic, diary and expressive methods apparently thrived or were well suited to the circumstances, others had to be swiftly and sometimes radically adapted. The new restrictive and protective measures have meant that research involving in-person interaction with human participants is generally not permitted. This affects all social research, but ethnography is unique with its focus on immersion – be it 'deep' or 'partial' (Delamont 2004) – and prolonged contact. As a result, ethnographers have found themselves 'gazing from the sidelines' (Fine and Abramson 2020, p166), unable to use their method to make crucial contributions.

Ethnographers have not been prohibited from undertaking ethnographic research during the pandemic. In other words, it is still possible to do research alongside participants in their own lives and spaces. This much is apparent from the work of Smith et al. (2020), which draws on everyday observations and conversations to describe how public interaction order adapts to lockdown and social distancing guidelines. Another example is de Graaff et al.'s (2021) ethnographic study on the governance of COVID-19 in a university hospital in the Netherlands. The main explanation for the apparent de facto ban on certain types of ethnography is that doing fieldwork in contexts where highly contagious diseases are prevalent raises a host of ethical questions about whether, when and how research might go ahead. Across most COVID-19 affected countries, universities have advised their staff that research involving data collection through face-to-face contact should, in most cases, be paused, modified or delayed. The steer from research ethics committees is that, wherever possible, research with human participants should be undertaken remotely in order to reduce the likelihood of transmission for both participants and researchers. Even when normality resumes after the gradual lifting of restrictions, it is likely that there will be some lasting implications for the design and conduct of ethnographic research. This realisation led Lobe et al. (2020, p6) to conclude that qualitative researchers 'should become comfortable with and prepared to employ "socially distant" methods of data collection'.

The case for police ethnography

For as long as restrictions endure, researchers need a sound reason and ethical basis for proceeding with research involving close contact. One reason might be that the research is necessary owing to its contribution to knowledge and potential impact. Timely research for which there is a pressing social need should easily satisfy this test. Public health research to understand and mitigate the impact of COVID-19 and response measures is an obvious example. Teti et al. (2020, p3) demonstrate how qualitative methods 'can play a pivotal role in understanding epidemics like COVID-19, the people involved in them, and effective solutions and strategies'. Whether police ethnography is deemed necessary, or at least ethically justifiable, is a moot point to be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. An essential ethnography might be a study of everyday realities for frontline officers and how they practically and emotionally cope with their experiences. Another reason why ethnography is necessary is that it can shine a light on the role of the police in democratic society and ensure greater accountability (Herbert 2017).

Ultimately though, whatever the academic justifications, police support is almost always needed for police ethnography to take place. A perennial problem faced by police ethnographers is gaining and maintaining access to organisations that are skeptical of the value of ethnographic research and wary of exposing themselves to outsiders. It is worth noting Fassin's (2013, p21) experience and observation that what police organisations have difficulty with 'is research being carried out on the police, and, more specifically, this research being ethnographic in nature'. Throw in a public health crisis or some other exceptional circumstances and the difficulties become greater.

A second plausible reason for face-to-face research is that the proposed research is not viable, or is excessively arduous to carry out, using socially distant methods. This rationale is clearly applicable to ethnography. Fieldwork is, and always has been, the heart and soul of ethnographic research. Participant observation is central to the research process and typically the primary source of data. 'Being there' (Geertz 1988) allows ethnographers to observe patterns of behaviour, establish rapport and take part in the daily activities and social interactions of the people they are studying, making it possible for them to experience both the mundane and spectacular moments that touch and shape their world. For Atkinson (2015), the close and careful observation of people over time in their own setting is not just *a* way through which we might come to know the social world, but *the* way of knowing it.

Ethnography has proved to be a crucial methodology for entering and understanding the evocative world of policing (Manning 2014; Fassin 2017a; Bacon et al. 2020). Indeed, it was the principal technique used for the foundational work in the field of police studies and remains the conventional approach to illuminating police culture and practice. By immersing themselves within the police milieu, ethnographers are in an ideal position to unearth valuable information about many different aspects of policing, including how officers learn the craft of the job, discretionary decision making, and

organisational transformation (see e.g. Marks 2005; Loftus 2009; Bacon 2016). Long-term presence and familiarisation allows for 'the unveiling of discrepancies between what is said and what is done, what is presumed to be and what really is' (Fassin 2017b, p5). van Hulst (2020, p106) argues that participant observation enables researchers 'to get behind or beyond interview stories or canteen stories that officers tell and through which they legitimate, obscure, misrepresent or ignore events that actually took place'.

While research on policing and the police has been carried out using 'the full gamut of social science research methods' (Reiner and Newburn 2008, p353), participant observation is widely acknowledged to be unparalleled for accessing the 'back stage' – where 'illusions and impressions are openly constructed' (Goffman 1959, p114) – and examining the working rules, tacit understandings, and underlying assumptions that invariably operate beneath the presentational canopy of police organisations. Based on my own ethnography of police detectives, drug law enforcement and proactive investigation (Bacon 2016), I can attest to the fact that back stage access – something that police ethnographers need if they are to gather reliable data – is not easy to come by. Openness from the police is gained through acceptance, trust and mutual respect, which are earned as relationships develop over time through conversations and shared experiences. I can also affirm that police culture most readily reveals itself through spontaneous talk and the way officers handle the everyday realities of police work. Rowe and Rowe (2021) stress the significance of periods of relative quiet and inaction, as it is during such 'nothing spaces' that officers perform routine duties or engage in informal activities. These important dimensions of policing are not easily captured through statistics, questionnaires or interviews.

All other approaches are, to varying degrees, unsuitable for achieving the above mentioned ends because the methods employed 'rely on some sort of account offered by the police themselves … the veracity of which is often precisely the question being studied' (Reiner and Newburn 2008, p354). Such accounts are selective presentations that do not necessarily depict the state of phenomena as they actually exist and may be an attempt to convince audiences of a particular image or truth that should not be taken at face value. Interviews allow police officers to candidly express their views and assert their values but can only ever produce recollections of past events. The moment is lost and the explanations given may be designed to present police activities in a favourable light. Furthermore, one-off interviews may not provide an adequate tool for understanding the meaning of police actions because they can 'fail to tap into deeper levels of cognition' (Marks 2004, p870), which tend not to be readily available to conscious thought. Prolonged periods of observation are needed because 'the "true" or "real" attitudes, beliefs, and emotions of the individual can be ascertained only indirectly, through [their] avowals or through what appears to be involuntary expressive behaviour' (Goffman 1959, pp13-4). Mission statements, force policies and codes of conduct are best understood as indications of aspiration or strategic intent rather than precise descriptions of the ways in which the police truly operate. They are political documents, intentional expressions made by police administrators to communicate the 'organisational front', techniques of establishing and maintaining control over

the symbolic meanings of policing and the police that are oriented towards legitimating existing practices publicly (Jermier et al. 1991; Manning 1997). Documentary records of intentions, what transpired, and why it transpired as it did are filtered versions of police work, designed to construct a legitimate and accountable reality (Hobbs 1988; McConville et al. 1991). Remarking on the cynicism surrounding paperwork, Manning (2004, p232) suggests that both of the drug units he observed 'dismissed their own records as accurate portrayals of their work'.

The risk of police ethnography

In sum, the discussion thus far has sought to persuade the reader that ethnography is a necessary strand of policing research that has traditionally been reliant on direct observation and social interaction. My point is that there are valid reasons for doing ethnographic research on the police during the COVID-19 pandemic or other exceptional circumstances. Be that as it may, the aspect of ethical practice that has resulted in incapacitating restrictions for ethnographers is the need to ensure that their research is compliant with the ever-changing rules of both the state and specific localities. Research fields and populations have become inaccessible owing to lockdowns and travel bans. People have been advised to work from home if they can. Everyone has a responsibility to control the virus by reducing contact to reduce the spread. Where research is potentially feasible, COVID-19 policies, as translated through academic and police institutions, rightly stress that the health and safety of researchers and research participants is paramount. Decisions about what research is or is not sanctioned are led by the outcomes of risk assessments and made by research ethics committees.

In the event that a research project puts people at a greater risk than they would otherwise face in their daily life, these risks need to be managed by the researcher or the research cannot go ahead. With or without a worldwide pandemic, policing is regarded as a high-risk occupation because it involves dealing with 'risky' situations, people and places. Police officers are more likely to be affected by COVID-19 than the general population because of the nature of their front-line work (De Camargo 2022). The nature of police ethnographies – which typically involve spending many hours in the company of police officers, on the streets, inside police stations, vehicles and an unpredictable range of public and private spaces – means that researchers would also be exposed to greater risk. However, the risk of contracting COVID-19 can be mitigating by wearing PPE, complying with social distancing guidelines, taking regular rapid lateral flow tests, and getting vaccinated. It should also be noted that shadowing police officers might not actually expose researchers to a heightened level of risk (e.g. if they ordinarily teach in-person, exercise in gyms, shop in supermarkets or socialise in pubs).

When completing risk assessments, diligent consideration must be given to whether anything about the research location, group size or other aspects could be adjusted to reduce risk. Again, this presents challenges for

ethnographic research given the emphasis placed on naturally occurring settings and situations. Police organisations have taken measures to make the workplace COVID-secure for both staff and visitors. This means that ethnographers should be able to enter the police world if they comply with their health and safety guidelines. It might nevertheless be deemed safer to keep research activities outdoors. Another way to minimise risk would be for the researcher to limit the number of participants they interact with and the duration of the interactions. Researchers should also take into account the associated risks of participating in research, such as time pressures, extra anxiety or emotional stress. An additional factor is whether doing research encumbers participants whose energies would be better spent elsewhere (Chan et al. 2020). As van Maanen (1978, p317) points out, 'the presence of a scholarly visitor is always something of an inconvenience, interruption, and imposition'. These issues would in all probability be heightened on account of the pandemic. Researchers might therefore decide to refrain from observing or speaking with police officers if it means that this will detract from their work, family or rest time.

In normal times, fieldwork with the police is likely to 'lead the researcher into a quagmire of ethical considerations' (Norris 1993, p136). Norris (1993) considers informed consent, privacy, deception and the dilemmas posed when the researcher is faced with direct evidence of misconduct (see Westmarland (2001) for discussion of ethical issues related to the witnessing of 'illegal' police violence by researchers and Rowe (2007) for those raised by minor instances of misbehaviour). The pandemic has made the path all the more difficult to navigate because conducting direct observation in situ comes with new risks, quandaries and consequences. Ethnographers must strike a balance between the benefits and potential harms of their research. To put it another way, they need to ask themselves whether 'getting the seat of your pants dirty in real research' is worth the risk of catching or spreading COVID-19. They must continue to acknowledge the contextual, contingent and complex nature of ethics – what Fletcher (1966) termed 'situation ethics' – negotiate with their participants, and apply ethical principles in a way that is attuned to the specifics of the circumstances. For Smith et al. (2020, p200), suggesting that ethnography is impossible and unethical during the pandemic 'seems to miss the continually negotiated nature of ethical practice that characterises ethnographic studies *and* everyday life'.

The situation with COVID-19 is dynamic and ethnographers must act accordingly. Bassetti et al. (2020, p159) suggest that the dilemmas facing ethnographers in these exceptional circumstances 'demand a deeper reflection on ethnography and its future', both from a methodological and an ethical point of view. There is a need to develop research resilience as the coronavirus pandemic is unlikely to be the last event to cause such far-reaching disruptions. For ethnography to be viable, justifiable and sustainable, ethnographers should consider alternatives to in-person interaction and spending lengthy periods of time embedded in the field. As discussed in the next section, departing from conventional means has the potential to prompt innovation and creativity. But there is also the danger that the essence of ethnography will become diluted.

With this in mind, Fine and Abramson (2020, p167) argue that ethnographers must 'defend the unique strengths of field observation and avoid false equivalences that would treat ethnography as interchangeable with other qualitative methods'. This argument is not intended to denigrate other methods. Rather, it recognises that each method is distinct and has its own possibilities and limits. It promotes pragmatism and openness to methodological pluralism (Lamont and Swidler 2014).

Doing police ethnography at a distance

Ethnography is an eclectic and adaptable approach to research. Participant observation remains the defining method of ethnography and may well be the best way to study the everyday realities of policing and the beliefs and practices of the police. However, this is certainly not to say that ethnographic practice is limited to participant observation. There are other ways to get a sense of 'being there'. For Rhodes (2015), contemporary ethnography exists in many forms and encompasses a diverse set of practices linked not by a shared method but by a shared focus on the 'recovery of meaning'. He argues that ethnographers are 'bricoleurs' who choose from a menu of tools to construct research and bring an 'ethnographic sensibility' to bear on the data in order to explain actions through narratives (see also Boswell et al. 2019). With the concept of bricolage in mind, the remainder of this chapter considers socially distant techniques of doing police ethnography. It may also be read as a discussion about research methods that are not regularly used by police ethnographers but which could be added to their methodological toolkit.

Police observers

In situations where ethnographers are unable to research through direct observation, it is necessary to explore indirect and alternative avenues to the field. This section looks at options for observing the world of policing through the police.

One way in which this could be achieved is through police officers wearing cameras to produce first person perspective naturalistic recordings (Pink 2015). In this respect, police ethnographers are fortunate in that body-worn cameras (BWCs) are one of the most rapidly diffusing technologies in policing (Lum et al. 2019; McKay and Lee 2020; White and Malm 2020). BWCs are small audio and video recording devices that are fixed to a police officer's uniform and can be manually operated. The use of this technology has been driven by the aim of enhancing police accountability and transparency. Generally speaking, BWCs are used to record police interactions with the public – such as stop and search or use of force situations – or gather video evidence at (suspected) crime scenes. To date, research has covered the impact of cameras on officer behaviour, officer perceptions, citizen behaviour, citizen perceptions, police investigations and police organisations (Lum et al. 2019). The utility of cameras for (ethnographic) research has not yet been fully explored. However, the existing literature is full

of promise.

Willits and Makin (2018) used temporal sequencing of police BWC footage of use of force incidents to understand how incident characteristics influence use of force, duration of that force, and the type and severity of force used by the police. Pollock et al. (2021) examined BWC footage to create guidance on how the scanning, analysis, response and assessment method of problem-oriented policing can be utilised to address public concerns by assessing and addressing how police interact with the public. Ng and Skinns (2021) analysed videos to study how police in England and Wales use BWCs as a tool for conducting voluntary interviews at the scene of an alleged offence. Chillar et al. (2021) provide a roadmap for researchers interested in applying systematic social observations to a video data analysis framework which relies on BWC footage as a data source. Drawing on their experience of analysing the situational dynamics of police use of force events, the authors highlight key methodological challenges inherent in qualitative research – including gaining access, perspective bias, naïve realist and recall error – and discuss the ways in which video recording technologies can avoid or reduce such challenges. A noteworthy benefit is the opportunity for multiple viewings of video recordings, in contrast to the finite time researchers have to scan an entire interaction when conducting traditional in-person observations.

Videos produced via BWCs are certainly not flawless as officers might make mistakes when using this technology or manipulate the recording. Cameras 'can, and do, lie – or at least provide multiple versions of truth' (McKay and Lee 2020, p433). They only ever provide a partial insight into the world of policing. Nevertheless, police organisations have collected thousands of hours of footage that could be tapped into by ethnographers. Interviews with officers would be needed to recover the meaning of their recorded actions. Reflection on BWC footage through focus groups is another potential method.

Diaries could be employed by ethnographers to study what police officers do on a day-to-day basis, their accounts of policing and perspectives on their working environment. The use of diaries as a methodological technique is known as the 'solicited diary' method (Bartlett and Milligan 2015; Hyers 2018). Put simply, the researcher asks participants to keep a diary for research purposes. Depending on the focus of the study, diaries can be used over different time intervals (e.g. shifts, weeks, and months), linked to specific events or themes. Tracking everyday experiences over a relatively short period can reveal many different practices and emotions. Diary methods also allow for an extended period of data collection, which is ideal for documenting changes within a person or organisation. Participants can complete their entries using pen and paper, word processing software, email exchanges, or use their digital devices to take photos, make videos or voice memos. Audio diaries are becoming more widely utilised in a variety of social science disciplines and are promoted as having many advantages, such as accessing sense-making in periods of change and flux, and allowing the researcher to capture phenomena as they unfold (Monrouxe 2009; Crozier and Cassell 2016). A major advantage of the diary method is its ability to report events and experiences in their natural context. Other advantages of

diaries are that they 'facilitate access to hard-to-reach or hard-to-observe phenomena, and they help overcome memory problems' (Alaszewski 2006, p114). On the latter point, rather than someone recounting an event or feeling during an interview, diary method allows the participant to record it closer to the moment that it occurs. This is thought to reduce recall bias. Common limitations of diaries are selection bias, inaccuracy of self-assessment and the demanding nature of the activity.

The diary method is typically used as part of a mixed methodology. When combined with an interview, the diary-interview method involves a pre-diary interview and a post-diary 'debriefing' interview, as well as the diary-keeping phase (Zimmerman and Wieder 1977). Greater depth can be obtained through this method as participants have the opportunity to talk about diary entries and the researcher is able to explore in more depth the entries diarists have made. The role of the diary becomes that of a precursor and aide memoir to stimulate discussion in subsequent interviews. These interviews serve the purpose of testing the plausibility and robustness of the diary account.

Diaries are rarely used as a method in police research. A unique example is Fleming's (2008) study of the working life of an Australian Police Commissioner, which draws on quantitative analysis of an electronic workplace diary spanning five years, interviews and non-participant observation. This is different to what I am proposing here though in that Fleming used the diary as a source of data rather than a research method. Henry and Mackenzie (2012) used Dictaphone-diary interviews in their study of knowledge exchange and academic-practitioner collaboration developed in the context of community policing. Officers recorded reflections on their activities, usually over periods of a couple of weeks, that were then reviewed by the research team and used to form the basis of an interview through which points raised in the diary could be probed or clarified. van Gelderen et al. (2007) conducted a diary study to examine the relationship between psychological strain, emotional dissonance and job demands during a working day of Dutch police officers (see also van Gelderen et al. 2017). Rodrigues et al. (2017) used diaries to study daily stress and coping among Portuguese emergency response officers. Taking a mixed method approach, Lennie et al. (2020) used audio diaries to capture the narrative of frontline British police officers engaged in emotional labour, and a focus group to explore perceptions and experience of emotion work while in a group setting.

The solicited diary method holds potential for police ethnography. It could be used in longitudinal studies of new recruits, for example, to chart the journey of a case through the criminal justice system from the perspective of the investigating officer, or to better understanding processes of organisational reform. Waddington (2005) considers how diary methods can be used to explore the characteristics and functions of gossip in nursing and healthcare organisations. Data was collected through a self-report, event contingent structured diary record, which included a detailed account of one critical incident of work-related gossip, plus follow-up telephone interviews. The article demonstrates how diaries can help to record data from scenarios that would not be easily researched using interviews or observation. Used in this way, diaries

could help police ethnographers study the canteen culture, find out about the settings of storytelling, understand how events are turned into stories and how these stories travel through time and space (van Hulst 2020).

Visual police ethnography

There has been a growth of interest in the use of visual materials in qualitative research over recent decades (Pink 2001; Brown and Carrabine 2017). The concept of 'visual ethnography' engages with images, technologies and ways of seeing and experiencing as part of the ethnographic process. It recognises that images are 'part of how we experience, learn and know as well as how we communicate and represent knowledge' (Pink 2001, p1). Visual materials help bring the research to life and pull the reader inside the world of the researched.

Police ethnographers seldom use cameras or incorporate images into their research. This is strange as the police are the most visible criminal justice institution and manifestation of state power. Police ethnographies have occasionally been illustrated with photographs (e.g. Stuart 2016), but research that critically uses visual methods is few and far between. A rare example is Perlmutter's (2000) ethnography of police working practices and the way street patrol officers make sense of their visual symbolic environment. Photographs provide insights into the 'cops image', capture events and show details of place. They are an integral part of the study, 'less illustrations than thought-driven and provoking analyses of key moments in the lives of the subjects' (p2). Other examples include Ball's (2005) case study of traffic regulation on public highways and Greek's (2009) research on police-civilian encounters. What I want to briefly consider here is the potential of visual ethnography for research on policing and the police. My main focus will be on photographs but the discussion could be extended to videos.

A distinction can be made between the use of pre-existing visual images and those that are produced for the purposes of research. An example of the former is Linnemann's (2017) research on 'police trophy shots', the practice of displaying large sums of money, illicit drugs, weapons and other seized materials. Building on developments in visual criminology, he argues that it is necessary to critically engage with such images to apprehend and contest 'visualities of domination or the scopic regime of police power' (p60). Greek's (2009) ethnographic research focuses on visually documentable aspects of police interactions with citizens in public spaces. The first stage of the research process involved officially approved photography of police work in the US. Photographs during escorted ride-alongs were both posed and candid. Once rapport was established, Greek found that officers became ethnographic informants and assisted in locating suitable persons and situations for photographic recording. Days in the field were spent in conversation. As each photograph was taken, questions were asked about specific incidents and the importance of police activities. After a year of taking photos with police permission, Greek switched to the method of 'street photography' to capture the more natural encounters he observed of policing during the course of his

everyday life. One reason for this decision was that officer behaviour might be quite different without the presence of an observer with a camera. Another was that police placed limitations upon what could be photographed. For example, none of the police agencies permitted photography of an arrest in progress. Pelmutter (2000, p12) did not experience such restrictions but does note that officers tended to enable and value pictures that 'reflect the stereotype of police work as violence and action'. Police ethnographers could make more use of the largely untapped potential of street photography to record the presence and activities of police in urban and rural settings.

Photographs may be used as a basis for what is commonly referred to as 'photo elicitation', whereby researchers use photographs to solicit responses, reactions and insights from participants in research interviews. Harper (2002, pp22-3) believes this method 'mines deeper shafts into a different part of human consciousness than do words-alone interviews', especially when photos lead to a new framing of taken-for-granted experiences. He suggests that this is due to the particular quality of the photograph itself and how remembering is enlarged by photographs. Perlmutter (2000, p5) describes how pictures acted as 'can-openers' to the subject. Officers looked at pictures of themselves and responded with comments, both about the content of the images and how they interpreted their meaning. Gariglio (2016) found that images played a crucial role as 'ice-breakers'. They added new layers of data when unpacking prison officers' use of force and inspired dialogue, thereby affording interviewees more freedom to construct their narratives than is possible in standard interviews. He challenges prison ethnographers to focus on the visual by integrating photo elicitation into their methodological toolkit. Police ethnographers could do the same.

Photographs may be taken either by the researcher or by the research participants themselves. Much information can be gained about the way people view and present themselves or tell their personal narratives by using photographs. Drawing on their photo-ethnography of people living in rural Alabama who use methamphetamine, Copes et al. (2018) demonstrate how photo elicitation enhances the retrieval of memories, evokes emotions, helps participants to demarcate change over time and allows for more active participation of the researched in the research process because they are capable of defining what is meaningful. They also discuss various practical and ethical difficulties with the method. Some participants do not like having their photographs taken. Some will not be sufficiently invested in the research or willing and able to thoughtfully reflect on the images. Gaining informed content from participants to have their photographs taken and disseminated is of paramount importance. Copes et al. argue that the forfeiture of confidentiality and anonymity necessitates additional consideration of potential rewards and risks before using visual methods.

Police ethnography online

New technologies are changing the nature, scope and focus of ethnography. Digital ethnography – which is also referred to as netnography or virtual

ethnography – is a term used to describe forms of online ethnographic research (Hine 2000; Kozinets 2009; Pink et al. 2015). Put differently, it is an approach to doing ethnography that considers how we live and research in a digital environment. Prompted by the expansion of the internet, a primary focus of digital ethnography is the study of online or virtual communities, the cultural and social dimensions of settings where interactions are technologically mediated. Social networking sites present researchers with 'new forms of social interaction to explore' (Hine 2000, p260). Digital ethnography is also concerned with exploring how digital technologies can be employed by researchers to generate rich insight into experiences, practices, things, relationships, social worlds, localities and events (Pink et al. 2015). In these ways, digital ethnography has expanded both the notion of what constitutes the research 'field' and the techniques used to carry out fieldwork. What I want to consider in this section are options for ethnographic research on the police in online environments and how ethnographers might use technological tools to study 'culture at a distance' (Mead and Métraux 1953).

It is well documented how police forces in numerous jurisdictions have been using social media platforms to communicate with the public. Social media accounts of police organisations, officers and staff provide new opportunities to observe what the police say and do. Research reveals how police use social media for a range of operational purposes – including investigating crime, missing person appeals and providing public safety information – and as a means of increasing community engagement and police legitimacy (Crump 2011; Ferguson and Soave 2021; Ralphs 2022). Ralphs (2022) carried out participant observation to understand how social media fits into everyday policing in Scotland. Through interviews, he explored how police officers and staff cultivated their own sense of self-legitimacy on social media and used formal and informal styles to communicate their legitimacy to citizens. Researchers have also analysed police presentational strategies on social media (Schneider 2016; Bullock 2018; Mayes 2021). Bullock (2018) demonstrates how an interplay of organisational, technological, cultural and individual dynamics come together to shape how social media are used by the police. Mayes (2021) focuses on organisational image construction by municipal police departments in the US. Drawing on semi-structured interviews and content analysis of Twitter and Facebook accounts, she evaluates consistency between perceived organisational identity, how police want to present themselves and the projected image.

To date, however, despite the increasing number of serving police officers who are active social media users, little attempt has been made to view online practices or police communities through an ethnographic lens. Insights could be gained into police officer relationships and networks by analysing who they follow and interact with on social media. More research could be done into what posts reveal about police values, beliefs and norms. Online discourse may or may not correspond to offline realties but it nonetheless tells us something about police culture. While the practicalities of police netnography have not received much scholarly attention, guidance and inspiration can be found in the broader literature. Mutsaers' (2019) ethnography on the online activities of the Black Lives Matter movement in Chicago explores how hashtags and other forms of

metadata can be used to both expose police violence and study cultural practice. He argues that hashtags have the potential to link a broad range of Tweets, through which sense-making occurs. Ugwudike and Fleming (2021) demonstrate how computational methods are useful for retrieving and analysing large-scale datasets generated by human interaction with social networking sites. They conducted a 'name network analysis' – a type of social network analysis that mines all the names (mentions) in a collection of Tweets to identify connections between users – to study the online conversational networks of key stakeholders either affected by, or involved in addressing, the impact of imprisonment on families. Urbanik and Roks' (2020) article on their experiences of researching criminally involved groups provides a helpful discussion about the benefits, risks and challenges of drawing on social media in urban ethnography. The authors consider the ethical and practical dilemmas associated with how to act and identify as a researcher on social media, focusing on the use of personal or professional accounts. They highlight the need to acknowledge the consistencies and tensions between online and offline realms, which can only be done by examining both in tandem. They also discuss how ethnographers should use online data and techniques of digital anonymisation, including de-identifying Tweets, concealing all usernames and blurring display pictures.

Another way to observe and engage with police in digital environments is through 'interface ethnography', a strategy conceptualised by Ortner (2010) for studying relatively closed and secretive communities – in her case, high status and/or powerful people in Hollywood – that are difficult to access. Interface ethnography involves doing participant observation in 'border areas' where insiders meet with outsiders and reveal something about their 'ways of thinking and talking and (re-)presenting themselves' (p219). Examples of such spaces include professional conferences and public events. In the field of policing, police-academic partnerships have developed significantly over the past decade or so, spurred on by the expansion of the 'evidence-based policing' movement, the increasing value attached to impactful research in the academy, the ascendance of the professionalisation agenda in the police, and the growing necessity of cross-sectoral collaborations under conditions of post-financial crisis austerity (Bacon et al. 2021). A corollary of this development is that there are many opportunities for researchers to undertake interface ethnography. These opportunities actually increased during the COVID-19 pandemic as many events moved online (Chan et al. 2020).

Digital technology served as an invaluable tool for social interaction and research prior to the pandemic, and it has since become even more important as a way to communicate with others. Although not all types of social research lend themselves to online activities, digital communication platforms like Facebook, Skype, WhatsApp and Zoom have allowed many researchers to continue their studies from a distance (Howlett 2021). De Camargo (2022), for example, recruited police officers via a 'call for participants' on Twitter and conducted interviews over Zoom. An obvious benefit of interviewing in this way was that it allowed her to overcome social distancing and lockdown restrictions. She also notes that it provided flexibility, 'convenient conditions' and 'an unusual level of intimacy and informality' when interviews took place in the homes of

participants (p4). Using audio-visual interfaces for online interviews is increasingly accepted as a viable alternative to in-person interviewing (Deakin and Wakefield 2014; Weller 2017; Jenner and Myers 2019; Howlett 2021). The use of technology in facilitating real-time co-presence and interactivity can make it easier to engage with participants in different locations and contexts. It enables researchers to transcend spatial and temporal distances and collect data over large geographical areas. It overcomes the physical mobility boundaries and time and financial constraints of travelling to do interviews onsite in research settings.

The main reservations that researchers have about mediated interviews relate to technical difficulties, rapport and data quality. Weller (2017), however, drawing on qualitative longitudinal research that used both physical co-present and remote modes, reveals how the ordinariness of mediated communication among many young people can actually aid disclosure. Rather than physical, it was 'visible co-presence, or the feeling of temporal and emotional connection … that was salient in determining the richness of interaction' (p623). Likewise, in their comparative analysis of two interview projects, Jenner and Myers (2018) found that there was little difference in the disclosure of deeply personal experiences between in-person and Skype private interviews. Their findings suggest that interviewing via Skype produced neither reduction nor inappropriate excesses of rapport. They also found that Skype interviews were a popular choice among participants, did not result in shorter interview duration, and were not subject to greater rescheduling or cancellation.

Conclusion

This chapter is a product of the COVID-19 pandemic. The idea emerged as I felt the effects of the virus, monitored how the fallout was policed and imagined what it must be like to work on the frontline during these calamitous times. My criminological imagination was also sparked by the impact of the pandemic on academia and the possibilities of research. There were questions about policing and the police that warranted ethnographic exploration but the option for researchers to be in the thick of it was temporarily off limits. This realisation provided an opportunity for reflection on police ethnography and its future.

Police ethnography is traditional in a methodological sense in that studies are generally characterised by physical immersion in police settings for an extended period, direct observation of policing and in-person social interaction with research participants. This is the tried-and-tested approach to exposing, documenting and understanding the inner world of policing. It is certainly not my intention to dispute this conventional wisdom. What I would like to do, however, is encourage police ethnographers to broaden their horizons and avoid blinkered views of ethnography. Contemporary ethnography exists in many forms and encompasses a diverse set of practices. The COVID-19 pandemic has shown us that it is not always possible to do research alongside participants in their own lives and spaces. There is a need for alternatives and a compelling case for developing research resilience so that police ethnography can still thrive in

the face of future exceptional circumstances. By focusing on socially distant methods, this chapter has considered potential benefits of greater engagement with street photography, photo elicitation, netnography, audio-visual interfaces and utilising the police as observers through cameras and diaries. For ethnographers working in other fields of study, there is probably little that is new in my discussion of 'new' ways of doing police ethnography. But police ethnographers have yet to integrate them into their methodological toolkit. Embracing unconventional and innovative methods not only enables police ethnographers to adapt but also gives them complementary data sources and opens new avenues of inquiry.

References

Alaszewski, A. (2006) *Using Diaries for Social Research*, London: Sage.
Alcadipani, R., Cabral, S., Fernandes, A. and Lotta, G. (2020) 'Street-level bureaucrats under COVID-19: Police officers' responses in constrained settings', *Administrative Theory & Praxis,* 42(3): 394-403.
Atkinson, P. (2015) *For Ethnography*, London: Sage.
Bacon, M. (2016) *Taking Care of Business: Police Detectives, Drug Law Enforcement and Proactive Investigation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Bacon, M., Loftus, B. and Rowe, M. (2020) 'Ethnography and the evocative world of policing (Part I)', *Policing and Society*, 30(1): 1-10.
Bacon, M., Shapland, J., Skinns, L. and White, A. (2021) 'Fragile alliances: Culture, funding and sustainability in police-academic partnerships', *Evidence & Policy*, 17(1): 93-109.
Ball, M. (2005) 'Working with images in daily life and police practice: An assessment of documentary tradition' *Qualitative Research*, 5(4): 499-521.
Bartlett, R. and Milligan, C. (2015), *What is Diary Method?*, London: Bloomsbury.
Bassetti, C., Fine, G. and Chan, C. (2020) 'Introduction: Ethnography in an age of Covid-19', *Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa*, 2: 159-164.
Boon-Kuo, L., Brodie, A., Keene-McCann, J., Sentas, V. and Weber, L. (2021) 'Policing biosecurity: Police enforcement of special measures in New South Wales and Victoria during the COVID-19 pandemic*, Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, 33(1): 76-88.
Boswell, J., Corbett, J., Dommett, K., Jennings, W., Flinders, M., Rhodes, R., and Wood, M. (2019) 'State of the field: What can political ethnography tell us about anti-politics and democratic disaffection?', *European Journal of Political Research*, 58: 56-71.
British Academy (2021) *The COVID Decade: Understanding the Long-Term Societal Impacts of COVID-19*, London: BA.
Brown, M. and Carrabine, E. (eds.) (2017) *Routledge International Handbook of Visual Criminology*, Abingdon: Routledge.
Bullock, K. (2018) '(Re)presenting "order" online: The construction of police presentational strategies on social media', *Policing and Society*, 28(3): 345-359.
Chan, C., Joosse, P., Martin, S. and Tian, X. (2020) 'Ethnography in calamitous times', *Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa*, 2: 175-184.

Chillar, V., Piza, E. and Sytsma, V. (2021) 'Conducting a systematic social observation of body-camera footage: Methodological and practical insights, *Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice & Criminology*, 10(4): 1-30.
Copes, H., Tchoula, W., Brookman, F. and Ragland, J. (2018) 'Photo-elicitation interviews with vulnerable populations: Practical and ethical considerations, *Deviant Behavior,* 39(4), 475-494.
Crozier, S. and Cassell, C. (2016) 'Methodological considerations in the use of audio diaries in work psychology: Adding to the qualitative toolkit', *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology,* 89(2), 396-419.
Crump, J. (2011) 'What are the police doing on Twitter? Social media, the police and the public', *Policy & Internet*, 3(4): 1-27.
Dai, M., Xia, Y. and Han, R. (2021) 'The impact of lockdown on police service calls during the COVID-19 pandemic in China', *Policing*, 15(3): 1867-1881.
Deakin, H. and Wakefield, K. (2014) 'Skype interviewing: Reflections of two PhD researchers', *Qualitative Research*, 14(5): 603-616.
De Camargo, C. (2022) '"It's tough shit, basically, that you're all gonna get it": UK virus testing and police officer anxieties of contracting COVID-19', *Policing and Society,* 32(1): 35-51.
de Graaff, B., Bal, J. and Bal, R. (2021) 'Layering risk work amidst an emerging crisis: An ethnographic study on the governance of the COVID-19 pandemic in a university hospital in the Netherlands', *Health, Risk & Society*, 23(3-4): 111-127.
Deakin, H. and Wakefield, K. (2014) Skype interviewing: Reflections of two PhD researchers', *Qualitative Research*, 14(5): 603-616.
Delamont, S. (2004) 'Ethnography and participant observation', in Seale, C., Gobo, G. and Gubrium, J. (eds.) *Qualitative Research Practices*, London: Sage.
Fassin, D. (2013) *Enforcing Order: An Ethnography of Urban Policing*, London: Polity Press.
Fassin, D. (ed.) (2017a) *Writing the World of Policing: The Difference Ethnography Makes*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Fassin (2017b) 'Introduction: Ethnographying the police', in D. Fassin (ed.) *Writing the World of Policing: The Difference Ethnography Makes*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Ferguson, L. and Soave, V. (2021) '#Missing to #Found: Exploring police Twitter use for missing persons investigation', *Police Practice and Research* 22(1): 869-885.
Fine, G. and Abramson, C. (2020) 'Ethnography in the time of Covid-19: Vectors and the vulnerable', *Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa*, 2: 165-174.
Fleming, J. (2008) 'Managing the diary: What does a police commissioner do?', *Public Administration*, 86(3): 679-698.
Fleming, J. and Brown, J. (2021) 'Policewomen's experiences of working during lockdown: Results of a survey with officers from England and Wales', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 15(3): 1977-1992.
Fletcher, J. (1966) *Situation Ethics*, London: SCM Press.
Gariglio, L. (2016) 'Photo-elicitation in prison ethnography: Breaking the ice in the field and unpacking prison officers' use of force', *Crime, Media, Culture*, 12(3): 367-379.
Geertz, C. (1988) *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Geertz, C. (2001) 'The state of the art', in *Available light: Anthropological reflections on philosophical topics'* (3rd edn.), Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Goffman, E. (1959) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, London: Penguin Books.
Grace, S. (2020) 'Policing social distancing: Gaining and maintaining compliance in the age of coronavirus', *Policing*, 14(4): 1034-1053.
Greek, C. (2009) 'Documenting and framing police public interaction with citizens: A study in visual criminology', *Criminal Justice Matters*, 78(1): 18-20.
Harper, D. (2002) 'Talking about pictures: A case for photo-elicitation', *Visual Studies*, 17(1): 13-26.
Henry, A. and Mackenzie, S. (2012) 'Brokering communities of practice: A model of knowledge exchange and academic-practitioner collaboration developed in the context of community policing', *Police Practice and Research*, 13(4): 315-328.
Herbert, S. (2017) 'Accountability: Ethnographic engagement and the ethics of the police', in D. Fassin (ed.) *Writing the World of Policing: The Difference Ethnography Makes*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (pp23-41).
Hine, C. (2000) *Virtual Ethnography*, London: Sage.
HMICFRS (2021) *Policing in the Pandemic – The Police Response to the Coronavirus Pandemic During 2020*, London: HMICFRS.
Hobbs, D. (1988) *Doing the Business: Entrepreneurship, the Working Class and Detectives in the East End of London*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Howlett, M. (2021) 'Looking at the "field" through a Zoom lens: Methodological reflections on conducting online research during a global pandemic', *Qualitative Research*, https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468794120985691
Hyers, L. (2018) *Diary Methods*, New York: Oxford University Press.
Jenner, B. and Myers, K. 92019) 'Intimacy, rapport, and exceptional disclosure: A comparison of in-person and mediated interview contexts', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 22(2): 165-177.
Jermier, J., Slocum, J., Fry, L. and Gaines, J. (1991) 'Organizational subcultures in a soft bureaucracy: Resistance behind the myth and façade of an official culture', *Organizational Science*, 2(2): 170-194.
Kozinets, R. (2009) *Netnography: Doing Ethnography Research Online*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Kyprianides et al. (2022) 'Policing and COVID-19 pandemic: Police officer well-being and commitment to democratic modes of policing', *Policing and Society*, 32(4): 504-521.
Lamont, M. and Swidler, A. (2014) 'Methodological pluralism and the possibilities and limits of interviewing', *Qualitative Sociology*, 37(2): 153-71.
Lennie, S., Crozier, S. and Sutton, A. (2020) 'Robocop – The depersonalisation of police officers and their emotions: A diary study of emotional labor and burnout in front line British police officers', *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 61: 1-13.
Linnemann, T. (2017) 'Proof of death: Police power and the visual economies of seizure, accumulation and trophy', *Theoretical Criminology*, 21(1): 57-77.
Lobe, B., Morgan, D. and Hoffman K. (2020) 'Qualitative data collection in an era of social distancing', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19: 1-8.
Loftus, B. (2009) *Policing Culture in a Changing World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lum, C., Stoltz, M., Koper, C. and Scherer, J. (2019) 'Research on body-worn cameras: What we know, what we need to know', *Criminology & Public Policy*, 18(1): 93-118.
Luong, H. (2021) 'Community-based policing in COVID-19: A 4-P's priorities of Vietnam's police', *Policing and Society,* 31(10): 1217-1231.
Manning, P. (1997) *Police Work: The Social Organization of Policing* (2nd edn.), Illinois: Waveland Press.
Manning, P. (2004) *The Narcs' Game: Organizational and Informational Limits on Drug Law Enforcement* (2nd edn.), Illinois: Waveland Press.
Manning, P. (2014) 'Ethnographies of the police', in M. Reisig and R. Kane (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Police and Policing*, New York: Oxford University Press (pp518-547).
Marks, M. (2004) 'Researching police transformation: The ethnographic imperative', *British Journal of Criminology*, 44(6): 866-888.
Marks, M. (2005) *Tranforming the Robocops: Changing Police in South Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
Mayes, L. (2021) 'Social media and community-oriented policing: Examining the organizational image construction of municipal police on Twitter and Facebook', *Police Practice and Research*, 22(1): 903-920.
Mazerolle, L. and Ransley, J. (2021) 'Policing health regulation in democratic societies: A focus on COVID-19 challenges and opportunities in Australia', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 45(3): 315-327.
McConville, M., Sanders, A. and Leng, R. (1991) *The Case for the Prosecution: Police Suspects and the Construction of Criminality*, London: Routledge.
McGranahan, C. (2018) 'Ethnography beyond method: The importance of an ethnographic sensibility', *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*, 15(1): 1-10.
McKay, C. and Lee, M. (2020) 'Body-worn images: Point-of-view and the new aesthetics of policing', *Crime, Media, Culture*, 16(3): 431-450.
Mead, M. and Métraux, R. (1953) *The Study of Culture at a Distance*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Monrouxe, L. (2009) 'Negotiating professional identities: Dominant and contesting narratives in medical students' longitudinal audio diaries', *Current Narratives*, 1(1): 41-59.
Mutsaers, P. (2019) '#BlackLivesMatter: Understanding anti-police protest as a cultural practice', in M. Hoondert, P. Mutsaers and W. Arfman (eds.) *Cultural Practices of Victimhood*, London: Routledge.
Ng, W. and Skinns, L. (2021) 'A formal interview tool in an informal setting? An exploratory study of the use of body-worn camera at the scene of an alleged crime', *Criminal Law Review*, 8: 644-661.
Nikolovska, M., Johnson, S. and Ekbolm, P. (2020) '"Show this thread": Policing, disruption and mobilisation through Twitter. An analysis of UK law enforcement tweeting practices during the Covid-19 pandemic', *Crime Science*, 9(20): 1-16.
Nind, M., Coverdale, A. and Meckin, R. (2020) *Changing Social Research Practices in the Context of Covid-19: Rapid Evidence review*, National Centre for Research Methods.

Norris, C. (1993) 'Some ethical considerations of fieldwork with the police', in D. Hobbs and T. May (eds.) *Interpreting the Field: Accounts of Ethnography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (pp123-143).
Ortner, S. (2010) 'Access: Reflections on studying up in Hollywood', *Ethnography*, 11(2): 211-233.
Perlmutter, D. (2000) *Policing the Media: Street Cops and Public Perceptions of Law Enforcement*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Pink, S. (2001) *Visual Ethnography*, London: Sage.
Pink, S. (2015) 'Going forward through the world: Thinking about first-person perspective digital ethnography between theoretical scholarship and applied practice', *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*, 49(2): 239-252.
Pink, S. et al. (2015) *Digital Ethnography: Principles and Practice*, London: Sage.
Pink. S and Morgan, J. (2013) 'Short-term ethnography: Intense routes to knowing', *Symbolic Interaction*, 36(3): 351-361.
Pollock, W., Scott, S. and Moore, E. (2021) 'Using problem-oriented policing to address police problems through the study of body-worn camera footage', *The Police Journal*, 94(2): 166-183.
Ralphs, L. (2022) 'The dynamic nature of police legitimacy on social media', *Policing and Society*, 32(7): 817-831.
Reiner, R. and Newburn, T. (2008) 'Police research', in R. King and E. Wincup (eds.) *Doing Research on Crime and Justice* (2nd edn.), Oxford: Oxford University Press (pp343-374).
Rhodes, R. (2015) 'Ethnography', in M. Bevir and R. Rhodes (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Interpretive Political Science*, Abingdon: Routledge.
Rodrigues, S. et al. (2017) 'Daily stress and coping among emergency response officers: A case study', *International Journal of Emergency Services*, 6(2): 122-133.
Rowe, M. (2007) 'Tripping over molehills: Ethics and the ethnography of police work', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 10(1): 37-48.
Rowe, M. and Rowe, M. (2021) 'Understanding the quiet times: The role of periods of "nothing much happening" in police work', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 50(6): 751-774.
Schneider, C. (2016) 'Police presentational strategies on Twitter in Canada', *Policing and Society*, 26(2): 129-147.
Sheptycki, J. (2020) 'The politics of policing a pandemic panic', *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 53(2): 157-173.
Smith, R. et al. (2020) 'Ethnography and the new normal: Observational studies, analytic orientations, and practical ethics', *Etnografia e ricerca qualitativa*, 2: 195-205.
Stuart, F. (2016) *Down Out & Under Arrest: Policing and Everyday Life in Skid Row*, Chicago: University of Chicago.
Terpstra, J., de Maillard, J., Salet, R. and Roche, S. (2021) 'Policing the corona crisis: A comparison between France and the Netherlands, *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 23(2): 168-181.
Teti, M., Schatz, E. and Liebenberg, L. (2020) 'Methods in the time of COVID-19: The vital role of qualitative inquiries', *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19: 1-5.
Ugwudike, P. and Fleming, J. (2021) 'Artificial intelligence, digital capital, and epistemic domination on Twitter: A study of families affected by imprisonment', *Punishment & Society*, https://doi.org/10.1177/14624745211014391

Urbanik, M. and Roks, R. (2020) 'GangstaLife: Fusing urban ethnography with netnography in gang studies', *Qualitative Sociology*, 43: 213-233.
van Gelderen, B. et al. (2007) 'Psychological strain and emotional labour among police-officers: A diary study', *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 71(3): 446-459.
van Gelderen, B., Konijn, E. and Bakker, A. (2017) 'Emotional labor among police officers: A diary study relating strain, emotional labor, and service performance', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 28(6): 852-879.
van Hulst, M. (2020) 'Ethnography and narrative', *Policing and Society*, 30(1): 98-115.
van Maanen, J. (1978) 'On watching the watchers', in P. Manning and J. van Maanen (eds.) *Policing: A View From the Street*, Santa Monica, CA: Goodyear Publishing (pp309-349).
Vindrola-Padros, C. (2021) *Rapid Ethnographies: A Practical Guide*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Waddington, K. (2005) 'Using diaries to explore the characteristics of work-related gossip: Methodological considerations from exploratory multimethod research', *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 78(2): 221-236.
Walklate, S., Godfrey, B. and Richardson, J. (2022) 'Changes and continuities in police responses to domestic abuse in England and Wales during the Covid-19 "lockdown"', *Policing and Society*, 32(2): 221-233.
Waseem, Z. (2021) 'Policing COVID-19 through procedural informality in Pakistan', *Policing and Society*, 31(5): 583-600.
Weller, S. (2017) 'Using internet video calls in qualitative (longitudinal) interviews: Some implications for rapport', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 20(6): 613-625.
Westmarland, L. (2001) 'Blowing the whistle on police violence: Gender, ethnography and ethics', *British Journal of Criminology*, 41(3): 523-535.
White, M. and Malm, A. (2020) *Cops, Cameras, and Crisis: The Potential and the Perils of Police Body-Worn Cameras*, New York: New York University Press.
Willits, D. and Makin, D. (2018) 'Show me what happened: Analyzing use of force through analysis of body-worn camera footage', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency,* 55(1): 51-77.
Wood, J. and Griffin, P. (2021) 'The policing and public health interface: Insights from the COVID-19 pandemic', *Policing and Society*, 31(5): 503-511.
Zimmerman, D. and Wieder, D. (1977), 'The diary: Diary-interview method', *Urban Life*, 5(4): 479-498.