Crowd policing, police legitimacy and identity: the social psychology of procedural justice

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own, except where work which has formed part of jointly-authored publications has been included. The contribution of the candidate and the other authors to this work has been explicitly indicated below. The candidate confirms that appropriate credit has been given within the thesis where reference has been made to the work of others.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

This PhD was motivated to explore the applicability and explanatory power of procedural justice theory (PJT) in the context of the policing of crowd events. It has been suggested that *"questions of social identity lie at the heart of the theory"* (Bradford 2016, p. 3). Yet PJT researchers have largely overlooked the insights of the 'second stage' of theorising that constitutes the social identity approach – self-categorisation theory (SCT) – and the subsequent application of SCT to collective action within crowds and public order policing. Because of this it is argued that there are certain conceptual and methodological limitations that relate to how PJT can 'make sense' of or otherwise explain police–public interactions within the domain of public order policing.

Despite PJT being rooted in *"in efforts to understand and explain riots and rebellion"* (Tyler and Blader 2003, p. 351), there has been a paucity of research focussing specifically on the police's management of crowds (Stott *et al.* 2011). This thesis used a mixed methods approach involving online experiments, semi-structured interviews and an online survey. The final empirical chapter then drew on a longitudinal secondary data analysis of a series of 'real-time' police-'public' interactions across multiple crowd events. The thesis suggests that it is essential that both PJT and its associated research are process and context orientated. A true process model of procedural justice is required to explore the interactive and bi-directional nature of the relationship between social context, identity, police legitimacy and action. It is argued that the current social psychological understandings of procedural justice do not adequately articulate this dynamism. Yet developing the process model of procedural justice is essential to avoid unintentionally 'desocialising' people's experiences of policing and to therefore reaffirm the need to study the social psychological processes of PJT in context.

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List of Abbreviations

BAC: Brigade Anti-Criminalité

CRS: Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité

EDL: English Defence League

ESIM: Elaborated Social Identity Model of crowd behaviour

Euro 2016: UEFA European Football Championship 2016

GEM: Group Engagement Model

GVM: Group Value Model

JJM: Justice Judgement Model

NUS: National Union of Students

PLM: Police Legitimacy Model

PLT: Police Liaison Team

PJT: Procedural Justice Theory

PSP: Polícia de Segurança Pública

PSU: Police Support Unit

RWA: Right Wing Authoritarianism

SCT: Self-Categorisation Theory

SDO: Social Dominance Orientation

SIM: Social Identity Model of crowd behaviour

SIT: Social Identity Theory

TUC: Trade Union Congress

Preface

Chapter 5 is based on the joint-authored publication: Radburn, M., Stott, C., Bradford, B., and Robinson, M., 2016. When is policing fair? Groups, identity and judgements of the procedural justice of coercive crowd policing. *Policing and society*, 1–18. The research was designed by the candidate in collaboration with Prof. Clifford Stott, Dr. Mark Robinson and Dr. Ben Bradford. The candidate undertook the data collection, data analysis and the interpretation of results. The writing of the manuscript was carried out by the candidate under the supervision of Prof. Clifford Stott and Dr. Mark Robinson.

In addition to the work presented in this thesis, I have also co-authored the following research publication: Stott, C., West, O., and Radburn, M., 2016a. Policing football 'risk'? A participant action research case study of a liaison-based approach to 'public order'. *Policing and society*, 1–16.

Chapter 1:

Introduction

"In general across my experience of Scottish football, local police will treat home fans, (that they have often built a rapport with), in a friendly and genial manner. The same cannot be said for fans travelling to away matches, who are often treated with disdain by police. On a number of occasions, mostly in Glasgow, police have treated away fans like sheep, kettling them and herding them, despite the home fans being the aggressors when entering and exiting the stadia. Whilst it may be easier to deal with the smaller number of fans in the short term, the long term implications leave many teams fans to believe that they do not have to follow police instructions." (Respondent 1,424)

The above quote, taken from a survey of football fans' experiences of policing presented in Chapter 7, captures the complexity of 'public order' policing and the understandings of 'those being policed'. In crowd events such as football matches or protests 'the policed' are not a homogenous mass but rather they often contain multiple psychological groupings. Thus an individual's perspective as a member of a particular group (e.g., as a football fan) may profoundly shape their experience of crowd policing. However, within crowd events the police often possess the power to categorise 'the policed' (e.g., as a 'suspect', 'offender' or 'law-abiding citizen') and this can have profound implications for how they are treated and how policing is understood. Such complex questions of how group memberships serve to shape an individual's experiences of policing or conversely how police actions actively shape an individual's sense of group membership lie at the heart of the procedural justice theory (PJT), a preeminent theory within the field of criminology.

The social psychological accounts underlying PJT stress that the police are important, symbolic and visible representatives of the nation state and

dominant community values (c.f., Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Sunshine and Tyler 2003b; c.f., Reiner 2010; Bradford 2014). Therefore the way in which police officers treat an individual is important since it may serve to strengthen or undermine that individual's sense of identification with the groups of which the police are important representatives (e.g., the United Kingdom, an 'imagined community'). Moreover, according to PJT, every interaction that an individual has with a police officer serves to build or undermine perceptions of police legitimacy - the extent to which the police are viewed by the 'public' as an appropriate and just authority (Tyler 2012).

PJT's emphasis on 'public' judgements of the 'fairness' and legitimacy of police action and how this relates to 'public' compliance with the law and/or cooperation with the police bears close resemblance to the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM). Both PJT and the ESIM are conceptually based in social identity theory (SIT) and so stress the importance of how people's social identities mediate or are otherwise shaped by their dealings with police officers.

Yet despite these apparent similarities, and common 'ancestry' in SIT, PJT and the ESIM have essentially been developed independently of each other and this has led to contrasting theoretical and empirical attention. PJT has been explored mostly within the field of criminology and the emphasis has been on how the 'general population' understand and perceive policing. Whereas the ESIM has been studied primarily within social psychology and has looked at case studies of particular police-crowd encounters. Therefore, to date, PJT has seldom been tested specifically in relation to the policing of crowd events (Stott *et al.* 2011). Moreover, there has yet to be a systematic investigation of the applicability and explanatory power of the social psychological theories that underpin PJT. The principle aims - and the original contribution of this thesis - is to address both of these central omissions.

These are important oversights since major public crises of police legitimacy often occur precisely within the context of policing crowd events. For

example, the role of South Yorkshire police in the Hillsborough football stadium disaster and the 'Battle of Orgreave' during the 1980s miners' strike emphasise the significance of policing crowds and the impact that such 'critical incidents' can have on public perceptions of the police (e.g., "*Scrap it and start over': the people's verdict on South Yorkshire police*"; The Guardian, 30th April 2016). Moreover, people's experiences of operational policing are often largely limited to large-scale crowd events. Thus whilst the core theoretical aspects of PJT have generally been accepted by academics and policy-makers alike (e.g., President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing 2015), any adequate theory of 'police legitimacy' must be able to empirically account for the dynamic and contested nature of public order policing.

Overview of the thesis

The main objective of this thesis then is to explore PJT's capability to understand and explain the complex social psychological processes at work in encounters between the police and 'the public' within crowd events. Since PJT is based conceptually in SIT, Chapter 2 begins with an historical overview of the context in which SIT was advanced by Tajfel and Turner (1979). Chapter 2 demonstrates that SIT was, in part, developed in response to a dissatisfaction of 'individualistic' approaches to group processes that study group-level dynamics by reference to interpersonal relations. The interactionist critique to 'individualism', in the form of SIT and subsequently self-categorisation theory (SCT), is then outlined with the key tenets of both theories being the focus of attention.

As Chapter 2 subsequently shows, SIT and SCT (i.e., the social identity approach) provide the theoretical basis for both the social identity model of crowd behaviour (SIM) and the elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour (ESIM). A series of SIM and ESIM case studies are then reviewed that show the dynamic and complex nature of police-crowd interactions. In particular, these studies highlight that an adequate understanding of such encounters must focus on an *intergroup and group-level* analysis of the on-going dynamics of power, legitimacy and identity.

Therefore Chapter 2 provides the theoretical starting point for this thesis. It also provides the conceptual foundation from which the subsequent review of the theoretical and empirical developments of PJT are discussed in Chapter 3. Chapter 3 begins with an overview of the conceptual origins of 'procedural justice' research with an emphasis on the contributions of Thibaut and Walker (1975, 1978) and Leventhal (1980). Their early 'self-interest' based models are then contrasted to the more contemporary and 'identity-based' models of procedural justice proposed by Tom Tyler and colleagues. It is these identity-based theories – the group value model (GVM) and the group engagement model (GEM) – that provide the conceptual underpinnings of PJT as applied to policing.

A theoretical and empirical critique of PJT as applied to policing is then developed. This critique centres firstly on the argument that PJT research within the domain of policing has, by and large, focused on *cognitions* about policing at the expense of the (dynamic) *social contexts* within which judgements about the police and policing are formed. Secondly, this critique suggests that the social psychology of PJT – as currently configured – is limited in a number of important ways. A third and final part of this critique relates to issues that emerge when applying the logic of the GVM/GEM to the policing of crowd events. In light of this theoretical and empirical appraisal, specific gaps in the PJT evidence base are then delineated.

A brief overview of the main aims of this research and the overarching research approach is then provided in Chapter 4 with regards to the subsequent empirical parts of this thesis. There are then four empirical chapters that are written in the form of academic papers (i.e., each comprises a self-contained introduction, methods section, analysis/results and discussion of findings). A pragmatic and mixed methods approach was adopted. Correspondingly, data collection involved online experiments, semi-structured interviews, an online qualitative survey and finally a longitudinal secondary data analysis of various sources pertaining to multiple police-'crowd' events.

Chapter 5 addresses some the key limitations identified in Chapter 3 with respect to the applicability of PJT to crowd policing. Chapter 6 extends this initial experimental investigation and methodological paradigm. It does so by inductively exploring students' judgements of policing with respect to a 'real-life' example of the use of force by police during a student demonstration. Chapter 7 examines the 'boundaries' of football policing as perceived by match-going fans and how these boundaries pertain to their judgements of policing and their sense of identity. Chapter 8 sought to examine PJT within the context of a series of 'real-life' group-level interactions between England fans and (predominantly) the police at the UEFA European Football Championship 2016 hosted in France. In particular, Chapter 8 examines the dynamics of 'behavioural change' of England fans. Why did 'disorder' involving England fans occur in some host cities and not others? The final chapter then summarises the preceding empirical chapters, reflects on the research undertaken, before concluding by exploring the wider theoretical implications of this work for the development of PJT.

The thesis will now turn to the first literature review chapter that explores the theoretical background and key tenets of the social identity approach and its application to policing crowds. If PJT is to provide an adequate explanation of police-'public' relations then it must be able to account for and explain the sort of police-crowd' encounters explored in this next chapter.

Chapter 2:

A review of the social identity approach: identity, policing and crowds

The social identity approach, comprising social identity theory and self-categorisation theory has had an enormous impact not only on social psychology but also across the social sciences more generally (Postmes and Branscombe 2010). This influence is no more apparent than in criminological understandings of PJT where *"questions of social identity lie at the heart of the theory"* (Bradford 2016, p. 3). However, as Reicher *et al.* (2010) argue, the very richness of the social identity approach can lead to the foundational premises of the theory being ignored or even contradicted.

A key contention of this thesis is that whilst social psychological understandings of PJT are based on ideas from the social identity approach, existing criminological work has not adequately applied some of its key insights with respect to the nature of group relations, judgements of fairness and legitimacy, and in particular the conceptualisation of social identity. It is argued that this is partly due to PJT researchers largely overlooking the insights of the 'second stage' of theorising that constitutes the social identity approach – self-categorisation theory – and the subsequent application of SCT to collective action within crowds in general and public order policing in particular.

In order to elucidate this assertion it is necessary for us to start in this chapter by reviewing the key tenets of the social identity approach. This chapter begins with a historical review of the motivations behind its development and then proceeds to explain some of the key conceptual ideas of both social identity theory and self-categorisation theory. The second half of this chapter then seeks to show how this theoretical perspective has been applied to the dynamic and contested nature of policing crowds.

Social psychology's master problem: the individual and the group

At the heart of the social identity perspective is a meta-theoretical critique of 'individualist' approaches to social psychology; a reconceptualisation of the

relationship of the individual to the group (Tajfel 1979, Turner 1982, Turner and Oakes 1986, Turner *et al.* 1987). Indeed, Turner *et al.*'s (1987) seminal exposition of SCT is titled '*rediscovering the social group*' precisely because the theory aimed to show that 'the group' is not a superfluous concept theoretically, psychologically or empirically. In order to substantiate these claims Turner *et al.* (1987) first present a review and critique of earlier theorists who had argued, from different outlooks, about the nature of the relationship between the individual and the group. These early theorists are divided broadly into three different schools of thought: 'the group mind thesis', 'individualism' and 'interactionism'. The main aspects of these perspectives are summarised below.

Le Bon's group mind thesis

Whilst there are several noticeable theorists who can be classified within the 'group mind' tradition (e.g., McDougall 1921, Freud 1921) it is sufficient for the present purposes to briefly focus on Gustave Le Bon in order to characterise the overall approach and draw out the distinctions between the group mind thesis relative to individualism and interactionism. Within his book '*The Crowd: A study of the popular mind',* Le Bon (1895) describes the group (in the form of the crowd) in pejorative terms relative to the individual. This is encapsulated in the often-quoted passage where there is no room for ambiguity: "*Isolated, he may be a cultivated individual; in a crowd, he is a barbarian — that is, a creature acting by instinct.*" (Le Bon 1895, p.17). Hence, for Le Bon intelligence and civility characterised individual minds. By contrast, crowds were by definition stupid and uncivilised.

His qualitative distinction between the rational individual and the irrational group was explained in terms of two related assertions. Firstly, that crowd members feel a sense of anonymity and 'invincible' power by virtue of their membership that leads to a reduced sense of personal identity and a corresponding reduction of individual responsibility. Secondly, that due to the 'submergence' and diffusion of individuality experienced, people within a crowd are highly suggestible to emotional and behavioural 'contagion' via a process that is analogous to hypnosis. Hence, people in crowds lose their

conscious individual personality and are instead subject to what Le Bon termed the 'psychological law of mental unity' or collective 'group mind'. This 'group mind' is defined by the unconscious and shared characteristics of a given 'race' or in Le Bon's terms the primitive 'racial unconscious'. Whilst this particular conceptualisation varies from McDougall and Freud's, an important point is that Le Bon (in common with other 'group mind theorists') recognised and sought to explain group-level psychology in its own right. Accordingly the group is not a superfluous concept. However, in Le Bon's terms at least, group psychology is inherently irrational and inferior to that of the sovereign individual.

Allport's individualism

In a sharp distinction to the 'group mind thesis' the individualism characterised by Floyd Allport. Allport (1924, 1962) not only rejected the notion of a group or collective mind but also the group per se as an analytical concept. Correspondingly he believed that "*if we take care of the individuals, psychologically speaking, the groups will be found to take care of themselves*" (p. 9) and that "*the individual in the crowd behaves just as he would alone only more so*" (p. 295). Accordingly his 'social facilitation theory', based in behaviourism and learning theory, suggested that the mere presence of other people (i.e., as part of a group or crowd) facilitated previously learned or 'instinctive' aspects of a person's individuality (Turner *et al.* 1987). The implication of 'individualism' is that behaviour within groups is seen as the result of pre-existing conditioned responses of the individuals within them, rather than a dynamic interaction between individuals and the specific situation they find themselves in. Thus, for example, violent crowds are solely the result of violent people converging (e.g., 'football hooligans' at football matches) rather than emanating from intergroup interaction.

However, Allport also suggested that the sheer volume of people in a crowd attenuates people's individual learned response tendencies due to the greater level of interpersonal excitation. Therefore behaviour in the crowd regresses and is guided by the desire to fulfil basic biological needs and to destroy anything that impedes these goals. In Allport's (1924, p. 312) words,

the "*drive to kill or destroy now spends itself in unimpeded fury"*. Thus despite conceptual differences over the existence of a 'group mind' both Le Bon and Allport are actually united in the idea that behavioural control is the preserve of the individual. Groups serve to undermine behavioural restraints of individuals since they reduce rational individuals to behaviour that is governed by destructive atavistic 'instincts' or drives (Reicher 1987). In so doing, both approaches serve to reify group behaviour by abstracting it from the specific social-historical context within which it takes place (Reicher 1984).

Interactionism: Sherif, Asch and Lewin

Turner *et al.* (1987) identify three major proponents of the interactionist approach - Muzafer Sherif, Solomon Asch and Kurt Lewin - all of whom were cognitive social psychologists. All three theorists rejected the notion of a 'group mind' in a literal sense but not the idea that group psychology was qualitatively different from 'individual' psychology. They thus started from the assumption that perception and cognition are fundamentally 'individual' in the sense that they ultimately reside in the mind of individuals. Yet all three acknowledged that groups can and do deeply affect and change the psychology of the individual.

Arguing against Allport's 'individualism', Sherif (1936, 1967) demonstrated the dynamic and continuous interaction between the individual and the group in his renowned experiments that sought to explore the establishment of social norms. Within the experiments, participants were asked to estimate the movement of a light in an otherwise dark room. Whilst the light was ostensibly moving, participants were actually subject to the 'autokinetic effect' - an optical illusion that varies in its effect from person to person – and the light was completely motionless. With no external frames of reference, participants initially made a succession of judgements on the 'movement' of the light on their own. This provided a range or 'norm' of estimates for each participant that naturally varied from person to person depending on the unique influence of the 'autokinetic effect'. When participants with different individual ranges were then asked to make judgements as part of a small

group their responses tended to converge to create an emergent group norm that was unique to each group. Moreover, there was evidence that this group norm was psychologically internalised. When participants were subsequently asked to make judgements individually (i.e., not as part of a group) their responses continued to conform to the socially produced group norm. Thus in the language of Asch (1952) Sherif's experiments provided evidence that there was a '*socially structured field in the individual*' (p. 253) that is counter to both the idea of a literal 'group mind' and the individualist notion that the group is a conceptual fallacy. Consequently the interactionist theorists provided the metatheoretical basis for an adequate conceptualisation of the psychological group which the social identity approach aimed to advance.

Developing interactionism: the social identity approach

In developing SCT, Turner *et al.* (1987) noted that the interactionist theorists had brought group processes to the centre of social psychology during the 1940s and 1950s. However, by the 1960s a new form of individualism was dominant, most notably in North America (e.g., Festinger 1954, Thibaut and Kelley 1959). Within this work, researchers studied intragroup and even intergroup phenomena with reference to interpersonal or dyadic relationships between two ostensibly isolated individuals (Turner 1985). To give but one example, Lott and Lott (1965) suggested that group cohesiveness could be explained entirely by virtue of the *interpersonal* attraction between its members. In so doing, they denied the notion that a person could be attracted to a group as a collective entity (Turner *et al.* 1987).

Within this context of revitalised individualism there were explicit calls for a more 'social' social psychology (Taylor and Brown 1979). In a considered response to Taylor and Brown's 'call to arms', Tajfel (1979, p. 65) agreed with their three primary criticisms of social psychology:

> "*(i) too much research on individual and inter-individual*
> *behaviour rather than groups; (ii) 'naïve extrapolations*
> *from individual to the groups'; (iii) divorce of the studies*

> *of interpersonal phenomena from their 'wider social*
> *context'".*

However Tajfel (1979) also made an important criticism of Taylor and Brown's argument that relates to their distinction between social psychological theory and research. Taylor and Brown (1979) argued that whilst social psychological research should account for the social context of social relations, theories should be limited to the explanation of individual behaviour. In other words, no matter how 'non-individual' factors such as groups affect the individual, theories should be limited to the 'individual' level of analysis (Tajfel 1979). The social identity approach represents an explicit rejection of this 'dualism' between theory and research. According to Tajfel (1979) the predominance of 'individualistic' research in social psychology was a direct result of 'individualistic' thinking at the level of theory. It was for this reason that Tajfel and colleagues sought to develop the interactionist metatheory – to rediscover the social group. Having now briefly outlined the broader metatheoretical context from which the social identity approach emerged, the main theoretical tenets of both SIT and then SCT will now be considered.

Social identity theory

SIT is a theory of *intergroup* conflict that was developed in order to explain the findings of a series of influential experiments known as the 'minimal groups studies'. Within these studies, Henri Tajfel and colleagues sought to determine the minimal conditions that were necessary and sufficient to produce out-group discrimination (Reicher *et al.* 2010). Previous social psychological accounts suggested that prejudice and discrimination were either the outcome of interpersonal relations (e.g., arising from people with dysfunctional or 'authoritarian personalities'; Adorno *et al.* 1950) or a result of intergroup competition for scarce resources (Sherif 1956, Sherif and Sherif 1969). However, the 'minimal groups studies' seemingly showed that intergroup discrimination could arise merely by the division of people into groups.

For example, in Experiment 1 of the original studies, Tajfel *et al.* (1971) asked some schoolboys from Bristol to estimate the number of dots on a screen. After 40 trials the boys were allocated to one of two groups ostensibly on the basis of whether they were 'under-estimators' (i.e., that they tended to underestimate the amount of dots presented) or 'over-estimators' (i.e., that they tended to overestimate the amount of dots presented). However, in reality the boys were actually randomly assigned to one of the two groups. The boys were then asked to complete a series of reward matrices where they were requested to allocate points to anonymous in-group and out-group members. The results demonstrated that the boys tended to favour a reward strategy of 'fairness' (i.e., parity) when administering points between a) two in-group members or b) two out-group members. However, there was a significant in-group bias (i.e., favouritism) effect when the boys were asked to administer points between one in-group member and one out-group member.

Central to a SIT explanation of these results was the idea of social identity (Tajfel 1974, Turner 1975). As defined by Tajfel (1972, p. 31) social identity is "*the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of the group membership*". Thus it is a psychological sense of belongingness to a social group. SIT suggests that we are motivated to achieve and maintain a positive social identity. Hence when comparing 'our' group to relevant other groups we are motivated to view our own groups as better than others on valued dimensions of social comparison. In other words, there is a motivation to achieve *positive distinctiveness* for your group vis a vis other groups (Tajfel and Turner 1979). Accordingly, the in-group bias effect in the 'minimal groups studies' can be seen as an example of this motivational process of groups striving for 'positive distinctiveness' (Spears and Otten 2012).

However, as Reicher *et al.* (2010) argue, this was not the endpoint of SIT but the start since Tajfel and Turner (1979) recognised that 'real-life' society away from the experimental confines of the minimal groups studies

comprises social groups that "...*stand in power and status relations to one another*" (Hogg and Abrams 1988, p. 14). Hence one of the key questions motivating SIT was precisely "*when and under what circumstances members of negatively defined groups will define themselves in terms of that group membership and act collectively to challenge their disadvantage?*" (Haslam *et al.* 2010, p. 50).

SIT (Tajfel and Turner 1979) argues that this question is answered, in part, by reference to the ideological belief structures of an individual that vary on a continuum between social mobility and social change. Social mobility is characterised by the belief that boundaries between social groups in society are permeable and so people can freely maintain or improve their social standing. 'The American Dream' is ideology that is emblematic of a belief in such individual social mobility. Whereas, social change reflects a belief that the boundaries between social groups are impermeable. As well as the permeability of group boundaries, SIT suggests that relations between groups can range from being perceived as relatively secure (i.e., stable and legitimate) to being viewed as relatively unsecure (i.e., unstable and illegitimate).

People adopting a social mobility belief structure and who also perceive group boundaries as permeable will tend towards *individual* strategies of self-enhancement by 'moving up' into higher status groups. However, for people who perceive group boundaries to be impermeable (i.e., those oriented towards a social change belief system) this individualist strategy is not possible. Therefore there are two alternative strategies that can be employed: social creativity and social competition. Social creativity strategies involve changing the nature or value of the comparative dimensions or even selecting a different out-group that allows for more favourable intergroup comparisons. These strategies are likely to be employed when intergroup relations are seen as relatively secure (i.e., stable and legitimate). Social competition involves the lower status group directly confronting higher status out-groups in order to change the status quo. Social competition strategies are likely to be adopted when intergroup relations are seen as relatively

insecure (i.e., unstable and illegitimate).

Relating to the social mobility – social change continuum, is another concept central to SIT. This is the idea that behaviour can also be placed on a continuum between two poles: the interpersonal and intergroup (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Interpersonal behaviour is informed primarily by a person's 'individual' identity, whereas, intergroup behaviour derives from a person's group membership. Correspondingly, SIT purports that there is a qualitative distinction between individual and group behaviour. In other words, an important idea to note is that SIT maintains that an individual's cognitions and/or behaviour may be affected (or in certain circumstances actually defined) by their social group memberships vis a vis other groups. Moreover, 'legitimacy' is not conceptualised in SIT as a relatively fixed and stable property of an organisation or individual. Rather, *perceptions* of (il)legitimacy are subjective judgements emergent from social relations *between* social groups that differ in terms of power and status.

Self-categorisation theory

Whilst SIT shines light on how intergroup relations affect people's attitudes and behaviour the theory does not explore relations of people within groups (i.e., intragroup relations). The second phase of social identity theorising, self-categorisation theory, expands SIT by exploring intragroup processes and explicitly theorising the relationship between the self-concept and the group. SCT (Turner 1982, 1985, Turner *et al.* 1987) proposes that people can think and act not only in terms of personal identity ('I') but also in terms of social identity ('we'). The distinction between personal and social identity represents different levels of self-categorisation. Thus SCT applies SIT's interpersonal-intergroup behavioural continuum specifically to the self-concept (Hornsey 2008).

According to SCT, it is the psychological process of depersonalisation that leads people to shift from behaviour informed primarily by their personal identity to behaviour that is informed primarily by their social identity. In other words, depersonalisation is the psychological "*process of self-stereotyping*

through which the self comes to be seen in terms of a category membership that is shared with other in-group members" (Haslam *et al.* 2010, p. 53). It is this shared understanding of what our category memberships mean – our social identities – that "*is the cognitive mechanism that makes group behaviour possible*" (Turner, 1982, p. 21).

Importantly, social identity and self-categorisation are conceptualised as malleable and will vary according to the social comparative context (Turner *et al.* 1987, 1994). Therefore self-definition will depend on what self-category is salient in a given situation. SCT purports that there are two comparative dimensions that determine self-category salience: fit and accessibility (Oakes 1987). Accessibility (or 'perceiver readiness') refers to an individual's prior history, expectations and goals. Fit refers to the extent to which a social category is subjectively perceived as a sensible or useful way of organising social reality (Haslam *et al.* 2010). The notion of self-category salience accounts for the fact that as the social context changes so does the social identity that governs our thoughts and behaviour. Correspondingly, Jack is likely to see himself and act in terms of a student identity when attending a seminar at university. However, this identity is likely to be wholly inappropriate when Jack attends a football match later that evening.

Another important aspect of SCT theorising is the notion of in-group prototypicality (Turner *et al.* 1987). Prototypicality refers to the extent to which individuals are model representatives of their group identity (in terms of the group's values, attitudes, norms and behaviour). In other words, the extent to which an individual represents what it means to be 'us' (Steffens *et al.* 2014). People will vary in the degree to which they embody the group and SCT argues that relative prototypicality follows the principle of the meta-contrast ratio (Turner, 1987). This principle suggests that an individual will be perceived as more prototypical to the extent that the average differences between themselves and out-group members is larger than the average differences between themselves and fellow in-group members. An important point derived from this principle is that, what it means to be 'us' and therefore who is representative or prototypical of 'us' will vary according to

the social comparative context. Therefore, like social identity, in-group prototypicality is not a fixed given; it is always contingent and contested.

SCT applied to collective action within crowds

The social identity model of crowd behaviour (SIM: Reicher 1984, 1987), later extended into the elaborated social identity model (ESIM: Stott and Reicher 1998a; Stott and Drury 2000), are particularly dynamic readings of SIT/SCT applied specifically to collective action within crowds. Both theories are concerned with a fundamental problem that crowds pose to social psychology: how can shared social norms and standards of behaviour develop in crowds despite the typical absence of either formal hierarchies or pre-planning?

The social identity model of crowd behaviour

Reicher (1984) explicitly developed the SIM as an attempt to answer this problematic and in so doing sought to apply SCT's analysis of social influence named the 'referent informational influence' theory (Turner 1982, Turner *et al.* 1987). Accordingly, Reicher argued that crowd members become a psychological group by virtue of the individuals within it perceiving that they share a common social categorisation (e.g., as a Notts County football supporter). This shared social identification is the basis of social influence since group members will a) seek to obtain the meaning and stereotypic norms that characterise their social category, and b) seek to conform to these stereotypic dimensions (Reicher 1984, Haslam *et al.* 2010).

Thus, when confronted with a novel situation crowd members "*must elaborate an appropriate situational identity which at once provides a guide for action and conforms to their common social identification*" (Reicher 1984, p.4). Reicher argues that this is achieved through what Turner (1982) terms the 'inductive aspect of categorisation'. That is, people infer criterial norms from the behaviour of other in-group members to the extent that their behaviour is concordant with the defining attributes of their category membership (Reicher 1984, 1987). In other words, "*induction is the process*

of inferring characteristics of the category as a whole from the attributes of individual members" (Reicher 1987, p. 182).

The St. Pauls 'riot'

This account is supported by Reicher's (1984, 1987) analysis of the St. Pauls 'riot' that took place on the 2nd April 1980 in the St. Pauls area of Bristol, England. His field study suggested that the events could be divided into two discrete phases. The first phase involved the police raiding the Black and White café. The raid prompted a crowd of people to attack the police and subsequently force the police to vacate the St. Pauls area. The second phase comprised the period with which there was no police presence in the area, before they re-entered with considerable reinforcements.

Reicher's (1984, 1987) analysis of these events was able to demonstrate that crowd action was governed by a shared sense of identity as a member of the St. Pauls' community. This identity was partly defined by united opposition against police aggressors who were symbolically seen to be attacking the community by raiding the Black and White café. Reicher was able to show how this collective *situational* self-definition placed important constraints on what happened and where. Firstly, there were clear limits on what constituted legitimate targets for collective violence, with only those viewed as oppositional to the St. Pauls' identity being attacked. For example crowd members described the stoning of police officers as normative and widespread (e.g., "*a few bricks went in and then people closed the road and everybody started doing it*"; Reicher 1987, p. 194). Whereas attacks against other targets were isolated acts and were widely denounced (e.g., "*a bus…got one window smashed…everyone went 'ugh', 'idiots'*"; Reicher 1987, p. 194).

Secondly, there were defined geographical limits on what took place. Correspondingly, the police were only attacked whilst they were within the boundaries of St. Pauls and were left alone once they had vacated the area. This was interpreted by Reicher as a form of identity expression: the St.

Pauls' community wanted to take back control of 'their' area. This study's importance therefore resides in its demonstration that people in crowds act in terms of their identities rather than behaving mindlessly subject to the irrational 'group mind'. In this way it begins to help us explain the normative pattern of collective action in 'riots'. Furthermore, the study provides empirical evidence for the idea that "*crowd action does not simply reproduce static social identities but represents a creative interpretation of these identities in a novel situation*" (Reicher, 1984, p. 19).

The elaborated social identity model of crowd behaviour

The ESIM was developed in order to further elucidate the social psychological processes underlying the escalation of crowd conflict. As Reicher (1996) noted, there were two important limitations to his analysis of the St. Pauls' 'riot'. Firstly, with the emphasis on social identity determining the limits and boundaries of collective action his analysis could be interpreted as suggesting that the St. Pauls' identity was inherently violent. In this sense, there is the danger that the crowd is reified and abstracted from its social context, the very thing Reicher (1984, 1987) set out to argue against. Secondly, in focusing on the ideology and intragroup dynamics of the crowd, the analysis did not fully consider the *intergroup* dynamics between the crowd and the police. The ESIM was developed with reference to several case studies of crowds of various types including football fans (e.g., Stott and Reicher 1998a, Stott *et al.* 2001) and protests (e.g., Drury and Reicher 2000) in order to address these problems. In particular, ESIM work has focused on explaining how people's identities can shift and change due to the experience of crowd events. How does a peaceful crowd become involved in collective conflict (often with the police)?

The battle of Westminster Bridge

The first study to test ESIM was Reicher's (1996) analysis of 'the battle of Westminster', which took place on 24th November 1988. On this day there was a march in central London that had been organised by the National Union of Students. Their aim was to protest against government plans to supplant student grants with loans. A route for the march had been agreed in

advance between the organisers and the police. However, many participants chose to break off from this route and instead headed for the Houses of Parliament via Westminster Bridge. The police prevented the protestors from crossing the bridge and it was here that conflict between the police and protestors developed and escalated.

Reicher (1996) argued that the conflict between the police and the protestors was initiated due to incompatible notions of what constituted proper or legitimate social action. Correspondingly, the protestors believed that they had a democratic right to cross Westminster Bridge and lobby their MPs outside the Houses of Parliament. Therefore, they also perceived the police action as an illegitimate attempt to deny them this opportunity. Whereas the police believed that the mere presence of students on the bridge was illegitimate since it represented a deviation from the established route of the protest march. Accordingly, the analysis suggested that it was the perception that an out-group had violated 'our' model of what is right and appropriate (legitimate) that initiated the conditions for intergroup conflict on Westminster Bridge.

The second part of Reicher's (1996) analysis looked at how collective conflict spread and how that related to changes in the self-categorisation of the protestors. Reicher noted that an in-group is always defined in reference to relevant out-groups; in other words a sense of who we are depends on who we are not (Tajfel 1978; Turner *et al.* 1987). Hence changes in the self-categorisation of protestors implies changes in the way in which the protestors perceived the police. Thus, at the beginning of the protest crowd members perceived themselves as comprising fairly small friendship groupings with no real sense of overall togetherness and the police were largely viewed as neutral upholders of the law. Yet due to the shared experience of both indiscriminate policing and a perceived denial of their collective rights, crowd members began to see themselves as members of a common category in opposition to the police who were viewed as partisan governmental agents (Reicher 1996). This emergent unity is encapsulated by the remark of one crowd member recounting their experience on

Westminster Bridge: "*we were a united force against them as a united force*" (Reicher 1996, p. 126). With their increased sense of psychological unity, the crowd felt empowered to actively confront the police.

The 'poll tax riots'

Reicher's (1996) study thus embodies a key conceptual argument of the social identity approach: that identity and the social comparative context are fundamentally interlinked. However, Drury and Reicher (2009) note that, in general, social identity theorists have tended to conceptualise the social context as prior to, and determining of, identity. Stott and Drury's (2000) study of the 'poll tax riot' in central London on the 31st of March 1990 provided further evidence for the idea that identity and context should not be seen as two different orders of phenomena but rather as "*two…interdependent moments in a single historical process*" (Drury and Reicher 2009, p. 712). By reconceptualising the relationship between context and identity they were able to explore "…*how identity can change through action in context*" (p. 712).

Stott and Drury (2000) showed that protestors initially defined themselves in terms of peaceful protest against what they perceived to be an unjust tax. However, the police officers interviewed perceived the same protestors as uniformly dangerous and aggressive. Importantly, the police were in a position to impose their perceptions on the demonstrators via the use of coercive and indiscriminate force (e.g., baton and horse charges). With this change in context for the protestors (from 'peaceful protest' to 'police coercion') came a corresponding change in identity (from 'poll tax protestors' to 'us' protestors versus 'them' police). This shift in shared self-definition changed the normative dimensions of what was deemed acceptable and appropriate behaviour. The vast majority of protestors initially repudiated violence and differentiated themselves from those wanting to confront the police. However, subsequent to the police intervention that was widely experienced as illegitimate and indiscriminate, conflict with the police came to be viewed as normative for the majority of crowd members. Similar to Reicher's (1996) analysis, the psychological unity of the crowd based in

perceiving the police in oppositional terms led to an increased sense of empowerment; the demonstrators began to believe that confronting the police was both proper and *possible* social action.

ESIM's application to crowd management: Euro 2004

The case studies reviewed so far indicate that 'riots' or 'disorder' arise in an intergroup context where there is an asymmetry between the police and crowd in terms of a) their categorical representations, and b) what is and is not perceived to be legitimate social action (Drury and Reicher 2009). Accordingly, they serve to highlight the importance of perceptions of police illegitimacy and social identity in the initiation and escalation of collective conflict with the police. However, in so doing they are also suggestive of the reverse: if the police can maintain perceptions of their own legitimacy amongst those in the crowd, then major escalations may be avoided and common bonds of identification between the police and crowd promoted.

Following this logic, Reicher *et al.* (2004, 2007) proposed a series of conflict reduction principles for crowd policing based on the ESIM: education, facilitation, communication and differentiation. Accordingly, the principles suggest that it is crucial for the police to recognise that crowd events usually contain multiple psychological groups (e.g., opposing groups of football supporters) and therefore the police must *educate* themselves about the specifics of these social identities (e.g., their values, aims and objectives, sense of what is and is not legitimate action, historical context of the present interactions etc.). In so doing the police can identify and *facilitate* the legitimate aims of crowd members aided through the use of effective *communication* strategies. Furthermore, the police should not treat all crowd members as a homogenous mass, they should instead *differentiate*: to "*be aware of their different identities, their different ways of acting and of reacting*" (Reicher *et al.* 2004, p. 568).

Stott *et al.* (2007, 2008) were able to embed these key tenets of the ESIM into practice during the 2004 European Football Championships in Portugal

by directly informing the security policy of the Polícia de Segurança Pública[1] (PSP). Following the insights derived from Stott and Adang (2003a, 2003b) the strategic policing approach of the PSP during the tournament was characterised by its 'low profile' and non-paramilitary style. Accordingly, there was an emphasis on a graded, dynamic and targeted response to potential 'flashpoints' that emphasised the primacy of police communication, relationship building and dialogue over and above the need to control and coerce fans into 'compliance' (Adang and Stott 2004).

Stott *et al.*'s (2008) quantitative exploration of the impact of this intervention involved a pre and post tournament questionnaire administered to England fans. One of the most striking findings of this study was that, prior to the tournament, in-group identification (as an England fan) was significantly and negatively correlated with perceived similarity with the PSP (-0.498). Whereas after the tournament, in-group identification was associated with a perception of perceived similarity with the PSP (0.421). As Stott *et al.* (2008, p.41) maintain "*This suggests that the meaning of being an England fan, in terms of their relationship with the police at least, underwent a significant change during the tournament*".

Moreover, since the measure of perceived similarity with the police can be seen as a measure of relational identification with the police as a distinct social category the findings suggest that such "*…identification between crowd participants and the police may be…the psychological tool through which public order can be successfully maintained*" (Stott *et al.* 2008). In addition to this, there were converging qualitative accounts from England fans suggesting that this sense of relational identification with the police was associated with the perceived legitimacy of the 'low profile' approach adopted by the PSP (Stott *et al.* 2007).

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[1] The Polícia de Segurança Pública are one of two major police forces in Portugal with their jurisdiction covering all of the major cities in the country. See: http://www.psp.pt/Pages/defaultPSP.aspx

Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this review of the social identity approach and its application to the policing of crowds. Most broadly at the level of metatheory the approach rejects the notion that intergroup phenomena such as crowd events can be reduced theoretically or empirically to interpersonal dyads (e.g., between a 'citizen' and a police officer). More specifically, the case studies reviewed suggest that it is important to recognise that judgements of police (il)legitimacy and identity are not fixed or static. Rather they are dynamic and interlinked judgements that can change rapidly as a function of the way in which the police and crowd members interact. These judgements are crucial to an understanding of why crowd conflict with the police initiates and escalates and equally why it does not.

We thus take from ESIM in particular an emphasis on the interactive nature of the relationship between the social context, identity, legitimacy and action. This is encapsulated by Drury and Reicher's (2000, p.581) assertion that:

"*Social identity be regarded as a model of one's position in a set of social relations along with the actions that are possible and proper (legitimate) given such a position. Social identity is therefore understood as tied to action in the world. It is therefore amenable to change as actions and the social relations that frame them also change*".

In advancing this model, the ESIM highlights the need to explore how social categories are constructed and reconstructed in the dynamics of particular intergroup interactions between the crowd and police (Reicher 1996). As Reicher (1996, 1987) suggests there needs to be particular attention paid to how crowds respond to novel situations in context and how they collectively rise to the challenge of translating their initial 'superordinate identity' (e.g., peaceful protestors) into a situational one (e.g., 'us protestors' versus 'them police'). In this way we can see how crowd members can be psychologically transformed through their interactions with the police.

To come full circle then, the opening part of this chapter identified that 'group mind' theorists and 'individualist' accounts tend to abstract crowd behaviour from its social context. This view of the crowd has important implications for the way in which crowd events are policed since it locates the 'problem' of public disorder solely within the crowd, ignoring the importance of police-'public' interactions and policing tactics (Reicher *et al.* 2007). The social identity approach emphasises the latter and in so doing suggests that any adequate study of police–crowd social relations must forefront an *intergroup* analysis of the group-level dynamics of power, legitimacy and identity.

Chapter 3:

On procedural justice, identity and legitimacy: concepts, critiques and opportunities

This chapter begins by outlining the origins and theoretical perspectives of procedural justice research. As we shall see, the 'identity-based' models of Tom Tyler and colleagues outlined provide the conceptual foundations for PJT's application to policing. A critique of existing PJT research is then developed in light of the insights derived from the review of the social identity approach and its application to 'public order' policing. The final part of this chapter outlines some future directions for research and methodological considerations that provide the basis for the substantive empirical content of this thesis.

Conceptual origins of procedural justice: power and process

Early research on people's perceptions of justice was rooted in the social exchange theory notion that individuals are rational cost-benefit analysers (e.g., Thibaut and Kelley 1959; Blau 1964; Homans 1974). From the 1970s onwards psychological theory in this field has acknowledged the centrality of the 'procedural fairness' by which 'justice' outcomes are made (Thibaut and Walker 1975, 1978; Leventhal 1980; Lind and Tyler 1988) and it is Thibaut and Walker (1975, 1978) who are largely credited with the creation of the now highly influential concept of 'procedural justice'. Their seminal work demonstrated that procedures which afforded disputants the opportunity to have 'voice' within the legal system were perceived as more 'procedurally fair' than were those that denied disputants this opportunity (Lind *et al.* 1997). This preference was maintained even in instances where 'decision control' was in the hands of a third party and was independent of outcomes. Thibaut and Walker (1978) argue this motivation for process control is based in a desire to shape consequences, so they ultimately imply that individuals value 'process control' because they are embedded in a power relationship and 'procedural fairness' allows them some opportunity to shape the outcomes that they receive.

Leventhal's (1980) justice judgement model (JJM) similarly emphasises that

individuals value process control. Leventhal (1980) advanced six rules that he argued individuals use to judge procedural fairness. These are the extent to which a procedure: (1) is applied consistently across people and time (the consistency rule), (2) it is not unduly influenced by personal self-interest (bias suppression rule), (3) it is based on as much accurate and informed information as possible (accuracy rule), (4) there is the opportunity to change or overturn incorrect decisions (the 'correctability' rule), (5) it reflects the views and concerns of all subgroups and individuals affected (representativeness), and (6) the procedure is concordant with an individual's moral and ethical values (ethicality rule). An important point to take from Leventhal's conceptual development (1980, p. 32) for our purposes is that far from being fixed and universal he states very clearly that individuals apply "…*procedural rules selectively and follow different rules at different times. The relative weight of procedural rules may differ from one situation to the next, and one procedural component to the next*". In other words, from the early stages of theoretical development within the field it has been acknowledged that the 'rules' governing judgements of 'fairness' are not reified but dynamic and situationally bounded.

Shortly after they were developed, Lind and Tyler (1988) critiqued these early theoretical models because they relied too heavily upon the idea of individual self-interested actors instrumentally controlling procedural decision-making for personal gain, be it equitable or favourable outcomes. Their group value model (GVM) proposed that in contrast, criminal justice procedures carry important identity-relevant information. Put simply, the manner in which authority is exercised ultimately communicates to people information about their status and standing within important social categories. Lind and Tyler (1988) go on to argue that 'socialisation' within nation states or communities engenders relatively stable and universally shared beliefs about what constitutes 'procedural fairness'. However, while there was a tendency for people to agree with the notion that 'voice' or representation in the decision-making of the police or courts was an important constituent of 'fair process', the GVM suggests that such perceptions are ultimately open to change as and where different patterns of

'socialisation' are in place. The GVM therefore emphasises that perceptions of 'fairness' are not fixed and universal but are to some extent socially determined and therefore contextually bounded (Tyler and Blader 2003; Bobocel and Gosse 2015).

'Procedure', identity and cooperation

The group engagement model (GEM; Tyler and Blader 2000, 2003; Blader and Tyler 2009) built upon the GVM and its relational model of authority (Tyler and Lind 1992) as a means of explaining how a perception of procedural fairness subsequently engenders cooperative behaviours in groups, organisations and 'society'. GEM's conceptualisation of social identity clearly draws from SIT (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) with Blader and Tyler's (2009) suggestion that identity comprises a cognitive and evaluative component. As with SIT, the cognitive component refers to the extent to which an individual feels a psychological sense of belongingness to a group and this is tied to the emotional value attached to that group membership. Central to the theoretical contribution of GEM is its 'social identity mediation hypothesis': that "*procedural justice judgments are…a key antecedent of identity assessments. Identity assessments, in turn, are the key determinant of important psychological and behavioural connections to the group*" (Tyler and Blader 2003, p. 357).

In other words, the GEM acknowledges that procedural fairness judgments precede and to some extent determine judgements concerning identity. The GEM therefore seems to assume that the actions of authorities in their exercise of power have direct consequences for the extent to which individuals will or will not see themselves in terms of a specific and available social identity, and that this social psychological process ultimately mediates behavioural outcomes. For example, Blader and Tyler (2009) reported two studies that provided evidence for the GEM's 'social identity mediation hypothesis' within an organisational context. The first study involved 112 matched pairs of employees and their supervisors from a single division of an international financial services organisation in the USA. The study measured identification with work group and employees' 'extra-role'

behaviour' (e.g., the extent to which they engaged in self-motivated 'cooperation' with work group goals). Their findings supported the idea that work group identification mediated whether the employee engaged in such 'organisational citizenship'. The second study extended this finding by demonstrating that such outcomes were linked to employees' identification with their superordinate organisational category.

Blader and Tyler (2009) also reported that the association between resource-based judgements (e.g., group related 'outcomes' such as evaluations of pay) and extra-role behaviour was likewise mediated by employees' work-based identifications. Such findings have been used to support the GEM based argument that "*material rewards primarily influence engagement indirectly, by influencing identity status*" (p. 355). In other words, the GEM moves further beyond the 'instrumental' and implicitly individualistic models of rational self-interest toward an understanding of the centrality of group processes and social identity in shaping behavioural outcomes. Moreover, GEM based research also begins to help us to understand that powerful group authorities can shape social contexts in ways that lead 'subordinates' to see themselves as active 'citizens' and, when they do, to act in a manner that is consistent with, or 'conforms' spontaneously to, the identity based norms of that social context.

Thus, early models of 'procedural justice' (Thibaut and Walker, 1978; Leventhal 1980) emphasised that individuals value having control in *how* decisions are made since it affords them some power to shape the outcomes that they receive. However, these early 'self-interest' models were primarily focused at the level of the individual rational actor. By contrast the latter approaches begin to emphasise the importance of social identity and intergroup contexts because they stress that the way in which powerful groups act has important identity based outcomes. Accordingly, the actions of the 'powerful' upon the 'subjugated' determines whether the individual in question sees themselves as a 'respected citizen' or 'valued' member of a superordinate social category, such as the 'organisation', 'community' or 'nation state'. Nonetheless, there was also in this body of work important

early recognition of the situational contingency of 'fairness rules'. Indeed, while there are likely to be relatively fixed notions of what constitutes 'procedural fairness' across large populations it was nevertheless explicitly recognised that these judgements and their behavioural outcomes will vary with the specific socialised values, social contexts and identities in question.

Procedural justice theory and policing: a turn toward social cognitions
Tom Tyler is largely credited with being the first researcher to apply the concept of 'procedural justice' to the issue of 'citizen' encounters and experiences of the police. It is his seminal book on 'why people obey the law' (Tyler 1990) that is widely acknowledged to be the first comprehensive statement of PJT. However, it is important to recognise that PJT draws heavily upon an intellectual heritage and therefore carries with it many of the ideas and assumptions discussed above. In particular, Tyler (1990) sought to overcome the prior distinction between 'rational self-interest models' and the GVM's identity-based approach, through a dual process model of 'instrumental' and 'normative' compliance (cf., Deutsch and Gerard 1955). On the one hand, instrumental compliance accepts that people can be individually focused cost-benefit analysers when it comes to deciding whether or not to break the law and thus an external deterrence threat is the primary way to motivate acquiescence (Hough *et al.* 2010). On the other, normative compliance suggests that people also conform with the law because of an internal sense of obligation which is based less on deterrence and more upon judgements of procedural 'fairness' and legitimacy.

As with Leventhal's (1980) JJM, 'procedural fairness' or 'procedural justice', is defined by PJT in terms of core constituent dimensions or 'rules', in this case four: participation, neutrality, dignity and respect, and trustworthy motives (Meares 2013; Meares *et al.* 2014; Jonathan-Zamir *et al.* 2015). Taking each dimension in turn PJT asserts that, firstly, people value having the opportunity to *participate* in the police decision-making process by having their say; to tell their side of the story or have 'voice'. Secondly, people want the police to come to 'fair' or objective decisions by behaving with *neutrality* rather than in accordance to their own personal biases or

stereotypes. Thirdly, people want to be treated with *dignity and respect* by the police. Finally, in their interactions with police, people want to perceive that officers are acting benevolently or with '*trustworthy motives*'. Thus, people are viewed as critically concerned with the (un)fairness of their interpersonal dealings with police officers and also the (un)fairness of the way police officers reach decisions.

According to early theoretical accounts of PJT, judgements of procedural 'fairness' then play a role in determining perceptions of police 'legitimacy' (Tyler, 1990). However, there is little consensus within the PJT literature regarding the precise definition and operationalisation of police legitimacy. Broadly, delineations tend to coalesce around the notion that legitimacy entails a belief that the police are an appropriate, proper and just authority (Tyler 2006). As such, Beetham's (1991) threefold typology is often used to operationalise the concept such that for the police to be defined as 'legitimate' in the eyes of the policed they must 1) act within prescribed laws; 2) embody shared norms and values, i.e., act in 'normatively justifiable' ways; and 3) there must be evidence of expressed consent from 'the policed' (e.g., Sunshine and Tyler, 2003a; Jackson and Bradford 2010; Hough *et al*. 2011; Jackson *et al.* 2011, Tyler and Jackson 2014).

For researchers who accept the above definitions of police legitimacy, 'procedural fairness' is therefore viewed as an antecedent factor to 'police legitimacy'. Accordingly, Jackson *et al.* (2011) suggest that perceptions of police legitimacy can be measured empirically by three inter-related constructs, which do not in themselves contain any measures of 'procedural fairness'. Acting within prescribed laws (or the 'legality' of the police action) can be assessed by exploring people's perceptions of the extent to which police behaviour conforms to established legal principles. The degree to which the police embody shared values can be measured by asking people about their perceived 'moral alignment' with the police, with statements such as the *"police generally have the same sense of right and wrong that you do"* (Tyler and Jackson 2014, p. 10). Finally, expressed consent can be assessed by statements designed to measure the extent to which people

feel an obligation to obey police directives (cf., Beetham 1991).

This conceptual and operational approach has recently been challenged by the 'police legitimacy model' (PLM) (Tankebe *et al.* 2016) that asserts perceptions of procedural fairness, along with distributive fairness, the lawfulness of police action and police effectiveness (e.g., at reducing crime) are all constituent parts of a broader overarching concept of 'police legitimacy' rather than merely potentially 'legitimating factors' (Huq *et al.* 2016). Moreover, the PLM proposes that a felt obligation to obey the police is not an integral component of legitimacy but an *outcome* of the legitimate exercise of power.

However, it is the contention of this thesis that this important debate runs the risk of reifying legitimacy and 'fairness' by overlooking the dynamic nature of these judgements and the inter-relationships with identity and social context. It is contended that this danger arises partly because the literature has yet to address empirically the *processes* through which fairness rules and perceptions of legitimacy are bounded, socially determined and rendered situationally contingent (c.f., Leventhal 1980). The lack of focus on social process is arguably due, at least in part, to the foundational impact of Thibaut and Walker's work on the development of PJT. For example, Tyler and Folger (1980) applied Thibaut and Walker's key hypothesis to police 'citizen' encounters; that is, they tested the notion that there is an important distinction between 'procedures' and 'outcomes'. They focused on two types of police - 'citizen' encounters: those where 'citizens' initiated a 'call for assistance' to the police and those where 'citizens' were actually apprehended as a potential suspect. They sought to explore whether judgements of police 'procedural fairness' affected 'citizen' ratings of satisfaction with the police independently of the favourability of the outcomes they received (i.e., whether the police solved their problem or gave them a ticket for a traffic or motor violation). They noted that whilst it was relatively easy for Thibaut and Walker to experimentally manipulate the more formal and ostensibly objective 'procedures' of the courtroom, police 'procedures' in their encounters with 'citizens' are less formalised and so are less amenable

to controlled experimentation. Thus, instead of 'manipulating' aspects of police actions to show the affect that they had on 'citizen' ratings of police satisfaction, they instead utilised survey methodology with the assumption that: "...*citizens will differentially perceive the fairness of the manner in which they have been treated, and that these perceptions will affect satisfaction independently of the outcome of an encounter*" (Tyler and Folger 1980, p. 282). In so doing Tyler and Folger essentially took a turn inwards, treating a measure of the subjective perception of 'procedural fairness' as a quasi-independent variable and sought to test its effect on ratings of satisfaction with the police.

This methodological 'twist' is a key preoccupation that runs through much of the subsequent PJT work. Accordingly, following this initial study, a large body of survey evidence has been amassed linking the 'citizen' experiences of 'procedural fairness' to their perceptions of police legitimacy, a willingness to accept police decisions, satisfaction with the police, and to behavioural intentions such as compliance with the law and cooperation with the police (e.g., Tyler and Huo 2002; Sunshine and Tyler 2003a; Tyler 2006; Tyler 2017). Correspondingly, the mainstay of the PJT literature is not so much focused on the precise *nature and context* of an individual's interactions with the police but rather it centres on *perceptions* of these encounters. In this respect, PJT has essentially become a social cognitive theory, in all but name. Thus, on the one hand, it stresses theoretically the centrality of the social relationships between a police officer and 'citizen'. On the other, it is empirically concerned with cognitions or how 'citizens' perceive these encounters with police. Put slightly differently, the PJT literature often gives primacy to an analysis of an individual's cognitions about policing at the expense of an exploration of the actual social encounters, contexts and processes through which such cognitions are ultimately understood to be formed.

Officers as mirrors

Despite the key emphasis on expressive, relational explanations of why procedural fairness matters to people in both the GVM and GEM, there are

only a handful of existing PJT studies that have empirically addressed the impact that social identity processes may have in relation to public perceptions of the police and policing (e.g., Tyler and Huo 2002; Huo 2003; Sunshine and Tyler 2003b; Murphy and Cherney 2011; Murphy 2013; Bradford 2014; Bradford *et al.* 2014; Bradford and Quinton 2014; Bradford *et al.* 2015; Oliveira and Murphy 2015; Madon *et al.* 2016). Within this body of literature, there are two primary ways in which social identity is conceptualised. Both are explicitly based in the GVM and GEM accounts outlined earlier and tend to assume that police officers, through the way they treat those they encounter, communicate messages concerning inclusion, status and value within the group that the police are assumed to represent. The social categories invoked in this research are usually conceptualised and operationalised in terms of national, community or 'citizenship' identities (Bradford 2016).

In the studies that draw upon the GVM, emphasis is given to the idea that group identification (e.g., national or community identity) *precedes* interactions with group authorities. For example, Murphy *et al.* (2015) explored the GVM with a representative sample of Australian residents. They posited that those strongly identifying with Australia will value procedural fairness since the police are important state representatives and so police treatment is especially 'identity relevant' to them. However, for those who identify more with their own '*ethnic subordinate group*' (p. 5) procedural fairness '*may matter less*' (p. 5) in explaining their intentions to cooperate, since the police represent a social category with which they do not identify (i.e., the nation state of Australia). Thus, GVM researchers have essentially suggested that people's perceptions of and reactions to 'procedural fairness' will vary depending on the extent to which people already identify with the superordinate category.

By contrast, applied to policing, the GEM suggests that one reason why police procedural fairness is important to people is that police activity is 'identity relevant' to them and can actively shape and alter their subjective relationship to the categories the police are assumed to represent.

Accordingly, people value procedurally fair policing as it indicates that they are included in, and a valued member of, some form of superordinate category. This in turn is assumed to encourage people to internalise and legitimise the values associated with membership of that superordinate category, thus engendering cooperation and compliance with its representatives (the police). Conversely, procedurally unfair policing suggests exclusion from this category. Hence, people will tend to reject the category norms and comply less with the group authority's directives (Bradford 2014).

There is evidence supporting both accounts. For example, in line with the predictions of the GVM, Huo (2003) reported that amongst a sample of Americans identification with the United States moderated the link between perceptions of procedural fairness and decision acceptance. Those who identified strongly with America placed a greater emphasis on how they were treated by legal authorities (i.e., procedural fairness) and less emphasis on the outcomes of their interactions. In concordance with the GEM, Bradford *et al.* (2014) conducted a representative survey of Australians and reported that when people felt the police were 'procedurally fair' their strength of identification as an Australian citizen and perceptions of police legitimacy were enhanced. Conversely, perceptions of police unfairness were related to a weakened sense of identification and lower levels of police legitimacy.

However, despite this empirical support it is suggested that the contrasting set of assumptions about the underlying relationships between police action and identity exposes various limitations to PJT work both in its GEM and GVM guises. One weakness of the current PJT literature is that researchers have tended to explore issues of social identity by focusing almost exclusively on what appear as relatively fixed and abstract superordinate categories. For example, Bradford's (2014) measure of social identification involved asking Londoners how strongly they felt they belonged to a) their local area, b) London, and c) Britain. Whereas Sunshine and Tyler (2003b, p. 158) assessed the extent to which New Yorkers identified with an 'imagined community' (Anderson 2006) with statements such as the "*values*

of most of the people in my neighbourhood are very similar to my own".
Finally, Bradford *et al.*'s (2014, p. 549) measure sought to capture the extent
to which Australians viewed themselves as law-abiding citizens of Australia
with questions including "*Do you see yourself first and mainly as a member
of the Australian community?*" and "*Do you see yourself as an honest, law-
abiding citizen?*".

By focusing predominantly on these kinds of social categories and by
assuming police officers act as pre-defined 'moral arbiters' of entry to them,
PJT research has tended to overlook *relational* identification (Radburn *et al.*
2016). More specifically, research had tended to disregard the extent to
which people identify with the police as a *distinct* social group. Indeed, it
seems reasonable to assume that people can identify with the police just as
they can with other relevant social categories (e.g., one's work organization;
Blader and Tyler 2009).

Moreover, PJT research appears to conceptualise the normative and
ideological content of these categories as relatively fixed and subsequently
the police are often constituted un-problematically as being prototypical
representatives of them (e.g., see Bradford *et al.* 2015, p. 6), a
prototypicality that is assumed but not often measured. One notable
exception is Sunshine and Tyler (2003b) who explored the degree to which
the police were prototypical of the 'community's' moral values. They did this
by asking New Yorkers the extent to which they agreed with statements
such as "*The police in [my] neighbourhood act in ways that are consistent
with [my] own moral values about how people should be treated*" (p. 157).
Yet with this measure it is noticeable that there are no direct references to
specific police actions. Instead, such statements are aimed at assessing the
extent to which the police *in general* represent the moral standards and
values of 'the community'. Moreover, Sunshine and Tyler's (2003b)
underlying theoretical approach explicitly assumes that the police are de
facto prototypical group representatives of the community and nation state.

Thus, while the models of underlying psychology in PJT research recognise

the centrality of 'social identity' processes they are explicitly grounded in the identity based models of the GVM and GEM, which convey a very specific set of propositions for how these forms of psychology function. First, in theorising police-'citizen' encounters, PJT researchers have focused almost exclusively on the extent to which police activity affects an individual's sense of national, community or 'citizenship' identity. Thus, PJT is currently relatively limited in its capacity to understand the processes at work in more complex and dynamic intergroup encounters involving differing forms of identity (e.g., ethnicity, political affiliation, football fandom etc.). Second, it is largely taken as self-evident that the police are representative of these superordinate categories. It is argued that there is a danger of discounting the idea that by engaging in 'unfair' or 'illegitimate' actions the police may equally render themselves as unrepresentative state or community actors. For example, recall Reicher's (1984, 1987) analysis of the St. Pauls' riot in Bristol presented in Chapter 2. Far from the police reflecting and being prototypical representatives of the St. Pauls' community, the police were seen by crowd participants as hostile and racist outsiders attacking the 'black community' by raiding the Black and White café, an important community hub.

Intergroup contexts, identities and interaction

Despite the historical lineage of the theory being rooted in "*in efforts to understand and explain riots and rebellion*" (Tyler and Blader 2003, p. 351), there has been a paucity of PJT research focussing specifically on the emergence of criminality within or police management of crowds (Stott *et al.* 2011). Indeed, to date there has been only one study that has formally examined issues of procedural fairness, police legitimacy and social identity specifically in the context of policing crowd events. Stott *et al.* (2011) sought to utilise PJT and the ESIM of crowd behaviour to explain the presence and absence of collective conflict during football crowd events involving Cardiff City football fans. Undertaking a 3-year longitudinal ethnographic study, their analysis showed that fans' perceptions of police legitimacy were associated with a policing approach that sought to enhance communication and dialogue with fan groups. In this context, where fans adjudged their

intergroup relations with the police as being legitimate, fans were more likely to comply with police directives and even 'self-regulate' - to essentially police themselves - psychologically marginalising potential 'trouble-makers'.

This work in many ways validated PJT's central ideas and findings within the context of policing crowds, particularly regarding the importance of police treatment and perceptions of police legitimacy in encouraging 'compliance'. Thus, Stott *et al.* (2011, p. 15) suggested, in line with other authors (c.f., Murray 2010), that *"the processes we have identified here are consistent with the theoretical principles of both ESIM and PJT...".* Whilst agreeing with this broad assertion, it is argued here that there are conceptual limitations that emerge when applying PJT to the policing of crowds that merit exploration. Perhaps most significantly, is the fact that existing PJT work is predominantly individualistic and interpersonal in its orientation, in the sense that the model of police-'public' interactions often assumed is that of a dyadic relationship between a 'citizen' and a police officer (Smith 2007, Bradford 2016; Radburn *et al.* 2016). While categories such as 'citizen' themselves come loaded with assumptions, Tom Tyler and colleagues argue that the *"model of legitimacy we offer reflects the reality that interactions with the police are interpersonal experiences..."* (Meares *et al.* 2014, p. 114)*.* Yet as described in Chapter 2, SIT itself arose, in part, out of dissatisfaction with individualistic approaches to group processes and as such draws a qualitative distinction between individual and group level processes.

Therefore, to gain a fuller theoretical understanding of crowd-police relations there is a requirement to recognise that PJT must also be explicit that interrelationships between police and 'citizens' can be *intergroup* rather than merely interpersonal in nature. In this sense, Taylor and Brown's (1979) influential criticism of social psychology in the 1970s mentioned in the previous chapter - that the study of interpersonal phenomena tended to be divorced from the wider social and historical context - rings true for the PJT literature. For instance, Armaline *et al.* (2014, p. 2) argues that PJT work does not tend to consider *"...the long and burdensome history of aggressive policing practices embedded into the social fabric of urban communities of*

color." Indeed, Tyler and Lind (1992, p. 143) make clear that: "*Unlike Tajfel and Turner...we focus on the search for information about one's position within one's group, rather than on the position of one's ingroup vis-a-vis other groups*". This form of 'de-contextualisation' has important implications for the explanatory power of PJT, particularly when applying it to crowd policing.

As suggested above, these conceptual issues appear to be interrelated to methodological ones. For example, most PJT research within a policing context comprises large population surveys that are utilised to identify national trends between people's judgements towards their encounters with police officers and to their behavioural intentions such as their propensity to cooperate with the police or toward conforming to the law. As such there is a reliance on individuals' self-reported views of policing independent of an in-depth investigation of the actual nature and context of these interactions (c.f., Harkin 2014, 2015; Waddington *et al.* 2015). Thus, PJT researchers, through their methodological choices, often "...*have no way of knowing what the police are doing…the beginning point of our analysis is the self-reports of community residents – policing as they experience it*" (Sunshine and Tyler 2003a, p. 528).

These issues also have implications for the study of police legitimacy. As Smith (2007) argues, the vast bulk of PJT work has been focused on three concerns: a) the extent to which an *individual* perceives the police's actions to be fair; b) how these judgements are related to the *individual's* perception of whether the police are legitimate; c) how these perceptions of the police relate to an *individual's* behavioural intention to comply with the law and/or cooperate with the police. In other words, the focus has been on seeking an explanation for inter-individual differences in perceptions of police legitimacy and to establish its psychological antecedents (e.g., procedural fairness) and consequences (e.g., compliance with the law or cooperation with the police). Such research therefore tells us little if anything about the processes through which people come to perceive policing as illegitimate, do not comply with the law and otherwise go on to engage in violent confrontation with the

police or other forms of *collective* criminality, such as the looting witnessed during the 2011 English riots (see Reicher and Stott 2011).

The trajectory of research development in the field of PJT is of course completely understandable given that the primary theoretical concern to date has been on the validity[2] of some of PJT's central contentions. There can be little dispute that this work has done a good deal to validate some of the theory's core hypotheses. The critique is therefore not to reject the theory but to focus debate on how the approach needs to develop to expand its explanatory power. In this sense, it is contended that by ignoring the immediate contexts of people's interactions with police it is impossible to explore and ultimately explain the dynamics of change. For example, crowd actors can develop very strong perceptions of police unfairness and illegitimacy during a crowd event, perceptions that last well beyond that specific encounter (e.g., Drury and Reicher, 2000; Vestergren *et al.* 2017). Through the paucity of studies exploring the group level dynamics of actual encounters between 'citizens' and police it remains unclear how PJT currently helps understand these fundamental and enduring transitions.

Legitimacy, relational identification and the dialectics of 'procedure'
As Chapter 2 established, research on the policing of crowds at international football tournaments has demonstrated that reductions in 'public disorder' were associated with policing approaches designed to facilitate the expressions of fan identity (Stott and Pearson 2007). Recall that the 'graded' tactical policing approach that flowed from this was also associated with widespread and shared perceptions of police legitimacy among fans. Moreover, Stott *et al.* (2008) showed how England fans who were planning to attend the UEFA European Championships in Portugal displayed strong negative correlations between measures of in-group identification (as an

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[2] Vaughn and Daniel (2012) note that "*there are several ways to view validity, but all are concerned with the confidence we can have regarding conclusions made...*" (p. 33). The use of 'validity' in this chapter corresponds to this definition, particularly in relation to the veracity of PJT's theoretical assertions (e.g., the link between perceptions of procedural fairness, police legitimacy and behavioural compliance).

England fan) and a measure of identification with the police. In other words, prior to the tournament seeing yourself as an England fan meant that you tended to see the police as 'nothing like me'. Given their long history of antagonistic relations with police at that time, this was perhaps unsurprising. However, during the tournament England fans collectively experienced their intergroup relations with the police as broadly legitimate, both directly and vicariously. In a post tournament survey, taken in the weeks immediately following the event, the pattern of this correlation reversed, so measures of in-group identification among England fans now showed a strong positive correlation with the measure of identification with the police.

What this suggests is that the collective experience of legitimacy with police during the tournament related directly to contextually and historically derived identity norms and values. Put slightly differently, England fans perceived policing as legitimate because it facilitated what 'we' want to do and was different to the 'heavy-handed' policing 'we' have experienced elsewhere. The data also suggests that such identity based interactions during these crowd events then transformed previously antagonistic inter-group relationships. Thus, when the police acted toward these crowds to facilitate the expression of their group identity (across time and events), the emerging perceptions and experiences of police legitimacy appear to have shifted the boundaries and normative content of the identities involved. The experience of police legitimacy may have in turn functioned to lead fans to see the police as 'us', and act collectively in terms of facilitating the carnival of football by 'self-regulating', to prevent disruption by anyone seeking to create 'disorder'. By acting with perceived 'legitimacy', at that moment in that context for that time, the police were 'the public' and 'the public' were the police.

This finding does suggest that identity, legitimacy and intergroup interaction are intimately intertwined and as such it is important to understand how perceptions of police legitimacy and identity change through and within interaction. An opportunity that is concordant with Bottoms and Tankebe's (2012) call for criminologists to explore the 'dialogic' nature of legitimacy

dynamics between 'power-holders' and 'audiences'. Drawing on the work of the sociologist Max Weber and moral/legal philosopher Joseph Raz, they argue that essentially all political regimes lay 'claims' to being legitimate, that 'power-holders' always attempt "*to establish and to cultivate the belief in legitimacy*". Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) suggest that there are two important implications to be derived from these assertions. Firstly, that to 'claim' legitimacy is suggestive of the fact that authorities such as the police are often dealing with different social groups who may have opposing interests, what may be legitimate for one group may be illegitimate for the other. Secondly, that the notion of 'cultivating' legitimacy is suggestive of an active and on-going relationship between police officers and 'citizens'. Thus, far from being an objective – even reified – given, fairness and legitimacy judgments are perhaps fundamentally inter-woven elements of an on-going, dynamic and historical *process*.

Finally, there is the question of power. Within the interpersonal relationships between police officers and 'citizen' PJT suggests that the power resides with the police officer by virtue of their position (Bradford 2016). As Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) put it the police officer is the 'power-holder' and the citizen the 'audience'. Yet, the power relationship between police and crowds is not so simple. Crowds are places where such routine architectures of power can be reversed. According to ESIM, collective conflict with the police is only possible when there is a shared sense of empowerment experienced by crowd members by virtue of their situationally determined shared self-definition that is demarcated, at least in part, by their united opposition against the police. The challenge that ESIM's perspective on crowds confronts PJT work with is to articulate "...*how power emerges from and functions within social relationships with a definite social, ideological and historical content rather than reifying it as an abstract external force producing generic psychological effects*" (Turner 2005, p.1).

The need for a 'methodological turn' towards causality, context and process

Earlier it was suggested that from Tyler and Folger's (1980) initial work

onwards, PJT research has tended to focus on people's cognitions about policing at the expense of the context from which such judgements like fairness and legitimacy are formed. Accordingly, it is argued here that there is a need for a 'methodological turn' in order to bridge the gap between the specific social context of people's interactions with the police on the one hand and their perceptual judgements of their interactions on the other. This relates to five specific limitations of the current evidence base within the PJT literature that the empirical aspect of this thesis seeks to address.

Firstly, there is a large body of cross-sectional survey evidence that has studied how the general population understand and interpret policing with respect to PJT's key predictions (e.g., Sunshine and Tyler 2003a, 2003b; Tyler 2006; Nagin and Telep 2017a). However, there is less evidence regarding the extent to which these findings apply to 'specific' populations who regularly come into contact with police officers (c.f., Armaline *et al.* 2014). As Chapter 2 has demonstrated, crowd participants (e.g., football fans) are often such 'communities' who may have historically problematic relations with police and who may also be 'at the 'receiving end' of policing practices (c.f., Maguire *et al.* 2016).

Secondly, there is also a dearth of evidence regarding behavioural change as a result of the experience of police 'procedural (in)justice' (Nagin and Telep 2017a). That is, the actual subsequent behaviour of people who have been through an encounter or series of encounters with the police has very rarely been explored (notable exceptions include Paternoster *et al.* 1997; Stott *et al.* 2011). Previous work has therefore tended to rely on measures of behavioural intention or self-reported levels of 'compliance' with the law and cooperation with the police. Whilst there are studies to suggest that behavioural intentions are linked to actual behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein 1980), a complete test of PJT's underlying social psychological models requires an analytical focus on the actual behaviour of 'the policed' in the vein of the ESIM studies reviewed in Chapter 2.

Thirdly, experimental methods have scarcely been applied and so the

hypothesised *causal* processes that lie at the heart of the theory have seldom been tested (Nagin and Telep 2017a; Tyler 2017). Whilst experiments are rare, a notable exception is Mazerolle *et al.*'s (2013) randomised control trial of police-initiated traffic stops in Australia. Known as the Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET), it was the first study to explore the causal relationship between implementing 'procedurally fair' policing and its subsequent effects on how 'citizens' perceived the encounter. For the experimental condition they operationalised the four key aspects of 'procedurally fair' policing practices (i.e., citizen participation, dignified and respectful treatment, neutrality, and 'trustworthy motives') into a script that was used by the police during real-life random breath testing stops. The experimental condition was then compared to a "business as usual" control group. The main results of this trial suggested that those allocated to the experimental condition, on average, reported more satisfaction with the encounter and indicated higher levels of self-reported compliance with the police officer (Mazerolle *et al.* 2012).

An important point to note for the current purposes is that this study (as well as a replication study undertaken in Scotland; i.e., Macqueen and Bradford 2015) operationalised 'procedurally just' policing as an independent variable. Correspondingly, the researchers did not explore how judgements of procedural fairness can vary according to group identification. Furthermore, the type of randomised control trials involving changes to police practice (e.g., Mazerolle *et al.* 2013; Macqueen and Bradford 2015) and randomised factorial experiments (e.g., Braga *et al.* 2014) that have been conducted have not formally tested the precise role that social identity plays within specific 'real-life' police–crowd interactions.

Fourthly, there is a dearth of qualitative research focusing on the actual lived experiences of people embedded in police 'procedures'. A notable exception is the work of Armaline *et al.* (2014) who interviewed a wide-ranging sample of Oakland (California) residents from the USA about their views and experiences of the Oakland Police Department (OPD). Their analysis showed that all African Americans who were interviewed "*...reported fears or*

reasons to fear and avoid contact with police officers" (p. 15). Accordingly, these interviewees invariably described specific historical examples of police brutality and/or malpractice. For instance, one 20 year-old African American described the shooting and killing of his uncle by an officer from the OPD.

This type of personal experience is impossible to adequately capture within a quantitative survey, yet "*...perceptions of the police, whether positive or negative, are undoubtedly the outcome of a lifetime of* [such] *personal experience and* [the vicarious] *influences of others*" (Nagin and Telep 2017a, p. 13). What this study demonstrates, as do the ESIM studies described in Chapter 2, is the advantage of a qualitative approach that allows specific:

> *"...actors to elaborate on the recent past and the relevant historical lead-in to the current dynamic between the police and the community"* (Harkin 2015, p. 11).

Of the limited qualitative work that has been conducted within a PJT framework (e.g., Brunson 2007; Gau and Brunson 2010; Stott *et al.* 2011; Armaline *et al.* 2014; Harkin 2014, 2015; Waddington *et al.* 2015) only Stott *et al.*'s (2011) ethnographic study has concentrated specifically on the policing of crowd events. Moreover, none of the existing qualitative work has specifically focused on systematically examining the underlying social psychological explanations of PJT offered by both the GVM and GEM.

Finally, as well as the lack of qualitative studies, there is also a relative absence of longitudinal studies that address the underlying social and psychological dynamics of procedural fairness and legitimacy in (historical) context (c.f., Harkin 2014, 2015). This is despite the fact that Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) argue that longitudinal studies are essential to study the dialogic 'claim and response' nature of police legitimacy dynamics. They go on to suggest that longitudinal studies have the capacity to answer important questions such as:

> *"Under what circumstances and why might the*
> *audience legitimacy of a criminal justice agency (or a*
> *given part of it) increase, decrease, or remain stable?"*
> (p. 166).

There are two noteworthy studies that sought to answer this question by applying longitudinal methods, both of which have been mentioned previously. Bradford *et al.*'s (2014) panel study of Australian citizens involved respondents completing a survey that sought to test associations between perceptions of procedural fairness, police legitimacy and social identity (conceptualised as the extent to which respondents identified as an 'Australian law-abiding citizen'). Each respondent included in the analysis filled out an initial survey and then a subsequent follow-up survey two years later. They reported that 'positive' changes (i.e., 'increased levels') of identification were associated with corresponding increases in perceptions of police legitimacy. Moreover, the link between perceptions of procedural fairness and police legitimacy were partially mediated by identification.

Whilst these results are suggestive of the role that perceptions of police fairness and identity play in the complex dialogics of police legitimacy, the study exemplifies some of the limitations highlighted above. The analytical focus is on a large population sample not specific or 'marginalised' groups, there are no data pertaining to on-going 'real-time' encounters, and there are no attempts to measure behavioural intentions let alone a focus on the subsequent behaviour of 'the policed'.

By comparison, Stott *et al.*'s (2011) longitudinal ethnographic study focused on a specific football fan group with historically 'problematic' relations with the police, formed their analysis on the basis of observing 'real-life' and 'real-time' interactions between fans and police, and related fan phenomenology to fan behaviour. As noted previously, the conclusions drawn were broadly in line with the key tenets of PJT. Policing approaches based primarily on 'dialogue and facilitation' with fans were associated with increasing perceptions of police legitimacy and 'self-policing' by the Cardiff City fans. By

contrast, policing that was based primarily on 'deterrence' and a show of force coincided with perceptions of police illegitimacy that in some instances led to an emergent group norm relating to the appropriateness of actively confronting the police.

Stott *et al.*'s (2011) analysis demonstrates the dialogic nature of legitimacy dynamics described by Bottoms and Tankebe (2012) and underlines the importance of studying the iterative group level processes *within and across* specific police–public interactions. In line with Tyler (2012, p. 11), Stott *et al.*'s (2011) study suggested that:

> *"...every encounter the public have with the police...should be treated as a socialising experience that builds or undermines legitimacy. Each contact is a teachable moment in which people learn about the law and legal authorities".*

Yet despite these insights Stott *et al.*'s (2011) study only explored the applicability of PJT and social identity perspectives in relation to football-related disorder. As such, how differing intergroup relationships in other crowd contexts (e.g., protests; Maguire *et al.* 2016) affect the underlying social psychological processes proposed by PJT remains unexplored. Moreover as argued above, there are important conceptual limitations relating to PJT's application to the policing of crowd events that were not the focus of Stott et al.'s (2011) study. Thus a systematic test of PJT's social psychological models, namely the GVM and GEM, has not been undertaken in the context of public order policing.

In summary then, it is the contention of this thesis that the consideration of (a) the policing of crowd events; (b) the extent to which PJT can be supported experimentally; and (c) qualitative (and longitudinal) work exploring the nature and contexts of people's interactions with police (over time) have so far been the important oversights of PJT research. Without such consideration, it is impossible for researchers to develop adequate

theoretical understanding of the complex processes involved in the 'teachable moments' described by Tyler (2012).

Methodological considerations

The limitations identified in this chapter feed directly into the research design of this thesis. As Murphy (2017) has recently suggested, the large quantitative survey studies that predominate the PJT literature have largely sought to replicate existing findings within different 'societies'. Accordingly,

> *"The concern with this type of research is that the procedural justice literature risks becoming stale, failing to push the boundaries or challenge the key assertions put forth in the existing literature...What is needed for the future of procedural justice scholarship is research that adopts new methodologies..." (p. 52).*

By adopting a pragmatic and mixed methods approach, this thesis aims to draw on both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to expand the PJT scholarship beyond the use of cross-sectional quantitative survey data. This approach is important since, as Murphy (2017) intimates, theory development has been impeded by the reluctance to embrace different methods of data collection. The approach adopted in this thesis is thus similar to Harkin's (2015) in that it is argued that novel methods have the potential to deliver novel theoretical and empirical insights.

For example, by using the experimental method, this thesis can explore causality in a way that previous cross-sectional survey studies have not been able to. As Jackson *et al.* (2015) have suggested, there is a paucity of research exploring how social identification and the specific social context impact on the 'boundaries' and nature of procedural fairness judgements. This reasoning chimes with Leventhal's (1980) notion that the nature and meaning of fairness judgements will vary depending on the context in which they are made. By adopting the experimental method there is the opportunity to investigate the precise role(s) that 'social identity' may play in 'public'

perceptions of police procedural 'fairness' within a specific crowd event. How does an individual's level of identification with 'the policed' affect their views of the *same* police action? Is fairness for 'us' different to fairness for 'them' in a policing context?

Moreover, by adopting qualitative methods this thesis can further explore the nuances of people's perceptions of the police and policing within crowd contexts (c.f., Harkin 2014, 2015). As this chapter makes clear, the limitations of previous PJT work often relate specifically to the weaknesses inherent in quantitative survey methodology. In other words, by reducing people's judgements to a tick of a Likert-scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree there is a tendency in PJT research to downplay the complex reality of people's judgements about the police. By contrast, qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews and open-ended survey questions can allow for a focus on the elaborated accounts of participants (Willig 2008). Qualitative methods allow for the participants to explain their views and/or experiences of the police and policing in their own words. Or as Brunson (2007, p. 80) suggests qualitative methods allow for an in-depth understanding of "*...the social world from the points of view of the research participants*".

Thus by employing a pragmatic and mixed methods research design this thesis can both test and explore PJT within the context of crowd policing. By undertaking both quantitative and qualitative empirical research utilising novel methods, this thesis seeks to advance the theoretical perspective of PJT. In particular, this work seeks to develop the social psychological accounts underpinning PJT developed by Tom Tyler and colleagues (i.e., the GVM and GEM).

Conclusions

This chapter has outlined the theoretical and empirical trajectory of PJT from the early pioneers such as Thibaut and Walker and Leventhal, to its current application in policing by Tyler and colleagues. In so doing, it has highlighted that there are certain conceptual limitations that relate to how the theory can

'make sense' of or otherwise explain police–public interactions within the context of crowd events. In making such claims, like other important critiques of PJT (e.g., Bottoms and Tankebe 2012; Tankebe 2013; Harkin 2015; Waddington *et al.* 2015; Radburn *et al.* 2016), the intention is not to reject or jettison the theory but to point to opportunities to develop and extend its theoretical reach and to argue for the importance of methodological diversification. An unwanted consequence of largely relying on cross-sectional survey data is that the emphasis is on empirically linking a series of 'interlocking' cognitive concepts. Such research is in danger of conveying a reified and mechanistic social world divorced from the 'lived experiences' of 'the policed' and the actual operational practices of the police. In making these arguments, this chapter has identified the need for experimental work, qualitative data and longitudinal analyses in order to test and explore the social psychological theorising of PJT within the context of public order policing.

Chapter 4: Bringing it all together: the aims of the thesis and methodological overview

So far, Chapters 1, 2 and 3 have identified two theoretical models that focus on the social psychological processes mediating police–'public' relations: the ESIM of crowd behaviour and PJT. There are striking theoretical parallels between the two models (Stott *et al.* 2011). Both approaches emphasise that the primary way the police can augment 'public' cooperation is to ensure that officers treat people 'fairly' or in ways that are not considered as 'indiscriminate' (Murray 2010; Stott *et al.* 2011). In so doing, both approaches maintain that policing experienced as 'procedurally fair' generates perceived police legitimacy in the eyes of 'the policed'. This in turn motivates public support and a willingness to obey the directives of police officers (e.g., Tyler 2006).

Nevertheless, while notions of police 'fairness', police legitimacy, and social identity lie at the heart of both PJT and ESIM, the preceding chapters highlight that the two models having been developed separately of each other. This has led to important differences in emphasis in terms of theoretical and empirical focus. One the one hand, Chapter 2 showed that the ESIM research is located primarily in the social psychology literature and has focused on *intergroup* encounters between the police and 'public' within specific crowd events. Whereas, Chapter 3 demonstrated that PJT has been applied principally within criminology with researchers tending to theorise a generic *interpersonal* relationship between a police officer and a 'citizen'.

Correspondingly, PJT's capacity to understand and explain the social psychological processes at work in the often complex and dynamic intergroup encounters of crowd events is relatively unknown since there is a scarcity of PJT research that has actually considered the applicability and explanatory power of the theory within the context of 'public order' policing (Stott *et al*. 2011). This is important since, as the introduction chapter alluded to, major 'public' crises of police legitimacy in the United Kingdom and elsewhere often arise precisely within this domain (c.f., Reiner 2010). Thus any adequate theory of 'police legitimacy' must be able to account for

the dynamic and contested nature of policing crowds.

Research aims

Therefore the broad aim of this thesis is to systematically explore and test PJT within the domain of crowd policing. More specifically, *Chapter 5 aims to provide an initial experimental test of PJT by investigating the precise role(s) that 'social identity' may play in 'public' perceptions of police procedural 'fairness' within a specific crowd event.* The two experiments conducted have two objectives: the first is to explore the idea that the category membership of 'the policed' will be associated with differing perceptions among observers of the same crowd policing incidents. The second is to test the GEM's 'social identity mediation hypothesis' (Blader and Tyler 2009). To what degree (if at all) do measures social identification mediate the relationship between perceptions of police procedural fairness and behavioural propensities to cooperate with the police?

The second empirical chapter extends this initial investigation by focusing on the actual qualitative content of students' descriptions of an example of a police use of force within a student protest. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, the ESIM of crowd behaviour theory and research stresses that police force within crowd contexts experienced as indiscriminate force is associated with perceptions of police illegitimacy. This second empirical component focuses on how police use of force is interpreted and described within an actual crowd event. What are the contextual factors that shape people's views of the fairness of police activity? How do these judgements change within an interaction and therefore from one specific context to another? Moreover, how do procedural fairness judgements relate to judgements of police (il)legitimacy and identity?

The third empirical chapter explores the lived experiences of 'the policed' within a crowd context (i.e., the policing of football matches in Britain) where police authority and legitimacy is often contested. In so doing, there is a focus on a 'specific' and arguably 'marginalised' social category (i.e., football fans) and their accounts of policing within and across crowd events. The aim

is to explore the 'boundaries' of football policing as described by match-going fans and to assess how these 'boundaries' relate to judgements of police fairness, police legitimacy and identity.

The final empirical chapter perhaps represents the most 'complete' test of PJT within the context of policing crowds since it explores a series of actual 'real-time' interactions between the police and 'the policed'. In particular, the longitudinal[3] secondary data analysis focuses on the experiences of a specific and often 'marginalised' group: England football fans and their relationship with (primarily) the police at the 2016 European Football Championships which took place in France. *In so doing, this final empirical chapter seeks to examine the social-historical and contextual factors that shape England fans' identity and their perceptions of the fairness and legitimacy of police activity. How and why do these judgements change through and within interactions with the police and other groups?* By utlising a longitudinal design the aim is to qualitatively explore Bottoms and Tankebe's (2012, p. 166) key question (i.e., "*Under what circumstances and why might the audience legitimacy of a criminal justice agency (or a given part of it) increase, decrease, or remain stable?")* and thus the 'claim and response' dialogue of police legitimacy. What effect does the experience of police procedural (in)justice have on the subsequent behaviour of England fans?

Research approach

In order to achieve the aims outlined above, a mixed methods research

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[3] Saldaña (2003, p. 13-14) suggests that "*describing from qualitative data (visual or language based records, such as interview transcripts, participant observation field notes, journals, photographs, and documents) what types of participant changes occurred, if any, through an extended period of time, is the basic outcome for a longitudinal study*". Chapter 8 is a longitudinal design in the sense that the analytical focus is on how England fans' relationship with the French police and other salient groups changed across time, places and crowd events (i.e., England's three group games at Euro 2016). However, it is acknowledged that (a) the composition of England fans is likely to be different across the three games, unlike quantitative longitudinal research for instance, and (b) the depth and detail of the data garnered is not comparable to a longitudinal ethnographic study within which researchers are embedded 'in the field' for an extended period of time (e.g., Stott *et al*. 2011).

framework was used in this thesis. Within this design, both quantitative (numerical) and qualitative (text) data were collected and analysed. The rationale for this mixed methods approach was based in Denzin's (2009) notion of 'between-methods triangulation'. He advocates the use of multiple methods and approaches. The advantage of combining qualitative and quantitative methods is that a researcher can seek to develop and corroborate rich and complementary insights into the phenomena of interest. Another advantage is that by combining methods, the inherent weaknesses of quantitative and qualitative methods can be attenuated (Denzin 2009; Doyle *et al.* 2009; Hagger and Chatzisarantis 2011).

Despite these benefits, the appropriateness of mixed-methods research has been subject to considerable debate (e.g., Johnson *et al.* 2007; Creswell 2011; Gill 2011; Whaley and Krane 2011; Sparkes 2015) and this debate often centres on whether the paradigmatic assumptions underpinning qualitative and quantitative methods are commensurate. In line with Kuhn (1970), Sparkes (2015, p. 50) defines a paradigm as "*a set of basic beliefs, and a worldview that defines, for its holder the nature of the world, our place in it, and the possible relationships we can have to this world and its parts.*" Quantitative and qualitative researchers tend to subscribe, be it explicitly or implicitly, to opposing paradigms. Usually, quantitative researchers are aligned to the positivist paradigm within which reality is seen as objective and singular, empirical research is 'theory neutral' and knowledge is independent of value. By contrast, qualitative researchers typically embrace an interpretivist paradigm within which reality is understood to be socially constructed and multiple, observation involves subjective interpretation and knowledge is viewed as value-laden (Petty *et al.* 2012a, 2012b; Smith and Caddick 2012).

For 'paradigmatic purists', the positivist and interpretivist paradigms are viewed as inherently incommensurate. 'Purists' therefore argue that researchers should be wary of combining qualitative and quantitative methods. By contrast 'pragmatists':

> *"...ascribe to the philosophy that the research question should drive the method(s) used, believing that 'epistemological purity doesn't get research done'... researchers who ascribe to epistemological purity disregard the fact that research methodologies are merely tools designed to aid our understanding of the world." (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005, p. 377).*

This thesis has adopted the latter, pragmatic approach. In accepting this position there is an acknowledgement that quantitative and qualitative methods study different aspects of social phenomena (Sale *et al.* 2002). Therefore, as Sale *et al.* (2002) suggest, quantitative methods can be used to 'measure' phenomena such as the perceived fairness of police actions whereas qualitative methods explore people's 'lived experiences'.

As Bryman (2012) suggests, mixed methods research projects can vary according to two important dimensions that relate to how the quantitative and qualitative methods are integrated. The first is the *sequential ordering* of methods used. Or as Bryman (2012, p.632) puts it "*…does the qualitative method precede the quantitative one or vice versa or is the data collection associated with each method concurrent?*". The second and related dimension is the *primacy* of the methods used. In other words, "*how far is a qualitative or a quantitative method the principal data-gathering tool or do they have equal weight?*" (p. 632). Sequentially, data collection and analysis of the quantitative data preceded the data collection and analysis of the qualitative data. However, importantly with regards to primacy, this thesis gave equal weighting to the quantitative and qualitative methods used. Therefore, the research approach adopted in this thesis is what Creswell and Clark (2011) term the 'triangulation design' where the objective is to "*obtain different but complementary data on the same topic*" (Morse 1991, p. 122). Within this design, "*…the researcher collects and analyses quantitative and qualitative data separately on the same phenomenon and then different results are converged…during the interpretation*" (Creswell and Clark 2011, p. 64). Therefore, the analyses presented in each empirical chapter (i.e.,

Chapters 5 to 8) were undertaken (and will subsequently be presented) sequentially. The rationale behind this approach was that these discrete chapters could together provide rich and complementary insights. Thus, Chapter 9 provides a synthesised discussion of the implications garnered from the preceding empirical chapters. As the previous chapter has made clear, theoretical and empirical issues of existing PJT work are mostly borne out of a reliance on cross-sectional survey data. Therefore the selection of research methods and designs employed in each empirical chapter sought to overcome the weaknesses identified in Chapter 3.

Thus this thesis adopts a mixed-methods approach in order to both test and explore the lived experiences of people in relation to crowd policing. Figure 1. overleaf provides a 'roadmap' summary of the data collection process and how this pertains to the four subsequent empirical chapters presented in this thesis.

Figure 1. An overview of the data collection process

Chapter 5: Phase one →	**Online experiments** Study 1: Online experiment involving 103 participants Study 2: Online quasi-experiment involving 170 participants
Chapter 6: Phase two →	**Semi-structured interviews** 30 interviews with students exploring their views of an actual example of police coercion during a student demonstration
Chapter 7: Phase three →	**Qualitative online survey** A nationwide online survey involving 2,030 British football supporters exploring their views of policing at football matches
Chapter 8: Phase four →	**Longitudinal secondary data analysis** An analysis of secondary data pertaining to the policing of England's three group games at 'Euro 2016' in France

Having delineated the research aims and research approach, this thesis will now turn to presenting the first empirical chapter outlined above: What specific role(s) does 'social identity' play in 'public' perceptions of police procedural fairness within an actual crowd event? How does group identity interact with and mediate behavioural intentions?

Chapter 5:

When is policing fair? Groups, identity and judgements of the procedural justice of coercive crowd policing

As Chapter 3 illustrated, the literature underpinning PJT, particularly in its GEM form (Tyler and Blader 2000, 2003, Blader and Tyler 2009), acknowledges that social identity processes are a key psychological mediator between perceptions of procedural fairness, cooperation with the police and obedience with the law (Tyler 1990, 2006, Tyler *et al.* 2015). In other words, people 'self-regulate' because of a perception that criminal justice processes are fair or legitimate (Tyler 2009). According to this PJT account 'procedurally fair' policing creates 'self-regulation' because it impacts upon a specific underlying social psychological process, namely inclusion and status in a superordinate social category (e.g., the benevolent nation state) of which the police are assumed to be prototypical representatives (Sunshine and Tyler 2003b). This in turn is assumed to encourage people to internalise and legitimise the positive values associated with membership of this superordinate category, thus engendering cooperation and compliance with its representatives (i.e., the police). Conversely, 'procedurally unfair' policing indicates exclusion and alienation from this superordinate category leading to a sense of rejection and lower levels of compliance and cooperation with the group authority's directives (e.g., Bradford 2014, Bradford *et al.* 2015, Murphy *et al.* 2015).

Accordingly, one reason why police procedural fairness is important to those being policed is that policing is 'identity relevant' and can alter subjective relationships with the powerful social categories the police are assumed to represent. This idea finds significant empirical support in the literature. In cross-sectional (Huo 2003, Bradford 2014, Bradford *et al.* 2015) and panel studies (Bradford *et al.* 2014), variation in perceptions of police procedural fairness and legitimacy has consistently been found to be associated with variation in affiliation with superordinate social categories of nation, citizenship and community. These findings resonate with a wider procedural justice literature beyond the policing context. For example, Huo *et al.* (1996) reported that employees who highly identified with their organisation placed

greater emphasis on whether or not their supervisor was 'procedurally fair' than did employees who demonstrated weaker levels of identification. As Chapter 3 suggested, however, PJT's theoretical account of social identity processes is limited in a number of important ways.

First, implicit within much current research is the idea that procedural fairness is a universal and ontological precursor to social identification, somehow distinct from the dynamic social contexts within which those judgements are made (Lipponen *et al.* 2011). PJT research is premised on the idea that people find the police more or less fair depending on the way officers behave, but the contextual frame against which these judgements are made appears, implicitly at least, as broadly constant. As Waddington *et al.* (2015) put it there is an underlying assumption of "*a coherent unitary, public standard of what is acceptable and satisfactory in police conduct*" (p.1). In contrast, Haslam *et al.* (2010) argue that rules governing 'fairness' are not universal but relative in that they can be radically altered as a consequence of group membership such that fairness *"…is for our own moral community, for 'people like us'. Outside this, the rules are likely to change — if they apply at all*" (p. 120).

Second, and relatedly, it is assumed procedural fairness encourages shared group membership. However, as the above quotation implies, fairness may have to do more than simply be representative *of* 'us'; police activity may also need to be *identity advancing* or 'doing it *for* us' (Steffens *et al.* 2014). For example, Haslam *et al.* (2010) show that leaders are often endorsed when they exhibit fairness; however, they are equally rewarded for being *unfair* (e.g., in-group favouring) when their actions are seen as promoting the group's interest within the specific context in question. Thus, as PJT scholars have argued elsewhere, there is a pressing need to explore how social identification and the specific social context impacts on the 'boundaries' and nature of procedural fairness judgements (e.g., Jackson *et al.* 2015) and the outcomes of such judgements (Mazerolle *et al.* 2014).

Third, the prototypicality of the police as members of a nation state or

community is often assumed but not measured despite this being a key feature of the PJT account (e.g., see Bradford *et al.* 2015, p.6). An exception to this is Sunshine and Tyler (2003b), who examined the extent to which the police were prototypical of the 'community's' moral values. However, this measure is operationalised with items that tend to treat prototypically as a relatively fixed expression of shared morals and values. Such an approach neglects the idea that the prototypical morals and values of a social group change from one social context to another (Turner *et al.* 1987, Turner *et al.* 1994). Moreover, it is now widely acknowledged that identity prototypicality is broader than being merely representative of fixed moral values, since it can also be dynamic, context specific and ideological in nature (e.g., Turner *et al.* 1987).

Fourth, the measurement of social identification in PJT research has tended to use items relating to the superordinate category the police are seen to embody (e.g., Bradford 2014; Bradford *et al.* 2014; Madon *et al.* 2016; Sargeant *et al.* 2016). Previous work has therefore largely ignored what has been referred to as *relational identification*, in other words, the extent to which those being policed identify with the police as a social category in their own right. This is important because there is evidence to suggest that relational social identification with the police is a salient aspect of people's perceptions of the legitimacy of policing, particularly in the context of the policing of violent crowd events (e.g., Stott *et al.* 2008).

Taken together these issues suggest that perceptions of procedural fairness should not be viewed as independent from the identities of those making the judgements and the social contexts within which they occur. Moreover, to be seen as 'fair' the police may actively have to facilitate the shared group interests of that specific identity as defined by a given social context. In other words, for the police to be viewed as 'procedurally fair' in the eyes of 'the policed' their actions may have to capture the contextually defined prototypical dimensions of a shared relational social category. In this respect PJT research appears potentially limited in its theoretical conceptualisation of underlying social psychological processes. Therefore concurring with

Bottoms and Tankebe's (2012, p. 119) analysis that within PJT research *"...adequate theorisation has lagged behind empirical evidence"*.

Finally, it has previously been noted that much extant PJT research in policing has been concerned, implicitly or explicitly, with the personal experiences of individuals at the hands of individual or small groups of police officers (c.f., Smith 2007). Indeed, it is probably fair to say that the underlying conceptual model is of a dyad within which one party (the police officer) has considerably more power than the other (the 'citizen'). However, many encounters between police and public, particularly in the context of crowd events, have a quite different form – most notably, in terms of the experiments reported here, people experiencing policing may do so not as an individual but as a member of a social category such as a protestor, football fan or as a broadly disinterested observer of the policing of others within a crowd. In all such cases, however, they are still likely to make judgements about the fairness of police actions, legitimacy, and so on, judgements that may have a profound impact on their subsequent actions (e.g., Reicher 1984, 1996; Stott and Drury 2000; Stott *et al.* 2001; Maguire *et al.* 2016).

The present study

Despite the centrality of these theoretical issues to PJT, there has been to date a relative paucity of simple experimental evidence testing the proposition that social categorisation and social context have important and far-reaching impacts upon judgements of procedural fairness. Drawing on Tyler's (2011) proposals regarding 'motive based trust', Waddington *et al.* (2015) point out that perceptions of police legitimacy are not bound within 'incident specific' encounters but are dramatically affected by "*the prior history of a person's relationship with the police*" (p. 3). Moreover, their qualitative study used focus groups to explore participants' interpretations of video footage of 'real life' police encounters with the public. The approach was able to demonstrate the divergent and contradictory ways in which the participants evaluated the same interactions leading them to conclude, "*there is no simple recipe for winning legitimacy*" (p. 1).

However, like much of PJT research, Waddington *et al.* imply a model of these historical relations that is interpersonal, and suggest that historical relations operate at the level of direct individual experiences. Their research approach does not formally examine the idea that category membership and historical inter-group relations can also be fundamentally important. As such their study was unable to explore the extent to which evaluations of police fairness varied as a function of social categorisation or the extent to which such judgements were systematically affected by underlying processes of relational identification with the police rather than identification with a superordinate social category.

In this Chapter the aim is to address these limitations by using an experimental paradigm to directly test the idea that the category membership of 'the policed' will be associated with differing perceptions among onlookers of the same policing incidents. Drawing from the discussion above Hypothesis 1 predicted that judgements of procedural fairness would vary as a function of social categorisation. More specifically, police coercion against those perceived as an ideological out-group, those deemed outside the boundaries of 'our' community, will be justified and endorsed more so than aggression against in-group members or a 'neutral' out-group. Moreover, the aim was to explore the GEM's key 'social identity mediation hypothesis' (Blader and Tyler 2009). Thus Hypothesis 2 aims to assess the extent to which judgments of social identification mediate the link between procedural fairness and cooperation whilst controlling for people's perceptions of police legitimacy.

Study 1: An experiment
Method
Study 1 explored these ideas using a 1 x 3 between-participants experimental design capable of examining perceptions of the policing of a protest event. Within this study participants were shown the same video footage of a charge by police on horseback into a group of otherwise peaceful protestors. As with Waddington *et al.* (2015) the video selected was chosen to provoke dissension among the participants. To create the

experimental conditions the social category used to describe the protestors was systematically manipulated. Participants' perceptions of procedural fairness, police legitimacy, social identifications and intentions to cooperate with the police were measured in a subsequent questionnaire.

The video

The video was taken directly from a BBC News report depicting an actual confrontation between police and protestors at a student fees protest in central London in 2010[4]. Whilst it is possible that participants may have recognised the footage, it is unlikely due to the lack of specific contextual clues, the elevated vantage point and the fact that the footage was broadcast four years prior to the experiment. In any case such recognition is likely to have been evenly distributed across conditions and so should not have exerted any systematic bias to the data. The 27-second video showed police on horseback charging into a group of protestors causing them to disperse. Following the charge the protestors become agitated and throw missiles at the police. The video was filmed from an elevated vantage point looking down upon both the police and the protestors. This was advantageous as the exact nature of the protest and demonstration was ambiguous. Therefore it was possible to manipulate the protestors' social category membership while presenting a standardised video of police-protestor interaction for each condition.

Design

The experiment was conducted online and hosted by 'Bristol Online Surveys'. The social category used to describe the protestors created three levels: the 'Trade Union Congress' (TUC); the 'English Defence League' (EDL); and the 'National Union of Students' (NUS). The expectation was that the bulk of the participants would be students. In this respect, the EDL were chosen on the assumption that the participants were likely to perceive this social category as an ideological out-group. The TUC were chosen as a

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[4] Link to the video used: https://youtu.be/TCdlZ6MsbPU

potential 'neutral' out-group with the NUS being a potential in-group. For the subsequent mediation analysis, the groups were merged and so this analysis considered the sample as a whole.

Participants

There were 103 participants who responded to an advertisement via social media and the "Call for Participants" website[5]. They were divided randomly via an online link generator between the three experimental conditions (34 EDL, 35 NUS, 34 TUC). The mean age of participants was 34 (*SD* = 12.10) with 57.3% being female (*n* = 59) and 42.7% being male (*n* = 44). There were three categories to allow for differential levels of in-group identification. However, participants' occupational affiliation were not recorded. Given the mean age of the participants (34), and the fact that the NUS condition did not report higher identification with this occupational category, it seems plausible that this expectation was not borne out in the sample. However, the interest was merely in the impact of variability of categorisation on participants' perceptions of police coercion. Therefore the critical manipulation relates to the operationalisation of an ideological 'outgroup', which was achieved using this design. To this end, participants' political affiliations were measured with the single item "*Where would you place yourself on a scale of political views from extremely left-wing to extremely right-wing?*" (adapted from Braga *et al.* 2014). Using a 7-point response scale, from "extremely left-wing" (1) to "extremely right-wing" (7), participants on average identified their political orientation as "slightly left-wing" (*M* = 3.32, *SD* = 1.38). An Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) indicated that there were no significant differences in political orientation between conditions (EDL: *M* = 3.38, *SE* = .24; NUS: *M* = 3.37, *SE* = .24; TUC: *M* = 3.21, *SE* = .24), *F*(2, 100) = .17, *p* = .84, η_p^2 = .003.

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[5] https://www.callforparticipants.com

Variables

Independent Variable

The independent variable was operationalised via a prior written description of the video clip. Thus those in the EDL condition were provided with the following description:

> *The English Defence League* (EDL) *is a far-right street protest movement that focuses on opposition to what its members consider to be the spread of Islamism and Sharia Law in the United Kingdom.*

Accordingly, those participants in the NUS condition were provided with the following description:

> *The National Union of Students (NUS) is a confederation of students' unions in the United Kingdom. NUS' mission is to promote, defend and extend the rights of students by providing them with a collective voice. Around 600 students' unions are in membership, accounting for more than 95 per cent of all higher and further education unions in the UK.*

Finally, for the TUC condition participants were provided with the following description:

> *The Trades Union Congress* (TUC) *is a national trade union centre, a federation of trade unions in England and Wales. The TUC lobbies the Government to implement policies that will benefit people at work and campaigns on economic and social issues.*

As far as was possible, the text was standardised across all three conditions. As such, the remaining description in each condition was identical except for the reference to the relevant group's name.

> *The* [social category] *organised a march of thousands of their members in central London in December 2010. The footage you are about to see is of events that took place on this march in Victoria Street, central London. After the event shown in the video, the* [social category] *maintained that their intentions were peaceful and asserted that their actions were in response to a heavy-handed and disproportionate police intervention.*

Manipulation Checks

All questionnaire items used 7-point Likert-type response scales, ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (7). Thus, higher numbers indicated greater endorsement (e.g., that the police were perceived as more fair, more legitimate etc.). Manipulation checks included three items on the participants' levels of relational identification with the protestors, adapted from Postmes *et al.* (2013) and Crisp *et al.* (2007), namely, "*I identified with the protestors in the video*", "*I felt a sense of solidarity with the protestors in the video*", and "*I felt similar to the protestors in the video*". These items were combined to create a composite scale (α = .95).

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables (see Appendix A. for all item wordings) included three items on procedural justice that were adapted from Gau (2014) and combined into a composite scale (e.g., "*The police in the video treated the protestors with respect*"; α = .83). In line with previous research, I measured police legitimacy as a felt obligation to obey the police. Four items were adapted from Tyler and Jackson (2014) and were combined into a composite scale (e.g., "*I would have supported the decisions of the police in the video even if I disagreed with them*"; α = .90). Relational identification with the police was measured with adapted versions of the three-item measure of relational identification with the protestors described above but replacing the words "the protestors" with "the police". These were combined to create a composite scale (α = .96). Participants' general levels of community identification were measured with adapted versions of the same

three items (e.g., *"I feel a sense of solidarity with people in my community"*; *α* = .94). One-item measures adapted from Steffens *et al.* (2014) assessed the perceived community identity prototypicality (i.e., "*The police in the video acted as model members of my community*") and the perceived community identity advancement of police action (i.e., "*The police in the video acted as champions for my community*"). Finally, a four-item measure of intention to cooperate with the police was adapted from Mazerolle *et al.* (2013); e.g., "*If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would willingly assist the police if asked*" (*α* = .92).

Baseline Control Variables

The baseline control variables were adapted versions of the above questionnaire scales to capture participants' general perceptions of the police and protestors. For example, "*In general, the police treat people with respect*" rather than "*The police in the video treated the protestors with respect*". To measure participants' general orientation towards political protesters as a social category three items adapted from Postmes *et al.* (2013) and Crisp *et al.* (2007) above were used, for example, "In general, *I identify with political protestors*". These were measured before the video and were statistically controlled for to balance any baseline perceptual differences between participants in the three experimental groups.

Procedure

Once logged into the website, participants were provided with standardised information about the study and the nature of their participation in it. If they agreed to take part they completed the first questionnaire that focused on participants' general perceptions of policing (baseline control variables). Following this, participants were presented with the written description of the video appropriate to their experimental condition before then watching the same 27-second video. After this, they were asked to fill out a second questionnaire that measured the same variables as the first questionnaire, but the items this time related specifically to the context of the video they had just viewed (dependent measures). Finally, participants were thanked for their time and fully debriefed.

Results

Manipulation Checks

First, I sought to confirm if I had successfully created a psychological out-group with regards to the levels of relational identification between the participants and the protestors portrayed in the video. On average, the participants' levels of relational identification with the protestors were lower in the EDL condition (M = 2.30, SE = .22) compared to the TUC condition (M = 3.96, SE = .23) and in particular the NUS condition (M = 4.12, SE = .22). A one-way between-participants Analysis of Co-Variance (ANCOVA), controlling for participants' general orientation towards political protestors as a social category, confirmed that these group differences were highly significant, $F(2, 99) = 20.49$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$. Planned contrasts revealed that compared to the EDL condition, participants identified with the protestors significantly more so in the TUC condition ($t = 5.22$, $p < .001$) and the NUS condition ($t = 5.82$, $p < .001$). Therefore there can be confidence that participants perceived the EDL as a psychological out-group and that as such the manipulation was effective. However, counter to expectations the mean ratings indicated that the TUC and NUS were considered in more 'neutral' terms rather than being perceived as a genuine in-group or out-group.

Hypothesis 1: Police coercion against those perceived as an ideological out-group will be justified and endorsed more so than aggression against in-group members or a 'neutral' out-group. (Group manipulation effects)

Descriptive statistics and ANCOVA results for Study 1 are presented in Table 1. Correlational matrices for both studies are presented in Appendix B and C. A series of ANCOVAs were undertaken where the corresponding general measure (i.e., pre-video) was entered into the analysis as a control variable. The rationale for using ANCOVAs to analyse the data were twofold. Firstly, despite the random assignment, baseline measures of police legitimacy, $F(2, 100) = 4.66$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, police community identity prototypicality, $F(2, 100) = 5.63$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$, and police community

identity advancement, $F(2, 100) = 6.58$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$, were significantly different between conditions. Secondly, by maintaining baseline perceptions at a constant there can be more certainty that any main effects were due to the manipulation. An exception was the community identification measure, where the group differences were analysed using an ANOVA. Due to the abstract nature of this measure, I was, in a sense, already measuring people's baseline views and so this was entered as the dependent variable with no baseline equivalent included as a control variable. Any significant main effects were followed up by planned contrasts in order to explore whether or not those in the EDL condition ('the policed' as an out-group) perceived the video significantly differently compared to those in the TUC and NUS conditions ('the policed' as 'neutral out-group' or 'in-group').

As Table 1. shows, after controlling for general views, there was still a significant main effect of the category on perceptions of procedural fairness of the police, $F(2, 99) = 7.72$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .14$. Planned contrasts revealed that participants perceived the coercion of the police to be significantly more 'procedurally fair' when the protestors were a psychological out-group (EDL) compared to the NUS ($t = -2.84$, $p < .01$) and the TUC conditions ($t = -3.78$, $p < .001$).

A main effect of the category on relational identification with the police was also found, $F(2, 99) = 4.21$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. Planned contrasts revealed that those in the EDL condition identified with the police significantly more compared to both the NUS ($t = -2.08$, $p < .05$) and the TUC conditions ($t = -2.78$, $p < .01$).

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and ANCOVA results for the dependent variables in Study 1

Dependent variable	EDL M (SE)	NUS M (SE)	TUC M (SE)	F(2, 99)	η_p^2
Procedural fairness	4.30 (.18)	3.49 (.18)	3.28 (.18)	7.72**	.14
Police legitimacy	4.42 (.20)	4.13 (.20)	3.90 (.20)	1.78	.04
Relational identification with the police	3.83 (.26)	3.07 (.26)	2.81 (.26)	4.21*	.08
Community identification	4.98 (.24)	4.88 (.24)	4.96 (.24)	.05	.001
Police community identity prototypicality	4.06 (.26)	3.40 (.26)	2.74 (.26)	6.34**	.11
Police community identity advancement	4.01 (.27)	3.39 (.27)	2.65 (.27)	6.28**	.11
Intention to cooperate with the police	4.86 (.27)	4.37 (.27)	4.10 (.27)	2.04	.04

There was also a significant main effect of category, $F(2,99) = 6.34$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$, regarding perceived community prototypicality of the police, significantly more so in the EDL condition compared to the TUC condition ($t = -3.56$, $p < .01$). The difference between the EDL and the NUS condition was approaching significance ($t = -1.78$, $p = .08$).

Finally there was a significant main effect of category upon police community advancement, $F(2,99) = 6.28$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$. Planned contrasts suggested that the participants felt that that the police were advancing their community's interests significantly more so in the EDL condition compared to the TUC condition ($t = -3.54$, $p < .01$). However, the contrast between the EDL and the NUS condition was not significant ($t = -1.64$, $p = .10$).

However, despite following the same pattern of means, there were no significant main effects of category on perceived police legitimacy, $F(2, 99) = 1.78$, $p = .17$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, nor community identification $F(2, 100) = .05$, $p = .95$, $\eta_p^2 = .001$, nor intention to cooperate with the police, $F(2, 99) = 2.04$, $p = .14$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

Hypothesis 2: Judgements of social identification will mediate the link between procedural fairness and cooperation. (***Mediation analysis)***

A parallel mediation analysis conducted using ordinary least squares path analysis (Hayes 2013) was undertaken to assess whether the relationship between procedural fairness and intentions to cooperate with the police was mediated by relational identification with the police and/or community identification. This was conducted using the Process macro with SPSS[6]. Previous work has often found that perceptions of police legitimacy are a key variable in the relationship between fairness and cooperation. Since I was primarily interested in exploring the impact of social identification, I chose to statistically control for people's views of police legitimacy rather than including it as an additional outcome measure. The results are shown in Figure 2.

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[6] For further details on the process macro see: http://processmacro.org/index.html

Figure 2. Path diagram showing the mediatory role of relational identification with the police on the relationship between procedural fairness and cooperation.

b = .25**

Relational identification with the police

b = .74****

b = .34***

Direct effect: b = .34**
Indirect effect: b = .11, *ns*

Procedural fairness

Intention to cooperate with the police

b = .10, *ns*

Community identification

b = -.19*

b = -.02, *ns*
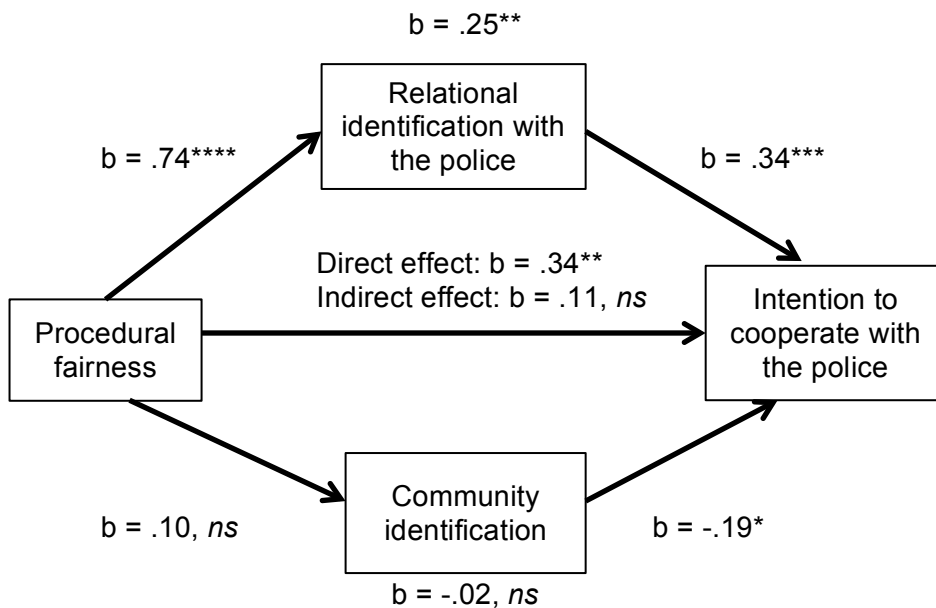
Note. b = unstandardised coefficient; * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, **** p < .0001.

As expected there was a positive and significant direct effect of procedural fairness on people's behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police, b = .34, *t* = 2.67, *p* < .01. However, this relationship became non-significant when the measures of social identification were added into the equation, b = .11, *t* = .75, *p* = .45. Relational identification with the police was in turn significantly and positively related to both procedural fairness, b = .74, *t* = 6.36, *p* < .0001, and behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police, b = .34, *t* = 3.49, *p* < .001. A Sobel test showed that relational identification with the police was a significant mediator of the association between procedural fairness and cooperation, b = .25, *Z* = 2.95, *p* < .01. In contrast, community identification was not significantly related to procedural fairness, b = .10, *t* = .65, *p* = .51. However, levels of community identification were significantly and negatively related to cooperation, b = -.19, *t* = -2.21, *p* < .05. A Sobel test confirmed that community identification did not mediate the relationship between fairness and cooperation, b = -.02, *Z* = -.58, *p* = .56.

It is acknowledged that some researchers argue that alternative methods such as constructing bootstrap confidence intervals is preferable to the use of Sobel tests for assessing the significance of indirect effects, especially with small sample sizes. If the bootstrap confidence intervals do not contain zero then there can be confidence that the indirect effect is significant (Preacher and Hayes 2004). Bootstrap confidence intervals using 1,000 bootstrap samples confirmed the significant indirect effect of relational identification with the police [.11 to .51] and that the indirect effect of community identification was not significant [-.11 to .03].

Discussion

By manipulating the social categories used to describe protestors I was able to systematically compare how coercive police actions against an 'out-group' were evaluated compared to identical actions against more 'neutrally' defined groups. As expected, judgements of the same policing incident varied according to social categorisation. Indeed, there were significant differences in the perceptions of procedural fairness, relational identification with the police, police community identity prototypicality and advancement.

Moreover, whilst there were no overall group differences in behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police, perceptions of fairness and relational identification with the police were found to have important consequences for encouraging such intentions. Research does suggest that social identity mediates the link between procedural justice and cooperation with the police (e.g., Bradford 2014). However, as already noted previous studies in a policing context have relied on measures of an assumed superordinate social identity (e.g., law-abiding 'citizen' or 'community'). Here, it is reported that it was people's judgements of relational identification with the police rather than levels of community identification that mediated the link between procedural fairness and cooperation, although unlike previous studies it was not specified which 'community' was at stake. Instead it was left to respondents to give meaning to the term and define who the people in this community were.

Overall then, Study 1 does provide support for the argument that some of the assumptions made and implied in the PJT research literature are problematic because the data points to the importance of social categorisation when exploring people's perceptions of policing. Moreover, 'fairness' judgements varied as a function of who was being policed, such that 'unfair' policing in one context was seen as more 'fair' in another, particularly when such police coercion was understood to be identity advancing. Additionally, the data suggest that people more or less identify with the police as a distinct social group rather than a superordinate category per se, and that these judgements are a potentially important psychological mediator encouraging 'self-regulation'. A surprising finding was that community identification was significantly and negatively correlated with intentions to cooperate with the police. A speculative explanation of this finding would be that some of those who identified strongly with their community may have also felt that the police were not representing or acting in line with community values and so were less inclined to express intentions to cooperate with them.

However, despite these insights, Study 1 does have important limitations. First, in common with most psychological experimental work, the sampling technique adopted was opportunist in nature resulting in a relatively small sample size, meaning that the ANCOVA analyses presented were statistically underpowered. Using the statistical power calculator G*Power (Faul *et al.* 2007, 2009) and the associated guidelines on effect size conventions (i.e., Cohen's *f* statistic; Cohen 1969, p. 348): small effect = 0.10; medium effect = 0.25; large effect = 0.40), in order to achieve 0.8 power a total sample of 967 would have been required to detect a small effect, 158 participants to detect a medium effect, and 64 participants to detect a large effect. Since the total sample size achieved was 103, this means that the non-significant differences found in perceptions of police legitimacy, community identification, and intentions to cooperate with the police may have been down to a Type II error (Banerjee *et al.* 2009). In other words, there may have been statistically significant differences detected if

the sample size was large enough and thus the statistical power of the ANCOVA analyses was sufficient to detect small and medium effect sizes.

The sample size also has a bearing on the mediation analysis undertaken. Using the statistical programme "R" (R Core Team 2016; Schoemann *et al.* 2017), a Monte Carlo power analysis suggested that 878 participants would have been required to ensure statistical power was at least 0.8 in order to detect the hypothesised mediation effect of community identification between perceptions of procedural fairness and behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police. Thus, the non-significant indirect effect may simply reflect the lack of statistical power resulting from the small sample size. The limitations of the statistical analyses relating to the small sample size obtained also pertain to Study 2. Therefore there will be a further discussion of the implications of this important limitation in the discussion section for Study 2 as well as the subsequent general discussion section.

A second limitation of Study 1 is that although the group membership of 'the policed' was systematically varied, I was only successful in creating a psychological 'out-group' but not necessarily an 'in-group'. Therefore, I was unable to compare perceptions of police coercion against 'us' (an in-group social category) relative to 'them' (an out-group social category). Also Study 1 only explored these issues in relation to the policing of a specific protest, the issues surrounding which the observers may have had little if any direct engagement with. Future research could address these limitations by drawing on different groups in contrasting social and historical contexts. In so doing, one might create greater levels of psychological engagement with the categories employed and demonstrate how differing intergroup relationships affect these underlying social psychological processes. I therefore turn to Study 2 which sought to address these limitations. Based on the findings and discussion above, it was predicted that police coercion would be rated more positively if 'the policed' are a psychological out-group relative to the same incident involving a psychological in-group. Moreover, it was also predicted that it would again be perceptions of relational identification with the police rather than community identification that would

mediate any link between procedural fairness and intentions to cooperate with the police.

Study 2: A quasi-experiment
Method

For Study 2 I sought to utilise existing social categories with a strong historical antagonism. To do so, I used the context of the policing of a football ('soccer') match within the UK. Specifically, participants were shown identical video footage of a confrontation between police and a group of fans of Newcastle United Football Club. As in football and other team sports elsewhere, football fans in the UK are strongly partisan, and moreover there are fierce local rivalries between the fans of clubs based in the same part of the country. To create the conditions I recruited supporters of Newcastle United Football Club (in-group) and their local rivals Sunderland Association Football Club (out-group)[7]. After they had watched the video, the fans' views were assessed via a questionnaire.

The video

The video depicted an actual confrontation between police and Newcastle United fans and police that took place on 14th April 2013[8]. The incident happened in Newcastle-upon-Tyne after a football match between the two clubs. The video showed police on horseback charging into a group of Newcastle United fans causing them to disperse. Following this, the video showed a group of Newcastle United fans charging towards police lines including police on horseback and officers on foot. After this, police on horseback again attempted to push the fans back. However, one fan stood his ground and appeared to attack a police horse. He was swiftly grappled to the floor by a police officer. The video then shows a stand-off between police and the fans gathered. A firework or other similar device is thrown from the

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[7] Newcastle United and Sunderland fans have a long-standing and intense footballing rivalry based, in part, on the proximity of the two cities in the North East of England.

[8] Link to the video used: https://www.youtube.com/watch?t=63&v=xUhwn8R7Je4

crowd and explodes with a loud bang. This is seen to embolden the group with antagonistic chants directed towards the police who now have a number of police dogs at the scene. The video then depicts the police again charging at a group of fans with both police officers on horseback and some on foot. Some police officers can be seen physically pushing slow-moving fans down the road.

Design

Following Study 1, Study 2 was again conducted online and hosted by Bristol Online Surveys. A simple 1 x 2 between-participants quasi-experimental design was used with multiple dependent variables designed to measure perceptions of procedural fairness, police legitimacy, social identification and intentions to cooperate with the police. The between-participants variable was the football team that the participants supported. There were two levels: Newcastle United fans (in-group condition) and Sunderland fans (out-group condition). Again, for the mediation analysis reported below, I collapsed the groups and assessed the sample as a whole.

Participants

There were 142 participants of whom 72 self-identified as Newcastle United supporters and 70 as Sunderland fans. Two Sunderland fans left the vast majority of the questions blank and so they were excluded. Therefore, 140 participants were included for further analysis (72 Newcastle fans; 68 Sunderland fans). Participants of both fan groups were recruited via advertisements on online social media outlets (e.g., fan Facebook pages and Twitter accounts). Demographic information for both groups is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Demographic information for Study 2 according to each condition

	Newcastle fans (in-group)	Sunderland fans (out-group)
N	72	68
Age	*M* = 36; *SD* = 13.06	*M* = 36; *SD* = 15.19
Gender:		
Female	13 (18.1%)	4 (5.9%)
Male	58 (80.6%)	60 (88.2%)
Missing data	1 (1.4%)	4 (5.9%)
Ethnicity:		
Asian	1 (1.4%)	1 (1.5%)
Black	0 (0%)	1 (1.5%)
Mixed	2 (2.8%)	1 (1.5%)
White	68 (94.4%)	63 (92.6%)
Missing data	1 (1.4%)	2 (2.9%)

Measures

Manipulation Checks

Manipulation checks included four questions on the participants' levels of relational identification with the Newcastle United fans in a general sense (e.g., "*In general, I feel a sense of solidarity with Newcastle United fans*", "*In general, I feel committed to Newcastle United*"). These items (adapted from Crisp *et al.* 2007, Postmes *et al.* 2013) were combined to create a composite scale ($α$ = .95).

Dependent Variables

All dependent variables included multiple items that were combined to create composite scales. The same three questions from Study 1 (adapted from Gau 2014) assessed procedural fairness with one additional item: "*The police in the video made decisions about how to handle problems in fair ways*" ($α$ = .85). As in Study 1 police legitimacy was measured with four items (adapted from Tyler and Jackson 2014) that assessed participants' felt obligation to obey the police ($α$ = .76). The three-item measure of relational identification with the police from Study 1 was used ($α$ = .95). Participants'

general levels of community identification were measured with adapted versions of the same three items from Study 1 (α = .94). Four items (adapted from Steffens *et al.* 2014) measured police community identity prototypicality (α = .97). Four items (also from Steffens *et al.* 2014) assessed police community identity advancement (α = .93). Finally, the same four-item measure of intention to cooperate with the police was adapted from Study 1 (α = .91).

Procedure

Once logged into the website, participants were provided with standardised information about the study and the nature of their participation in it. If they agreed to take part they then watched the video. After the video, the participants then completed a questionnaire containing the measures outlined above. Finally, participants were then thanked for their time and fully debriefed.

Results

Manipulation Checks

Firstly, there was the need to confirm if I had successfully created a psychological in-group and out-group. As expected, an independent samples *t*-test confirmed that Newcastle United fans perceived Newcastle United as a psychological in-group (*M* = 6.23, *SD* = .83) whereas Sunderland fans perceived Newcastle United as a psychological out-group (*M* = 2.18, *SD* = 1.06), $t(138)$ = 24.96, *p* = < .001 .

Hypothesis 1: Police coercion against those perceived as an out-group will be justified and endorsed more so than aggression against in-group members. (Group membership effects)

Descriptive statistics and *t*-test results are presented in Table 3. With regards to procedural fairness, on average, there were significant differences between the two conditions with the out-group condition viewing the same coercive police action as significantly more procedurally fair compared to those in the in-group condition, $t(138)$ = 5.86, *p* < .001, *d* = .99. As Table 3. shows, this trend was repeated for all the dependent variables

except for judgements of police legitimacy and community identification where there were no significant differences between the conditions.

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and t-test results for Study 2

Variable	Newcastle fans ('the policed' as an in-group) M (SD)	Sunderland fans ('the policed' as an out-group) M (SD)	t(138)	Cohen's d
Procedural fairness	4.23 (1.44)	5.59 (1.29)	5.86***	0.99
Police legitimacy	4.78 (1.23)	4.99 (1.44)	.951	0.16
Relational identification with the police	3.92 (1.68)	4.70 (1.76)	2.68**	0.45
Community identification	5.18 (1.14)	5.49 (1.35)	1.47	0.25
Police community identity prototypically	3.70 (1.61)	4.58 (1.76)	3.09**	0.52
Police community identity advancement	4.05 (1.61)	4.96 (1.65)	3.29**	0.56
Intention to cooperate with the police	4.66 (1.56)	5.20 (1.66)	2.01*	0.34

Hypothesis 2: Judgements of social identification will mediate the link between procedural fairness and cooperation. (Mediation analysis)

As Figure 3. suggests, the results broadly replicate those found in Study 1. Thus, there was a direct effect of procedural fairness on people's behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police, b = .28, t = 3.73, p < .001. However, this effect became non-significant when the measures of social identification were added into the analysis, b = .07, t = .79, p = .43. Procedural fairness was positively and significantly related to relational identification with the police, b = .62, t = 8.78, p < .0001, which, in turn, was significantly and positively related to behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police, b = .32, t = 3.73, p < .001. A Sobel test showed that relational identification with the police was a significant mediator of the association between procedural fairness and cooperation, b = .20, Z = 3.42, p < .001. Again in contrast, community identification was not significantly related to

procedural fairness, b = .08, *t* = 1.08, *p* = .28. However, unlike Study 1, community identification was not significantly related to cooperation, b = .12, *t* = 1.43, *p* = .15. A Sobel test confirmed that community identification did not mediate the relationship between fairness and cooperation, b = .01, *Z* = .76, *p* = .45.

Figure 3. Path diagram showing the mediatory role of relational identification with the police on the relationship between procedural fairness and cooperation
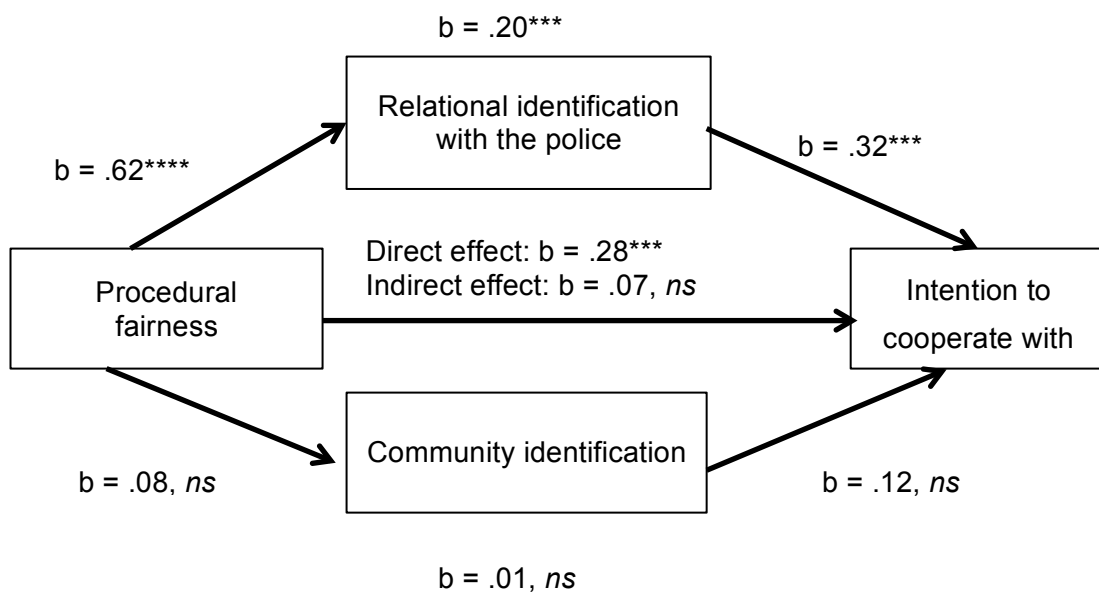
Note. b = unstandardised coefficient; * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, **** p < .0001.

Bootstrap confidence intervals using 1,000 bootstrap samples again confirmed the significant indirect effect of relational identification with the police [.06 to .33] and that the indirect effect of community identification was not significant [-.01 to .05].

Discussion

The goal in Study 2 was to replicate and extend Study 1 by comparing perceptions of police coercion in a different context against 'us' relative to 'them'. This was done by using existing social categories in the context of policing football. Here the same real-life confrontation between Newcastle United fans and the police was shown to both Newcastle United fans and

fans of their local rivals Sunderland. It was predicted that police coercion would be perceived more positively if 'the policed' were an out-group compared to ratings of the same incident by people who viewed 'the policed' as a psychological in-group. Here data is presented that suggested this was consistently the case. Across all but two of the measures (perceived police legitimacy and community identification), those who viewed 'the policed' as an out-group tended to rate the same coercive police action more positively than those who viewed 'the policed' as an in-group.

However, while the design allowed for the investigation of the impact that social categorisation has on participants' perceptions of a police-crowd confrontation, there were some important limitations. For example, I did not collect baseline data in order to prevent the questionnaire becoming too burdensome. It is feasible that the two fan groups may have differed systematically in terms of their 'general' views and/or relationships with the police. It is possible that Newcastle United supporters therefore have a more negative 'general' orientation towards the police than did the Sunderland supporters and that this fed into their views of the specific incident depicted in the video. However, given the two clubs are policed by the same police force and the two cities are only a few miles apart it seems unlikely that there is any systematic variation in the population's historical inter-group relationships with or experiences and views of the police.

Similarly to Study 1, an important limitation of Study 2 was the relatively low sample size and the resultant effect on the statistical power of the t-test analyses conducted. Using the statistical power calculator G*Power (Faul *et al.* 2007, 2009) and Cohen's (1969, 1988) guidelines on effect size conventions (i.e., Cohen's *d* statistic: small effect = 0.2; medium effect = 0.5; large effect = 0.8), in order to achieve 0.8 power a total of 394 participants would have been required in each condition (i.e., a total of 788 participants) to detect a small effect, 64 in each condition (i.e., a total of 128 participants) to detect a medium effect, and 26 in each condition (i.e., a total of 52 participants) to detect a large effect. Therefore, the non-significant differences between conditions in terms of perceptions of police legitimacy

and community identification may reflect a Type II error (Banerjee *et al.* 2009). With a larger sample and increased statistical power, significant differences between conditions in regards to measures of police legitimacy and community identification may have been obtained.

Moreover, using the statistical programme "R" (R Core Team 2016; Schoemann *et al.* 2017), a Monte Carlo power analysis suggested that 716 participants would have been required to ensure statistical power was at least 0.8 in order to detect the hypothesised mediation effect of community identification between perceptions of procedural fairness and behavioural intentions to cooperate with the police. Thus, like Study 1, this means that this non-significant indirect effect may have been due to the fact that there was insufficient statistical power.

Yet with these important limitations in mind, the results do support and extend Study 1's findings that social categorisation and the broader intergroup context can affect the way in which policing is judged. Indeed, Study 2 suggests that police coercion is more likely to be endorsed if it is against a psychological out-group ('them') rather than an in-group ('us') (c.f., Harkin 2015). Moreover, Study 2 also replicates the finding that judgements of relational identification with the police rather than community identification mediated the relationship between fairness and cooperation.

General discussion

Here an experimental paradigm was introduced based on Waddington *et al.*'s (2015) qualitative exploration of how participants judged the same police-public encounter. The intentions were twofold. First, I sought to systematically explore the extent to which judgements of procedural fairness, social identity, legitimacy and intentions to cooperate with the police regarding the same police-public encounter differed as a function of social categorisation. Second, I sought to explore the GEM's social identity mediation hypothesis building on previous work by including a novel measure of relational identification with the police as well as levels of community identification.

With respect to the first objective, the two studies presented here demonstrate that social categorisation and the intergroup context have profound effects on the perceptions of the same coercive police behaviour. The findings provide initial experimental support for the idea that ostensibly 'unfair' policing might be more readily endorsed if 'the policed' are perceived as an out-group (c.f., Harkin 2015). The implication of this for PJT is that judgements of procedural fairness should not be assumed against a background "*coherent, unitary public standard of what is acceptable and satisfactory police conduct*" (Waddington *et al.* 2015, p. 212). Rather, the results suggest the situational contingency of what constitutes 'fairness', certainly in the context of policing crowd events. Since police procedural fairness has been found to be the key antecedent to police legitimacy (Tyler 1990, 2006), the results suggest that there is no universal or prescribed pathway to legitimacy for the police independently of the dynamic social contextual situations within which those judgements take place (c.f., Herbert 2006, Waddington *et al.* 2015).

Meares *et al.* (2014) make the distinction between the 'objective' lawfulness of police conduct as defined by constitutional law and people's actual perceptions of its lawfulness. The analysis presented here, like Waddington *et al.*'s (2015), suggest that there is a similar gap between ostensibly normative structures of 'procedural fairness' as defined by theory (i.e., the four components of neutrality, trustworthy motives, dignity and respect, and voice: Meares *et al.* 2014) and people's subjective perceptions of procedural fairness within the relative social and historical context. This is in concordance with Leventhal's (1980, p.32) assertion that people will apply "*…procedural rules selectively and follow different rules at different times*".

Moreover, the results suggesting that relational identification with the police changed as a function of the broader intergroup context is consistent with previous work on the nature of the emergence of collective violence in crowd events (e.g., Stott and Drury 2000). Such work therefore points to the idea that PJT would be enhanced by exploring issues of identity and self regulation in more dynamic and fluid contextual terms, rather than simply

measuring identification with the police in the relatively stable expressions of community or national superordinate identity (Stott *et al.* 2011). This point is underlined by the corresponding finding that people's perceptions of police community prototypicality and whether or not they were seen to be acting for this community varied flexibly according to categorisation and intergroup context.

That being said, attention must be drawn to the findings in both studies that perceptions of police legitimacy did not vary by social categorisation as expected. I chose to operationalise perceived police legitimacy by using existing measures widely utilised in PJT research that capture people's felt obligation to obey. Whilst this measure has been associated with important behavioural outcomes (e.g., cooperation and compliance), it remains the case that police legitimacy is an unobservable psychological construct with contested meaning. As Jackson and Kuha (2015) make clear, there is a gap between psychological constructs and measures of 'police legitimacy'. This reflects the way in which we, as researchers, go about exploring public perceptions of policing. By using quantitative methodology we necessarily have to, a priori, define what 'police legitimacy' is; we have to turn it into a psychological 'thing' in order for us to be able to measure it (Billig 2011).

It is possible that the measure may have only partially captured people's views of police (il)legitimacy, hence why perceptions did not change in these studies relative to categorisation and context. For example, as suggested in Chapter 3, it is now commonly argued that perceptions of legitimacy include a moral component that references the extent to which people believe the police share and act on moral norms and values that are close to their own (c.f., Tyler and Jackson 2013). Yet, it could be argued that questions designed to measure moral alignment with the police (e.g., "*The values of most police officers are very similar to my own*"; Sunshine and Tyler 2003b) indicate a perception (or not) of identity alignment with the police as well as being an indicator of (il)legitimacy. Whilst outside the parameters of this Chapter, future work should seek to explore this relationship. Perceptions of relational identification with the police as a distinct social group and a sense

of moral solidarity with the police – as a 'component' of legitimacy – may be mutually constitutive (c.f., Turner and Reynolds 2010), and may even collapse into one another.

In both studies participants' judgements of police prototypicality and identity advancement were very highly correlated (>.93). This is a novel and interesting finding as it suggests that in a policing context the participants barely distinguished between judgements of the extent to which the police were seen as 'one of us' and the degree to which the police were perceived as 'doing it for us'. This finding is in line with Tyler's (2001) relational model of authority. But what the findings also suggest is that there are other factors beyond procedural fairness relevant to identification with authorities and acceptance of their control as an in-group norm. As Turner (2005) points out, in so far as an authority serves collective self-interest it must get things 'right' to be able to lead effectively. What the findings suggest therefore is that the extent to which the police are seen as prototypical of the relevant identity could be to a large extent entirely dependent on the degree to which the police act in ways that are seen as facilitating in-group norms within the specific social context (Reicher *et al.* 2004, 2007).

Moving on to the second aim, in both studies I report that community identification did not mediate the relationship between procedural fairness and cooperation. Moreover, community identification did not vary according to categorisation. Prior research within a PJT framework has tended to treat social categories in these relatively fixed sociological terms (c.f., Murphy *et al.* 2015). It is one thing for a person to acknowledge that a superordinate social category exists (e.g., national or community identity), but quite another for this category to be perceived by the same person as psychologically salient during a specific interaction with the police. Instead it has been demonstrated in this Chapter that people's judgements of relational identification with the police were the important psychological mediator between judgements of procedural justice and cooperation. The findings therefore support the assertion that such perceptions are fundamentally important in people's assessments of police action, in concordance with

previous work (e.g., Stott and Drury 2000, Stott *et al.* 2008, Stott *et al.* 2011). Taken together, previous studies in the PJT literature may have been using community identification as, at least in part, as a proxy measure for the more 'direct' measurement of relational identification with the police, utilised here.

However, as previously suggested, caution is required when considering the results of the statistical analyses presented in this chapter. The sampling method was opportunistic and exclusively drawn from those who have access to the Internet. Moreover, the sample sizes of the two studies were primarily determined by practical and pragmatic concerns. Due to the limited resources and time constraints of this work it was decided prior to data collection that over 100 participants would represent a challenging but achievable total number for each of the two studies. Yet the power analyses undertaken indicate that the small sample sizes obtained means there are important limitations relating primarily to the limited statistical power of the tests conducted. Therefore an important next step and future direction for research would be to attempt to replicate the findings of this exploratory work with a much larger confirmatory study.

Yet with these important limitations in mind, overall, these findings pose important questions for PJT and the theoretical understanding of its conceptualisation of underlying social psychological processes. The procedural justice perspective, at least in its GEM form, tends to view social identity judgements merely as an outcome of fairness judgements (e.g., Lipponen *et al.* 2011). Yet this analysis suggests that identity judgements may also shape perceptions of police fairness. Moreover, critiques of PJT centre on the fact that it is solely focused on the outcomes of interpersonal interactions with the police (e.g., Waddington *et al.* 2015) and has neglected the broader role of group-level dynamics (Smith 2007), ideology (Harkin 2015) and historical context (Armaline *et al.* 2014) in police-public relations. Here there is evidence to suggest that judgements of police actions are not just a matter of interpersonal relations or individual history. Rather, this Chapter demonstrates that category membership, categorical relationships and therefore the intergroup context of these interactions may have a

powerful impact, in a manner that is consistent with identity based analysis of conflict in the context of crowd events (Reicher, 1996, Stott and Drury, 2000, Reicher and Stott 2011).

This analysis has therefore provided important preliminary evidence that PJT research can benefit theoretically from further consideration of the complex role social identity and inter-group dynamics play in police-public relations, particularly in the context of crowd events (Maguire *et al.* 2016). Social identity is an important part of the causal chain linking procedural justice to police legitimacy, cooperation and other outcomes. However, here it is suggested that PJT has paid inadequate attention to theoretical developments in the social psychological understanding of social identity processes, most specifically in the developments provided by self-categorisation theory (Turner *et al.* 1987, 1994, Haslam *et al.* 2010).

As previously contended in Chapter 3, PJT research currently conveys a conceptualisation of social identity and 'procedural fairness' processes as relatively fixed and universal. Accordingly police officers are seen as the 'moral guardians' of some relatively static notion of a liberal nation state or community, within which a normatively given form of 'procedurally just' police action acts as a central mediator of perceived membership or exclusion among its citizens. I have argued here for a more nuanced, fluid, contextually determined and relational conceptualisation of such processes, where 'fairness' and identification with the police are relative and inter-related judgments that emerge within and relate directly to a specific group level social relational context.

In this regard the experimental evidence provided here further supports the elaborated social identity model (ESIM) of crowd behaviour which proposes that judgments of policing 'fairness' and 'self-regulation' are inter-related but dramatically affected by the dynamic nature of the social identities and group level interactions that operate within crowd events (e.g., Reicher 1996, Stott and Drury 2000). On the basis of ESIM, Reicher *et al.* (2004, 2007) propose a series of conflict reduction principles, such that police should *educate*

themselves to gain knowledge about the community values, aims and objectives, as well as the historical context, of the social identities that are likely to be present within crowds. Such 'intelligence' will help the police to understand how to *facilitate* the lawful interests of those groups and, as far as it is possible, to adjust police actions to advance the contextually relevant interests of those identities.

The analysis is consistent with this theoretical view that such action would promote perceptions of police 'fairness' that in turn may reduce conflict by promoting forms of 'self-regulation' within the crowd. This Chapter also suggests that such processes may also operate even when and if it becomes necessary for the police to use coercion. In other words, there is nothing inherently 'unfair' about police coercion, provided that when it is employed it is still seen to be exercised in ways that ultimately advance, rather than undermine, the collective interests of the groups and identities involved. Thus, by gaining a clearer understanding of how crowd members define themselves, the police can be better positioned to appreciate how to respond to the sometimes rapidly evolving nature of crowd situations such that if coercion is applied it is still likely to be understood by crowd participants to be facilitating their own identity consonant objectives. Thus, where such police action is seen as 'identity advancing' it may in turn help promote and maintain relational bonds of identification between the police and crowd participants which ultimately encourages conflict de-escalation through crowd participants' 'self-regulation' (Reicher *et al.* 2004, 2007, Stott *et al.* 2008).

Conclusion

In summary, this analysis problematises some of the underlying assumptions concerning the social psychology of procedural justice, particularly as this relates to the policing of crowd events. More generally, this Chapter also suggests the utility of a change of emphasis for those using PJT as a basis for policing, shifting from an exclusive focus on the ostensible fairness or otherwise of police actions to a focus on processes of social identity management. Thus, the extent to which the police can represent and

advance a 'shared sense of us' within a given context may be an important factor governing the variable and complex relationship between perceived fairness and behavioural self-regulation. In turn, this work also supports the contentions of those theorists who see 'procedural fairness' as a social construct rather than a normative given but in so doing requires us to reconsider the centrality and nature of the social identity and group level processes involved.

Chapter 6:

Student perceptions of police use of force during a student protest

The previous chapter problematised some of the key theoretical assumptions of PJT by exploring people's judgements of coercive crowd policing. This broad focus meant that the findings were not explicitly related to the extant literature on police use of force. However, there is an emerging body of PJT literature (Bradford and Jackson 2016, Bradford *et al.* 2016, Gerber and Jackson 2016) that has specifically sought to investigate, from a social psychological perspective, precisely why people justify and endorse police use of force.

The objective of this chapter is to contribute and extend this body of research specifically in the context of crowd policing. In so doing this chapter also aims to build on the methodological paradigm and findings of Chapter 5. Whilst the previous chapter demonstrated that police fairness judgements varied according to social categorisation and context the analysis was unable to fully explore the actual *content* of people's judgements about police action within a crowd event.

Furthermore, in relation to Study 1, it was not possible to create a genuine 'in-group' in the context of policing at a student tuition fee demonstration. In order to address these matters 30 semi-structured interviews were undertaken with students after having shown them two video clips of the same incident depicted in Study 1 of Chapter 5. The thematic analysis undertaken supports and extends the findings of Chapter 5 in a number of important ways. The theoretical implications of these findings with regards to the application of PJT to the policing of crowd events are then discussed.

Introduction

As the 'Black Lives Matter' protests demonstrate[9], large-scale demonstrations can develop in direct response to the actions of the police. Therefore precisely under what conditions the police use of force is seen as justifiable in the eyes of 'the policed' is a salient and contemporary issue. Yet despite this importance, there is no real consensus in the academic literature as to precisely what is meant by the concept 'use of force' (Klahm IV *et al.* 2014). Early research focused on explicit acts of physical violence by police officers (e.g., Westley 1953, Chevigny 1969, Reiss 1968, Wilson 1978). More recent work has called for an expanded definition of 'use of force' to also include non-violent acts such as verbal threats (Garner *et al.* 1995).

In attempting to define police use of force, existing studies have often emphasised the importance of the distinction between what is considered 'reasonable' and 'excessive'. For example, Gerber and Jackson (2016) define 'reasonable' force as that which "*is proportionate to the seriousness of the threat and which uses the minimum amount required for police officers to carry out their job*" (p.2) whereas 'excessive' force is "*where the amount of force exceeds the seriousness of the threat and the minimum amount required to control the situation*" (p. 2). These definitions tie the use of force with perceptions of police legitimacy, or the extent to which the police are seen as acting and 'wielding' their authority in ways understood to be appropriate, proper and just (Tyler 2006).

As we have seen, within the existing criminology literature most studies of 'police legitimacy' have used PJT as an explanatory framework and have focused on the exploration of the prosocial outcomes of the experience of justice (Tyler and Blader 2003). This is, in part, due to the wider historical context of PJT research. Tyler and Blader (2003) places recent PJT research as a constituent part of a broader movement called 'positive psychology' (Snyder and Lopez 2002). The aim of 'positive psychology', as the name suggests, is to explore potentially 'positive' outcomes for the

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[9] See: https://blacklivesmatter.com/about/herstory/

benefit of 'society'. This focus has been criticised by scholars who argue that the emphasis on legitimacy and its positive outcomes ignores the on-going and/or historical abuses of power by the police (Armaline *et al.* 2014). Of course, one such abuse of power is the use of 'excessive' force and qualitative studies are replete with accounts of police brutality, particularly amongst young black men (e.g., Brunson 2007).

Research suggests that people will tend to endorse 'reasonable' but not 'excessive' use of force by the police, although this work is largely limited to survey evidence using data derived from the 'General Social Survey' (GSS) in America (Johnson and Kuhns 2009). There are five questionnaire items included in the GSS that aim to assess the extent to which respondents endorse a police officer physically striking a 'citizen' in a variety of contexts. For example, using the GSS data from 1998 Thompson and Lee (2004, p. 390) presented respondents with the general question: *"Are there any situations you can imagine in which you would approve of a policeman striking an adult male citizen?"* and then with four more specific scenarios: *"Would you approve of a policeman striking a citizen who: (1) was attempting to escape from custody? (2) was attacking the policeman with his fists? (3) was being questioned as a suspect in a murder case? and (4) had said vulgar and obscene things to the policeman?".*

Researchers who have used these questions have consistently reported that police use of force is supported more so in instances where the officer is depicted as being attacked and less so when there is no physical threat to the officer (Flanagan and Vaughn 1996; Halim and Stiles 2001; Thompson and Lee 2004). For example, Thompson and Lee (2004) reported that 92% of respondents approved of a policeman striking a citizen when they were being attacked with fists but only 7% approved when the citizen had shouted obscenities at the police officer.

However, as suggested previously, questions like those above presuppose an *interpersonal* relationship between a police officer and 'citizen'. Correspondingly, it is unclear how these findings might relate to the

contested and often highly complex (intergroup) nature of peoples' understandings of police use of force within dynamic crowd events. Moreover, as Gerber and Jackson (2016) point out this body of work tends to explore how public support for police use of force is related to socio-demographic factors. Accordingly, there is a paucity of social psychological work exploring precisely when and why it is that the 'public' accept and justify police action.

Hence Gerber and Jackson's (2016) study sought to address this gap in the literature. They drew on online survey data from a convenience sample of Americans to assess the empirical associations between perceptions of police legitimacy, political ideology[10] and support for 'reasonable' and 'excessive' force. Respondents were presented with 10 statements describing different situations of the police use of force and were asked to give an approval rating for each ranging from "strongly disapprove" to "strongly approve". In five of the scenarios presented (e.g., "*A policeman strikes a citizen who attacks the policeman with his fists*", p. 14) respondents tended to approve use of force by the police. These items were operationalised as 'reasonable' force. In the other five situations presented (e.g., "*A policeman strikes a citizen who has insulted the policeman*", p. 14) the percentage of respondents who approved the police use of force was much lower. Accordingly, these items were operationalised as 'excessive' force.

Gerber and Jackson reported that police legitimacy was a positive predictor of support for 'reasonable' but not 'excessive' force, concluding that police legitimacy serves to constrain coercive police power (c.f., Bradford and Jackson 2016, Bradford *et al.* 2016). By contrast, political ideology was

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[10] Two political ideologies were the focus of analysis: 'right-wing authoritarism' (RWA) and 'social dominance orientation' (SDO). Gerber and Jackson (2016) surmise: "*on the whole, high RWA's are motivated to control social threats and should be willing to accept extreme measures if necessary*" (p.5). Whereas, SDO was defined in terms of two dimensions: 1) 'SDO-Dominance' (i.e. "*a preference for group- based social systems where higher status groups dominate over lower status groups*", p. 6) and 2) 'SDO-Egalitarianism' (i.e. "*a preference for systems where inequalities are sustained by means of ideologies and social policies that enhance hierarchies*", p. 6).

related to 'excessive' but not 'reasonable' force. This led Gerber and Jackson (2016, p.1) to conclude that 'excessive' use of force by the police required an "*extra-legal justification that is – at least in our analysis – partly ideological*". Unlike previous studies using the GSS, 3 of the questionnaire items used by Gerber and Jackson related specifically to the policing of crowds. These included two of the five items for the construct of 'reasonable' force (i.e., "*Government sends armed police forces to control violent riots*"; "*Policemen use clubs and guns to stop violent demonstrations*") and one item for the construct of 'excessive' force (i.e., "*Police officers use violence to control non-violent demonstrations*").

However, this meant that the 7 remaining questionnaire items used were similar to those in the GSS in that they were predicated on an assumed dyadic relationship between a police officer and 'citizen'. Moreover, the statements that do reference crowd events overlook the fact that the extent to which a demonstration is perceived as 'violent' is often highly ambiguous and contestable. For instance, whilst crowd participants may maintain that their intentions were peaceful and non-violent, the police may define their presence as dangerous and violent (e.g., Stott and Drury 2000). This argument is reinforced by the finding that whilst Gerber and Jackson's distinction between 'reasonable' and 'excessive' force was sustained by the results of a confirmatory factor analysis, the item "*Policemen use clubs and guns to stop violent demonstrations*" (an item included in the measure 'reasonable' force') received a relatively low approval rating (47.8%) compared to the other items included in the measure (all > 70%). This suggests that the majority of respondents (52.2%) did not approve of the police action in a crowd context defined by the authors as 'reasonable' indicating the inherent ambiguity in judgements of 'reasonableness' with regards to police use of force. Due to these issues it remains unclear to what extent these findings can be applied specifically to the policing of crowd events.

Whilst the studies reviewed above focus on police action, Maguire *et al.*'s (2016) study explored protestors' willingness to endorse group norms of

violence *against* the police in order to bring about "*meaningful social change*" (p. 7). Using a sample of 136 'Occupy DC' participants, they reported that 59.3% of survey respondents were willing to support some form of violence against the police (ranging from 'minor' forms of violence defined as 'pushing or shoving' to 'major' forms of violence defined as 'throwing harmful objects or using a weapon'). Their findings suggested that the most important factor explaining the protestors' endorsement of group norms of violence against the police was the degree to which they felt the police were 'procedurally unjust'.

Therefore findings of Gerber and Jackson and Maguire *et al.* imply that perceptions of police (un)fairness and (il)legitimacy are potentially important psychological factors in explaining the levels of endorsement for use of force. However, as Bradford *et al.* (2016) maintain, PJT also highlights the potential role that identity judgements of 'the policed' may play in affecting levels of endorsement of police action. Following the logic of PJT, they argue that within what they term 'Angolophone' countries the social identity the police are most strongly associated with is that of a 'nation state' or more precisely 'law-abiding citizens' within nation states or 'communities'.

Accordingly, whilst acknowledging that in-group bias and out-group discrimination is not an inevitable consequence of categorisation (c.f., Spears *et al.* 2001), Bradford *et al.* (2016) posit that those who strongly identify as a 'law-abiding citizens' are more likely to endorse aggressive police behaviour against 'non law-abiding citizens' or 'offenders' since they constitute a relevant out-group. Analysing survey data from a representative sample of adults in England and Wales, they reported that identifying strongly as a British law-abiding citizen was consistently related to acceptability of police use of force against offenders regardless of whether or not this force seemed 'legally justifiable'. These findings point to the idea that those who perceive a shared group membership between themselves and the police are more likely to support police action, even if this action is coercive or aggressive in nature.

Nevertheless due to the quantitative nature of their design, Bradford *et al.* (2016) had to predefine social identity as a relatively fixed construct (i.e., 'British law-abiding citizen'). However, if group salience is a function of comparisons of similarity and difference between contextually accessible social categories (Turner *et al.* 1987; Turner *et al.* 1994), then it follows that British people may not always define themselves primarily in terms of their standing as a law-abiding member of Britain when assessing the fairness or legitimacy of police action. For example, as Chapter 5 demonstrated, perceptions of what is considered 'fair' police action within crowd events can be altered as a result of a shared psychological group membership that is much less inclusive than a 'national identity'. As Bradford (2016) acknowledges, 'the policed' in crowd events often possess a more salient 'alternative' and contextually derived identity (e.g., as a protestor, football fan or student).

The present study

The conceptual and measurement issues highlighted above point to the usefulness of a social psychological perspective that explores people's support for police use of force within crowd events by utilising a more inductive and qualitative research methodology (c.f., Harkin 2014, 2015). In so doing, there does not have to be an *a priori* definition of 'excessive' or 'reasonable' force or the relevant identity but instead there is a focus on people's actual interpretations of a 'real-life' police-crowd interaction.

Thus there are two primary aims of this chapter. The first is to extend the experimental studies reported in Chapter 5. It was noted in Study 1 of Chapter 5 that it was expected that the majority of the sample obtained would be students and that it was therefore also expected that those in the NUS condition would view the protestors as an in-group. However, manipulation checks revealed that this was not the case and that those in the NUS condition instead viewed the protestors in more 'neutral' terms. By recruiting a sample of students and showing each interviewee a video of the same incident of police coercion used in Study 1 of Chapter 5, this chapter seeks to explore this finding in more detail. How is police coercion directed

against the NUS (i.e., a potential in-group) interpreted, understood, and described by the student interviewees? How do the accounts of the incident given by the students relate to the findings of the previous chapter?

The second aim is to extend the limited PJT literature on public perceptions of the police use of force (Bradford and Jackson 2016; Bradford et al. 2016; Gerber and Jackson 2016). Accordingly, instead of simply looking at quantitative associations between pre-defined variables such as perceived procedural fairness, police legitimacy, and self-reported 'compliance' with the law, the objective of this chapter is to qualitatively explore the views and perceptions of the interviewees. As argued in Chapter 3, by utilising semi-structured interviews a detailed and rich picture of the interviewee's perspective can be developed (Brunson 2007). This chapter extends the existing PJT studies by focusing on the actual qualitative content of interviewees' descriptions of an example of police use of force within an actual crowd event. What are the contextual factors that shape the interviewees' views of the fairness of police activity? How do these judgements change within an interaction and therefore from one specific context to another? Moreover, how do procedural fairness judgements relate to judgements of police (il)legitimacy and identity?

Method

To further investigate these issues, a convenience sample of 30 students were interviewed in order to explore their perceptions of the policing of a student tuition protest in London, 2010. Within this each participant was shown the same two video clips of a charge by police on horseback into a group of otherwise peaceful protestors. However, unlike the previous chapter, the participants were not subsequently presented with a closed-questions survey. Instead they were asked open-ended questions in order for me to gain an in-depth understanding of their perspective on what they had seen.

The videos

The first video shown to participants was a slightly extended version of the

video used in Study 1 of the previous chapter, however, this time the social category of the protestors was not manipulated. Thus the first video was a BBC News report depicting a confrontation between police and protestors at a student fees protest in central London in 2010. The 1 minute 18 second video was identical in content to that shown to participants in the previous chapter except that the footage of the charge by police on horseback was replayed for a second time[11].

In order to generate further discussion each participant was shown a second video that depicted the same incident but from the perspective of an onlooker who had filmed the incident on a mobile device. The duration of the second video was 6 minutes and 10 seconds.[12] This video shows approximately 40 police officers in protective helmets who had formed a line ostensibly to prevent the group of protestors from advancing towards the Houses of Parliament building that is visible in the background. Three or four firecrackers or other similar devices can be heard exploding with loud bangs whilst some in the crowd also blew whistles. After the explosions, some in the crowd begin to shout as there is the sound of broken glass. A group of three to four people wearing face coverings are seen on window ledges and they have seemingly broken the window of a building immediately adjacent to the larger group of protestors. Music can be heard as most of the protestors simply stood with no concerted attempt to break through the police line. Many in the crowd were holding banners such as "F**K FEES" and "Ministry of Lies". The atmosphere was boisterous but largely peaceful with no notable confrontation between the group of protestors and police. With seemingly no prior warning, the police officers who had formed a line moved quickly out of the way as 20–25 police officers on horseback charged into the crowd. Some in the crowd immediately started shouting things at the police (e.g., "*fuck you*" and "*you wankers*") whilst others threw objects such as placards. After the horse charge there were multiple confrontations

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[11] Link to first video used: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NcAUXQAV7Zc

[12] Link to second video used: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cP7oMYpdy6o

between police officers on foot and those in the crowd with some shouting "*shame on you*" and "*get that animal off that horse*" towards the police.

Data gathering

All interviewees were full-time students at the time of interview. 66.7% (n = 20) were undergraduates and 33.3% (n = 10) were postgraduates. The mean age of participants was 21 (SD = 3.45) with 70% being female (n = 21) and 30% being male (n = 9). 76.7% self-identified as White (n = 23), 13.3% (n = 4) as Black, 6.7% as Asian (n = 2) and 3.3% as Mixed (n = 1).

The vast majority of the interviewees were recruited through Loughborough University's 'research participation scheme' whereby undergraduate students gain experience of research in exchange for partial course credit. Participants were also recruited via social media outlets (e.g., Facebook and Twitter) and email adverts that were sent to all Student Union clubs and societies' groups at the University of Leeds and Loughborough University. Each interviewee was met at a location convenient to them that was usually either in the library, student union café or in some instances a pre-booked room. Participants were provided with a standardised information sheet that specified details about the study and the nature of their participation in it. If they agreed to take part then they were asked to sign a consent form and then to provide basic demographic details via a BOS online survey on my laptop. I then described the precise nature of what would follow explaining that they would be watching two videos of policing at the tuition fee protest and then asked about their views on what they had seen. Participants were encouraged to make comments whilst the videos were playing if they wished to.

A semi-structured design was adopted and so the interviews took the form of a 'guided conversation' (Kvale, 1996). Thus, pertinent and theory relevant questions centred on key themes formed the structure of the interview with there being scope to further explore interesting points raised with additional ad-hoc questions (the full interview schedule is available in Appendix D.). The interviews ranged between 20 and 60 minutes. All interviews were

recorded, with the permission of the students being interviewed. After the interviews, these recordings were transcribed.

Analytic strategy

Following Braun and Clarke (2006), a thematic analysis of the data was carried out. Therefore the analysis firstly involved reading and re-reading the transcripts; "*such a reading allows us to experience as a reader some of the discursive effects of the text*" (Willig 2008, p. 99). The data were then coded linguistically and conceptually into broad semantic themes. In taking a semantic approach, themes were developed by analysing the explicit meanings of the transcribed data set, rather than attempting to extrapolate meaning beyond what the interviewees had described. Thus the analysis contrasted with a 'latent' level approach to thematic construction where researchers seek to examine the "*underlying ideas, assumptions, conceptualizations and ideologies that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data*" (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 84). After developing preliminary themes, I then went back through the data and refined these initial thematic categories in terms of names and content. The process of coding and thematic development was necessarily iterative as opposed to linear with identified themes informing further coding and vice versa. The analytic strategy employed sought to infer, from the semantic content, the broader theoretically relevant implications of the data set (Braun and Clarke 2006; Patton 2015). The theoretical implications of the analysis for PJT are therefore presented in the discussion section subsequent to the analysis. Importantly then, the aim of the analytic strategy was not to provide a detailed account of 'what actually happened' but rather, following previous work (e.g., Blackwood *et al.* 2013), the focus was on the explicit meanings of participants' utterances. Each extract in the subsequent analysis section was chosen on the basis that I judged it to best represent the particular theme in question. As the interviewees' identities are to remain anonymous each interviewee was assigned a number (i.e., 1 to 30), which relates to the chronological order of when the interviews took place. This number is provided in parenthesis after each extract.

Analysis

Intergroup vs. interpersonal relationships

Participants described protestors in terms of a shared social category that emphasised a collective 'we' and 'us' rather than a singular or personal identity. For example, one participant when asked to define the protestors in the video described them as possessing a common and shared identity.

> Interviewer: *So did you see them more as a group than a bunch of individuals?*
>
> Participant: *Yeah, from that I would just say they're just a massive group.*
>
> Interviewer: *Any reason in particular?*
>
> Participant:*….I think you do get that sort of group identity as soon as you come together for the same thing straight away you're like oh we are doing this you're never really sort of oh I went to a protest and I protested you'd sort of be like oh I went to a protest and we was protesting about this.* (Interview 17; Emphasis added)

This categorisation was defined by some in terms of students' fight against what was described as an unjust and unfair imposition of higher student fees.

> Interviewer: *So how did you relate to the students in the video then?*
>
> Participant: *They seemed as if, because obviously they're fighting for something that obviously I believe in so I have that bias. Free education, well fair education.* (Interview 5)

As the above extract implies this description of a shared common purpose was important because it was equated by some with 'bias' in viewing the videos. Thus there was an acknowledgement that the interviewees' categorisation of themselves as a student had a direct bearing on their descriptions of the policing in the context of the protest. In this regard the police were ubiquitously described as 'the other side':

> Interviewer: *Why do you think you'd be biased as a student?*

> Participant: *…I think when you identify with the people in the crowd and you have the same views, you support them a whole lot more and you just oppose against the other side completely.* (Interview 23)

Moreover, student chants of 'shame on you' in the video following the police horse charge evoked descriptions of the police as a psychological out-group acting against 'us' as students. As one interviewee put it:

> Participant: *Yes, I think when they were shouting that I think they were trying to say shame on you that you're not on our side and that you're not having sympathy for us.* (Interview 24)

The descriptions of student and police were also linked to accounts of justifiable in-group action. In the context of events depicted in the video, even student violence against the police was described as a legitimate in-group response to perceived police coercion of 'us' as students.

> Participant: *We're angry now, we're trying to do what we said we were going to do but it wouldn't be right to carry on being peaceful in that situation I don't think. I think you've got to fight back a little, well not fight back,*

> *but it's self-defence. And I think, I know, if I'd have*
> *been there I'd have done the same.* (Interview 20)

The problem of legitimacy and the importance of voice and categorisation

Voice

A major theme in the data was the importance of 'voice', however, this importance was at times related to the need for the police to understand and not interfere with the group interests. In reference to the police horse charge an interviewee remarked on how police action was illegitimate because it denied students a voice:

> Interviewer: *What do you think of that video?*
>
> Participant: *I feel kind of the same. But in the beginning I feel like the students most of them from what I saw were just doing what I would do. Just standing around doing a few chants, waving a poster or whatever and then shit kind of hit the fan didn't it. As soon as the horses went in. Because for me that would be really scary because I'd just be like: this is a bit out of hand and the way that people reacted to that like, I don't know. It's just a couple of horses come in and they go nuts. But then I suppose it's well, it could be what it represents isn't it, because it's like oppression and they're not allowed to do their protest.* (Interview 25)

Thus, descriptions of unjust treatment by the police were related to the interviewees' portrayals that the police had denied or suppressed the objectives of the protestors. Another interviewee vividly conveyed the perceived lack of voice in response to a similar question about the horse charge:

> Participant: *I think that they felt towards the police they were quite, the police were quite, ignorant in that they weren't listening to their views any more they just came to disband the crowd so I think they must've been really quite furious about it.* (Interview 27)

Thus, the descriptions of police illegitimacy were complex but invariantly embedded within accounts of them as militating against the protestors' democratic right to voice their opinion on the rise of student tuition fees. Moreover, in this context, student aggression towards the police was deemed as legitimate because it was viewed as justifiably seeking to reassert these rights.

> Participant: *Yeh I think they're just retaliating against first they're saying ok this isn't fair they're reacting against the government by protesting and then if the police are coming in and intervening and preventing them from having that right then they're gonna fight back again.* (Interview 27)

Categorisation

Thus far the analysis has placed an emphasis on the importance of social categorisation and the dynamics of the intergroup context with regards to descriptions of the police (un)fairness and (il)legitimacy. Correspondingly, what was described as fair and appropriate policing also depended on the specific kind of categorisation used to describe 'the policed'. In particular, comparisons were sometimes made between 'the policed' as students or 'the policed' as either 'rioters' or 'football hooligans'. For example,

> Participant: *I wouldn't say that behaviour like that from the police is never justified or never appropriate depending on the tenor of the protest. For example, if it was something like the race riots in L.A or in Birmingham recently or in Tottenham and you know*

there was an element of people appropriating the riots to basically just go and cause carnage and all the rest of it there was a real public order concern I would say that that's maybe an entirely appropriate response. From the clip I couldn't see why it was necessary there and if they if that was a tuition fee protest I can't see any compelling reason why you would want to charge 8 horses at a group of people. (Interview 13)

Thus for students the same horse charge was described in fundamentally different ways as a function of the categories involved along with their underlying motivations. This suggests that judgements of police fairness and legitimacy are not fixed or objective attributes of what the police are actually doing but rather subjective judgements relative to the particular social and historical (intergroup) context in which they are formed. As one interviewee argued in response to a question aimed at clarifying why they felt that the policing was inappropriate and aggressive:

Participant: *Because it's a crowd that are protesting about fees, they're students which you wouldn't think, normally think, students are that aggressive you know they're not football hooligans or anything like that.* (Interview 1)

Dynamism

Additionally, throughout the interviews there were important transitions from the interviewees' descriptions of police legitimacy. For example, one interviewee felt that prior to the police horse charge policing had been largely legitimate:

Participant: *The policing on the ground was proportionate…the police weren't doing anything back and neither were the crowd so I think that was proportionate.* (Interview 8)

However, later the same interviewee described the police horse charge as an illegitimate tactic for the circumstances:

> Participant: *I don't think ploughing in on the horses was necessary.*

> Interviewer: *Any reason in particular for that?*

> Participant: *You know there was nothing going on, you know. If there was a fight in the middle of that huge group or you know police officers at the front being really badly attacked then I would say something needs to be, you know, something drastic needs to happen there. But it seemed to be a tactic of trying to move the crowd on which didn't work and was...a reaction to nothing that had happened at that time. So no I don't think a horse charge was appropriate.* (Interview 8)

Police (il)legitimacy: Acting for 'them' or 'us'?

Superordinate categories

In the interviews police were sometimes depicted as representatives of a super-ordinate category, but this was never as agents of some benevolent nation state rather as of a government acting in its own partisan interests. Correspondingly, police action was described not so much as identity affirming or denying of people's sense of inclusion in a national or community identity ('us'). It was instead described as confirmation that the police were not part of 'us' at all but rather acting for 'them' against 'us'. For instance a member of a Student University Conservative society commented that:

> Participant: *The police should be neutral and independent but they often become the state if you like and if they're sent in by the Home Office or by the Council to put down a protest there's very much a risk*

> *there that they've become tools of the government…the police are not there to serve the government they're there to serve everybody and keep them safe.* (Interview 7)

Thus, the police's status as a community prototype was also questioned, police unfairness exemplifying that they were not acting in the interests of 'our community' but rather as outsiders working against this community. Interestingly, it was this process that corresponded with the dynamism in legitimacy discussed above:

> Participant: *I think it would possibly change the way you perceive police, it could, because I've not had many interactions with them and that would probably be my own big interaction with the police, group of police officers, so if they're that aggressive when I'm just protesting against tuition fees, I'd suddenly think all of a sudden, police officers aren't these kind of, they're supposed to help communities whereas in that way they're kind of against the community, so yes it would probably change my perception of the police to a negative.* (Interview 1)

Hence rather than police unfairness indicating a denial of the students' status in the super-ordinate category of 'the community', unfair police treatment actually indicated police exclusion from this valued in-group. Thus the police were viewed as partisan acting against the wider community's interests because they were acting for powerful groups, in particular, a partisan government unjustly imposing its power:

> Participant: *I think their purposes were just to be there to show that they were in power, to show that there was an inequality in who has the power, that they can protest all they want and they won't achieve anything*

> *because they're the ones with the government and on*
> *the government's side.* (Interview 5)

Conditional legitimacy and identity

Within the interviewees' descriptions, an obligation for the police to understand 'the policed' was also sometimes expressed in terms of acting in the best interests of 'us' (as students) but also for 'other citizens'. This related to the transition of the police being perceived as legitimate to illegitimate but also from in-group to out-group. At first when the police were standing in formation preventing the students from advancing further up the road towards the houses of parliament:

> Participant: *…the police were just looking out for us*
> [the students] *they was looking out for the other*
> *citizens and it all keeps like a nice peaceful protest.*
> (Interview 24)

Whereas the horse charge was deemed illegitimate but also signified that the police were viewed as a psychological out-group:

> Participant: *I just don't think the horse charge, I don't*
> *think that was fair…Like it changed into the police are*
> *acting violent towards us rather than being there for*
> *protection…* (Interview 24)

Therefore the legitimacy of police action was related to the extent to which police were described as being part of 'us' a common social category rather than 'them'. The shift from descriptions of police legitimacy to illegitimacy was described as a transition from the students defining themselves in terms of the protest against an unjust rise in tuition fees to one of united opposition against the 'unjust' police.

> Participant: *I think it turned very much from a protest*
> *about student prices rising into a police vs. protestors'*

kind of thing. I think it turned more about them trying to rebel against the police more than a protest against like the government. (Interview 7)

Alternative models of policing

The participants' descriptions of police illegitimacy were often contrasted with alternative potential models of police intervention, which were portrayed as far more legitimate. A number of participants questioned why the police had not tried to communicate and liaise with the protestors rather than resort to coercive measures. For example,

> Interviewer: *What did you think to them charging in with the horses?*
>
> Participant: *To be honest I don't know if there was another way that they could've sorted it. It depends if they, how much they'd tried with just police on foot to like diffuse the situation. Because if they haven't tried that much it would be completely wrong but like if there was no other way of like stopping it then I don't know maybe it could be justified. But it's quite dangerous still.* (Interview 29)

Hence, there was a preference amongst students for the police to prioritise non-coercive and 'proactive' forms of policing intervention in order to avoid the need to resort to potentially dangerous forms of police coercion. Central to this preference was the necessity of communication and dialogue between the police and the students.

> Interviewer: *Any other thoughts on the video, just to wrap up really?*
>
> Participant: *It just shows that communication is important in resolving conflicts even at the moment*

> *with everything it's just not acting and reacting it's*
> *trying to understand and then fix problems it's not just*
> *by punching someone or just pushing them away, this*
> *won't solve anything.* (Interview 6)

Indeed, positive and effective communication with crowd members was explicitly linked to the salient need for the police to understand and actively build relationships of consent with those whom they are policing:

> Participant: *You've got to have that relationship, we've*
> *got to have policing by consent but I don't think we*
> *should have policing by forcing you and being around*
> *you all the time and snooping on you.* (Interview 7)

However, by contrast, some interviewees described that police action in the video as *legitimate* by comparing it with alternative models of police intervention that were depicted as prevalent in other countries, which were portrayed as far *less legitimate*. For instance,

> Interviewer: *Any more thoughts on the video?*

> Participant: *I think the police did well. Because if it was*
> *in my country* [Nigeria] *I think they would just shoot a*
> *gun off and everyone disperses so for them to still stay*
> *there and not use any cordons they just tried to*
> *separate them* [the students]. *I think it was good proper*
> *crowd management.*

> Interviewer: *In what way sorry?*

> *Participant:* In the way that they were able to do this
> without really beating anybody or trying to be; all they
> were doing is just pushing people back. And if they
> don't do it that way it's going to escalate. (Interview 4)

Discussion

The study presented in this chapter aimed to contribute to an emerging PJT literature that has sought to investigate people's attitudes towards examples of police use of force (Bradford and Jackson 2016, Bradford *et al.* 2016, Gerber and Jackson 2016). It was noted that previous work has tended to a) rely on questions that presuppose an interpersonal relationship between a citizen and a police officer, b) be based on an a priori distinction of 'excessive' or 'reasonable' force, and c) has tended to measure social identity simply as a static expression of national citizenship. Accordingly, it was suggested that the existing literature might not have adequately studied people's judgements of police use of force within the complex, often contested and dynamic nature of crowd events such as student demonstrations. Thus by contrast to this previous work, the analysis presented in this chapter focused on people's interpretations and qualitative understandings of a 'real-life' police-crowd interaction by utilising a more inductive approach to data collection.

Correspondingly, 30 in-depth semi-structured interviews were undertaken with students who had been shown two videos depicting a charge by police on horseback at a student tuitions fee protest. In so doing, the aim was to also explicitly extend the findings and methodological paradigm developed in the previous chapter. The thematic analysis supported Chapter 5 in that it suggested the importance of the intergroup context of crowd events, in a manner consistent with the ESIM of crowd behaviour. In this respect, the analysis again challenges the assumption of PJT work that "*…interactions with the police are interpersonal experiences*" (Meares *et al.* 2014, p. 114). In this sense, the analysis problematises the application of the questions included in the GSS in the context of complex crowd events such as protests. The students emphasised a collective 'we' and 'us' in their descriptions of the protestors in the video compared to 'them' police.

Importantly students' judgements of the intergroup context and the specific categorisation of 'the policed' altered descriptions of what was considered fair or legitimate policing. Therefore, whilst the police horse charge was

considered by some participants as an 'inappropriate' tactic for students, it was described as a potentially legitimate tactic against 'rioters' or 'football hooligans'. This finding is in line with Chapter 5 as it again suggests that a) there is no '*coherent unitary, public standard of what is acceptable and satisfactory in police conduct*' (Waddington *et al.* 2015, p. 1) within the context of complex crowd events, and that b) the same act of police coercion against a denigrated out-group may be justified and endorsed more so than if 'the policed' are a valued in-group (c.f., Harkin 2015). Accordingly, the findings point to the difficulty of pre-defining what is considered 'reasonable' or 'excessive' police use of force (c.f., Klahm *et al.* 2014), since the interviewees' descriptions of appropriate police conduct changed according to the social category of 'the policed'.

Thus the analysis in this chapter goes further than Chapter 5 in that it illustrates the idea that perceptions of police legitimacy within complex crowd events are dynamic judgements that are subject to rapid change (e.g., Reicher 1996). This finding contrasts with the implicit assumption present in most empirical PJT work: that people's attitudes regarding the police are relatively consistent and can therefore be measured with the extent to which people agree with 'general' statements about the police (e.g., "*The police generally have the same sense of right and wrong that you do*"; Gerber and Jackson 2016, p. 7). The study presented in this chapter problematises this notion of a 'general' measure of police legitimacy in the context of a 'real-life' crowd event since there were important transitions from perceptions of police legitimacy to illegitimacy.

As suggested previously, PJT research currently implies that police officers are the 'prototypical representatives' of a nation state or community within which 'procedurally just' police action acts as the primary indicator of perceived membership or exclusion for 'citizens' evaluating their interactions with the police. However, here it is demonstrated that police action does not necessarily determine if a 'citizen' can access a shared super-ordinate category (e.g., national identity) but rather that the perceived legitimacy of police action determines the extent to which the police themselves can

access this common category of 'we' (e.g., the people / community / nation). In other words, as Bradford (2016) has recently acknowledged, the police (through their action in context) can psychologically marginalise or exclude *themselves* from a valued social identity. This represents a reversal of the PJT account that is, after all, largely based on correlational survey data. This is an important finding since it points to the idea that the police are not the 'sole owners' or 'representatives' of a given social identity, and may not even be included in definitions of 'us' at all.

Another important aspect of the analysis was the interviewees' desire for the police to understand and to not interfere with the group interests of the students. As noted in Chapter 5, this suggests that it may not be enough for the police to be seen as 'fair' in order to be perceived as a legitimate authority, they may also have to be seen as 'identity advancing' or serving the collective interests of the group in question. This is in concordance with the idea that PJT should move simply from an emphasis on how 'fair' the police are to an emphasis on how the police can prioritise the facilitation of the legitimate group interests of crowd members. In this sense, this chapter is also illustrative of Herbert's (2006) argument that police legitimacy often depends on the extent to which people view the police as being responsive to specific group interests that may run counter to the adherence of 'fairness rules'.

More broadly then, the analysis points to the utility of using a qualitative approach in order to explore the nuances and content of people's views on crowd policing in general and the complex relationship between people's judgements of their sense of identity and police legitimacy in particular (Stott and Drury 2000). This nuance is readily demonstrated in the finding that the interviewees' often compared the legitimacy of the policing in the video to alternative models of policing. Here, in line with Harkin (2014, 2015), it is reported that perceptions of police legitimacy are not necessarily uniform and may vary within and between police-'public' interactions and that people can sometimes 'import' their views of the police from other socio-historical contexts. By using qualitative methodology it was possible to explore the

nuances of judgements of police legitimacy 'in context' and the notion that *"…legitimacy is not just granted in blanket terms to the police as a whole, but is granted variably to individuals and groups within the police"* (Harkin 2015, p. 11).

Yet despite these insights, there are some important limitations to this analysis. Firstly, the analysis relied on a convenience sample of students many of whom were too young to know the precise social and historical context within which the events depicted in the video took place. Moreover, the videos presented only provided a brief 'snapshot' of the demonstration. Thus whilst it was possible to explore participants' views of the policing of a crowd event, like in Study 1 of Chapter 5 their views were from the perspective of their position as a 'disinterested observer' (Waddington *et al.* 2015) rather than in relation to their actual lived experiences of policing. At times this meant that the interviewees' answers were perhaps not as detailed or 'in-depth' as they otherwise might have been if the interviewees were instead responding to questions regarding their own experiences. Future work could therefore seek to address this limitation by applying PJT to participants' understandings of their own experiences of policing as a member of a crowd (e.g., Maguire *et al.* 2016) and even across multiple crowd events (e.g., Stott *et al.* 2011).

Conclusion

Notwithstanding these important limitations, by utilising qualitative data this chapter has demonstrated the complexity of people's judgements of police action. Bradford *et al.* (2016) conclude by highlighting the distinction between the processes of social identity and police legitimacy. They go on to speculate that "*which of these processes is more important in a given context or situation may go someway to explaining why public assessments of police change, or remain stable, over time*" (p. 12). However, the current analysis provides evidence that we should be cautious in analytically separating people's judgements of police legitimacy from their sense of identity.

In some important ways then the analysis in this chapter accords with Gerber and Jackson (2016) and Bradford *et al.*'s (2016) finding that perceptions of police (il)legitimacy serve to constrain police power (Bradford and Jackson 2016). Whether or not the students perceived the police action as legitimate placed important limits on precisely what police behaviour was endorsed or seen as justified. However, the analysis goes further by suggesting that what is perceived as 'reasonable / legitimate' or 'excessive / illegitimate' police force is itself fundamentally tied to identity judgements: how a person relates to 'the policed' and the police. In other words, as your relationship with the police and 'the policed' changes, so too will the prevailing group norms relating to what is considered fair, legitimate and justifiable police behaviour.

Chapter 7:

Exploring the nature and boundaries of police authority in the context of British football crowds

As shown in Chapter 3, PJT work has been very much focused on 'how' police officers exercise their power in their interpersonal dealings with 'citizens', with a critical emphasis being placed on the fairness (or otherwise) of police treatment and decision-making. Yet by focusing on individual interpretations of *how* police officers wield their power there has been a dearth of work exploring precisely *what* powers are being exercised within specific policing contexts (Trinkner *et al.* 2016). Recall Sunshine and Tyler's (2003a) admission that due to the reliance on citizen self-reports of their experiences of police activity, previous work has largely been unaware of what the police are actually doing and where.

Accordingly, there has been a recent body of work that has sought to expand PJT by drawing on concepts derived from the 'legal socialisation' literature (Huq *et al.* 2016; Trinkner *et al.* 2016; Trinkner and Tyler 2016; Tyler and Trinkner 2016). 'Legal socialisation' has been defined by Trinkner *et al.* (2016, p. 4) as the process of *"...internalization of law-related values that are the basis of how people conceptualize their relationship with the law"*. The basic premise of this work is that childhood is an important stage of development for the formation of expectations regarding the 'appropriate' role of the legal system within a 'society'. In particular, childhood is the time where individuals begin to form their understanding of what constitutes a legitimate legal system. These beliefs and expectations are tested against childhood experiences of authorities (both legal authorities such as police officers and non-legal authorities such as parents and school teachers). Childhood beliefs, values and experiences of the legal system are important in so much as they provide the basis for adulthood beliefs and values relating to the role and function of the law and the wider legal system.

Trinkner and Tyler (2016) suggest that there are three particularly salient legal values that are important in influencing an individual's orientation to the law and the legal system. Corresponding with the GVM's (Lind and Tyler

1988) emphasis on the early 'socialisation' of fairness rules, the first two relate to the broad components of 'procedural fairness'. Thus through childhood into adulthood people develop beliefs and expectations about *how* authorities such as police officers should treat them and how they should arrive at their decisions. The third important legal value relates to the extent to which the police respect and act within the 'boundaries' of their authority. Correspondingly, Trinkner *et al.* (2016, p. 5) note that 'bounded authority' refers to "*...citizens' perceptions of whether the police are invading an area or wielding a power that they believe the police have no right to in the first place*". As Trinkner *et al.* (2016) acknowledge, this is an important theoretical extension to PJT since one reading of the procedural justice literature is that policing experienced as 'procedurally fair' will inevitably fortify perceptions of police legitimacy irrespective of what the police are actually doing (c.f., Epp *et al.* 2014). The notion of 'bounded authority' recognises that this is not the case since those being policed place important limits on police power in terms of precisely what is appropriate police action within a given situation.

To date there have only been two empirical investigations exploring the potential impact that judgements of 'bounded authority' have on views of the legitimacy of the legal system. Huq *et al.* (2016) reported that as well as perceptions of fair police treatment and decision-making, judgements of 'bounded authority' also predicted police legitimacy. Trinkner *et al.* (2016) expanded this finding by demonstrating that the belief that the police were exercising their power within appropriate boundaries was associated not only with perceptions of police legitimacy but also a belief that the laws the police are enforcing are legitimate. This evidence is suggestive of the importance of the police acting in ways that are in line with 'citizen' views of what constitutes the appropriate police use and exercise of power.

However, these studies leave important questions relating to how an individual defines their boundaries or limits to police power relatively unanswered. Trinkner *et al.* (2016, p. 6) suggest that "*...different individuals and different communities may draw those boundaries in varying ways reflecting culture, history and other related factors*". This implies that the

boundaries of appropriate police action may be (at least partly) defined by the idiosyncratic values of a specific individual or group-level identity (c.f., Lind and Tyler 1988). The two previous studies have not fully explored the potential importance of specific group-level identities shaping a person's conception of 'bounded authority'. For example, Huq *et al.* (2016) explored survey respondents' judgements of 'bounded authority' by asking them how often they thought the police: a) exceeded their authority, b) abused their power, c) acted as if they're above the law, d) violated people's freedoms, e) got involved in situations they have no right to be in, f) harassed and intimidated people.

This maybe an important oversight since Reicher's (1984, 1987) analysis of the St. Pauls' riot in Bristol suggested that the boundaries of the St. Pauls' identity (who is counted as 'us' and who is 'them') defined the boundaries of what was perceived as (in)appropriate police action. Each police action preceding the violence (e.g., arresting the Black and White café owner Bertram Wilkes, removing alcohol from the café etc.) was seen as an affront on the St. Pauls' community's right for control and autonomy (Reicher 1987). Thus the police, in raiding the café, were adjudged to be misusing their power in ways that clearly correspond with the six items used by Huq *et al.* (2016). However, at the same time an adequate understanding of what constituted the appropriate 'boundaries' of policing in the St. Pauls' riot depended on an understanding of how St. Pauls' residents defined their community and its relation to the police (and other external agencies).

The link between group identity and 'bounded authority' can also be shown in Stott *et al.*'s (2011) longitudinal study of Cardiff City fans' historical and ongoing relationship with South Wales Police (SWP; see also Hoggett 2009). Their analysis focused on an informal group of Cardiff City football supporters known as the 'Valley RAMs' (see Davies 2009). The name 'Valley RAMs' references the large proportion of Cardiff City fans who are based in the valleys of Rhondda, Aberdare and Merthyr to the north of Cardiff (see Stott *et al.* 2011). Stott *et al.* (2011) demonstrated that a central dimension to the Valley RAMs group identity was the consumption of alcohol

whilst travelling together on buses to and from away fixtures. This was a potential site of contestation between fans and SWP since drinking alcohol on transport to or from a designated football league match contravenes both the Sports Events Act 1985 and the Football (Disorder) Act 2000.

Stott *et al.* (2011) report evidence that SWP, often in liaison with other relevant police forces, recognised the 'boundaries of their authority' in the eyes of fans with respect to this issue. Thus the police often employed a 'drink not drunk' policy rather than rigorously enforcing the legal restrictions on alcohol consumption (Hoggett 2009). According to field observations this served to enhance perceptions of police legitimacy in the eyes of the Valley RAMs in line with the findings of Huq *et al.* (2016) and Trinkner *et al.* (2016). Therefore whilst this work did not explicitly seek to explore the importance of 'bounded authority' and the association with police legitimacy, it provides further evidence that within a crowd context the contours or 'boundaries' of appropriate police behaviour and authority maybe informed by relevant and salient group identities (c.f., Pearson 2012).

The present study

Stott *et al.*'s (2011) study also highlights the usefulness in exploring the link between judgements of 'bounded authority' and identity within a football context. Moreover, unlike the quantitative survey methodology employed by Huq *et al.* (2016) and Trinkner *et al.* (2016), their qualitative approach allowed for a detailed exploration of actual police behaviour rather than simply a focus on what 'citizens' thought of police actions. However, as Stott *et al.* (2011) also acknowledge their case study raises questions of generalisability beyond the specific case of the Valley RAMs.

By contrast, the analysis of Huq *et al.* (2016) and Trinkner *et al.* (2016) is strengthened from the fact that they draw on a large probability sample of quantitative data and so inferences to the broader population can be made. The study reported in this chapter sought to combine the 'depth' of Stott *et al.*'s (2011) qualitative analysis with the 'breadth' of Huq *et al.* (2016) and Trinkner *et al.*'s (2016) survey-based approach. In order to achieve this a

nationwide survey of 2,030 football fans was conducted. Qualitative data were collected exploring fans' perceptions and experiences of policing at football matches in the UK. Eliciting rich descriptions of the lived experiences of policing enabled for the exploration what fans viewed as appropriate, proper and just policing but equally their views on what constitutes inappropriate, improper and unjust policing within a football context. Thus the study reported in this chapter was able to explore the boundaries of authority of football policing amongst British football fans and the relationship between these boundaries and descriptions of police fairness, legitimacy and group identity.

Method

Data collection and respondent characteristics

The aim was to obtain a wide range of football fans' perspectives on the policing they experience at football matches across the United Kingdom. To help achieve this objective I met with Dr. Jamie Cleland in February 2016 (Jamie was then working at Loughborough University). Through the undertaking of previous research (e.g., Cashmore and Cleland 2011, 2012, 2014; Cleland and Cashmore, 2014, 2016) Jamie has built and maintained relationships with over 100 editors of football fans' online message boards (or forums as they are also referred). Jamie, with the permission of the editors of the websites, was able to post the link for the online survey to this large network. The link to the survey was also shared on various social media outlets (e.g., Facebook and Twitter accounts).

As with the experimental studies presented in Chapter 5, 'Bristol Online Surveys' was used as the online platform to create and host the survey. Having agreed to take part, participants were presented with open-ended survey questions that were designed to gain an in-depth understanding of each fan's views and experiences of policing at football matches. Participants were therefore encouraged to respond by writing in as much detail as possible. The 'critical incident technique' (Flanagan 1954; Robinson *et al.* 2005) was used to inform the development of the questions. Therefore respondents were asked to describe their own specific personal

experiences, both positive and negative, of the policing at football matches. The precise wording of the questions asked was as follows:

- From your own personal experience, can you describe a specific example that exemplifies how you feel about policing at football matches? Please feel free to write about multiple experiences if you wish to. Please tell us about a) what led up to the incident(s), b) what happened during the incident(s), and c) what the outcome of the incident(s) was(were).

- Please describe what you think good policing is like. What is it about good policing that makes it a positive experience? Please describe this either in general terms and/or by describing particular incidents you think help convey what you mean.

- Please describe what you think bad policing is like. What is it about bad policing that makes it a negative experience? Please describe this either in general terms and/or by describing particular incidents you think help convey what you mean.

- What is it for you that characterises police fairness in a football context?

- Is there anything else that you think we should know about policing at football?

Data were collected from March 2016 to June 2016. By this time 2,030 responses had been received. Of the valid responses (n = 1,985), 1,849 (93.1%) of the participants were male and 136 (6.9%) were female. The mean age (valid responses n = 2,011) of participants was 44. With regards to the ethnicity of the respondents (valid responses n = 1,983), 1,918 (96.7%) self-identified as 'white', 22 (1.1%) as 'mixed', 9 (0.5%) as 'black' and 9 (0.5%) as 'Asian'. Of the valid responses (n = 2,006), 1,988 (99.1%) indicated that they attended or expected to attend at least one home fixture of the team(s) that they follow as a fan across a season. The equivalent figure for away fixtures was 1,843 (91.9%; valid responses n = 2,005). Moreover, of the valid responses (n = 1,986), 556 (28%) indicated that they attended or expected to attend at least one home fixture of the national team

that they followed as a fan. The equivalent figure for away fixtures was 250 (12.6%). Therefore the vast majority of the sample were match-going fans who could provide an account of their actual lived experiences of policing at football across the UK.

Analytical strategy

The analysis explores the substantial qualitative data obtained by the five open-ended questions outlined in the last section. The complexity and large-scale nature of the qualitative data collected led to several analytic challenges, not least in terms of data reduction. Unlike the interview study presented in the previous chapter, an advantage of the online survey method used here is that the data were already transcribed. Nevertheless, with 338 pages worth of qualitative data, there was still the significant challenge of organising the "*mountain of words*" (Johnson *et al.* 2010, p. 168) generated from the 2,030 survey responses received. In order to overcome this, the data were first collated from 'Bristol Online Surveys' into a single Portable Document Format (PDF). The production of the PDF meant that there was access to a comprehensive digital overview of the dataset as whole. The use of 'Bristol Online Surveys' to generate the PDF meant that the responses to each question were collated together. In other words, each question was first presented (e.g., "Is there anything else that you think we should know about policing at football?") and was then followed by each of the respondent's answers. As in Newburn *et al.* (2016), each respondent had an associated electronic identifier. This allowed for each individual answer to be easily located back into the original context of a given participant's holistic survey response. The respondent number is identified in parenthesis after each extract. In a similar fashion to the previous chapter the data were subjected to a thematic analysis. Therefore an inductive, exploratory, and 'data-driven' approach was used to identify and develop a series of important themes and sub-themes (Stott and Drury 2000; Guest *et al.* 2012; Newburn *et al.* 2016). The use of thematic analysis was particularly well suited to overcome the challenges posed above since it is an analytic strategy that "*can usefully summarize key features of a large body of data, and/or offer a 'thick description' of the data set*" (Braun and

Clarke 2006, p. 97).

There were several steps to data analysis that were iterative in nature. Firstly, the PDF was printed out and read in full to gain an initial holistic understanding of the dataset. The PDF print out was then read again and coded linguistically and conceptually. The coded data provided the basis for the development of initial thematic categories. It was then possible to use the digital PDF to place the coded extracts into a series of computerised spreadsheets. Thus, similarly to Newburn *et al.* (2016, p. 6), *"...illustrative quotes were taken from the individual transcripts and located under a series of headings corresponding to the 'themes' and 'sub-themes'"*. The production of the spreadsheets meant that there was easy access to the key themes generated and to how the individual themes overlapped and were interrelated. After developing these initial preliminary themes, the coded extracts in the spreadsheets were then re-read in order to refine the initial thematic categories. The creation of spreadsheets using the coded extracts was an important aspect of data reduction since it vastly reduced the amount of material subject to further analytic focus. The iterative process of exploring the coded extracts and refining the names and content of the themes and sub-themes continued until 'data saturation' was achieved. Drawing on Suter's (2012, p. 361) definition, data *"saturation is reached once you are convinced the data hold no new surprises, as evidenced by the same recurring code and category patterns in new data"*.

Analysis

Categorisation and unfair police treatment in the context of football

'Law-abiding citizens' or 'hooligans and criminals'?

Respondents often described themselves and football fans in general as 'law-abiding citizens'. Accordingly they wrote of expectations as to how the police should treat them and their accounts often suggested that the police were patently failing to live up to these expectations in the context of policing football. For example, a Stockport County fan (male, aged 71) provided a summary of his own personal experiences of football policing and contrasted this with his experiences of policing in general:

In general I object to the demeanour of the police at football matches. I am an elderly, law abiding member of the community and treated as such when I come across the police in normal circumstances. However, at football matches, I am treated with hostile stares and threatening body language if I go anywhere near the police. (Respondent 634)

Indeed, whilst viewing themselves as 'ordinary' and law-abiding fans, respondents indicated that they are routinely being unfairly categorised and treated as football hooligans or potential criminals by the police. For instance, a Sheffield United fan (male, aged 45) stated that:

I think police officers work football matches treating everyone as a potential hooligan, whereas 99.9% of fans have no intention of causing trouble. Police officers should be more friendly towards the vast majority of football fans who will not cause any trouble whatsoever. (Respondent 1,914)

The description of police categorising and treating 'ordinary' fans as potential criminals was often explicitly related to their use of handheld video cameras by police evidence-gatherers:

I have been filmed as part of crowds at train stations and in football grounds, with no explanation given as to why. Football fans must be the only consumers in the country who are treated, en masse, as if they are all potential criminals. (Respondent 527)

A Celtic fan (male, aged 31) even wrote that the treatment he has been subjected to by the police whilst attending football matches has deterred him from attending games:

> *I feel like football fans are treated like criminals by the police. I have never been in trouble with the police in my life but the way that they interact with football fans is shameful and it has put me off going to the football as often as I used to or would have liked to.*
> (Respondent 492)

Thus the respondents often wrote about being unfairly categorised by the police as a potential 'risk' to public order be it as 'football hooligans' or 'criminals'. However, respondents were also keen to stress that this categorisation by police did not diminish their own sense of themselves as a 'law-abiding citizen'. For example, an Oldham Athletic fan (male, aged 59) wrote that:

> *Before the match we are law abiding citizens, at the end of the day we are still law abiding citizens - police need to remember that - stop treating us like criminals.*
> (Respondent 854)

Unfair treatment relative to other sports and activities
Respondents described the consequences of the police assumption that football fans pose an inherent risk to public order. The accounts emphasised the discrepancy in how football fans are treated compared to fans of other sports and activities. For example, a fan of Guiseley AFC (male, aged 41) described how positive and friendly treatment of spectators by police at the Commonwealth games compared to his experiences of football policing:

> *At the Glasgow Commonwealth games, the police were friendly, smiling and engaging, especially with my children. It made the atmosphere much better and less confrontational.* (Respondent 1,168)

He goes on to explain that due to this style of policing:

My kids actually started going up to police in Glasgow to give them high-fives around venues and in the city centre. (Respondent 1,168)

Whereas the same respondent explained that:

At football matches, I feel the police are too standoffish, especially at lower-key matches, and this leads to the expectation of a hostile atmosphere, that then is transmitted to the terraces. My kids shrink away from the police at football matches. (Respondent 1,168)

The respondents also highlighted the difference in ground regulations enforced regarding the consumption of alcohol as an example of the discrepancy in how the police treat football fans relative to those of other sports. When asked to summarise his views and experiences of football policing a Bournemouth fan (male, aged 50) wrote:

Went to a Bournemouth game at Notts County a few years ago which was followed by a Nottingham Rugby Union on the same ground directly after. The price of admission was for both games. As a football fan we were not allowed to watch the game while having a drink, whereas when the Rugby started we were, even though we were the same people in the same ground on the same day we were treated differently. (Respondent 1,158)

Hence respondents suggested in their accounts that it is simply by being classified as a football fans that they received poorer levels of interpersonal interaction from police officers and also unfair restrictions placed upon them relative to other comparable leisure activities and contexts.

Heavy-handed and intimidating policing tactics

Another aspect of unfair police treatment that featured prominently in fans' accounts was that the police at football have a tendency to resort too readily to coercive or 'heavy-handed' means in order to force fans to comply with their directives. For instance, a Tottenham Hotspur fan (male, aged 38), gave his overall assessment of policing based on his own experiences:

> *I've seen too many examples of pigs trying to 'set an example' and show their 'authority' at the outset to even consider them legitimately able to dictate my behaviour. I have seen disproportionate use of force at inappropriate times based on faulty information or beliefs held by authorities. Typically it is a fear-based response to 'nip it in the bud' that leads them to these poor decisions when communication would be a better option--and not that one- way authority communication. If there was give and take, perhaps things would work out better in the stands.* (Respondent 751)

Within this account the boundaries of authority are set by the nature and tone of the interactions between police officers and fans with perceptions of police illegitimacy resulting from abuses of power and authority. Respondents often cited specific examples of the indiscriminate use of force and the intimidating presence of the police. For instance, when asked about whether there was anything else we should know about policing at football matches a Notts County fan (male, aged 36) went as far as arguing that the police are the most intimidating and threatening group present at football matches, not football 'hooligans':

> *You can avoid hooligans because of their uniform - the typical 'labels'. I am far more scared of the police. You can't tell the difference between ones that just have a Saturday on their rota, or the thugs that volunteer for football because they like a fight. For me, the most*

dangerous, intimidating and threatening group of people aren't the hooligans - they tend to gravitate toward each other and you can just steer clear. It is the police - they give the impression they have the law on their side and, as they are superior citizens to football supporters, can treat them in any way they see fit. For reference, I have never been arrested / cautioned in any capacity. I do however feel bullied and intimidated by the police, but only in the context of a football match. (Respondent 706)

Here this respondent makes clear that he feels the police do not respect the boundaries of their authority when policing football matches but also suggests the situational contingency of such judgements.

Experience as an "away fan"

The sense of being unfairly treated by the police in a football context was amplified in accounts of those following their team 'away'. For instance, a Newcastle United fan (male, aged 22) summarised his thoughts and experiences of the policing he is subjected to when following his team all around the country:

They treat fans as criminals. From the moment you step of the coach or a train for certain away games your freedom of movement is restricted, you are forced by fencing and police escorts to go directly to the stadium via designated routes. No chance to go for food or beers elsewhere, just herded into the stadium like cattle. Where you are then trapped and often held back unnecessarily long after games. All this while constantly being filmed without consent. I'm not a criminal, I've never broken the law attending a football match or otherwise so I find it disgusting how fans,

> *normal people, are treated as criminals by heavy handed police officers…* (Respondent 223)

Within this description there are themes that chime with many of the accounts that centre around the illegitimate restriction of basic rights of 'away fans' by the police. These included:

Travel restrictions: 'Bubble' fixtures

A number of respondents highlighted their experiences of what was described as unnecessary restrictions placed on their travel to and from games. There was particular criticism of 'bubble matches' whereby, under police imposition, 'away fans' are forced to travel on official club supporters' coaches. Often fans are not actually given their tickets in advance. Instead they are given a voucher that they must exchange for their ticket at a prescribed rendezvous point (often a motorway service station). The conditions imposed by the police mean that only fans who have travelled by the supporters' coaches (often heavily monitored with police officers on board) are allowed to exchange their voucher for a match ticket. A Chester fan (male, aged 44) describes how this has prevented him from attending the local derby game since he would have to essentially make two round trips:

> *I find that the bubble match utterly impinges on my freedom. I don't live in Chester any more so I find it particularly difficult, and it has prevented me from attending matches. When I did go to a Wrexham v Chester match, I was staying in Wales, and my route actually took me right past Wrexham's ground, only for me to have to drive all the way to Chester to get on one of the official coaches, and then again do the reverse after the game. The bubble, and the early kick offs mean I don't attend these matches now particularly as I live so far from Chester and it would mean I would*

have to book a hotel the night before. (Respondent 1,283)

Similarly, a Hull City fan (male, aged 40) recalled when West Yorkshire Police imposed a 'bubble' fixture for their game against Huddersfield in 2013. This involved all Hull City fans wanting to attend the match having to travel together on designated coaches under police escort. When asked for his own personal experiences of policing he wrote:

> *This was imposed for no good reason and indiscriminately on all, no matter their age, their sex, their place of abode, their criminal record or lack of it, and so on. I was deeply upset by this. I'm a law abiding member of society, never in trouble with the police, who wanted to take my children to the lawful leisure activity of our choice. There were many young people for whom this action was their first ever contact with the police. It was a disgraceful action. West Yorkshire police ignored the police oath that declares they will act without prejudice, and decided that we were not individuals, but we were a group called 'football supporters' to be treated the same and denied the basic freedom to travel freely about the country. I, like most other Hull City away supporters, boycotted the fixture. I go to most away fixtures, I wanted to be at this one, but I will not allow my freedoms to be curtailed by the police in this way.* (Respondent 733)

Here the respondent clearly self-categorises as a 'law-abiding citizen'. However he also makes clear that he feels the police treat football supporters as a homogeneous group, denying them basic rights.

Restriction on fans' freedom of movement and association
A more general criticism of policing at away fixtures was made in regards to

the restrictions of imposed on fans once they had arrived in the host city or town. For instance, a Derby County fan (male, aged 23) recounted his experience in Leicester, suggesting that the constraints on 'away' fans was the catalyst to an emerging sense of police illegitimacy amongst Derby supporters that culminated in 'anti-police chanting' and increased safety fears:

> *Leicester City away approximately 3 years ago. Were forced upon arrival at Leicester train station to go to the nearest pub, not allowed to leave the pub or the immediate vicinity via police kettle/cordon. This led to a large amount of frustration amongst around 400 fans, anti-police chanting, heightened sense of danger, a couple of arrests, non-violent fans becoming annoyed with the situation leading them to become potentially violent.* (Respondent 850)

The indiscriminate nature of tactics used to police away fans such as 'kettling' was described as arising directly from the misguided police assumption that all fans are troublemakers or 'hooligans'. Therefore the respondents often suggested in their accounts that the police had 'misread' their legitimate intentions such as simply wanting to converse with 'home' fans about the match they were about to watch.

> *Bad policing starts with the assumption that away fans have come to their town to cause trouble. We don't come to cause trouble, we come to support our team. From the assumption comes such as banning away fans from all town centre pubs despite no history of trouble or "intelligence" that trouble is expected. Example - Wolverhampton away. After a long drive why should all town centre pubs be no away fans? I like to have a beer and a chat with home fans before the match - that's part of the fun.* (Respondent 904)

Over-policed and under-protected

Thus respondents often explained that they felt that they were 'over-policed' as an away fan. Yet despite this experience of policing, fans often simultaneously emphasised that away fans were also under-protected and therefore being left vulnerable from attacks from 'home' fans. Ironically this was often as a direct result of all 'away' fans being corralled into large groups by tactics such as 'kettling'. For example, one Wolverhampton Wanderers fan (male, aged 51) recounted:

> *Away at Port Vale following Wolves in League One the police held all the Wolves fans outside the ground but would not allow them to get onto the busses/coaches for about 40 minutes. In this time it allowed to thug members of the Vale supporters to gather and they threw projectiles at the Wolves fans and no real protection was given. Would it not have been better to get the Wolves fans onto the coaches and away from the ground as quickly as possible?* (Respondent 1,742)

Lack of respect and trust between 'away' fans and the police

A West Ham United fan (male, aged 21) suggested that as a result of the way in which the police tend to treat people who follow their team away there is no perception of mutual respect or trust between 'away' fans and the police:

> *I think on away days there is no sense of loyalty or respect between police and fans (this goes both ways). Police just want to get us in and out asap without concern for any of us and we don't feel like we can trust police on away days because of the way they treat football fans. I feel like in general police should be friendlier and believe they're protecting all football fans where as currently I feel their attitude is more "get them in and out then it's not our problem". They see us as a*

> *pack of animals and not humans sometimes.*
> (Respondent 893)

The benefit of positive interactions between 'away' fans and the police

However, whilst experiences of policing as an 'away' fan were often negative, there were some exceptions. For example, a Millwall fan (male, aged 55), when asked about his thoughts and experiences of good policing answered:

> *Went to Tranmere away 2010 - met at Lime street by the Merseyside police - asked us our plans we told them the pub we intended going to and then what time taxis we would get to get over to Birkenhead. They gave advice on timings, rules about drinking on the streets in Birkenhead being a no-no. Even came into our planned pub and came to us to make sure the bar staff were looking after US !! - It just added to a relaxing enjoyable (apart from the dire 90 minutes football) and quite drunken day - which passed without incident and the same officers were at Lime Street to see us off with good wishes -it was quite strange really.*
> (Respondent 1,032)

The above quote demonstrates that perceptions of police legitimacy can be enhanced when the police recognise, acknowledge, and advance the legitimate aims of football fans. The fact that this experience was described as 'strange' highlights that, when following his team away from home, the respondent felt that this approach is the exception rather than the rule. However, one Cardiff fan (male, aged 55) suggested that this style of proactive policing focused on engagement with fans can be sustained and worked on in order to build trust and legitimacy between local police forces and fan groups who regularly attend 'away' fixtures watching their team.

> *Its been a long while now since police have been directly involved in a negative way with Cardiff City fans. Generally they take a back seat with much of the graft to reduce any issues being carried out in consultation with supporters groups, hence prevention is better than cure. Cardiff usually take one or two Heddlu - Wales police to away matches. These are experienced officers that know some supporters by name. At Birmingham I witnessed on officer cheerily greeting a Cardiff fan by name and reminding him to stay out of trouble. Looked like their paths had crossed previously....there was no antagonism and just a bit of banter. I've now visited around 25 stadiums following Cardiff and never had any issues with police, finding them generally friendly and helpful.* (Respondent 693)

A commitment to a more long-term community outreach approach was also praised in relation to Northumbrian police's relaxation of travel restrictions on away fans attending the Tyneside derby contested between Newcastle United and Sunderland. When asked whether there was anything else that we needed to know with regards to policing football, a Sunderland fan (male, aged 26) responded:

> *Community outreaches can work well. But these initiatives are rare really. Credit where due to Northumbria Police who have relaxed travel on Derby days (at NUFC), although they have put plenty of non-stop direct coaches on and promoted these heavily. This is a great example of working with the fans and allowing people to get to the matches as they would like to.* (Respondent 1,828)

In summary, the analysis so far has highlighted the importance of an asymmetry of categorisation between fans and police. The respondents

often self-categorised as 'law-abiding citizens'. Yet the accounts were also replete with suggestions that the police at football matches have a tendency to equate and treat football fans as 'criminals' or 'hooligans'. The respondents also wrote about what they viewed as the consequences of this police categorisation. This included the belief that the very categorisation as a 'football fan' meant that they were discriminated against in terms of the alcohol legislation they are subjected to and the broader treatment they receive at the hands of the police. However, it was the categorisation as an 'away fan' that was associated with the most obvious abuses of power and authority by the police in the eyes of the respondents.

Boundaries, tolerance limits and fan identity

The police as moral arbitrators or co-participants in setting limits on fan behaviour

Central to many of the accounts was the apparent disjuncture between how the police as opposed to fans define the 'boundaries' of acceptable fan behaviour. For instance, many accounts that were received argued that too often the police impose their own 'moral code' of what constitutes legitimate fan behaviour onto fans. Accordingly, a Blackpool fan (male, aged 65) wrote:

> *The police seem to think they are crusaders for the morals of the country.* (Respondent 1,112)

In another response he added:

> *I see no reason why the police should have to uphold what THEY see as antagonistic behaviour at a passionate football match.* (Respondent 1,112)

Similarly, when asked about what constitutes bad policing, a Liverpool fan (male, aged 42) argued that it was the result of police officers who have a 'superiority complex' that leads them to feel that they can impose their morally superior vision of what is 'right' for 'society' onto Liverpool fans. Yet according to this fan this also has the effect of psychologically marginalising

the police; creating an 'us and them' attitude between the fans and police:

> *The main problem for me with Police forces, is they have a superiority complex. It comes across as they are the guardian of everything that is right about society and that all Liverpool fans, are thieves and to be held up as a beacon of everything that is wrong within society. I also believe because of this attitude, it creates an us and them attitude between Police and supporters.* (Respondent 1,731)

Thus the police were criticised by the respondents for exceeding their authority by dictatorially imposing behavioural standards. This was related specifically to the police actively preventing identity consonant activity (e.g., chanting) by one Sheffield Wednesday fan (male, aged 20):

> *Their presence is necessary but the way they like to end acts of fun like chanting and general silliness is really invasive at times. I remember once asking a copper why he had moved a bunch of fans back into a pub instead of them singing and drinking outside in the beer garden and his genuine response was that they were, 'causing a little bit of naughtiness'. We might as well all pack up and go home hadn't we! You can't do anything without being labelled or asked to stop. I know there are boundaries because I genuinely like to obey them and still try to have a good time.* (Respondent 761)

Within this account, there is the acknowledgement that there are boundaries of police authority that must be obeyed. However, in preventing fans expressing their identity through singing and 'silliness' there is the suggestion that the police failed to recognise the limits of their authority. In contrast to the above example, good policing was described by a Tottenham

Hotspur fan (male, aged 38) as the utilisation of a community-led approach whereby the fans played an active role in defining and enforcing the boundaries of appropriate and acceptable behaviour:

> *Good policing is community policing--not the imposition of arbitrary (and often times draconian) measures to maintain some image of docile and placid 'support'. Football support should never be commoditized or sanitized - lest we become NFL fans - docile sheep who overpay for the 'privilege' of seeing our clubs in action. Good community policing let's the people dictate what is acceptable and typically can defuse tensions before they get out of hand. It also allows people to define their community through their interactions and mutual respect.* (Respondent 751)

Therefore according to the account above, good policing is about recognising and understanding the difference between 'boisterous' and legitimate expressions of football fandom and genuine risks to public order. The notion of allowing fans to "*define their community through their interactions*" highlights the importance that this fan places on the police being dynamic and pragmatic in respect to adjusting the 'tolerance limits' placed on fan behaviour. In this way, there was a call for police to allow for collective ownership of the boundaries of police power based on legitimate aspects of football fandom.

The importance and need for the police to understand and join in banter and fan culture

Fans also stressed the importance and need for the police to allow for 'banter' between supporters but also that good policing involved the police actively engaging in 'banter' with supporters and that, conversely, bad policing was often associated with the police being perceived as lacking a sense of humour or an inadequate understanding of fan culture / boisterousness. For example, a Tottenham Hotspur fan (male, aged 38),

characterised what he views as bad policing:

> *Bad policing is little to no communication or involvement of supporters and the enforcement of 'rules' that may be contrary to how the support of a club is manifest. Applying the 'rules' a little too strictly and prohibiting any form of banter between supporters…*
> (Respondent 751)

Thus, bad policing was conceptualised by this fan as an over-officious but distant policing style that prevented fans from expressing their identity. It was police action that ran counter to and indeed prohibited the in-group normative behaviour of fans. A Bristol Rovers fan (male, aged 54) gave an example that epitomises the often-macabre sense of humour that football fans display through practices of singing on the terraces:

> *Chester 1989. Rovers fans noticed that a policeman already had a black eye. Fans sang "Shiner, Shiner, Give us a wave". Police waded in and ejected fans…An over reaction.* (Respondent 1,257)

In this form humour can be viewed as a 'test' of whether or not the police are on 'our side' or 'against us' by allowing or prohibiting 'banter'. Here the police were perceived to be overreacting and therefore overstepping the boundaries of their authority by failing to see that the song was meant in jest. However, contrary to this, there were a couple of striking examples described by fans where humour or 'banter' was used by the police to reassert authority but also to diffuse potentially tense situations by getting fans 'onside'. A Glasgow Rangers fan (male, aged 40), when asked to describe what he thought good policing is like, answered:

> *The best policing I ever saw at a football match was a mounted policewoman at Hampden. It was a very hot day and some cheeky wee boy, showing off to his*

> *friends, made some comment about her horse sweating. She took one look at him and said, "Aye and so would you be son if you'd been between my legs for 2 hours!" In one sentence she'd shown that she was both in total control so don't mess but also that she was human and could have a laugh.* (Respondent 1,180)

This shows that the police can often use humour to demonstrate that they are a positive part of a fan's 'day out' rather than an obstacle to it. Similarly, an awareness and facilitation of important and legitimate aspects of football fandom such as singing songs to show support for 'their' team can enhance perceptions of police legitimacy and increase police officers' capacity to influence fan behaviour. For example, a Stoke fan (male, aged 69) described his experience of what he viewed as good policing at Huddersfield:

> *Some years ago at a Huddersfield v Stoke City match we (the away fans) were kept behind at the final whistle (this was the norm then). As we were getting irate at being held back and demanding to be let out the officer in charge stated that we would not be let out until we had sung a song. The situation was immediately defused, we sang and were let out. Everyone was in a good mood.* (Respondent 805)

Thus by acknowledging and 'joining in' with fan 'banter' the police can show that their actions are in-group normative and at the same time enhance perceptions of police legitimacy. In other words, by acting 'like us fans', demonstrating a willingness to be part of the football 'carnival', police officers can enhance perceptions of legitimacy in the eyes of fans but also encourage behavioural 'self-regulation'.

Variation in police legitimacy

The police force that fans come into contact with will vary according to the geographical location of the stadium in which a given fixture is taking place.

Thus a football fixture taking place in Nottingham will be under the jurisdiction of Nottinghamshire Police, for example. Moreover, the policing deployments at football matches are not homogenous but instead comprise specialist units such as Football Intelligence Officers or Police Liaison Officers (see Stott *et al.* 2016a for details). Corresponding to this variation, respondents often depicted wide discrepancies in perceptions of police legitimacy both within and between police forces. For example, a Glasgow Rangers fan (male, aged 46) described his visit to Manchester for what was then called the UEFA cup final (now the 'Europa League'):

> *The normal police were great during the day. Good humoured and realised what was happening. When the, with hindsight, inevitable bits of bad behaviour occurred by no more than 50-100 idiots the riot police were called in. I saw dogs attacking innocent people and huge over reaction by the riot police.* (Respondent 201)

Thus there was a distinction made between the legitimate presence of the 'normal' police and the illegitimate presence and behaviour of the 'riot police' within the event. Respondents also made historical comparisons between different host police forces with respect to the way in which they had policed their team. For instance, a Chester fan (male, aged 65) described the illegitimacy of the 'bubble' match tactic employed by Chester and North Wales police compared to the legitimacy of a more dialogue-orientated approach utilised by Merseyside police:

> *I support Chester FC. We have to endure bubble matches when we play cross border rivals Wrexham. This is only a recent phenomena and many fans believe it's just lazy policing. We also play Tranmere, a bigger club than Wrexham, and there is no bubble, In fact the police act in a friendly manner and in a crowd of 7,500 there was little or no trouble. Cheshire and*

> *North Wales Police could learn from Merseyside*
> *Police. The negative policing style of Cheshire and NW*
> *Police is part of the problem.* (Respondent 1,287)

A West Ham United fan (male, aged 42) also conveyed that there is variation in the legitimacy of how different police treat football fans. However, his description additionally emphasised the importance of 'vicarious' historical knowledge of specific police forces as well as judgements of legitimacy based on personal experiences:

> *Football policing varies up and down the country. For*
> *the most part all is fine. However, in certain parts it is*
> *heavy handed on the part of the police. They behave*
> *like we're back in the 80s. Any trip to West Midlands is*
> *horrible as the police there cause trouble with their*
> *attitude and approach. Away fans are automatically*
> *labelled as trouble in advance and treated accordingly.*
> *Everyone knows that South Yorks is an utterly vile*
> *force - I've never been to their area for a match.*
> (Respondent 516)

In each example above, descriptions of police (il)legitimacy are fundamentally rooted in the nature of the interactions between fan groups and police officers. Accordingly, summarising what he felt constituted good policing a Dundee United fan (male, aged 32) suggested that:

> *The police should facilitate - and be seen to facilitate -*
> *the legitimate/legal rights of fans to enjoy sport and the*
> *day out that surrounds this. When they present*
> *themselves as an obstacle to this, and blatantly police*
> *different groups of fans differently, then of course their*
> *relationship with fans breaks down as they become*
> *seen as an illegitimate presence. When the police have*
> *a joke with fans and are helpful (directions to*

> *stadia/public toilets/pubs friendly to away fans etc) then*
> *fans react much more positively towards them.*
> (Respondent 113)

Thus according to this respondent the police must build positive and legitimate relationships that allow fans to express their identities by facilitating the appropriate behaviour of fan groups. Correspondingly, police illegitimacy was conveyed as resulting from the police being seen as an impediment to identity consonant activities.

Discussion

By drawing on the lived experiences of 2,030 British football fans the study reported in this chapter explored what fans viewed as appropriate, proper and just policing and also their interpretations on what comprises inappropriate, improper and unjust policing within a football context. The analysis focused on the boundaries of authority of football policing according to fans and the relationship between these perceived boundaries and judgements of police fairness, legitimacy and group identity. In so doing, this chapter is the first qualitative analysis to explicitly extend PJT by exploring the notion of 'bounded authority' since previous analyses have relied on quantitative survey data (i.e., Huq *et al.* 2016; Trinkner *et al.* 2016).

The analysis suggested that there is a widespread perception amongst match-going fans that they are treated unfairly by the police, particularly so for 'away' fans. Moreover, there were widespread differences in the perception of police legitimacy both within and between police forces in the UK. Fan accounts suggested that police legitimacy was related to the police acting in 'our' contextually defined interests and thereby sharing 'our' situationally derived identity. This included the salience of the police recognising and being part of the 'banter' seen as important to fan culture. Additionally, legitimate football policing was related to fans having an active role in defining and enforcing what is appropriate or acceptable behaviour rather than the police being viewed as 'dictatorial' moral arbitrators. Finally, the analysis suggested that positive interactions can enhance perceptions of

police legitimacy in the long-term between police forces and football fan groups.

There are several salient implications of this analysis for the application of PJT in the context of crowd policing. Firstly, there is the importance of integrating GVM and GEM perspectives to allow for a more dynamic understanding of categorisation and the relationship between identity and context (c.f., Stott and Drury 2000). Existing work that extends the scope of PJT by explicitly exploring social identity has been based in either the GVM *or* the GEM's conceptualisation of categorisation. Recall from Chapter 3 that studies grounded in the GVM emphasise that self-categorisation (e.g., national, community or law-abiding citizen) *precedes* interactions with the police and to some extent will affect an individual's interpretation of police activity. Whereas the GEM stresses the power of the police to categorise the people they police through their actions in context (c.f., Loader and Mulcahy 2003; Reiner 2010). Correspondingly, there is a danger that in choosing either the GVM *or* GEM as an explanatory model, existing research has not fully explored the *bi-directional* and dynamic nature of the relationship between identity and context.

The qualitative data presented in this chapter highlights the importance of such a unifying perspective. The respondents often categorised themselves as 'law-abiding citizens' and had corresponding normative expectations as to how the police should treat them – expectations that the police were not realising. Importantly their categorisation of themselves as 'law-abiding citizens' did not change due to perceived unfair police treatment. Instead the respondents wrote about how there was an asymmetry between their self-categorisation as 'law-abiding' and the category they felt the police were imposing on them: be it 'hooligan' or 'criminal'. Thus the analysis highlights a complex relationship between categorisations and context that combine the GVM's notion of the importance of categories that to some extent precede individuals' interactions with the police (in this case 'law-abiding citizen') and the GEM's suggestion that police can actively shape categorisations through

their actions in specific contexts (e.g., fans' perception that they were treated as a 'criminal' or 'hooligan' by police).

The analysis also suggests the need for PJT researchers to explore identity processes in more inductive and less pre-defined ways. In order to gain an adequate understanding of football fans' experiences, the qualitative data presented in this chapter highlights the salience of the category 'away fan'. Relating to the point above, this again emphasises the importance of dynamic interrelationship between social identity and context. Match-going fans go into football matches with a salient identity (e.g., as a Notts County fan) and when their football club is playing at an 'away' fixture this has implications for the sort of policing they experience (Stott *et al.* 2016a).

The analysis revealed that 'away' fans are subject to severe restrictions that pertain to the violations of the 'boundaries of authority' as defined by Huq *et al.* (2016). For example, the accounts were replete with instances of perceived police abuses of power, harassment and intimidation, and feelings that the police were acting 'above the law'. However, these boundary violations can only be understood from the perspective of fans seeing themselves and being viewed and treated by the police as 'away fans'. By exploring pre-defined superordinate categories such as 'law-abiding citizen', existing PJT research exploring the GVM or GEM has not focused on the relationship between this category and an important situationally contingent categories such as 'away fan' (c.f., Bradford 2016).

This chapter also raises another important implication for how the concept of 'bounded authority' is researched and understood. As the introduction showed, there have to date been only two empirical explorations of the 'boundaries' of police authority published in the PJT literature (Huq *et al.* 2016; Trinkner *et al.* 2016). Both of these studies have tried to capture an individual's 'general' sense of the extent to which police officers respect the limits of their power and authority. However, this chapter has demonstrated that these judgements are pertinent to specific situations, questioning the utility of relying solely on general questions. In other words, if the boundaries

of police authority relate to the appropriateness of police use of power in specific circumstances then it does not make sense to explore the concept by asking individuals 'generic' questions.

A similar point can be raised with the finding that fans' perceptions of police legitimacy varied both within and between police forces. Again, in concordance with Harkin's (2014, 2015, p. 11) conclusions, the analysis suggests that: "...*legitimacy is not just granted in blanket terms to the police as a whole, but is granted variably to individuals and groups within the police".* Accordingly, statements aimed at capturing an individual's 'general sense' of the legitimacy of the police as an institution (e.g., "*The police in your community are legitimate authorities do what they tell you to do.";* Tyler and Jackson 2014, p. 9), cannot adequately tap into the nuanced and complex judgements of the 'lived experiences' of 'the policed'.

Moreover, the analysis suggested that far from being 'moral prototypes' (Sunshine and Tyler 2003b), fans often viewed the police at football in oppositional terms. Respondents referred to the police as viewing themselves as 'morally superior' to fans. In this sense, there was a suggestion by respondents that the boundaries of what constitutes legitimate fan behaviour and correspondingly the relative (il)legitimacy of the policing of these boundaries was a contested and dynamic issue between fans and police. However, the way respondents wrote about the limits of policing authority suggests that these contours revolved around the facilitation or at least the allowance of expressions of fan identity.

For example, a key theme in the data was the importance fans placed on the police understanding and also joining in fan 'banter' and culture. The analysis indicated that the legitimacy of police in a football context is largely to do with the extent to which the police were seen as prototypical of in-group norms. Moreover, where the police acted in ways that the fans understood to be 'identity advancing' there were also corresponding perceptions and experiences of police legitimacy. Conversely, descriptions of police illegitimacy often centred on police action that was understood to

run counter to, or even suppressive of, the in-group norms and values of fans (e.g., by suppressing 'banter' and identity expression through singing and 'chanting').

These ideas correspond to Pearson's (2012, p.190) concluding remarks following his ethnographic account of various English football fan groups (i.e., Manchester United, Blackpool and the English national team). In his recommendations for authorities such as the police placed in charge of managing football crowds, he suggests, based on 16 years of participant observation research, that: "*...positive interaction with fans is vital to public order, and where police are seen to be assisting fans in creating and maintaining their carnival, the fans will...be more accepting of tolerance limits placed upon them*". This chapter demonstrates that an important way that the police can show they are part of the 'football carnival' is to, where possible, engage and facilitate in the fan 'banter' and humour that forms a central part of supporter culture in the United Kingdom. In this way the police can not only enhance perceptions of police legitimacy but also augment their capacity to positively influence fan behaviour.

Yet despite these insights, there are some important limitations to the analysis presented in this chapter. Firstly, by relying on post-hoc accounts of respondents' personal experiences of policing at football matches there can be no claims as to the veracity of the accounts produced. Thus it is possible that some of the accounts may contain a degree of embellishment or even outright fabrication. However, there is no reason to suggest that this was the case, especially with the level of specific details often provided. Secondly, there are limitations in relation to the use of survey data to elicit qualitative data, not least the fact that there is no way of following up interesting and theory relevant issues via follow-up questioning. Thirdly, despite the large and varied sample, there can be no claims that the analysis is representative of all football fans within the United Kingdom (c.f., Cleland and Cashmore 2016). And finally, whilst the respondents often provided rich and detailed personal accounts of police-public interactions, the nature of the survey

method meant that the depth of an ethnographic case study (e.g., Stott *et al.* 2011) was not possible.

Yet notwithstanding these limitations, this chapter has highlighted the need for PJT researchers to embrace a more dynamic conceptualisation of social categorisation and in so doing the analysis also points to the utility of combining the insights of the GVM and the GEM. PJT researchers have a tendency to apply either the GVM *or* the GEM and so research has not fully considered the dynamic interaction between identity and context. Moreover, this chapter has pointed to the importance of future PJT work avoiding the reification of the concept of 'bounded authority' by emphasising the need to explore the social context within which police powers are exercised and how they are understood and interpreted by 'the policed'.

Chapter 8:

'Hooliganism' at Euro 2016: the social psychology of the 'English Disease'

You can talk about police provocation, or other fans causing trouble, but it only seems to happen where the English go. (Gary Lineker, Twitter, 2016)

As Chapter 3 demonstrated, it remains relatively uncertain as to how PJT currently helps the understanding of the changing dynamics of power, police legitimacy and identity within crowd events. This is due to a lack of PJT studies exploring group-level dynamics of actual encounters between 'citizens' and the police. Previous empirical chapters in this thesis have either relied on 'artificially' imposing contexts of specific police-'citizen' interactions (i.e., Chapters 5 and 6) or 'secondary' accounts of complex and multiple crowd events (i.e., Chapter 7). This chapter aims to address these limitations by presenting a secondary data analysis of a series of 'real-life' interactions between England fans and the police at the UEFA European Football Championship 2016 (herein 'Euro 2016') held in France.

In so doing, this chapter extends the PJT literature in a number of important ways. Firstly, it explores how England fans' perceptions of police legitimacy and identity change through and within group-level interactions with the police and other salient groups within specific contexts. Thus there is the chance to explore the 'dialogic' nature of legitimacy dynamics between 'power-holders' and 'audiences' through "...*the adoption of longitudinal research strategies, so that the claim–response dialogue, which is necessarily dynamic, can be studied over a reasonable period of time*" (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012, p. 166). With a focus on the dynamic relationship between the police and crowds over an extended period of time there is an opportunity to document the historical dimension of England fans' relations with the police across multiple crowd events.

As chapter 3 argued, the on-going yet historically informed nature of people's relations with the police has not been the focus of PJT research,

since researchers have been concerned with gathering a 'snapshot' of their current views of the police often via the use of cross-sectional survey data (Harkin 2014, 2015). Therefore there will be a focus here on the social-historical and contextual factors that shape both England fans' sense of identity and their perceptions of the (un)fairness and (il)legitimacy of police activity. How and why do these judgements change through and within interactions with the police and other groups? Or as Bottoms and Tankebe (2012, p. 166) put it:

"*Under what circumstances and why might the audience legitimacy of a criminal justice agency (or a given part of it) increase, decrease, or remain stable?*"

Furthermore, an analysis of the policing of England fans during the group stages of Euro 2016 allows for a comparison[13] with, and potentially an independent verification of, Stott *et al.*'s (2001) ethnographic study of English and Scottish fans at the France 1998 World Cup. Like Euro 2016, in 1998 there were widespread incidents of 'disorder' involving England fans in Marseille. Yet Scottish supporters were not involved in any major incidents and were even praised by the authorities for their good behaviour during the tournament[14]. The media and political explanations for this were centred on

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[13] Walsh and Downe (2005, p. 208) maintain that a synthesis of qualitative findings can be achieved by determining "*...how studies are related, or dissonant, through a compare and contrast exercise* ". This is what is meant by the use of 'comparison' in this thesis. Sandelowski *et al.* (1997, p. 366) argue that "*to summarize qualitative findings is to destroy the integrity of the individual projects on which such summaries are based, to thin out the desired thickness of particulars...*". It is acknowledged that there are difficulties in summarising and comparing qualitative findings. For example, the 'particulars' of specific interactions between England fans and police are contextually bounded and are specific to the certain time and place. However, it is argued that the 'general' pattern of events and interactions presented in Stott *et al.*'s (2001) analysis can be compared and contrasted to that of the present analysis. For example, how did the general policing tactics and interventions in Marseille in 1998 compare to those employed in 2016?

[14] Interestingly there was a direct historical parallel in Euro 2016 with Welsh fans being praised by police for their good behaviour throughout the tournament (e.g., http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-36583976). The fans of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland even received the 'Medal of the City of Paris' for their behaviour with the deputy mayor for sport and tourism Jean-François Martins saying "*They are a model for all the supporters of the world*" (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-36661166).

the presence of English 'hooligans' and the relative absence of Scottish 'hooligan' fans. However, Stott *et al.*'s (2001) analysis pointed to the salience of the intergroup context in explaining why conflict with the police became normative or prototypical for England but not Scottish fans.

In Marseille, England fans perceived themselves to be under constant attack from large groups of local youths. In these circumstances, England fans also believed that the police were a) not protecting fans through inactivity, and b) when the police did act they were perceived as using heavy-handed and indiscriminate methods that affected all England fans. In this context of out-group illegitimacy, England fans began to understand violent action towards the police and locals as legitimate and sometimes necessary self-defence.

By contrast, Scottish fans were not subject to attacks by locals and understood police inactivity to be a legitimate policing tactic that allowed them to express their Scottish identity in a 'boisterous' manner. In this context, conflictual norms remained non-prototypical for Scottish fans. Moreover, Scottish fans' relations with locals were also positive. Highlighting the difference between fan groups one Scottish fan remarked: "*Once they realise we are not English they are alright*" (p. 374). Thus the relations between England / Scotland fans and the police were a necessary but not sufficient level of analysis for explaining 'levels of compliance' with the law. There were three important and interrelating social categories: fans, locals, and the police.

Whilst there were incidents of 'disorder' involving England fans in Marseille and Lille during Euro 2016 this was not the case when England fans travelled to Lens and St. Etienne. Therefore there is a question of why it is that the behaviour of English fans varied and changed. Why is it that there were violent confrontations between the French police and England fans in certain contexts and not others? As argued in chapter 3, PJT currently appears to be limited in articulating the processes through which people come to be involved in *collective* conflicts with the police and equally why they do not. This is partly due to an overreliance on measures of behavioural

intentions rather than exploring the actual subsequent behaviour of 'the policed'. By focusing on the *actual behaviour* of England fans and the immediate contexts of their interactions with police across three crowd events it is possible to explore and ultimately try to explain these dynamics of behavioural change.

Method

Data collection and sources

Between 9th and 31st June, 2016, data were collected relating to the policing of England fans during the group stages of the UEFA European Football Championship 2016 held in France. The tournament included 24 national teams divided into six groups of four. England first played Russia in Marseille (June 11th), followed by Wales in Lens (June 16th), with their final group game against Slovakia in St. Etienne (June 20th).

Data were collected from a variety of secondary sources. During the research period I met and established links with Dr. Geoff Pearson who has an interest in football 'hooliganism' and policing. Geoff has undertaken participant observational research with England fans since 1998 and his research is often conceptually based in, and has aided the theoretical development of, the ESIM of crowd behaviour (see Stott and Pearson 2007; Pearson 2012). He describes his research with England fans in his book "An ethnography of English football fans: Cans, cops and carnivals":

> *"Typically I would travel out, often with a colleague, one or two days before England were playing, find where large numbers of England fans were gathering and join them. Occasionally I would meet the same individuals, but usually each trip would see me among a different group of England supporters...the intensity of the observations provided excellent data about how the carnival fans of the England national team conducted themselves abroad, and how effective social control*

> *policies and practices were upon them"* (Pearson 2012,
> p. 29)*.*

Geoff travelled to Marseille from 9th to the 12th June to conduct further independent ethnographic research on the policing of England fans. Following on from his previous work, Geoff's primary motivation for being in Marseille was to focus on the crowd management of England fans and in particular to explore the relationship between England fans, the French police, local groups, and the Russian fans. The England Vs. Russia game in Marseille was identified before the tournament as an extremely 'high risk' fixture in terms of the potential for serious disorder. Therefore an ethnographic study of this game represented a potential opportunity for Geoff to further explore why 'hooliganism' involving England fans initiates and develops. However, equally, if widespread disorder involving England fans did not materialise, then it provided Geoff with the data to potentially understand why this was the case and how this relates to crowd management and policing tactics[15]. As part of this work Geoff collated detailed field notes comprising observations, conversations with fans, songs and chants, and descriptions of events, which were recorded on a voice recorder and subsequently transcribed. Geoff allowed me to have access to these fieldnotes that equated to 11,248 words.

Whilst this data source provided rich and detailed data regarding the nature of interactions between England fans, other relevant groups, and the French police in Marseille it is important to acknowledge the limitations of its use within the context of this chapter. For example, a criticism of this type of ethnographic work is the potential for 'observer bias' and 'going native'. As Geoff himself acknowledges when reflecting on his football research: *"...it may be that my accounts of 'what happened' in certain situations were based on my own* sympathies, or upon reputations of others that I became

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[15] An in-depth interview with Geoff including his motivations and thoughts on the events that took place in Marseille between the 9th and 11th June can be found at the following link: http://www.digitalpodcast.com/feeds/31693-the-anfield-wrap-podcast?page=5

aware of" (Pearson 2012, p. 31-32). In addition to this, there are other important limitations relating to the use of this secondary data source that will be reflected on in more detail in the discussion section following the analysis.

In addition to the field notes obtained, 113 videos posted on the Internet and 111 online news articles were also collected as additional sources of data using the strategy utilised by Stott *et al.* (2016b). Since there was the potential for the collection of an unmanageable quantity of data it was important to have inclusion and exclusion criteria in order to constrain the number of data sources obtained. Data collection of the news articles was restricted to English language sources in order to facilitate analysis. The Google search function 'hide duplicates' was also utilised in order to further constrain the number of news articles obtained. However, videos relating to the policing and crowd management of England fans during the three games under consideration were collected regardless of the language(s) spoken. This meant that there was footage obtained from a wide range of sources and perspectives.

The Google search engine was used to identify relevant news articles sourced from two days before England's first game (9th June, 2016) to the end of the calendar month (up to and including 31st June, 2016). This timeframe was chosen since many England fans (as Geoff's account above alludes to) travel to the host city one or two days before the day of the game. Therefore the 9th June was deemed as an appropriate start date since England's first game against Russia was in Marseille on 11th June. An end date of 31st June was selected since the last game under consideration was 21st June, 2016. A Google search also revealed that after this time period there were no new news articles relating to the policing of England fans at the three games under consideration for analysis.

A series of Boolean search terms were used to constrain the number of news articles collected and identify those pertinent to the objectives of this chapter. For example, keyword searches for the England Vs. Russia game

included: "England fans", "Marseille", "Russia", "police", "tear gas", "violence", "disorder", "trouble", "hooligans", "England Vs. Russia", "ultras", "clash", "Old Port". For each day in the selected timeframe keyword searches were conducted and the first 30 pages of results were explored for relevant news articles. This strategy was deemed sufficient to achieve data saturation (Suter 2012). Furthermore, by following the hyperlinks included within the initial corpus of news articles it was possible to source other salient articles not obtained by the initial searches.

Keyword searches of 'YouTube' were also undertaken to identify and download pertinent videos. Again searches were constrained in terms of timeframe (9th – 31st June) and duplicate videos (i.e., those of identical content) were discarded. Further relevant footage was gathered by exploring the 'up next' section on YouTube that promotes associated content. The videos mostly comprised footage taken by fans, journalists or bystanders in close proximity of specific events. However I also collected footage from mainstream media news reports. For some incidents it was possible to draw upon multiple videos that depicted the events in question from different perspectives. Furthermore, by identifying salient landmarks (e.g., pubs, bars, restaurants, shops, street names etc.) in the footage the precise location of specific events using Google Maps Street View could be established. By cross referencing this information with news reports containing approximate timings and the 'time-stamped' audio and written field notes a detailed chronological account of events was developed. Where video footage is referred to this is cited in parenthesis (e.g., '[V1]' denotes the first video used) and the URL is provided in Appendix E.

Analytic strategy

The analysis comprised multiple stages. Firstly, Geoff's audio files and also any relevant audio ascertained from the corpus of videos were transcribed. Together with the newspaper reports this material was then used to develop a consensual behavioural account by triangulating these various sources of data (Denzin 1989). This section focused on ascertaining the general pattern and chronology of the events and interactions that took place between

England fans and other relevant individuals/groups in Marseille, Lille, Lens and St. Etienne. In line with previous work of this nature (e.g., Reicher 1984, 1996; Stott and Reicher 1998a, Stott and Drury 2000; Hoggett 2009; Stott *et al.* 2011, 2016b) the description of events provided in the analysis section is based on either a) two independent sources of information (e.g., a news report and an interview), or b) from direct video, pictorial or observational evidence. In the cases where there was only one source of data or where there was contradictory evidence the source of the information is explicitly provided before the description of the event.

Having done this, a section on fan phenomenology was developed. Like Chapter 7 this involved conducting a thematic analysis of fan accounts in order to establish broad semantic themes. Similarly to Stott *et al.* (2001) an important aim was to allow for comparisons in terms of England fans' perceptions of, and relationship with, the police and policing both within and across multiple crowd events. In order to achieve this aim the fan accounts had to be organised chronologically as well as thematically. Thus the analysis comprises three broad sections that aim to capture both the behavioural account of 'what happened' but also England fans' perceptions of these events. These sections are a) 'incidents of 'disorder' in Marseille, b) 'incidents of 'disorder' in Lille, and c) 'the establishment and maintenance of non-violent norms' relating to events in Lens and St. Etienne.

Analysis

Incidents of 'disorder' in Marseille

The first significant gathering of England fans occurred on Thursday afternoon on the 9th June, two days before the match. As many as 700 England fans had gathered in and around O'Malley's Irish bar on the quayside of the Old Port (see Figure 4. for a map of the Old Port). The numbers dwindled as the evening went on. The observations record that during that evening a crowd of around 300 England fans gathered outside O' Malley's Irish bar on the quayside of the Old Port. They were behaving in a

manner typical of the English 'carnival fan',[16] drinking beer from plastic cups and chanting their support for the England team. The repertoire was the usual mix of songs praising England players and team, and expressing a desire not to go home but instead to drink beer (and "snort gear"). Mixed in with these songs was "10 German bombers", "No Surrender to the IRA", and one or two of renditions of "ISIS where are you?", making reference to Marseille's large Muslim population. This latter chant was quickly picked up on by the media[17] as being provocative but in reality there were no groups at which it was aimed and only around 10-20 fans were engaged in singing it at this point.

Figure 4. A map of the Old Port area of Marseille

By midnight the gathering had thinned to roughly 100 fans, predominantly male and aged from their early twenties through to middle age. A group of

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[16] See Pearson G., 'An Ethnography of English Football Fans: Cans, Cops and Carnivals' 2012 Manchester University Press
[17] Example: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/06/10/english-football-fans-clash-with-locals-in-marseille-ahead-of-eu/

around 15 Police Nationale in standard uniform[18] were gathered across the road from the bar monitoring the situation. There was little to no interaction between the police and the fans, other than officers occasionally ushering fans who had strayed onto the road back on to the pavement. At around midnight a small altercation developed between less than half a dozen England fans and locals, seemingly over the purchase of match tickets. A bottle and a glass were smashed and the Police Nationale moved in using pepper spray to disperse all those in the vicinity. However the group of around 100 England fans remained and the situation rapidly escalated when around 70 French males[19] approached and started goading the English and a glass was thrown into the English crowd. One fan that witnessed the incident described it as an entirely unprovoked attack on England fans in general.

> *None of the England fans were doing anything wrong –*
> *a few of us had a bit much to drink, but that was all.*
> *Suddenly a French gang appeared and started*
> *attacking us, and throwing stuff.* (Daily Mail, 10th June
> 2016)

Two or three bottles were thrown back at the approaching French group and a plastic table was overturned. The police responded by firing tear gas to disperse the groups. At least one rubber bullet was also fired into the English group at this point, hitting a fan in the ribs. A group of approximately ten 'riot' police[20], at least two with dogs, charged toward the crowd of England fans outside of O' Malley's [V1]. At least one England fan is shown in video shouting "*calm down*" towards the police. After a number of rounds of tear gas were fired into the crowd, the disorder spilled into the side streets and

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[18] Herein standard uniform denotes officers with boots, trousers, overalls and helmets by their side. These officers were normally armed with a baton and a pistol.
[19] Although estimates varied from 25 (an England fan; source: field notes), 30-40 (the Chief Executive of the Football Supporters Federation) and 70 (the NPCC lead for football policing and field note observations).
[20] Herein 'riot police' denotes officers with helmets, shields, tear gas grenade guns and other protective equipment.

video footage shows fist fights between small groups of fans, the throwing of plastic chairs, and some French males attacking England fans with sticks.

On Friday 10th June ever-larger numbers of England fans began to arrive in Marseille and once again began congregating in crowds outside the many bars that line the Old Port. Although Police Nationale were still present in the Old Port, it appeared that the management of the main gathering of England fans was the responsibility of the Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité (CRS). CRS officers in standard uniform were patrolling in groups of three through the England fans at the early part of the afternoon, but not talking or otherwise engaging with the England fans. As the crowds grew, these patrols stopped. By early afternoon twenty empty police 'riot' vans and one police bus bearing the CRS insignia were parked lining the Old Port quayside as a very visible symbol of a heavy police presence (see Figure 5. and 6.). Observational data indicated that by mid-afternoon there were in the region of 2,000 England fans gathered in the Old Port.

At around 6 p.m. a crowd of around 300 England fans had gathered outside the Queen Victoria bar, drinking, singing and kicking footballs around. There was a small group of eighteen CRS officers in standard uniform nearby. As the crowd was spilling out onto the roadway the police proceeded to close the half of the road off that was closest to the England fans. In this group, a woman was waving a French flag. The English fans generally treated this in good humour, having photos taken with her but some also sang insulting songs at her. Later in the afternoon the woman was seen in a balcony above the England fans and dropped a glass bottle into them. Later when she reappeared an England fan tried to grab the flag from her hands.

Figure 5. CRS 'riot' vans parked along the harbourside of the Old Port in
Marseille

Figure 6. A police bus bearing the CRS insignia

According to the field notes, the situation was boisterous but not aggressive
and certainly nothing that would require any form of forceful police
intervention. Nonetheless, at approximately 6.10 p.m. the group of police
officers standing across the road put their helmets held on, raised their 'riot'
shields, arranged themselves into a 'tortoise' formation and started to move
sideways across the other side of the road from the main England crowd
[V2]. Behind this group of officers was the woman who had been seemingly
trying to provoke the England fans. 2 or 3 bottles were thrown from the
crowd at the police 'tortoise'. The police immediately fired tear gas into the
crowd, upon which more bottles were thrown before the clouds of tear gas
forced fans away from the pub and either up a side street or further along

the quayside. 'Riot' police with dogs then moved into the side street dispersing the fans further away from the quayside. Amazingly the mood amongst many of the England fans was still positive – although some fans were suffering badly from the effects of tear gas, others were laughing and joking about it, some using 'face-time' to talk to friends back in England and explain how they had been tear-gassed.

Many England fans were forced up a side street into the Cours Honoré d'Estienne d'Orves where a number of other England fans, along with local French people and other tourists, were sitting outside a number of restaurants. French riot police and dogs started to move into this square, firing tear gas and emptying the terraces outside the restaurants. At around this time video footage also shows a group of approximately twenty-five, apparently local French, males passing by this area and as they did so they initiated what appears to be an entirely unprovoked attack on the England fans that were sitting in the pizzeria by throwing objects including a chair towards them [V3]. Some of the England fans responded by throwing chairs, tables and bottles back at the group. As they did so a small group of police officers wearing protective helmets approached the confrontation from Rue Fortia and immediately threw a tear gas canister that landed directly among the England fans. As the gas dispersed it drove everyone from the immediate vicinity including the many fans that were eating and drinking in the nearby restaurants. An England fan who witnessed this incident described what he saw.

> There's a lad with his dad and he's come out…to watch the French game and basically they've had to go home because the lad's too upset because he's been tear gassed inside the restaurant I'd say about 50 metres away from this bar [the one that got attacked]. ('The Anfield Wrap, 12th June 2016)[21]

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[21] Full interview available online at: https://www.theanfieldwrap.com/2016/06/euro-2016-a-return-to-the-dark-ages-and-the-english-disease-blaming-fans-for-everything/

At around 7.30 p.m. on the same evening a group of approximately three hundred England fans had gathered outside of two bars, L'Entrecote and Bartabac, a short distance away where they were drinking and chanting. Field notes record that there was no obvious sign of tension. Nonetheless a squad of around thirty 'riot' police marched in a line towards them, halting roughly thirty yards away with their shields raised. Some of the England fans began booing and there were chants of "*wankers*" directed toward the police [V4]. A few in the crowd threw bottles at the police who once again responded immediately by firing tear gas canisters into the crowd. In the aftermath of this incident two England fans can be seen on video remonstrating with the police who were stood in the formation [V5].

> England fan 1: *There's no trouble until you get here.*
> England fan 2: *When you come here you cause all the*
> *trouble.* [V5]

Two other England fans described the policing interventions as indiscriminately targeting all England fans and being a disproportionate response to 'just singing songs'.

> England fan 1: *Basically we were just standing in a bar*
> *and next thing you know, French police just start*
> *charging at us and throwing tear gas at us so what are*
> *you meant to do, you can't stand in front of it can you?*

> England fan 2: *We were all just singing songs, nothing*
> *malicious or anything like that and all of a sudden I go*
> *to the toilet came back out and it's all like a war zone*
> *you know.* [V5]

Observations also record that at around this time a group of England fans were also charged by another unit of 'riot' police from the Bartabac causing

the crowd of fans to disperse towards O'Malley's with one fan heard shouting as he ran, "*random cunts with batons, just came from behind*".

The opening match of the tournament, France versus Romania, kicked off at 9 p.m. that evening, and the bars showing the match on television were crowded with England and France fans watching the match and generally mixing well together, although there were also incidents where some England fans tried to disrupt French fans singing their national anthem at the start of the match. Midway through the match tear gas was fired into the crowd outside Exit Bar, although it was not clear what caused this.

During this time there is some evidence of an *expectation* amongst some England fans that they would be attacked by French or Russian 'ultras'.

> *It was one of those where all the England lot are here
> in these sort of four pubs and it's kind of just a hotspot
> for people to come up to them be it the Marseille lot,
> the Marseille Ultras or the Russians to start something.
> And that's why there's so many police here now. And
> there is that feeling that at the moment they're*
> [England fans] *drinking away and it's all good stuff. But
> what happens when the game ends?* [V6]

The evidence suggests that there was some justification for this. According to one news report a group did attack a bar containing England fans whilst they were watching the opening game[22]. Once again 'riot' police responded to these attacks by firing tear gas [V7]. Moreover, at approximately 10.10 p.m. media reports also describe a small group attacking another bar and several fights breaking out until 'riot' police arrived and again fired tear gas into the bar as well as baton charging the crowd of England fans gathered there, as the group simply ran back down the side streets and

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[22] See: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3636499/England-fans-AMBUSHED-Marseille-Dramatic-video-shows-moment-local-thugs-hellbent-sparking-clashes-attacked-supporters-second-night-violence.html

disappeared[23]. It is unclear whether these were groups of locals or a group of around 20-30 Russian 'hooligans' who were now active in the Old Port and attacking England fans.

Such was the intensity of the gas in the narrow streets that the field notes indicate that by 10.20 p.m. the acrid smell of the gas was affecting everyone in the area. After the France game finished these patterns of interaction, conflict and police response continued until the early hours. The final fieldnotes of the evening at around 3am note a group of around 20-30 England fans looking to confront the Russian group, being goaded and attacked by small groups of locals, and occasionally being tear gassed or baton-charged by CRS officers (see Figure 7.).

Figure 7. CRS officers in 'riot' gear lining the Old Port

Saturday 11th June

Although some sources estimated that 90,000 England fans were present in Marseille by the day of England's opening fixture[24], the observations suggested the number was closer to 40,000, around half of whom were

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[23] See:
http://www.thenorthernecho.co.uk/news/14551754.COMMENT__Why_always_us_
_and_why_suddenly_back_here_in_Marseille_/ and
http://www.irishtimes.com/sport/soccer/international/ken-early-russians-go-to-war-
with-an-english-myth-1.2682005
[24] See: http://www.france24.com/en/20160611-clashes-marseille-england-russia-
match-euro-2016

gathered in and around the Old Port area by mid-afternoon. They heavily outnumbered their Russian counterparts with almost every bar on the Old Port quayside populated with large numbers of England fans and with facades covered with flags of St. George. England and Russian fans were at this time mingling peacefully, and many Russian fans were posing with England fans for group photographs. The observations record that at around 3 p.m. there were approximately 500 England fans gathered outside of two of these bars, the Exit Café and Beau Rivage. There was a 'low-key' police presence at this end of the Old Port with a few police officers in standard summer uniform[25] patrolling on bikes. Two police officers in summer uniform were also stood within this crowd watching the England fans sing, drink, kick footballs around and interact with locals [V8]. Larger groups of CRS officers were gathered in and around vans parked further up the quayside.

Although the situation was calm, at around this time, in the vicinity of the Exit Bar, an England fan threw a bottle in the air that smashed near to other fans. This incident led immediately to a heated confrontation between the individual who threw the bottle, his associates, and another group of England fans who verbally rebuked him for throwing the bottle. As the altercation became heated the two police officers based in the crowd intervened to calm the situation and the tension subsided. Observations record that there was no aggression directed from the England toward these two officers. Indeed, England supporters were subsequently observed posing for friendly photos with them. In stark contrast to these positive and de-escalatory interactions, at much the same time five 'riot' police officers were collectively booed as they walked past the same bar heading towards the Hotel Alize. The field notes record that some England fans were heard sarcastically chanting toward them "*tear gas away*". Around this time it was noticeable that groups of England fans were bringing back boxes of bottled French lager to drink instead of pints from plastic glasses that were being purchased for a more expensive price from the bars.

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[25] Summer uniform denotes police officers wearing protective jackets, short-sleeve t-shirts, sunglasses, shorts and trainers. These officers were also armed with a pistol.

The 'carnival' atmosphere remained dominant until around 3 p.m. when a group of French fans[26] approached another group of around 1,000 England fans who were drinking outside the Hotel Tonic. They confronted the England fans and a number of bottles were thrown from both sides. CRS officers fired tear gas to separate the groups and a number of England fans responded by throwing bottles that smashed on the flagstones in front of the officers or off their Perspex shields. It was noticeable that throughout the three days of disorder in Marseille the field notes did not record a single incident of a bottle being thrown at an officer when they were not wearing a riot helmet and carrying a shield.

Shortly after this incident, a group of approximately thirty Russian 'hooligans' arrived into the Old Port via the metro station near to the Cours Honoré d'Estienne d'Orves. From there the group began a series of very violent and apparently indiscriminate attacks on England fans [V9]. Some of the Russian fans were carrying weapons, including iron bars and bottles and from video footage shot by one of these fans it would appear were highly organised (e.g., V10, V11, V12). During these initial attacks several England fans were knocked unconscious and lay motionless on the floor as the group spread out across the immediate vicinity. The field notes record that loud screams could be heard with hundreds of people (a mix of fans, tourists and locals) visibly frightened and running away from this area of the Old Port. One England fan again emphasised the unprovoked nature of attacks by large groups of Russians.

> *I'm here* [in Marseille] *with a group of 10 mates. We were outside the Queen Victoria pub in the Old Port having some beers. Then at least three or four hundred Russians came marching through. One of them hit me on the head with a bottle and as I reeled punched me*

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[26] It was reported by L'Equipe journalists on the scene that around this time groups affiliated to both the Olympique Marseille and Paris St Germain football teams (themselves bitter rivals) were actively looking to confront English fans. It remains unclear which group this was.

in the face. I had no idea how many were attacking me.
(The Guardian, 12th June 2016)

Moreover, there was a perception evident amongst England fans that the French police were doing little if anything to protect England fans from such attacks.

> *The French police were there watching the Russians go after the England fans, but they did nothing to intervene. They were happy to just watch the violence unfold and shoot some tear gas, but they didn't arrest anyone.* (Southwark News, 30th June 2016)

However a small number of England fans were looking to fight back. A group of around 40 England fans who had been drinking peacefully on the quayside only minutes before chased a smaller group of Russian hooligans throwing missiles at them from a side-street away from the quayside. Video footage around this time shows England fans attending to two unconscious fans whilst there were rallying calls from other such as "*Let's fucking do the cunts*", "*C'mon*"; "*England, where are we?*"; "*C'mon England let's take these cunts on*" [V13].

Within such a 'hostile' intergroup context, there is evidence that some England fans began to see violence as a *legitimate* response to unprovoked attacks.

> Interviewer: *Were the England fans provoked?*
>
> England fan 1: *Yes definitely.*
>
> England fan 2: *Definitely yeh.*
>
> England fan 1: *We saw the bottle come over first and then you know, everyone knows in the world, you're going to retaliate ain't yer?*

> England fan 2: *Yeh. You're not going to stand there and have a bottle thrown at you and not retaliate.* [V14]

Consequently, conflict involving England fans was often spoken of in terms of 'self-defence' by ordinary England fans rather than the sole preserve of a 'hooligan' minority.

> *England fans are there enjoying themselves having fun. People come and have a go so they defend themselves, fight back…* [V6]

After this initial series of attacks, some England fans attempted to regroup and start chanting and drinking again. Observations indicated that half-a-dozen England fans ran into the broken glass-strewn 'no man's land' between the England fans huddled together in side streets and outside bars and the lines of hundreds of CRS police in full riot gear and start to sing "J*amie Vardy's having a party*" while spraying beer over each other. Another England fan sat alone in the debris on a plastic chair, while his friend tried to encourage him to leave.

During this time there were small groups of England fans running between the side streets, and trying to find a way back to the quayside. On a number of occasions when they came back out into the open, one or two individuals within these groups would throw bottles at the CRS, resulting in tear gas being fired into the group and forcing them back away from the quayside. Another England fan broke away from a larger group and ran at the police. When he was 20 yards from the line he threw a bottle into their shields. Tear gas was fired at him in response. The 'cat-and-mouse' nature of confrontations between groups of England fans on the quayside here and the CRS continued for approximately an hour.

By now a larger group of Russians, numbering over 100, was actively seeking out groups of England fans to attack. England fans who had not been involved in the disorder (many of whom may have actively sought to

disassociate themselves from the violence) were also gathered outside the bars and restaurants in Cours Honoré d'Estienne d'Orves and were attacked by this larger group, leaving one England fan in a coma [V15]. Field notes indicated that shortly after this attack, a number of England fans expressed anger about the failures of the police to protect them against the Russians. Two of these fans then tried to chase off the observer, believing him to be a journalist who was unfairly portraying the England fans as the aggressors. The mood in the square was one of fear of the Russian group and anger towards the police.

By 7.30 p.m. the Old Port area emptied as most fans with match tickets had begun to make their way towards the stadium. At this time a group of around 30-40 Russian fans was still actively looking to violently confront England fans as they started walking up from the Old Port area towards the stadium around two miles away. Many England fans were walking in small groups along this main road having been unaware of the Metro service or looking to avoid it due to terrorist fears.

The Russian group approached the Castellane metro station half way to the stadium at around 7.45pm (shortly over an hour before kick off). Here, across the road, there were two bars where around 150 England fans were drinking. The Russians started throwing fireworks and shouting. One England fan ran up to the bar and shouted "*the Russians are coming, stand and fight*". Three other England fans joined him in an apparent attempt to stand up to the Russian group, but the remainder of those drinking outside ran into the bars to take shelter, pulling doors closed behind them. As the Russian group started to cross the road to attack the bars, an unmarked police vehicle pulled up on the middle of the road and 6 plain-clothes police officers emerged and started throwing tear gas grenades at the Russians. This group of officers from the Brigade Anti-Criminalité (BAC) were the only police who appeared to be capable of controlling the Russian group and were able, through use of the grenades, to keep them away from the England fans and usher them on their way towards the stadium. More BAC officers nearer the group were able to do the same, keeping this group away

from England fans emerging from other directions on their way to find their correct entrance into the stadium.

Once inside the stadium, the majority of the Russian fans, including the groups who had been involved in the violence, were in one section. The official England section was located at the opposite end of the stadium. Down each side of the stadium and in half of the section behind the goal next to the Russian fans were neutral sections, housing a large number of England fans (the black-market for tickets saw them exchanging hands for face value on the match-day meaning many England fans who were not expecting to be able to attend the game were able to gain access), a smaller number of Russian fans, and also a number of French fans and supporters of other teams. Despite the violence earlier, there were no observable or reported incidents between fans of Russia and England in these sections.

However just before the final whistle, there was a loud explosion from a firecracker in the Russian section which, in the context of what followed, may have been an organised signal for the Russian 'hooligan' group to attack [V16]. It was fired into the adjacent stand, landing among the crowd near the halfway line of the pitch, approximately 50 metres away [V17]. The segregation line between the Russian end and the neutral section behind the goal was made up of a line of empty seats, what was described by fans as "a rope" and a small number of stewards. There were no police visibly present. Immediately after the final whistle around 70 Russian supporters broke through the segregation line and ran into the neutral section, punching and kicking England fans as they tried to move away [V18]. Two England fans who were in this section of the ground described their experience and in particular the indiscriminate nature of these attacks.

> Interviewer: *Right, can I start off by asking about the experience actually in the match there? So you were in the section next to the Russians?*

England fan 1: *Yeh. We were at the Russian end with all the main Russian fans where all the drums and stuff were. And it was completely fine up until they fired the firework in the stadium and the atmosphere changed and it got a bit edgy. And then when the Russians scored is when it really became on edge. And then at full time there was just mass panic as the Russian Ultras I believe they're called just started charging the casual fans.*

Interviewer: *So what were they dressed like?*

England fan 1: *They were just like in the Russian shirts, they had their balaclavas over their faces so you couldn't see who they were which kind of made them more scary I would say.*

Interviewer: *Did you have an idea of how many?*

England fan 1: *You didn't really because it was just mass panic but there was enough to cause mass fear amongst the whole stand like everyone was just wanting to get out of there.*

England fan 2: *I'd say there was probably about 20 with balaclavas on chasing everybody across to the barrier and then all the Russian fans were just following them and just going behind them. I think there was probably about 20-30 main Russian culprits if you say but they all had balaclavas on and that's not ideal is it.*

England fan 1: *And there was one guy, older gentleman who maybe was 40 or 50 who was just getting kicked on the floor by some Russian guys. I*

> *assume they were Russian.* (Field notes, Saturday 12th
> June 2016)

A few England fans were pinned up against, and were forced to jump over and fall some distance into, a stairway to avoid being assaulted. In describing the scene, another England fan referenced the Hillsborough stadium disaster.

> *I had a flashback to the bodies at Hillsborough and*
> *thought: 'My God it's happening again'.* (The Scottish
> Sun, 13th June 2016)

Following the match, many England fans returned to the Old Port but found most of the bars closed. Field notes indicated that the England fans were edgy about more attacks by the Russian fans and were notably trying to gather in large groups, but as the evening progressed the CRS started clearing and closing the bars, this time moving slowly with batons drawn but not using tear gas. By the early hours of the morning, the England fans in the Old Port were completely outnumbered by local Marseille fans who were gathering together and chanting. It was not clear whether they were looking to confront the England fans or wait for the Russian group, but the England fans were increasingly outnumbered and isolated and most quickly left the area and with no-where left to drink, started to return to their accommodation in small groups. After the English had disappeared as a notable group, disorder broke out between the French fans and the police, although it was not clear whether Russian fans were also involved. The disorder was still continuing at 3am, albeit sporadically, when the observer left the area.

Thus, across the three days in Marseille there appears to have been a specific pattern of intergroup interaction in place. First, England fans who were gathering in the locality in large numbers were behaving boisterously but with apparently non-violent intent. Second, while police presence was heavy there was actually very little low level positive interaction with England fans. Third, the heavy police presence did not prevent what were a series of

apparently unprovoked attacks against England fans from local Marseille youths and later in the evening from a group of Russian 'hooligans'. Fourthly, if and when police responded they did so with tear gas and then increasingly using forceful coercion against large numbers of England fans who it would appear had done little if anything to justify this form of policing. Finally, as the day progressed, an increasing number of England fans were engaging in disorder or violence until there was a small group operating with violent intent and expressing a desire to enact revenge on those attacking them.

Incidents of 'disorder' in Lille

Tuesday 14th June

Four days later England were scheduled to play their second match against Wales in Lens, a small town in north west of France. Due to fears about 'hooliganism' between English and Welsh fans the police and other relevant authorities considered this a 'high risk' fixture. However, with limited accommodation available in Lens, the police (and initially the English Football Association) had instructed fans to stay in Lille. Lille is located near to Lens and with it being the much larger provincial capital has far greater capacity to accommodate fans. Yet the evening before England's match, Russia were scheduled to play Slovakia in Lille. Given the events in Marseille, there was a concern that England and Russian fans would again be involved in violent confrontations and 'disorder'. However it was also reported that a number of the Russian fans suspected of involvement in the violence had been stopped en route to Lille and either been deported or arrested.[27]

Given the high profile media coverage it would have been the case that many of the hundreds of England and Wales fans arriving into Lille would have had either direct or 'vicarious' experience of the violent incidents in Marseille. In this context, many England fans spoke of their perceived vulnerability from potential attacks and their lack of trust in the French police.

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[27] Three Russian fans were subsequently found guilty of involvement in the violence and imprisoned (*L'Equipe* 16 June 2016 **'Avec les trois hooligans russes, la justice française marque le coup'**: http://www.lequipe.fr/Football/Actualites/Avec-les-trois-hooligans-russes-la-justice-francaise-marque-le-coup/695674).

I'm just a little apprehensive really as to what could potentially go on because you can't trust the police round here. We don't even know if Lille's locals are going to turn out for us as well. [V19]

I think it's inevitable that something will happen again. It wouldn't surprise me because it seems like the Russians are out to target the English fans. (Nottingham Evening Post, June 14th, 2016)

Contrary to pre-tournament expectations Wales and England fans arriving in the city were not hostile to one another but actually began to 'socialise' and 'mix' together. A new chant quickly emerged of "*We're England and Wales, we're England and Wales, fuck off Russia, we're England and Wales*". Social media posts also began to display pictures of groups of fans travelling to Lille with comments of how they were planning to 'defend' against further hostility from Russian fans.

According to one news report it was at around 6 p.m. that two masked individuals, assumed to be Russians, approached a bar and began to goad the fifty or so British fans gathered outside. Chairs and bottles were thrown towards them by a few of those outside the bar and one of them threw a chair back towards the bar [V19]. Almost immediately seven 'riot' police officers some with batons drawn and with two holding tear gas grenade guns, separated the two groups. While five of these police officers stood facing the British fans the other two ushered the (presumed) Russian fans away from the bar. Once the police had removed the provocation the situation calmed and there were no further incidents recorded that evening. An England fan who witnessed this incident again spoke of an unprovoked attack by a hostile out-group and the failure of the police to intervene and protect English supporters. In such a context, conflict involving England fans was again perceived as necessary 'self-defence'.

> *Everyone was standing outside the bar having a good time, English and Welsh together. Then these guys walked up and started on us. They were Russian and wearing masks. The police did nothing. Admittedly the English threw a couple of chairs back at them, but if you are attacked you have to defend yourself.* (The Daily Telegraph, 14th June 2016)

Wednesday 15th June

Shortly after Russia's game with Slovakia the following day, from 5 p.m. onwards, both sets of supporters began to make their way back to the centre of Lille. Many arrived via the Gare De Lille Flandres. By this time several hundred England and Wales fans had congregated together outside this train station and were singing and drinking [V20]. According to one news report, a loud explosion in the vicinity of the station preceeded a group of approximately 100 Russian fans charging toward a crowd of approximately 200 mostly English fans [V21]. Video footage then shows a large group (comprising predominantly England fans) running from the bar to apparently seek to confront Russian fans. As they ran there were shouts of "*Eng-ger-land*", "*c'mon England*", "*fuck off Russia, we're England and Wales*" [V22]. However, there is no clear evidence from the footage that there actually were any significant grouping of Russian fans in the vicinity.

The footage was streamed live via a social media website by a well-known sports news journalist who found himself in the middle of the confrontation [V22]. It shows that approximately 150 (mostly) England fans stopped on Place des Reignaux. Almost immediately about five 'riot' police formed a line across the road directly opposite with at least two pointing tear gas grenade guns towards the crowd. Some England fans then began to walk away from this area but were prevented from doing so as another group of some ten to fifteen 'riot' police with batons drawn ran into the situation and formed a cordon at the junction with Rue du Vieux Faubourg. This police action essentially penned in the whole group into the area.

There were a small number of Russian fans on the other side of this police line, most of whom do not appear to be seeking confrontation. However, one Russian fan did throw a bottle and gestured towards the England fans. He was promptly wrestled to the ground by a police officer and arrested. Shortly afterward as chants of "*fuck off Russia, we're England and Wales*" and bottles were thrown towards the Russian fans, 'riot' police fired tear gas and pepper spray forcing the England fans to disperse from the area. In the immediate aftermath of this episode, video footage records the reaction of some England fans saying "*The fucking police just fucking gassed us for no reason*"; "*the Old Bill are tear gassing us for no reason*"; "*what the fuck was all that about*?".

At approximately 10.10p.m., video footage from one news report shows there was a large group of mainly English fans drinking near Gare de Lille Flandres [V23]. Roughly 20 'riot' police with shields raised formed a line outside Indy's across Rue du Molinel facing the England fans. According to the news report, this tactic prompted some England fans to throw bottles at the 'riot' police. However, British police spotters were seen to have calmed the situation down by mixing amongst the fans and persuading them to move back away from the French 'riot' police and around the corner onto Rue De Tournai. Adjacent to the K.F.C restaurant on Rue De Tournai a large group of England fans then initiated a sit-down protest against the French police action, whilst singing: "*sit down if you love England*", preventing a car from advancing [V24]. The England fans were subsequently walked by French police (with British spotters also interspersed within this group) towards the official fanzone. However, the English fans did not enter the fanzone but instead ended up back in the centre of Lille some 25 minutes later. The news journalist who was again streaming live footage summed up his understanding of the situation at this time.

> *Nobody knows where the fuck the police are going to*
> *send these people. Are they going to open up a bar,*
> *are they not? Are they just going to walk them round*

> the block 20 times? I don't think this is particularly good
> policing… [V24]

Similarly, a British police spotter was reported to say, "*There's no strategy. They* [the French police] *seem to have no strategy*"[28]. A large group of 'riot' police subsequently used tear gas to disperse the England fans away from the main square [V25].

After this approximately 200 England fans gathered outside L'Opera Corner bar on the junction of Rue de la Quenette and Rue de Roubaix [V26, V27]. As most of them sang "*please don't take me home*" a red flare was held aloft by one fan. At this point roughly 25 'riot' police officers with their shields raised formed a line facing the England fans about 30 yards away from them. As the flare burnt out there were again chants of "*fuck off Russia, we're England and Wales*" as some fans had their arms outstretched and walked a few yards closer to the police line. The sound of a whistle was the signal for the 'riot' police to charge towards the England fans causing them to retreat up the side streets as a loud explosion from a tear gas canister was then heard. A retreating England fan who is seen on video footage filming the aftermath of the incident shouts towards the police "*you haven't got a fucking clue have you? You've just split us up. That's all you've done. Split us up*". One England supporter expressed the view that this policing intervention had again illegitimately targeted England fans for what they deemed as boisterous but *legitimate* in-group behaviour.

> We were just singing like it weren't anything, they were
> just singing here [outside a bar] *and then there was an*
> *absolute wall of them all the riot shields and that and*
> *they just started charging and throwing tear gas.* [V28]

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[28] http://www.scorescan.com/2016/06/euro-2016-fa-chief-appeals-to-england-fans-to-behave-after-violence-in-lille/

The establishment and maintenance of non-violent norms

Lens, Thursday 16th June

On the day of the match, large numbers of England and Wales fans arrived in Lens. Fabienne Buccio, prefect of the Pas-de-Calais region, suggested that the city would be "in lockdown" with more than 1,200 police officers and about the same number of private security personnel mobilised[29]. Like Marseille and Lille, England fans again congregated in large numbers outside bars, most of whom drank beer despite the supposed alcohol ban. However, unlike in Marseille and Lille these large groups were not subject to attacks and England fans celebrated with, rather than violently confronted, locals and other fan groups.

> *Locals were out in force as France were playing, and they started to mix very well with the English and Welsh fans that were around the bar area. After France won, we all celebrated, there was none of the violence that was apparent in Lille.* (Derby Telegraph, 17th June, 2016)

In this context, with the absence of hostile out-groups seeking to confront them, England fans in Lens celebrated and expressed their identity in a boisterous but largely peaceful manner. For example, one news report describes an English fan leading a 'conga line' with the mask of the Queen Elizabeth II on[30], whilst video footage shows a crowd of several hundred witness a good-natured 'beer belly fight' between 3 England fans that culminated in chants of "*Eng-ger-land*" [V29]. Like Lille, in Lens England and Wales fans often drank, sang and embraced each other [e.g., V30, V31, V32].

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[29] E.g.: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/football/2016/06/15/euro-2016-lens-in-lockdown-as-england-and-wales-fans-arrive-for/

[30] http://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/england-fans-soak-up-atmosphere-8205451

> *Once again there's a really, really, good pre match*
> *vibe. All the Welsh, all the English, all together all*
> *singing songs. They've split up into different pubs a few*
> *of them but the humour and the camaraderie as I said*
> *like the brotherhood together is really excellent. When*
> *there's no 'Ruskis' around it's like this.* [V33]

The UK police delegation said of England and Wales fans in Lens: "*They were very well-behaved. It was a superb advert for British sport*"[31].

Whilst there were large numbers of police officers in 'riot gear' in the city they were often kept back away from the immediate vicinity of 'partying' fans [V34]. Indeed speaking of the British fans, one police officer was reported as saying "*It's OK. They're just in high spirits. As long as it stays that way, no problem*[32]". Thus, large groups of fans who were singing and drinking were tolerated and to a certain extent these activities were facilitated. For example, video footage shows hundreds of British fans sing Oasis's hit song "Wonderwall" as it was played through a speaker system from above the Cabana Bar on Rue de la Paix [V35]. One England fan described his experience of Lille:

> *The hospitality and the organisation in and around*
> *Lens was first class. The locals, the police and the bars*
> *showed what a friendly and welcoming place France*
> *can be. Not an ounce of trouble between the*
> *thousands of French, Welsh and English fans - despite*
> *the usual singing and drinking to excess in the streets.*
> (Derby Telegraph, 17th June, 2016)

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[31] https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/hooliganism-euro-2016-social-psychology-english-disease

[32] http://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-soccer-euro-fans-idUKKCN0Z21BQ

St. Etienne, Monday 20th June

In St. Etienne partying England fans were actively facilitated in the central square, Place Jean Jaurè where alcohol was widely obtainable instead of being prohibited and DJs played well-known England anthems such as 'Three Lions' [e.g., V37, V38, V39, V40]. Hundreds of England flags were attached to the trees, bars and flats as thousands of fans danced, sang and drank in this area before the game (see Figure 8.). Slovakian and England fans regularly mixed and took photos with each other (see Figure 9.). Indeed England fans' experiences of St. Etienne were characterised by a series of positive and 'non-hostile' interactions.

> *There are lots of Slovakian and England fans and we are all having a good time. We walked from the stadium to the town square and both sets of fans have been having a kick about and drinking side by side. All the bars are playing England songs, such as Three Lions and Vindaloo, and it is like we are some kind of attraction for locals.* (Hull Daily Mail, 20th June, 2016)

Figure 8. England fans congregate in the central square in St. Etienne

Figure 9. England and Slovakian fans pose for photographs with each other in the central square in St. Etienne

Moreover, the policing in St. Etienne was 'low-profile' with 'riot' police situated way from the central square (see Figure 10.). This was reflected in the descriptions of England fans' experiences.

> *One thing that is noticeable is the lack of a police presence. They are here but they are parked down the side streets. There is still some time until kick-off so something could yet happen but the atmosphere has been brilliant up to now.* (Hull Daily Mail, 20th June, 2016)

Figure 10. 'Riot' vans parked off the central square in a nearby side street

Policing in the square was restricted to police officers in t-shirts, some with peaked caps on, who patrolled in groups of 2-3 proactively engaging in friendly interactions with England fans (see Figure 11. and 12.). An account from an England fan online even suggested that two police officers requested pictures be taken with them. The perceived success of the policing approach in St. Etienne was explicitly compared by one England fan to that of the Dutch police in Euro 2000.

> *St. Etienne, very good. Very good atmosphere. They got it right here. Music in all the bars; Chicos bar it was where we were at. Playing the music everyone singing and dancing. Very much reminded me like I said of Holland in 2000 where the Dutch police got it right, the Dutch bars they had loads of bars, loads of music, you've got footballs out, everyone enjoyed themselves, had fun. Treated people like human beings.* [V37]

Figure 11. Police in 'standard' uniform oversee the large crowds
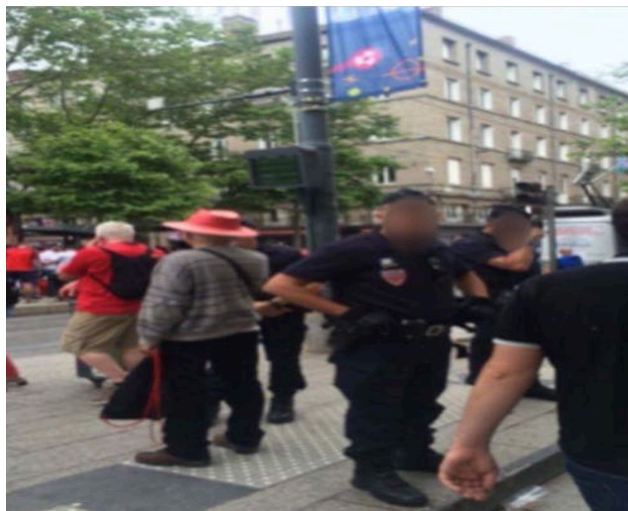
Figure 12. Police in 'standard' uniform patrolling in pairs in the central square

Moreover, the low profile policing in St. Etienne was contrasted to coercive methods used in Marseille and Lille by another England fan.

> *The atmosphere is brilliant. They've learned how to handle crowds here. You don't need tear gas and water cannon when you've got Blur and Oasis.* (Daily Express, 20th June, 2016)

In this 'non-hostile' context, one England supporter suggested that it proved most fans were there for a 'party' atmosphere, showcasing 'England at its best'.

> *We just hope this reminds everyone that the vast majority of England fans are here to watch the football and enjoy a good party. I didn't see any trouble last night. It was England at its best. The authorities have got it just right in Saint-Etienne. Big screens and blazing music. We love it here.* (Daily Telegraph, 20th June, 2016)

Discussion

This chapter aimed to go beyond previous chapters and much of the extant PJT literature by exploring the extent to which PJT can account for a series of 'real-life' and group-level interactions between England football fans and police. In order to do this, the analysis drew together a wide-ranging and varied dataset pertaining to the policing of England fans at the group stages of Euro 2016 in France. In so doing, this chapter aimed to explore the 'dialogics' of police legitimacy across a series of crowd events involving England fans and the French police. The analysis focused on the *actual behaviour* of England fans (i.e., 'the policed') and the proximal and distal intergroup contexts of their interactions with police. The aim was to explore the dynamics of behavioural change and thus account for the fact that widespread collective conflict involving England fans occurred in some contexts (i.e., Marseille and Lille) but not others (i.e., Lens and St. Etienne). Corresponding to this focus was the complementary objective of providing an independent comparison of the analysis of Euro 2016 presented in this chapter with Stott *et al.*'s (2001) analysis of France '98.

The findings presented here support Stott *et al.*'s (2001) key contention: that the manner of intergroup interactions between police and England supporters played a key role in determining whether or not collective conflict ensued. It is clear from the analysis that the policing style adopted in Marseille and Lille was largely in contradistinction with the ESIM principles of 'conflict reduction' (Reicher *et al.* 2007). In Marseille, there was a prominent police presence comprising almost exclusively of CRS officers in 'riot gear'. Yet there was no concerted attempt on their part to protect England fans from a series of violent attacks initiated by local groups and increasingly from a well-organised group of Russian 'ultras'. The police response to these attacks centred primarily on firing tear gas within the groups of England supporters which served to strengthen perceptions of police illegitimacy and embolden some England fans to 'fight back' or to otherwise 'defend themselves'. In other words, the policing style in Marseille lead to an emergent shared identity among England fans. This identity was partly defined by the perceived legitimacy of violent reprisals against the hostile

and illegitimate out-groups initiating 'unprovoked' attacks on England fans - be it Russian fans, locals or the police.

This pattern of interactions and thus the historical intergroup context of the incidents in Marseille fed into the events of Lille four days later in a number of important ways. The widespread confrontations in Marseille served to undermine the trust and legitimacy of the French police in the eyes of England fans, particularly in the police's capability and/or willingness to protect them from attacks by hostile out-groups. Yet the collective psychology of England fans in Lille was not just shaped by the broader social historical context of events in Marseille but also the proximal context of their subsequent intergroup interactions. Whilst the police were noticeably more inclined to intervene by making arrests in Lille compared to Marseille the policing 'style' was very similar. Accordingly, there was little to no attempt by the French police to positively interact or otherwise engage with England fans and a heavy reliance on distance weaponry such as tear gas and the use of pepper spray. What is clear from the analysis is that the specific group-level dynamics and the way in which England fans were policed was central to an understanding of why collective conflict escalated in Marseille and Lille, in a manner consistent with previous analyses of football crowd events (Stott and Reicher 1998a; Stott *et al.* 2001; Stott and Pearson 2007; Stott *et al.* 2011)

Yet equally, the policing style and group-level dynamics seemed to be equally central to an understanding of why collective conflict did not occur in Lens and St. Etienne (c.f., Stott *et al.* 2007, 2008). In contrast to Marseille and Lille, the policing approach adopted seems to have been broadly in line with the ESIM principles, particularly in St. Etienne where England fans were actively facilitated in their goal of identity celebration (e.g., no restrictions on alcohol sales, speakers playing 'England' songs). England fans in Lens and St. Etienne were met with a large but 'low profile' policing presence that was more graded in nature (e.g., keeping 'riot' police out of sight of the main square). Moreover, interactions in both cities were largely positive with no locals or Russian fans actively seeking to violently confront England fans.

Within this positive and non-hostile intergroup context England fans were able to do principally what they were doing in the Old Port of Marseille before being confronted: celebrate and express their identity as England fans - largely by singing, drinking and kicking footballs around. The analysis suggests that this corresponds with perceptions of police legitimacy with fans praising the police and other authorities for their approach. It also suggests that England fans perceived their intergroup relations as largely legitimate (i.e., with locals, Wales and Slovakian fans).

Thus similarly to Stott *et al.*'s (2001) study of France '98, the relations between England supporters and the police were a necessary but not sufficient level of analysis for explaining England fans' 'levels of compliance' with the law at Euro 2016. There were many important and interrelating social categories: fans (i.e., of England, Russia, Wales and Slovakia), locals, and the police. Correspondingly, the extent to which England fans 'complied with the law' in Marseille, Lille/Lens and St. Etienne was not merely or solely the product of interpersonal interaction with police officers. In concordance with previous chapters, the analysis therefore raises an important theoretical limitation of PJT when applied to crowd policing. With its exclusive focus on dyadic relationships between a 'citizen' and a police officer the theory appears unable to account for this complex and *intergroup* series of football crowd events.

In keeping with previous chapters, the analysis suggested that there was differentiation of perceptions of police (il)legitimacy between the CRS ('riot' police) and the Police Nationale in Marseille. In line with the ESIM principal of 'differentiation' (Reicher *et al.* 2004), two Police Nationale officers quickly intervened and a potential 'flashpoint' was avoided. This action served to enhance their relational standing amongst England fans in the immediate vicinity with some supporters even requesting photographs with them. Almost simultaneously 5 'riot' police officers were collectively booed and importantly this was related specifically to the illegitimacy of their tactics with sarcastic chants of "*tear gas away*".

There was also clear differentiation in the perceived illegitimacy of French 'riot' police in Lille compared to the legitimacy of British spotters who directly influenced their respective capacities to influence the behaviour of English supporters. In this episode the mere presence of French 'riot' police was illegitimate due to previous negative interactions, with some England fans throwing bottles at these officers. By comparison, in line with the ESIM principle of 'communication' (Reicher *et al.* 2004) British spotters were able to positively mix within the group of England supporters and ultimately persuade them to move thus avoiding (albeit temporarily) the use of tear gas by their French counterparts.

What both of these examples clearly show is that 'police legitimacy' is not so much a stable psychological property of the police per se (c.f., Tyler 2006), it is not a 'pre-given' or 'one-off' judgement (Stott *et al.* 2013; Harkin 2014, 2015). Rather, in line with the previous chapter in particular, judgements of police legitimacy can vary within and across police forces depending on the nature of their interactions with football fans (Stott *et al.* 2011). This idea problematises the tendency of PJT research to use whole police-public encounters as a 'unit' of analysis. In other words, questions put to participants tend to ask for holistic judgements about the 'fairness' or legitimacy of a single police-'public' interaction or else ask about how participants perceive interactions with the police in general (see Gau 2014). The perceived variability of police legitimacy reported here suggests that research should also focus on 'unpacking' the 'teachable moments' proposed by Tyler (2012, see page 44). It is not disputed that every police-'citizen' encounter matters in building or undermining perceptions of police legitimacy. Rather this analysis, in concordance with chapters 6 and 7, highlights the need to look at the complex and iterative processes *within* interactions (Stott *et al.* 2013). This can only be achieved by a study of the nature and context of police-'citizen' encounters in the vein of the analysis presented in this chapter.

Yet despite these insights it is necessary to acknowledge the limitations of this work, not least the fact that the analysis is based solely on secondary

data sources. Although the data from Marseille included extensive fieldnotes and first-hand interviews with England fans, the vast majority of material drawn on were media reports and videos posted online. Similarly to Stott *et al.*'s (2016b, p. 15) analysis of the August 2011 riots in Tottenham and Hackney, this means that there cannot be certainty that the timeline of "*...events always occurred in the sequential order we have assumed and there may be important incidents that were not recorded, posted or identified in any of the sources of informal and formal evidence we have drawn from*". This is particularly pertinent to events in Marseille where the scale, dynamic and co-occurring nature of events made it particularly difficult to provide a 'definitive' and time-stamped behavioural account. However, whilst the sequence of events presented here is by its very nature 'partial', direct video evidence and triangulation of data was often possible. Correspondingly, it is argued that a reasonably coherent and accurate picture of 'what went on' was achieved.

As intimated in the method section above, the reliance on secondary data sources means that there are issues relating to potential 'observer bias'. The purpose and motivation behind Dr. Geoff Pearson's work is largely consistent with those of this chapter, with his focus on the application of the ESIM of crowd behaviour in attempts to explore the intergroup interactions between England fans, the police and other relevant groups in Marseille. However, information captured within Geoff's field notes as well as the footage depicted in the videos collected were limited to: (a) what the observer deemed to be important at that time, and (b) the geographical location of the observer. This means that there may have been other important events, details, or incidents that simply were not recorded in the data sources I had available.

A further complication is that I had to rely solely on Geoff's interpretation of the events and incidents depicted within his audio field notes. I then had to interpret these audio field notes myself to develop my own analysis. This means that there is a danger that I have misconstrued or misinterpreted the perspective of Geoff and thus the original ideas and reasons for him

recording a given event or detail. Or alternatively my interpretation of the material may also be subject to 'observer bias'. In other words, my own ideas and perspectives will have no doubt affected the way in which I have interpreted the data, drawing me to certain details of the accounts and away from other aspects.

Another important constraint is that the analysis presented is entirely qualitative due to the difficulty of collecting additional longitudinal, quantifiable data within the confines of this work. It would have been informative to have complimentary data assessing England fans' perceptions of police fairness, legitimacy and so on via a questionnaire. It would then have been possible to measure how fans' perceptions of the police and policing changed across events and to explore how this corresponded to the phenomenological analysis presented in this chapter. Nevertheless, there were important time and practical constraints that made this implausible. Moreover, a primary goal was to explore the group-level interactions between England fans and the police in the relevant immediate and wider social contexts. Additionally, as chapter 3 argued, there is a dearth of qualitative work in the extant PJT literature. For these reasons it is argued that the focus on fan phenomenology is both justified and timely.

Yet with these limitations in mind, this chapter has suggested that the broader intergroup relations and the way in which England fans were policed were crucial to an understanding of why collective violence involving England supporters occurred in Marseille and Lille but did not in Lens and St. Etienne. In chapter 3 it was noted that PJT is "*...rooted in attempts to understand and explain riots and rebellion*" (Tyler and Blader 2003, p. 351). The analysis presented in this chapter suggests that if researchers are to take this goal seriously then there is a requirement to acknowledge and study the iterative and group-level processes involved in police-crowd encounters within the broader and more immediate social historical context. In so doing, the dialogic 'claim and response' nature of police legitimacy dynamics can be explored with a focus on highlighting and empowering democratic forms of public order policing.

Chapter 9:

Concluding remarks

This chapter begins by summarising the main 'take home' messages of the empirical portion of this thesis. The focus then turns to acknowledging some important limitations of this work, practical applications and future directions for research. The final part of this chapter explores in more detail the theoretical and empirical implications of the findings presented. A final word is then offered.

Summary of empirical chapters

Chapter 5: When is policing fair? Groups, identity and judgements of the procedural justice of coercive crowd policing

Chapter 5 used an innovative experimental design to explore five key limitations identified in Chapter 3 with regards to the application of PJT to crowd policing. The first related to the implicit assumption running through the PJT literature that there is "*a coherent unitary, public standard of what is acceptable and satisfactory in police conduct*" (Waddington *et al.* 2015, p.1). The second suggested that the police might have to do more than simply be a prototypical representative of a shared group membership such as an 'imagined' community (Anderson 2006). They may also have to demonstrate through their actions that they are 'doing it for us' or acting to promote 'the policed's' collective interests within the specific context in question. The third limitation related to the fact that previous PJT work has assumed that there is a shared group membership between the police and 'the policed' and that the police are de facto prototypical representatives of such a superordinate social category. The fourth is that PJT work has largely ignored the extent to which those being policed can identify with the police as a distinct social category, that is, levels of relational identification with the police per se. And finally, unlike much of the existing PJT research in policing, Chapter 5 looked at group-level interactions with the police rather than being primarily concerned with a dyadic relationship between police officer and an 'citizen'.

The analysis presented in Chapter 5 suggested the situationally contingent nature of what comprises procedural 'fairness', at least in the domain of

policing crowd events. The findings pointed to the idea that ostensibly 'unfair' policing might be more readily endorsed if 'the policed' are perceived as an out-group (c.f., Harkin 2015). In so doing, Chapter 5 demonstrated that social categorisation and the intergroup context of police – public interactions can have a profound effect on the way in which people understand and perceive police activity. This is in concordance with the ESIM work discussed in Chapter 2. Moreover, the results indicated that the prototypicality of police action (i.e., the extent to which the police were judged to be representative of an imagined community identity) shifted relative to changes in the intergroup context. Hence, the extent to which the police were perceived as prototypical representatives of 'the community' was contingent rather than a fixed property of the police (c.f., Sunshine and Tyler 2003b).

In addition, Chapter 5 suggested that an important dimension of the prototypicality of police behaviour was the extent to which the police were judged to be actively facilitating in-group norms and values (Reicher *et al.* 2004, 2007). Finally, Chapter 5 also demonstrated that people's judgements of relational identification with the police were the important psychological mediator between judgements of 'procedural justice' and cooperation (c.f., Stott and Drury 2000, Stott *et al.* 2008, Stott *et al.* 2011). This extends the PJT accounts based in the GEM and GVM since previous studies had relied on superordinate measures of social identity designed to assess 'community' or national or 'law-abiding citizen' identification. The analysis in Chapter 5 indicated that community identification did not mediate the relationship between perceptions of 'procedural fairness' and behavioural intentions to cooperate.

Chapter 6: Student perceptions of police use of force during a student protest

Chapter 6 sought to build on the methodological paradigm of Chapter 5 by inductively exploring the actual *content* of people's judgements about the use of force by police during a student demonstration. In this respect it represented an extension of both Chapter 5 but also the limited number of

existing social psychological studies that have explored 'public' perceptions of the police use of force (Bradford and Jackson 2016, Bradford *et al.* 2016, Gerber and Jackson 2016).

The students interviewed tended to stress a collective 'we' and 'us' in their descriptions of the student protestors in the video compared to 'them' police. Again this provides evidence for the ESIM notion that crowd events are typically experienced as intergroup encounters. Moreover, the thematic analysis presented in Chapter 6 suggested that what constituted 'fair' or legitimate policing varied according the specific categorisation of 'the policed' and therefore the precise nature of a given social (intergroup) context. For example, the police horse charge was described as inappropriate tactic for a student demonstration but a potentially legitimate tactic if 'the policed' were 'football hooligans' or 'rioters'. The analysis therefore suggested that what is perceived as 'reasonable' and legitimate or 'excessive' and illegitimate police force is inextricably linked to identity judgements and the wider intergroup context.

Furthermore, in line with Harkin (2014, 2015) Chapter 6 showed that perceptions of police legitimacy within complex crowd events are *dynamic* judgements that are subject to rapid change. A feature of the analysis was the transition from descriptions of the legitimacy of policing tactics before the police charge on horseback to descriptions of police illegitimacy subsequent to the police action. The analysis pointed to the idea that the legitimacy of police action is related to the extent to which police are viewed part of 'us' a common social category rather than 'them'.

In addition, the analysis presented in Chapter 6 also suggested that the police through their actions in specific contexts can psychologically marginalise or exclude *themselves* from a valued social identity (e.g., 'community'). In other words, the interviewees' descriptions were consistent with the idea that people who experience police maltreatment can react by placing the police *outside* groups of which they remain members, a reversal of the standard PJT account. This again questions the notion that the police

and 'the policed' automatically share a group membership and the idea that the police are de facto representatives of these social categories.

Finally, the interviewees' descriptions tended to stress a requirement for the police to understand and to not interfere with the group interests of the students, namely their right to peacefully protest. Thus in line with the argument presented in Chapter 5, these findings imply that it may not be enough for the police to be seen as 'fair' in order to be perceived as a legitimate authority in a crowd context. The police may also have to prove, through their actions in specific contexts, that they are 'identity advancing' or serving the collective interests of the group in question (c.f., Herbert 2006).

Chapter 7: Exploring the nature and boundaries of police authority in the context of British football crowds

In Chapter 7 the concept of 'bounded authority' was explored in relation to the policing of British football crowds. It was noted that recent survey research has highlighted the importance of the police acting in ways that are in line with 'citizen' views of what constitutes the appropriate police use and exercise of power (Huq *et al.* 2016; Trinkner *et al.* 2016; Trinkner and Tyler 2016; Tyler and Trinkner 2016). Yet it was argued that the existing literature has left important questions, relating to how an individual defines their boundaries or limits to police power, relatively unanswered. Undertaking a nationwide survey of 2,030 British football fans presented an opportunity to explore the boundaries of football policing according to fans and how these boundaries related to their perceptions of police activity and also to the fans' sense of identity.

The findings of Chapter 7 suggest that there is a pressing need to integrate GVM and GEM perspectives to allow for a more dynamic conceptualisation of categorisation and the relationship between identity and context (c.f., Stott and Drury 2000). Thus in line with a key insight derived from the ESIM, Chapter 7 suggests that identity and context are "*two…interdependent moments in a single historical process*" (Drury and Reicher 2009, p. 712). In choosing either the GVM *or* GEM as a theoretical model, existing PJT

research has not fully explored or captured this bi-directional and dynamic relationship between identity and context.

Chapter 7, in line with Chapter 6, also highlighted the variability in police legitimacy judgements; that police (il)legitimacy is not so much a holistic judgment of the police as a monolithic institution but that such perceptions are situationally contingent depending on the specific nature of the (intergroup) interactions between fans and police. In echoing Tyler's (2012) 'teachable moments', this suggests that every encounter that 'the policed' have with the police either builds or undermines perceptions of police legitimacy. Relatedly, Chapter 7 also warned of the danger of reifying the concept of 'bounded authority' and thus abstracting these judgements from the dynamic social contexts to which they pertain. The analysis demonstrated the situational variability of 'citizen' perceptions of police abuses of power and in so doing suggested that the 'general' statements used by Huq *et al.* (2016) are insensitive to these nuances. For example, Chapter 7 demonstrated that abuses of police power were often related to fans' experiences of policing when following their team 'away' (i.e., as an 'away fan'). Thus in order to understand the perspectives of fans it was necessary to recognise their situationally determined identity as an 'away fan' and how this identity was related to their experiences of policing.

Chapter 8: 'Hooliganism' at Euro 2016: the social psychology of the 'English Disease'

Chapter 8 represented an advance on previous chapters and also much of the existing PJT literature by exploring the explanatory power of PJT within the context of a series of 'real-life' and group-level interactions. In order to achieve this there was a focus on interactions between England football fans and the police during the three group stage games of Euro 2016 that England were involved in: against Russia in Marseille, Wales in Lens and Slovakia in St. Etienne. The analysis sought to advance the literature by exploring the 'dialogical' nature of police legitimacy dynamics (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012) and by providing an independent comparison of Stott *et al.*'s (2001) study of the policing of the France 1998 World Cup. By centering the

analysis on the *actual behaviour* of England fans and the immediate contexts of their interactions with police across three different crowd events, the aim was to explore the dynamics of 'behaviour change'. Why was it that disorder involving England fans and the French police occurred in Marseille and Lille but not Lens and St. Etienne?

Chapter 8 suggested that the policing approach implemented in Marseille and Lille was largely in contrast to international standards of 'best practice' outlined in the ESIM principles of conflict reduction (Reicher *et al.* 2004, 2007). Moreover, the behaviour of out-groups (e.g., the police, Russian fans and locals) was largely experienced by England fans as illegitimate in in-group terms. Correspondingly, like Stott *et al.*'s (2001) analysis, England fans began to redefine their identity by characterising violent actions of fellow England supporters as legitimate 'self-defence'.

By contrast, the analysis demonstrated that the policing style adopted in Lens and, most notably, St. Etienne, was in line with the ESIM principles of conflict reduction. Furthermore, the intergroup relations (e.g., with Welsh and Slovakian fans, police and locals) in these host cities were largely experienced by England fans as legitimate. Accordingly, in Lens and St. Etienne England fans did not become involved in violent confrontations and instead collectively celebrated their identity often by singing, dancing and drinking.

Therefore the analysis suggested that the presence or absence of collective conflict involving England fans depended critically on both a) the way in which England fans were policed and b) the nature of the intergroup interactions within each host city (c.f., Stott and Reicher 1998a; Stott *et al.* 2001, 2011). It was argued that the interpersonal focus of PJT means that an analysis of the wider intergroup context is precluded and thus limits the theory's ability to explain these series of group-level police-'public' encounters. Moreover, Chapter 8 demonstrated that there were important variations in perceptions of police legitimacy (e.g., between CRS 'riot' police and the Police Nationale). This is in concordance with the ESIM work

explored in Chapter 2 and illustrates the need for PJT researchers to explore the precise (intergroup) dynamics involved *within* police-'citizen' encounters.

Limitations of this research, practical applications and ideas for the future

Before drawing any broad conclusions from this work, there is a need to acknowledge the limits of the research presented in this thesis. Whilst limitations relating to each part of the empirical aspect of this work have been outlined in the respective chapters, there are also a number of general limitations that relate to the overall thesis and its scope. Firstly, in emphasising the intergroup nature of interactions between crowds and police there is a danger that this work has downplayed the fact that some encounters between police officers and citizens can be more readily characterised as interpersonal. As suggested in Chapter 2, Tajfel and Turner (1979) made clear that behaviour can be more or less interpersonal or intergroup; that there is a continuum between these two poles.

Secondly, whilst Chapter 8 explored 'real-life' encounters of police–England fan interactions, the thesis would have benefitted from a truly ethnographic study of police–'public' interactions (e.g., Stott and Drury 2000; Stott *et al.* 2007, 2011). Accordingly it would have been possible to analyse direct observational data of the precise nature of a series of interactions across a range of crowd contexts. Combining such observational data with in-depth interviews with a range of people involved in those encounters (e.g., police, 'citizen') 'in situ' would allow for a more nuanced and detailed interpretation including both how such interactions are experienced and what drove them.

Thirdly, there is the complete absence of police perspectives since this thesis has focussed entirely on 'audience legitimacy' (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012); the understandings of 'the policed' regarding police activity. Whilst this is of course an important component of the 'dialogical' claim and response nature of police legitimacy dynamics, a more comprehensive and interactive account would also include police perspectives. As Nix (2015) argues, it is all very well exploring how 'the policed' perceive and respond to

police action and what factors generate 'police legitimacy' in their eyes. However, if the police themselves are unaware or are mistaken as to how their actions are being interpreted by 'the policed' then what practical relevance does PJT work have? As Nix (2015) suggests the problem with focussing entirely on 'audience legitimacy' is that such an approach does not consider whether the "...*police correctly perceive the sources of their legitimacy in the eyes of the public*" (p. 2).

In this regard, within the PJT literature there has been an emerging shift in emphasis from studying 'audience legitimacy' to studying the 'self-legitimacy' of the police (e.g., Bradford and Quinton 2014; Jonathan-Zamir and Harpaz 2014; Nix 2015). 'Self-legitimacy' refers to police understandings of their own legitimacy and this literature has sought to answer important questions such as:

> *"When do police officers feel confident in their own authority? What factors influence their sense of their own legitimacy? What is the effect of such 'self-legitimacy' on the way they think about policing?"*
> (Bradford and Quinton 2014, p. 1023)

A fruitful extension of the PJT literature would be to combine a study of 'audience legitimacy' with a study of 'self-legitimacy' in order to fully explore the 'dialogics' of police legitimacy dynamics. This work seems especially suited to an ethnographic research framework. Correspondingly, this would contribute to expanding the PJT evidence base further by moving beyond the reliance on survey based cross-sectional analyses.

Moreover, future PJT work should also focus on exploring the relationship between police understandings of the communities they police and operational police practice. There are existing ESIM studies that have undertaken this important objective (e.g., Stott and Reicher 1998b; Hoggett 2009; Hoggett and Stott 2010; Stott *et al.* 2016a). For example, Stott and Reicher (1998b) interviewed 26 public order trained police officers regarding their understandings of crowds in general and the events of the 'poll tax' riots

in particular. They reported that the interviewees tended to characterise crowds in terms of a dichotomy: a minority of 'agitators' with violent intent and the mindless majority who are easily susceptible to their influence. Because of this police understanding of crowds the analysis suggested that in situations of conflict police officers view all crowd members as potential threats to 'public order'.

As Stott and Reicher (1998b) maintain, this has implications for the way in which crowds are policed. If the police perception of the crowd is rooted in the idea that all crowd members are dangerous and/or irrational then they are likely to treat them as if they are dangerous and irrational which may result in a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' escalating the likelihood of crowd 'disorder' (c.f., Stott and Drury 2000). This study again emphasises the importance of including police perspectives on police-'public' interactions. In order to fully understand such encounters it is not enough to simply ask 'the policed' about their interpretation of police action in the manner of the analyses presented in this thesis.

A fourth limitation of this thesis is that, in common with most of the extant PJT literature, this work did not involve testing interventions based on PJT. Current debates within the literature centre on the strength and veracity of the evidence base regarding PJT's causal pathways linking perceptions of procedurally fair policing to police legitimacy and compliance (Nagin and Telep 2017a, 2017b; Tyler 2017). For example, Nagin and Telep (2017a) argue that there is a dearth of research that is focussed on actually evaluating policing policies that are specifically designed to 'operationalise' the key tenets of PJT into police practice. In line with work on the ESIM explored in chapter 2 (e.g., Stott *et al.* 2007, 2008), this is an important next step for further research yet something that was out of the scope of the current work.

A final constraint of this thesis is that it has been primarily focused on exploring and developing theory and so there has been comparatively little attention on the practical relevance of this work for police practitioners 'on

the ground'. Having said that, there are a number of practical implications stemming from this work, particularly with respect to the policing of football matches but also regarding the management and policing of crowd events more generally. For example, this research suggests that police training designed to engender 'procedurally fair' practices may not uncomplicatedly or unquestionably lead to enhanced perceptions of police legitimacy in crowd contexts since what constitutes 'fair' police action will vary according to the group identities of those being policed.

Instead the police in crowd contexts need to acknowledge, and wherever possible to facilitate, the situationally derived group identities of 'the policed' to promote and advance perceptions of police legitimacy and a 'shared sense of us' between the police and those they are policing. This is in concordance with the ESIM principles of 'conflict reduction' (Reicher *et al.* 2004, 2007) but also with attempts to innovate and reform public order policing with the implementation of 'Police Liaison Teams' (PLTs). As Stott *et al.* (2016a) explain, 'public order policing' is usually undertaken in the United Kingdom through the use of 'Police Support Units' (PSUs) that comprise the drivers of 3 protected personnel carriers (i.e., 'riot vans'), 18 constables, 3 sergeants and an inspector. PSU officers "*...are trained to work together in a unified fashion and can be deployed to create cordons, provide marching escorts, contain or disperse crowds, if necessary through the use of force*" (p. 3).

By contrast to their PSU counterparts, the PLT's role is explicitly non-coercive and their primary focus is on establishing a dialogue between the police and 'those being policed' (e.g., protest groups, football fans), building and maintaining perceptions of police legitimacy among crowd members through solving any low-level problems that emerge and providing dynamic assessments of 'risk' to police commanders (Stott *et al.* 2016a; College of Policing 2017). As well as differing in their primary role and function, PLTs also wear light blue tabards to physically (and perhaps psychologically) differentiate them from their PSU counterparts who wear the more conventional yellow jackets (see Stott *et al*. 2016a).

Stott *et al.* (2016a) report a case study that explored the deployment of PLTs at a football match in the United Kingdom (Bradford City Vs. Oldham Athletic). They reported that the PLTs were crucial to preventing the use of coercive policing tactics. At Bradford 'away fans' arriving by train are usually guided to a 'designated' away pub called "The Queen" that is located next to the Bradford Interchange train station. This pub is some distance away from Bradford City's stadium Valley Parade. This arrangement presents a logistical challenge to West Yorkshire Police who fear that a large group of away fans walking the long distance from The Queens to the stadium may become a target for attacks from Bradford 'risk' fans wishing to engage in 'disorder'.

The conventional tactic for dealing with this issue is for the PSU officers to forcibly remove fans from the pub, form a large cordon around them and escort the fans directly to the turnstiles to the game. This clearly resonates with the findings of Chapter 7 with fans often describing the perceived illegitimacy of these coercive police tactics. However, since the PLTs were deployed within the pub and talking and mingling with the Oldham fans they were able to work with these fans to deliver a non-coercive solution to this problem. The Oldham supporters had initially expressed their reticence in taking a taxi to the ground, suggesting that the likely cost would be prohibitive. The PLTs subsequently liaised with the taxi drivers at a nearby taxi rank and negotiated a fixed price of £4 per taxi. As a result of this, the vast majority of Oldham fans willingly travelled to the ground via taxis and thus the planned police escort including police on horseback was averted.

Similarly to the findings of Stott *et al.* (2016a), this thesis points to the utility of using PLTs in crowd contexts. For example, a key finding of Chapter 7 was that the fans wanted the police to understand but also to participate in the 'banter' between supporters. The use of PLTs, with their focus on relationship building with those they are policing, means they are uniquely placed to achieve this and in the process promote perceptions of police legitimacy in the eyes of fans. Importantly, the perceived legitimacy of such action is tied to the police positioning their actions as in-group normative; as

being part of, rather than an obstruction to, the 'football carnival' (Pearson 2012). Therefore, as Pehrson *et al.* (2017, p. 5) argues,

> *"What does matter is that the authority, in this case the police, is seen as being of the group, being on the 'same side', rather than external to it or aligned with ulterior outgroup interests. It is this alignment in goals and priorities between the group and the authority that is theoretically crucial..."*

By being embedded within the groups they are policing PLTs are well positioned to understand the group identities of those being policed, their motivations and aims. In so doing they can aim to position their actions as 'identity advancing' by helping 'those being policed' achieve their group goals and in so doing building and enhancing perceptions of police legitimacy.

This thesis has also emphasised the need for the police to understand that their authority is bounded in the eyes of crowd members, that: "*individuals recognize limits on their power and expect police officers to behave in accordance with this bounded authority*" (Trinkner *et al.* 2016, p. 5). Practical crowd policing innovations such as PLTs may also help the police recognise these limits. By engaging in dialogue and communication with crowd members, PLTs will be able to gauge when the crowd participants feel the police are encroaching into situations where their presence is unwarranted or unnecessary. Thus as Stott *et al.* (2016a, p. 2) argue: "*PLTs do not simply play a role in policing crowds, they also are important in policing the police*".

This is in concordance with Vitale's (2017) recent criticism of police reforms based on PJT: that often the solution may not be 'fairer' policing but *less* policing. A practical example of this beyond crowd policing is the policy and practice of 'stop and search' (or 'stop and frisk'). Here the legitimacy of police action may not simply rest on the manner in which a police officer

treats a 'citizen' during a stop but also on the extent to which the citizen feels the officer has the right to stop them in the first place. In other words, as Trinkner *et al.* (2016, p. 6) put it "*...police officers may be exercising their power in perfectly legal ways, but within arenas that people may feel goes beyond the legitimate scope of their power*".

Developing the process model of procedural justice

Taking into account these important limitations, practical applications, and future directions for research, by focusing on the policing of crowds this thesis has advanced the social psychological understandings of PJT. This work has demonstrated that there has been an interdisciplinary conceptual relationship between the social identity approach and PJT since the emergence of the GVM and GEM (see Chapter 3). However, as suggested in Chapter 2, the early models of social identity from which PJT originally drew have advanced considerably since those early dialogues. In particular, a radically different 'process' based account of identity and group process has emerged through the development of self-categorisation theory (SCT: Turner *et al.* 1987; Turner *et al.* 1994). This 'process' based account conceptualises social identity as a collective self-representation, the form (boundaries) and content (norms) of which are intimately tied into and part of a dynamic and historical intergroup context. The critique raised in this thesis points to the utility of drawing once again upon a dialogue between social psychology and criminology to develop an 'elaborated' and context-orientated social psychology of procedural justice that seeks to integrate but also build on the insights of the GVM and GEM.

Specifically, the literature review chapters as well as the empirical aspects of this thesis emphatically refute the notion that interactions with police officers are solely understood as "*...interpersonal experiences*" (Meares *et al.* 2014, p. 114). As acknowledged in Chapter 2, the social identity approach emerged in part to challenge the tendency of researchers to reduce intergroup phenomena to interpersonal dyadic relations. By contrast to the 'interpersonal' PJT perspective, and in concordance with the ESIM literature,

this thesis has demonstrated that interactions with police officers within crowd events are typically experienced as *intergroup* encounters.

Moreover, this thesis suggests that the extent to which the police are perceived as 'fair' should not be seen as an intra-psychic judgement to be divorced from the wider social context in which such perceptions are formed. Accordingly, this thesis has demonstrated that perceptions of police 'fairness' within crowd events are:

> *"....affected by the perspective of individuals as group members...fairness depends critically on one's position within broader intergroup contexts."* (Haslam *et al.* 2010, p. 120)

Thus as Haslam *et al.* (2010) argue, whilst there may be a broad consensus about what constitutes 'fairness', the way in which these 'fairness rules' (e.g., Leventhal 1980) are applied will vary dependent on the nature of the situation and one's position within a set of social relations. Correspondingly, people do not make 'one off' judgements about the fairness of police action but are instead constantly evaluating the behaviour of the police against identity-based norms of 'justice'. What this thesis has demonstrated, as argued in Chapter 5, is the changing nature of people's application of 'justice' norms such that "*fairness...is for our own moral community, for "people like us." Outside this, the rules are likely to change— if they apply at all*" (Haslam *et al.* 2010, p. 120).

This work has also shown that perceptions of police legitimacy are not merely fixed or universal judgements but can be dynamic and can change both within and between interactions with police officers. Accordingly, judgements regarding the legitimacy of police action are emergent properties of interactions – interactions that involve a power dynamic where there is a constant *process* of negotiation and renegotiation between the police and 'policed' (Bottoms and Tankebe 2012). This evokes Tyler's (2012) notion of

the teachable moments; that every interaction with a police officer serves to build or undermine perceptions of police legitimacy.

However, as Chapter 8 emphasised, a truly process-orientated reading of PJT needs to try and unpack these 'teachable moments', to acknowledge and study police-'public' interactions *in situ*. In so doing, the dialogical 'claim and response' nature of police-'public' interactions can be explored and research can seek to capture the complexity and on-going nature of evaluations of police behaviour. There are processes *within* police-'public' interactions that need to be studied in order to understand the perspectives and actions of both the police and 'the policed'. By relying on generic 'post interaction' judgements, the survey studies that characterise the PJT literature are insensitive to the on-going yet historical nature of an individual's evaluations of their encounters with police officers.

In addition, this thesis has also demonstrated that there are limitations relating to how social identity has been researched and also how it is theoretically conceptualised within PJT. As currently configured, PJT suggests that police officers are the 'moral arbitrators' of a fairly static conceptualisation of 'the nation state' or 'the community'. Accordingly, police behaviour (e.g., fair or unfair decision-making and treatment) indicates the extent to which a 'citizen' is included or excluded as a member of these superordinate identities.

By contrast, this work has provided evidence that points to the utility of PJT researchers embracing a more complex, dynamic and relational understanding of social identity processes. Correspondingly, there needs to be a shift from researchers viewing and empirically exploring self-categories as relatively fixed cognitive mechanisms to a perspective that recognises and studies the dynamic interplay between self-categorisations and context. As currently configured, the models of identity assumed within the GVM and GEM convey a relatively limited account of identity change. This is because the GVM postulates the pathway of identity to context whilst the GEM articulates the pathway from context to identity. As there is support for both

accounts, this suggests that these models describe different aspects of a complex and dynamic identity-based process relating to the police exercise of power. Since researchers have chosen either the GVM or GEM as their theoretical starting point, existing work has necessarily only offered a partial account of social identity processes.

In this respect, the development of PJT reflects the development of the SIM of crowd behaviour into the ESIM of crowd behaviour. Presently the identity model offered by PJT resembles the SIM, in that it is focused on the exploration of relatively static social identities and how such identities (e.g., 'community') affect thoughts and behaviour. Yet as Chapter 2 demonstrated, the SIM was developed into the ESIM in order to more fully capture and study the dynamic and bi-directional interplay between identity and context and to explore identity change. It is contended that what is needed is a similarly elaborated model of PJT.

Such an 'elaborated' social psychology of PJT must acknowledge and study the context-dependent nature of the identity of 'the policed' and how people's identities change in form and content in the context of their interactions with police officers. Moreover, this thesis suggests that PJT must take into account the fact that the police *are* a distinct social group and that people in their interactions with police officers can and do (more or less) identify with the police in such relational terms (Herbert 2006; Stott *et al.* 2007, 2008).

Therefore shared group membership between 'the policed' and the police is not a pre-given but something that the police constantly have to affirm and reaffirm in the context of their interactions with 'the public'. Since shared group membership between 'the policed' and the police is not a given, this thesis has also provided evidence for the idea that the police cannot be viewed as uncomplicatedly symbolic of the idiosyncratic moral and normative values of a given group identity of 'the policed'. Instead the relative prototypicality of police action has been shown to largely emanate from the extent to which the police can position themselves as 'identity

advancing'. In other words, the degree to which police action facilitates, or at least does not obstruct, what 'we' ('the policed') want to do within a given crowd event.

According to this work, such facilitation of in-group norms and values by police is associated with emerging perceptions of police legitimacy. This alludes to the idea that researchers should be wary of conceptually separating perceptions of police legitimacy from identity, and from the dynamic social contexts within which such judgements pertain. In other words, perceptions of police legitimacy, as well as perceptions of procedural "...'fairness' and identification with the police are relative and inter-related judgements that emerge within and relate directly to a specific group level social relational context" (Radburn *et al.* 2016, p. 15).

Final remarks

This thesis aimed to explore the applicability and explanatory power of PJT in the context of the policing of crowd events. In so doing, it set out to explore the social psychological accounts that underpin the theory. This research has demonstrated that the current conceptualisation of social relations between the police and 'the public' offered by the social psychological models of procedural justice are limited in a number of important ways. It has been argued that these theoretical limitations are interrelated to empirical ones. By relying almost exclusively on cross-sectional survey data, PJT work has uncoupled the dynamic relationship between cognitions about policing and the (changing) contexts within which these judgements are formed. This work has shown that this trend is problematic. Within crowd events, 'public' perceptions of police 'fairness' and legitimacy are contextually specific judgements that are shaped by and shaping of the *dynamic* social relationships within which they are embedded. If we are to advance then it is important that PJT researchers once again enter into interdisciplinary dialogue with social psychology by drawing on the theoretical advances of the last few decades, particularly with respect to the development of a process-based model of social identity, established principally in attempts to understand the crowd.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

All questionnaire items used 7-point Likert-type response scales, ranging from 'strongly disagree' (1) to 'strongly agree' (7). Thus, higher numbers indicated greater endorsement (e.g., that the police were perceived as more fair, more legitimate, etc.).

Study 1: Manipulation checks

Participants' political affiliations

Where would you place yourself on a scale of political views from extremely left-wing to extremely right-wing?

Relational identification with the protestors in the video

I identified with the protestors in the video

I felt a sense of solidarity with the protestors in the video

I felt similar to the protestors in the video

Study 1: Dependent variables

Procedural justice

The police in the video treated the protestors with respect

The police in the video did not treat the protestors fairly (reverse coded)

The police in the video made their decisions on the basis of the facts of the situation, and not on their personal opinions

Police legitimacy

I would have supported the decisions of the police in the video even if I disagreed with them

I would have done what the police in the video told me to do even if I did not understand or agree with the reasons

I would have done what the police in the video told me to do even if I did not like how they had treated me

The police in the video are legitimate authorities and so I would have done what they told me to do

Relational identification with the police

I identified with the police in the video

I felt similar to the police in the video

I felt a sense of solidarity with the police in the video

Community identification

In general, I identify with my community

In general, I feel similar to people in my community

In general, I feel a sense of solidarity with people in my community

Police community identity prototypicality

The police in the video acted as model members of my community

Police community identity advancement

The police in the video acted as champions for my community

Intention to cooperate with the police

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would report a crime to the police

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would help the police to find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would report dangerous or suspicious activities to police

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would willingly assist the police if asked

Study 1: Baseline control variables

General orientation towards political protestors (α = .92)

In general, I identify with political protestors

In general, I feel similar to political protestors

In general, I feel a sense of solidarity with political protestors

Procedural justice (α = .96)

In general, the police treat people with respect

In general, the police treat people fairly

In general, the police make decisions based on facts and law, not on their personal opinions

Police legitimacy (α = .86)

In general, I would support the decisions of the police even when I disagree with them

In general, I should do what the police tell me even if I do not understand or agree with the reasons

In general, I should do what the police tell me to do even if I do not like how they treat me

In general, the police in my community are legitimate authorities and so I should do what they tell me to do

Relational identification with the police (α = .94)

In general, I identify with the police

In general, I feel similar to the police

In general, I feel a sense of solidarity with the police

Police community identity prototypicality

In general, the police are model members of my community

Police community identity advancement

In general, the police are champions for my community

Intention to cooperate with the police (α = .91)

In general, I would call the police to report a crime

In general, I would help the police to find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information

In general, I would report dangerous or suspicious activities to police

In general, I would willingly assist the police if asked

Study 2: Manipulation checks

Identification with Newcastle United Football Club

In general, I identify with Newcastle United fans

In general, I feel similar to Newcastle United fans

In general, I feel a sense of solidarity with Newcastle United fans

In general, I feel committed to Newcastle United

Study 2: Dependent variables

Procedural justice

The police in the video treated the protestors with respect

The police in the video did not treat the protestors fairly (reverse coded)

The police in the video made their decisions on the basis of the facts of the situation, and not on their personal opinions

The police in the video made decisions about how to handle problems in fair ways

Police legitimacy

I would have supported the decisions of the police in the video even if I disagreed with them

I would have done what the police in the video told me to do even if I did not understand or agree with the reasons

I would have done what the police in the video told me to do even if I did not like how they had treated me

The police in the video are legitimate authorities and so I would have done what they told me to do

Relational identification with the police

I identified with the police in the video

I felt similar to the police in the video

I felt a sense of solidarity with the police in the video

Community identification

In general, I identify with my community

In general, I feel similar to people in my community

In general, I feel a sense of solidarity with people in my community

Police community identity prototypicality

The police in the video acted as model members of my community

The police in the video embodied what my community stands for

The police in the video acted as representative members of my community

The police in the video exemplified what it means to be a member of my community

Police community identity advancement

The police in the video acted as champions for my community

The police in the video promoted the interests of members of my community

The police in the video stood up for my community

When the police in the video acted they had my community's interests at heart

Intention to cooperate with the police

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would report a crime to the police

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would help the police to find someone suspected of committing a crime by providing them with information

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would report dangerous or suspicious activities to police

If I was in the situation portrayed in the video I would willingly assist the police if asked

Appendix B.

Correlation Matrix for Study 1

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Procedural fairness (1)							
Police legitimacy (2)	.70						
Relational identification with the police (3)	.74	.62					
Community identification (4)	.09	.06	.02				
Police community identity prototypicality (5)	.68	.69	.81	.02			
Police community identity advancement (6)	.65	.68	.80	.02	.97		
Intention to cooperate with the police (7)	.59	.64	.64	-.12	.60	.59	

Note. All correlations over .09 are significant ($p < .01$).

Appendix C.

Correlation Matrix for Study 2

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Procedural fairness (1)							
Police legitimacy (2)	.38**						
Relational identification with the police (3)	.67**	.56**					
Community identification (4)	.12	.08	.10				
Police community identity prototypicality (5)	.70**	.54**	.80**	.17*			
Police community identity advancement (6)	.74**	.53**	.83**	.17	.93**		
Intention to cooperate with the police (7)	.45**	.61**	.61**	.16	.62**	.61**	

Note. ** = $p < .01$, * = $p < .05$.

Appendix D.

Interview Schedule

- Do you have any thoughts on the event? Do you know much about it?
- Do you have any thoughts on the tuition fee protest? Is it something you support?
- Do you have any initial thoughts on the video?
- What did you think of the police in the video?
- How did you relate to the police in the video?
- Do you think the police were representing you by acting in the way that they did?
- What do you think of the student protestors in the video?
- How did you relate to the students in the video?
- What are your thoughts on the students shouting "shame on you" to the police? If you were there do you think you would have joined in?
- What did you think about the people throwing the objects at the police?
- Did you think the police treated the protestors fairly?
- Did you think the policing in the video was appropriate?
- What do you make of the police tactic of using horses?
- Do you think the use of horses by police was justified from what you've seen?
- If you were in the situation portrayed in the video, how do you think you might have reacted to the police?
- Do you have any other thoughts on the video?

Appendix E.

At the time of writing, the video footage referred to in Chapter 8 is available at the following URLs:

[V1] Available at: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3633958/England-fans-truly-arrived-France-Bare-chested-supporters-hit-beers-Marseille-ahead-opening-game-Russia.html

[V2] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OUpIhFdo8cg&feature=youtu.be

[V3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tYotY58fhoI

[V4] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B4Q5PkTyNWk&feature=youtu.be

[V5] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=b2LIWprgB54&feature=youtu.be

[V6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R9Sl9fY_a7Q

[V7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ew7m1EKAXs

[V8] https://youtu.be/Na3rsw6qvTI

[V9] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dCdbZj5RBu0&t=61s

[V10] https://youtu.be/yC3RnPEfRbY

[V11] https://youtu.be/HRLvc8iIEVo

[V12] https://youtu.be/QKFM_WPsJLg

[V13] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoweQfFKNhE

[V14] http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/international/euro-2016-england-fans-were-provoked-after-police-required-tear-gas-to-halt-violent-

clashes-with-a7074096.html

[V15] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NUhWij84rOg

[V16] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nIqLBYZhpAg

[V17] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4R9vmId6_Ck

[V18] https://youtu.be/TcgTak4k5yY

[V19] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zvqXFlzTRzo

[V20] https://youtu.be/s_YMgfrC9Tg

[V21] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lj7JT97-REk

[V22] https://www.periscope.tv/w/1djGXwbMNXVKZ

[V23] https://youtu.be/px_4BjZIoa4

[V24] https://youtu.be/vw10lAtqKdA

[V25] https://youtu.be/DtTF_aW8OhU

[V26] https://youtu.be/y5PZ6b8lHik

[V27] https://youtu.be/i-GAzexvSLE

[V28] https://www.youtube.com/edit?o=U&video_id=OCTifc4efBw

[V29] https://youtu.be/HSAiniTkbTE

[V30] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9FGncJdF5Pw

[V31] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tweflaQdiEU

[V32] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SO1aKVQ9YgY

[V33] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RhW-jtvs_K4

[V34] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AEu8jD3YExY

[V35] https://youtu.be/tbYSluoQ0Ic

[V36] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JwI6wxvA_gs

[V37] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r5xnfJdVZKE

[V38] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qijbdl6CZ0M

[V39] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=08nBP5567MI

[V40] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qwe9FL9jwhQ