# Buzzwords, bureaucracy, and badges:
## *An ethnographic exploration of how versions of wellbeing are constructed through social ideology projects in a UK police organisation*

By

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**Abstract**

This thesis explores the role of social relations in the ways that people construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct meaning about wellbeing in a police organisation in England. This ethnographic study further examines how the concept of wellbeing is a social construction. The constructivist approach that was adopted seeks some understanding of what the individuals in the study perceive wellbeing to mean and how they make sense of the concept. Predictably, there are discernible differences between how wellbeing is interpreted amongst subgroups (e.g. front-line officers, senior managers, and the chief constable). By exploring these differences there is a potential to understand the relationships from which constructions of wellbeing emerge and the resultant implications to put into practice.

By adopting an ethnographic approach, rich material from an embedded researcher perspective has been collected in the form of fieldnotes, observations, and interviews over a nine-month period. In the context of increased attention being paid to the changing landscape of societal interpretations of wellbeing, different methods of exploration are required to advance the academic and practical understandings of the concept. Analysis indicates the relevance of a relational wellbeing framework and distinct constructions of wellbeing being mobilised, consumed and re-constructed in practice in the context of the study.

This study not only extends our knowledge of the lived experiences of wellbeing, but also provides insight to how wellbeing is mobilised in an organisational setting. By examining social norms, rules, and ideologies associated with wellbeing, organisational characteristics emerge which shape interpretations within a police organisation. The theoretical framework within which this ethnographic study is situated has permitted insights into constructions of wellbeing in organisational settings that have previously gone unaddressed. Acknowledging these findings allows for an advancement of both academic knowledge and policing practice with regards to wellbeing and provides an enhanced understanding of such in a bureaucratic, hierarchical organisational context.

**Dedication**

This thesis is dedicated to all officers on the thin blue line. Your dedication is appreciated more than words can express.

**Acknowledgements**

The foundation of this thesis is relationships, and it is my own relationships that made starting and completing it possible. Thus, I will begin by expressing my sincere gratitude to those who stood by me and offered support and encouragement throughout this long process.

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Sian Lewis, my absolute rock throughout these past three years. I cannot imagine going through this PhD without you going through it with me. You have shown me the best side of humanity and I am so proud to call you a friend. I will miss our café and writing (which usually turned into wine and writing) days but am so happy I have a friend for life in you. Thank you for always being the most caring, reliable, supportive, kind-hearted friend that anyone could ever ask for.

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Thinking about the most important relationship in my life, I find myself reflecting on the last three plus years. On 22 April 2015 while standing in the kitchen in our rural Alberta home, I got the call that I had been offered a PhD scholarship at Loughborough University. I remember the moment you walked in the door from work later on and with a nervous excitement I said "so, I was offered the PhD scholarship… In England" and without batting an eye and smile on your face, you said "I guess we are moving to England". Six months later, our home was sold, all of our belongings were packed, and we landed in England with five suitcases and our beloved Diesel. To my husband Dave, this journey would not have been possible without you. You supported me through all of the ups and downs (and there were a lot of downs) and offered nonstop encouragement, love, and benevolence. We started an incredible adventure together and I can't wait to see where it takes us next. Here's to our never-ending honeymoon!

Finally, to the best writing buddy anyone could ask for, my dear dog and best friend of 12 years, Diesel. Although for the last 2 months of writing this thesis, you weren't physically with me, you saw me through the best days and the worst days of this PhD with your perpetual happiness and excitement.

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**List of abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| ACC | **Assistant Chief Constable** |
| DCC | **Deputy Chief Constable** |
| HMICFRS | **Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire & Rescue Services** |
| IPCC | **Independent Police Complaints Commission** |
| PC | **Police Constable** |
| PCC | **Police and Crime Commissioner** |
| PWB | **Psychological Wellbeing** |
| RWB | **Relational Wellbeing** |
| SWB | **Subjective Wellbeing** |

**Prologue**

Prior to embarking on this PhD, I was employed by Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA). I joined CBSA as a student officer in 2007 and became a full-time officer in 2008. From 2007 to 2015 I worked at land, sea, and air ports in Alberta and British Columbia, Canada. Most recently, I worked at Canada's fourth largest international airport as an Immigration Officer and an Acting Superintendent. From 2010-2012 Whilst working for CBSA, I completed my Masters degree in Homeland Security Leadership in the USA. From this time on, I became interested in studying leadership within the organisation and specifically seeking solutions to identified 'issues'.

Without getting into too much detail, my final year with CBSA was a personal hell. Strife amongst senior management was especially noticeable, and the office was led by someone who specialised in what I consider manipulation and unprofessional behaviour. This person drove the morale of myself and my colleagues into the ground, and I have never felt so devalued in a job in my life. What kept me going was the continuing desire to understand this "leader's" behaviour and how someone like that made it up the ranks. More so, I worked with some of the most wonderful colleagues, and seeing them diminish their own personal worth weighed on me as I knew I had the capability to seek answers.

When a studentship advert that sought a PhD candidate to study leadership in UK police organisations was brought to my attention, I immediately jumped on the opportunity to advance my knowledge on the subject. After a successful interview process, quitting the career I had once loved, and a move to the UK, I began my research on the seemingly bottomless pool of leadership scholarship. I spent most of my first year completing a literature review on leadership and considering a number of approaches to understand the concept within a police organisation.

Throughout the year of researching leadership and UK police organisations, I determined I wanted to complete an ethnographic study, which would involve observing police leaders and officers in action. Primarily because of my history in law enforcement and previous academic

work, I understood the value of considering 'company culture', which ethnographic work should give me an insight to.

Although I had sent research proposals to two police organisations, I was fortunate to come into contact with a police leader at an academic conference who discussed my research with me. He was interested in having me complete my study within his organisation, as they had a desire to understand how leadership was having an influence on officer morale. This was, what I thought, aligned with my past experiences with CBSA. It seemed so logical: propose leadership interventions, increase morale. After several meetings with a number of leaders including the chief constable and completing a vetting process, I was granted access to the organisation as a participant observer.

Following more meetings and sorting out logistics, I began my fieldwork within the police organisation. At this stage, my focus was still on leadership. I spent some time in the Force Control Room (FCR), where 999 dispatch is done, casting a wide net on understanding the influence leadership had on officers, different leadership styles, and interactions between everyone in the operation. In retrospect, wellbeing had already begun to emerge as my focus at this time. However, it took my first day out in the field with response officers for it to jump out at me and overtake leadership as my main focus.

I can still remember the park we were walking through, the officers I was with, and the chill that I felt that January evening. I asked the officers I was with what they thought about leadership in the organisation as we walked back to the office. One of the officers stated, "I feel like a piece of crap on the bottom of their boots". This answer had a profound impact on me. It took me back to my final year with CBSA and how I had probably said the same thing a dozen times. I knew what it felt like to work as an officer under several layers of hierarchy and feeling worthless. This is how the officer constructed his idea of leadership; it was not about leadership style or leader-follower relations, it was about how they constructed the gap between how life is and how it ought to be.

On my drive home after that shift, it hit me. Trying to force my interpretations of how police officers constructed their reality into a leadership study would be, I felt, doing a disservice to

understanding the organisation and why officers felt the way they did. The issue was more complex than that. After completing my fieldnotes that night, I read it through, and then went back through my first month with the FCR. My primary theme began to make itself apparent at that time. Everything I had experienced with the organisation since the beginning was conducive to understanding this gap between how life is and how it ought to be. It went so far beyond just leadership, and with that, my focus was set.

I went back to my literature review and started to understand the number of angles that similarly focused studies had. This led to synthesising scholarship on 'happiness', 'wellbeing', 'virtuous behaviour' and the like. While many angles had been approached already, I had to put a label on what I was looking at. At this stage, and tracing back to Aristotelian works, I usefully understood the previously noted gap between how life is and how it ought to be as 'wellbeing'.

From this turn on, I approached wellbeing as a social construct. That is, there is no 'reality' or objective truth to each person's interpretation of wellbeing. Rather it is representative of multiple constructed realities and emerges from social relations. I felt that understanding this take on wellbeing in the organisation would go beyond previous studies that tried to find an objective truth and instead represent my interpretation of these multiple realities. In turn, we can begin to understand how officers get to the point of feeling like a piece of crap on leaderships' boot.

**Chapter One**

**1.0 Introduction**

**1.1 Introduction**

> You know…wellbeing, leadership, they're all just buzzwords for management. What do they actually mean? (Front-line officer, 2016)

What *does* wellbeing actually mean? Is it about eating healthy, exercising, quitting smoking, and getting eight hours of sleep a night? Or, is wellbeing an emergent concept in constant production, 'the outcome of accommodation and interaction that happens in and over time through the dynamic interplay of personal, societal and environmental structures and processes, interacting at a range of scales, in ways that are both reinforcing and in tension' (White, 2017, p. 133)? I affirm the latter. While this does not necessarily outline what wellbeing is and what it is not, it instead implies its complexity. As I will elucidate throughout this study, this complexity becomes visible in contexts, through social relations, and through social constructions in a specific organisational, or cultural, context.

The shift in my own thought process regarding wellbeing in an organisational setting helps to situate my approach. In October 2015 upon embarking on this PhD process, I found myself pondering the direction my research would go. Just one month prior, I had left my career with the Canadian federal government where I had spent eight years in law enforcement. Throughout my career, I constantly sought solutions to problems I perceived within the organisation and took on leadership roles as a way to improve the environment that my colleagues and I experienced on a day-to-day basis. When I reflect on the practices I engaged with to this end, everything I did in the context of the organisation was primarily influenced by the intersection of social relations, my own subjective interpretations, and organisational culture, even if I did not recognise it at the time. Returning to my PhD study, I was initially interested in studying leadership and the implications leadership practices had on the behaviours of police officers. With my practical experience in mind, I wanted to understand

my own past experiences and how my actions and the practices I engaged with throughout my career may have had organisational implications. I spent the majority of the first year researching and writing about how leadership and social relations were considerations in guiding behaviours of police officers. However, on my first day of fieldwork with police officers, this focus changed.

The ethical problem of wellbeing, or the gap between how life is and how it ought to be, was an emergent concept from day one of fieldwork. While I was initially taken off guard given my initial focus, I returned to reflecting on my former career and why it would be important to shift my own focus in order to understand the role wellbeing played in an organisational setting. In my career experience in law enforcement in Canada the term wellbeing rarely arose. The only programme I knew about was the Employee Assistance Programme (EAP) which provided peer support in times of crisis. There were no wellbeing programmes, interventions, conferences, or any practices that mentioned 'wellbeing', hence, the concept was not explicitly discussed in the workplace. Looking back, I therefore never considered wellbeing to be an 'issue' that needed a solution but the expressions of job dissatisfaction, cynicism, stress, and so on were collapsed into issues with 'leadership' or personal issues. However, I can now see that the very concepts we did discuss in the workplace (i.e. as a result of social relations) implicitly shaped our experiences of wellbeing. Not only did these concepts emerge from social relations, but they also influenced these social relations. The word wellbeing, or in this case the absence of it, constrained how a set of social relations and individual experiences, were rendered visible and organised. Thus, my focus on the relationship between wellbeing meanings and practices via social relations emerged.

When I embarked on my fieldwork for my PhD, I noted that wellbeing was seemingly a powerful and institutionalised concept in the police organisation. For example, there were wellbeing strategies, wellbeing boards, wellbeing jobs at the College of Policing, and other practices that both explicitly and implicitly addressed wellbeing in the workplace. With that, wellbeing became something that I had an intrinsic desire to find a 'solution' for and make the organisation better as a result. As this study will show, I propose it is not a 'solvable' issue. Rather, my interest in exploring how people experience wellbeing in a specific contextual setting (i.e. a police organisation/culture) led me to address the idea that social relations both

shape and are shaped by constructions of wellbeing. I do not consider wellbeing as something that there can be a 'solution' for, but the concept is enacted, multiple, indefinite, and continually evolving, leading to the presence of multiple wellbeings[1]. With a growing focus on wellbeing in organisations (Home Office, 2018; Pfeffer, 2010), and current economic (i.e. austerity) and political (i.e. New Public Management) complexities in the nation, the research approach I took is not only novel but also timely (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2002; Hesketh et al., 2015; Knies et al., 2018). By understanding the constructivist perspective on wellbeing, people (e.g. managers, front-line officers, staff) in organisations are given another resource to further understand the implications that certain practices may have and the reasons for certain actions and reactions.

The current study is about understanding how people in a police organisation construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing and addresses the idea that there are multiple versions of wellbeings in constant production. In turn, the implications these versions of wellbeing have for work experiences will be explored. Within the context of police culture, I will explore how wellbeing is produced through social relations. Specifically, I will consider how social relations, commensurate with a relational ontology, underpin both social norms and rules, and ideologies. Through these social norms and rules and ideologies, social ideology projects are created. Specific versions of wellbeing emerge from these, rooted in the social relations that underpin social norms and rules, ideologies, and the overarching social ideology projects. These versions of wellbeing will be explored in order to show how they both construct and are constructed by the underlying social relations.

In the study, social norms and rules are explained within an organisational culture context. These refer to the enacted and embodied shared meanings and symbols that are created by organisational members. Regarding the former, social norms can be defined as 'the language a society speaks…the common *practices* that hold human groups together' (Bicchieri, 2005, p. ix). Regarding the latter, rules are understood as the formal standards that apply to organisational members. For example, in policing, the hierarchical organisation consists of codified ranks and responsibilities that go along with each one: the formal ranks can be

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[1] Within this study I call all 'wellbeings' wellbeing, but acknowledge it is not a singular concept.

understood as rules, and how people react in practice to these can be understood as social norms. Both social norms and rules are important to include in the conceptual framework because they both construct and are constructed by social relations, a concept which underpins all elements of this study.

Accompanying social norms and rules in the conceptual framework, 'ideology' is mobilised as a concept of analytic utility and refers to a system of values and beliefs that are important in understanding, and normalizing, a specific set of social relations in the workplace (Geare, et al., 2006). In other words, the values and beliefs we have normalise and institutionalise certain social relations. For example, a neoliberal ideology is a system of values and beliefs linked to neoliberalism, comprised of a type of social relations[2]: If we believe in the neoliberal idea that our actions are mostly our responsibility rather than influenced by structures in society such as social class, we tend not to pursue social policies that tackle the structural reasons behind concepts including crime, unemployment, or poverty (Harvey, 2007). A 'patterned reaction to the patterned strains of a social role' (Geertz, 1973, p. 204), ideologies become recognisable in the present study through the interpretation of how these patterns are organised. While there is no consensus on the definition or usage of ideology in extant literature (Eagleton, 2014), this offers an analytic utility as the concept can be tailored to the organisational or cultural context.

Social norms and rules, as explained above, consist primarily of interpreted common *practices,* where ideologies consist primarily of interpreted *values and beliefs,* or ideas. In this study, I sought to understand how practices along with values and beliefs influence and are influenced by constructions of wellbeing within an organisational context, producing the need for a concept of analytic utility to explain both. This led to developing the idea of *social ideology projects,* which encapsulate both social norms and rules and ideologies.

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[2] I will refer to ideologies as a certain group of social relations that are linked together by a common approach (i.e. neoliberalism, managerialism, etc.). Hence the terms 'social relations' and 'social ideology projects' will both be used. I will not limit all influences of wellbeing constructions to *only* social ideology projects as I acknowledge different typologies of social relations may emerge or be interpreted at any time.

Figure 1.1 *Developing social ideology projects*

In turn, and as I will demonstrate throughout this study, these social ideology projects both reproduce and are reproduced by different constructions of wellbeing:
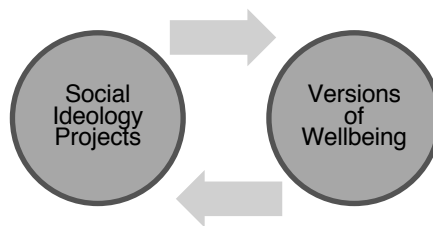


Figure 1.2 *Social ideology projects linking to constructions of wellbeing*

The framework that these multiple social ideology projects are presented in help to make sense of the way they link together in order to create perspectives and understanding of the social world and allow us to make sense of the puzzling or unexpected (Braham, 2013). This framework will be further elaborated upon in chapter three. Guided by underlying assumptions of ideologies, this can usefully explain how the social ideology projects discussed reproduce the conditions of their production (Althusser, 2008; Macris, 2002; Torres & Antikainen, 2002). This approach helps to make sense of how perspectives and understandings regarding wellbeing and social ideology projects are produced and reproduced. In an organisational setting, this has both implicit and explicit implications for everyday practices and will provide insight to the influence that institutionalised versions of both wellbeing and social relations have.

In this introductory chapter, the rationale for studying wellbeing in an organisational setting, and further, the rationale for studying social relations for understanding wellbeing will be presented. The context of the study will be explained, followed by the theoretical and practical implications of this study. Finally, I will provide an outline of the chapters within this thesis.

**1.2 Research objectives**

In this study, I set out to explore the role that social ideology projects have in the construction of multiple versions of wellbeing within a police organisation, and in turn the effect the constructions of these versions of wellbeing have on these social ideology projects. In order to ground the use of social relations as underlayers of social ideology projects in this exploration, I turned my attention to relational wellbeing (RWB) (White, 2010; 2015; 2017; White & Blackmore, 2016; White & Jha, 2018) which challenges individualist approaches to wellbeing and recognises the generative ability social relations have in constructing wellbeing. Thus, contributing to understanding the implications of relational wellbeing for how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed is my overall aim. Understanding social relations generated within the organisation is a generally neglected area for mainstream wellbeing and organisational wellbeing practice and research in general, and in wellbeing in policing in particular. Hence, I sought to attend to these theoretical and practical gaps by completing an ethnographic study focusing on the emergence, reification, and reproduction of certain social ideology projects as they related to wellbeing. It specifically sought to answer the following overarching research question:

> *How can a relational wellbeing approach contribute to understanding how wellbeing is constructed in a police organisation?*

This overarching research question is supported by three accompanying research objectives. As I adopted an iterative-inductive approach for the study, the research questions and conceptual framework that justifies them was built throughout the process of layering and interweaving an ongoing review of the literature and data gathering. This novel conceptual framework is built around the concepts of *organisational (i.e. police) culture, social relations,*

*social norms and rules,* and *ideologies.* My research process (i.e. literature review, data gathering, analysis, write-up) guided me towards particular literature and theorists that were then infused in an iterative-inductive manner. This process is further outlined in chapter four.

The key concepts of this conceptual framework are used throughout the empirical analysis chapters to draw out novel insights and advance our knowledge of different versions of wellbeing in police organisations. The research questions below that support the primary research question emerged throughout the analysis and write-up process and subsequently guided the organisation (and reorganisation) of this thesis. My interest in exploring how social relations influence constructions of wellbeing in a police organisation led to the formulation of four research objectives:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects.*

Police culture is a complex network of social relations in an organisational setting. By referring to the police organisation as culture (Smircich, 1983), I am able to offer insight to how social relations underpin all organisational practices. The social norms and rules and ideologies that form social ideology projects rely on patterned interpretations of the complexities of police culture. This objective is essential in satisfying the overall aim because it inherently places the concept of relational wellbeing in a context which is necessary to understanding the police organisation and permits the development of an analytical framework. This objective is considered throughout the entirety of the thesis.

2) *Explore how different versions of wellbeing emerge from an understanding of social ideology projects.*

As I stated above, the study took an iterative-inductive approach. The data collection process guided this research objective, as well as the following two. As I will explain in my methodology chapter, I saw an opportunity to bring together two research areas with a relational approach: wellbeing and police culture. This required the development of an analytic framework when working alongside front-line officers. By understanding the manifestation of different versions of wellbeing in a police organisation, the overall aim of

understanding the process of wellbeing construction can be explored in ways that have not yet been done in an organisational setting to my knowledge. This objective is addressed in chapter five, the first of three analysis chapters. It struck me during fieldwork with front-line officers that I could be missing wider issues within the organisation by only working with front-line officers, which led to my third research objective.

3) *Identify the similarities and differences between front line officers' and senior managers' versions of wellbeing.*

This objective was developed approximately halfway through my initial data gathering process. Throughout my fieldwork with front-line officers, they often indicated that their interpreted unfulfilled wellbeing emerged from senior managers' practices. In order to meet the overall aim which implicitly includes a range of organisational members, I found it important to explore senior managers' conceptualisations of wellbeing. During the analysis phase, I noted that the chief constable, who was initially included in this group, provided a unique viewpoint which I felt deserved of a separate objective and chapter. This led to the formation of a final research objective, which is the focus of chapter seven.

4) *Identify how the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing and the implications this has for organisational practice.*

To address the primary research question and accompanying objectives, I completed an ethnography which brought together extant literature and empirical evidence. By exploring new empirical evidence within an existing set of knowledge, I was able to answer to the aforementioned research question and objectives and offer a novel approach to understanding how people construct meanings about wellbeing in an organisational setting. This contributes to scholarship on both wellbeing and organisational culture. Importantly, I was also able to address what these constructions do, or their implications within the organisation. The novelty of this approach lends an alternative way to understand social relations in a police organisation which in turn can inform both practice and research around organisational culture and wellbeing as well as the underpinning social relations. Based on the assertion that organisations are a product of continuous human production (Hatch &

Cunliffe, 2006), the importance of understanding *how* social relations influence constructions of wellbeing and, in turn, how they are influenced seems almost common-sense. However, I explore the idea that social norms and rules along with ideologies are inextricably linked to social relations which have implications for how people react. In this case, how they construct multiple versions of wellbeing. This emphasises the importance of understanding the typology of social relations that create social ideology projects within the organisation that together create a version of a socially constructed reality.

## 1.3 Theoretical and methodological approach

In this thesis I adopt the position of social constructivism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) in order to explore how social ideology projects and versions of wellbeing emerge in a police organisation. Using a constructivist positioning allows for an exploration of the lived experiences of the people in the organisation. In order to interpret how versions of wellbeing are created, I will elucidate the process of how knowledge and truth are *created* through interactions with others as opposed to *discovered*. From the position of constructivism, I view this process as 'an act of sculpting, where the imagination of the artist interacts with the medium of phenomena to create a model of reality which we call knowledge' (Mir & Watson, 2000, p. 943). Ontologically relational and epistemologically constructivist, I argue that 'truth' is constructed by the mind that sees it and interpretations of sensory experiences are of importance to explore. In this vein, I view 'reality as a projection of human imagination' (Smircich & Morgan, 1980, 492) and subject to interpretation. This is not saying that there is a final, definite, singular, objective 'reality', but rather multiple, indefinite, open-ended realities created by human interpretations (Law, 2004). Therefore, the purpose of this study is not to find what the objective 'reality' of wellbeing is, but to understand how different conceptualisations intersect to construct meaning within the police organisation and produce multiple versions of wellbeing. This involves analysing a series of social ideology projects and exploring how they shaped and were shaped by different constructed types of wellbeing.

Methodologically, I adopted an ethnographic approach in order to meet the overall aim of this thesis as I determined it to be fit for purpose (Blackburn, 2005). An ethnographic approach 'draws on a family of methods, involving direct and sustained contact with human

agents, within the context of their daily lives (and cultures), watching what happens, listening to what is said, and asking questions' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 3). Drawing on this family of methods (i.e. participant observation, ethnographic interviews) allowed an in-depth look at the organisational culture (Smircich, 1983). This study is situated in a police organisation, and as I will explore further, I consider the organisation *as* culture (Smircich, 1983). Thus, the interpreted social relations and social ideology projects emerge within this boundary.

Ethnography has a long and well-established history in police research, and it is this foundation that this study builds upon (Banton, 1964; Holdaway, 1983; Loftus; 2010; Manning, 1982; Punch, 1979; Reiner; 1991; Rowe, 2006; Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1973; Westmarland, 2001; 2005a). An ethnographic methodology enabled me to comprehensively look at and experience the daily activities within the police organisation in this study, peoples' reasons for participation in organisational practices, and an understanding of social norms and rules (Schein, 2004). This was important because it allowed me to address a culturally specific context, grounded by the formal setting of the police organisation. The following section will address why studying wellbeing in an organisational setting is useful to develop theory and practice.

## 1.4 Why study wellbeing in organisations?

There is an abundance of literature that addresses the contemporary focus on wellbeing in policing (Houdmont et al., 2013; Knowles & Bull, 2003; Maran et al., 2018; Rani et al., 2018; Rothmann, 2008) and in other organisations (Mathieu et al., 2015; Tejeda, 2015; Winkler et al., 2015; Wright & Cropanzano, 2000). The importance of understanding wellbeing is stressed throughout this set of literature as something that can be an outcome (i.e. of leadership, HRM practices) or can contribute to a number of factors including job satisfaction (Tejeda, 2015), engagement (Shimazu et al., 2015), or performance (Cotton et al., 2015). Decades of investigation into wellbeing in the workplace have led us to believe that it is indeed an important aspect of organisational behaviour. However, there is still room to seek further understanding of what wellbeing can mean to people within organisations and the implication this has on these organisations to build on constructivist accounts including those by Ahmed (2010), Cederström and Spicer (2015), Davies (2015), and Hochschild (2012). Understanding

wellbeing in this manner offers a holistic view of social human life (Ramirez, 2017), recognising that our ability to construct the problem of wellbeing is complex and shaped by social norms and rules and ideologies in organisational settings and beyond.

What most wellbeing scholarship in organisational studies has in common is its general approach to wellbeing as either Subjective Wellbeing (SWB) or Psychological Wellbeing (PWB). Respectively these represent hedonic[3] and eudaimonic[4] approaches, established in early moral philosophy (e.g. Protagoras, Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, and Aristotle). These approaches reflect different philosophical positionings (i.e. positivist, critical realist) but ultimately view wellbeing as a measurable entity. Using statistical models and psychological approaches, they address the individual and psychological experience of wellbeing. What these studies generally do not address are the social processes involved in constructing meaning about wellbeing and its interplay with individual experiences (Harter et al., 2013; Myers, 2000; Panaccio & Vandenberghe 2009). Further neglected are the generative implications of social ideology projects on wellbeing and the implications of these constructions on those social ideology projects, along with the interests and agendas these serve.

This thesis acknowledges these important contributions (Harter et al., 2013; Myers, 2000; Panaccio & Vandenberghe 2009) and shifts the focus to how people construct wellbeing, with a consideration for subjective and psychological experiences along with material and social dimensions of life (Ramirez, 2017). Further, situated knowledge (i.e. culture and context) is drawn upon to uncover how people create and share meaning about experiences of wellbeing in an organisational setting. This approach is supported by White (2010; 2015; 2017; White & Blackmore, 2016; White & Jha, 2018) who introduced a relational wellbeing framework, informed by a sociological outlook. With this shift, we can begin to address what people mean when they speak about wellbeing, and the processes involved in this construction. Further, it allows for an exploration into what these constructions *do*, which includes reproducing and transforming different social ideology projects and attendant social relations. A guiding

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[3] Hedonic refers to the pursuit of pleasure (Seligman, 2011) being the highest aim of human life.
[4] Eudaimonic refers to actualising individual potentials or fulfilling one's 'daimon' (Deci & Ryan, 2006).

concept regarding wellbeing that will be the foundation of understating the concept in this study is that wellbeing is an ethical concept, and the problem of wellbeing is the interpreted gap between how life is and how it ought to be.

**1.5 Why study social relations in wellbeing?**

Social relations have been long considered to be an aspect of wellbeing and are a consistent factor in wellbeing studies (Dush & Amato, 2005; Kula, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ryff, 1989). However, the predominant position is that social relations are an important contributor to or outcome of a 'happy' or flourishing life (e.g. Ryan & Deci, 2001; Ramirez, 2017) and ultimately belong to individuals (White, 2017). The quality and quantity of social relations are often cited as determinants of wellbeing (e.g. Dush & Amato, 2005) and/or components of wellbeing (Ryff, 1989). For example, Dush and Amato (2005) found:

> That married individuals reported the highest level of subjective well-being, followed (in order) by individuals in cohabiting relationships, steady dating relation- ships, casual dating relationships, and individuals who dated infrequently or not at all. Individuals in happy relationships reported a higher level of subjective well-being than did individuals in unhappy relationships, irrespective of relationship status (p. 607).

While this is quite a literal example of social relations in wellbeing, studies such as these tend to raise questions for me regarding the context, questions asked, how wellbeing was measured, how 'happy' was measured, and what 'happy' and wellbeing even mean. Hence my quest to address further questions regarding how social relations shape how we construct wellbeing. My approach implicitly acknowledges the interrelationship between the material, relational and subjective dimensions of wellbeing in the creation of a relational wellbeing understanding within the organisation.

I do not deny there is an individualist interpretation of wellbeing (i.e. people think, feel, act differently), but contend that this interpretation is shaped and engendered through social relations. Hence, in this study, I adopt a relational ontology and argue that conceptualisations about wellbeing cannot exist in isolation, but understand wellbeing as arising from the shared

enterprise of people within a shared social context. It addresses the relationship between the individual and the collective. As White (2010) found, this approach and understanding considers people as moral agents, or people with critical relational and reflexive dimensions, rather than as objectifications. Working *with* as opposed to *on* people brings to attention how individuals understand their own wellbeing which can then be translated into practice.

Within this study, I seek to bring about an understanding of how people relate to each other and, in turn, construct meanings about wellbeing in a certain organisational context. Again, these constructions further shape the very social ideology projects through which they emerged from. By exploring social norms and rules along with ideologies within the police organisation, it is possible to organise patterns (Geertz, 1973) and see the role social relations play in wellbeing. My contention here, with White & Blackmore (2016), is that 'wellbeing does not 'belong' to individuals at all, but is produced through interaction with others and the context in which wellbeing is experienced' (p. xii). Therefore, in this study I analyse the interactions and context that shape how wellbeing is experienced. The overall contribution of this study is to connect two large research areas, wellbeing and organisational culture, to explore social relations through an ethnographic perspective and a constructivist stance. This allowed the incorporation of new claims to each set of literature. Importantly, the organisational culture in which this knowledge is situated should be introduced in order to provide context for the entirety of the study, hence the focus of the following section on police organisations. This focus further provides insight to how social norms and rules and ideologies were constructed throughout the historical development of police organisations. As stated by Berger and Luckmann (1966), 'it is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced' (p. 72). The history of police organisations, current context, and practicalities for the purpose of this study will now be addressed.

## 1.6 The context of the study

Police organisations in the UK have a rich history. Initially established in 1829 by Sir Robert Peel, the Metropolitan Police in London represented the world's first professional police organisation. Initially, Peel and two appointed commissioners implemented strict entry

guidelines as well as discipline policies (Reiner, 2010). This implementation of structure influenced the dynamic of the organisation and set certain standards that were carried on throughout further development of the Metropolitan Police, as well as police organisations that followed.  The leadership structure within the police continued to develop based on an acceptance of a higher power and division of certain classes of people. Leaders and followers emerged, and this continued to develop over time into the rank structure that is accepted in present time. Thus, a basis for Figure 1.1 below represents the hierarchical structure of all police organisations in England and Wales[5], with the exception of the Metropolitan Police. Of note, as of 2012, elected Police and Crime commissioners are tasked with overseeing the delivery of the police and crime plan within their jurisdiction and holding chief constables to account for other priorities (Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act, 2011).
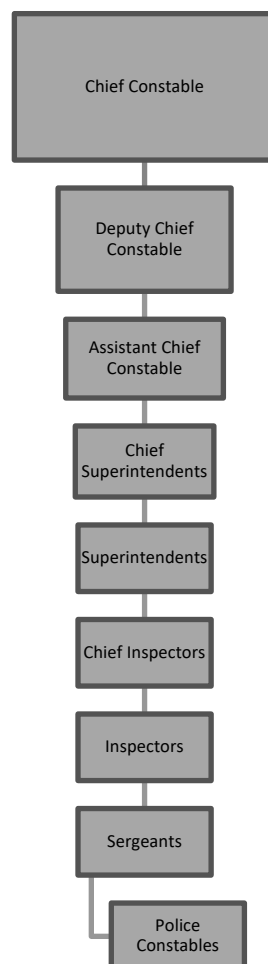


*Figure 1.3 Hierarchical structure of police organisations in England and Wales*

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[5] Of note, PCSOs and Special Constables are not included on this diagram.

As of March 2017, the police workforce across the 43 police organisations in England and Wales consisted of 198,684 employees, 62% of which are police officers (versus police staff, PCSOs, or designated officers). Importantly, the number of police officers has decreased by 14% since 2010 (Home Office, 2017), and the total number of employees including police staff has fallen 23% in the same time period (House of Commons, 2018). Staffing resource pressures along with other challenges related to austerity, evolving types of crime, migration challenges, Brexit, and changing governmental priorities make police organisations a prime candidate for furthering understanding on wellbeing (Dearden, 2018; Home Office, 2018), as well as seeking to understand the implications of social relations in the organisation.

The current study is situated within a police organisation in England that is responsible for a population of nearly one million people. The organisation covers a land area of approximately 1000 square miles and operates with 161 officers per 100,000 population, 74% of which are front-line officers, which is generally in line with national averages (House of Commons, 2018). Because of confidentiality agreements, more precise details of the organisation cannot be released, hence the general relevant insight to police organisations and police wellbeing issues for England and Wales within this section.

The participants in my study are grouped together by three levels of hierarchical organisation. As I was initially completing fieldwork with front-line officers, my time was split between inspectors, sergeants, and police constables (PCs). I was able to interact with them and complete my participant-observation with this group. Initially my study sought to only focus on front-line or operational teams, however I felt throughout fieldwork that it would be a disservice to understanding the organisation if I neglected the more senior managerial or strategic levels. Supported by Mohan (1993), studying 'subcultures' allows for 'a clearer understanding of the overall cultural patterning within a system (p. 48). The more senior levels were often cited by front-line officers as part of the 'problem' of wellbeing which led me to want to explore the complexities around this idea in addition to fieldwork. Thus, I began ethnographic (semi-structured) interviews with everyone from the chief constable down to chief inspectors, as they generally are strategic versus operational. When I conducted my analysis, I realised the social ideology projects that were evidenced in my interview with the

chief constable introduced a unique account of wellbeing compared to front-line officers and senior managers, and I determined this analysis worthy of its own chapter.
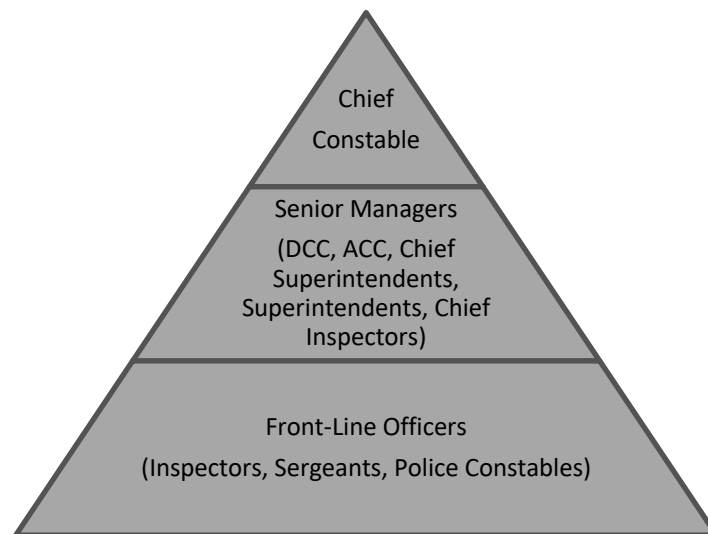


*Figure 1.4 Hierarchical groupings of participants in this study.*

*1.6.1 The case of police wellbeing*

Along with the above description of the organisational context of the study, how wellbeing is currently institutionalised in this context adds to understanding how wellbeing is understood in policing. I will demonstrate throughout analysis how this understanding influences how wellbeing is constructed, consumed, mobilised, and reconstructed in the organisation.

In July 2018, the Home Office released a report titled *A common goal for police wellbeing to be achieved by 2021* (See appendix D)*.* Enabled through a £7.5m Welfare and Wellbeing Project administered by the College of Policing, this report and goal is pertinent to mention as it highlights the centrality of the concept of wellbeing in contemporary policing, as well as the challenges facing practitioners. Within this report, the goal is stated as:

By 2021, policing will ensure that every member of the police service feels confident that their welfare and wellbeing is actively supported by their police force throughout their career, that a culture supporting this is embedded in every force, and that individuals have access to appropriate support when they need it. This includes

physical and mental health as well as the broader concept of wellbeing - which enables individuals to realise their potential, be resilient, and be able to make a productive contribution to the police workforce (p. 4).

Although this report acknowledges the centrality and importance of wellbeing within the organisation, the plan to meet the above objective highlights the focus on individualistic and objective measures. With the responsibility placed on the chief constable to 'deliver' this practice with oversight from the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC), many of the challenges I focus on throughout this thesis are evident. There are three main approaches to this end:

1) Achieving an organisational culture which focuses on prevention, early intervention and support for individuals.
2) Embedding clear, consistent, evidence-based standards throughout policing in welfare and wellbeing support provided to police and staff, including through occupational health and effective line management; and signposting to relevant police charities and other providers who deliver treatment and support when requested; and
3) Effective sharing of innovation and best practice (p. 4).

The overall outcome of this plan is for it to be *measured* (i.e. through Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services, or HMICFRS, assessments) and registered as a *success*. As I will address throughout this study, this approach conflicts with my philosophical positioning. As a constructivist, I believe in the presence of multiple realities and the idea that wellbeing is constantly being constructed and reconstructed, hence unable to be 'measured' at a single point in time. Further, there are certain implications for institutionalising wellbeing as above. While I will illustrate how formalised 'plans' such as this one influence perceptions of wellbeing, it is important to consider how wellbeing is constructed. In other words, when this plan is delivered in these terms, it has implications for social relations and in turn how people conceptualise wellbeing as a version of an idealised situation. By codifying how wellbeing 'should' be embedded, the way life ought to be is created, or rather the desires and opinions of what should happen (i.e. idealised situations).

Resultantly this is transmitted and ultimately creates wide-ranging expectations which may or may not be met.

In summary, I acknowledge that wellbeing is both constructed by social relations as well as constructive of social relations. Therefore, my mobilisation of social relations will address these processes. The justification for studying social relations in wellbeing and studying wellbeing in organisations have been explored in this chapter, along with the organisational demographics and current approach to wellbeing in police organisations in England. However, this study considers organisation *as* culture (Smircich, 1983) and therefore in order to situate this understanding in a certain context, I will now introduce the cultural setting that guides this thesis, followed by the value of this approach.

*1.6.2 Police Culture*

This study takes place within the context of police culture. Police culture emerged as a concept in historical qualitative research (Banton, 1964), which involved studying day-to-day police work. This 'uncovered a layer of informal occupational norms and values operating under the apparently rigid hierarchical structure of police organisations' (Chan, 1997, p. 43). Since this time, a number of studies have been written about police culture (e.g. Holdaway, 1988, Reiner, 2010; Rowe et al., 2016) and varying constructions of identifiable features. Alongside considering the value of these studies and how they aid in constructions of police culture, I will draw out my own understandings of police culture throughout this study.

In this study I address organisational culture as the context in which social relations emerge (or do not) and differ, as well as a concept that is at the core of all organisational practices and beliefs. I discuss how social relations underpin social ideology projects, which ultimately contribute to understanding how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed through a relational approach. Further, these understandings will be shown to influence the social ideology projects they emerged through. Understanding police culture has direct relevance to how relational wellbeing is conceptualised, as it aids in understanding accepted social norms and rules and ideologies within the organisation (Foster, 2003;

Westmarland, 2001). Hence, this study will contribute to both wellbeing and organisational (i.e. police) culture theory and practice. These contributions are discussed further below.

## 1.7 Value of the study

This thesis is intended to have both theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, because it is a novel approach to understanding wellbeing in organisations, it will contribute to knowledge in both wellbeing and organisational culture. Throughout this study, I challenge dominant approaches to wellbeing research and practice which, in turn, will help to understand the generative quality of social relations (White, 2017) and our ability to understand social relations in organisations. It will inform the existing model of relational wellbeing which will help to further develop it for future use. Because of the ethnographic approach I adopted, I was able to interpret cultural understandings. Therefore, I offer contributions to police culture scholarship in which this study raises new perspectives and questions.

Practically, by understanding the dynamics of social relations and the influence they have on the construction of wellbeing, we can begin to understand *why* individuals in police organisations understand wellbeing as they do. As I will demonstrate throughout this thesis, how people construct wellbeing has implications for organisational practices and experiences of work. I will further provide insight to understanding how police officers negotiate social relations within the organisation and how this has implications for how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed.

## 1.8 Chapter outline of the study

In chapter two, I undertake a critical review of literature on wellbeing and associated concepts in order to provide insight to current understandings and applications of wellbeing. I address historical and mainstream approaches to wellbeing and introduce the main theoretical approach that informs this thesis: relational wellbeing (White, 2010; 2015; 2017). I will also discuss wellbeing at work and more specifically how the concept has been applied in police studies.

In chapter three, I offer a discussion of the conceptual grounding of this thesis, especially with regard to understanding organisational culture. This is necessarily selective, but works to position the approach of the thesis with regard to other theoretical stances. Studies of organisational culture provide the basis for a conceptual framework for analysing how the social constructions of wellbeing emerge within the police organisation in this study through social relations. This chapter includes a brief exploration of organisational culture literature which includes ideologies, socialisation, and social norms and rules. Literature regarding police culture will also be addressed. Within this chapter, the conceptual framework that guides the study is presented.

In chapter four, I describe how the theoretical and philosophical origins of the study underpin a particular type of research methodology. I discuss the research design adopted to satisfy the aim of the study. This includes an explanation of how I gained and maintained access to the police organisation, how I collected and analysed my data, the turn to reflexivity and negotiating my positionality, and finally ethical considerations.

Chapter five is the first of three analysis chapters. In this chapter I explore how wellbeing is experienced by front-line officers in the police organisation. In this study, front-line officers include PCs, sergeants, and inspectors. This exploration is essential as it provides key elements regarding the overall aim of this study, which is to investigate how individuals in a police organisation construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing.

Chapter six addresses how wellbeing is experienced by senior managers. In this study, the grouping of 'senior managers' includes chief inspectors, superintendents, chief superintendents, the assistant chief constable, and deputy chief constable. This chapter builds on chapter five. I further attend to how wellbeing is talked about, interpret how the concept is shaped, and recognise how these individuals espouse and enact wellbeing practices.

Chapter seven is the final analysis chapter and is an exploration of how the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing.

Through all three analysis chapters, a framework emerges which is comprised of social ideology projects and accompanying versions of wellbeing. As I have stated in this chapter, I refer to social ideology projects as systems of social norms and rules and ideologies that are important in organising and understanding underlying social relations in the workplace. In this study, social ideology projects are understood as a system which both produce and are produced by the very conditions they exist in (Althusser, 2008) which both sustains and shapes organisational culture. In the context of this study, each emergent social ideology project contributes to an overall framework for understanding how people navigate social relations within the organisation. For example, managerialism is a social ideology project that consists of a set of social norms and rules and ideologies that emerge by interpreting certain patterns of social relations. Managerialism is considered as both a producer of a version of wellbeing and attendant social relations, but also as a social ideology project that is (re)produced by those very conditions.

In the final chapter, I summarise the study, discuss the empirical evidence, offer four key contributions, reflect on the methodology and limitations, and finally discuss practical implications. This study, then, extends knowledge of social relations in organisations, specifically as they relate to the constructions and complexities of wellbeing. In so doing it draws particular attention to the importance of understanding how people in an organisation construct wellbeing based on varying social ideology projects that emerge and how these ideologies are shaped by these constructions.

*1.8.1 Chapter layout justification*

At first glance it may appear that the relative weighting of each chapter seems skewed. However, it was with careful consideration that the presentation was established as it was. Initially, chapters five and six were the only two analysis chapters. Front-line officer observations comprised chapter five, and interviews with senior managers comprised chapter six. However, as I will explain in my methodology chapter, when I was writing chapter six, I noted that my interview with the chief constable diverted from interviews with other senior managers. At that point I established that the chief constable should be the focus of another

analysis chapter. As I will demonstrate, there was more than enough intriguing data to justify an entire chapter for just one person. The relative influence and position of the chief constable will be further elaborated upon in chapter seven.

Still, there should be justification provided for the many months of participant observation being the focus of only one chapter, while fewer hours spent interviewing senior managers and the chief constable also had respective dedicated chapters. As I will explain in my methodology as well as in chapter five, when I was completing my fieldwork, I had a desire to understand what it was front-line officers were referencing when it came to their perceived shortfalls specifically regarding wellbeing. In order to give them a voice, I deemed it suitable to seek answers via interviews with senior managers and the chief constable. The interviews with senior managers and the chief constable provided further insight to front-line officer expressions.

Thus, while it may seem that senior managers and the chief constable received relatively more focus than front-line officers, the views of front-line officers I amassed throughout fieldwork remained a focus of the entire study, and further were the foundation of the entire ethnography.

## 1.9 Chapter summary

At the beginning of the chapter I posed the question, what does wellbeing actually mean? As I have introduced in this chapter, there is no single answer to this. Rather, there are a number of versions of wellbeing that emerge in a certain context, through attendant social ideology projects. These social ideology projects are underpinned by social relations and serve certain interests and agendas, which will be explored throughout the study.

In this chapter, I have set the scene for the forthcoming chapters and have provided a guide to the content of this study. Drawing primarily on relational wellbeing in the context of organisational (i.e. police) culture, I explain the value of exploring relational wellbeing in a police organisational setting. There is a current focus on wellbeing in policing at a governmental level (Home Office, 2018) as well as the organisational level rendering this

study timely. The novel approach I take to understanding constructions of wellbeing in an organisation provides a new way to address the problem of wellbeing and the influence of attendant processes and interventions.

This exploration is guided by addressing social ideology projects that both produce and are produced by constructions of certain versions of wellbeing. In the following chapter, I examine the wellbeing scholarship in order to provide contextual background and situate the current study in ongoing discussion about wellbeing and, more specifically, the turn to relational wellbeing and sociological studies of wellbeing in organisational studies.

## Chapter Two

## 2.0 Exploring the wellbeing literature

*'The fact that it means different things to different people is often seen as problematic in defining and measuring wellbeing, but it is often neglected that, crucially for democracy, it also means something to everyone' (Scott, 2012, p. 9).*

### 2.1 Introduction

How do we know that we are happy? Can we ever find out? (Cederström & Spicer, 2015, p. 81).

The above quotation is similar to the question I posed in the previous chapter: what *does* wellbeing mean? There is a general consensus amongst wellbeing literature that the concept is vague, diverse, ambiguous and 'a complex, multi-faceted construct that has continued to elude researchers' attempts to define and measure' (Pollard & Lee, 2003, p. 60). While defining and measuring wellbeing has been a focus of a number of previous studies (see, for e.g. Diener, 1984; Fisher, 2014; Wright & Cropanzano, 2000), I instead consider the 'reality' of wellbeing to be 'a projection of human imagination' (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, 492) and subject to interpretation. This is not saying there is an objective 'reality' of wellbeing, but rather multiple realities of wellbeing created by human interpretations. I do not seek to find what the 'reality' of 'wellbeing' is, but seek to understand how different versions and constructions intersect to construct meaning, and shape attendant social ideology projects within the police organisation, ultimately addressing the value of relational wellbeing in an organisational setting.

The overall objective of this study is to explore how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed in a police organisation. When considering this, I am faced with a number of views regarding what wellbeing is. Again, the purpose of this thesis is not to address wellbeing with a nomothetic approach, or even narrowly define wellbeing. The purpose is, rather, to understand how people in an organisation construct their own

conceptualisation of wellbeing through a relational framework and the implications this has for social ideology projects. This idiographic and constructivist approach requires an understanding of what the individuals in this study perceive wellbeing to mean. Building on other constructivist accounts of wellbeing including Ahmed (2010), Cederström and Spicer (2015), Davies (2015), and Hochschild (2012), I will provide an exploration of the complex and dynamic nature of wellbeing in an organisational setting. In order to advance scholarly and practical understandings of wellbeing, different methods of exploration are required (e.g. Atkinson, 2013, White, 2010), and it is here this study provides a novel contribution.

In order to attend to the research aim, a critical review of literature on wellbeing and associated concepts will be undertaken. The review will provide insight to current understandings and applications of wellbeing to determine where this study fits and contributes new knowledge. This review will consider the role social relations have had in conceptualisations of wellbeing, and thus will identify the gap in current literature. In this chapter I address the implications of social relations in wellbeing practices, particularly in an organisational setting, and, in turn, contribute to understanding how looking at the evolution of wellbeing thinking informs an analysis of the multiplicity of wellbeings in the police organisation. Further, there are a number of versions and approaches to wellbeing, and through this review I will show the value in addressing the concept with a constructivist and relational approach.

To attend to these ideas, this chapter is structured as follows. First, I will address mainstream approaches to context-free wellbeing research (Warr, 1994). This begins with a subjective wellbeing (SWB) approach, followed by psychological wellbeing (PWB). In both of these sections, some key authors will be discussed along with critiques and limitations regarding their contribution to current understandings. Next, contemporary studies regarding context-specific (Warr, 1994) occupational wellbeing will be explored as they provide a background for the current study and provide insight to how social relations contribute to understanding wellbeing in organisations. Finally, literature regarding wellbeing in a policing context will be explored in order to provide contemporary approaches and understanding of the concept. The specific wellbeing challenges associated with police organisations such as the nature of a bureaucratic organisation or cultural considerations (e.g. machoism) will provide a context

for this study. Specifically, how social norms and rules and ideologies interact to co-construct wellbeing in police organisations was identified as a gap in extant literature.

## 2.2 How people experience wellbeing: exploring mainstream approaches

Wellbeing as a concept was introduced in the 1960s (Bradburn, 1969), under the rubric of the *Science of Happiness* (Ahmed, 2010). The concept emerged as a focus in public policy, with social and quality of life indicators forming the foundation for measuring wellbeing in terms of economic status (McCubbin et al., 2013; Sointu, 2005) or 'moral attitudes to social and environmental inequalities' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 141). A growing focus on social and psychological status of populations shifted research focus to emphasise wellbeing as a reflection of 'internal responses to stimuli—feelings, thoughts and behaviours' (Larson, 1993, p. 186).

Contemporary understandings of wellbeing in cultures generally focus on the existence of a quality that exists or is inherent within individuals.

> Wellbeing may be influenced by factors and processes from the individual to the global in scale and reach; it may be an objective characteristic or a subjective assessment; it may refer to a current state or a projection into the future, but the concept of well-being itself is individual in scale (Atkinson, 2013, p. 139).

These individual assessments tend to focus on the components that comprise wellbeing, whether they are subjective or objective (McGillivray and Clarke, 2006), hedonic (Seligman, 2011) or eudaemonic (Ryff, 1989) which results in an 'entity' based approach to wellbeing, or, in other words, objectifying 'it' as something that can be achieved (Atkinson, 2013). In turn, these concepts of wellbeing become institutionalized and powerful versions of what 'wellbeing' is. These versions of wellbeing act as touchstones for practitioners and academics interested in wellbeing and contribute to how we as a society construct wellbeing.

With the understanding that there is an existence of multiple versions of wellbeing, there have been two primary approaches to conceptualising it (Diener, 1984). SWB and PWB

emerged as orientations of wellbeing generally based on a positivist epistemology. The concepts trace back to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics,* which identifies the distinction between hedonism and eudaemonia, or respectively, pleasure and the "Good Life". With a grounding in moral philosophy, Aristotle linked happiness to virtuous behaviour which came to fruition in two different ways: through a life occupied by the search for pleasure (hedonism) or through actualising individual potentials, also referred to as fulfilling one's 'daimon' (eudaemonia) (Deci & Ryan, 2006). Within both orientations, the importance of social relations is considered, albeit in different ways. The conceptual application of social relations in SWB and PWB along with how SWB and PWB emerge from hedonic and eudaimonic understandings have had a significant influence on the understandings of wellbeing as well as related policies across organisations including the police. Therefore, in order to understand the foundation of contemporary wellbeing approaches, a brief description of both will be provided. Understanding these approaches also helps to conceptualise how and why wellbeing has become institutionalised as a concern in the police, and other organisations, and why it may be constructed in organisations in certain ways.

## *2.2.1 Subjective wellbeing*

Extant literature regarding SWB is primarily concerned with positive aspects of human experience. There is a focus on 'how and why people experience their lives in positive ways, including both cognitive judgments and affective reactions' (Diener, 2009, p. 11). SWB emerged from conceptualisations and ethical theories of hedonic happiness, which suggests that the pursuit of pleasure is the ultimate ambition in life. Tracing back to ancient philosophy, hedonism is 'the belief that one is getting the important things one wants, as well as certain pleasant affects that normally go along with this belief' (Kraut, 1979, p. 178). Three key Enlightenment philosophers in this school of thought, Bentham (1789/1988), Hobbes (1651/1987), and Locke (1689/1964) argued that pleasure is the ultimate motivator and central to the pursuit of happiness. Locke 'also described pleasure as a powerful motivator and noted that there was pleasure to be found in the exercise of virtue' (Kashdan et al., 2008, p. 220). With a utilitarian approach, Jeremy Bentham proposed a formula, described as his fundamental axiom, that 'it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the

measure of right and wrong' (Burns & Hart, 1977, p. 393) which should be a basic principle in morals and legislation. Hedonism provided the philosophical basis for later theories of SWB.

Notably, diverse terms including happiness, satisfaction, and morale are used interchangeably with wellbeing in a number of studies (Diener, 2009; Kashdan et al., 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2001), most often in those that consider the concept of SWB (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Tov & Diener, 2013). Diener (2006) defines SWB as 'an umbrella term for the different valuations people make regarding their lives, the events happening to them, their bodies and minds, and the circumstances in which they live' (p. 400). In this sense, the *relationship* individuals have with these factors is a consideration in SWB, resulting in an evaluative objective. Still, 'well-being is considered subjective because the idea is for people to evaluate for themselves, in a general way, the degree to which they experience a sense of wellness' (Deci & Ryan, 2008, p. 1). SWB conceptualises 'wellness' as experiencing high levels of positive affect and a low level of negative affect. SWB also considers the degree of satisfaction one has with their life, with the assumption that people can evaluate their own lives or experiences. This model of SWB also distinguishes between emotional or affective (i.e. feeling of joy) and cognitive (i.e. how people measure satisfaction with their lives) wellbeing (Tov & Diener, 2013, p. 3). In these terms, SWB is a 'broad category of phenomena that includes people's emotional responses, domain satisfactions, and global judgments of life satisfaction (Diener et al., 1999, p. 277). I will explore this broad category by seeking understanding of how people construct their own ideas of wellbeing through the relational analytical framework I propose. This involves drawing on approaches such as SWB as the concept has been institutionalised through the use of mediums including wellbeing surveys and strategies in the organisation, therefore implicitly shaping constructions.

In Wilson's (1967) review of SWB, two broad conclusions were proposed. First, that the 'happy person emerges as a young, healthy, well-educated, well-paid, extroverted, optimistic, worry-free, religious, married person with high self-esteem, high job morale, modest aspirations, of either sex and of a wide range of intelligence' (Wilson, 1967, p. 294). Second, he found that there was a dearth of theoretical progress since the time of Greek philosophers (Diener, 2009). Along with institutionalising wellbeing and providing insight to how and why people consider this social desirability through social comparison (Kahneman & Tverskey,

1981), this also provided a starting point for the scientific enquiry into SWB (Diener, 2009). However, the assertion that people consider social desirability through social comparison (e.g. comparing education, income, health) implicitly involves social relations because it involves explicit or implicit comparison between human agents and therefore is a consideration in this study.

While this approach has been widely challenged and developed upon since, the main tenet of the argument remains intact. That is, there are subjective bases for how people evaluate the 'quality' of their lives or life satisfaction. Notably, social relations are often discussed in SWB literature (Demir & Özdemir, 2009; Lucas & Dyrenforth, 2006; Myers, 2000), however they are approached as predictors, or determinants, of wellbeing. In turn, this understanding becomes institutionalised in organisations (and wider society) and acts as a measurable entity that undoubtedly influences what people think of when they hear the word wellbeing. For example, it may bring up ideas of how things ought to be, such as having a certain relationship status or income.

How SWB approaches measure life satisfaction and/or measures of affect is important to identify because of its utility in many contemporary studies and in practice, and its influence on constructions of wellbeing. Further, as White (2015) identified, there is an advantage in SWB approaches based on 'the relative absence of 'noise', since they seek to provide a metric simply for how happy or satisfied people are in their own terms, leaving aside the question of how they define that happiness or satisfaction' (p. 2). SWB approaches do overlap with the main tenet of this study which is interested in the multiple ways wellbeing is constructed. However, this study goes further than acknowledging and evaluating multiple individual experiences of wellbeing to consider the role of social relations in how individuals create those multiple meanings around wellbeing and the effects of these meanings within an organisational setting.

### 2.2.2 Psychological wellbeing

The second main approach in literature addressing wellbeing is PWB. PWB emerged from conceptualisations of eudaemonic happiness, or through actualising individual potentials,

also referred to as fulfilling one's 'daimon' (eudaimonia) (Deci & Ryan, 2006). Notably, Aristotle asserted that eudaemonia is the highest aim of human good and the provider of a realisation of one's potential (Ackrill, 1973). Albeit considering primarily objective conditions, eudaemonia was 'associated with living a life of contemplation and virtue, where virtue may be variously considered to be the best thing, the best within us, or excellence' (Waterman 2008, p. 235). This view has formed a foundation for contemporary objectivist theories of happiness 'because it is seen as reflecting objective social values rather than subjective psychological feelings' (Kashdan et al., 2008, p. 220).

This approach draws on concepts from Bradburn (1969), Ryff (1989), and Maslow (1943), among others, and primarily relies on sociodemographic and psychosocial correlates through psychological dimensions. Drawing on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, measures of PWB were developed by Ryff (1989) and includes six factors which contribute to a person's PWB: Self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth.  Building on Bradburn's (1969) focus on happiness as an outcome and the distinction between positive and negative affect, this approach seeks to operationalise the factors and create a wellbeing index (Ryff, 1989). Further to Ryff's conceptualisation, Panaccio and Vandenberghe (2009) conceptualise PWB as being 'characterized by the presence of positive affect, the absence of negative affect, and job satisfaction and life satisfaction' (p. 226). Similarly, Harter et al. (2013) correlated engagement with experience of positive affect, which leads to 'the efficient application of work, employee retention, creativity and ultimately business outcomes' (p. 1-2).

One important aspect of this approach is the consideration for 'positive relations with others' (Ryff, 1989, p. 1072). Because of this study's focus on social relations, it is important to understand how social relations have been mobilised in past PWB research. As a theoretical construct that points to an aspect of positive functioning, these relations with others are considered as follows when measured:

> *High scorer* Has warm, satisfying, trusting relationships with others; is concerned about the welfare of others; capable of strong empathy, affection, and intimacy; understands give and take of human relationships.

> *Low scorer:* Has few close, trusting relationships with others; finds it difficult to be warm, open, and concerned about others; is isolated and frustrated in interpersonal relationships; not willing to make compromises to sustain important ties with others (Ryff, 1989, p. 1072).

While it is difficult to argue that the 'high scorer' attributes have a positive connotation, they have also been critiqued because the choice of domains is bound to certain cultural understandings of wellbeing (Ramirez, 2017). Further, the 'quality' of social relations is inherently subjective, based on shared interactions and understandings between scholars and practitioners and has, in turn, shaped how people construct their own interpretation. This concept was again highlighted in Bartolini and Bilancini's (2010) study that considered the quality and quantity of social relations as a predictor of wellbeing as an argument against considering GDP growth in wellbeing. Ryff (1989) further outlined the attempts to define structures of wellbeing, which includes testing subjective wellbeing models using various scales and placing emphasis on the distinction between positive (e.g. enthusiasm, happiness, engagement) and negative affect (e.g. burnout, cynicism, stress). The conceptions are used as outcome variables in studies that attempt to identify wellbeing influencers which in turn neglects to consider various other aspects that contribute to our understanding of wellbeing.

Similar to SWB, PWB has fundamental epistemological differences to the approach I have adopted in this study as it is rooted in positivism and generally seeks to quantitatively 'measure' wellbeing. Thus, PWB is not the focus but should be acknowledged because it is one of the foundations for emergent theories and practice which will be further discussed, along with its application in existing organisational and police wellbeing studies (Padhy et al., 2015). PWB also features in the wellbeing strategy discussed in section 1.6.2, specifically in its focus on the process of enabling individuals to realise their potential. As Ryff (1989) stated, 'had Aristotle's view of eudaimonia as the highest of all good been translated as the realisation of one's true potential rather than happiness…research on wellbeing might well have taken a different direction' (p. 1070). This argument highlights the constructivist nature of the concept of wellbeing that I build upon. The focus PWB places on the *processes* involved in conceptualising wellbeing, along with the interest in social relations (albeit as an outcome

or component) will help to form the conceptual, or analytical, framework I develop for this study.

The studies and measures that have emerged from SWB and PWB approaches have seemingly become embedded and institutionalised which have in turn contributed to how society conceptualises wellbeing. While I will draw on certain aspects of SWB and PWB as I identified in the previous sections, I have also identified limitations of these approaches which I will aim to address. Notably, one of these limitations is the lack of focus on addressing situated variances in conceptualisations of wellbeing principles based on social relations in organisations. Embracing qualitative methods and considering cultural and social relations will move organisational, and specifically police, wellbeing studies beyond outcomes and evaluations and provide insight to the process of wellbeing constructions. I will demonstrate throughout the empirical analysis chapters the implications this has for practice. To provide a theoretical and conceptual foundation for this approach, the following section will explore White's (2010) relational wellbeing framework.

## 2.3 Relational wellbeing: The significance of considering a relational ontology

> Relation is reciprocity...Inscrutably involved, we live in the currents of universal reciprocity (Buber, 1937, p. 67).

Social relations were considered instrumental to wellbeing in both the SWB and PWB approaches, however as reviewed, they are generally components or outcomes of wellbeing. Rather than being understood as variables or aspects that are influencers or outcomes of wellbeing, relational wellbeing (RWB) considers social relations as co-constructors of wellbeing through processes including cultural values, identity formation and power struggles (Ramirez, 2017). The RWB framework was developed by White (2010; 2015; 2017)[6] and discusses wellbeing as a collective construction, based on a relational ontology. This

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[6] Of note, 'relational' has been used as terminology in past studies of wellbeing (e.g. Lehane et al., 2015; Roffey, 2012) but address it in terms of relationship quality as opposed to a framework in itself. Britton & Coulthard (2013) assessed a relational framework in terms of sustainability in a policy/development framework.

conceptualisation 'views wellbeing (and in some versions, subjects themselves) as emergent through the interplay of personal, societal, and environmental processes' (White, 2015, p. 5). Based on the idea that wellbeing is a socially and culturally constructed concept, there is a focus on the meaning of wellbeing and understanding contextual and individual constructions. The aim of understanding RWB is not to objectively compare or rank its components, but rather to understand the contextual meaning of wellbeing as a process. This construct draws on previous studies that investigate what wellbeing means to research participants (see for e.g., Jackson 2011; Jimenez, 2008; Mathews and Izquierdo, 2008; Thin 2012).

RWB was influenced by existing studies that explored collective wellbeing (Ereaut and Whiting 2008, Gergen, 2009) and has been applied in development studies (White, 2010) and public policy (Ramirez, 2017). Introducing the concept of assemblage theory (DeLanda, 2016) in wellbeing, Atkinson (2013), one of the influencers of White's (2010) framework, asserted that 'wellbeing is framed as an effect, dependent on the mobilisation of resources from everyday encounters with complex assemblages of people, things and places' (p. 137). By focusing on the hedonic and eudaemonic 'components' of wellbeing, the concept of wellbeing is reified into a desired outcome rather than a process which is at odds with the assemblage approach introduced by Atkinson (2013). Hence the move to a relational perspective which does consider wellbeing as a process. This relational and contextual approach challenges dominant approaches to wellbeing by recognising that depending on the approach taken wellbeing can be viewed as objective or subjective, collective or individually emergent, entity or process (Atkinson, 2013). By applying RWB in an organisational setting, social relations take on a different role in analyses and provide insights to how constructions of wellbeing emerge and are reified, and what impact they have.

To compare RWB to the previously identified concepts of PWB and SWB, White (2015, p. 2) provides the following:

|  | SWB/PWB | RWB |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Core Disciplines** | Psychology/Economics | Anthropology/Geography/Sociology |
| **Epistemology** | Positivist | Interpretivist |
| **Core Methodology** | Quantitative | Qualitative |
| **Orientation** | Universalist | Contextual |
| **Site of Wellbeing** | Individual | Relational |
| **WB Grounded In** | Science | Politics |
| **Core Interest** | Evaluative | Substantive |
| **Relationship of Objective to Subjective** | External (independent to dependent variable) | Mutually Imbricated/Co-Constituting |
| **Wellbeing Imagined As** | State | Process |

*Figure 2.1 Comparing SWB/PWB to RWB*

This comparison brings to attention the evolving nature of wellbeing understanding that has only recently emerged as a concern in wellbeing research. Addressing wellbeing as a social construction, this conceptualisation has been used to explain how social relations shape constructions of wellbeing, however, to the best of my knowledge, this research approach has yet to be pursued in an organisational setting. As part of the focus on the role of social relations, it also allows for a focus on organisational culture, social norms and rules, and ideologies, which provide a context for understanding the relational wellbeing analytical framework. These concepts will be explored further in the following chapter.

To provide a clear framework of how RWB is mobilised in this study, it is important to understand how study participants construct wellbeing, White's (2010) model that represents the dimensions of RWB is especially helpful.

subjective

material                    relational
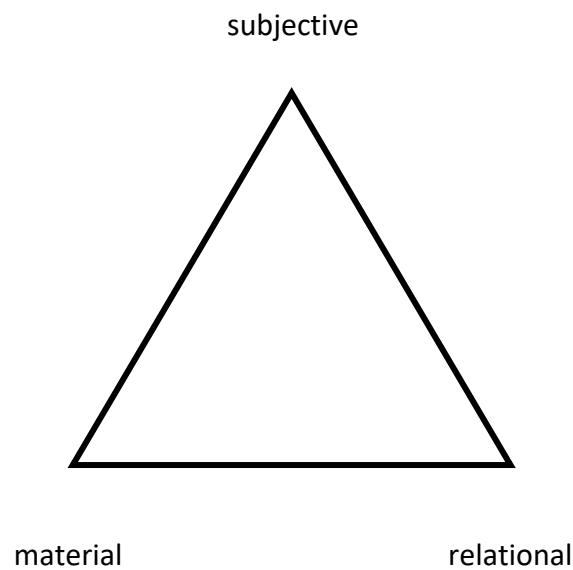
*Figure 2.2 Dimensions of relational wellbeing*

Together, the three elements suggest the mutual imbrication of peoples' experience in the construction of wellbeing (Gough & McGregor, 2007; White, 2015). Here, shared meanings and symbols emerge in a certain context, based on an interplay between relational and subjective interdependence. Because this has not yet been considered within an organisational setting, there is a certain amount of adaptation that is required to White's approach. For example, within the 'material' dimension, assets, welfare, and standards of living comprise the objects of analysis in development studies (White, 2010). In an organisational setting, I view the 'material' as both objective and subjective resources (and satisfaction with them), job characteristics (and assessment of them compared to others), and formal practices (i.e. employment activities) experienced which together contribute to organisational culture. These formal practices include objects of analysis such as wellbeing strategies, wellbeing surveys, and a wellbeing board. The relational (transmission of social norms and rules and ideologies) and subjective (interpretations of social norms and rules and ideologies) remain similar to White's (2010) assessment. Further, the current model does not provide clear analytical utility. Without exploring how to organise the emergent social relations, it is difficult to identify *how* conceptualisations of wellbeing emerge from them. I will address this gap in the current study with the development of an analytical framework that will be elaborated in chapter three. In summary, wellbeing is understood as an emergent

concept, co-constructed in collective terms (Christopher, 1999). In turn, this helps to explore how the very meaning of wellbeing can vary amongst individuals yet is neither randomly distributed or entirely related to individual factors (e.g. personality), but is inextricably tied to social relations, and attendant social ideology projects, social identities, and power relations, within a certain setting.

Organisational settings provide a certain context; there are organisational characteristics which contribute to socialised constructions of wellbeing such as organisational culture and job characteristics, for example. As previously stated, this framework of relational wellbeing has not yet been considered in an organisational setting to my knowledge, nor have any police studies utilised it, highlighting the novelty of this study. Notably, this study adds to RWB and offers a new analytical framework to understand the concept through. As stated by White (2015), 'scholars of relational wellbeing are leading the argument for more critical analysis of the activity of wellbeing research, viewing different disciplines and their epistemologies and methods as not simply reflecting, but also helping to constitute, the diverse accounts of wellbeing' (p. 3). Taking this into consideration, we can see how SWB and PWB have become institutionalised to promote certain approaches to wellbeing. Rather than being outcomes or determinants of wellbeing, addressing the co-construction of wellbeing through social ideology projects helps to highlight the power of social relations.

The idea that wellbeing should be considered a process is explored in the study, as opposed to being something that people 'have' or achieve, and further, is considered 'a process through which to successfully perform self and negotiate inter-subjectivity'. (Atkinson, 2013, p. 141). Negotiating between a personal 'reality' of wellbeing and subscribing to particular social norms and rules and ideologies at work influence how people interpret wellbeing in an organisation. In turn, this contributes to understanding both the construction, mobilisation, consumption, and reconstruction of organisational culture but also the construction, mobilisation, consumption, and reconstruction of wellbeing that varies across cultures (White, 2015). Upon exploration of the process of wellbeing in a police organisation, a new conceptual and analytical model will be produced. In order to understand how wellbeing is being constructed in UK police organisations and the outcomes it has for police employees, it is vital to understand how 'wellbeing' entered organisational life through academic research

(White, 2017). It is this research, rather than classical, or population-level, concepts of wellbeing, that may provide the most familiar set of discursive resources for practitioners working with wellbeing in organisations. The following section will address how wellbeing has been understood, researched, and applied in an organisational setting, and, in particular, it will explore how and why certain approaches to wellbeing have been both constructed and institutionalised.

## 2.4 Wellbeing in organisational settings

Prior to reviewing police wellbeing studies, a brief exploration of literature regarding general wellbeing at work, or organisational wellbeing, will be provided. It is often argued that wellbeing is fundamental in the study of work and to how organisations sustain themselves (Albrecht, 2012; Cartwright & Holmes, 2006). However, as noted above, there is a dearth of constructivist studies regarding wellbeing in an organisational setting[7]. Traditionally, the absence of negative affect has been a focus of 'ideal' wellbeing situations in organisational studies; 'the presence of the 'well' in organisational wellness (i.e. wellbeing) is made possible by the deferral/absence of its 'sick' counterpart, a trace on whose existence the well always depends' (Jack & Brewis, 2006, p. 65) which links to SWB approaches. Common outcomes of organisation-specific wellbeing are often categorised as pleasure-displeasure, enthusiasm-depression, anxiety-comfort, and fatigue-vigour (Warr, 1994) or variations thereof. Based on an 'ideal' condition, organisational wellbeing has traditionally been approached in a dyadic manner. That is, it focuses on positive or negative affect and the mutual exclusion of one or the other.  As I discussed in the previous section, while these may be valuable in their own right, contributing to diverse accounts of wellbeing and paying attention to how meanings regarding it are created should be a focus within contemporary wellbeing studies (White, 2015) which provides a justification for my approach in this study.

There have been several explanations of wellbeing as the concept relates to organisations, most of which began to emerge in the 1990s (Sointu, 2005). These studies explore the

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[7] Of note, Sointu (2005) addressed wellbeing with a constructivist approach *about* organisational life (as opposed to within), albeit through a wider social policy lens.

relationship between wellbeing and perceived organisational support (Panaccio and Vandenberghe, 2009), work engagement (Rich et al., 2010; Bakker et al., 2008) team resources and job engagement (Albrecht, 2012), participation (Nielsen & Randall, 2012), flourishing (Seligman, 2011), productivity (Sointu, 2005), and thriving (Cameron, 2010; Spreitzer et al., 2005). Additionally, there is a noted dominance of hedonic, or SWB, focus in organisational studies (Fisher, 2010, Nixon et al., 2011) with a focus on either positive or negative affective wellbeing. In other terms, measuring outputs of 'wellbeing' or 'happiness' and factors that influence them, one of which being the quality of interpersonal social relations (Day & Penney, 2017).

Other studies have considered eudaemonic, or PWB, aspects relating to how employees create meaning (Rosso et al., 2010, Sonenshein et al., 2013), and the processes the individuals or groups seek to reach 'fulfilment'. More recently, there has been an emergence of studies that focus on, or at least acknowledge, a combination of both SWB and PWB which consider positive or negative affect and the process of making meaning (Sonnentag, 2015). For example, Day and Penney (2017) developed a model to identify essential individual, group, leader, and organisational elements that contribute to a psychologically healthy workplace. The model they created considered aspects of SWB (e.g. positive affect, reduced burnout, increased satisfaction) as outcomes of a number of PWB based fulfilment seeking processes (e.g. positive relationships, how people interact with the world) at the individual, organisational, and societal level. Along with combining PWB and SWB empirically, this model also provides insight to how wellbeing can become institutionalised and interpreted within organisations, which has implications on how it is applied and practiced within organisations. By accepting studies such as this one as baseline 'measurements' or interventions for wellbeing, this adds to how people in organisations construct wellbeing by their explicit identification of how life ought to be (i.e. idealised situations).

Interestingly, through reviewing organisational wellbeing literature, there is a noted focus on concepts that reflect Bentham's classic utilitarian approach to wellbeing which links to SWB approaches. That is, Bentham (1789/1988) pronounced the good to be 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. In contemporary organisational literature, there appears to be a focus on measuring institutionalised understandings of wellbeing with the purpose of

attending to the wellbeing issues that appear to be dominant amongst organisational numbers, acquired through various mediums of measurement (e.g. staff surveys). This raises questions about whose interests or what agendas are being served. The difficulty in Bentham's classic approach and this contemporary application is the philosophical objection to the notion of comparing levels of utility amongst different people (Collard, 2006; White, 2016), or rather not attending to varying interpretations and subjective understandings of wellbeing. This supports the importance of considering the shift from conceptualising wellbeing as a resource to acknowledging underlying human agency and subjectivity with the RWB framework that takes into consideration the relational, subjective, and material aspects as considered in the previous section. This is further supported by Atkinson (2013) who states:

> Seen through this lens, the question presents itself, both in relation to wellbeing as happiness and wellbeing as resilience, as to whether these are in fact outcomes or are rather the processes through which our conduct is directed according to the requirements of the political or economic imperatives of others (p. 141).

By considering wellbeing (or multiple wellbeings as presented above), through this processional and relational approach, we can begin to understand how we construct and reify wellbeing in an organisational setting. Further, this provides insight to how certain political and economic ideologies can be served through exploring RWB in wellbeing research. As Atkinson (2013) suggested, wellbeing is constructed to serve certain political agendas and interests. These political agendas and interests are generally absent from SWB and PWB approaches and this oversight will be addressed in this study by exploring the agendas and interests that frame the RWB analysis model I create.

The above explanation (i.e. focus on outcomes) returns attention to hedonistic, or SWB, approaches in organisational analyses, where the prediction of specific *symptoms* of negative affective wellbeing (or the absence of positive affect) have been a primary focus. As Sonnentag (2015) found, burnout has received substantial attention as a configuration of symptoms. Schaufeli et al. (2008) argued that the concept of work engagement 'emerged from burnout research in an attempt to cover the entire spectrum running from employee unwell-being (burnout) to employee well-being' (p. 176). Further, in Sonnentag's (2015)

review of organisational literature, she summarised 'Maslach et al. (2001) described emotional exhaustion, cynicism, and reduced personal accomplishment as core burnout dimensions. Other burnout concepts have been proposed, including exhaustion and disengagement (Demerouti et al. 2001), and physical fatigue and cognitive weariness (Shirom & Melamed 2006)' (p. 264). Role requirements such as role conflict, role ambiguity and work-overload have been linked to adverse psychological outcomes in organisations such as anxiety, depressive symptoms, ill-health and negative work-family spill-over (Hakanen & Schaufeli, 2012). What this does not explain is how these conceptualisations emerge, or rather, the process through which this construction takes place. As I argue, these assessments emerge from a RWB model and require some consideration of subjective, relational, and material aspects. This approach can help explain questions not explicitly addressed but implicit in previous research.

Further addressing previous organisational studies, Sonnentag (2015) argued that the focus on moderator variables 'has not been very systematic and seems to be driven more by immediate research questions than by an overarching theoretical framework. In the future, researchers should develop a comprehensive model that integrates moderator effects into well-being dynamics' (p. 284). This assertion reflects my approach which involves developing a comprehensive model that integrates organisational culture with attendant social norms and rules and ideologies. The study will further explore the relationship between individual and collective level processes that contribute to conceptualisations of wellbeing. This is done inductively and links emergent themes in order to create a comprehensive analytical model that attends to varying wellbeing dynamics in the police organisation.

Organisational wellbeing, or wellbeing at work, is a large and growing field, however there is a significant gap in current research which I seek to narrow with this study. An approach that considers RWB with a situated organisational setting has not, to the best of my knowledge, been conducted at the time of writing this thesis. As argued by Atkinson (2013), 'a shift is demanded away from how to enhance the resources for wellbeing centred on individual acquisition and towards attending to the social, material and spatially situated social relations through which individual and collective wellbeing are effected' (p. 142). This supports the constructivist RWB approach and is used as a sensitising concept to uncover novel dimensions

of wellbeing in the organisation. While SWB and PWB are implicitly present in this study because of how they have been institutionalised in practice and scholarship, I turn focus to a substantive (versus evaluative) and mutually imbricated understanding of wellbeing (White, 2010). This involves paying specific attention to how social ideology projects work to construct understanding of group and individual level wellbeing, and the effects of those understandings upon social ideology projects. The goal of this study is not to find what constitutes a 'reality' of wellbeing, but rather it is to explore how wellbeing is being constructed and interpreted in an organisation and how those constructions influence work experiences. Specifically, this study explicitly explores the different ways people produce versions of wellbeing within a police organisation and the effects of doing so. Previous studies have looked at wellbeing in policing, albeit again from primarily SWB and PWB perspectives. The following section will outline the previous approaches to understanding wellbeing in policing and how these studies have helped construct approaches to wellbeing in policing.

## 2.5 Wellbeing in policing

Police, as an occupational group, are frequently researched (Greene, 2014). Police culture (Rowe et al, 2016; Westmarland, 2005a; Loftus, 2009; Reiner, 2010), police leadership (Densten, 2003; Silvestri, 2007), police ethics (Westmarland, 2005b), the function of police (Morgan, 1990), and police identity (Skolnick, 1966) have been frequent foci regarding the occupational group in research. Less frequent are studies that focus on wellbeing, or specifically the process involved in making meaning about wellbeing in policing. A review of existing literature finds that while quantitative measures of objective wellbeing have been discussed (see for e.g. Houdmont et al., 2012), there are no studies that look at how subjective, relational, and material dimensions (White, 2010) interact to co-construct wellbeing in police organisations. Rather, by addressing wellbeing as they do, these existing studies actually construct the notion of wellbeing that they seek to find, resulting in its institutionalisation. To explore this idea, I will present previous studies that have addressed wellbeing in policing and the implication this has had on practice.

Policing literature, similar to context-free and other context-specific studies, has primarily addressed wellbeing with either PWB or SWB approaches (Evans et al., 2013; Houdmont et

al., 2012; Padhy et al., 2015) with a psychological or economic focus. Generally, studies on police wellbeing draw on other organisational literature (e.g. Hesketh et al., 2016) to address wellbeing, but until this point these studies have been overwhelmingly positivistic. For example, Hesketh et al., (2016) 'sought to test the relationships between well-being, engagement, and discretionary effort' arguing that a focus on engagement results in police organisations experiencing 'a return on their investment' (p. 71). Reducing wellbeing to 'A Short Stress Evaluation Tool, which measures job perceptions, attitudes towards work, and general health' (Hesketh et al., 2016, p. 62), is epistemologically and ontologically at odds with this study for it does not consider the idea wellbeing can be addressed as a dynamic and fluid emergent concept, co-constructed in collective terms (Christopher, 1999). As I have discussed, understanding wellbeing through the relational approach I propose helps to explore how the very meaning of wellbeing can vary amongst individuals in a police organisation, yet is inextricably based in social relations within a certain setting.

However, what studies such as the aforementioned do is provide insight to how wellbeing has been constructed as a concept within police organisations. By addressing certain elements (e.g. engagement, discretionary effort) we can see what academics and practitioners have interpreted to be important factors to explore within police organisations and as a result what has been institutionalised. In turn, mediums such as workplace surveys and wellbeing boards are created to attend to these factors. To further support this idea, other studies have looked at certain elements such as emotion as social constructions that are enabled by discursive resources in police culture (Howard et al., 2000). In turn, the findings from such studies become touchpoints for how wider concepts of wellbeing are interpreted, based primarily on the linkages made within them to 'the good life'. They also link to notions that other scholars have addressed as wellbeing concerns based on how wider society has come to understand versions of wellbeing. A dominant element in these studies is the stress that comes with policing.

Policing is generally regarded as a stressful career (Richardsen et al., 2006) based on the physical, emotional, and psychological demands that can be encountered, combined with the shift work that is required of most officers (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1990) and organisational stressors that are perceived (Adams et al., 2015). Two main sources of stress are highlighted

in the police wellbeing literature: job characteristics (operational) and job context (organisational) (Duran et al., 2018). There are a number of studies that discuss police stress dating back to the 1970s, which is situated primarily in PWB and SWB approaches (Hurrell, 1995; Ward et al., 2018). Generally, four main categories of police stress factors have emerged from this literature: intra-personal stressors (i.e. police 'personality), occupational stressors, organisational stressors, and physical and psychological health (Abdollahi, 2001). Stress and how people subjectively experience it are elements that have been transposed into a number of wellbeing studies (Hart et al., 1995; Rothmann, 2008) and, in turn, have had implications on police practices. For example, the introduction of the *Operational Police Stress Questionnaire* and *Organizational Police Stress Questionnaire* (McCreary & Thompson, 2006) and the *Police Stress Inventory* (Lawrence, 1984) quantify the human element of how people interpret reactions to stress. As a result, the measurements influence how we construct what wellbeing means, for when the terms are conflated in research and practice they become shared meanings and are considerations in future studies. This is empirically evidenced by the introduction of the report titled *A common goal for police wellbeing to be achieved by 2021* discussed in chapter one (p. 9). In addition to influencing social norms and rules, these reports and tools enact certain interests and agendas. By exploring the implications of these reports and tools in practice, as this study will do, we are able to understand *who* or *what* this serves. What I consider are the political interests and agendas served by different versions of wellbeing and how these interests and agendas emerge from the RWB framework.

Wellbeing is also often narrowly operationalised and connected with a number of other elements: job satisfaction (Griffin et al., 1978; Rothmann, 2008), Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (Austin-Ketch et al., 2012; Evans et al., 2013; Violanti & Paton, 2006), psychological contract (Duran et al., 2018) or again focused on the effects of stress in policing (Brown & Campbell, 1994; Alexander & Walker, 1994) and reviewed in a psychological or health context. With these approaches, the focus of police wellbeing has generally been on measures that are addressed as outcomes of job function, operational stress, or organisational stress such as PTSD. For example, Manzoni & Eisner (2006) found that police working in particularly stressful conditions not only tend to be more cynical, dissatisfied, or exhausted, but they are also more likely to suffer from high blood pressure, increased

smoking and drinking habits, and marital problems. Houdmont and Randall (2016) further found that an organisational stressor, specifically working long hours, led to 'high burnout in police officers… [which has] been linked to physical aggression, anger and aggressivity; positive attitude toward and use of force; and in-role performance decrements' (p. 717). The value of these studies for case-specific application is not contested, however as a result of this study my aim is to widen the understanding of how these conceptualisations have emerged and what social relations they are based on. This has practical implications for a number of practices within the organisation which will be discussed in chapter eight.

Building upon the above ideas, Ward et al. (2018) measured mental toughness and perceived stress in police officers, finding a 'significant' correlation between the two, relying on self-report measures regarding years of service. In contrast, White et al. (1985) found a negative correlation between years of service and perceived stress, and Burke and Mikkelsen (2006) who found that police officers earlier in their career had lower levels of both emotional exhaustion and depression than those later in their career in their study. Burke (1989) also studied career progression of police officers in an attempt to attribute work experiences to career stages. Seeking correlations between career stage, work experiences, and job satisfaction, Burke (1989) attributed intermediate work stage (i.e. 11-15 years in versus less or more) to lower job satisfaction. Hypothesising that objective factors were to blame, including low attrition, salary, and shrinking workforces, this study and others similar to it (Driver, 1985) are based primarily on SWB and PWB approaches and objectified outcomes.

Notably, there is little consistency amongst these studies, likely because they all considered different variables. This again demonstrates the ambiguity that surrounds concept of wellbeing. The above examples were all based on SWB and PWB factors. While these may be valuable in their own right, they provide little insight to how the meanings around these interpretations were constructed which can have practical implications by imposing a moral imperative (Cederström and Spicer, 2015) or creating idealised situations for people in the organisation. For example, if a survey is circulated and resultantly identifies a low job satisfaction, it can create a moral imperative for senior managers to address this to serve certain interests and agendas of the organisation, such as HMICFRS inspections. It may also emphasise by virtue of posing the question the way things ought to be for people. What this

does not draw out is the variance in how and why respondents answered the way they did which highlights the importance of understanding how their idea of wellbeing was constructed, and perhaps how it was influenced by the questions posed.

Whether it is labelled as police stress, job satisfaction, burnout, or more broadly wellbeing, several elements of police function and police culture have also been addressed in literature relevant to this study. Cynicism, attitude, personality, and commitment have been correlated with these concepts (Lester et al., 1982; Richardsen et al., 2006). Again, returning to the aforementioned *symptomatic* approach as identified in section 2.3, 'research in work and organizational psychology has traditionally focused on dissatisfaction and distress as reflected in the field's interest in job dissatisfaction, alienation, burnout, absenteeism, intent to quit, depression, and psychosomatic symptoms' (Richardsen et al., 2006, p. 556). While positive affective wellbeing is focused on for seeking 'ideal conditions', negative affective wellbeing is focused on as a common outcome within wellbeing studies (i.e. burnout, depression, cynicism). These are important concepts to explore, however understanding how these conceptualisations are constructed and what implications they have on, and for, social ideology projects are the foci in this study.

One factor to consider in exploring these conceptualisations of wellbeing is the challenges researchers have had in co-constructing the wellbeing conceptualisations of officers. It has been found in previous research that 'police officers are known to be resistant to help-seeking in the event of experiencing mental-ill health' (Bullock & Garland, 2018, p. 2). The resistance to disclose wellbeing issues may be for a number of reasons (e.g. machoism, stigma, lacking trust in the organisation). Emotional disclosure and 'unspeakability' have also been addressed in order to understand police officers' constructions of emotion and the influence of cultural and social norms (Howard et al., 2000). Based on the flexible deployment of culturally availably discourses police officers were found to construct their emotions according to moral demands of the organisation and intrapersonal realities (Howard et al., 2000, p. 311). Interestingly, while not technically focused on wellbeing, this study also views the element of emotion as an emergent consideration that is contextually contingent and a means of expression. This does not mean that wellbeing can be collapsed into emotion, culture, mental health, or any other concept, however understanding the construct contributes to how the

subjects in the study attach meaning to the practices, institutions, and objects that concern it and how certain interests and agendas are pursued in these framings.

How people relate to their work context and other individuals is also addressed in this set of literature. These ideas consider how social relations have been used in police wellbeing studies, albeit as components or outcomes. For example, 'police practice can be understood through a lens of wellbeing and occupational justice through the existence of positive working relations including closeness, similarity and familiarity amongst colleagues, feelings of altruism and making a contribution to society' (Birch et al., 2017, p. 34). Along with this, leader-follower engagement (Abdollahi, 2002; Hesketh et al., 2016; Nielsen & Randall, 2012) has been explored as avenues to explain how aspects of stress in policing may be mitigated, or in these terms 'improving' wellbeing. This study does not disregard these attempts, but rather seeks to address complex meanings uncovered by exploring relational aspects in wellbeing and considers issues beyond the objective measures previously focused upon.

There is a growing focus on the ethical concept of wellbeing in police organisations along with the changing landscape of the occupation as identified in chapter one. Reflecting on the current context of police wellbeing literature within this section highlights a significant gap. There have been attempts to define wellbeing, find objective measures that promote particular interventions, and link PWB and SWB to measurable outcomes. These studies focus overwhelmingly on *individual* conceptualisations as opposed to considering a relational aspect. In contrast, this study seeks to explore shared meanings and symbols regarding wellbeing in a police organisation and draw out the value in exploring the relationship *between* the individual and the collective. This approach will demonstrate the implications this has for how wellbeing is constructed and practiced and the implications this has for social ideology projects.  This is important for understanding how and why wellbeing constructions serve certain agendas and interests, which will be explored in the following chapter as well as the analysis chapters. To reiterate, the purpose of this study is not to find a 'solution' to wellbeing, define wellbeing, or propose practices that could be introduced, but to understand where these conceptualisations come from and what they do within the organisation to provide a new direction in organisational wellbeing.

## 2.6 Chapter summary

In this review the importance of previous wellbeing research has been positioned as influential for the present study. Through exploring both context-free and context-specific approaches, it was apparent that SWB and PWB have been dominant in previous studies. These approaches ultimately presume that people experience wellbeing through the qualities that exist or are inherent within individuals. Notably through this review, a primary finding is that a constructivist approach to wellbeing in organisations, and more specifically wellbeing in policing is lacking. This constructivist approach to wellbeing can help explain questions not explicitly addressed but implicit in previous research such as how social relations are responsible for co-constructing understandings of wellbeing and what agendas and interests these understandings serve. This approach also considers the idea that previous studies construct the type of wellbeing they set out to find. The historical approach to wellbeing is important to discuss as it aids in identifying some of the key versions of wellbeing that are interacting in the police organisation.

This study aims to contribute to understanding wellbeing by examining social relations that form social ideology projects to produce ideas of wellbeing. Therefore it was important to look at how social relations have been mobilised in past research, which this chapter has done. As work is often idealised as a source of fulfilment in individuals' lives (Sointu, 2005), it is of interest to explore how this social sphere has been explored in past studies and how this leads to new situated studies. How understandings of wellbeing have been created through the interaction of researchers and practitioners and within organisations themselves is a further consideration. In order to further this understanding and address the role of social relations in constructing wellbeing, this study considers wellbeing to be situated and relational (Atkinson, 2013), and defined at the intuitive level, as everyone conceptualises it differently (White, 2010). As I argue, addressing social relations in a police organisation (i.e. police culture) requires an approach that permits capturing the subjective, material, and relational dimensions of social relations. Such a research project entails understanding certain 'systems of meaning, negotiated through relationships…that shape what different people can and cannot do with what they have' (Gough et al., 2006, p.25). In this chapter, I have identified that studying the role of social relations in how and why wellbeing is constructed within

organisations involves analysing processes that contribute to shared meanings and symbols that transcend mainstream approaches to wellbeing. I have explained how a constructivist, relational approach to understanding wellbeing is appropriate to such an exploration.

Throughout this study I will draw on previous theories or approaches regarding wellbeing, adopting a *constructivist organisational relational wellbeing analysis*. The entirety of the study considers wellbeing as an ethical concept. Based on this understanding, wellbeing can be understood as emerging from the gap between how life is and how it ought to be, which will be further explained in the following two chapters. While I do not propose abandoning theories that consider objective factors I instead aim to further the understanding of how wellbeing is constructed in a police organisation setting. This study focuses on constructivist concepts relating to wellbeing and searches for understanding of wellbeing as a social process that reproduces and is produced by certain social relations and social ideology projects. Such an analysis can be developed by considering how wellbeing is conceptualised, and what these conceptualisations do, throughout the ranks of a police organisation. The process involves disentangling numerous elements that affect the social process of wellbeing, including police culture, leadership, and bureaucracy among others. The aim of this is to advance understandings of how meanings are developed and how they influence social ideology projects.

The interplay of meanings and social relations is a key consideration throughout constructivist studies of wellbeing (Ahmed, 2010; Cieslik, 2015) and it is my position that these are also key in understanding how wellbeing is constructed in an organisational setting. The current study involves exploring these constructions via a conceptual framework in a police organisation, which I refer to as police culture (Smircich, 1983). Thus the conceptual framework is formed within the context of police culture. The following chapter will explore organisational culture which will further highlight the complexities associated with wellbeing in an organisation, acknowledging the inextricable link wellbeing has to the context in which it is understood. The conceptual framework that the analysis chapters rely on will also be developed and defined.

**Chapter Three**

**3.0 Organisational culture: Introducing a conceptual framework for exploring social relations in wellbeing**

**3.1 Introduction**

The concept of culture has been widely used in organisational studies, albeit in different ways. Some approach culture as something as organisation *has*, and others as something an organisation *is* (Smircich, 1983). I affirm the latter within this study, and it is this declaration that renders the cultural context in which this study is written significant. As the aim of this study is to understand how wellbeing is constructed and operates within a specific context of meanings (i.e. culture), this context must be explored. Thus, theoretical and conceptual background on organisational culture will be explored in order to provide a foundation for these understandings, as it is at the core of all organisational practices (Armstrong & Taylor, 2014).

This study is based on an understanding that as individuals in the organisation interact and create or negotiate shared meanings, they are producing a social organisational 'reality' (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). The role that multiple meanings and context play in shaping interpretations by individuals in a culture has been explored in extant literature, based on an understanding that meaning is embedded in interaction, symbols, and artefacts that are individually interpreted (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). I consider how individuals in the organisation make and communicate meaning about wellbeing, which, as I argue, can be understood through identifying patterns (Geertz, 1973), and leads to the emergence of social ideology projects. In turn, these social ideology projects are shaped by constructions of versions of wellbeing which predictably influence individuals' experiences in the workplace.

Studies of organisational culture inform the development of a conceptual framework for analysing how and why the social constructions of wellbeing emerge within the police organisation in this study. This chapter will begin with a brief exploration of organisational culture literature which includes socialisation, complexities, and links to relational wellbeing.

From a constructivist standpoint, I will consider how individuals in an organisation create meaning through interpretation, create multiple meanings within a cultural context, and how these interactions socially construct organisational realities. The specific organisational RWB approach and relation with associated concepts will also be explored to define a conceptual framework. Finally, police culture as an organisational context will be explored.

## 3.2 Organisational culture: A site for understanding common patterns of shared meanings

Culture, like wellbeing, is an ambiguous concept. What began as an anthropological concept (Malinowski, 1922; Tylor, 1871) has diffused into various disciplines and has thus been open to interpretation from a number of angles. The interpretation of collectively shared ideas and cognition, symbols and meanings, ideologies, rules, and social norms lend themselves to contribute to understandings of the concept of culture (Alvesson, 2015). As Klosowska (1969) noted, the concept of culture

> is not confined to a single, uniform philosophical-theoretical orientation. Its meaning encompasses a very broad area of human life: thus, culture here embraces all the forms and results of human activity which are characteristic of some community, and which result from tradition, imitation, learning, and realization of commonly accepted patterns (p. 34).

While this definition highlights the ambiguity and vagueness that surrounds the word 'culture', it, at the same time, highlights the utility of the concept. It further supports my approach of understanding police culture through identifying and organising patterns. Culture has been approached from a number of philosophical perspectives (e.g. positivistic, critical realist) and providing an overview of them all is not pertinent to this study. Rather, I will provide an overview of my constructivist approach and associated authors in order to understand how knowledge is situated and to defend my choice of approach. As a constructivist, it is important to understand the dominant foundations of the meaning of culture and various understandings of it, however I am also able to adapt aspects of these understandings and be flexible with its application based on empirical study findings. As stated by Alvesson (2015), 'culture is, however, a tricky concept as it is easily used to cover

everything and consequently nothing' (p. 3). Thus, it is important to establish and justify some conceptual boundaries around what is and what is not culture for the purpose of this study.

First and foremost, as highlighted in the introduction, I have applied culture explicitly in an organisational setting, considering culture to be something an organisation *is* (Smircich, 1983). Therefore, to narrow the concept of culture down, I adopt the concept of organisational culture (as opposed to culture in general) as the space where all organisational practices and ideologies take place. Organisational culture can be defined as:

> The accumulated shared learning of that group as it solves its problems of external adaptation and internal integration; which has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, feel, and behave in relation to those problems (Schein, 2017 p. 6).

This definition highlights several important factors to consider in understanding and exploring organisational culture. First, it is based on the premise of accumulated shared learning, which includes the beliefs, values, and behaviours that eventually become basic assumptions[8] (Schein, 2017). These basic assumptions therefore are composed of both a set of ideological elements (i.e. beliefs and values) as well as enacted behaviours. As I will demonstrate, there are more interacting elements (i.e. rituals, ideas) that contribute to accumulated shared learning, which can be usefully understood through my mobilisation of social norms and rules, and ideologies. To reiterate, social norms and rules refer to the enacted and embodied shared meanings and symbols created by organisational members. Ideologies refer to systems of values and beliefs that are important in understanding and normalising a specific set of social relations in the workplace. These concepts are pertinent to the relational ontology I have proposed to study wellbeing as culture can be analysed to understand the social norms and rules that govern social relations. Second, it considers the concept of socialisation which includes the shared experiences organisational members have. Further supporting this concept, Schein (2017) stated 'any social unit that has some kind of shared history will have

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[8] Basic assumptions refers to unconscious taken for granted beliefs and values (Schein, 2017)

gone through such a learning process and will have evolved a culture' (p. 15). Of note, different groups within an organisation may adapt to varying interpretations of these social norms and ideologies, however when there is an understanding of the shared learning that has taken place within the culture over time, a group's culture can be interpreted.

The analysis of organisational culture is mobilised to guide my approach of interpreting and analysing social relations within the police organisation. Along with Geertz (1973), Alvesson and Sveningsson (2015) and Frost et al. (1985), I use organisational culture as a context for analysing the interpretation of experiences that are shaped by, and shape, a certain social group. This system of shared meanings provides 'the shared rules governing cognitive and affective aspects of membership in an organisation, and the means whereby they are shaped and expressed' (Alvesson, 2002, p. 3). This understanding helps to explore how meaning is produced and how practices are understood in an organisation (Dodgson, 1993). As asserted by Miller (2002), culture is 'created, sustained and communicated in everyday practices and behavioural routines' (p.100), hence the importance of addressing the social relations that shape this process.

Organisational culture is the context in which shared meanings are created, in this study specifically regarding wellbeing. Because I adopt *relational* wellbeing, culture is key is to understanding social *relations* within the organisation. This point is supported by Alvesson (2012):

> Culture is not primarily 'inside' people's heads, but somewhere 'between' the heads of a group of people where symbols and meanings are publicly expressed – in work group interactions…in meetings, but also in material objects. It is the meaning aspect of what is being socially expressed and it is this visible and invisible at the same time (p.4).

Understanding organisational culture through the interpretation of shared meanings and symbols (Schein, 2017) ultimately explains the social relations aspect this study rests upon. As reflected in the above quotation, shared meanings and symbols are mutually imbricated and do not simply exist on their own, supporting the relational ontology that I approach the

study with. Breaking this down further, symbols refer to objects – words, actions, and materials – that signify something more than the object itself (Allaire & Firsirotu, 1984). These symbols have collective meanings, hence 'to study symbolism is to learn how the meanings on which people base actions are created, communicated, contested, and sometimes changed' (Van Maanen, 2005, p. 383). The aim of this study is to learn how individuals in a police organisation make meaning, communicate meaning, contest meaning, and sometimes change meanings around wellbeing, and the implication this has on the social ideology projects that they emerged from. Exploring this meaning involves understanding or interpreting within a cultural context and the human interaction that transmits this meaning.

Building upon this, shared meanings refer to how people interpret practices (which includes discussions, objects) and appeals to an expectation or way of relating to things (Alvesson, 2012). By exploring socially shared meanings (as opposed to individualised or idiosyncratic) and symbols, meanings about relational wellbeing become relevant and consequential (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). To articulate ideas regarding wellbeing that individuals in the organisation may not be consciously aware of, exploring how shared meanings and symbols related to wellbeing manifest is one aim of this study. Conceptually, this is the cornerstone of understanding how cultural experiences shape interpretations of wellbeing, and the implications that this social reality has on practice. As I will further explain throughout this chapter, the shared meanings and symbols manifest themselves through social norms and rules, which can be described as active (i.e. enforced) or passive (i.e. customary) expectations about *action* (Bell & Cox, 2015). Therefore, they represent practices that are informed by shared meanings and rules.

While organisational culture is not an objective reality, the construction of it creates an experienced reality for members. Human and social worlds interact with each other in ways that produce these experienced realities. The process of this in an organisation is comprised of three components: externalisation, objectification, and internalisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Hatch and Cunliffe (2006) explained this process:

> Few humans can maintain a life of quiet interiority; most need to express themselves
> through activity that often occurs in interaction with others. Human social activity

then constructs the world, and, in the process, humans externalise their then taken as objective (i.e. objectivised) in the perceptions of those who externalise it. Following objectivization, it becomes possible for a group's participants to socialise new members, causing them, in turn to internalise the group's social constructions by taking on some of its roles and accepting most of its meaning. Once internalization occurs, new members will externalize and objectivize right along with other group members, thus sustaining shared social constructions of reality. In these ways, humans act and interpret action within socio-cultural contexts of their own collective making (p. 44).

Within this conceptualisation, organisations are a product of continuous human production. Individuals are inextricably linked with socially constructed realities, which provides a foundation for understanding organisational culture. It has been argued that 'the individual not only takes on the roles and attitudes of others, but in the same process takes on their world' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 152). Through the process of social relations, meanings regarding social phenomena, in this case wellbeing, are created amongst individuals, which in turn influences how these phenomena emerge in practice. For example, if a senior manager in a police organisation sends all employees an email emphasising that meal breaks should be taken as they are important to wellbeing, the linkage between meal breaks and wellbeing is created. For some employees, this may not have been an aspect in their own wellbeing construction prior to receiving this email, however it results in the creation of the problem of wellbeing in this context.

In an organisational setting, this creation of meaning contributes further to a definition of organisational culture which can be described as 'the values shared by colleagues in an organisation and which become manifest through the occupational practices within that environment' (Johnson et al, 2009) or as 'the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category [i.e. organisation] from another' (Hofstede, 1991, p. 262). Within these conceptualisations, social norms and rules and ideologies are produced (Alvesson, 2012; Freeden, 2003) which in turn influence the very conditions they emerged from (Althusser, 2008). This provides support for the ongoing co-constructed nature of organisational culture and the phenomena within, giving rise to

considering the *reproduction of the relations of production* (Althusser, 2006). With this understanding, explaining how interests and agendas are pursed through culture as they relate to wellbeing is made possible. Further, understanding the socially constructed 'reality' of wellbeing means I seek to understand the social process through which this construction occurs (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), not objectively apply 'absolute truth' (which I argue does not exist). Further supported by Karl Mannheim through his approach to ideologies, *relationsim* acknowledges 'the contextual location of thought and the absence of absolute truth' in social matters (Freeden, 2003, p. 15).

From an ethical standpoint, while I agree that certain organisational practices may be improved, relational wellbeing is fluid and contextual and its understanding should not be used to manipulate individuals (Wilson, 2004) but rather to better grasp why certain practices have the outcomes they do. By understanding shared symbols and meaning about wellbeing within a police organisation, the study will highlight how certain processes or practices regarding wellbeing become meaningful which has both practical and theoretical implications. Part of this understanding requires an exploration of the process people participate in to become part of the organisation, which leads to the following section.

### *3.2.1 Organisational culture and socialisation: An ongoing process for creating shared meanings and symbols*

Organisational culture refers to the shared learning of a group as aforementioned, so it is worth noting the process involved in becoming part of this group as it has implications for this study. Socialisation in a societal group, in this case a police organisation, requires individuals to partake in a process that involves learning required behaviours that permit them to be a participant in the organisation (Van Maanen, 1975). This ongoing socialisation and social interaction throughout their careers can help explain how meaning about wellbeing is created and how action results (Duncan & Weiss, 1979; Louis, 1990; Mohan, 1993; Schein, 1985). In police organisations, all new officers begin as a police constable[9], bringing in their own history

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[9] With exception of Direct Entry superintendents (see chapter 1) or those that started as special constables or Police Community Support Officers (PCSO).

and experiences. In turn, they share their own stories or feelings, others interpret these and attribute it to wellbeing, they discuss how things 'ought to be' rather than how they are, and consequently shared meanings about wellbeing are created through social relations. Understood as secondary socialisation[10], this explains the process through which a person learns the values, norms, and required behaviours that permit participation in an organisation as a member (Berger & Luckmann, 1965; Van Maanen 1975). While this may seem simplistic, it illustrates the process that people in the organisation engage in to solve the problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Schein, 2017) and draws on wellbeing principles discussed in chapter two. The process of socialisation provides social order, which is a human product and an ongoing human production (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Duncan and Weiss (1979) noted that this socialisation is often referred to as *organisational learning* which develops action-outcome social relations. In other terms, it is a process of acquiring cultural or organisational knowledge through group-member interactions based on shared organisational symbols, rituals, norms, and behaviours. Through this process, social norms and rules and ideologies are created within the organisation. The process further involves learning from others' experiences through stories, which 'give meaning to events and construct the identity of actors talked about' (van Hulst 2013, p. 629). These stories combined with personal experiences in police work are transmitted by individuals to each other, which contribute to the construction of social norms and rules and ideologies in the wider police organisation. Again underpinned by social relations, the transmission of shared meaning links back to the idea that culture is between the heads of people which supports the relational approach of this study (Alvesson, 2012). Namely, it provides a foundation for analysing how and why interpretations of wellbeing are constructed. Further, socialisation is the process by which cultural ideals of organisational members are brought into line with the organisational culture (e.g. through common values and goals, rituals and procedures) (Hofstede et al., 1990). This does not, however, imply that there is just one broad culture to socialise into, nor does socialisation ever stop, nor are people devoid of human agency. Hence the following section will briefly address certain challenges in studying organisational culture that should be acknowledged.

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[10] As opposed to primary socialisation, which happens from birth (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

*3.2.2 Challenges in studying organisational culture*

It is not my intention to describe organisational culture, or, in this case, police culture, as monolithic (Reiner, 2010). Rather, I acknowledge that there are complexities, subcultures, the element of human agency, and constant transformation, that underlie organisational culture that will inevitably influence relational constructions of wellbeing. Specific to police culture literature, it has been argued that there are various cultures that exist, along with members that may not submit to the culture of their hierarchal or functional group (Foster, 2003). That said, members of police organisations take an active part in the construction of the cultures that exist within, and 'the transmission of culture is achieved by passing on a collection of stories and aphorisms which instruct officers how to see the world and act in it' (Dixon, 1999, p. 127). As Chan (1997) identified, it is also important to consider how different experience levels, age groups, gender, commitment levels to the organisation, work groups, and motivations to do the job shape perceptions of the culture. It is also evident that there is a morphology of cultures within; although they are organised into hierarchies, teams, sections etc., there are overlaps and interferences based on socialisation and human interaction factors. These can be understood by considering Wittgenstein's (1953) concept of family resemblances which is engaged within the analysis of my findings to acknowledge the overlapping as well as different interpretations of wellbeing constructions within a cultural setting.

There are evidently similarities and differences across the studied police organisation regarding the interpreted gaps between life as it is and ought to be and the ideological interests and agendas served and enacted by those understandings. These similarities and differences are pervasive and suggest wellbeing can be usefully understood in terms of the concept of family resemblances (Wittgenstein, 1953). Family resemblances states that if we look at a concept, such as wellbeing, we may not see something that is common to all but rather a complex network of similarities, relationships, and differences all exist (Wittgenstein, 1953). Being careful not to conflate wellbeing with this concept or the organisation as a family, there are many differences regarding who is perceived as responsible for ensuring life is lived well across the police, and society, in general. Across all these differences the gap

between how life how is and how life ought to be persists, which allowed me to develop 'a greater subtlety in investigating an ideological tradition' (Freeden, 2003, p. 43). It is this concept that binds together how I followed wellbeing across the organisation and which enabled my analysis of otherwise seemingly rather distinct cultural phenomena. By developing a multi-level framework and 'isolating key cultural dimensions' I am able to analyse the 'shared orientations that are consistent in the assumptions, values, and artifacts of the context' (Mohan, 1993, p. 20). The purpose of this analysis will bring clarity to how these multiple understandings of wellbeing intersect and influence work practices in the organisation.

The idea that police culture is complex and multifaceted is relevant to discussions regarding relational wellbeing. First, it supports my approach that explores a number of hierarchical levels in the organisation. Supported by Hofstede (1998), 'an organisation's culture is assumed to reside in the minds of all the organisation's members, not only in the minds of its managers or chief executives. Information about an organization's culture should be collected from samples of all these members' (p. 2). Having said that, there are also complexities within each hierarchical level hence an ethnographic approach which aims to study and communicate the variety of meanings transmitted between organisational members and myself regarding wellbeing. It is important to note that there are no clear boundaries around cultures and they remain internally fluid. To explore these ideas further, I will now provide further discuss how relational wellbeing fits into organisational culture.

### 3.2.3 How does organisational culture help in analysing relational wellbeing?

The concept of relational wellbeing has not been addressed in an organisational context at the time of writing this thesis, to the best of my knowledge.  To provide suitable context, White (2017) describes relational wellbeing within the context of culture (e.g. populations in Zambia and India) as 'arising from the common life, the shared enterprise of living in community – in whatever sense – with others' (p. 128). In this sense, social relations are 'intrinsic to the constitution and experience of wellbeing' (White, 2017, p. 128) and are the means through which practices are transmitted. My analysis of organisational culture above as opposed to the wider cultural approach of White suggests different challenges; there are

explicit formal (e.g. hierarchical, directives, codes of ethics) and informal (e.g. values) organisational rules and norms and ideologies to consider. However, the core theoretical understandings of culture, such as the concepts of shared meanings and symbols, can be explored within an organisational context rendering it a suitable approach.

Interpreting social relations and how the ethical problem of wellbeing is constructed is fundamentally constitutive of organisational culture in this study. Drawing on social norms and rules and ideologies in the organisation, the underlying social, bureaucratic, political, spatial, economic and cultural (White, 2017) interests and agendas emerge. As highlighted by Reiner (2010), classic police studies have overlooked a political dimension, which 'reflect and perpetuate the power differences within the social structure' (p. 118). By offering an understanding of this dimension, we gain a deeper understanding of the organisational culture and how wellbeing is constructed. Understanding this organisational culture provides a foundation for analysing how wellbeing emerges from social relations and the link this has with practice. As I will further explain in section 3.5 and throughout my methodology chapter, these social relations can be usefully analysed and understood by organising patterns of enacted and embodied social norms and rules and ideologies in the organisation.

### 3.2.4 How does organisational culture help in analysing police organisations?

To this juncture in this chapter I have addressed a number of concepts as they relate to understanding how meanings are created in the context of culture, the complexities of organisational culture, and the process of understanding culture as inherently relational. However, this study is specifically about police culture, and to this end there must be a conceptual bridge between general notions of culture and police culture, and how this links to conceptualisations of wellbeing. As I have stated, culture is at the centre of governing the understanding of behaviour and processes and the setting where these understandings become meaningful (Alvesson, 2015). Within the context of police culture, the research aim is to explore how members make sense of certain phenomena through an exploration of their shared symbols and meanings and discussing the role that this meaning-making plays in producing social relations in that organisational context.

In a recent report that empirically links police culture to practice, Wittmann (2018) addresses culture as shared experiences that informs 'the way things are done, [and] the practices and behaviours of members of the group in different situations' (p.238). The usefulness of analysing police culture for the purpose of determining reasons for participation in certain work experiences (in this case, use of force) was addressed. Wittmann's (2018) report reflects on the aforementioned studies by Klosowska (1969) and Alvesson (2015) in that culture is specific to an organisation, varies amongst groups, and as he adds, driven by management. Supporting the idea that police culture is constructed by accumulated shared learning (Schein, 2017), the study provides an applied example that talks to the manifestation of police culture in practice through organisational membership.  This approach lends support to the idea that work experiences, in this study constructions of wellbeing, can be understood on the basis of understanding elements of police culture. By understanding the processes involved within this culture we can understand how it at the heart of organisational experiences.

With this link made, the following section will provide an in-depth look at police culture. Following this, the key concepts addressed to this point in chapters two and three will be illustrated in a conceptual framework. As a brief recap, this includes: the *ethical problem of wellbeing* (i.e. the gap between how life is and how it ought to be), *social ideology projects* that emerge through *social norms and rules* and *ideologies, versions of wellbeing, shared meanings and symbols, and social relations.* The ongoing process of socialisation and accumulated shared learning in the police organisation explains how social relations underpin the conceptual framework.

### 3.3 Police culture

As discussed in the previous sections, studying organisational culture involves understanding a subjective reality created through human interaction and socialisation in a shared environment. To reiterate, within this study I am viewing culture as something an organisation *is* rather than something an organisation *has* (Smircich, 1983)*.* I therefore intend to look at police organisation as 'police culture' (or cultures) (Loftus, 2009). To study wellbeing as socially constructed, consideration of the organisational context is necessary (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2003; Bryman et al 1996). Police culture literature is rarely situated in a wider

explanation of culture or organisational culture, rather 'police culture emerges uniquely from the organisational setting' (Crank, 2015, p. 14). Thus, the approach I have adopted in this study bridges wider concepts around culture and organisational culture in order to understand the complexities of police culture and the accepted social norms and rules and ideologies. The cultural background in this section provides the foundation for interpreting and communicating cultural practices that are central to this study.

Early ethnographic studies of police culture (Cain, 1973; Holdaway, 1983; Punch, 1979, Reiner, 1978; Skolnick, 1966, Van Maanen, 1973) and more recently (Chan, 1997; Foster, 2003; Loftus, 2009) have laid the groundwork for identifying and exploring the 'key concepts' that together construct an understanding of police culture and provide insight to shared meanings. Understanding police culture has direct relevance to how relational wellbeing is conceptualised, as it aids understanding accepted norms, values, and behaviours within the organisation (Foster, 2003; Westmarland, 2001). Qualitative studies that aim to understand the intricacies of police culture have been in existence since the late 1960's, with the first seminal ethnographic police study published in 1964 (Banton, 1964). Early studies explored what were then and are still commonly referred to as core characteristics of police culture and discuss the core range of duties involved in police work (Rowe et al., 2016; Reiner, 2010). Further, they often 'proposed that police behaviour was influenced by the police culture and the working-class backgrounds of police recruits who tended to view violence as legitimate and were preoccupied with maintaining self-respect, proving masculinity, and not taking any crap' (Workman-Stark, 2017, p.19).  Overall, often cited are the core characteristics of policing, including a sense of mission, suspicion, isolation/solidarity, machismo, conservatism, racial prejudice and pragmatism (Reiner, 2010).

Police culture is often portrayed as monolithic, impenetrable, and hyper-masculine (Chan, 1997, Wittmann, 2018; Workman-Stark, 2017), however should be considered as dynamic and complex (Loftus, 2009; Reiner, 2010). As Cockroft (2007) argued:

> Police culture has been viewed in terms that tend to gloss over many variations in police behaviour. Such an approach has allowed us to construct a conception of the police that highlights factors common to police environments, but which fails to fully

assimilate those factors that are not common to the occupational world of all officers (p. 93).

At its core, traditional characteristics may still be evident in constructions of police culture, but they still leave room to explore further complexities in a culture that is 'embodied in individuals who enjoy autonomy and creativity' (Reiner, 2010, p. 116). More recently, studies from Loftus (2009), Rowe et al., (2016), and Westmarland (2013) expand on previous explanations of police culture and explore practices that extend the classical studies into contemporary studies while paying attention to the complexities of how police culture is constructed. It remains clear through reviewing extant literature however that the classical key conceptualisations of police culture continue to be reproduced and remain constant and intact; canteen culture (and masculinity), cynicism, and group loyalty are common themes which are still a part of contemporary studies and contribute to wider ideologies. These concepts will all be explored below.

Through reviewing police culture literature, it appears classical police studies are relevant to contemporary debates and their key points remain at the core of many studies and theorisations of police cultures (e.g. masculinity). However, the evolution of analysis regarding cultures and specifically police cultures have begun to problematize essentialist understandings of police cultures. Of these conceptualisations, one of the reoccurring arguments in contemporary studies is that no single culture exists, but rather a multiplicity of cultures exists within the field (Foster, 2003; Westmarland, 2013). For example, Chan (1997) discusses how she 'uncovered a layer of informal occupational norms and values operating under the apparently rigid hierarchical structure of police organizations' (p. 43). Police work involves a great deal of work away from supervision, frequently stressful situations, exercising discretion, and often a strong camaraderie between individuals that face similar daily experiences. This results in the creation of subcultures throughout police organisations that can be in part attributed to members facing 'certain common problems arising from the bedrock elements of their role and the constraints of legality' (Reiner, 2010, p. 116). As discussed earlier in this chapter, this resonates with Schein's (1985, 2017) conceptualisation of culture, in that culture is formed through learning to cope with common problems or situations, namely wellbeing as a shared problem. Consequently, the problem of wellbeing

can reproduce cultures and further contribute to an evolving organisational culture. My discussion of police culture (i.e. organisation *as* culture) implies that it is not monolithic, but rather considers the multiplicity of cultures that may exist, contributing to the wider culture. In what follows, the multiplicity of cultures is referred to as subcultures for conceptual clarity.

The above ideas are further supported by Reiner (2010), who argued that 'cultures develop as people respond in various meaningful ways to their predicament as constituted by the network of relations they find themselves in, which are in turn formed by different more macroscopic levels of structured action and institutions' (p.116). This introduces the importance of human agency in the development of culture, namely through the socialisation process. Studies have shown there is little difference in personality characteristics between new recruits and the general population (Carpenter & Raza, 1987; Workman-Stark, 2017) however these differences grow during socialisation into police organisations. This transmission of culture is a large part of the initial and subsequent socialisation processes that members will all experience upon joining police organisations, albeit in different ways. The process of socialisation that leads members of the organisation to either submit to or resist acclimating to the pre-existing culture has been a topic of debate (Chan, 1997). As noted previously in this chapter, this socialisation is never complete, but rather it is an ongoing process.  This is a consideration in my study as people at various stages of their career are encountered, adding a level of complexity to how shared meanings and symbols are transmitted. This consideration does not change the process of analysis, but rather is implicit in how I interpreted and communicated these shared meanings.

Part of the ongoing process of the development of police culture can be explained by three perspectives that contribute to its construction, developed by Chan (1997): *cognitive, phenomenological, and relational.* These three perspectives each have aspects within them that help to understand how relational wellbeing emerges.

1) Cognitive: There is a focus on *shared organised knowledge*. The components of this assertion are held by groups within the organisation and are developed through social construction and experience. Rather than individuals having diverse assumptions, it considers group mentalities that develop in like-minded group members. Together, the

culture or cultures develop social norms and rules and ideologies, and determine within the larger organisation how daily operations are carried out. This perspective suggests that the culture is learned and transferred as knowledge between group members. Shared meanings and symbols pertaining to wellbeing can be directly implied in this reasoning, where these axiomatic processes are shaped by and shape wellbeing constructions and practice.

2) Phenomenological: Members of police organisations are active in the construction of their working reality, rather than being passive actors. This serves as a way of organising, 'for police officers, the police culture is a 'tool-kit' used in the production of a sense of order, and the constant 'telling' of the culture accomplishes for the officers a 'factual' or 'objective' existence' (Chan, 1997, p. 70). From this perspective, the aforementioned transmission of aphorisms is central. This can result in stories with 'implicit or explicit expressions of power relations within police organizations' (Chan, 1997, p. 70), but important underlying contexts and structures from a social and political viewpoint are not considered by Chan, including (but not limited to) bureaucracy, hierarchy, and conflict. Thus, while it helps to understand the construction of a culture, it fails to account for external elements that may influence interpretation of some behaviours. Hence this study considers these underlying social and political aspects along with implicit and explicit power (and social) relations in considering relational wellbeing.

3) Relational: Formal structures and the relations between them in police organisations are assessed as an influencer of culture. This considers that rationality exhibited by officers along with the 'social space of conflict and competition, where participants struggle to establish control over specific power and authority, and, in the course of the struggle, modify the structure of the field itself' (Chan, 1997, p. 71). This produces the tensions between social and political contexts and a dynamic that provides insight to how learned rationality shapes behaviours and negotiation of social space.

These perspectives all demonstrate the constructed nature of police culture, with a focus on shared meanings, creation of meaning, and social relations within the organisation as they relate to its development. What this conceptualisation does not consider is the types of social

relations being considered and what interests and agendas these serve within the organisation. Because of this, my analysis will draw on these perspectives and further illustrate how relational wellbeing emerges from and influences social norms and rules.

Some aspects of how and why people in police organisations relate as they do can be explained by looking at specific instances of the culture that has been constructed through social relations, as they have been described throughout this section. How police construct identity (or identities) is another aspect that can help to understand the emergence of relational wellbeing in the organisation and is the focus of the following section.

### 3.4 Dominant social norms and rules and ideologies in policing related to relational wellbeing

Exploring specific social norms and rules and ideologies in policing relevant to this study are important to understand social relations. Extant literature points to a number of often cited social norms in policing including group loyalty, canteen culture, and cynicism. While I acknowledge there are other constructions (see for example, Martin, 1999; Manning & Van Maanen, 1978), I have drawn on those relevant to understanding patterns of social relations and, in turn, relational wellbeing.

This section will primarily attend to the social norms and rules and ideologies that emerge from social isolation (McLaughlin, 2007) and, in turn, contribute to constructions of police culture. Social isolation is a common concept in police research (Reiner, 2000), which along with interpretations of wellbeing could also explain the feelings of solidarity and camaraderie within the organisation. As police are stigmatised rather than 'fitting in' with the rest of society because of their social positioning, bonding and protecting each other is encouraged. Similar to Schein's (1990) description groups solving their problems of survival in an external environment, 'policing is conceived as the preservation of a valued way of life, and the protection of the weak against the predatory' (Reiner, 2010, p. 89). In many cases the predatory may be those that threaten police either from outside the organisation or within, hence the protection of each other and the values of the job. Group loyalty, canteen culture,

and cynicism will be discussed respectively to highlight certain constructions of social norms and rules that support this idea. These concepts will be revisited in the analysis chapters.

### *3.4.1 Group loyalty*

Group loyalty and internal solidarity (Westmarland, 2005a) amongst police are social norms and rules commonly associated within police organisations. While it is a social construction in itself, group loyalty and internal solidarity can influence social relations in the organisation and can act as either a force for change or a barrier to change (Paoline III, 2003). In this study, this force for change versus barrier to change (i.e. power relations) is explored as a factor in experiences of wellbeing and mobilisation of wellbeing practices.

Group loyalty can become a challenge when attendance to issues including misconduct, performance, or personal problems are involved (Skolnick, 2002; Westmarland, 2005b). Commonly referred to as the 'blue code of silence' (Skolnick, 2002; Westmarland & Rowe, 2018), or the unwritten code of loyalty within police organisations, individuals are discouraged from reporting behaviours including misconduct or personal struggles to the organisation (Tasdoven & Kaya, 2014). While it is generally discussed as an impetus for corruption (Chan, 2003; Chin and Wells, 1997; Skolnick, 2005), the outcome of the blue code of silence can be considered alongside wellbeing from a relational viewpoint. The blue code of silence is enacted by individuals in the organisation and thereby becomes reified into practice. In turn, these social norms, combined with ideologies held by the social actors can have implications on the very social ideology project that contributed to this enactment.

Predictably, this could result in individuals looking for internal solutions to issues within their teams rather than seeking help from more senior individuals within the organisation, or internalising noted issues. Drawing critical attention to another colleague is taboo in policing based on 'the tacit norm is to never do something which might embarrass another officer' (Manning & Van Maanen, 1978, p. 126). This concept provides insight to how wellbeing issues are potentially shared (or not), which inherently shapes how they are interpreted both inside and outside of the organisation. It is a key relational social norm or rule of police culture rather than an objective characteristic, but through its construction it helps to understand why

certain practices may emerge and be reified or challenged. This concept further provides a basis for understanding why individuals in this context interpret, translate, and mobilise wellbeing practices as they do. Another social norm commonly associated with police culture is canteen culture (Waddington, 1999). The following section will explore where this set of meanings comes from, how they are reified in practice, and what agendas and interests it serves.

### 3.4.2 Canteen culture

'Canteen culture' (Waddington, 1999) has been described as the arena, separate from the one in which police duties are executed, where expressive talk occurs between members of the force or other insiders (Fielding, 1994). Much of the explanation of canteen culture forms the basis of the archetypical police stereotype, or 'outsider' conceptualisation, but is also enacted by police through the promotion of masculine values (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001). In this study, I argue that framing canteen culture as a particular social construction will help to demonstrate how it becomes reified in practice. While canteen culture can typecast police as a macho and even chauvinistic, this conceptualisation has had a profound impact on contemporary studies which discuss hegemonic masculinity[11] in policing. As explained by Fielding (1994),

> the stereotyped cultural values of the police canteen may read as an almost pure form of 'hegemonic masculinity'. They highlight (i) aggressive, physical action; (ii) a strong sense of competitiveness and preoccupation with the imagery of conflict; (iii) exaggerated heterosexual orientations, often articulated in terms of misogynistic and patriarchal attitudes towards women; and (iv) the operation of rig in-group/out-group distinctions whose consequences are strongly exclusionary in the case of out-groups and assertive of loyalty and affinity in the case of in-groups (p. 47).

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[11] Hegemonic masculinity as coined by Connell (1987) refers to the dominant form of masculinity in a culture, and the legitimization of the dominance of masculinity.

This conceptualisation of canteen culture refers to the constructed stereotype of police that illustrates the hegemonic masculinity within the culture, or the attitudinal variables are used in an attempt to explain police behaviours (Waddington, 1999). There is, however, another perspective which explores police cultures 'as a hypothetical construct that lends coherence and continuity to the broad spectrum of police thought and practice' (Waddington, 1999, p. 288). This perspective places importance on exploring the multifarious construct of police culture and subcultures and rather than attributing behaviours to culture, looking at what makes this culture different from others.

In discussions regarding canteen culture, machoism (Silvestri, 2007) and the 'cult of masculinity' (Waddington, 1999; Silvestri, 2017) are often referred to. Here there is a prevalent sense of masculinity and protection of that characteristic through social norms and rules. One perspective is that femininity has threatened the association of masculinity with policing (Miller et al., 2003) which some members of police organisations feel the need to protect, hence the centrality of the concepts of social norms and rules and ideologies in police culture. Contextually in this study, 'ideology is a patterned reaction to the patterned strains of a social role' (Geertz, 1973, p. 204). Considered alongside the practice-based social norms, this is an explicit example of how social ideology projects are created. To protect their masculine identity, it has been argued that the unspoken rules within police culture prevent police from discussing their emotional issues, especially in the workplace (Workman-Stark, 2017). Further supporting this, the admission of a mental health condition 'might lead others to question whether the officer has the *ability* to conduct their job' (Bullock & Garland, 2018, p. 6). There is the possibility, and in many cases perception, that by admitting mental illness, the perception of weakness may follow. There are cultural expectations that have been constructed in policing including machoism and resilience. These can result in police avoiding admitting any 'weakness', which resultantly can hinder the identification and interception of issues within teams.

Describing police culture as canteen culture has been critiqued as facile and often fails to acknowledge the social structural setting police operate in (Chan, 1997; Crank, 2014).  The lack of attention to both the role of agency of police officers in adopting culture and context in which they operate in previous works has been further challenged (O'Neill, 2016). Rather

than attributing masculinity as 'essential characteristics of men' (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001), by exploring canteen culture I am instead considering 'social constructions of masculinity that have their origins in the social relations that constitute the organisation and the socio- cultural context in which that organisation is located' (Dick & Jankowicz, 2001, p. 183).

While much of this conceptualisation is based on a superficial, stereotypical understanding of police, some of the undercurrents of it still resonate and serve certain constructions of wellbeing. Rather than problematising canteen culture, it can add meaning and purpose to occupational practices (Waddington, 1999). Further, the reification of canteen culture demonstrates how and why meanings are created and *shared,* and in what manner, hence contributing to relational wellbeing. One of the associated constructions often linked to canteen culture (Björk, 2008; Waddington, 1999) is cynicism which will be the focus of the following section.

### 3.4.3 Cynicism

Cynicism, or general mistrust in others' motives, is a social norm often associated with police (Graves, 1996; Niederhoffer, 1967; Skolnick, 1966) and emerges from discussions around canteen culture (Waddington, 1999). It has been described as both an emotion and a trait (Andersson & Bateman, 1997), however police studies generally refer to it as an attitude towards both the organisation and society (Bennett & Schmitt, 2002). It is assumed to be part of police culture, namely in Skolnick's (1966) introduction of *danger, isolation* and *authority*, which together are said to 'cause' police officers to be more suspicious of people in general (Caplan, 2003, p. 305). There are many reasons that cynicism becomes reified as a social norm related to police culture; along with strife commonly related to the relationship with the senior management team, police are subject to constant criticism from, for example, the public, the government, their own peers, the organisation's professional standards department, or the Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC). In turn, these issues are interpreted and shared amongst individuals and the outcome is further interpreted within police organisations and wider society as cynicism. Hence it becomes a social norm within the organisation.

Cynicism is often attributed to tensions between 'administrative and public expectations on one hand and realities on the other' (Caplan, 2003, p. 310), and has been said to contribute to solidarity among police officers (Bennett & Schmitt, 2002). Interpretations of how decisions are made and how practices are enacted have also been studied (Austin et al., 1997). It has been argued that leaders or the administration need to keep people involved in making decisions that affect them including Austin et al (1997) who asserted 'few changes can be mandated from the top and put into place without the need for much acceptance from employees' (p.48). Because policing is hierarchical, generally the command is from the top-down which will be an influential consideration when discussing solutions and strategies related to the problem of wellbeing. Lower ranks often do not feel able to speak out to line managers due to their subordinate rank, or are asked for input but ultimately ignored, thus their personal value may deplete and the interpretation and sharing of this experience again contributes to cynicism. This insight is important conceptualising police cultures in this study as these procedures and decision-making processes will be important to understanding how social relations can influence wellbeing in the organisation, and what interests and agendas are served by this.

Cynicism has been addressed in a normative manner in studies that have looked at organisational change. Related to the gap between how life is and how it ought to be 'cynicism about change can spill over into other aspects of work life. People who have become cynical may lose their commitment or motivation to work. Absences and grievances may increase' (Austin et al, 1997, p. 49). Together, these points act to reify the concept. Rather than attempting to 'measure' cynicism and its output, I instead argue that it has been constructed and is a factor in understanding constructions and interpretations of relational wellbeing in the organisation. This is especially relevant when looking at changes and negotiating organisational culture and its social norms and rules. In turn, it also contributes to how police culture is constructed.

Job expectations have been argued to have a role in constructions of cynicism in police organisations. As Loftus stated, 'police work is characterised by an underlying tension; the strain is between expectations of what police work involves and its daily realities' (p. 8).

Workman-Stark (2017) uncovered in an interview in their study the frustration of competing identities in modern policing;

> I did not sign up to be a Victim Services worker, a youth worker or a molly maid. I joined so that I could enforce the law. We desperately need to get back to doing our jobs as police officers and leave all the hand holding to our partners who specialize in the hand holding field (p. 27).

The above quotation provides insight to enacted social norms and rules within police culture, and in turn insight to ideological thought regarding the social role of policing. In addition to highlighting the 'softer' side of policing, it reinforces tensions between individuals within and outside of police organisations. The *us versus them* mentality that exists among many members (Brown, 2007) reinforces the idea that police are isolated by virtue of their occupation or authority from the rest of society (McLaughlin, 2007). Further, 'this mentality is generally believed to be held by more cynical officers who see the world as primarily comprised of people that do not share their values, actively work to conspire against them and have little regard for their authority' (Workman-Stark, 2017, p. 21). Because relational wellbeing relies on shared learning and meaning, this serves as an indicator to how individuals may create meaning about wellbeing in the context of the organisation. Lastly, it contributes to understanding how police culture is constructed and how it shapes social norms and rules and ideologies within the organisation.

## 3.5 Conceptual/analytical framework

At this juncture of the chapter, a number of concepts have been introduced. It is here where they are all brought together in order to represent linkages and display how I will present my analysis. Returning to chapter two, I discussed the progression of thought regarding wellbeing. With the theoretical foundation of wellbeing considered, the remainder of the thesis will refer to wellbeing as an *ethical concept,* primarily because of my interpretation of it as a *problem* emerging from the gap between how life is and how life ought to be. Based on the *social ideology* projects that emerge from a combination of patterned *social norms and rules* (i.e. practices) and *ideologies*, different *versions of wellbeing* are interpreted. That

is, when expressions of the gaps between how life is and how it ought to be are understood through attendant social ideology projects, we are able to understand the influence shared meanings and symbols have for this phenomenon. In turn, these gaps emerge from, shape, and legitimise the social ideology projects. Notably, all of these concepts are emergent in an organisational setting, developed through socialisation and participation in work experiences.

In chapter three to this point, I have discussed the theoretical basis of *organisational culture,* specifically *police culture* as the context in which these social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing were interpreted. Further, I illustrated the theoretical support for a relational approach, basing the social norms and rules and ideologies on socialised *shared meanings* and *social relations*. These shared meanings and social relations were organised based on the patterns I interpreted (Geertz, 1973). Supported by scholars including Schein (1985; 2017) and Louis (1980), 'organisational group 'paradigms' are revealed when researchers identify the pattern of underlying assumptions governing shared perceptions about contextual situations and relationships' (Mohan, 1993, p.11). Because of the iterative-inductive approach I took, the conceptual framework was built throughout the process of layering and interweaving an ongoing review of the literature and data gathering. Therefore, I was able to tailor the framework to include elements that were reflective of the patterns I interpreted.

Although scholars including Schein (2017), Triandis (2000), and Mohan (1993) have developed frameworks for analysis, I have built upon these and offer a novel conceptual framework to represent new patterns through which shared meanings and symbols flourish (Geertz, 1973). Considering elements from extant frameworks including beliefs, values, behaviours, accumulated shared learning and so on, the below illustration delineates between enacted and embodied social norms and rules, and the ideological axioms I interpreted. These are combined to form social ideology projects, which as I will demonstrate, have analytical utility in practice. The illustration further demonstrates how interdependent the elements I interpreted are (White, 2010).

Because ideologies form part of the foundation for social ideology projects, I will draw out the underlying power relations involved and further the interests and agendas the social

ideology projects serve (Freeden, 2003). How the social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing were discovered throughout my research process will be expanded further in the following methodology chapter.
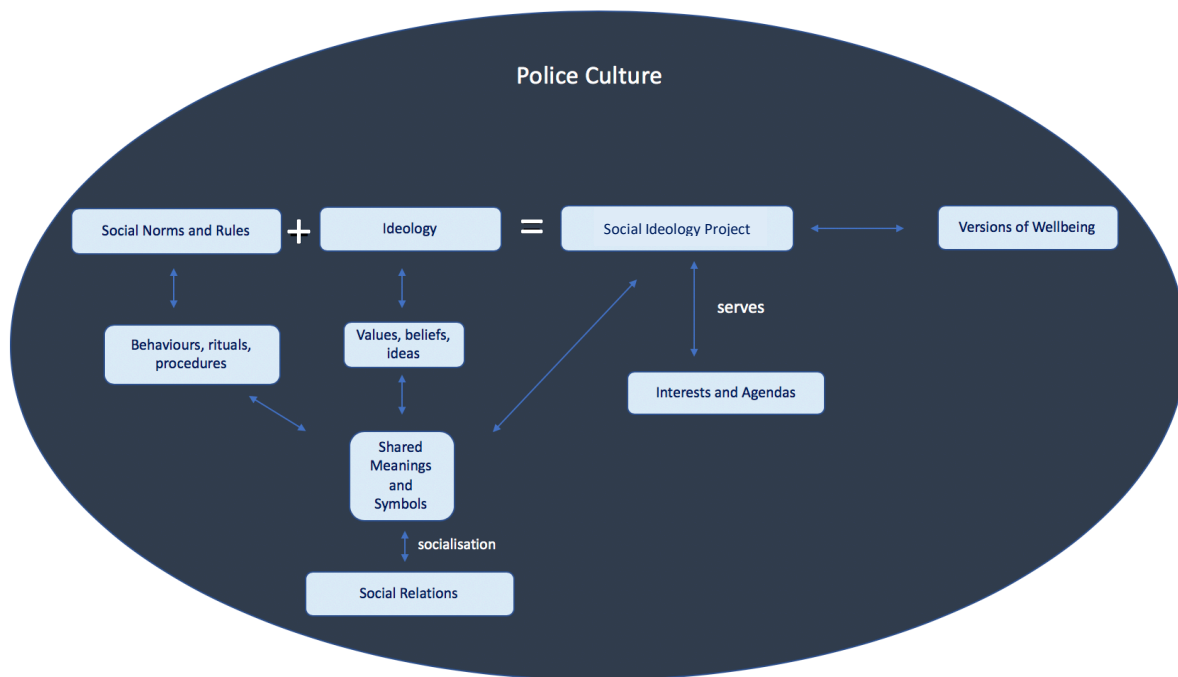


*Figure 3.1 A relational conceptual/analytical framework*

Police organisations are social units that have a shared history and new members experience socialisation processes from the time they join. This socialisation never stops. This is an example of how organisations are 'assumed to be ongoing social constructions, not reified structures or systems, which solve the problem of social order through the negotiation of the meanings that they encompass' (Parker, 2000, p. 221). The focus of this study is to understand the socially constructed unique aspects of police culture in order to contribute new understandings of wellbeing and police culture to scholarship and practice. This means interpreting shared meanings and symbols within the construct of police culture and exploring how they help to bring understanding to new and existing concepts concerning wellbeing, including social norms and rules and their outcomes. However, what is lacking in current work is ethnographic research that looks specifically the different types of social ideology projects in police organisations that contribute to constructions of wellbeing and, in turn are influenced themselves, hence relational wellbeing. Further, how the aforementioned

social construct of police culture helps to inform and connect to a relational analysis of wellbeing in police organisations will be drawn upon throughout analysis.

Following the methodology chapter, three analysis chapters assess interpretations, expressions, and mobilisation of versions of wellbeing, which are based on the above theoretical and conceptual framework.

## 3.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter I have explored theoretical background on organisational culture and police culture to understand understanding how the ethical problem of wellbeing is translated and operates within an organisation. This study is based on the premise that humans within an organisation continuously interact and create shared meanings, specifically those regarding wellbeing. I am proposing that a relational understanding of organisational culture can inform and develop a relational understanding of wellbeing. By considering shared meanings that contribute to social norms and rules and ideologies as factors in organisational culture, the complexities of police culture can be further explored.

Understanding police cultures and its social norms and rules and interplay of ideologies has direct relevance to how wellbeing is conceptualised, for it aids understanding accepted shared meanings and symbols within the organisation. This further brings understanding to how wellbeing is uncovered and identified as a gap between how life is and how it ought to be. White (2010) discussed relational wellbeing in the context of culture, however as I propose, this concept has not been applied within an organisational setting, nor had a framework with analytical utility been previously created. By uncovering key social norms and rules and ideologies within the organisational culture that shape how individuals relate from a situated approach, we can understand relational wellbeing in the context of work. Rather than approaching it through a binary individualist versus collectivist framework, I, like White (2017), will seek to understand 'one of the puzzles that all human societies have to grapple with' (p.129), that is, the relationship between the individual and the collective. Hence my approach seeks to understand what has contributed to the construction of police culture.

By exploring dominant social norms and rules in policing including group loyalty, canteen culture, and cynicism, insight to the construction of a broader police culture is provided. As identified in the previous chapter regarding wellbeing, developing and advancing understandings of wellbeing involves a process of disentangling elements of police culture in order to offer a view of the process through which their influences are realised. These elements will be built upon and analysed in chapters five through seven, where a critical analysis of how individuals make meaning about wellbeing in a police organisation are discussed at length.

Considering how individuals in police organisations create meaning through interpretation, create multiple meanings within a cultural context, and how these interactions socially construct organisational reality takes place within a framework of constructivism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; 2011). This framework involves extending knowledge of wellbeing constructions and understanding how the concept is translated and mobilised in a police organisation. The application of this is relevant in both academic and practical domains, and the advancement of knowledge in this realm can be expanded to wider organisational theory.

The following chapter will explain and justify the methodology adopted for the purpose of meeting the aims of this study. Using an ethnographic approach, social norms and rules and ideologies within the organisational culture are interpreted and communicated in order to provide insight to how wellbeing is constructed. The methodology chapter will be followed by three analysis chapters which critically analyse social ideology projects that underlie interpretations of wellbeing constructions and highlight how these understandings can be mobilised in an organisational setting. The theoretical and practical implications of this understanding will be built upon throughout the remainder of this study.

**Chapter Four**

**4.0 Methodology: The ethnographic imagination**

**4.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I explain the methodological orientation and research design adopted to satisfy the aim of the study. I begin by explaining the philosophical underpinnings of the research and how new knowledge is created by this study. This includes explaining my epistemological and ontological position, based on a constructivist approach. I will then explore the ethnographic methodology employed for this study, followed by a description of the value of an ethnographic approach. Research context, which includes how I gained access to and maintained positive relationships within the police organisation at the centre of this study, is then described. As ethnography is more than a method, the specific methods that were employed to reach the aims of this study are outlined and explained. This includes participant observation, semi-structured ethnographic interviews, and membership on a wellbeing board.

As a former law enforcement officer, I acknowledge my preconceived ideas regarding constructions of wellbeing in a similar context. Therefore, to explore this consideration among other factors that shape my subjective experiences and constructions, the 'reflexive turn' in ethnographic research explains how I approached the issue of being a subjective resource within my own research. Ethical issues contemplated throughout the study followed by considerations regarding ethnographic research then conclude the chapter.

To reiterate, the aim of the study is to investigate how individuals in a police organisation construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing. To meet this aim, the primary research question is:

*How can a relational wellbeing approach contribute to understanding how wellbeing is constructed in a police organisation?*

This main research question was explored through accompanying objectives which were discussed in chapters one and three:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects.*
2) *Explore how different versions of wellbeing emerge from an understanding of social ideology projects.*
3) *Identify the similarities and differences between front line officers' and senior managers' versions of wellbeing.*
4) *Identify how the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing and the implications this has for organisational practice.*

The remainder of this chapter will outline how methodologically the primary research question and accompanying objectives will be met, beginning with the theoretical and philosophical origins.

## 4.2 Theoretical and philosophical origins

In this section, I seek to justify the use of an ethnographic methodology to meet the aims of this study. It is important to note that any version of ethnography is not only about a typical form of data gathering, analysis, or methods, or a time spent in the field, but rather a wider methodological approach that stems from a particular philosophical approach (Fassin, 2017; Van Maanen, 2011). Hence, I explain within this chapter the philosophical intricacies of this specific ethnographic study, beginning with an exploration of the philosophical approach and followed by an explanation of an ethnographic methodological approach.

### *4.2.1 Constructivism*

> Nothing means anything on its own. Meaning comes not from seeing or even observation alone, for there is no 'alone' of this sort. Neither is meaning lying around in nature waiting to be scooped up by the senses; rather it is constructed. 'Constructed' in this context, means produced in acts of interpretations (Steedman, 1991, p. 54).

I adopt the constructivist paradigm which considers 'truth' to be dependent on the individual's perspective, and to understand this 'truth', interpretation is required (Schwandt, 1998). In order to interpret how meanings are created, I will elucidate the process of how knowledge and truth are created as opposed to discovered. As Mir and Watson (2000) state, 'constructivists view the process more as an act of sculpting, where the imagination of the artist interacts with the medium of phenomena to create a model of reality which we call knowledge' (p. 943). Ontologically relational and epistemologically constructivist[12], I argue that 'truth' is constructed by the mind that sees it and interpretations of sensory experiences are relevant to explore. In this vein, I view 'reality as a projection of human imagination' (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, 492) and subject to interpretation. This is not saying that there is an objective 'reality', but rather multiple realities created by human interpretations.

The production of knowledge from a constructivist positioning is predicated on the idea that the social world cannot be understood without interpretation (Leitch et al, 2010). With this understanding, the quality of research is internalised in the research philosophy. The outcomes of the research are not necessarily tested in objective terms (e.g. for generalizable repeatability), but rather, the quality is judged by the insight and understanding the outcomes provide to the field of study. The quality of work and knowledge produced is embedded in the intensive and inclusive method of research coupled with the underlying constructivist approach which embraces the complexities of the social world. The constructivist perspective encourages problematizing research participants' interests while incorporating the bases of social order (Ruggie, 1998), and the chosen methodology must support this aim. With this perspective shaping my approach, I entered the world of the participants, built relationships, and interpreted their experiences in order to address the research question and satisfy research aims. The following section will discuss my mobilisation of an ethnographic methodology as the most appropriate means for understanding the complex relationship between individual interpretations and social interaction as they pertain to constructions of wellbeing.

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[12] Epistemology is the relationship between the researcher and the reality or how this reality is known and ontology referring to the nature of 'reality' (Blackburn, 2005).

## 4.2.2 Why ethnography?

The selection of a research methodology is contingent on the subject matter and the availability of the field from which data or material is situated (Blackburn, 2005). Within a constructivist framework as discussed above, the methodology adopted for this study must be fit for the purpose of understanding multiple realities and interpreting 'truth' from the research participants' perspectives. With this philosophical positioning in mind, ethnography emerged as a theoretically, philosophically, and practically suitable methodology for this study.

An ethnographic methodology is primarily justified by principles of naturalism and the humanistic model of social science (Brewer, 2000) which has an implication on the type of data that is presented within it. The principles of naturalism are 'concerned with the study of social life in real, naturally occurring settings; the experiencing, observing, describing, understanding and analysing of the features of social life in concrete situations as they occur independently of scientific manipulation' (Brewer, 2000, p. 33). Within this orientation, there is a focus on interpreting what people feel, think, and do in their natural environment rather than a scientifically controlled environment which supports the conceptual framework introduced in chapter three. Written representations of culture emerge from this interpretation and considers how *humans* and *social behaviour* (as opposed to objects) create meaning about certain phenomena hence the humanistic model.

As I explained in the previous section, this ethnography is driven by a constructivist epistemology and focus on the realm of the social. The realm of the social is entered 'as soon as one observes phenomena that are specifically human' and considers the idea that 'man's specific humanity and his sociality are inextricably intertwined' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 69). This assertion is aligned with an ontologically relational ethnographic approach and the emergent data as there is an inherent relational aspect in 'doing ethnography' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). This relational aspect is central to this study and draws upon ethnographic criteria including thick description and reflexivity (which will be explained below) in order to overcome common critiques from positivist researchers including the aforementioned generalizability, validity, and reliability as 'measures' of quality research.

Ethnography has a long and well-established history in police research, and it is this foundation that this study builds upon and contributes to (Banton, 1964; Skolnick, 1966, Punch, 1979; Manning & Van Maanen, 1978; Holdaway, 1983; Van Maanen, 1973; Westmarland, 2001; Rowe, 2007; Reiner, 1978; 2010). An ethnographic approach grants a comprehensive look at the daily activities within the police organisation in this study, reasons for participation, and an understanding of cultural norms, values, and assumptions (Schein, 2017). Ethnography is explained by Pink (2007) as

… a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers' own experiences. It does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced. (p. 22)

My research is an account of the experience that respects 'the irreducibility of human experience, acknowledges the role of theory, as well as the researcher's own role' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 3). Generally, police organisations are closed environments (Punch 1979; Loftus 2007), with perceptions of them typically arising from media portrayals, first-hand experience, stories and recollections from peers. This study provides a view from the inside of the environment (from an insider-outsider perspective, which is explained in section 4.5) and reflects the multiple realities of the research participants. Understanding and interpreting multiple realities required acknowledging that ethnography involves an iterative-inductive process, or moving 'back and forth iteratively between theory and analysis, data and interpretation' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 105) and 'may involve almost as many steps backward as forward' (Edmondson & McManus, 2007 p. 1173). Considering this, the aims of the research evolved throughout the study.

In a similar vein, this study focuses on social interaction and human nature that is fluid and dynamic, which requires the ability to be flexible with the focus and outcomes. The methodological approach that I adopted allows me to 'progressively focus the study on the

features of the case which gradually appear to be most significant' (Mabry 2008, pg. 216). This concept is suitable with a constructivist philosophical positioning because of the iterative-inductive approach I adopted that allowed me to seek answers to my research questions in a circular rather than linear way, meaning I was able to shape and reshape the focus of ethnographic work as new ideas emerged. Adopting an ethnographic methodology allowed me to offer my profound translation of this social world, and give meaningful order to the succession of experiences, expressions, and interpretations that perhaps appeared disparate at first sight (Fassin, 2017).

**4.3 Context of the study**

In order to address the aim and objectives of this study, it was necessary to locate a police organisation that was willing to grant me access to their front-line operations. I initially provided research proposals to two police organisations, as there was an expressed interest from both, which was communicated to me through a professional associate at Loughborough University. Whilst awaiting feedback from these organisations regarding my research proposals (they were both apparently being processed within their academic research teams), I continued with my background research and presented at a policing seminar.

At this policing seminar, an individual named Derek[13], who, in turn, became my gatekeeper[14] approached me and asked me if I would conduct my research within their organisation, as the topic fit with current research initiatives. The eagerness to support my research, as well as the specific issues initially discussed, including concerns about leadership and morale (which did change as will be explained), were appealing. These topics provided a foundation for a mutually beneficial relationship between myself as a researcher and the police organisation. As a former practitioner in the field, it was important to me to produce research that is valuable to both academia and practitioner debates. At this juncture, I was still awaiting feedback from the two initial organisations I had contacted, so I decided that I would instead

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[13] All names have been changed to maintain anonymity
[14] Gatekeepers are defined by Brewer, J. (2000:83) are 'those individuals that have the power to grant access to the field'.

move forward with this organisation, as they were willing to immediately approve my research. This organisation, anonymised as Cadogan Police, therefore became the setting of my research.

Gaining access to the field was not as simple as being invited in, however. There was a several month-long process to complete necessary background checks as well as building sufficient relationships throughout the ranks in order to have the necessary support from the organisation to carry out an in-depth study. Further, the process of navigating access was a continual process throughout research. As Hayes (2005) stated, 'gaining access … is not a one-off event but a continuing process' involving a series of gatekeepers (p. 1196). Thus, this was a complex and constant consideration throughout my research.  Access is important to ethnography because without it, 'the research could not be done' (Brewer, 2000, p. 82). The process of receiving and maintaining access to the fields I observed is the focus of the following section which will expand on this consideration.

### 4.3.1 Access: Building and maintaining relationships

Accessing the police organisation required both formal and informal measures, which are the foci of this section. Initial interest in my research came from Derek, as discussed above, who was my main gatekeeper. Following several initial conversations with Derek, the groundwork for access was laid, and more layers of gatekeepers within the managerial ranks were introduced. During these initial meetings, it was established that I would complete my fieldwork with front-line officers on response teams which included police constables (PCs), sergeants, and inspectors. I based this label on what could be analytically well-defined despite other studies using different labels for various groups of police and managers in police organisations (see for example Skolnick, 1966).

Ensuring that myself, as a researcher, and those giving me access to their environment agreed on the topic of study and issues being studied was important to laying the groundwork as they will inevitably have expectations regarding the applicability of the finished project. We initially established that the purpose of this study was to explore the concept, or process, of leadership in order to uncover organisation-specific wellbeing and behavioural

characteristics. Managers I spoke with expressed a desire to understand the apparent low morale and determine interventions. As a researcher, maintaining integrity to my own academic aims was made clear and respected by the organisation and they understood that the ethnographic nature of research may lead me down different paths (which it did). The result of this meeting was the support of the chief constable, and full and relatively free access for a minimum of six months was granted. We agreed that I could observe officers on shift within this timeframe and would be given day-to-day contact to ensure I was getting the support I needed from the organisation.

I requested a day-to-day contact at the inspector ranks to avoid a great deal of overt contact with more senior levels. Gaining the trust and building rapport with the officers on the front-line I worked with was critical to the process, and therefore I did not want to appear as an 'infiltrator' for senior managers. As stated by Hunt (1984), this establishment of trust and rapport was central to uncover 'the hidden dimensions of the subjects' world' (p. 283). I further based this idea on my experience in law enforcement and my own constructed assumption that front-line officers may not trust an 'outsider' and the underlying purpose of the research, an idea also reflected by Marks (2004). This was understood and respected by the leadership team. An inspector named Alex volunteered to take on the role as my main contact, and therefore assisted me in gaining and maintaining access within the field.

Once access was granted to the field, the next important consideration was to maintain that access and build relationships. Ethnographic research requires 'skilful negotiation and renegotiation' (Brewer, 2000, p. 83) of access and relationships, which was a constant consideration for me throughout my study. I had an initial meeting with Alex where more information regarding what I was seeking was obtained. We discussed the terms of reference that were discussed with the managerial team in the aforementioned formal interview and we both ensured we agreed regarding the aim and objectives of the study. After this initial meeting, Alex contacted a number of inspectors who were responsible for response teams throughout the force, both in urban and rural settings. He explained the aim of the research and asked for their agreement in having me observe their teams, and the first to respond would be the determining factor for where I would start. Within a few days, the first team I would work with was determined, based solely on that inspector being the first to reply.

Before setting out into the field, I requested to observe the Force Control Room (FCR)[15] in order to improve my knowledge of the area I would be working in as well as to gain an understanding of the 'behind the scenes' operations. This proved to be helpful as it gave a preview of the realities of police work in the region I was going to work in and made the chain of command and operational structure clear[16]. 40 hours were spent in the FCR, including a shift on New Years' Eve which turned out to be a segue into the fieldwork as I spent time both in the FCR and field with a sergeant on that final shift.  This allowed me to make more contacts in the field and interact with the officers I would be working with over the next several months. Three days after this, I joined the first response team I would be working alongside.

The first team I worked with was set up by Alex as aforementioned. The inspector in charge of that team, Charlie, sent me their schedule and I agreed to start on the next shift rotation[17]. The beginning of the participant observation set the tone for the next eight months. Entering the field felt it was the first day of a new job, as I reflected:

> I arrived at the station at 13:30 ahead of the 14:00 shift briefing as per Charlie's request...He came out to the front gate to meet me and had already obtained me a visitor's pass. We went into the building and chatted about the NYE shift which he worked past when I did (I left at 3am, he was on until 6). In the building we went to his office and he began talking about what the day was going to look like. He offered me a coffee and we walked down to the staff kitchen where he made me and him and coffee. A few PCs walking the hall took note of me and I felt like a bit of an outsider but was warmly welcomed by everyone I encountered with either a smile or a hello. It felt a bit like I was a new employee in the force (fieldnotes, 2017).

The first team I worked with welcomed me into their world and facilitated my experience of what it felt like to work for Cadogan Police. It was important to me in my initial meetings with

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[15] The Force Control Room is the centralised dispatch centre where all 999 calls for the region are taken and responded to.
[16] As a foreign national, the area and terminology were new to me.
[17] The response unit works on a variable shift schedule.

the team to build trust and ensure they knew the purpose of my research. Fox and Lundman (1974) identified that in police organisations, there are two 'gates' researchers must negotiate: senior managers and front-line officers. Hence the importance of gaining the acceptance and approval of every team I worked with. I joined in the briefing on the first shift and the content of my introduction seemed to turn the questioning glances from the team to those of acceptance.

> After the electronic briefing material was done, the sergeant moved to the table to sit with the PCs and she asked if anyone had anything to bring up. She thanked the officers for their hard work on the busy NYE [New Year's Eve] shift. She then turned to Charlie and asked if he had anything to bring up. He thanked the officers as well for their hard work on NYE and then introduced me. I gave the officers a background of my study, stating I am doing a PhD to explore wellbeing in the force. They all appeared receptive, especially when I reassured them that everyone is anonymous, the force is anonymous, and I am an independent researcher – not working for management. With a smile, the sergeant welcomed me (fieldnotes, 2017).

Following this briefing, Charlie provided me with a stab vest and had me sign 'observer safety' forms which outlined what to avoid doing in the field and the associated liabilities. I then sat in on a manager briefing meeting with Charlie and we then departed the station in a patrol car; Charlie wanted to show me around the county as I was unfamiliar with it. As Loftus (2009) found, front-line officers 'demonstrated an impressive, detailed knowledge of their respective areas. In their estimation, a good bobby was one who was 'street wise'' (p. 14) and thus the benefit of this initiation was two-fold: I gained insight to how Charlie interpreted different areas and people in them (Rubinstein, 1973) and it also helped me develop knowledge of the area that I could use to assimilate with the teams of front-line officers I would be working with.

Over the next several shifts, I accompanied officers from this front-line response team throughout their daily duties. Following my shift with the inspector, I worked alongside the sergeant for a shift, then for the remaining several shifts teamed up with PCs. Wherever they went, I went. At no point did anyone tell me I could not attend something with them and thus

it was a full immersion into their daily experiences. As a result, I was able to experience a version of their reality and resultantly experience and discuss sensitive topics such as wellbeing. Further, this immersion enabled me to produce a sense of the personalized sensory experience gained throughout my fieldwork (Cunliffe, 2010).

Over the following seven months, I iteratively moved between teams. The decision to move on from each team was made when time had been spent with each willing member[18] and it felt like no new knowledge was emerging. Described as data saturation, I had adequate information to discern cultural patterns (Fusch & Ness, 2015) and also knew I had the option to return to the teams as I felt necessary to build on information as I attained it from other teams. I would hear indicators from the teams I worked with as well regarding other teams that would be 'interesting' to work with. In these cases, I would obtain the email address of the inspector and email them requesting to work with their teams. At no point was I turned away from any team that I requested to work with. Foster (2006) highlighted the importance of this ability in ethnographic research, as 'it remains an issue throughout data collection as entry to sub-settings within the overall setting has to be continually negotiated, and sometimes renegotiated, as the research progresses' (p. 64). This was especially important considering my theoretical approach which involves understanding social relations and RWB because it allowed me to experience multiple constructed realities of this. The process of gaining and maintaining access with each team was an ingrained part of the research process for me.

I continued with participant observation (which will be further discussed in section 4.4.1) from December 2016 until June 2017[19]. Throughout the process, friendships were made and as a result there were several occasions outside of working hours that I would meet up with members of the organisation for one-on-one time over dinners, lunches, and coffees. I had no planned date to exit the field, however when I felt I reached data saturation (Fusch & Ness, 2015) it was appropriate to move on to the second phase of the data gathering. I had worked for seven months to transition from an outsider to an insider-outsider (the insider-outsider

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[18] Over the 7-month period, 2 PCs did not want to participate in the research. This will be mentioned in the data analysis chapters.
[19] Approximately 360 hours were completed

perspective will be discussed in 4.5) in order 'to receive and interpret experiences as an insider would' (Burrell, 2009, p. 182). However along with reaching data saturation, I reached a point where I recognised I was at peril of 'going native' (Spano, 2005) and risked losing the ability to analyse the social processes. As Burrell (2009) asserted, critical distance can be effected by exiting the field thus providing the distance needed for analysis. Hence, reluctantly I made the decision to begin the process of withdrawing from the field which allowed 'for reflection, which is necessary for developing the researcher's representation of the field' (Michailova et al., 2013, p. 142).

As I had been moving iteratively between teams, I did not feel I had to return to each team to explain that I had completed fieldwork. Throughout the fieldwork, I explained to each team that I would be spending approximately six months with the organisation and moving between teams. The final team I worked with was the first team I had worked with (I returned as my research focus had changed as explained) and was also the team where I had made a number of friendships. Because of the positive relationship I built with the team, I simply sent a text message to the inspector of the team asking if I could re-join the team for shift rotation to which he replied 'sure thing' and sent me their schedules (mobile correspondence, 2017). On my final day of fieldwork, I explained to everyone that it was my final day and that I would be sure to make my findings accessible to them. We carried on with the shift as normal, however, I can still remember the big blue metal gate closing behind me after the shift and the team calling after me to 'come back any time' (fieldnotes, 2017). This process of exiting gave me further insight to the relational aspect of working within this organisation, for I was leaving an atmosphere where I felt like I fit in and was competent. The thought of returning to my isolated world of writing up the findings and doing something where I constantly felt like an imposter (Parkman, 2016) was distressing.

However, my time in the organisation was not yet complete. At this point, I moved on to the second phase which involved ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 2016) with the senior managers which will be explained in section 4.4.2. Alex emailed the entire senior managerial team from the chief constable down to chief inspectors to request confirmation of their willingness to participate and scheduling. While the response rate was low, I was afforded the opportunity to interview the chief constable, deputy chief constable, assistant chief

constable, and a number of representatives from the remaining ranks[20] throughout July and August 2017. In addition to this, being a member on the organisation's strategic wellbeing and leadership board allowed me to have a participant observer role with the entire superintendent team over several board meetings. Of note, while being a member of the strategic leadership and wellbeing board provided me insight to how wellbeing was enacted in the organisation, it will not be included in my analysis as it did not provide further information that would help to answer my primary research question. However, elements from it that I observed played a role in how I built patterns of ideological thought.

I acknowledge that every organisation will have different cultures and core issues, however, I defend my choice to study one organisation as a number of previous policing ethnographies have done (Holdaway, 1983; Fielding, 1988; Punch, 1979; Van Maanen, 1978; Rowe et al., 2016). Aligned with the philosophical and methodological framework adopted, the aim of this study was to provide thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of a culture, and as I identified organisation *as* culture (Smircich, 1983), the boundaries are inherently set on one organisation. This section outlined the process of gaining and maintaining access within the field, and the timeframe for this study would not allow for multiple sites (i.e. organisations) of research to be explored, nor would it provide the opportunity to provide an in-depth ethnographic account of a culture (i.e. organisation) because thick descriptions could be lost in comparisons. However, the concepts and connections that are developed from the thematic analysis can be applied in practice or scholarship to the wider population, including but not limited to other police organisations. The specifications of how I gathered and analysed data for the purpose of analysis and presentation is important to explore further. While this section explained what I did, the specific methods of data gathering and analysis were not discussed or justified, therefore, the following section will explore specifically how and why data was collected and analysed using particular methods.

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[20] Due to confidentiality agreements, the number of interviews will not be stated in this thesis to protect the anonymity of the force.

**4.4 Data gathering and analysis**

In this section, the methods used to obtain the data necessary to explore the research question and attendant objectives will be described. To justify how I gathered data and how this satisfies the philosophical underpinning of ethnography the methods are explored separately. As supported by Spradley (2016), 'rather than *studying people,* ethnography means *learning from people*' (p. 3). In order to learn from people and understand their point of view, I was required to negotiate the field and employ methods that would allow me to describe the culture and understand organising patterns (Freeden, 2003).

Encouraging engagement from the participants within the study was important to this process. Engagement involved building trust and rapport to build the dialogue that constructed the co-produced research. This idea is supported by O'Reilly (2009):

> Rather than passive 'informants' or 'subjects', research *participants* are now often encouraged to take an active part in the research process, empowered where possible to contribute, direct, redirect, and guide the research in ways that ensure their own perspective is given due weight (p. 58-59).

In the following sections, how I encouraged engagement will be discussed. As 'the central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view' (Spradley, 2016, p. 3), elucidating these points of view and reflexively adapting my research to be considerate of research aims was central. This highlights the importance of iterative-inductive research because as the views, wants, and needs of the researcher and the researched fluctuate the research reflected the fact that it is not a linear process (O'Reilly, 2009). The primary ethnographic methods I employed throughout my research were participant observations (including unstructured ethnographic interviews) with front-line officers, semi-structured interviews with senior managers, and participant observations with the force wellbeing and leadership board. These methods will be discussed respectively in the following sections. How I took fieldnotes and analysed data is also included in this section.

### 4.4.1 Doing participant observation

Participant observation is a method commonly associated with an ethnographic methodology in policing (see, for example Van Maanen, 1973; Holdaway 1983; Reiner, 2010; Rowe, 2016).

> The wish to penetrate [the] low-visibility [of police work] is why participant observation has been the main technique adopted by researchers wishing to analyse the practices and cultures of policing. All other methods rely on some sort of account offered by the police themselves … the veracity of which is often precisely the question being studied. (Reiner & Newburn, 2008, p. 354)

As the aim of this study is to provide thick descriptions of cultural phenomena such as wellbeing and social relations by experiencing and interpreting multiple realities, embedding myself in the organisation as a participant observer emerged as the most suitable method available.

As a method, participant observation can refer to 'several combinations of participation and observation and that different combinations [are] relevant for different studies and study sites (Gans, 1999, p. 540). All ethnographies are inherently different because of the nature of exploring and interpreting human activity. Some may involve years of immersion understanding a tribe (Boas, 1969; Malinowski, 1922), whereas some enter an organisation for a few months to explore elements of police culture (De Camargo, 2016). What these have in common is a focus on interpreting social life in a certain setting; the researcher experiences, observes, describes, understands, and analyses features of social life in order to present human constructions and meanings (O'Reilly, 2009). Therefore, epistemologically, participant observation is a suitable method to employ in ethnographic research.

In this study, I employed participant observation with front-line officers over a seven-month period (December 2016 until June 2017), until the point of data saturation and risk of going native as aforementioned. I chose to accompany teams going about their daily duties (as opposed to targeting specific events/times) because the aim of this study involved experiencing a range of social relations and everyday experiences of wellbeing. I determined

that experiencing their daily 'realities' would be necessary to meet this end. I joined front-line response officers from six different offices in the county for the duration of the study. In this time, I worked with eight different teams (some were based in the same offices) which were each comprised of approximately ten PCs, one sergeant, and one inspector. As I described in section 4.3.1, I moved iteratively between teams when I felt data saturation was reached and no new patterns were emerging. In all of the stages of participant observation, I followed the same shift patterns that the teams of front-line officers I was working alongside did. The shift patterns were on a variable shift schedule, meaning we generally followed a four or five day stretch of shifts, followed by between two or three days off. The shifts ranged from day shifts (e.g. 0700hrs-1800hrs), to night shifts (2100hrs-0700hrs) and sometimes short changeovers (i.e. completing a shift at 0800hrs and returning for a 1600hrs shift).

On every shift, I was teamed up with a team of PCs by the sergeant, with the exception of the first one or two shifts with each team where I worked alongside the inspector and/or sergeant. I worked with every pairing of officers on the team throughout my fieldwork, with the exception of one team where two officers did not want to be involved with the research[21]. I accompanied the officers to calls, on (rare) meal breaks, to smoking breaks (despite not being a smoker), in briefings, and debriefs. The often taken-for-granted encounters such as meetings or transmission of stories (Schwartzman, 1993) were all considered in my interpretation of shared meanings and symbols (Schein, 2017). As O'Reilly (2009) and Malinowski (1922) asserted, participation involves taking part in everything the research participants do and subsequently aspects of a culture a researcher wants to study are within reach. I spent at least two shift rotations[22] with each team which generally was around sixty hours. I was conscious of balancing potentially overstaying my welcome and also gathering the data I needed.

My approach to participant observation was also guided by my reflexive and iterative-inductive approach. Spradley (2016) outlines how the *types* of observation change

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[21] While the officers never explicitly told me they did not want to be involved, they did not engage in conversation with me at any point and the Sergeant never paired me with either of them. Rather than 'forcing' my way in, my intuition influenced me to avoid this situation.

[22] For example, one shift rotation could be four day shifts, two days off, and the second rotation is the next set of shifts.

throughout the ethnographic research process which again highlights the iterative-inductive nature of the study. Moving from *descriptive* observations, to *focused* observations, and finishing with *selective* observations (ibid, 2016) was reflective of the approach I took. Throughout my observations with the FCR and initial response team I worked with, my focus was on *descriptive* observation. Because this study is shaped by iterative-induction, the narrow aim and attendant objectives were not established prior to entering the field. This allowed me to consider the insights gained from the theoretical background and include phenomena that were not initially considered such as the wellbeing element which emerged early on during participant observation. This further speaks to the strength of an ethnographic approach, as I was able to address issues relevant to practitioners rather than impose concerns or questions that are not relevant to them. Further, it allowed me to *uncover, discover, and experience* aspects of police culture and thus offer an original perspective that would not have been otherwise available (e.g. through deduction, surveys) (Fassin, 2017).

This shift led into the *focused* observation stage of fieldwork. Following initial descriptive observations which provided me an overview of the social situation I was studying, I analysed the initial data and refocused my efforts loosely on how front-line officers expressed wellbeing. This allowed me to focus on more specific cultural phenomena such as social relations rather than trying to make sense of a wider range of data that emerged in the descriptive stage. In order to discover emergent knowledge rather than limiting the process by testing prefigured hypotheses as with more positivistic approaches, I remained flexible throughout the research process.

From this stage of observation, I narrowed down the research further in order to make *selective* observations near the end of fieldwork. As themes emerged throughout fieldwork, I narrowed my focus so that thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) regarding the phenomena of wellbeing constructions could be provided. This does not mean I disregarded the peripheral phenomena that were occurring such as the interactions between front-line officers regarding other topics, however the analytical foci had to continually be refined so as to meet the aim of the study. Because the process led from descriptive to selective observations, the teams I had observed early in the research process fell into the time period when I was engaging in descriptive observation and working towards focusing my observations.

Therefore, when I felt I had reached data saturation, I iteratively returned to the first two teams I worked alongside in order to spend time with them and focus on the themes I had uncovered in my selective observation period. Following a shift pattern with these teams, I made the decision to exit the field as I outlined in the previous section.

Throughout the course of my participant observation, it was important to engage in conversations through which I could elicit interpretations from front-line officers regarding their constructions of wellbeing. To reiterate, these interpretations emerged from the interpreted gap between how life is and how it ought to be. These conversations took place alongside participation and observation and are considered unstructured ethnographic interviews. Generally, ethnographic studies rely heavily on these unstructured interviews as opposed to structured or formal interviews (O'Reilly, 2009). Ethnographic interviews 'can take the shape of opportunistic chats, questions that arise on the spur of the moment, one-to-one in-depth interviews, group interviews and all sorts of ways of asking questions and learning about people that fall in between' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 4). Within this study, these ethnographic interviews were carried out with research participants in order to aid in understanding the reasons for certain actions, feelings, or behaviours they were expressing. Unstructured ethnographic interviews took place in various locations and at various times throughout the course of participant observation. These interviews happened in patrol cars, in the office hallways, during constant observations at custody suites, or during walks through town on patrol. They varied between group interviews and one-on-one (or two-on-one as we were often double-crewed in cars) interviews. As I will discuss in section 4.4.4, these conversations were recorded in the same way my observations were.

The depth of these ethnographic interviews relied heavily on the social relations and rapport I was able to build throughout my time with the organisation. I built rapport by engaging with research participants from the time I introduced myself to a new team and continued to build this rapport throughout my time with them. As Heyl (2001) stated, there must be a 'genuine exchange of views' (p. 369) throughout the course of ethnographic interviews in order to achieve the aims and goals of the research.

In order to achieve these goals, ethnographic interviewers must be acutely aware of the necessity to establish a climate where respectful listening is paramount and where there is an understanding of the role he or she plays in how the interviewee constructs meaning throughout the research process (Ortiz, p. 37)

The role that I as a researcher played in the process is an important consideration in this context. I was privy to several personal and intimate stories shared by my research participants (discussed in analysis chapters), and this likely would not have happened if there was no trust or rapport between us. As O'Reilly (2009) stated, 'informality should result from rapport rather than be imposed' (p. 127). My experience in law enforcement probably contributed to this rapport and interpersonal relationship, as I felt I could fit in and share my own stories in trust-building exercises. This sharing was more than a tactic 'to encourage the respondent to open up; rather, the researcher often feels a reciprocal desire to disclose, given the intimacy of the details being shared by the interviewee' (Ellis & Berger, 2003, p. 162). As discussed in the preceding chapter regarding police culture, there is a certain language and attitude associated with the culture (e.g. banter) and given my experience, 'fitting in' felt natural to me and my personality suited the environment I was working in.

I recognise and cannot understate how fortunate I was to receive the access to research participants that I did, and this gratitude impelled me to engage fully in the process and not take any interactions for granted. Despite the senior managerial team granting me 'minimum six months' in the field, I remained engaged with the organisation for nine months and still continue engagement with some of the contacts I made. Nearly two years after my access was granted, I have not been asked to relinquish it and have received open invitations to return to the field to work alongside the teams again. Despite this open access, I will reiterate that I made a difficult decision to exit the field as discussed in section 4.3.1. At this time, I moved on to the second stage of data gathering which involved ethnographic interviews (Spradley, 2016) with the senior management team. These interviews are the focus of the following section.

## 4.4.2 Ethnographic interviews with senior managers

The decision to complete semi-structured ethnographic interviews with senior managers was made approximately halfway through the participant-observer phase as I felt it would be helpful in meeting the overall aim of the research[23]. Engaging in semi-structured interviews is a common means to gather primary data from research participants (Hammersley & Gomm, 2008) and was both suitable and necessary regarding my research aims. Through ethnographic interviews with front-line officers I identified targeted questions I wanted to ask senior managers in order to further explore constructions of wellbeing within the organisation. This is also where one of my research objectives emerged. Based on participant observations, I sought to *identify the similarities and differences between front line officers' and senior managers' versions of wellbeing.* Through the process of exploring social norms and rules and ideologies amongst front line officers, I began to discover how the problem of wellbeing was constructed through social ideology projects and sought to explore the same idea with senior managers. This decision shaped the above research objective, which addresses the similarities and differences in social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing throughout the organisational hierarchy.  As I will explore in the analysis chapters, front-line officers often expressed opinions about senior managers and thus exploring these opinions was important to the overall research aim.

After the participant observation was complete and I had exited the field, I created an interview guide (see appendix B) to reflect on what I needed to obtain from the interviews which was informed by my participant observation process with front-line officers. The questions I asked were primarily regarding their experiences of work to gain insight to their interpretation of social norms and rules, ideologies, police culture, and how they attached meaning to wellbeing (see appendix C). As outlined in the conceptual framework, I wanted to understand how people create meaning about wellbeing, which involves understanding their interpretation and experience of social norms and rules along with ideologies, which are underpinned by social relations. This understanding allows for a portrayal of how senior

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[23] These are considered ethnographic interviews, or rather all part of an overall ethnographic study rather than separate to the process.

managers construct and reconstruct wellbeing, leading to a final discussion as to how this knowledge is situated within police culture.

While each question was not always asked, the general theme of the interviews remained the same for each interview to remain consistent with the conceptual framework illustrated in chapter three. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a number of senior managers, specifically chief inspectors, superintendents, chief superintendents, the assistant chief constable, deputy chief constable, and chief constable. As defined by Bryman (2012) the semi-structured interview process involves having 'a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, often referred to as an interview guide, but the interviewee has a great deal of leeway in how to reply' (p. 471). This follows the general theme of the study, which emphasises the importance of incorporating human nature and recognising that being flexible will assist in delving into individual differences between the subjects being studied. The interview process therefore provided space for respondents to discuss social norms and rules, ideologies, and wellbeing in ways that were meaningful to them (Brown, 1983).

Semi-structured ethnographic interviews were chosen as a method rather than unstructured ethnographic interviews for the senior managerial ranks due to the unsuitability for me to observe them daily as I did with front-line officers and engage with them at opportune times. The majority of senior manager work consists of meetings and office work which I did not feel would be suitable to observe based on my knowledge of the work that takes place (i.e. professional standards, administrative) and the inability to interject in these meetings with questions as necessary. Further, observing the corporate functions of policing would not have provided me the insights to wellbeing constructions as the opportunities for them to express their interpretations around the concept would have been limited based on their function in meetings. Therefore, it was imperative that I asked focused questions within interviews that satisfied the aim and objectives of my research.

Based on their hierarchical positioning and my knowledge of law enforcement, I also felt that senior managers would respond better to a more formal interview rather than an unstructured conversation. Semi-structured interviews allow for unanticipated questions that arise, which suited the iterative-inductive, constructivist approach I adopted. As Denzin

(2001) suggested, every semi-structured interview text 'selectively and unsystematically reconstructs the world, tells and performs a story according to its own version of narrative logic' (pp. 25–26). Belur (2014) further expanded on this by explaining the emergence of this narrative logic from both the 'context along with the interplay of various factors, such as the age, gender, ethnicity, class and status of both the researcher and the researched' (p. 185). This accentuates the consideration for power dynamics throughout my interviews. Based on my past experience in law enforcement and experiences during fieldwork, I have developed an appreciation for a hierarchical structure and modalities of power. As I explain in my analysis chapters, these hierarchical and power assumptions contribute to shaping constructions of wellbeing and thus are a consideration throughout the entirety of the study. With this in mind, it is also worth noting my own experience within managerial ranks in law enforcement which shaped my perception of the field along with my personality which made me comfortable interacting with such senior managers and thus shaped my interactions with research participants (Punch, 1994).

Semi-structured interviews with the senior leadership team lasted between sixty and ninety minutes each. All except one were completed at Force Headquarters and recorded. Informed consent was obtained for each interview. Interviews were transcribed and coded inductively, which will be further explained in section 4.4.5. The completion of the semi-structured ethnographic interviews did not mark the end of the data gathering process. During one of the interviews, I was asked to join the organisation's leadership and wellbeing board which facilitated my continued participation with the organisation and provided the opportunity to understand a wider range of social ideology projects within the organisation. This wellbeing board, my membership on it, and observations were initially considered in analysis, however upon review, the findings did not contribute further meaningful insight for this study. I consider some of the outputs throughout analysis, and therefore will provide a brief description of the strategic leadership and wellbeing board to provide context that is later mentioned.

### 4.4.3 Wellbeing board

In May of 2017, Cadogan Police established a 'Leadership and Wellbeing Board' (herein referred to as the Board). The Board was initiated by the chief constable and delegated to a team of superintendents to implement. Because the senior managers I was interviewing at the time were involved in Board, the topic emerged several times. During my interview with the chief constable, he mentioned the Board and asked if I would have an interest in joining it because of what I was studying within the organisation. He asked if I would present my findings when I had them to the Board, and in return I would gain further insight to how senior managers conceptualise wellbeing. I readily agreed, and after one email exchange with the superintendent in charge, I was invited to all future meetings.

Prior to the initial meeting, one Superintendent established different 'strands' of 'wellbeing' aspects to address in a formal manner such as sleep patterns, healthy eating, and mental health. These strands were based on feedback garnered within wellbeing or satisfaction surveys the organisation distributes biennially[24]. The board had the intention of implementing strategies they developed within these meetings in September 2017. The meetings were scheduled monthly and attended by a number of superintendents who 'championed' one of the strands.

I moved to London in August 2017, and therefore I was unable to attend further meetings. However the interactions I did observe along with the premise of the Board provided insight to how wellbeing is mobilised in the organisation. I observed interactions between senior managers within the monthly meetings and recorded the observations as fieldnotes, in a similar manner as the fieldnotes from the participant-observation period. This will be the focus of the following section.

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[24] I was offered access to these surveys and results by the Chief Constable, however due to circumstances beyond my control I did not receive them so am unaware of the contents.

## 4.4.4 Writing fieldnotes

Recording descriptive fieldnotes is a central aspect of ethnographic research (Emerson et al., 2011). As I described in section 4.4.1, the process of my participant observation evolved from *descriptive,* to *focused,* to *selective*, which is an inevitable part of ethnographic research (Walsh, 1998). My fieldnotes followed a similar process. When I first entered the field, I tried to record everything I observed, as the process of iterative-inductive research involves narrowing the focus from an initial wider focus. Over time, I narrowed my research focus and thus became more selective regarding what I would write down. This does not mean I disregarded factors that may have been considered peripheral, rather I engaged in more targeted ethnographic interviews and focused on interactions that contributed to my overall research aim. As Emerson et al. (2011) asserted, there is no consensus amongst ethnographers on the kinds of writings that are termed fieldnotes, nor how or when fieldnotes should be written. Hence, the approach is individualised and as this is based on a constructivist approach it also considers me as a subjective resource in the research. This will be expanded upon in section 4.5.

Throughout the participant observation process with front-line officers, finding an appropriate time to write fieldnotes was a constant consideration. Because taking fieldnotes in the presence of the research participants can be obtrusive (Brewer, 2000), it was important to my process to not make the impression that I was being secretive about what I was writing. At the beginning of the participant-observation process, I generally had a small notebook on my person throughout the shifts and would write down notes when I felt it was appropriate. However, I noticed that when I started to write anything down, it would garner suspicion from anyone in the vicinity (See De Camargo, 2016 for similar issues). To attempt to mitigate this suspicion, I made it clear that anyone could read my notes at any time and would leave my notebook open on a desk any time I left the room. After a number of shifts, I tried a different method and began entering memos on my smartphone, as it is relatively normalized to be texting or emailing and was less overt than taking out a notebook. This method was especially effective when we were on calls or in the patrol car as I typically sat in the back of a double crewed car.

As Foster (1996) argued, 'notes should be preferably made as soon as possible after the observation. The longer this is left the more is forgotten and the greater the chance of inaccuracies and biases creeping in' (p. 84). I therefore wrote down what I could in the moment and completed the remainder of thicker descriptions and reflexive notes at the end of the shift. All field notes and observations were recorded prior to entering the field on the following day. Van Maanen (2011) expanded on this issue further:

> To put it bluntly, fieldnotes are gnomic, shorthand reconstructions of events, observations, and conversations that took place in the field. They are composed well after the fact as inexact notes to oneself and represent simply one of many levels of textualization set off by experience. To disentangle the interpretive procedures at work as one moves across levels is problematic to say the least (pp. 223-224).

This quotation highlights the importance of writing fieldnotes that were as rich as possible and written as soon as I returned home. This created different 'types' of fieldnotes (i.e. in the moment versus after a shift), which is typical of ethnographic research (O'Reilly, 2009). I did not differentiate between these 'types' of notes throughout analysis. On a number of occasions, I recorded voice notes on my phone on the drive home and transcribed these along with the rest of my fieldnotes. It was also important in this sense to identify the specific social phenomena that would contribute to my study and be selective with notes as it would simply have been overwhelming to attempt to record *everything* that was observed throughout a shift.

Some of the challenges I faced regarding fieldnotes was having the energy to complete in-depth descriptive notes after an especially emotional shift, a long shift (overtime occurred sometimes due to caseloads), and night shifts. For example, after working until 0700 hrs and driving between thirty and forty-five minutes home (depending which office I was working out of), it was challenging to reflect upon everything that happened in the shift. On other occasions, I felt personally emotionally exhausted from especially challenging shifts (which will be explained in analysis). This impacted my own constructions of wellbeing and reiterated how I was a subject of my own research. This point draws on discussions around reflexivity in ethnographic research, or the process by which the process of doing research and the

researcher themself influence the product of research. Following a discussion of the process of data analysis, reflexivity will be discussed.

### *4.4.5 Data analysis*

Similar to the process of data gathering, the analytical approach employed for this study was also iterative-inductive. As I experienced, 'ethnographic analysis is not a stage in a linear process but an iterative phase in a spiral where progress is steadily made from data collection to making some sense of it all for others' (O'Reilly, 2009: 13). This implied both the iterative, or 'both a spiral and a straight line, a loop and a tail' and the inductive, or keeping 'as open a mind as possible, allowing the data to speak for themselves as far as possible' (O'Reilly, 2012, p. 27). In light of this, the analysis was data-driven and occurred alongside the data gathering process (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

The process of analysis began from the first day of fieldwork, as I reviewed fieldnotes for emerging themes after every shift. I made notes about the most outstanding, yet still broad, general themes after every shift, along with reflexive considerations which will be further discussed below. In the early stages, I had a broad focus and looked for areas where there was a discernible expressed gap between life how it is and how it ought to be. From this point, I was able to draw out attendant themes such as social relations, bureaucracy, leadership, and resources. From the beginning, I colour-coded my fieldnotes in an attempt to establish the primary themes. The primary themes (i.e. wellbeing, social relations) of the study were established early on in the fieldwork and developed throughout based on my interactions with front-line officers and as outlined in the conceptual framework.

Upon completion of the fieldwork, I compiled all fieldnotes, I revisited the initial themes I had noted and systematically drew out further emergent themes. These themes were developed by inducing patterns, repetitions, indigenous categories (Patton, 2002), transitions throughout interviews, metaphors, gaps in text (Spradley, 1979), and my interpretations of verbal and non-verbal exchanges. In the first round of analysis, this included broad themes such as references to bureaucratic processes, promotion processes, hiring processes, and so on. By combining all of my fieldnotes and revisiting them, richer themes emerged which

incorporated contextual elements (i.e. police culture) and enabled me to organise and explain the primary themes by theorising. This links to Van Maanen's (2002) description of first and second order concepts; 'First order concepts are the "facts" of an ethnographic investigation and the second-order concepts are the "theories" an analyst uses to organize and explain these facts' (p. 103-104). After completing a first order analysis, the main focus of this research was established and at this stage an analysis chapter was written.

My initial, or first-order, analysis focused on identifying formal and informal organisational characteristics as they relate to wellbeing. The former referred to elements such as bureaucratic practices, codified strategies, and hierarchy and the latter referred to elements including machoism and leadership. To reiterate, wellbeing emerged throughout the research process (i.e. fieldwork, analysis, write-up) as a problem, the gap between how life is and how it ought to be for the research participants.



Figure 4.1 *The ethical concept of wellbeing*

However, upon reviewing this and looking for patterns, social norms and rules and ideologies emerged which organised and explained the first order concepts. This is where relational wellbeing within the organisational culture as a guiding framework entered analysis, as I noted that the 'facts' I found could be organised and explained by this concept. Here, I was able to transcend my initial analysis and progress toward theory-based, thematic, and conceptual explanations (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Saldana, 2016). The importance of social ideology projects for analytical utility arose at this stage through further discussions with my supervisors as well as research participants. Here, how social rules and norms and ideologies linked together to form these social ideological projects (and be formed by them) became apparent. In my efforts to identify patterns as a way of organising social relations, I could not

reduce the patterns to only one of the concepts of social norms and rules or ideologies. As aforementioned, I found that the cultural phenomena of wellbeing(s) could be identified through organising both cultural practices and sets of ideas, hence my creation of the concept of social ideology projects. At this stage I added shared meanings and symbols to the conceptual framework as an outcome and influencer of social relations as I determined them to be implicit and explicit factors in social norms and rules, ideologies, and social ideological projects. Through this process, I was also able to identify the interests and agendas these social ideology projects served.

I relied on manual 'coding' of my fieldnotes and interview transcripts as I was able to immerse myself deeper into them (De Camargo, 2016). The emergent themes were developed with the research question and objectives in mind. As each analysis chapter will show, the research objectives were refined as second order concepts (i.e. themes) were developed, closely following Braun and Clarke's (2006) phases of thematic analysis. This was done to ensure that the study was data driven and did not have theory imposed on it, and to respect the complexity of the social world (O'Reilly, 2009).

This process occurred in a similar way to participant-observation and fieldnotes, in that that analytical process evolved from *descriptive,* to *focused,* to *selective* (Spradley, 2016). When I initially entered the field, my research aim was based loosely on leadership and morale in the police organisation and I collected *descriptive* fieldnotes in order to capture these general themes. Within the first few shifts however (as will be explored in the following analysis chapter), the emergence of wellbeing as a primary theme was noticed. Thus, the shift to a *focused* approach, which led me to move iteratively between the data gathering, literature review, and ongoing analysis. Continuing to move iteratively between data gathering and analysis led me to make more *selective* observations, fieldnotes, and thus analysis.

Along with iteratively moving between data and theory, reflexivity was a consideration throughout the analysis process. As Brewer (2000) asserted, reflexivity and writing-up are inseparable processes which highlights the interplay between the researcher and their data. My personal experiences and positionality along with my constructivist approach influenced the writing-up process and became the foundation 'for making comparisons and discovering

properties and dimensions' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.5). Therefore, the following section will discuss reflexivity and its centrality throughout the entirety of this study.

## 4.5 Reflexivity, positionality, and the insider-outsider

I adopted a reflexive approach throughout all stages of my study in order to highlight the social norms and rules encountered when studying and communicating how the problem of wellbeing is constructed in the context of a police organisation. Reflexivity 'refers to the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research' (Davies, 2008, p. 4). My study required close involvement in the organisation I was studying, which involved both attaching myself with the culture and participants within the study as I have explored in the previous sections, but also detaching myself in order to construct the observations and complete analysis. This process is supported by Davies (2008) who stated:

> In order to incorporate such insights into research practice, individual ethnographers in the field – and out of it – must seek to develop forms of research that fully acknowledge and utilize subjective experience and reflection on it as an intrinsic part of research (p. 5).

This quote highlights the importance of taking a reflexive approach and being self-aware when I was analysing the dynamics of social relations within this study (Cole, 1992; Finlay & Gough, 2008). From my research perspective it is assumed that I, as a researcher, am a subjective resource and working within a socially constructed context. Further, 'adopting a reflexive approach within research entails rejection of an ontological positioning of the social world as independent of the researcher and the research process; rather the researcher is acknowledged as a subjective resource within the research' (Burman & Gelsthorpe, 2017, p. 226). This supports my relational ontology and also supports the centrality of social relations which links to my conceptual and constructivist framework.

Within a constructivist framework, I discuss that culture is fluid and in a constant state of evolution. This challenges insider/outsider dualisms 'and questions the distinctions that have

been drawn between the ethnographical 'emic', which seeks to understand a culture from the inside, and the comparative 'etic', which seeks to compare across different cultures' (McNess et al., 2013, p. 298). Throughout this study I was not a full member (i.e. insider) within the organisation, nor was I wholly indifferent and studying the organisation from the outside. Rather, I navigated this dichotomy by occupying the hyphen space in insider-outsider, a hyphen which 'acts as a third space, a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction' (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009, p. 60). This afforded me a deeper knowledge of the experiences I was studying and at the same time the critical distance needed for analysing these experiences (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

Sections 4.3 and 4.4 outlined the process by which I navigated my presence in the field which is reflective of an insider-outsider positionality. I recognise that my knowledge is based on my positionality (Mullings, 1999), but also appreciate the fluidity and multi-layered complexity of human experience (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Being an insider-outsider, I argue that you do not need to be an inside member of an organisation to know their experience, nor must you be completely detached in order to draw comparison with the 'other' (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Fay (1996) supported this idea by stating that 'knowing an experience requires more than simply having it; knowing implies being able to identify, describe, and explain' (p. 20). However, this position also carries responsibility when communicating the research; to avoid self-reflective isolationism, self-absorption, impotent texts, and narcissistic self-centredness (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000; Brown, 1994; Newton, 1996), 'it is necessary to widen our rhetorical and textual focus to include the researcher's recognition of her-or himself as a rhetorician who is part of a social and political context' (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000, p. 246). Part of an insider-outsider approach is recognising that research is not necessarily only about identifying what is 'different' but also what is similar to my own perspective, hence, the importance of reflexively considering myself in my fieldwork, data analysis, and findings.

The process of recognising and incorporating myself into my fieldwork, analysis, and write-up was a constantly considered – and evolving – process. This involved contemplating how my social background, assumptions, positioning, and behaviour shaped the research process and my findings (Finlay & Gough, 2008). As a 29-year old Caucasian, heterosexual, with a middle-

class upbringing, my socio-demography was generally aligned with the research participants. However, as with any demographic, this will inherently have an impact on the lens through which I present this research (i.e. would the outcome have been different if I were from a different background?). There were factors, however, that were primary reflexive considerations, namely being female in a masculine dominated environment (as discussed in chapter 3) and a former law-enforcement officer. Both of these factors had an influence on how I navigated my role as an insider-outsider within the research process, relationships with research participants, and the interpretation and representation of wellbeing in a policing context. I will discuss each of these considerations both separately and interdependently below.

First, being a female in a masculine-dominated field played a role in all stages of the research process. In the fieldwork stage, I noticed that females were the minority on every team I worked with. According to a 2017 Home Office report, females accounted for 29% of police officers in England and Wales, and an average of 24.5% for the 'senior manager' (chief inspector and up) rank (Home Office, 2017). Initially when I entered the field, I had preconceived notions of the influence of being 'feminine' in a masculine dominated environment. The obvious difference in this study is I was an insider-outsider versus solely an insider. As an insider in my former career, I perceived a noted difference in how females (including myself) were treated by male colleagues. Sexual harassment was frequent within the officer ranks, however typically 'laughed off' by the females in an apparent bid to normalise it as part of the culture. It is unknown to me what was reported and what was not; however, from personal experience I never reported any, as the 'blue code of silence'[25] would dictate, as well it not being taken seriously on most occasions. In section 4.6 I will explore this further when discussing ethical considerations.

Female ethnographers have addressed a variety of gender issues throughout their studies in police organisations. For Loftus (2007), being a 'young female researcher in a male dominated environment [was] advantageous (p. 22), and O'Neill (2002) admitted to using her gender to her 'advantage at times' (p. 389). While I cannot say I consciously used my gender to my

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[25] As discussed in chapter 3

advantage (e.g. as O'Neill, 2002, used 'elements of flirting' and playing 'a naïve blonde', p. 389), I do recognise the potential benefit being a female researcher had. Similar to De Camargo (2016), I found it was easier to obtain information from male officers than females. Further, as Loftus (2007) stated, females have the advantage of being seen as '"naturally" trustworthy and empathetic' (p. 22) and can deploy gender to establish rapport (Mazzei & O'Brien, 2009). In this study, I was exploring sensitive constructions of wellbeing, and in this case, I believe that males were more likely to express these emotional stories to me.

While being female may have granted me certain insights to cultural phenomena related to wellbeing, having previous experience in law-enforcement also helped me to navigate an insider-outsider role. One of the ways we communicated with each other was through banter. Reflecting on my experience researching in the field, I was able to engage in the banter and sometimes politically incorrect conversations that took place (e.g. speaking in a derogatory way about 'gypsies' or joking about how one of the officers had 'fallen in love with me') as I can recognise them as social norms that are part of the culture. Had I not worked in the field previously, I may not have been as comfortable with this kind of talk. I felt confident engaging in these types of conversations, which undoubtedly helped me 'fit in' with officers and helped build rapport. The idea that the officers were open with me and willing to welcome me into these conversations played a role in gaining mutual trust. This was further built on throughout ethnographic interviews as well as the semi-structured interviews with senior managers. As Ellis and Berger (2003) asserted, 'researcher's disclosures are more than tactics to encourage the respondent to open up; rather, the researcher often feels a reciprocal desire to disclose, given the intimacy of the details being shared by the interviewee' (p. 162).

My personal disclosures emerged naturally in conversations with front-line officers and senior managers likely because of how comfortable I felt in this line of work. This has a profound implication for my reflexivity considerations, as it required me to consider careful interpretation and reflection (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000) throughout data gathering and analysis. Respectively, this 'implies that all references to empirical data are the *results of interpretation'* and further 'turns attention inwards towards the person of the researchers, the relevant research community, society as a whole, intellectual and cultural traditions, and the central importance, as well as the problematic nature, of language and narrative in the

research context' (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000, p. 5). Thus, the approach involves the interpretation of the research participants' interpretations and the need for careful reflection, which I engaged with throughout the study. This idea supports the constructivist approach to this study and disclosing the influence of my participation throughout fieldwork.

O'Reilly (2009) further supports two-way conversations between the researcher and participants, for they 'encourage reflexivity on both parts, enable the time it takes for participants to explore their own beliefs, and to express contradictory opinions, doubts, fears, hopes, and dreams. They also provide space for the interviewer to adapt their own perspective' (p. 126). This links to the anthropological self and the study context as reflexive considerations (Cole, 1992). That is, these factors helped me as a researcher to consider 'the subjectivity and historical specificity of the field experience as well as the social and political realities of the lives of [participants] (Cole, 1992, p. 125). A reflexive and consciously diplomatic study emerged from this approach, which was an important consideration in my study, as a long-term relationship with the organisation was important for me because of the friendships I made and the career aspirations I have.

This brings up another factor in the research design and reflexivity, which was balancing my sense of loyalty to the organisation with my academic aims. I identified with the teams I was working with based on my personal history and felt throughout the process that I should 'give back' to the organisation. This intrinsically had a role in shaping the lens through which I viewed the organisation and the questions I asked. As aforementioned, unstructured interviews are integral to ethnographic research. The conversations I engaged in with the subjects of my study helped me to mitigate the intrinsic desire I had to find information that would help the organisation and instead focus on their perspectives and readily accept their opinions. These unstructured interviews that occurred throughout the ethnographic work assisted in finding the balance between my goals and the goals of the subjects as well as the wider organisation.

Having this perspective also assisted me in gaining valuable insight to internal and external power dynamics and provided the opportunity for reflection of positionality from my own perspective as well as the subjects of the study. Issues of power inevitably come into focus

when entering relationships with research participants, 'and require us constantly to scrutinise interrogate our own positions, views, and behaviours, turning back onto ourselves the same scrupulous lens through which we examine the lives of our participants' (Etherington, 2004, p. 226). As Holland (1999) asserted, 'we must acquire the "habit" of viewing our sociological beliefs as we view the beliefs of others; in other words, we must apply sociological analysis to ourselves – a sociology of sociology' (p. 465-466). This "habit" was embedded in all stages of my research and is the essence of a reflexive approach. Considering all the aspects that could have an impact on how I constructed the social world that I was trying to understand was a constant factor throughout the research.

As a reflexive researcher, it was imperative to constantly be aware of both the field I was studying as well as my position in it. As Maykut and Morehouse (1994) asserted:

> The qualitative researcher's perspective is perhaps a paradoxical one: it is to be acutely tuned-in to the experiences and meaning systems of others—to indwell—and at the same time to be aware of how one's own biases and preconceptions may be influencing what one is trying to understand (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994, p. 123).

The factors I have explored in this section have outlined the considerations I made regarding the reflexive turn in research. This section has explained the importance of reflexivity in ethnographic research in general, and my research in particular. The following analysis chapters will draw out this paradoxical perspective and reflexivity engage with my own positionality as it influences data analysis. My positionality and insider-outsider status have been explored and provide background for my approach throughout the entirety of this study. Another important, and related, element within this ethnography are ethical responsibilities and my approach in responding to them, which will be discussed in the following section.

## 4.6 Ethical responsibilities and my approach

The ethical implications of this project have been considered at length, including the effects it could have on the organisation being studied, the individuals being studied, the general external community, and myself. The research being conducted adheres to the Loughborough

University Ethical Code of Practice, and the Loughborough University Ethical Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-committee granted approval following the submission of my ethical checklist and risk assessment. Further, as the study is developed primarily through an ethnographic methodology, guidelines from the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA)[26] have been consulted and followed. It is stressed by the ASA that the 'in-depth nature of the information produced by ethnographic research often presents ethical dilemmas, wherever anthropologists work' (ASA, 2016, p. 1). The ASA considers five broad groups in its ethical guidelines: relations with and responsibilities toward research participants; relations with and responsibilities towards sponsors, funders, and employers; relations with and responsibilities towards colleagues and the discipline; relations with own and host government and; responsibilities to the wider society (ASA, 2016).

All five of the aforementioned areas of responsibility were considered constantly throughout the study. I realise my conduct throughout the research as well as the thesis that results from it can have a significant impact, and therefore acting with professionalism and integrity was maintained. A constant consideration throughout the study was that 'an ethical approach to ethnography attempts to avoid harm to, and respect the rights of, all participants and to consider the consequences of all aspects of the research process' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 57). The importance of responding to ethical responsibilities in the research cannot be minimised, and considerations, dilemmas, and questions were dealt with case-by-case and continually heeded.

Part of my ethical consideration was my role as an overt researcher. Covert research (Bulmer, 1982) was never considered an option for this project, as there are several barriers to gaining full access in this manner including training, clearance, and long-term commitment requirements along with ethical considerations (Calvey, 2013). While there have been police ethnographies that employ covert research (Holdaway, 1983; Young, 1991), they are authored by researchers that were already working within a police organisation, something not feasible for me. Furthermore, I did not want to risk damaging relationships between police organisations and myself by using deliberate deceit (Calvey, 2013) as these are

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[26] http://www.theasa.org/ethics.shtml

relationships I will maintain past this study for long-term mutual benefit. Furthermore, the study addresses sensitive wellbeing discussions as I will outline in the empirical analysis chapters and I therefore determined gathering full informed consent was the correct ethical decision.

To maintain my overt researcher position during fieldwork, I ensured that informed consent was fulfilled. At the start of every shift, the team of PCs, the sergeant and on occasion the inspector would gather in a specified room for a shift briefing. It was during these briefings when I fully informed my participants about the nature of my study, ensured them they would be anonymous (along with the organisation itself), reiterated that they could withdraw from the process at any time and without giving a reason, and welcomed any questions from them, similar to Rowe's (2007) approach. Because of how I structured my work with each team, I was able to introduce myself to the teams on the first shift that I spent with them at this time. Therefore, after the first shift, the entire team knew who I was and what I was looking at. Along with this, the team sergeants informed their teams before I came in for a shift that I would be joining them. This did, however, highlight the implicit power relations; as Rowe (2007) found, 'as the sergeants were in a position of authority over the PCs, it must be assumed that their assent to my presence was informed, in part at least, by the recognition that it was their supervisor who was 'requesting' that they accommodate me during the shift' (p. 43-44). Thus, I had to use my own judgment if I could 'sense' that someone did not want to participate (which only happened once). If someone joined the team mid-shift or mid-shift rotation, I would ensure that I told them immediately what I was there researching. Because I was teamed with PCs, they usually took initiative to introduce me to new additions to the team that I had not met. It was important to stress the outcomes of my research with all participants, as I did not want to appear as if I was there to seek out information for senior managers but rather to work with the officers and communicate their ideas for potential positive organisational benefit.

Confidentiality was another important consideration throughout the course of this study to protect the individuals that shared information, the reputation of the organisation, and also to adhere to the legally binding confidentiality agreement I signed with the force and Loughborough University (appendix D). This agreement, instigated by Cadogan Police,

required that all names and locations are anonymised, and the force is referred to by a pseudonym. The agreement also required that the police organisation will review the entirety of the study prior to its availability to such a public domain. The recording and writing of the events I observed are carefully constructed so to not change the accuracy, but to adhere to this agreement (i.e. names are not included, the name of the force is not referenced). This agreement was struck to protect both myself and the organisation, and therefore was constantly reviewed throughout the process.

My duty to act and/or report was a consideration that was discussed with the police organisation (Jauregui, 2013). As I accompanied PCs to calls, my role as a researcher and not a police officer was made clear. Although I have significant training as a firearms officer from my years in law enforcement, I in no way became involved in the duties the police carry out here as dictated by the legal documents I signed with the force regarding liabilities[27]. I was in plain clothes aside from a protective stab vest and made it clear to the front-line officers I observed that I do not have the ability to assist. The only type of circumstance I was able to be involved with was if I was expressly needed to preserve life, which is a position that any civilian can be asked to partake in. I was provided with a radio on most shifts as well, which provided me with a means of immediate contact and always had my mobile phone, along with contact numbers for the team's sergeant and inspector. Between the risk assessments by the front-line officers I observed and my own risk assessments when going to each call, I was never put in a position where I felt 'in danger' and felt I had skills and common sense to remove myself from a situation that may have posed such a danger.

My gatekeepers also asked what I would do if I see officers acting in ways that violate the organisation's code of ethics. My position on this was while my priority was to build rapport and relationships within the organisation, each case would be approached and assessed independently should this arise as an issue. Balancing this was more difficult than I expected it would be. As Rowe (2007) found in his ethnographic work, 'the molehills of ethical dilemmas…[were] as difficult to negotiate as the anticipated mountains would have done had

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[27] I signed a waiver of liability document on my first day of fieldwork that outlined my responsibility to refrain from getting involved in police work unless to protect life (and directed by the host-officer) and to obey all commands by the officers I accompanied.

they materialized' (p. 37). As I discussed in relation to reflexivity, my position as an insider-outsider was navigated based on trust, rapport, and participation. Although the code of ethics is subjective in itself, I did not interpret anything as damaging to the organisation or any individual, thus never felt compelled to report anything. For example, part 10.1 of the Police Code of Ethics (which applies to all police organisations in England and Wales states: 'According to this standard you must never ignore unethical or unprofessional behaviour by a policing colleague, irrespective of the person's rank, grade or role' (College of Policing, p. 15). However, unethical and unprofessional behaviour is not defined, thus I was required to manage this by using my own judgment. As Westmarland (2001) warned, ethnographers 'tread a thin line...in "blowing the whistle"' (p. 527). I did not witness any behaviour that I felt 'crossed a line' in my interpretation of unethical or unprofessional behaviour (Westmarland, 2001). Upon reflection, this returns to my experience in law-enforcement where I may have been desensitised to any questionable behaviours.

As a researcher, I have a duty to represent my findings as accurately while respecting the research participants, however there are complicated considerations around morals and ethics. As De Camargo (2016) also experienced, 'while researchers may have a duty to report as they find, and produce reliable, truthful data, ethical codes and regulations which they are required to stringently follow do not always provide the answers to morally compromising situations' (p. 106). Therefore, I relied on my own personal judgment, professional experience, and ability to remove myself from potentially harmful situations. I made a number of friendships with individuals from the organisation and would not want to tarnish these, nor would I want to put any of them in a position that would result in any social stigmatisation (De Camargo, 2016; Thomas & Marquart, 1987).

Based on extant literature and past ethnographic studies (Punch, 1979, Reiner, 2000), I expected to encounter more significant ethical dilemmas, however similar to Rowe (2007), I did not. 'I found molehills where I had expected mountains' (p. 47) and based on my personal judgement these 'molehills' (e.g. sexualised banter, comments to detainees) did not require further attention despite them being at times difficult to navigate. As Johnson (1953) stated, 'our assumptions define and limit what we see... even if this involves distortion or omission' (p. 79), which may have been a factor in my observations (or lack of) concerning ethical issues.

Another factor may have been my experience in law-enforcement or my personality which normalised this kind of behaviour. Regardless, I remained reflexive about these factors throughout research and given that I was conscious of these issues for the entirety of the study, I am still of the opinion that I made suitable decisions.

**4.7 Chapter summary**

In this chapter I have outlined the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of the research and explained how this framed my decision to adopt a particular approach – reflexive ethnography – to generate knowledge within my study. I outlined how the research design was driven by these underpinnings, which included describing the site of research, how access was gained and maintained, and how fieldnotes were taken. I then explained the process of data analysis. The reflexive turn in research and my positionality was then explored. Finally, the ethical considerations of the study were considered, and my ethical approach was explained. In summary, this chapter outlined how and why I conducted the research in the way that I did. The following chapter is the first of three data analysis chapters.

**Chapter Five**


**5.0 The construction, mobilisation, consumption, and reconstruction of versions of wellbeing amongst front-line officers**


**5.1 Introduction**


In this empirical analysis chapter, I explore how 'wellbeing' is experienced by members of the organisation employed in the ranks who wholly operate in active public-facing uniformed positions, commonly referred to as 'front-line officers'. This exploration is essential, as it provides key elements regarding the overall aim of this study, which is to investigate how individuals in a police organisation construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing. This analysis will further identify the implications that these constructions of wellbeing have for the conditions they were produced in (Althusser, 2008) and will uncover patterned reactions to social roles (Geertz, 1973). I also highlight that there are multiple versions through which wellbeing is framed that serve different interests and agendas, and requires attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation.


As discussed in chapter two, it is often argued that wellbeing is fundamental in the study of work and how organisations sustain themselves, however there is a dearth of constructivist studies regarding wellbeing in an organisational setting. This study mobilises the conceptual framework I developed in chapter three, and will provide an understanding of how wellbeing is constructed in an organisation and the implications this has on social relations. In turn, this will contribute to answering the main research question: *How can a relational wellbeing approach contribute to understanding how wellbeing is constructed in a police organisation?*


The research objectives guiding this chapter are to:


1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects and to;*
2) *Explore how different versions of wellbeing emerge from an understanding of social ideology projects.*

This exploration requires giving attention to how wellbeing is talked about, interpreting how the concept is shaped, and understanding how and why individuals within the study espouse and enact wellbeing. To this end, I will interpret the emergence of social ideology projects along with attendant versions of wellbeing which will show to influence the social ideology projects they emerged from. The problem of wellbeing is approached as the gaps between how life is and how it ought to be, and therefore through my engagement with front-line officers, I will address my interpretations of how they constructed these gaps.

In this chapter, these gaps emerge from, shape, and legitimise social ideology projects including paternalism, managerialism, and canteenism. Drawing on social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 2011) and relational wellbeing (White, 2010), this chapter seeks meaning around understandings of wellbeing amongst front-line officers and how these understandings influence organisational practices such as social relations with senior managers and each other. Within the context of organisational culture (Parker, 2000, Schein, 2017, Van Maanen, 1975), these social ideology projects help to understand the implication of wellbeing constructions, which assumes that we '"construct" mental representations of reality, using collective notions as building blocks' (Veenhoven, 2008, p. 47). These collective notions consider two 'spheres': the social and the human (White, 2010) and are based on a RWB approach. As discussed in chapter two, these spheres ruminate that idealised situations of wellbeing, or the how life 'ought to be', is shaped through social relations, but also means different things to different people and consider the organisational context. Hence, my focus is not on what wellbeing *is* per se but rather how wellbeing emerges as a construction in a particular police organisation and the influence this has on work practices.

These understandings are underpinned by elements of social relations and police culture as discussed in chapter three. In this chapter, I will provide a discussion based upon my analysis of my fieldwork with front-line officers to show how wellbeing emerged from and reified, changed, and sometimes challenged social ideology projects (e.g. paternalism, managerialism, canteenism) with a situated and relational approach. The contextual setting (i.e. police culture) in which all of these ideologies are analysed is considered throughout the entirety of the chapter.

**5.2 Introducing how wellbeing is understood by front-line officers**

*I feel like a piece of crap on the bottom of their boot (PC Red)*

On my first day of fieldwork, PC Red expressed to me their discontent with their personal worth in the organisation (fieldnotes, 2017). Probing further into this conversation and asking why these feelings were present, they told me that the organisation does not care about their wellbeing and does not care what front-line officers have to say. This statement immediately resonated with me, namely because of my past experience in law enforcement. I had personally experienced similar feelings throughout my career, although personal reflection and deeper thought into why these feelings existed did not occur at the time. When PC Red expressed this to me, it struck me that they were expressing a gap between how life is and how it ought to be: the essence of wellbeing in this study (Kekes, 2010). From that moment, it became my focus to understand if these were shared conceptions and how and why these gaps between how life is and how it ought to be emerged.

During discussions specifically and pointedly regarding how individuals in this organisation felt their wellbeing was 'looked after', the majority of responses from front-line officers described perceived shortfalls. Additionally, there were many instances where we were talking about something different (e.g. leadership, job duties), however the message I received I interpreted to relate to the concept of wellbeing. For example, as one PC stated, 'we are risk averse with everyone else [the public] but not ourselves. It will take an officer getting killed to make a change. We just don't feel looked after' (fieldnotes, 2017). While the word wellbeing was not specifically mentioned in this particular interaction, my discernment was that this represented a consideration of a gap regarding perceptions of life as it is and how it ought to be (Michalos, 1985). Underlying wellbeing is a concern with the good life, or rather ethics, regarding how the world is and ought to be or how life is and ought to be lived (see chapter two for links to Aristotle). In a similar vein, there is consideration for 'ideal conditions' which differ across cultures (Dana & Griffin, 1999).

To further explore the above ideas, I purposefully introduced the word wellbeing into conversations in various contexts: in briefings, when out on calls, following violent or

traumatic incidents, on the journey to a call, during meals breaks, and in the general office. Interestingly, every time I started with a new team, I would introduce myself in the briefings and inform the team that I was looking at wellbeing in the organisation[28]. On almost every occasion, I elicited the same response; with a laugh, the front-line officers would say 'you've got your work cut out for you' (fieldnotes, 2017). This provided me with insight regarding how wellbeing was viewed by front-line officers: as a problem.

Individual experiences as components of social relations and cultural influences are also identified in this chapter in order to show how experiences can create shared meanings, which underlie social norms and rules and ideologies (Macris, 2002). In a team scenario, it was apparent that when one individual is experiencing hardship, the entire team demonstrates empathy and support and absorbs the hardship one individual is experiencing. This emphasises the relationship between the individual and the collective (White, 2010). I discovered that the elements in the social ideology projects and wider organisational context interrelated to coproduce understandings of wellbeing. This conceptualisation became a central theme throughout fieldwork with front-line officers and is demonstrated in the following excerpt from my fieldnotes (2017):

> We were discussing morale issues within the team. They started talking about how people have been sacked lately, although one of them they admitted was rightfully so. Someone else on the team however was sacked which they felt was wrongfully so. One of the PCs went off sick shortly after and is now working reduced hours which (s)he explained caused a guilt complex as (s)he leaves the team early when they are busy. These occurrences affect everyone as there is no one to make up for these reduced hours. They lost a team member and since they are such a close team, everyone felt it. When I asked them what they think will fix the problem, they said 'it can't be fixed'.

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[28] As stated in chapter 4, wellbeing was not the initial focus, therefore the first team I worked with initially understood I was looking at leadership. I informed them after the first 2 shifts that I was looking at wellbeing based on emerging data.

The example and transmission of experience regarding wellbeing highlighted to me the centrality that organisational context and social ideology projects have on shaping gaps between life how it is and life how it ought to be. Hence, my approach to this study considers the inextricable linkage between wellbeing and a RWB framework. Adopting a relational ontology 'regards relationality not as an external 'social determinant' or 'social support' (or constraint) to individual subjects, but as fundamentally constitutive of subjectivity' (White, 2017, p. 129). This introduces ideas regarding the individual versus collective, and the self and 'others' (White, 2017). Rather than looking at individuals as autonomous or simply as a part of the collective, I consider that 'within all persons there is conflict and ambivalence between belonging and autonomy. And collectivities are neither simply the sum of individuals, nor some kind of super-individual in themselves, but develop emergent properties according to the relations which compose them' (White, 2017, p. 129). These emergent properties (i.e. different versions of wellbeing) are the focus of this analysis chapter and the following two.

To summarise the above, wellbeing can be described as an ethical concept that emerges from the gap between the way life is and ought to be lived, that when discussed in practice elicited mostly problematised reflections through discussions with front-line officers. Exploring the cultural dynamics of these phenomena brings understanding to why people in the organisation construct wellbeing in the way they do and with what outcomes. Consideration for the cultural construal of wellbeing is central to this discussion. Wellbeing is specific to the social relations within a culture and is constructed through socio-cultural experiences. These experiences are then shared and transmitted to other members of the organisation, and 'it then defines the way people pursue and experience wellbeing, the way they seek the good life, such as when they feel happiness and unhappiness' (Uchida et al, 2015, p. 823).

The above concepts will be explored throughout the remainder of this chapter in line with the conceptual framework introduced in chapter three. This discussion is continued in the following chapter which focuses on senior managers' perspectives and experiences regarding wellbeing. There are both similarities and differences in how wellbeing emerges amongst senior managers versus front-line officers which suggests differences and tensions between social ideology projects throughout the hierarchy. This will be the focal point of this thesis and returned to in the discussion chapter. The following sections explore what I interpreted

to be dominant social ideology projects which influence how difference versions of wellbeing are constructed within this police organisation. This discussion will also explore also how these versions of wellbeing contribute to how these social ideology projects are reproduced and reified. Respectively, paternalism, managerialism, and canteenism as social ideology projects form the analytical framework for this discussion.

**5.3 Social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing for front-line officers**

This study addresses wellbeing as a collective concept that both shapes and reproduces social ideology projects. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will focus on three distinct versions of wellbeing that emerged and were reified and reproduced in the organisation throughout the research process. To reiterate, social ideology projects are mobilised in this thesis as concept of analytic utility. They refers to a system of social norms and rules along with ideologies, underpinned by social relations in an organisational context (Geare, et al., 2006). In this context, each social ideology project contributes to an overall understanding of how people navigate social relations within the organisation. By introducing these social ideology projects and versions of wellbeing, I will provide insight to why different people and groups may construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing in different ways. These versions of wellbeing emerge from, shape, and reify the very conditions that produced them (i.e. social ideology projects) which as I will demonstrate serves different interest and agendas.

Addressing these different versions introduces the idea that there are multiple ways through which wellbeing is framed and therefore attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation is required. Further, this concept is important to explore because it helps to consider that social relations forge individuals, rather than seeing individuals as forging social relations (Gergen, 2009). In an organisational context, analysing these concepts helps to 'challenge dominant ideologies of the self, places central the generative quality of relationality which is critical to societal change and engenders a socially inclusive political vision' (White, 2017, p. 133). Thus, an alternative approach to wellbeing in a police organisation is provided and gives insight to matters of social relations and wellbeing in the organisation.

Paternalism as a social ideology project can be understood as existing in a tiered relationship where there is a difference in power between groups. While paternalism is often understood as an ideology (Freeden, 2003), it is mobilised in this study as a social ideology project in order to include associated patterns of social norms and rules. It describes a 'strong authority...combined with concern and considerateness' (Pellegrini & Scandura, 2008, p. 567), or a 'strong discipline and authority with fatherly benevolence' (Farh & Cheng, 2000, p. 91), as both a set of practices and ideas. While this has parallels with managerialism, (e.g. hierarchical relationships) which will be discussed in the following section, the difference here is there is a benevolence and informal relationship associated with the higher-status group, and which is reciprocated by acts of dependency by the lower-status group (Jarmon, 2007). Police culture studies generally do not discuss these informal relationships in this manner, potentially on account of the 'heroic' or masculine persona (Westmarland, 2001) or formal relationships (Drodge & Murphy, 2002) that are more aligned with socially defined and accepted ideals in the organisation as discussed in chapter three. Therefore, this explanation provides unique insight into how paternalism influences a version of wellbeing and how this social ideology project is reified, which contributes to the overall research aim.

Throughout my fieldwork with front-line officers, our conversations regarding wellbeing often elicited their expressions of personal feelings about being 'looked after', which, is the essence of paternalism. Recognising the presence of paternalism as a social product involved interpreting particular patterns and determining how these patterns mapped versions of wellbeing (Freeden, 2003; Žižek, 1994). For example, during one of my shifts, I engaged in conversation with a sergeant who expressed that due to a lack of engagement from higher ranks, they felt they did not matter to the organisation which I interpreted as forming part of their construction of wellbeing:

> The sergeant stated they have not once seen the chief inspector [responsible for their team] as they tend to manage by email. The sergeant acknowledged the chief inspectors have their own work and jobs to take care of, but it also shows a disconnect in the team and that they don't care about looking after them (fieldnotes, 2017).

There was an implicit expectation that by virtue of the relationship between ranks, the chief inspector should 'look after' the team and managing by email did not show they cared. Further, there was an expectation (in this case regarding the chief inspector) of an ideal leader that this sergeant did not recognise in this chief inspector which contributed to a gap between how life is and how it ought to be. This point further evidences a particular version of wellbeing as becoming understandable and resolvable with paternalism. That is, this is where the concept of paternal wellbeing emerges. In this case, paternalism may serve social contracts (Freeden, 2003) between front-line officers and senior manager, with specific expectations placed on senior managers as providers of idealised situations. This projection of an idealised self (Lambek, 2002) provided insight to the complexity of social relations between various groups within the organisation. These social relations form part of the processes within and between people that contribute to ideas of RWB. Wellbeing itself in this situation is seen as belonging in a social relationship (White, 2015); exploring the terms by which people interact leads to an understanding of wellbeing as something that emerges from these social relations in either a positive or negative manner for front-line officers.

The aforementioned example also emphasises the role of interpretation of one's experiences within these social relations. By exploring how people make sense of their life experiences by comparisons to others, evaluating perceived feedback from others, understanding the causes of experiences, and attaching importance to these experiences, we are able to understand that there are human-to-human variations in wellbeing which in turn helps to understand the individual context within the organisation (Ryff, 1995). Throughout my fieldwork, I discovered that the influence of the four aforementioned experiential elements played a role in conceptualizations of wellbeing. Specifically, the *feelings* conveyed to me emerged from *comparisons* to other people or processes in other organisations, the *feedback* they then perceived as a result, interpreting the cause of these experiences, and finally how *importance was attached* to these experiences were influential regarding how wellbeing was conceptualised from person to person, and in turn transmitted throughout the organisation. This process (feelings, comparisons, feedback, attachment of importance) will be empirically demonstrated below as an elaboration of the guiding framework presented in chapter three.

In three separate conversations with three different teams of PCs, all while in patrol cars, we had conversations regarding wellbeing in other organisations. These conversations serve as an example of what PCs regarded as ideal situations as an arena for wellbeing constructions. The following three occurrences conveyed to me demonstrated the relationship between the individual and the collective, which influences how wellbeing is construed amongst front-line officers:

> He got hospitalised, and so did about 8 firemen. So, he's sitting in the hospital...then just got left there. No senior officers went. The fire staff that were there had their equivalent of a superintendent, their equivalent of one of the chief officers there and brought them food, they brought them spare clothing...They were there for the whole process. [Ours] had to put his uniform in a hazmat bag, put on hospital joggers, and was made to walk back to the station carrying his uniform. (PC Read[29])

> We'll get left on scene guards in a car for 12 hours. The fire service...they'll have a lorry with a fully furnished kitchen food...They have enough officers to rotate. I was on a murder scene once, on a 12-hour guard, never once got relieved at all, for a toilet or anything. The car I was in had a flat battery, and it was in the winter. I was just there with my jacket over me. (PC Danston)

> ...Head over to the custody block. The prisoners get better looked after than we do. At least they [the guards] come down and offer the prisoners something to eat. They have a toilet there, they get offered drinks, and they come down and offer them a coffee and they won't even offer you one when you're sat there on constant obs! (PC Oliver). In response to this PC's reflection, I asked, 'what would you want to be done as a PC then?' and his response was 'at least the same level of care the murderer gets'. (Fieldnotes, 2017).

These moral stories 'are important because they comprise a primary medium through which members make sense of, account for, enact and affect the organizations they work for'

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[29] All names have been anonymised

(Whittle et al., 2009, p. 426). As Czarniawska (1999) asserted, stories have a role in arranging characters and events in a meaningful way, and resultantly provide insight to how meaning is constructed within the organisation. This is complementary to how patterns are interpreted to provide insight to how social ideology projects are interpreted. In these cases, the story-tellers constructed themselves as 'innocent victims' (Whittle et al., 2009) that should be looked after, and implied that senior managers were the 'villains' (Whittle et al., 2009). Interestingly, these stories introduce individuals from external organisations as idealised workers (i.e. heroes), which provide insight to how front-line officers make sense of, account for, enact and affect and organise themselves within their organisation. As Gabriel (2000) stated, stories 'tend either to celebrate and laugh at the negative (cock- ups, failures, and reversals) or to bewail the tragic (trauma and injustices)' (Gabriel, 2000, p.120). An 'ideal situation', or how life ought to be, was created through comparison by front-line officers by articulating how other organisations treated their employees in the way they hoped they would be treated. How these negative or tragic accounts were navigated or negotiated and how it both constructs and reifies paternalism and paternal wellbeing by virtue of the storytellers' projections of their selves.

The *feelings* conveyed to me in each occurrence were those that I interpreted to be dismay and frustration. Notably, the stories were delivered with a similar intonation despite being delivered at different times by different officers; every story began with a tone of frustration and near the end came laughter, as if the officers could not believe these occurrences had actually happened. Each officer that told these stories conveyed *feelings* of frustration that their organisation was not *comparatively* as paternalistically caring as the other organisation or person in the story and they resultantly formed an individual judgment which was then passed by their own telling to other colleagues. I reflected on my own *feedback* when these stories were told and realised that by empathising and agreeing how immoral it seemed, it legitimised the *feelings* of disdain and raised the *importance* of the event (fieldnotes, 2017). Theoretically, the more these stories are told, and an empathetic voice is given as feedback, the *feelings* expressed by each person in the chain of communication are legitimised or validated and transmitted throughout the organisation resulting in perceived lack of attention to wellbeing and a reification of this construction of paternal wellbeing. As stated by Suls et al. (2002), 'perceptions of relative standing can influence many outcomes, including a

person's self-concept, level of aspiration, and feelings of wellbeing' (p.159). In the aforementioned examples, the perceptions had a negative contrastive effect which in turn had implications for personal and organisation-wide wellbeing constructions. Idealised desires have an intrinsic effect on how front-line officers speak about and assess wellbeing related practices in their organisation. Not only do the above examples reify and reproduce paternalism, but it also serves power relations in the organisation by affirming the hierarchical order.

Idealised desires and situations were also created by comparisons made by front-line officers regarding their team dynamics, inter-team and inter-personal social relations.  In one situation, a sergeant explained to me the importance of having a positive relationship with the PCs, so they know there is someone to talk to about their issues. Taking on a paternalistic role (i.e. the expressions of paternalism as a social ideology project) created an opportunity for this sergeant to 'manage' conceptualisations of wellbeing which in turn had implications on their own constructions. Along with additional conversations with PCs, I interpreted a dependence that PCs placed on individuals in higher ranks regarding their wellbeing. There was an expressed desire for effective paternalistic management of wellbeing practices, where the definition of wellbeing was invariably different from individual to individual. This was apparent to me in a shift briefing:

> There was no sergeant tonight as they booked the night off. We (the PCS and I) were going to the briefing room and one PC commented 'who is doing the briefing, we have no Serg[eant]'. We [sat down in the] briefing room and there was another PC from the Safer Roads Team to run breathalyser training. As he began, calls were coming over the radio to attend to a shoplifting [that had occurred earlier]. The team kept commenting 'can't lates (the shift before them) do it as they are on for 2 more hours?'. The PC doing the training addressed the controller on the radio and said that the team is all in training and someone from lates will have to go. A minute later the Sergeant [from the lates team] opened the door, abruptly said 'I need 2 from nights to go'. Everyone just looked at each other and then one got up quickly and headed out. His partner followed and mentioned 'this is what happens when we don't have our sergeant to stick up for us'. I felt like it was an extremely abrupt way to direct the team

(by the Sergeant). He gave no reasoning for why he needed the nights to go. The PC doing the training expressed how irritated he was. The rest of the group verbalized annoyance as well. When the training was done the PC [that was doing the training] asked who was doing the briefing. They decided they would just self-brief. No one stepped up to provide the leadership on this matter. They joked that they should just have a long briefing in spite of the other Sergeant.

I interpreted this dynamic to be related to cultural expectations around protectionism (as a function of paternalism), and the conveyance of such social relations provides insight to social norms and rules and ideologies. As Hatch and Schultz (1997) argued, these underlying social norms and rules are powerful means of communication and can be used symbolically to infer identity (p. 361). This provides insight to culturally constructed social norms and rules which in turn contextualises and points to the gap between life as it is and life as it ought to be. The aforementioned discussions and shift briefing example represent meanings that have been constructed regarding these front-line officers' ideas of how management ought to act, and also rationalised to them their constructions of how life was versus how it ought to be. The transmission of meaning that took place between the front-line officers created desires and opinions of what should happen (i.e. idealised situations) and resultantly this is transmitted and ultimately creates wide-ranging expectations which may or may not be met. This again reflects an idealised social contract between front-line officers and senior managers, which is left unfulfilled.

Expectations are created through various cultural mechanisms or artefacts and transmitted throughout the course of organisational activity. Discussing upward reliance in the organisation provides insight to one possible direction of transmission, however inter-team and inter-agency comparisons provide further insight to how these expectations and understandings are constructed. Social situations are the arena for the development, transmission, and maintenance of human "knowledge", thus understanding the processes by which this is done and the taken-for-granted 'realities' that exist is central to this study and its creation of knowledge (Berger & Luckmann, 2011). Social relativity may vary from person to person, however how this knowledge is transmitted to create shared meanings and

symbols is an important point within this thesis because of its influence on organisational practices.

Social relativity is a consideration in exploring how front-line officers understood and navigate their positions as police officers and interpreted their responsibilities. Introduced as social isolation in chapter three, police are responsible for taking on societal issues and helping members of society cope with their own wellbeing issues. However separating police organisations from this and asking the question as to who is considering their wellbeing is important. In part because of how they interpret and navigate challenges that accompany the job, front-line officers construct meanings around their own wellbeing, however they often feel constrained by the lack of support available to them.

> One PC explained to me that there is not anyone within the force they can go to for counselling. The Sergeants are not psychologists so despite them being approachable they don't have the expertise needed. So many are afraid to voice their issues as well as there is still a stigma around mental health. They told me they are only a couple years in but want to leave. Despite loving the job, they feel there is no support from the organisation. As they stated, 'there is no empathy or understanding from the force' (fieldnotes, 2017).

Having access to idealised 'appropriate' care was a common topic in discussions with front-line officers and in turn provides insight to how they construct paternal wellbeing. The opinion that the organisation is inauthentic in wellbeing initiatives and lacking paternal attention was commonly expressed, and how officers managed this feeling was a common theme throughout fieldwork. This feeling however did not pinpoint a specific individual or even rank, but rather, personified 'senior leadership'. Rather than idealising a desire for a specific person to take care of them, front-line officers often expressed desire for wider, organisational level, paternalistic attention. Paternalism is based on benevolence, and this implies that there is a voluntary contract entered between both groups. The difficulty is, there are apparent fissures between how front-line officers idealise these contracts and how senior managers enact them. There is a sense of an unfulfilled wellbeing by virtue of these idealised, voluntary contracts being unfulfilled from the viewpoint of front-line officers. Statements such as the

above led me to want to explore senior managers' constructions of wellbeing and the social ideology projects these emerged from because of the idea of an unfulfilled wellbeing that was highlighted by front-line officers. This evidences my reflexive decision to speak with senior managers following a period of participant observation with front-line officers in order to understand how this enactment served their interests and agendas.

By virtue of casting an entire 'grouping' within the organisation as inadequate regarding perceived wellbeing management, a systemic and ubiquitous relationship between wellbeing 'management' and social relations in the organisation was presented. Here, the role of social relations in the construction of wellbeing does in not only refer to individual level relations but rather commonly referenced a set of relations between social groups within the organisation (i.e. 'us' and 'management'). This represents one of multiple versions through which wellbeing is framed as a problem that requires attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the wider organisation.

The concept of a paternal wellbeing was brought up again in a conversation with an inspector who stated:

> You wouldn't invest £60,000 in a BMW and let the vehicle get rusted out, run down, out of petrol, so why are we doing that to the officers? Senior leadership is not doing enough to take care of employee wellbeing (Fieldnotes, 2017).

Statements such as this one highlighted to me the importance that front-line officers give to paternalistic 'leadership' and what they expect to experience, which in turn reifies this idealised situation of a paternalistic leader. While expectations varied from individual to individual, the general outcome of these conversations was an expectation of a positive relationship with a general level of 'senior leadership' (which is translated to senior managers, as per the following chapter). That is, wellbeing and leadership were expressed as desires for the good life rather than simply the absence of negative feelings or behaviours. From this view, wellbeing is also considered an explicitly positive concept, in that it describes the 'presence of positive qualities and experiences rather than simply the absence of illness and disease' (Conradson, 2016, p. 16).

Relational wellbeing draws parallels police have with familial settings (Wittgenstein, 1953) which is a situated space for paternalism. Again being careful not to conflate families with organisations, I instead consider it in the metaphorical sense, a concept supported by Casey (1999). While the concept of police culture has traditionally been explored as a masculinised and authoritative space (Prokos & Padavic, 2002; Martin, 1999), first-hand, the relationships within the organisation often felt familial and intimate in nature. This reflects on how shared meanings and symbols regarding wellbeing are valued and shared amongst members. I reflected after one shift that the sergeants 'are the protectors of the teams' (fieldnotes, 2017). On other occasions I was referred to as 'part of the family' and 'in [our] circle', which brought up underlying familial feelings that contribute to police identity, for if I as an insider-outsider interpreted this feeling, it is possible that insiders do too hence the paternalistic idealised desires. Wittgenstein's (1953) concept of family resemblances further supports overlapping as well as different interpretations of wellbeing constructions amongst front-line officers. I considered throughout my analysis that while in the context of police culture there would be several characteristics that would be shared amongst members (i.e. desire for protection), I also recognised there would be individualised differences (i.e. some referring to specific people versus a universal grouping). This is an important consideration when addressing certain wellbeing-related processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation as no single feature is common to everyone within it but are rather connected by overlapping similarities (Freeden, 2003; Wittgenstein, 1953). Identifying those differences and similarities therefore is where the social ideology projects emerge, interrelate, and are shaped or reproduced.

Paternal wellbeing primarily produced unfulfilled idealised situations that were created by individuals in front-line officer positions. There was an apparent desire for protection from 'senior leadership' in many situations, and specific sergeants or inspectors in others. Drawing this conclusion involved engaging with and interpreting the social relations and socially constructed 'realities' that were expressed by front-line officers in order to understand internal (i.e. organisational) and external (i.e. job related) expressions. This is supported by Berger and Luckmann's (1966; 2011) work, which reflected an attempt to connect social theory with organisations. Their idea that society, or in this case, has a dual character 'exists

both in the personal realities of individual thinking, feeling and acting, and in the institutionalized realities of collective structures and 'symbolic universes' (Ybema et al., 2009, p. 302). Notably, there are significant links between paternalism as an informal interpretation of work relations and managerialism as a space for codified, or formal (still socially constructed), social relations. The following section will focus on managerial wellbeing and managerialism as another social ideology project that emerged within this study.

### 5.3.2 Managerialism and the construction of managerial wellbeing

The previous section explored how paternalism as an informal and benevolent social ideology project emerged throughout my fieldwork. In a similar vein, managerialism emerged as a social ideology project that provides a space for exploring the formal bureaucratic relations within the police organisation in this study. How managerialism influences constructions of wellbeing along with how managerialism is reified within the organisation is the focus of this discussion. Managerialism as defined by Klikauer (2015) justifies 'the application of its one-dimensional managerial techniques to all areas of work, society, and capitalism on the grounds of superior ideology, expert training, and the exclusiveness of managerial knowledge necessary to run public institutions and society as corporations' (Klikauer, 2015, p. 1105). Managerialism is based on the premise that 'people in positions of institutional power' (Magretta, 2013, p. 4) have advanced skills and knowledge regarding how to optimise an organisation. Further, managerialism is established systematically 'while depriving business owners (property), workers (organisational-economic) and civil society (social-political) of all decision-making powers' (Klikauer, 2015, p. 1105).

With managerial techniques as a guiding principle, managerialism describes a capitalist approach with little regard for democracy (Allen, 2013) and is indicative of how I interpreted some of the social relations within the police organisation. In this section I will explore managerialism in order to explain the construction of a certain version of wellbeing: managerial wellbeing. This underlines the importance of understanding police culture, as exploring shared meanings and symbols within the culture allows me to analyse managerialism as both a set of material and embodied practices and objects, and also the meanings that individuals ascribe to managerialism.

With the above understanding, it is possible to address the influence that managerialism as a social ideology project has on constructions of wellbeing and also how it is reified and reproduced. To address these points, I will explore an example of managerialism in practice which involves one of senior managers' attempts to 'manage' an issue with resultantly influenced how front-line officers constructed wellbeing:

> We were all in the office when an email from senior management was circulated regarding 'refs breaks [30]'. It had evidently been brought to their attention that response teams were not getting any breaks on their shifts, and therefore their solution was implementing mandated refs break times for each shift. The officers all crowded around one computer and were laughing at how unrealistic this would be. They called me over and said 'hey, Jamie, you want to see their attempt at wellbeing, here it is' (fieldnotes, 2017).

This email, which was an example of the exercise of managerialism influenced how front-line officers constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed managerial wellbeing, which is the focus of this section. In this situation, managerialism was legitimised through the ensuing actions of front-line officers (i.e. they were 'unable' to challenge the policy) and showed how strongly managerialism is linked to wellbeing.

By virtue of senior managers mandating refs break times, it highlighted how front-line officers 'should' get a break (i.e. created an idealised situation), so when their set time was interrupted by a call-out, it elicited a negative response that didn't occur before the aforementioned email was sent out. While the power interests of senior managers may have been served by showing their capability to intervene, through the enactment of managerialism, the gap between life as it is and how it ought to be was seemingly widened. Thus, contributing to the problem of managerial wellbeing. In this case, wellbeing was both a contributing factor to wellbeing practice (i.e. senior managers identified a wellbeing issue) as well as an outcome of practice (i.e. how front-line officers resultantly constructed ideas of

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[30] 'Refs break is how officers refer to refreshments break/meal break.

wellbeing). This finding demonstrates tension between how wellbeing is problematised (i.e. by front-line officer) and how solutions are presented (i.e. by senior managers). Two weeks after the refs breaks times were 'mandated', I wrote in my fieldnotes (2017):

> The refs break issue was brought up and they said it barely lasted two weeks. The timings were horrible for them (i.e. some being given within an hour of getting off shift) and it wasn't realistic. It would involve the FCR[31] leaving the PCs on breaks alone during that time which cannot happen if there are grade ones[32]. Also, the teams will tend to help each other out so would leave a break in order to attend another call. They said they didn't feel the refs breaks were a problem until senior management pointed it out and said there is a problem and they need to assign breaks.

This conversation highlights important factors in a cultural construal of wellbeing. First, it registers that the requirements of response policing do not always allow for breaks at a given time which is recognised and generally accepted by front-line officers. There were a number of occasions where we had all just sat down for a refs break and a grade one call came in and the team jumped up and abandoned their recently warmed up meals to attend to the call, as they were the only ones available. One example of this happened on an 07:00 shift:

> I noticed the strain of resources again. Despite the set times for refs breaks, the two PCs [that I was teamed up with] have yet to have a lunch break at 13:30. They had tried at 12:00 but got called to a grade one pursuit to help. It is unrealistic to expect them to not attend due to being on a break (fieldnotes, 2017).

In a similar vein, complaints were not voiced when this happened. There was an eagerness to attend to calls and an excitement that went along with blue-light runs that seemed to result in PCs forgetting their basic needs (i.e. food) in order to carry out their duty.

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[31] FCR is an acronym for the Force Control Room, where 999 and 101 calls are taken, and officers are dispatched from.
[32] The FCR allocates calls with a grade of urgency. Grade ones call for an immediate response and are the most urgent of all calls. For example, one call involved a man threatening people in a housing estate with a machete.

Linking this contextually to police culture, 'policing …carries a heavy symbolic load' (Bradford, 2014, p. 22) which supersedes most other expressed concerns. There is an intangible commitment within the vocation, and while seemingly minor issues may be expressed as a frustration, they may not warrant such a response. The gap between how life is and how it ought to be was widened by senior management addressing the issue of missing a refs break, or rather their creation of an idealised situation. In this example, front-line officers rejected the paternal ideal of senior managers imposing their idea of a favourable intervention which resonates with section 5.3.1, where officers expressed that they wanted to be looked after. Here, the managerialist context of their work evidences a different construction regarding how front-line officers construct wellbeing and the expectations they have of senior managers. Specifically, the example brings up the idea of reciprocal interrelating (Gittell & Douglass, 2012) in that there was a lack of coproduction involved in this intervention. Rejecting being objectified and having 'wellbeing' problems and interventions imposed, this could highlight the desire from front-line officers to be regarded as being capable of collaborating on these interventions.

Second, the feeling that senior managers are 'out of touch' with front-line officers was expressed by recipients of the email, with an expressed discernment that there were ulterior motives behind it. On several occasions it was conveyed to me that once individuals leave the front-line operations, they seem to 'forget where they came from' (fieldnotes, 2017), which was again expressed to me upon receipt of the aforementioned email. This links again back to the day-to-day management of wellbeing that was previously explored, with the addition of front-line officers doubting the authenticity behind the email. The concept of authenticity arises primarily from the activation of social identity within the organisation and generally casting senior managers as the 'out-group' (Stets & Burke, 2000) and adopting an 'us versus them' mentality. While the purpose of this study is not to pinpoint the psychological reasoning behind this, it is a consideration in exploring social relations and wellbeing constructions because it brings to the forefront the importance of self-categorisation and social comparison within managerialism and managerial wellbeing. The separation of power and the idea that business should take precedence over wellbeing has the effect of individuals losing trust in the idea that they are viewed as moral agents. This has important implications for understanding how and why wellbeing is constructed and represents one of the multiple

versions of wellbeing present in the organisation. More specifically, it creates an idealised situation in which wellbeing is constructed and reconstructed based on influences from people in positions of power within the organisation (Magretta, 2013). For senior managers, this enactment may simply represent an intervention that is the least disruptive to managerialism. However, in the process of serving senior managers' power (Klikauer, 2015), managerialism contributes to front-line officers' problem of wellbeing.

Third, addressing cynicism as a social norm (see chapter three) helps to understand the reasoning around a negative response regarding this kind of intervention (Reiner, 2010; Richardsen et al., 2006) and enables a heroic masculinity (which is further discussed in section 5.3.3). Exploring their cynical outlooks helps in understanding the negative views that front-line officers have of wellbeing management. Further, there is a sense of oppression in that individuals feel as if they do not have the power to change processes, so have to 'put up with it', thus, the reification of managerialism. Further supporting this, Fleming and Spicer (2003) proposed that 'cynicism is a way of escaping the encroaching logic of managerialism and provides an inner 'free space' for workers' (p. 160) when they have no other means of opposing the managerialism. In turn this reproduces the power relations and managerialism. These ideas were supported through a conversation with a PC who stated they are typically cynical people, so when changes come in they assume they won't work (fieldnotes, March, 2017). This cynicism may emanate from many different processes, however the recognition of how this as a social norm helps to shape why front-line officers conceptualise the gap between how life is and how it ought to be and why they may express that their own wellbeing is ineffectively managed.

Building on cynicism, the concept of collaboration, or providing input regarding enacted wellbeing ideals, was not discussed by front-line officers in their response to the ref breaks intervention which demonstrates how embedded managerialism is within the organisation. While I often heard complaints regarding the perceived lack of attention to wellbeing within the organisation, I rarely heard suggestions from front-line officers about how to improve current practices. On a number of occasions, I pointedly asked front-line officers how to fix their perceived issues and several times I heard 'it cannot be fixed', and the remaining answers were further perceived shortfalls of senior managers rather than suggestions. Based

on managerial constraints, there is a lack of upward challenge and also upward influence which can help to explain reluctance of front-line officers to construct suggestions they feel will be welcomed by senior managers, hence reifying and reproducing managerialism. As Bradford (2014) argued, when people identify and feel included in a certain social group, they are more willing to cooperate. This links to White's (2010) assertion that entrenched social inequalities can have an influence on whose voices are heard or whose views are seen, which includes hierarchical relationships as a factor in relational wellbeing. Further, a sense of identification and inclusion is influenced by how people are treated, and that 'hierarchies of happiness may correspond to social hierarchies' (Ahmed, 2010, p. 12). As Abrahamsson (1993) stated, a relational system relies in part 'on a lateral rather than vertical direction of communication through the organisation, communication between people of different rank, also, resembling consultation rather than command' (p. 76). In this sense, managerialism helps to explain the problem of wellbeing, for managerial wellbeing is neglecting the idealised situations of front-line officers and instead serving the interest of senior managers and the wider organisation, along with reinforcing the power dynamic.

The above example of refs breaks, and its accompanying analysis can be considered an allegory for other organisational processes. The example focuses on the presumed desires of front-line officers by senior managers and involved no input from the people affected by the implementation. The perception that senior managers have 'boxes to tick' which guides their approach to wellbeing management was a common view expressed during fieldwork, and one that made me reflect on my own position in the organisation. Was I granted access to the organisation so senior managers could 'tick a box' saying they engaged with research, or was there a genuine interest in the research? Linking this back to cynicism, my own perceptions indicated how constructions of wellbeing and collaboration can have an impact on practice as I began to doubt the impact my own findings would have throughout the process.

The above contention went beyond cynicism and links to concepts of hierarchical positioning (Horton et al., 2014) and trust in the organisation which was reflective of the insights I gained throughout fieldwork. Notably, there is a lack of trust upward between front-line officers and senior managers, which appears to be a barrier in communication between these groups. There also appeared to be a lack of understanding what the priorities and roles of each rank

are when an individual moves up the hierarchy from the rank of PC. While the sergeants, inspectors, chief inspectors and so on have all experienced the PC role, the PCs have not typically experienced the role of those above them. Speaking with a sergeant one day, they expressed:

> There are issues with communication, especially the tendency for it to falter between senior managers and front-line officers. The messages regarding why something is being done [by senior managers] are often lost. Senior managers do understand the struggles the front-line officers face and do care, however front-line officers that haven't worked on the organisational side may not see that as it is relatively top down (fieldnotes, 2017).

The inability to relate to what the senior ranks are experiencing may influence how front-line officers construct wellbeing in the organisation. While the PCs may want to see inspectors, chief inspectors and superintendents out with them on calls more, this desire is unrealistic as there are other roles that must be fulfilled in order to keep the organisation running efficiently. The inability to see the organisation as a whole provided insight to shared meanings as well as espoused and enacted ideals related to wellbeing which can serve both sides in practice. However, only the most senior managers can speak about an organisation as a whole, further supporting the power dynamic which benefits senior managers. When the PCs articulate disconnects, they cannot speak in these terms, so it carries less impact. From a relational organisational perspective, the idea that interactions with others and social processes form our understanding of the world around us supports the idea that identities and attachment varies based on these experiences (Gittell & Douglass, 2012). The variation of experiences also results in a variation of interpretations of the gap between how life is and how it ought to be, resulting in different versions of wellbeing.

The above idea also links to message transmission through the ranks of the organisation. Schein (2017) argued 'going down the hierarchy, the main problem is misunderstood instructions and orders; going up the chain of command, the main problem is lost information which causes productivity, quality, and safety problems not to be noticed or addressed properly' (p. 118). I found that from the vantage point of front-line officers, the former

reflected the perception of front-line officers, however rather than them feeling that the latter was true, there was a frequently voiced perception that senior managers more simply just 'did not care' (fieldnotes). The interpreted dilution of messages as they travelled through the ranks of the organisation was discussed several times throughout fieldwork. As one front-line officer stated, 'the top management in the organisation makes decisions that do not make it past certain ranks, so there is a disconnect in the decision making upwards and downwards'. Through conversations such as this one, it was frequently stated that while the chief constable discusses wellbeing often and stresses its priority in the organisation, the transmission of that message to the front-line does not effectively happen which undermines bureaucracy as a process that results in an effective span of control (Schein, 2017).

As I have previously identified (see chapters one and three), police organisations have a deep-rooted history of bureaucratisation which is the organisational process in which managerialism operates. Bureaucracy as an organisational process connected to managerialism is in theory meant to ensure fairness and equity, avoid corruption, create accountability and transparency. However, what the process did with regard to wellbeing was it highlighted fissures in idealised situations. In other terms, it was used to construct an unfulfilled wellbeing for front-line officers. This links to Harper and Maddox' (2008) assertion regarding the impossibility of wellbeing, in that 'wellbeing is absent to us, only realised through its dys-appearance' (p. 49). By virtue of expectations being created from the top of the hierarchy, the idea of how life ought to be flourishes, creating a gap between life how it is and how life ought to be. What this represents is the version of managerial wellbeing created by a managerialism social ideology project and represents both a reification of managerialism in general within the organisation. That is, through the embedded idea that one cannot challenge upward, the continued downward messaging such as the refs breaks email will undoubtedly continue.

In this section, I have analysed managerialism, as it pertains to wellbeing construction, as a set of material and embodied practices and objects and have addressed the meanings that individuals ascribe to managerialism. By completing this analysis, it helped to understand the influence of social relations in a bureaucratic organisation. This has an influence on work practices as it underlines one of the multiple versions through which wellbeing is framed as a

problem. Exploring examples such as the aforementioned refs breaks helps evidence how managerialism is linked to wellbeing constructions and how wellbeing may be facilitated by different social and spatial contexts (Atkinson, 2013; Hall, 2010). In the following chapter, I will return to this concept and reflect the perceptions of senior managers with regard to managerialism, as the viewpoint and my interpretation of this social ideology project as it related to wellbeing was noticeably different. From the front-line officer level, managerialism is primarily considered to be a process that contributes to widening the gap between life how it is and how it ought to be. To address another set of patterned social relations and its attendant problem of wellbeing, the following section will address canteenism, which emerged as another social and spatial context that helps to understand constructions of wellbeing.

### 5.3.3 Canteenism and the construction of canteen wellbeing

Canteenism is mobilised in this study as a social ideology project that refers to the 'canteen culture' (chapter 3.4.1) characteristics, or social norms and rules, commonly attributed to police culture that emerged throughout fieldwork. Specifically, the concepts of social norms and rules and ideologies are used in this study to give purpose and meaning to specific cultural expressions, often evidenced in the police, as they relate to the construction of wellbeing. Exploring interpreted characteristics at the centre of this contributes to understanding how police officers see their social world and their role in it (Reiner, 1992) and how this contributes to social relations and shared meanings. Importantly, it is not my intent to narrowly conceive social norms and rules in policing as essential attitudinal variables, but rather to explore 'police culture' as a social construct in itself that emerges through, and reaffirms, particular social relations. By analysing canteenism alongside expressions of the gap between how life is and how it ought to be, the version of wellbeing that emerges can be called canteen wellbeing.

As I explored in chapter three, canteen culture describes a constructed stereotype of police that illustrates the hegemonic masculinity within the culture, or the attitudinal variables are used in an attempt to explain police behaviours (Waddington, 1999). As I further explained, police culture is not monolithic, homogenous, or impenetrable, but rather there are

complexities within this group membership that are deserved of attention. Throughout the fieldwork I also reflexively considered the methodological difficulty in identifying these characteristics. As Waddington (1999) alluded to, describing police culture as, for example, masculine, we have to consider what comparison standard is used to reach this conclusion. Hence my interpretations of characteristics I observed within the organisation were based on patterns of ideas and practices that I identified during fieldwork as contributing to understanding social norms and rules, and ideologies, in policing.

To begin this discussion, the pervasive characteristic of masculinity, a social norm in canteenism, in police culture is an important concept to explore when considering constructions of wellbeing.  Historically, policing (see chapter 3.4.1) has been dominated by white, heterosexual men (Loftus, 2008). While this demographic is evolving, conceptualisations of wellbeing are indeed influenced by decades of this hegemonic male masculinity, often referred to as a 'cult of masculinity' (Fielding, 1994; Loftus, 2008; Silvestri, 2017; Smith & Gray, 1985). I acknowledge that patriarchal beliefs are embedded in wider society and not necessarily unique to policing, however male masculinity is commonly associated with policing (Waddington, 1999) and relevant to this study (see section 3.4.4). When explicitly discussing wellbeing principles with a front-line officer on one shift, we discussed how ideals of male masculinity might shape how wellbeing is discussed in the workplace:

> The attitude towards wellbeing has changed in the last 10 years, and the organisation has become 'softer'. Some people will still moan about things regardless as it 'isn't cool' to be positive and talk about loving the job. Complaining helps them to fit in and share common feelings about issues (fieldnotes, 2017).

While this description involves other informal elements within police culture such as banter and cynicism, it addresses a particular set of shared meanings that contribute to shaping the version of wellbeing and in turn reproduces and reifies canteenism. A machismo perspective leads to other 'unwritten cultural expectations' (Silvestri, 2017, p. 7) which can include reluctance to disclose the 'softer' side of disclosure. Considering this, I interpreted conflicting masculine ideals at work within the aforementioned expression. One of these ideals is the

stoical or macho police officer, and the other an ideal of the paternal leader (see section 5.3.1) who takes pride in caring for their 'men' on the front line. While these ideals pull in opposite directions (i.e. one serves processes of wellbeing, one negates it), they both contribute to different versions of wellbeing by virtue of the social relations that underpin them.

Paying attention to displays of masculinity throughout my fieldwork was central in exploring this conceptualisation. A notable example, which demonstrates the 'macho' police officer occurred on a break during one shift.

> Three PCs and I were in the canteen area having a meal break and after one of the (male) PCs was done eating, he took his dishes to the sink and left them there. Another one of the (male) PCs pointed out that he is leaving his mess for someone else, to which the PC replied 'I am not doing the pink jobs' with a laugh. He eventually went back to the sink to clean his dishes.

This display of male masculinity, while not directly related to wellbeing practices, demonstrates that the concept is still existent in modern police organisations. A comment like this one may seem flippant, but it perpetuates stereotypes of gender roles or what is a 'man's job'. In an environment that has been considered as traditionally facilitating hegemonic masculinity, it is not insignificant. At the time, I laughed and did not think too much of the statement, however upon reflection later on in the day, I realised I had taken for granted the social norms that were transmitted by this display (fieldnotes). 'Pink jobs' and 'blue jobs' were joked about on a few occasions during my time in the field. While other PCs often said 'challenge'[33], it was still laughed off. In effect, these social norms and rules contribute to canteenism, creating a canteen wellbeing. That is, the wellbeing of not having to do the 'pink jobs'. Had I not had experience working in a similarly masculine field in my former career, I may have been affected differently by statements such as this, however being used to it, I too saw the 'humour' and was an active participant in this banter. This display also rather explicitly reified canteenism, ultimately serving the patriarchy and reproducing

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[33] 'Challenge' is a safe word that officers say to each other when the other has said something they deem inappropriate

the pervasive masculinity that has already been evidenced to exist in the police (Silvestri, 2017).

While displays such as the aforementioned may seem innocuous, they can have wider implications when constructing meaning around wellbeing and in turn a certain version of wellbeing. I worked with a relatively masculine team (my interpretation versus other teams I worked with) for several shifts during my fieldwork. In the office, their banter was typically about cars (e.g. verbal competitions about who had a faster car), sexuality (e.g. one PC spoke of his sexual endeavours on a night out), and other masculine stereotypes (e.g. joking about only doing 'blue jobs') (fieldnotes) and formed an image of the traditional 'canteen culture'[34] cop (Waddington, 1999) with importance placed on virility. However, outside of the office the officers that initially displayed these masculine characteristics opened up to me about their self-proclaimed issues regarding the problem of wellbeing.

> The PC confided that they currently speak to a counsellor. They went to a Road Traffic Collision (RTC) death that initiated the stress, then they lost a family member soon after and had other job stresses. Eventually, with the urging of their team, they came forward saying they needed to speak to someone and the force offered them telephone counselling. They felt that was not a good option for them so chose to go through their private insurance and see a counsellor. There isn't anyone within the force they can go to for counselling. The sergeants are not psychologists so despite them being approachable they don't have the expertise needed. So many are afraid to voice their issues as well as there is a stigma around talking about mental health (fieldnotes, 2017).

There was a noticeable change in this PCs behaviour when we were speaking about their own wellbeing. This conversation happened in a patrol car away from other people and management, which is where I noticed most of these 'intimate' conversations took place. In the office, this PC displayed hyper-masculine behaviours and was often referred to as 'quite

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[34] 'The stereotyped cultural values of the police canteen may be read as almost a pure form of "hegemonic masculinity" (Fielding, 1994, p. 47).

laddish' by other PCs (fieldnotes). However throughout one-to-one discussions with them, this 'attitude' disappeared. This links back to Waddington (1999) who discussed the difference in what police *say* and what police *do* as previously aforementioned and revisits the importance of exploring the gap between talk and action and how people relate with each other. The reflection on the gap between how life is and how it out to be for the above officer relates to how canteenism influences or creates this version of wellbeing, but also how this version of wellbeing preserves or reifies canteenism. Not only does it serve the interests and agendas of a patriarchal organisation and maintains this social order, but it also denies the gap between how life is and how it ought to be, or the idealised situation. This means the wellbeing gap is denied and the problem goes unaddressed.

When exploring the social norms and rules that underlie canteenism, I considered the argument that to preserve their masculine identity, the unspoken rules within police culture prevent police from discussing their emotional issues, especially in the workplace (Workman-Stark, 2017). Again serving the interests of a patriarchal organisation and masculine officers, the admission of a mental health condition 'might lead others to question whether the officer has the *ability* to conduct their job' and contributes to stigmatisation' (Bullock & Garland, 2018, p. 6). There is the possibility and in many cases perception that by discussing wellbeing, the perception of weakness countercultural to the masculine ideal, may follow. There social norms and rules in policing which include machoism and resilience which result in police avoiding admitting any 'weakness', which resultantly can hinder the identification and interception of issues within teams.

In a formal relationship (for example, between a PC and a sergeant), there is a fear around being monitored for weakness in a similar way they are judged on producing results. This can apply to both individuals and the wider organisation; individuals may perceive that their colleagues will associate them with weakness, and within the organisation, people that advocate for hyper-masculinity may actually associate them with weakness. In Goffman's (1963) discussions regarding stigma, he argues that the reluctance to acknowledge and/or discuss wellbeing can be attributed in part to the discrepancy between a virtual and social identity, that is respectively, what individuals think they ought to be and what individuals are shown to be (Bullock & Garland, 2018). Linking with the notion of recognition of the self in

the eyes of the other, Goffman (1963) argued, it is the 'reaction that spoils a person's identity by virtue of norms which are brought to bear on the specific social encounter' (p. 52-53). This links to the previous example where the front-line officer struggled with the discrepancy between maintaining their masculinity in line with social norms and addressing and addressing the gap between how life is and how it ought to be. That is, their virtual and social identity.

Throughout my time with the teams, I heard several more stories similar to the previous example which further supported the idea of the influence of masculinity and tensions this produced regarding wellbeing. The front-line officers I worked with remarked that while the stigma and fear around disclosing 'weaknesses' was beginning to dissipate, it still exists (fieldnotes, 2017). Further supported by Bullock and Garland (2018), in a culture that covets strength, steadfast-ness and duty' (Bullock & Garland, 2018, p. 13), weakness and vulnerability are often associated with mental illness, which is commonly associated with wellbeing as discussed in chapter 2. I argue that the 'cult of masculinity' (Silvestri, 2017) has played a part in shaping both how individuals in policing consider and discuss issues surrounding wellbeing which creates shared meanings and leads to its construction. In many discussions, the fear of being portrayed as 'weak' or 'not suited for the job' were brought up in conversations regarding why certain issues were not discussed, in turn denying the gap between how life is and how it ought to be. Interestingly, this also links to the previously discussed paternalism and the idealised 'appropriate' care, where front-line officers expressed a desire to be 'looked after' and considered themselves in a 'weaker' position. This shows that there are multiple forms or types of masculinity which produces yet another space for wellbeing as a process to emerge. However, my interpretation was that the dominant masculinity in this climate was the overarching desire to depict a heroic, strong police officer, which in turn reproduced a dominant set of social elites.

Reflecting on my former career, I can attest to the influence of this dominant hegemonic masculinity [35] as it relates to conceptualising or producing canteen wellbeing in law

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[35] To reiterate, hegemonic masculinity as coined by Connell (1987) refers to the dominant form of masculinity in a culture, and the legitimization of the dominance of masculinity.

enforcement organisations. Further, how the concept was reproduced through the conceptualisations of wellbeing became apparent. Displays of masculinity from females seemed to be second nature, as it was readily accepted that to fit in, the prominent masculine culture had to be subscribed to. From the perspective of a white, heterosexual female, the process of 'becoming' a female masculinised individual in my organisation was an organic one. While all individuals may experience these processes differently or adapt to them in different ways, I can personally understand why 'soft' issues, such as wellbeing, are not generally discussed openly. The idealised masculine traits perpetuate an 'anti-wellbeing' in that again it means having to deny the ideal of the self. The risk of being portrayed as 'weak' is prominent in thought processes, thereby denying wellbeing and perpetuating the masculine stereotype, protecting a patriarchal agenda. Perhaps not linking to this directly but more alongside is the process of cynicism (as in 5.3.2), which I argue emerged as part of the collective police canteen culture.

As previously addressed, cynicism is a characteristic commonly associated with policing (Reiner, 2010; Richardsen et al., 2006). From my time in the field, I found that negative discussions about a variety of topics from seemingly menial (i.e. 'our pens don't work, this place is awful') to larger issues (i.e. 'our wellbeing is not looked after', or 'senior managers don't care about us') are generally accepted and enabled by individuals in the organisation. Although this study does not 'measure' cynicism or attempt to attribute it to all officers in the organisation, the underlying influence of it as a commonly referred to attitude is considered as a sensitizing concept when considering the production of wellbeing from a relational perspective. To illustrate this, throughout my shifts, we often attended to calls involving members of the public who were challenging and problematic. As I reflected in my fieldnotes (2017):

> We were down to minimal officers in the building and a call came in for an emergency at a local gym. The sergeant said he would attend as the other PC had to book a crime, but the other PC came anyhow. We got to the gym and the person had become violent. The Sergeant took a lead role in talking with the employees and then going to the office where (s)he was barricaded. The PC took the role of talking the person down and trying to mitigate the situation. Eventually it appeared futile to calm them down

(apparent mental health issues) and the Sergeant arrested her for breach of the peace. She claimed she was injured and wanting to kill herself, so we took her to the hospital. At the hospital waiting in line, there was screaming and yelling coming from the end of the hall. The Sergeant and PC monitored then saw the person push the doctor, so the Sergeant assessed that the PC could handle the original arrestee and went to assist security. He ended up arresting her too.

After a number of events such as this one, I began to understand cynicism as a conceptual issue in policing as I too adopted a cynical outlook. I reflected on my past career in law enforcement where I generally had a negative outlook about the people I was dealing with. When I began as a new recruit, I generally afforded benefit of the doubt, however it did not take long to be suspicious that everyone was lying to me or trying to deceive me for personal gain after several did. As a result, this feeling spread to social relations in the organisation including being suspicious of colleagues for doing certain actions for promotion or passing blame for something they were responsible for. As an acting superintendent, I became suspicious of my direct reports when they called in 'sick' or had excuses for not completing a file. After I left law enforcement, moved countries, and surrounded myself with like-minded researchers I realised that not everyone I am dealing with is 'bad'. The feelings of suspicion returned when I returned to the field for this study. From my interpretation, this directly influenced how officers construct meanings about wellbeing and the process of wellbeing, and how these practices are reproduced through this process. This was supported by a PC who stated they are typically cynical people so when changes come in they assume they won't work (fieldnotes, 2017). This cynicism may emanate from many different processes, however the perception that it exists helps to shape why police officers view wellbeing interventions as they do and why they may perceive their own wellbeing is ineffectively managed. From this, idealised situations that emanate from shared meanings are frequent and the failure to meet these situations results in the entrenchment of cynicism. As a result, cynicism feeds these ideals, and the ideals feed cynicism resulting in a continuous cycle that maintains a wellbeing gap.

In many cases, front-line officers reflected on their personal feelings about wellbeing practices in a self-deprecating manner. When these front-line officers expressed to me

discontent with how they were treated, they often followed up statements regarding their discontent with acceptance. As one PC stated, 'we understand it is the nature of the beast', and another who said 'It's a very thankless job...Even at a national level. But, it's just a case of get on with it'. When I asked the PCs if they felt they could ask for help up the ranks, they usually said no, with the general assumption that it would not make a difference. Linking to paternalism and managerialism as discussed in this chapter, this idea highlights the gap between social ideology projects which contribute to the interpreted fissure between how life is and how life ought to be.

In this exploration of canteenism it is evident that the social norms and rules of masculinity and cynicism interact to mediate constructions of wellbeing. In turn these social norms and rules are legitimised and reproduced through social interaction and others' reaction to them (Klein et al., 2007, p. 29). Masculinity was demonstrated to deny a wellbeing gap (i.e. the gap with the ideal is not possible), but cynicism sustains a wellbeing gap. This introduces an interesting dichotomous set of social norms and rules within the problem of canteen wellbeing. With regard to the interventions at the organisational level, a difference in how individuals understand themselves and how they feel senior management should understand them is introduced. This presents a managerial challenge because it creates a wellbeing impasse, where both sides are unable to understand each other.

Canteenism is not reflective of all traditional police culture characteristics (as discussed in chapter three), but the social norms and rules and ideologies that underlie it as a social ideology project are especially relevant to wellbeing. Thus, the creation of canteen wellbeing reflects the motifs of masculinity and cynicism, which highlights the dichotomy of sustaining versus denying the wellbeing gap. This has implications on work practices: How front-line officers interact with each other and others in the organisation influences how conceptualisations of life how it is versus life how it ought to be are negotiated and reproduced. This helps to disentangle the complex ways wellbeing is experienced in everyday work life from objectified deployments of wellbeing principles that has dominated organisational literature (Cieslik, 2015).

**5.4 Chapter summary**

This chapter has addressed the research objectives stated at the beginning of this chapter:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects and;*
2) *Explore how different versions of wellbeing emerge from an understanding of social ideology projects.*

In this chapter, I have identified three social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing through which social relations are effected within the police organisation amongst front-line officers: paternalism, managerialism, and canteenism. These ideologies form a framework for analysing social relations that both contribute to and are reified by constructions of wellbeing by front-line officers in a police organisation. This framework considers the organisational context involved in constructions of wellbeing and presents wellbeing as a relational concept. Framing wellbeing in this way (i.e. as relational and situated) 'makes explicit that wellbeing can have no form, expression or enhancement without attention to the spatial dynamics' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 142). Presenting these different social ideology projects leads to an understanding that wellbeing is not something that we can 'have', but rather exist in multiple versions, and are in constant production and reproduction (Atkinson, 2013), emerging through this relational framework (White, 2015). Further, it provides space for discussing wellbeing as an emergent issue by exploring social norms and rules and ideologies, ultimately underpinned by social relations. This study addresses the existence of multiple wellbeings throughout the organisation, emerging from both individual and group processes.

Exploring the three aforementioned social ideology projects provides insight to how and why they emerge and are reproduced and reified. For example, the 'us versus them' approach that was discussed (5.3.2) became embedded as part of organisational culture and demonstrated how managerialism became a display of a bureaucratised system. By not challenging the processes that took place within this system, it led to a reproduction and affirmation of both managerialism and the unfulfilled wellbeing as expressed. Managerialism further served power interests of senior managers while increasing the gap between how life is and how it

ought to be for front-line officers. This created a version of wellbeing, called managerial wellbeing, that in turn added to, or shaped, the social ideology project it emerged from.

Throughout this exploration, paternalism and managerialism were shown to reinforce each other. That is, front-line officers called for a wellbeing intervention from afar, it was given to them, it did not fit their needs, and another intervention was trialled. With this process in mind, paternalism primarily produced unfulfilled idealised situations and was reified through the expressions of 'desired care' and placing this responsibility on others. A patriarchal organisation was affirmed through this process, which led to the gap of wellbeing being simultaneously sustained and denied through canteenism.

Exploring canteenism led to finding how constructions of wellbeing were mediated through the interaction of social norms and rules and ideologies within the police organisation. A number of the social norms and rules and ideologies within canteenism paralleled with managerialism and paternalism, such as the service of a patriarchal organisation by the inability to challenge interventions. The difference here is that this inability was based on the idea that it may appear to expose 'weaknesses' from an otherwise masculine environment. As a hypothetical example, if a front-line officer were to challenge the managerial 'refs break' practice by saying that they *felt* the timing of the refs break on their shift was too late and they would be hungry, it could lead to a reaction of 'toughen up' by the senior manager that created the practice. This further reifies managerialism serving bureaucratic needs of the organisation and increasing the power divide, denies paternalism and widens the life as it is versus how it ought to be gap, and sustains canteenism by further silencing 'un-masculine' voices.

In this chapter, I identified primarily how and why wellbeing is problematised by front-line officers. This involved exploring the intentional and unintentional interests and agendas that were served by the identified social ideology projects, which emerged from understanding overlapping and different social norms and rules and ideologies at work. Through this analysis, it emerged how front-line officers generally look to others to satisfy idealised solutions, but how it is others who contribute to the gap between how life is and how it ought

to be. Discernibly, there are differences between these expressions and how senior managers conceptualise wellbeing, which will be addressed in the following chapter.

The analysis I provided in this chapter contributes to White's (2015) framework of relational wellbeing as it provided linkages between different relational and subjective processes in an organisational context. Further, it developed the analytic utility of the concept by proposing and demonstrating a conceptual framework in practice. Importantly, it considers that how people feel regarding the gap between how life is and how it ought to be cannot be abstracted from materiality (White, 2015). In this case, this was done by considering the situated element of place, or rather the organisational/cultural context in which it took place. The specific implications for workplace practices and recommendations based on this understanding will be discussed in chapter eight.

To reiterate, the aim of this study is to investigate how and why individuals in a police organisation construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing. It further highlights there are multiple versions of the problem of wellbeing that requires attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation. The alternative framing of wellbeing as presented in this study 'has associated alternative implications for how policy for wellbeing constitutes the primary focus of its interventions' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 142). Rather than addressing how to enhance wellbeing programmes or resources, attending to the socially and spatially situated relationships that wellbeing emerges from is central to this consideration. This involves exploring wellbeing 'as a social process involving struggle and negotiation in everyday life' (Cieslik, 2015, p. 424). This account of wellbeing constructs individuals within the study as engaged in powerful social networks while also considering how constraints and conflicts are managed (Ahmed, 2010, Cieslik, 2015). This evidences the idea that the social ideology projects are reified and reproduced through the very conditions they emerge from (Althusser, 2008). It further provides insight to how entrenched social norms and rules and ideologies deny the ability to challenge identified barriers to 'solving' the problem of wellbeing. The power relations within the social ideology projects seemingly provided order to the organisation, and there was reluctance to challenge this social order.

There is a dearth in literature that addresses how wellbeing is constructed in a relational context within organisations, and more generally there is a dearth in literature that addresses constructionist approaches to wellbeing in an organisational setting. As stated by Cieslik (2015) 'there is a need for a much more ambitious theoretical and methodological engagement with the multiplicity of ways that [wellbeing] features in our lives' (p. 434). Hence the novelty of this study that has theoretical and practical implications in wellbeing literature and organisations that span beyond policing. The following chapter will build upon this and propose a similar framework as in this chapter for analysing social ideology projects that emerged in conversations with senior managers in the police organisation.

**Chapter Six**

**6.0 The construction, mobilisation, consumption, and reconstruction of versions of wellbeing amongst senior managers**

**6.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I explore how wellbeing is experienced by members of the organisation employed in the ranks who wholly operate in senior managerial positions, from the rank of chief inspector up to the deputy chief constable. As I have explained in the preceding chapters, during my fieldwork and ongoing analysis, reflecting on how wellbeing was interpreted, expressed, and consumed by front-line officers led me to question if there were discernible variations in how front-line officers and senior managers constructed wellbeing. Further, I questioned the dynamics between the ranks based on certain expressions from front-line officers (e.g. 'senior leadership is not doing enough to take care of employee welfare' ch. 5.3.1). This led me to develop my third research objective to meet the overall aim of the study, which is to investigate how and why individuals in a police organisation construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects and;*
3) *Identify similarities and differences between front line officers' and senior managers' versions of wellbeing.*

This identification requires paying attention to how wellbeing is talked about, interpreting how the concept is shaped and understanding how senior managers[36] espouse and enact wellbeing practices. Drawing on social constructionism (Berger and Luckmann, 2011), and relational wellbeing (White, 2015) within the conceptual framework explained in chapter three, this chapter seeks to explore understandings of different versions of wellbeing and how these understandings influence social ideology projects. This exploration will also address

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[36] The senior manager level consists of chief inspectors up to the deputy chief constable as illustrated in 1.3

how these social ideology projects are reproduced and reified through senior managers' constructions of wellbeing.

In this chapter I will provide a discussion based upon my analysis of my ethnographic interviews with senior managers to show how wellbeing emerged from, reproduced, and reified social ideology projects (e.g. paternalism, managerialism, canteenism, neoliberalism) which will in turn be compared and contrasted with front-line officer observations. Ethnographic, semi-structured interviews with senior managers, including all members of the chief team[37], allowed me to explore how this cohort conceptualises wellbeing. By exploring social ideology projects and accompanying versions of wellbeing, we are able to gain further insight to how certain interests and agendas are served through the exercise of power dynamics. This analysis will further identify the implications these constructions of wellbeing have on the conditions they were produced in (Althusser, 2008). It also highlights that there are multiple versions through which wellbeing is framed as a problem that requires attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation.

## 6.2 How wellbeing is understood by senior managers

> You can have a wellbeing strategy, or you can do wellbeing. I think we have a wellbeing strategy, but do we actually do wellbeing? Do we actually show our officers that we care? (senior manager)

The ideological dilemma addressed in the above quote was addressed in one of the first interviews I had with senior managers. The senior manager reflected on their understanding of wellbeing in the organisation and highlighted a dualistic approach to wellbeing which emerged from aspects of organising. It was expressed that wellbeing can be addressed as a tangible strategy *or* as a process. The two were presented as mutually exclusive. As I proceeded through interviews with senior managers, this dichotomy arose a number of times. Along with providing insight to how wellbeing was generally conceptualised amongst the

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[37] The chief team consists of the chief constable, deputy chief constable, and assistant chief constable, however the analysis of my interview with the chief constable will be in the following chapter.

senior manager ranks, it also provided a starting point for determining what social ideology projects interplayed to create these conceptualisations. The follow-up questions and responses illustrated these projects and it was here that a number of versions of wellbeing arose. Further, this brought to light the differences and similarities between senior managers' and front-line officers' conceptualisations, which as I will discuss, addresses certain interests and agendas.

In the above discussion, this senior manager reference to the process of wellbeing resonated with PC Red's statement in chapter 5, where they stated, 'I feel like a piece of crap on the bottom of their boot' (p. 116) and that 'the organisation does not care about their wellbeing and do not care what front-line officers have to say' (p. 116). The three discussions brought attention to the idealised situation that senior managers and front-line officers have created (i.e. the sense of being cared for - paternalism), which provided insight to the assumptions both groups have regarding wellbeing. It also highlighted the fissure between senior managers and front-line officers. Senior managers seemed to understand the assumptions of front-line officers, but there is a gap between how both groups envision enactment of this idealised situation.

Further, this senior manager alluded to the way the process of wellbeing manifests itself in the organisation, which is by officers receiving 'attention' or 'care' from senior managers. Despite acknowledgement that wellbeing in this reflection is viewed as a process, I argue that the issue is more complex than this; wellbeing as a process manifests itself through a number of social ideology projects and produces a number of versions of wellbeing throughout the organisation. In turn, these versions of wellbeing have implications for the very social ideology projects they emerged from which have wider implications on practice. Namely, they assemble each other in particular patterns (Freeden, 2003). Wellbeing is not considered to be an end-result or measurable 'factor' within this study, rather the focus is to understand how individuals make sense of things (i.e. wellbeing) in the context of organisational culture and how these constructions influence practice. As White (2013) asserted, '[a] shift is demanded away from how to enhance the resources for wellbeing centred on individual acquisition and towards attending to the social, material, and spatially situated social relations through which

individual and collective wellbeing are effected' (p. 142). This study reflects this shift and contributes to understanding the different ways wellbeing can be framed.

Returning to the opening quotation of this section, another senior manager further reflected:

> I think we're not particularly good at wellbeing at the moment because we've got a strategy…but our cops are out there, and there's no relation at the moment, I don't think, to the challenges that they are actually facing out there at the moment.

This senior manager acknowledged that the organisation's current approach to wellbeing, which is a codified strategy (i.e. strategic leadership and wellbeing board as outlined in chapter three), does not involve considering important aspects of social relations. While they only recognised one area (i.e. current challenges), this shows that there is recognition that there is more to wellbeing than objectified strategy and creating idealised situations. This parallels and supports the discussion of 'refs breaks' as discussed in chapter 5, in that bringing up an issue that is not viewed as a problem until it is mentioned creates an expectation, and when this expectation is not met it widens the gap between how life is and how life ought to be.

Further emphasising this perceived gap, one of my interview questions with senior managers asked how they felt front-line officers feel about wellbeing within the organisation. One responded:

> I suspect they feel there's a lot of talk about it but not a lot is being delivered in it (Senior manager).

This senior manager expressed to me their understanding of wellbeing and again reflected the pragmatic approach to the concept, a characteristic often attributed to police culture (Reiner, 2000). Rather than considering why front-line officers construct their understandings of wellbeing as they do, assumed idealised situations shaped the above interpretation. There was a presence of assumptions around front-line officer interpretations, and how this 'problem' could be 'solved' through 'delivering' a certain approach to wellbeing. Producing a

tangible and measurable wellbeing outcome was the focus throughout a number of interviews with senior managers which highlighted their 'reality' of wellbeing.

Returning to Veenhoven's (2008) assertion that collective notions are building blocks in constructing our mental representations of reality, these senior managers again underline that wellbeing serves different interests and agendas. The interview excerpts to this point in this chapter have primarily addressed wellbeing as an actionable strategy that can be used to maintain organisational power dynamics. Their perspectives reflected how the front-line officers' constructed wellbeing, however explained that there are deficiencies between strategy and practice. While this does not reflect the aim of this study, as it is not about understanding wellbeing as an objectified strategy or object in itself, this perspective instead provides insight to the collective beliefs within the organisation that emerge from socially and spatially situated contexts. Understanding the perspectives of senior managers along with front-line officers helps to shape the meanings around wellbeing resulting in varied group-level and individual constructs, hence presenting multiple wellbeings in the organisation within this study.

Understandings of wellbeing were demonstrated to be constructed through individuals' histories of social relations and interpretations, which varied from person to person. Exploring these varied constructions leads to an enhanced understanding of organisational wellbeing which, in turn, can influence practices in the organisation. For example, this can impact front-line officers' behaviours towards senior managers. In another interview, a senior manager explained to me the approach the organisation generally takes to wellbeing, which helped to understand this idea:

> The other problem with HR, it's not the people, they're good people, [but] we've cut them back so much that actually we don't have the capacity to come up with a plan for the officer that's been off for 180 days, they don't have the admin support… you know do analysis on patterns of sickness and welfare support. It's all pushed to the sergeants that are dealing with the deaths, the RTCs, the rapes, and the murders on the front line, so what goes to the top of the list? The murder that they've just been sent to. The wellbeing stays below.

There was a seeming hopelessness from a number of the senior managers I spoke with, which resonates with reflections from front-line officers, as I discussed in chapter five. They acknowledged the importance of addressing wellbeing, however understanding the concept was beyond what resources could allow. In this example, wellbeing was addressed as something that should be done rather than a concept that is embedded in daily life and subject to constant discussion and careful intervention and evaluation.

Extant literature often focuses on the influence that senior managers have on front-line officer wellbeing (Breevaart & Bakker, 2014; Russell, 2014, Skakon et al., 2010) through a positivistic lens (Houdmont, 2016; Kula, 2017; Ryff, 1985), however there is a noted gap in explaining how managers understand, perceive, or construct wellbeing, and how this emerges from, and shapes, social relations in the organisation. This is important to address because it provides insight to interacting social ideology projects which as this study will show have significant practical implications. To explore and explain this, this chapter addresses senior managers' constructions of wellbeing and links these with front-line officer constructions (and in the following chapter the chief constable) to address this identified dearth of knowledge. In turn, the practical and theoretical implications and influence of this will be identified. To develop these ideas, the following sections explain the social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing that emerged throughout data collection and analysis in order to explain senior managers' constructions of wellbeing.

## 6.3 Social ideology projects amongst senior managers

Similar to the preceding chapter in which I addressed three social ideology projects as influencers and reproductions of versions of wellbeing with front-line officers, in this chapter, I will address the social ideology projects that emerged, reified, and reproduced amongst senior managers: paternalism, managerialism, neoliberalism, and canteenism. To reiterate, these social ideology projects are the product of a combination of social norms and rules and ideologies. The social ideology projects and underlying elements were recognised and interpreted as a common set of patterns that arrange the social world in a certain way (Žižek, 1994). The analysis of these social ideology projects and accompanying versions of wellbeing

will provide insight to why different people, and groups, may construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing in different ways but also the overlapping similarities between them (Wittgenstein, 1953). These differences and similarities have practical and theoretical implications which will be explored. By addressing how social relations forge individuals, this analysis will provide insight to how wellbeing is framed and therefore explore how it is attended to through certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation.

### 6.3.1 Paternalism and the construction of paternal wellbeing

In chapter five I discussed front-line officers' reflections on a paternal, 'caring' approach to wellbeing. Front-line officers communicated idealised situations that often included a desire for experiencing paternalistic exchanges, and this was one social ideology project through which my understanding of constructions of wellbeing in the organisation emerged. Throughout interviews with senior managers, paternalism emerged in a different way. Rather than expressing desire for paternal relationships to narrow the gap between how life is and how it ought to be, senior managers acknowledged how this relationship may be important for front-line officers. This acknowledgement implied a mutual recognition that how life ought to be involves a benevolent downward care, which in turn reifies and reproduced this ideology. The purpose of exploring paternalism as a social ideology project amongst senior managers is to explain how a paternal wellbeing emerges and is reproduced within this construct, and how it reproduces particular social relations within the organisation. In turn this helps to understand who benefits from this in an organisational context, or rather the interests and agendas that are served.

In one interview with a senior manager, I asked what leadership meant to them. While this study is not specifically about leadership[38], this part of the conversation illustrated wellbeing concepts similar to those discussed in chapter five. Leadership in this context implied social relations, hence its relevance to the discussion regarding wellbeing in a relational context.

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[38] Leadership was initially a theme of this study, however wellbeing prevailed as a primary theme through analysis.

Leadership is a component we often don't get right here, I know it as inspiration, leadership has to be more than management, more than about organising things and you know dispensing authority, it has to be about inspiration, that discretionary bit about getting the best out of people…I think back to when I was a young constable, my enthusiasm wasn't fixed rather it could fluctuate and people could get it out of me if they led me in the right way. So, inspiration is key; enthusiasm in the mission, encouraging people not to fall at the first hurdle, building people's resilience and confidence, and competence…I can think of countless examples of when I was young, impressionable, vulnerable officer where people have stepped in and shown that care for me as an individual and made sure I was okay.

By reflecting on past experiences as a PC prior to reaching senior manager ranks, this discussion contributed to organising ideas around social norms and rules within paternalism. The senior manager spoke of how their understanding of social norms and values was shaped through socialisation, or how they responded in 'meaningful ways to their predicament as constituted by the network of relations they find themselves in' (Reiner, 2010, p. 116). This in turn contributed to how they construct and enact wellbeing. They recognised that it was not their own cognitive construction of wellbeing but rather how they constructed it through contextual social experiences within the organisation which in turn reproduced paternalism. This excerpt also addressed the solutions paternalism can offer to paternal wellbeing, which I have identified as a gap between how life is and how it ought to be. In this context, wellbeing is resolvable within paternalism.

I propose that how and why senior managers espouse and enact social norms and rules within paternal wellbeing rests primarily on their social relations and experiences. Throughout interviews, senior managers often drew on these experiences to explain how they envisioned idealised situations.

In 2003 I chased a man in to an alleyway; he turned around and pointed a gun at me, as far away from me as you are now. Fortunately, as I'm running at him and he points at me his shoulder catches a fence post and he drops it, so I run after him. To this day

no one has ever asked me how I am over that. And one a few years [later] attacked me with a knife. If I was as far round the middle then as I am now I would've been stabbed, we didn't have armour then. One of my colleagues was on the floor, we fought with him and he [the attacker] ended up with the knife inside himself. So, I had the emotion of him trying to attack us, and the emotion of seeing a colleague on the floor with someone trying to attack him, and then seeing a guy with a knife sticking in his gut, which never looks nice. To this day, no one has asked [how I am]. So, I can see how officers, 20, 25 years' service, they see a relatively innocuous thing and they go bam (Senior manager).

This senior manager expressed the learned implicit knowledge based on social experiences that was garnered through experienced social rules and norms (Atkinson, 2013) in the organisation. It was through these social rules and norms, underpinned by social relations, where their constructions of individual and collective wellbeing were effected. In this interview, the paradox of wellbeing was introduced. This paradox points to the idea that 'the positive experiences we commonly associate with happiness often rely for their meaning and significance on negative events in our lives – the hardships that we all encounter as humans' (Cieslik, 2015, p. 429). Drawing on a negative experience and the lack of paternal attention that was offered provided this senior manager with insight to how an idealised situation should look. As a result, the notion of paternalism was reified and constructed as the idealised situation. Further, there was an expectation (in this case regarding the chief inspector) of an ideal leader that this senior leader did not recognise in their direct manager which contributed to a gap between how life is and how it ought to be which in turn further problematised paternal wellbeing.

Paternalism as an ideal situation was a common theme throughout interviews with senior managers. As one senior manager reflected:

When we try to get it right we often get it wrong…it becomes a tick box. There was a job over in Nova a few weeks ago where a whole team spent nearly 90 minutes trying to talk somebody off a car park, he jumped, so the same team went down and gave him CPR, he was coughing up blood and a mess. They had a [debrief] and that was in

Nova… [then] they had to drive all the way from Nova covered in blood. They were on a night shift, they got here at 7 o'clock [am] when they were due to finish, they were still here at 5 o'clock [pm]. Nobody offered them a change of clothes. No shower. No are you okay conversation because it was a process, all based around welfare. They hit the target, but they missed the point. I think if we did that, we do it without data, we do it with wellbeing, we did a bit what more do they want. They want a shower, they wanted someone to put their arm around them and say are you alright, it's ok to have a bit of a cry around this, let me go and get you some clothes from Tesco.

The events explained to me by the above senior manager led me to explore how they negotiated the implications and interpretations of these events. There was a comparison made to managerialism (to be explored in 6.3.2) and suggestion that paternalism is part of the idealised situation. This allusion links back to the relational process I described in section 5.3.1 in that these *feelings* expressed were derived from *comparisons* to processes they experienced in the organisation, the *feedback* they then perceived as a result, interpreting the cause of these experiences, and finally how *importance was attached* to these experiences. This process is influential because it reflects how people in the organisation create meaning about cultural phenomena (i.e. wellbeing) and how this meaning is transmitted throughout the organisation.

The above process further presents an issue that was highlighted by another senior manager. They expressed the difficulty they experienced in delivering support they perceived as related to wellbeing. Senior managers are under pressure themselves and thus experience difficulty in delivering support as part of their wellbeing practice.

One of the biggest barriers for me in terms of delivering welfare and wellbeing is the capacity to do it and sit down with somebody and have that genuinely engaged conversation. I had to go and see somebody this morning and tell them I was moving them and I knew it was going to have a significant impact on them because they didn't want to go, and in fairness it wasn't of their own making, but I'm having to move them for their own 'wellbeing' because the job they're doing is having too much of an impact on them. I only had half an hour to give them and I had to cut short on the

meeting before and after just to squeeze that half hour in and I'm thinking I've got to go, but this is really important to you and is going to have a significant impact on you and all I've got is 30 minutes to give you.

While there was a recognition that wellbeing is important, its prioritisation may not be the ultimate focus. In itself, this concept shapes how senior managers construct wellbeing and reflects on the bureaucratic interests of the organisation being served. There is a dichotomy in that they are told 'it' is important by the chief constable, but operationally delivering 'it' is not always feasible given how many competing priorities there are. Along with this, is the added pressure to anticipate wellbeing issues when it might be counterintuitive to their own experiences. Given my argument that wellbeing is shaped by complex social relations, anticipating what other individuals want in terms of wellbeing support is a significant task.

In another interview, the expressed problem of paternal wellbeing built upon the idealised situations that have been discussed within this section:

> Now I think [the chief constable] is a really decent bloke, but when you're in his presence it's a very child parent relationship if you were to look at it in that hierarchal way, it's like a parent and a child in that room, it's not an adult to adult conversation (Senior manager).

The allusions to paternalism made by this senior manager echoed the expressions of front-line officers, however they introduced a different purpose for paternalism in the organisation (as opposed to being cared for). Specifically, in this account, the oppressive nature of paternalism was drawn out. I considered this concept as an idea that could be engaged to explore to various ranks in the organisation, including front-line officers' social relations with line managers. When considering how this applied to constructions of wellbeing, there is a lack of power or influence from the 'child's' point of view, and when the 'parent' is in control of the situation, the input from the 'child' may not be considered. The influence of power in this situation created a dynamic which I interpreted as dualism between control and resistance (Mumby, 2005), but a dualism brought on by social norms and rules. That is, the constructed social norms and rules brought up an internalised struggle between the idealised

desire to resist, but the rule to adhere to hierarchical constraints, ultimately serving the interests of a bureaucratic organisation. Considered alongside the other elements discussed in this section, a 'culture of hierarchy' is seemingly developed and sustained.

Paternalism was espoused and enacted differently in my interviews with senior managers as opposed to front-line officers. While front-line officers expressed an apparent desire for protection and provisions from senior managers, senior managers primarily recognised paternalism as an idealised situation that was generally unsatisfied. In some interviews, it emerged that paternalism could be a basis for oppression, as the final example showed, and as per the rest of this section, I interpreted that paternalism provided a space for emphasising the power dynamic between the ranks. In turn, the power dynamic is affirmed, and the hierarchical social relations are reproduced through paternal wellbeing. This power dynamic is an important element to explore and at the centre of questions around wellbeing and managerialism. Hence the following section will address managerialism as a social ideology project that shapes and is shaped by managerial wellbeing.

### 6.3.2 Managerialism and the construction of managerial wellbeing

Similar to chapter five, managerialism emerged as a social ideology project that provides a space for exploring the formal bureaucratic social relations within the police organisation in this study. To reiterate, managerialism is the belief system of the dominant organisational group (i.e. managers) which is intended to influence opinion of others in the organisation and also to justify and legitimate actions (Gerring 1997; Shepherd, 2017). In this study I am engaging with managerialism to understand how it is enacted and challenged in the organisation, how it influences constructions of wellbeing, and how it is reified and reproduced.

Managerialism and expressions thereof were evident throughout fieldwork with front-line officers as I explored in chapter five. Throughout interviews with senior managers, managerialism again prevailed as a dominant social ideology project that both effected wellbeing constructions and was reproduced and reified by them. How senior managers

described certain actions and behaviours related to this was demonstrated in one of the interviews when we were discussing wellbeing practices:

> I think the balance is the force has got to assume a position and we've all got to buy in to it, whether we agree with it or not that's irrelevant…Might not agree with it and I don't agree with everything the business does but I've agreed to put the crowns on and deliver what the business wants and the bit where I draw the line is if I thought it was illegal, corrupt or immoral (Senior manager).

The pressure to impose conceptualisations of wellbeing on lower ranks was a notable feature of wellbeing within the organisation. While I acknowledge that senior managers all have their own conceptualisations of what wellbeing is, they also acknowledged their positionality and responsibility to deliver practices that 'satisfy' wellbeing practices in the organisation. As the above senior manager referred to metaphorically, the police organisation is a 'business', therefore highlighting the importance of enacting the interests and agendas of the organisation. Senior managers in police organisations have significant influence on practices (Brown & Campbell, 1990) however they are often required to transcend self-interests for the sake of the organisation (Densten, 2003; Yukl & Van Fleet, 1982). What this results in is a reproduction of a managerial wellbeing and a demonstration of the behaviours front-line officers opposed (see ch. 5.3.2).

The above interviewee addressed the effect of abiding to a hierarchical model, which has an inherent influence on practices and concepts that could adopt a more collaborative approach, notably understanding wellbeing. With regard specifically to the influence this has on wellbeing constructions, a common perception from front-line officers was that while the chief constable has a positive message regarding wellbeing, the message is not transmitted effectively through the ranks. The senior managers I interviewed had a similar perception. Generally, the feedback I received when reflecting on this was that a certain rank[39] was responsible for the lapse in communication which shows one constraint of managerialism.

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[39] This rank is at the senior managerial level but will remain anonymous to maintain integrity.

One senior manager highlighted this idea by explaining why certain messages are not transmitted:

> I think the rank structure comes in to play here. If the chief addresses the whole force via an email or an intranet message or in the sports hall and says we are going to do this as a priority everybody will sit in the room and go yep. As soon as the chief walks out, if the sergeant says to his team I'm not buying in to that, then it falls over straight away, and I don't just say that about the chief, if I go to a briefing and say this this and this, soon as I walk out… (Senior manager)

This senior manager identified both constraints of managerialism and how individualised constructions inherently impact practice. If a senior manager does not agree with the message delivered by the chief constable, they sometimes exercise their autonomy and vocalise their agenda with their subordinates. This both undermines managerialism and also changes the course of managerial wellbeing through their own messaging. This idea further highlights how challenges to managerialism are enacted through constructions of wellbeing.

Notably, another constraint that I found was that the organisation was seemingly unable to adapt to changing circumstances related to wellbeing. As Morgan (2006) stated, 'mechanistically structured organizations have a great difficulty adapting to changing circumstances because they are designed to achieve predetermined goals; they are not designed for innovation' (p. 28). This concept highlighted to me the focus of traditional 'police functions' in the organisation and reaching operational goals rather than considering idealised situations of others. In support of this idea, 'tradition stubbornly endures in police organisations' (Jermier & Berkes, 1979, p. 19). I found this to be particularly relevant when considering managerial wellbeing. One illustration of this emerged when I spoke with one senior manager about the chief constable:

> Police culture is a very strange beast, but ultimately, it's still stuck in the post war, militaristic era where every cop was a soldier…with all the nonsense that goes with it. You have a look at police award ceremonies where he chief goes you know with all

the medals and the chief is two inches more forward than the person he's presenting to in the photograph.

This interview highlighted the embedded construction of hierarchy and omnipotence of the chief constable in the eyes of this senior manager. The importance attributed to the chief constable was reiterated by a number of senior managers throughout interviews. While the chief constable is the focus of the following chapter, the perception of responsibility for attending to wellbeing is significant, as highlighted in the following interview excerpt.

> Jamie (interviewer): who do you think is ultimately responsible for wellbeing within the force?

> Senior manager: Well the chief constable is always ultimately responsible for everything so if you view it in organisational terms it's always the Chief, but personal responsibility is key to it isn't it and you can't be looking upwards for the answer the whole time.

While this senior manager reflected that wellbeing is not solely others' responsibility, but rather, also a personal responsibility, it highlighted an important organisational influence. The perception that the head of the organisation is responsible for what happens within it is not unexpected, however what this means within the context of the organisation is of particular relevance. Police organisations are inherently bureaucratic, with a chief constable at the top of the hierarchy who is surrounded by an elite managerial team. This creates a deep-rooted emphasis on the directives of the higher ranks and little upward collaboration. The chief constable has the ultimate say in which practices should be emphasised and it is up to their team to enact these, which will be further explored in the following chapter. As I have demonstrated thus far, this delivery and enactment does not always take place which creates fissures in managerialism, and ultimately shapes the problem of managerial wellbeing. The chief constable of this particular organisation emphasised wellbeing as a priority[40] and resultantly tasked the senior managerial team with creating a wellbeing strategy. I interpreted

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[40] This is discussed in the following chapter which is focused on the chief constable.

the wellbeing strategy as a measurable entity that would provide evidence of interventions for the purpose of HMICFRS inspections, and also to maintain the power dynamics between the chief constable and the rest of the organisation. While this study is not focused on objectified wellbeing practices, this instead demonstrates the problem of managerial wellbeing and more importantly how it is imposed on other members of the organisation resulting in the reproduction of managerialism. In turn this legitimises similar social norms and rules, and managerialism is further reified.

Further reification of managerialism was reflected through the recognition amongst the senior managers I interviewed that attention to wellbeing in the organisation was perceived as limited by front-line officers. In one interview I explained the purpose of my study was to explore wellbeing and as we were discussing this I mentioned that discussions with front-line officers often centred around how they felt they were being taken care of, to which they retorted:

> I suspect they don't particularly...The chief heads the wellbeing strategy and the chief heads the wellbeing and leadership strategy board because he believes it's absolutely fundamental. So, it's absolute commitment from him, but it has been slow in delivering so they will not feel that difference is what I think (Senior manager).

While recognising that front-line officers may perceive wellbeing practices as being limited within the organisation due to the speed in which programmes are implemented, this again returns to the pragmatic view or business view of wellbeing. The senior manager being interviewed discussed formal programmes and strategies that were going to be implemented, however a more subjective perspective of *why* front-line officers experience shortfalls as they do or *why* senior managers view practices differently was not expressed. However, in another interview, there was some recognition that views are different due to operational and personal differences:

> Sometimes you then forget that some people may be affected, so you're carrying on doing long hours and feeling fine and you need to stop and think that not everybody reacts in the same way. And I think that's really challenging because you can only see

things from your own personal experience and that obviously shapes how you feel that other people will react in certain situations and they don't. And that is the biggest challenge and the biggest barrier for me is actually exposing yourself to how other people can and recognising the signs when other people are struggling because people are just different aren't they and that to me is the biggest challenge really, is stepping away from your own perceptions and looking through a wider lens really (senior manager).

Although there was recognition from this senior manager that varying conceptualisations of wellbeing exist in the organisation, this recognition did not materialise through managerialism. As aforementioned, the chief constable emphasized wellbeing as a priority concept in the organisation, however the delivery of this did not represent the above idea that wellbeing conceptualisations vary amongst people. A key example of this was the implementation of a wellbeing strategy in the organisation (ch. 7.3) which was reflected on by another senior manager:

We have a wellbeing strategy where we look at its strands, so you've got reducing the amount of alcohol, reducing the amount of smoking, if you speak to a frontline officer they don't want to talk to you about how much they're smoking or drinking they want to talk about how much work they've got, they want to talk about how if they call for a taser, it's miles away somewhere up the [motorway], they want to talk about the fact that they've had yet another complaint notice served on them, that's what they want to talk to you about, not how much sleep they're getting. I can guarantee you they're not getting enough sleep because they're on shifts, they're working shifts (Senior manager, 2017).

While this was a common recognition by a number of senior managers I interviewed, the managerial approach to wellbeing in the organisation appeared to prevail. This could be attributed to the idea that 'managers are the main supporters – and beneficiaries – of managerialism since it increases their social status and strengthens their organizational position' (Shepherd, 2017, p. 4). Despite at times displaying friction with the principles of managerialism, it was illustrated to be reified by reproducing a set of social norms and rules

and ideologies. While senior managers acknowledged that the processes being implemented did not reflect the idealised situations of front-line officers, strategies were implemented regardless in order to satisfy immediate bureaucratic priorities such as implementing policies as directed by the chief constable.

Linking to White's (2010) assertion that entrenched social inequalities have an influence on whose voices are heard, the idea of bureaucratised wellbeing can be considered. Wellbeing becomes 'something' that has to be delivered in a certain way because it has come as a directive from higher ranks based on their conceptualisation. Rather than a participative forum inviting feedback from the front-line, the conceptualization comes from the top down and is applied. In turn, this shapes how other individuals in the organisation 'should' view wellbeing and which aspects are valued. By limiting its application to a certain subgroup's interpretation, fissures are created between senior managers and front-line officers. Supporting this concept is Weber's bases of influence in which the leader is envisaged as a source of influence over others. The concept of bases of influence 'introduces a distinction between bases of influence which reside primarily within the leader as a person, and those which derive from the social and organizational context within which the leader operates' (Smith & Peterson, 1988, p. 3). This concept reflects a 'culture of hierarchy' that I interpreted to be existent in the organisation.

With regard to the 'culture of hierarchy', one senior manager stated:

> Your ACC will be hugely influential around how the [superintendents] behave. And the ACC will also be hugely influential back up in terms of who gets promoted. So, they'll have all the chief inspectors that are desperate to get to superintendent because it's a big jump in pay, so you'll have all those chief inspectors doing all the behaviours that the ACC want to get to that next rank. And that's where we've made the mistakes over the last three years, look at those people really deeply okay, you'll understand what I mean.

This senior manager supported the previous idea that I discussed that a perceived upward focus of promotion-seeking individuals is a barrier, or problem, in a downward focused

wellbeing practice. From another perspective, 'that element of organizational structure that seems such a hopeless and obvious anachronism may be the symbol and "carrier" of important elements of culture…or it may be playing a vital psychological role in how managers are coping with the uncertainties of the time' (Morgan, 2006, p. 339). Perhaps one of the important elements of police culture and more specifically the culture of hierarchy is that at a certain point for some individuals, personal ambitions interfere with attending to wellbeing and their own frame of reference relies on simply pleasing the people above them rather than below them. As one senior manager stated, 'I think that people realise that actually they can get on, as long as they please the boss'.

Further supporting managerialism two senior managers reflected on their interpretation of how managerialism and perceptions of their selves intersect:

> The very shape of police leadership itself that drives behaviours because to achieve in a very difficult environment…to get to that thing…you have to focus on yourself and how you perceive that they want you to be a lot more (Senior manager).

> We've still got that I'll say you do, it is very militaristic…but in the police service we're mainly human beings interacting with other human beings so we should acknowledge how the human mind works and how human beings feel when they decide how they're going to treat each other…We've still got people leading, the main influences in the police service are heavily influenced by this  [militaristic mindset] and they've had to survive in that culture somewhere so our default position is task, govern, check, bollocking if you don't get it right and there's a phrase, JFDI, Just effing do it, you know all these things, that's what the service is (Senior manager).

The dichotomy of managerialism and attending to moral agents was apparent to me in these interviews. For senior managers, how they reflected on wellbeing represented how embedded managerialism was within the organisation which implicitly has an influence on how they construct wellbeing. Senior managers often expressed their own recognition of the constructivist nature of wellbeing, however what was being directed to them from the top-down had an influence on how they mobilised their understanding. They realise that everyone

has different conceptualisations of wellbeing, however because of managerialism in the organisation they do not feel legitimately able to attend to these varying conceptualisations. Further, this illustrates how managerialism is reproduced and reified as a result of these practices and implicit lack of ability to challenge it.

Managerialism again emerged as a social ideology project that contributed to widening the gap between life how it is and how it ought to be, albeit in a different manner than it did for front-line officers. While front-line officers were defensive to wellbeing imposed on them, senior managers recognised the constraints that they were subject to because of managerialism in operation but did recognise why front-line officers may feel as they do. Ultimately, managerialism and managerial wellbeing serve the interests of the 'business', as reflected in a number of interviews in this section. Approaching wellbeing again as a problem, or the gap between how life is and how it ought to be, managerialism serves the culture of hierarchy and becomes a battle ground for power relations in this organisation. Managerialism provides a concrete idealised 'solution' for wellbeing, based on delivering strategies that are *intended* to solve the problem of wellbeing in the interest of the organisation, however in practice it highlights the tensions produced between front-line officers and senior managers. To further explore this idea and address a different perspective, I will turn attention to canteenism as another social and spatial context that helps to understand constructions of wellbeing.

### 6.3.3 Canteenism and the construction of canteen wellbeing

The previous two sections have focused on social ideology projects based on social relations that emerge from and contribute to hierarchical influence. As I did in chapter five, I will now explore canteenism through which constructions of wellbeing emerge. Further, how canteenism is reified and reproduced through these processes will be identified. Canteenism is mobilised as a social ideology project that encapsulates certain social norms and rules and ideologies commonly attributed with police culture and refers to a particular construction of masculinity (Fielding, 1994). It is important to reiterate that this does not represent all aspects of a complex police culture but rather certain elements which contribute to canteen culture

(Waddington, 1999) as a specific social ideology project. In this study, it refers to the social and spatial context through which constructions of wellbeing emerge.

To begin this discussion, an example that draws out characteristics of canteenism was provided in an interview with one senior manager:

> I've only had 5 days off in 17 years, and that's because [of a sport's injury], and I physically couldn't get in to work. But I only had 5 days off. Because I then arranged for someone to come and pick me up to get in to work because I could still type with my left hand. So, I've only had 5 days off. I've been run over, pushed off balconies, been assaulted, I've still come in to work. Is that a good thing or not, probably not. In fairness I think it probably sends out the wrong message to everybody else. And all of those things are physical things, in terms of mental wellbeing, I don't think we're very good at that. I struggle with child deaths and offences against children…since I've had kids of my own, and I went to an RTC[41]…two twins had been run over in their push chair, it clicked when I was writing down their dates of birth and they were born two days before my son, they were the same age as my son and I was writing down their date of birth and I had this, first time ever I had this wobbly moment, standing on the side of the road talking to this Mum who's pushed her kids out in to the road…and it was the only time in my career where I had to say bear with me, and I had to go and sit in the car and think I can't do that, I can't do this bit. And I suspect that happens quite a lot, and I've never had that conversation really with anybody in work, and I guess one because there's this macho image and you know that's what police we do (Senior manager).

The above senior manager articulated to me the essence of wellbeing constructions with canteenism as a conceptual consideration. In chapters three and five I explored the 'cult of masculinity' that is often discussed in police culture literature (Loftus, 2008; Silvestri, 2017; Smith & Gray, 1985). To protect their masculine identity, it has been said that the unspoken

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[41] RTC = Road Traffic Collision

rules within police culture prevent police from discussing their emotional issues, especially in the workplace (Workman-Stark, 2017). Further supporting this, the admission of a mental health condition 'might lead others to question whether the officer has the *ability* to conduct their job' (Bullock & Garland, 2018, p. 6). These concepts are part of canteenism, for it explains how senior managers make sense of, or organise, their world and express themselves in a relational context, namely through problematizing, or effacing, wellbeing.

In the above example, the senior manager explained that they had not conveyed their feelings about the incident which in itself has implications for social relations. This sentiment was expressed a number of times throughout interviews with senior managers. While they opened up to me about their experiences, they maintained an image of the 'ideal worker' (Silvestri, 2017) with their colleagues. This 'ideal worker' image permeates organisational processes and culture and ultimately reifies canteenism within the organisation (Silvestri, 2017). This expression (or lack of) represents one of the social norms and rules which in turn manifest themselves in espoused and enacted organisational values (Smircich, 1983). This concept was again demonstrated by another senior manager who reflected on canteenism becomes reified in the organisation:

> How do we as humans even know that we're under stress until the gas blows out and it's too late? So, the invincibility myth, our own self-awareness, our ability to spot it in others...no one wants to be seen as weak. I had a guy come in, he was a temporary sergeant, he broke his leg, and I didn't know he'd broken his leg until I got down there and he comes in with his plaster on, and I said what the hell are you doing here? And he says...I don't want to lose my temporary. And I said there's two things I'm going to say to you, the first is you're not going to lose your temporary, the second is go home and don't come back till that's off you. Clear as day they're absolutely terrified. Sitting here now if I thought in the next 18 months I wanted to get promoted again and I felt unwell, I wouldn't stay off work, I'd come in. It's still within me and I know [the chief constable] would say it doesn't matter, but within me it's there. So, there is that I don't want to appear weak and that's linked to our power structures (Senior manager).

The systemic challenges presented in this conversation relate to Goffman's (1963) discussions regarding stigma. The discrepancy between what individuals think they ought to be and what individuals are shown to be (Bullock & Garland, 2018) can help to explain why people express themselves as the aforementioned senior manager did. Presenting oneself as an 'ideal worker' is self-serving, yet constrained by social norms and rules which deny the ability to challenge the construct. In a relational context, this demonstrates the transmission of social norms and rules and contributes to an understanding of why wellbeing emerges as a relational concept. That is, how the senior manager constructed and reproduced wellbeing considered the fundamental aspect of relationality and the 'mutually constitutive interactions' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 138) within the organisational context. By addressing these mutually constitutive interactions and interpreting how these social norms and rules organise the social world, we can begin to understand the contextually situated relationships through which aspects of relational wellbeing underpinned by canteenism emerge (Atkinson, 2013; White, 2017).

The idea that social relations and the social norms and rules they produce are contextually situated led me to explore how individuals in police organisations are active agents in constructing norms of canteenism (Courtenay, 2000) and similarly active agents in constructing principles of wellbeing. These constructions of wellbeing again led to conceptualising it as a problem:

> We've always been very good if some of us got an obvious macho sport-based injury. [It used to be] if someone played rugby and hurt their leg and was limping, it was "well done mate what a really great thing to do", whereas now you go "that's a stupid thing to do" because you've now left your team short. So, there's always been a feeling that if it's a visible injury or an injury on duty then there's lots of sympathy lots of visits, lots of empathy. Mental health, wellbeing, mindfulness has been much less recognised (Senior manager).

The social norms and rules that help organise canteenism were evident in this excerpt, that is, the pervasive hegemonic masculinity and constraints this puts on the problem of wellbeing. Exploring canteenism amongst the senior manager cohort uncovered many similar

characteristics to the front-line officer ranks. Notably, there was a perceived challenge in discussing the 'soft' or problematic issue of wellbeing alongside their masculine norms and rules. This represented a common approach to wellbeing in a relational context for both front-line officers and senior managers which helps to understand how it is enacted in the organisation. Support by Dixon (1999), 'the transmission of culture is achieved by passing on a collection of stories and aphorisms which instruct officers how to see the world and act in it' (p. 127). Hence the masculinised approach to wellbeing is transmitted throughout the organisation and becomes the 'norm' (i.e. is reified and reproduced), which supports the relational approach this study has adopted and the canteen version of wellbeing.

How stories and aphorisms are transmitted – or are not - has a notable influence on how wellbeing is constructed as a result. Within the senior manager cohort, there was evidently less sharing of personal experiences related to wellbeing. Although there have been calls for a 'de-masculinization' of management' (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002, p. 623), constructions of masculinity seemed more pronounced within the senior managerial cohort.

> I think if you're suffering from subtle workplace anxiety around performance there's far less mainstream stuff, you'd have to start going out to the more anonymous seeking anonymous support because there isn't the…our officers go to fatal road accidents or they deal with abused children, that's far more accepted than a middle manager who's more worried about pressure, there isn't quite as much overt support for that. It's changing, the chief and his team are tweeting all the time about having a chat about welfare, I haven't felt the need to do that yet, but I wonder if I went to my senior officer and said I'm really feeling the pressure, you wonder what implication that would have for your career (Senior manager).

This senior manager returns to the idea that admission of perceived 'weaknesses' brings about doubt in an officers' ability to conduct their job and contributes to stigmatisation (Bullock & Garland, 2018, p. 6). By virtue of comparison, this senior manager demonstrated a hierarchy of social, spatial, and material wellbeing considerations (White, 2017). The overt job challenges that are perceived as outside 'normal' activity for a civilian (despite being police officers) were compared with organisational issues. They minimised the influence that

these organisational issues can have and thus provided insight to their own construction of the problem of wellbeing. However, as social norms and rules demonstrate, wellbeing is not resolvable within canteenism and therefore intervening with alternative social ideology projects, such as paternalism, may be required to better serve the interests of individuals.

How each senior manager frames wellbeing was a focal point throughout interviews. Interestingly, the concept of moral projectivism, or the causal accounts of moral experiences (Blackburn, 2016), helps explain how and why some individuals construct wellbeing as they do:

> I've dealt with a lot of really serious investigations, horrible things. So I dealt with the [case where]…six kids got killed in [a] fire. I managed that investigation which was horrible and stressful. I didn't need any extra counselling or anything like that, but I know if I had had, I could have had it. But I've never felt a need for anything in that respect. In terms of working long hours, yes I've had to work long hours but that's my choice really but I do know that I am lucky in that in terms of my own make up or whatever I perhaps don't suffer like some people do but I've also got strong support around me in terms of friends and family which more often than not gets me through the things I need to, so I've never really needed anything. But I know that's lucky. But then again, it can be quite difficult because that's my position it is hard to empathise when people are in a hard position because you don't get it and I know that. Because, it is just difficult isn't it. But I do try (Senior manager).

Using a number of illustrations of moral projectivism, this senior manager embodied the very aspects of canteenism that this section discusses. Here I am referring to morals as cultural and ethical processes that 'deal with valuations of what is considered good and bad, better and worse' (Fischer, 2014 p. 12). This senior manager reflected on circumstances, experiences throughout their career, and justified their own strength as a mitigating factor. There was an apparent desire to maintain an image of the 'ideal worker' (Silvestri, 2017) throughout this interview which as a moral project is 'the product of ongoing processes of socially situated negotiation, continually enacted through the dialectic of everyday social life' (Fischer, 2014, p. 12). This senior manager also justified why they may not be able to satisfy others' idealised

situations because of varying constructions. Within a relational context, how this senior manager makes sense of their world and expresses themselves provides another discourse of wellbeing and acknowledges the gap between talk and action (i.e. expressed empathy versus mobilisation) (Waddington, 1999) which is commonly attributed to the depiction of canteen culture.

Canteenism underlies a number of processes in the organisation as demonstrated, and I found that evidence of canteenism influenced how wellbeing was constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed at every rank. This pervasive canteenism is legitimised and reproduced through social interaction and others' reactions to it (Klein et al., 2007) which gives purpose and meaning to cultural expressions as they relate to the process of wellbeing. This has implications on work practices, because how senior managers interact with each other and others in the organisation considering canteenism influences how conceptualisations of life how it is versus life how it ought to be are negotiated and reproduced. There were a number of displays of what I interpreted as canteenism throughout interviews which had an implicit and explicit influence on how wellbeing was discussed and reified canteen wellbeing as problematic. This provides insight to an influential social ideology project that is both a product and producer of canteen wellbeing.

While the previous three sections have reflected and developed upon social ideology projects that were present amongst front-line officers, a different social ideology project emerged amongst senior managers. Neoliberalism and neoliberal wellbeing emerged through analysis of my interviews and traced a different route regarding how social ideology projects and the problem of wellbeing can be mapped in the organisation.

### *6.3.4 Neoliberalism and the construction of neoliberal wellbeing*

This section introduces a social ideology project that emerged through exploring conceptualisations of relational wellbeing with senior managers. Neoliberalism represents the 'hegemony of the individualised ethic of self-interest' (Valentine and Harris, 2014, p. 84) along with social norms and rules that contribute to preserving this hegemony. Neoliberalism is introduced in order to explore central questions around how wellbeing emerges in the

organisation and what sort of individual responsibility comes along with it. In the current social, economic and political climate, issues such as New Public Management, austerity, outsourcing certain roles (e.g. security of custody blocks), and competitiveness (as outlined in chapter one) intersect with the operations of police organisation and support the appropriateness of discussing it in this context. As defined by Harvey (2007), neoliberalism is 'a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework' (p. 2). Building on this idea, the focus in this section is how the organisation preserves social norms and rules to appropriate these practices, however is not expected to intervene as the responsibility is placed on individuals (Harvey, 2007).

Expressions from senior managers reflected neoliberalism in a number of interviews, including one in which a senior manager stated 'I think ['wellbeing'] is very dependent on individuals. What can affect one individual doesn't affect another and that's what makes it such a challenge is that we're all different'. Throughout interviews with senior managers, this assertion highlights a significant perceived difference in how they discussed wellbeing in contrast to front-line officers. While they generally agreed that wellbeing is an important aspect of organisational practice, opinions varied regarding who is responsible for practicing 'it'. By interpreting implicit and explicit expressions of social ideology projects, I gained insight to how senior managers constructed the problem of wellbeing based on these expressions.

Interestingly, senior managers introduced me to the idea that everyone has a responsibility for 'managing' wellbeing, as opposed to front-line officers who generally looked to others to 'manage' it for them. This conceptualisation draws on the symbolic authority of senior managers to promote the 'outsourcing of its functions and the subjective requirements of the transition to a neoliberal society' (Rose, 2009, p. 140). To illustrate this, I asked senior managers who they think is responsible for managing wellbeing. One senior manager answered:

> Everybody, I think it's an individual thing for a starter… individually you're in the best place. The next best placed person to deal with it would be your line manager or your

colleagues, it depends what you're talking about regarding 'wellbeing'. If you're talking about identifying issues, or if they're struggling then that's around individuals and people around them. So, I think it's everybody, it sounds like a bit of a cop out but that's when you know you've got it right, when it is everybody doing it, because it's not always that your line manager is the person to go to is it, depending on what the issue it, so there's a role for support staff. I'm an openly gay officer and I think if there was an issue around sexuality then they'd come to find me, you know so I think that it's everyone…that's happened quite a lot in the past, issues that people have had around their sexuality, you tend to go to someone who you know can maybe empathise or relate a little more so I don't think it's as simple as saying it's down to one person. And that's probably why it's difficult to do because you need everybody to do it.

The above interview extract highlighted a significant difference between front-line officers, in that rather than constructing principles of wellbeing as primarily something others should be doing, the responsibility is placed at both an organisational and individual level. This raises the idea that a perspective from some senior managers may be fundamentally different than that of front-line officers. As discussed in chapter five, front-line officers often expressed idealised situations where wellbeing was the responsibility of senior managers, or more broadly the organisation. Conversely, all interviews with senior managers highlighted the idea that each individual in the organisation is responsible for their own wellbeing and management of it. This introduces a different version of wellbeing that was not present amongst front-line officers' constructions.

The ideological variation is important to explore because it has implications for what processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation are espoused and enacted. Unique to the senior manager cohort, was the conceptualisation of neoliberal wellbeing and resultantly provisions for wellbeing interventions and solutions. To illustrate this idea, I asked a senior manager what managing wellbeing meant to them after they introduced the idea that wellbeing was something subject to management:

I think it's in probably basic form it's around caring for people...so actually caring for people and showing that you care. But you know if you look at it in hard-nose business terms it's around maximising the productivity of your workforce because if you're getting the best out of them because you're caring for them then they're delivering a better job, which sounds very kind of hard-nosed but for me I joined this job because I like people I find people interesting, I'm more of an extrovert. I actually get enjoyment out of interacting with people and I like to find out about people and I like to help them so that's the sort of fundamentals of it for me.

From a senior manager perspective, the two main expressed priorities were caring for people (i.e. paternalism) and worker efficiency, the latter reflective of effective neoliberal governance (Brown, 2015; Fleming, 2016) which emphasises and serves the business side of wellbeing. While this is an important aspect for any organisation, it demonstrates another way that senior managers conceptualise and interpret wellbeing within the organisation. The business-focused perspective is built on a neoliberal foundation with regard to the dominance of the organisational priorities in organising social relations. The aforementioned perspective also relates to a paternal ideology as discussed in 6.3.1 and managerial ideology as discussed in 6.3.2. The above senior manager also reflected the idealised situations that emerged from conversations with front-line officers, as the paternal attention reflected how life ought to be. In contrast, the excerpt also represents the gap between how life is and how it ought to be as a neoliberal ideology was not an explicit consideration for front-line officers.

A common theme that emerged from interviews with senior managers implicated that employee value and worth is based on productivity, a key aspect of neoliberalism. What this leads to is a presumption of free will, 'which means that those individuals whole fail to thrive under neoliberal conditions can be readily cast as the 'author of their own misfortunes' (Rose, 2009, p. 159). As one senior manager stated to support this:

You've got people who are just not looking after their own wellbeing. They'll do crazy things for example, they'll go out horse riding, fall off, have a serious accident, then back on a horse, you know actually, where's that duty of care to the organisation? (Senior manager)

This expression is an example of how neoliberalism is reproduced and reified in the organisation as this ideology is shared both laterally and hierarchically. Further, by discussing wellbeing along with changing network of complex power relations (Rose, 2009), the neoliberal version of wellbeing continued to be developed. I considered this to be insightful to a senior managerial frame of reference because it represents their views of how life is and how it ought to be. In other terms, how life ought to be to a number of senior managers involved front-line officers that could take care of themselves and consider duty of care to the organisation.

The frame of reference for senior managers was indicative of how they generally related to contemporary issues within the organisation, which both includes and influences their constructions of wellbeing. The majority of the front-line officers that I worked with had spent time only in front-line positions and for less years on average than senior managers had been with the organisation. Thus, they have inherently had different experiences given their operational versus strategic focus and social relations within cultural subgroups. As Morgan (2006) argues, these different professional groups may have different views of the world they operate in as a result of their own social interactions, which inherently differ from those who do not operate in senior managerial positions. The focus however is the differences in perceptions than may emerge from these varying subgroups and interpreting what this means in relation to developing an understanding of wellbeing.

> If you look at a chief constable, and they join at PC, PC, sergeant, inspector, chief inspector, superintendent, chief superintendent, acting chief constable, deputy chief constable, chief, that's 9 promotions. If you talk about somebody getting to chief constable after 20 years…that's a promotion every two years…to go through the process of building up to an interview, the interview process itself, that's going to take a year's worth of preparation to line yourself up for that. All that is going to do in a very tall organisation like [this is] drive people to want to focus on that. To an equal extent to their work and their responsibilities that are within it so if we're talking about police leadership and its issues part of it, the very shape of police leadership itself drives behaviours because *to achieve in a very difficult environment...to get to that*

*thing, you have to focus on yourself and how you perceive that they want you to be a lot more* (my emphasis added) (Senior manager, 2017).

This interview provided insight to how and why neoliberalism may emerge amongst the senior manager cohort. I found through interviews that senior managers expressed they had to look out for themselves throughout their careers in order to achieve higher level promotions. Thus, perhaps they build an expectation that everyone in the organisation should have the same level of attention focused on themselves. This links to ideas of individualism as opposed to social solidarity (Harvey, 2007) and provides some insight to the tensions between senior managers and front-line officers. As an example, front-line officers often regarded senior managers as being out of touch with policing priorities. This point is supported by Rowe (2006) who also found that junior ranks 'tend to question their credibility by suggesting that they have forgotten the harsh realities of police work' (p. 765).

Senior managers that I interviewed also provided an important insight to neoliberalism, which showed to me that they can appreciate the gap neoliberalism may contribute to between how life is and how it ought to be for front-line officers.

> They're out and about dealing with the ills of society, they're spat at they're abused, they're assaulted and they're getting paid 19 grand, I mean it's an absolute disgrace and I think that's why now we're seeing more and more people leave policing for private industry because actually the skill set they've got is valuable to private industry (Senior manager).

This interview evidences how narratives of wellbeing are being understood in relation to certain material aspects of the job, such as violence, pay, office conditions, and working hours. Based on neoliberalism, if we assume everyone is an entrepreneurial self, or a product to be sold in the market place, then if the front-line officer is struggling in one organisation, they can sell their skills elsewhere. Senior managers, in order to serve business needs such as employee retention, need to overcome this challenge. Senior managers utilised material and spatial artefacts to evidence the 'problem' of wellbeing, but they never utilised these material artefacts to explain the 'solution' to wellbeing. Rather, they placed emphasis on social

organisational aspects (i.e. other *people)* in the organisation to this end. Interestingly, this brings up the idea that a focus on these social aspects also create a problem of wellbeing if senior managers place the emphasis on individuals as the solution to attend to material problems that exceed their capacities. This adds to the barrier between senior managers and front-line officers and elements of cynicism I explored in chapters three and five.

How stories and aphorisms are transmitted were notably different within the senior manager cohort than the front-line officer cohort which brings up the importance of considering a social and spatial context. Considering this context led me to explore neoliberalism and how it influenced how wellbeing was constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed in the organisation. Exploring neoliberalism consequently facilitated a different approach to wellbeing than those explored within the front-line officer cohort. Discussing wellbeing helped to develop a neoliberalism social ideology project and inherently shaped it. This couples with how neoliberalism was reified through experiences and considerations of wellbeing as discussed throughout this section. There was recognition of the 'problem' of wellbeing expressed by challenges that must be overcome within neoliberalism, but I found that in most interviews, the foundation of how senior managers spoke about wellbeing linked to neoliberalism. This is significant when exploring how attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation are espoused and enacted. In times of austerity associated political and economic complexities in policing as outlined in chapter one, a neoliberal agenda is not surprising, but the effect it has on the creation of a version of wellbeing should be attended to as an important factor in organisational efficacy. It gives further insight to why and how gaps between how life is and how life ought to be are created for front-line officers and senior managers.

**6.4 Chapter summary**

This chapter has addressed the objectives which are addressed in this section:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects.*
3) *Identify similarities and differences between front line officers' and senior managers' versions of wellbeing.*

In this chapter, I have identified four social ideology projects in which social relations are effected within the police organisation amongst senior managers: paternalism, managerialism, canteenism, and neoliberalism. These ideologies form a framework for analysing the processes that both contribute to, emerge from, and are reified by the attendant constructions of wellbeing by senior managers in a police organisation. This framework considers the social and spatial aspects involved in constructions of wellbeing and presents wellbeing as a relational concept. Rather than drawing conclusions that rely on scratching the surface of social relations, this instead addresses important underlying 'social, bureaucratic, political, spatial, economic and cultural structures and processes' (White, 2017, p. 130). Presenting these different social ideology projects leads to an understanding that wellbeing is not something that we can 'have', but rather something in constant production and reproduction (Atkinson, 2013) that emerges through this relational framework (White, 2010). Further, it provides space for discussing wellbeing as an emergent issue by exploring how police officers relate to each other and navigate their own identities within these relationships. This study addresses the existence of multiple wellbeings throughout the organisation emerging from individual and group processes.

Exploring the four aforementioned social ideology projects provides insight to how they emerge and are reproduced and reified through constructions of wellbeing. While managerialism was challenged once, the social ideology projects in this chapter and the preceding one were primarily reproduced and reified. This links to Althusser's thoughts on ideologies, which states that human experience is 'subject*ed* to these relations and therefore human subjectivity is the subordinate product of these social forces' (Archer, 2000, p. 29). Despite some of the social ideology projects being in tension, the enacted and accepted social norms and rules tended to sustain this tension.

Throughout the chapter, Wittgenstein's logic was utilised. That is, recognising the series of social ideology projects uncovers a complex network of similarities, relationships, and differences. It was demonstrated that managerialism, paternalism, and canteenism are to this point dominant social ideology projects, and neoliberalism emergent amongst senior managers. There were however subtle differences within the social ideology projects, which

is accounted for in the conceptual framework. For example, paternalism was experienced as a driver in how senior managers espoused and enacted values, which demonstrated how paternalism emerged as a display of idealised situations. By acknowledging that paternalistic relationships reflected a significant part of how life ought to be, the ideology was reified and reproduced by senior managers with this realisation. This not only overlaps with managerialism and canteenism, but also with front-line officer conceptualisations. In terms of managerialism and canteenism, presenting oneself as an 'ideal worker' is self-serving, yet constrained by social norms and rules which deny the ability to challenge the construct. There could be challenges in enacting or embodying paternalism because of the power expectation senior managers seemed to be subject to. This links to front-line officer conceptualisations, as there was mutual recognition of how life ought to be. For both groups, the problem of wellbeing was potentially resolvable within paternalism.

Exploring managerialism further drew out power dynamics and emerged through discussions of a bureaucratised approach to wellbeing. While senior managers generally reflected that managerialism contributed to an unfulfilled wellbeing, the immediate bureaucratic priorities within the organisation prevailed hence its reification and reproduction. While front-line officers were defensive to wellbeing imposed on them, senior managers recognised the constraints that they were subject to because of managerialism in operation but did recognise why front-line officers may feel as they do.

Looking at displays of canteenism rather than hierarchical power dynamics, canteenism emerged through senior managers' reflections on how and why they express themselves, or rather engage in social relations. Canteenism represents the interaction of a number of social norms and rules commonly attributed to police culture, which in turn mediated wellbeing constructions. Systemic challenges were highlighted through these discussions, where machoism became reproduced as a display of organisational culture. Similar to chapter five where the problem of wellbeing was both denied and sustained through canteenism, senior managers dealt with the prospect of stigma but also the prevailing requirement to try to attend to front-line officer wellbeing 'issues'. This highlights the overlap with managerialism, where bureaucratic priorities must be attended to, and also paternalism based on the patriarchal nature of the organisation being at stake.

Finally, neoliberalism and its attendant neoliberal wellbeing emerged as a new ideology in my analysis based on how senior managers addressed interventions for productivity related to wellbeing practices. By focusing on individual productivity and transmitting this practice, the ideology was further shaped through evolving organisational priorities and shared meanings. The fact that neoliberalism emerged only through exploration of senior managers highlights organisational dynamics. Specifically, it brings attention to different interests and agendas that are considerations for people at different hierarchical levels. Methodologically and practically, this could pose a challenge as it is difficult to determine exactly *what* level of the organisational this take place. Due to how interventions and processes are proposed within the organisation, it could be beneficial to know the interests and agendas the people in charge of these have in mind.

This analysis chapter also sheds light on the what is at stake with regard to social relations. Using Wittgenstein's analogy of a thread, we can appreciate that the social relations that interplay within the organisation are not an unbroken strand, but rather, a series of overlapping fibres. They may have 'short-term continuities that vary so slowly and delicately that – unless we scrutinise their history – we fail to notice them' (Freeden, 2003, p. 44). The subtleties of social relations manifest themselves through social norms and rules and ideologies, which can then be analysed as a series of patterns, and subsequently organised as such.

Through the discussion in this chapter, the concept of RWB has been developed and new challenges have been posed in understanding it. Respectively, the introduction of social ideology projects to the framework help to make visible White's (2010) material, relational, and subjective concepts. The challenge is understanding the complexities of a continually evolving organisational culture and being able to identify overlapping and different social ideology projects. The conceptual framework introduced in chapter three recognises the fluid nature of human relations, and this chapter has helped to provide a path forward to a flexible conceptual framework, based on associated patterns.

To reiterate, the aim of this study is to investigate how individuals in a police organisation construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing. This is important because it provides insight to an identified gap in extant scholarship and contributes to previous explorations of wellbeing, such as PWB and SWB approaches. It further helps to develop the concept of RWB for use in organisational contexts, primarily through the creation of an analytical framework. My study explores how multiple versions of wellbeing are framed as problems that requires attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the police organisation. Rather than addressing how to enhance wellbeing programmes or resources, attending to the social ideology projects that wellbeing emerges from is central to this consideration. This is undoubtedly important to police organisations, for recognising organisational dynamics brings to attention potential reactions to interventions, processes and solutions such as those explored in this chapter.

In the following chapter I will build upon this and propose a similar framework as I did in this chapter and chapter five for analysing social ideology projects that emerged and were reproduced in conversation with the chief constable. As I discussed in chapter four, when I was analysing my interviews with senior managers (the chief constable was initially in this group), I noticed that there was a distinction between how he spoke about wellbeing and reflected on social norms and values versus the rest of the senior managers. Therefore, the following chapter will explain the implications this distinction has on practice and the interests and agendas it serves.

**Chapter Seven**

## 7.0 The chief constable's construction, mobilisation, consumption, and reconstruction of versions of wellbeing

### 7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I explore how wellbeing is experienced by the chief constable[42]. As the head of the organisation, especially a hierarchical organisation, interviewing the chief constable seemed to be a common-sense decision for me. My previous law enforcement experience along with extant scholarship, helped me to recognise the influential position of a chief constable (Reiner, 2010). When discussing a concept (i.e. wellbeing) that affects the entirety of the organisation, the chief constable surfaced in my mind as an important person to speak with. As I discussed in chapter four and six, I identified discernible differences through analysis between how the chief constable constructed versions of wellbeing versus how other senior managers constructed versions of wellbeing. This strengthened my initial feelings regarding the importance of engaging with him as part of my data gathering process in order to satisfy the overall research aim.

The analysis of my ethnographic interview with the chief constable is intended to investigate how the chief constable of a police organisation constructs, mobilises, consumes, and reconstructs versions of wellbeing by adopting a relational approach. I will further highlight the idea that there are multiple versions of wellbeing that are framed as problems and require attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation.

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[42] There is also a Police and Crime Commissioner who holds the chief constable to account (and appoints them). They work in close co-operation with the heads of various national and local bodies and agencies (Home Office, Civil Contingencies Secretariat, Local Resilience Forums, NHS Trusts, Local Authorities, H M Inspectorate etc.).

The research objectives guiding this chapter are to:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects and;*
4) *Identify how the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing and the implications this has for organisational practice.*

Attending to this objective requires giving attention to how wellbeing is talked about, interpreting how the concept is shaped, and understanding how the chief constable espouses and enacts wellbeing practices. This chapter builds upon the findings presented in chapters five and six, which focused on front-line officers' and senior managers' constructions of wellbeing respectively. These chapters addressed that there are different, yet overlapping versions of wellbeing that link to social ideology projects throughout the hierarchy. While managerialism, paternalism, and canteenism were identified within both groups, neoliberalism emerged amongst senior managers. This finding provided insight to both organisational dynamics and how different interests and agendas are served. It also highlighted fissures between the groups.

In this chapter I will provide a discussion based upon my analysis of my ethnographic semi-structured interview with the chief constable to show how wellbeing emerged from and reified social ideology projects (e.g. managerialism, heroism, canteenism, neoliberalism). This will, in turn, draw on my fieldwork with front-line officers and interviews that took place with senior managers.

## 7.2 How the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing: Presenting the social ideology projects

Similar to my approach in chapters five and six, the following four sections will focus on four social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing that emerged and were reified and reproduced in the organisation. By introducing these social ideology projects, I will provide insight to how the chief constable constructs, mobilises, consumes, and reconstructs wellbeing in different ways, which has implications on practice as I will demonstrate. This will further evidence the multiple versions through which wellbeing is framed and resultant

requirement for attention to certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation. In an organisational context, the personal stories that follow are both patterned by and draw out 'the underlying social, bureaucratic, political, spatial, economic and cultural structures and processes' (White, 2017, p. 130) related to wellbeing. These social ideology projects represent sets of ideas about certain types of social relations, respectively managerialism, heroism, canteenism, and neoliberalism that all contribute to an understanding of relational wellbeing in the organisation.

### 7.2.1 Managerialism and the construction of managerial wellbeing

In chapters five and six, I explored managerialism as a social ideology project that provides insight to how formal social relations operating within a bureaucracy influence how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed. To reiterate, managerialism transcends a traditional position of power (i.e. management) and instead is addressed as a wider 'belief-system with a cognitive content that is held up as being true... [it] represents a doctrine consisting of a shared set of common ideological beliefs and practices' (Klikauer, 2015, p. 1106). These common ideological beliefs and practices combine with social norms and rules to direct thinking about wellbeing in a direction that has been created or invented by the hegemonic power group in the organisation (Chauvière & Mick, 2013; Klikauer, 2015). In this context, this hegemonic power group can be understood as senior managers and the chief constable based on a combination of hierarchical positioning and the social norms and rules that accompany that positioning in a bureaucratic police organisation.

Managerialism emerged in my analysis as well as throughout my discussion with the chief constable and lent insight to how wellbeing can be understood through his interpretations and articulations. In order to gain insight to how the Chief Constable conceptualised wellbeing in the organisation, I asked how he thinks wellbeing is approached:

> I don't think we're very good at the early signs. So, you know we're on a shift, you're a sergeant and I'm a PC, you're in here and we're talking about my performance or talking about a case and you're thinking oh there's something not right there... I'm not confident that you will have the confidence, competence, skills to say... I can see

you're distressed, what's happening. I think people will shy away from that and that's instinct but based on some evidence as well. So that mental health training that we did didn't go anywhere, we're now starting to try and build it up again... if someone goes to the scene of a horrific murder, we put a metaphorical armpit around them [but] if someone goes to their third serious injury, RTC this week, I don't think we spot that the accumulation of little events.

This answer from the chief constable lent insight to how socialised narratives serve a managerial ideological purpose. In this case, by explaining that it misses the cumulative effects of 'small' events, he suggested a how managerialism can result in an unfulfilled wellbeing. In effect, the authoritarian nature of managerialism creates fissures in management-employee relationships and introduces the potential for 'corporate immorality' (Klikauer, 2015, p. 1114) which means there could be deficiencies in ethical decision-making processes (Parker, 1998). Based on social norms and values as he described above, managerialism in the eyes of the chief constable creates the problem of managerial wellbeing and detracts from understanding wellbeing beyond reacting to the immediate or identifiable events he described. As Scott (2012) argued, 'over-emphasis on local wellbeing projects may distract from debates about wider and deeper issues' (p. 79). In this case, the local wellbeing projects can be understood as the reactions to blatant traumatic events, which can mean that front-line officers, as he described, are made responsible for delivering their own wellbeing beyond those events. I argue, that from a relational wellbeing perspective, wellbeing should foster engagement and seek common ground and mutual interest (White, 2017) to remedy fissures induced by politically fuelled managerialism.

Fostering common ground and mutual interest was a consideration regarding wellbeing through my interview with the chief constable.

I think some of the superintendents are of the busy culture and the long hour culture, we had this conversation on Friday at the chief officer meeting, us chief officers, we don't do long hours, I'd be too tired at the end of the week if I did long hours so therefore I don't want our senior people doing long hours, I'd rather they were productive in a shorter time and had some balance. So, I think that is an issue. That

long hours, trying to please by being here is an issue. There's something around when you don't feel you've got agency, when you don't feel you've got control, you don't feel that you can make things happen or contribute.

While this interview excerpt also echoes neoliberalism (i.e. wellbeing as a tool for enhanced productivity), it highlighted to me the chief constable's construction of wellbeing as it is related to responsibility, or rather the process of solutions. That is, he identified the problem of this version of wellbeing as being resolvable through managerialism, but in the process reproduced managerialism by enforcing his perspective on working hours. The chief constable brought attention to the practices (i.e. long working hours) which he explained as both products and producers of the bureaucratised power relations that exist rather than practices necessary for effective policing and management (Dick & Jakowicz, 2001). This is where social norms and rules are usefully considered, as the idea that 'trying to please' by being present becomes ingrained as a practice that 'looks good' to the boss and in turn produces the illusion of personal power but ends up creating gaps between how life is and how it ought to be. This construction reproduces managerialism because it brings to the foreground the focus on making 'individuals adhere to certain [social norms and rules] cementing 'the given' as a 'factum brutum' or status quo (Klikauer, 2015, p. 1109). This status quo is set by the chief constable through actions and words and supports the enactment of managerialism which in turn reproduces it throughout the organisation.

During my interview with the chief constable, I asked him who he thinks is responsible for managing wellbeing in the organisation, again to gain insight to how he interprets the concept:

Well the obvious answer is that managers, supervisors, leaders are responsible, the organisation has a responsibility, the individuals have a responsibility too not saying a greater responsibility, but it would be ironic if I just talked about control and take all the agency away. I think individuals have a responsibility to say ok hold on whilst this is getting away from me now, some people don't want to do that because that's a risk, and they'll implode. But ultimately the organisation, I am responsible as the chief, as the embodiment of the organisation, as the employer I am responsible, hence trying

to do the right thing through a joined up and meaningful wellbeing strategy we're hoping to do that. It's one of my personal priorities.

This interview excerpt introduces how the chief constable considers managerialism as a possible mechanism for applying strategy to 'solve' the problem of wellbeing. I put him on the spot with my direct questioning regarding managing wellbeing, and his answer involved working towards the party line. However, this took some reasoning with some shifts in positioning from 'I' to 'we' to 'my'. This socialised narrative stresses an inclusive social vision which is an important element in RWB (White, 2015). The effect this has is his conceptualisation may influence what he considers necessary in a strategy and a utopian managerial approach would mean this could be translated throughout the organisation. The problem that this poses is that it inherently becomes bureaucratised in practice and appears to lose the focus on the inclusive vision and turns into 'something' to be delivered which in the process reifies managerialism. While it served the interests and agendas of the chief constable, namely the obligation he has to political oversight of the organisation, it does not necessarily reflect the versions of wellbeing I described amongst front-line officers. This highlights the significance of the RWB approach. By understanding the mutually imbricated nature of wellbeing, it can be understood that managerialism can create resistance by the people (i.e. front-line officers) that are affected.

As indicated in the previous interview excerpt, The Chief Constable stressed the importance of wellbeing strategies throughout my interview with him. I asked him if he thinks that his idea of wellbeing strategy is being communicated all the levels and ranks of the organisation, to which he replied:

> I think it's being communicated, I'm not sure necessarily that everybody knows how to use it, so I am pretty clear that people know what our purpose is. I don't know if you've found that on your travels, but I think that people will spontaneously talk about protecting people from harm and being happy that that's clear, but I'm not sure everyone gets what that means.

This interview excerpt reiterates a point made in the previous interview excerpt which looked at the problem of communicating an inclusive social vision which as evidenced here is undermined by managerialism. As Klikauer (2015) argued, 'managerialism remains an ideology that does not serve truth but invents ideas in the service of power for one of the foremost powerful institutions in today's society: management (p. 1109). This service of power highlights the challenge when strategies and responsibilities are considered regarding the problem of wellbeing. This is important when looking at how meaning influences practice within the organisation. It brings understanding to the dynamics of stratification and *why* different people in the organisation construct wellbeing through their relationships with both others and their position in the organisation (Horton et al., 2014).

Finally, the Chief Constable discussed solutions to the problem of wellbeing. This highlights another aspect in the construct of wellbeing. Near the end of our interview he stated:

> Having said all that Jamie, I am pleased with where we're at in terms of a solution, I am pleased that we are talking about it now, I try and use social media to say, sort of time to change account and there's another one, a cup of tea, the big brew, there's lots of little accounts that I can use to say look folks it's ok to feel under pressure and talk to someone, but talking to someone is not enough we need to have those route pathways.

Through this interview, managerialism and accompanying solutions to the problem of wellbeing were affirmed, despite the challenges identified thus far. What this does is twofold; it emphasises how wellbeing is a complex apparatus that is receiving attention but at the same time indicates 'a cultural anxiety that all is not well, which is linked to the erosion of the social' (White, 2015, p. 133). This reflects on the previous chapters which addressed the challenges around wellbeing expressed by front-line officers and senior managers and how fissures between how life is and how it ought to be are created. Managerialism and managerial wellbeing in this instance expose the tensions that exist in a bureaucratised context which manifest between 'the *prescribed* conduct and the *real* conduct' of the organisation' (Chauvière & Mick, 2011, p. 141). This reflects on wellbeing as a problem with identified, or prescribed, potential strategies and solutions related to managerialism. Thus,

the influence of how certain processes, solutions, and interventions from individuals and the organisation can be examined. For example, the influence that prescribing a wellbeing strategy has.

This section has discussed the chief constable's construction of wellbeing as a problem, but with strategies and solutions proposed as a result of the identified challenges of managerialism. How and why he constructs wellbeing as he does leads to the consideration of what agendas or ideologies are being served. Through the social problem of managerial wellbeing, managerialism was shown to be reproduced, but also questioned. That is, there was recognition from the chief constable that managerial wellbeing and managerialism were not necessarily positive ways of organising and has intrinsic limits, thus the importance of building informal relationships. This brought up an important challenge to managerialism. While front-line officers expressed disdain for managerialism yet were unable to challenge it, I noticed a gradual shift going up the hierarchy. Senior managers reflected on the issues managerialism posed, however were not in a position to challenge it, again reflecting how embedded it is in the organisation. At the other end of the spectrum, the chief constable reflected on how he saw it possible to challenge these embedded ideas of managerialism, but there were still inflections of his support for managerialism. Likely because it simplifies his position as the top of the organisational hierarchy, but also because of his learned social norms and values which reflect the embedded nature of managerialism in a bureaucratic organisation. Part of these learned social norms and values also reflect the process of becoming a personified 'hero', which will be explored within the following section, which discusses heroism and heroic wellbeing.

## 7.2.2 Heroism and the construction of heroic wellbeing

> With the journey to the ranks of police leadership a long one, accounts of police leadership have emphasized the heroic, masculine connotations of strength, survival, and endurance in the climb to the top of the police elite (Silvestri, 2018, p. 316).

Heroism as a social ideology project emerged through both my interview with the chief constable as well as in interactions with other organisational members *about* the chief

constable[43]. In this study, I am defining heroism as a social ideology project that describes the social relations between everyone in the organisation and the chief constable and captures how the chief constable reflects on their enactment of social norms and rules and ideologies. As stated in his in-depth study of chief constables, *Bobbies, Bosses, or Bureaucrats,* Reiner (1991) recognises that 'chief constables have even received the ultimate accolade of heroic status: A prime-time TV series about their exploits' (p. 4). The elite status and degree of autonomy (Reiner, 2010) they enjoy places them in a unique position in the organisation as they are responsible for commanding their organisation. Further supporting the heroic narrative, Silvestri (2018) stated, 'the presence and pervasiveness of such heroic narratives has much resonance within the police organization where the police leader has been conceived of through romanticized symbols of heroic importance' (p. 315). This section is not about the chief constable's position in the organisational power hierarchy *per se*, but rather it explores the intersection of heroism with the construction, consumption, mobilisation, and reconstruction of a particular version of wellbeing. It further provides evidence to how heroism emerges and is both reproduced and reified through social norms and rules.

To illustrate the 'elitist' foundation or symbolic importance of the chief constable, I will introduce how one of the senior managers I interviewed discussed the chief constable:

> The picture I paint when I speak to people when you first join the service and you join as a constable, and then you see the chief, this comment is in no reflection of our current chief, there is this big angle between you and them and as you get a bit more experienced and promoted, that angle starts to level out and that almost god like appearance that senior commanders have starts to disappear because you start to look at them and think I could do that…Then you start to see sergeants in particular when you're a constable and you think not only could I do that but I could do that better than you.

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[43] Although heroism was alluded to throughout fieldwork and interviews, I did not consider it to serve a relational wellbeing approach until put in context with the chief constable's interview, hence why it was not explored in chapters 5 and 6.

The senior manager in this interview excerpt highlighted one of the common themes that arose throughout my fieldwork and interviews. The chief constable has an intrinsic omnipotence (Reiner, 1991) and is often conceived as someone who possesses an intangible presence (Smith, 2016) hence the emergence of heroism. As a moral ideal, the chief constable is spoken about as if he is a fictional character with a 'god-like' presence as identified in the interview above. In my past experience in law enforcement I also experienced this feeling. There is a certain imposing presence the chief has when they enter a room, and when you pass by them in a hallway you can feel an intangible nobility. This omnipotence has a profound effect on how other individuals in the organisation may interpret wellbeing based on the chief constable's interpretations and mobilisations of them as demonstrated throughout this section.

> I think there's something about strength of personality, power, you know you have to remember, I have to remind myself the power between a powerful, established charismatic sergeant and a junior PC, maybe a probationer, that's quite a steep gradient, I forget that now...I think there's still something about stepping forward and saying 'woah, hold on' and putting yourself in the spotlight. And if you're wrong...that separates you out from the team. All of that I experienced as a young PC in [another force], that sort of, I don't want to make a fuss, I hope it goes away if I say nothing it'll just go away, be responsible just for yourself. I'm not saying these things are right, but I think that's the dynamic. But you know what wasn't in place then that is now is lots of pathways [to speak up]...But how does that individual feel comfortable enough to do that?

This interview excerpt highlights the heroic narrative of wellbeing from the chief constable's perspective. He recognised how power dynamic between hierarchical ranks, and how this is problematic. While heroism serves his position of power, it is at odds with the empowerment that front-line officers reflected they desired. However rather than front-line officers and senior managers who often spoke of the chief constable as omnipotent, he problematizes the narrative by reflecting on the challenges this intrinsic separation causes. He went on to struggle to reconcile a managerial approach to wellbeing (i.e. pathways and codes of conduct) with a heroic approach which shows how managerialism reinforces heroism. This has an

effect on how wellbeing is mobilised and consumed in the organisation because it frames wellbeing as a problem that he feels needs to be resolved. This problematisation also echoes concepts around masculinity; 'the heroic aspects of the police leader stem not only from the power inherent within the role itself but also from the associated masculine attributes of strength, stamina, and endurance required to climb to leadership ranks' (Silvestri, 2018, p. 315). While some aspects of masculinity are discussed in my reference to canteenism (ch. 5.3.3, ch. 7.2.3), in this narrative it instead reflects a heightened sense and awareness of masculinity that accompanies someone in an elite position in the organisation. Hence, masculinity as an aspect within heroism further highlights the challenges and problems associated with heroic wellbeing.

Wellbeing as a problem was again introduced later in the interview:

> Chief Constable: We arrive when things have gone wrong, we arrive, and we bring order to chaos, we arrive when there are extreme situations, physical, and take command, the police have arrived. When people run away from danger, we run towards it and that infuses our…the typical personality of policing if there is such a thing. I think therefore that realising that you're not a hero, and at one stage I read a lot and was very involved in union, archetypal…this sort of hero myth that people see us as, we're not a hero, we're ordinary, fragile vulnerable human beings and I think some people have a difficulty with that, I don't know if that's lack of self-awareness but that sense of I don't know all the answers, I can't solve this situation, I can't make this better, so…

> Jamie: But society thinks that you will

> Chief Constable: Well we think that we will as well that's the thing and I think for some people when that penny drops, whether it's dramatically or gradually, that causes quite a lot of internal turmoil.

This draws out the how police officers have constructed themselves in their roles: the dedication to their duty and placing this importance above all, including themselves. The

interview excerpt also draws attention to the pervasiveness of social norms and rules and ideologies associated with heroism. Heroism further contributes to the problem of wellbeing as it was reflected above, hence the introduction of heroic wellbeing. Heroism implicitly creates a gap between how life is and how it ought to be by virtue of heroic pressures or expectations placed on front-line officers, senior managers, and the chief constable alike. The chief constable recognised the problem of wellbeing within a heroism narrative, which could explain his approach from a number of different perspectives such as managerialism, canteenism, or neoliberalism.

The above interview further highlights the challenge of mitigating tensions between heroism and the questionable effectiveness of this approach in the organisation. However, when 'informed by a masculinist paradigm…the image of the heroic leader is underpinned by universalistic norms and beliefs that call for certain behaviours and characteristics' (Silvestri, 2018, p. 315). These certain behaviours and characteristics are being challenged by the very person that supposedly perpetuates it: the chief constable. While the ''ideal' police leader is aligned to traditional conceptualisations of the 'heroic male'' (Silvestri, 2018, p. 310), this evidently poses a problem when addressing conceptualisations of wellbeing. There were expressions from front-line officers that senior managers (namely the chief constable) are 'detached' from the 'realities' of front-line policing. However, the chief constable's description demonstrated to me a connection that exists by reflecting emotionally on front-line officer experiences.

The chief constable provided one final reflection on certain behaviours and characteristics that serve heroism:

> We are going to give people certificates and awards for running in to a burning building, it's against all advice, the fire service say don't do it, we do it, and we cheer them as they come out and give them an award, what effect does that have? I'm not saying we shouldn't do it I'm just saying that psychological process around why am I falling apart when everyone else thinks I'm so together.

Again, this narrative highlighted the problematisation of heroism when addressing the problem of wellbeing in the organisation. Interestingly, the concept of 'heroism' which generally has a positive connotation is instead addressed pejoratively and the challenges it poses for wellbeing are addressed. Where within managerialism I was able to draw out how the chief constable tried to reconcile the problem of wellbeing with strategies and solutions, within heroism wellbeing was only framed as problematic with no proposal of reconciliation. This is possibly because heroism serves the power interests of the chief constable, but also because of the embedded nature of social norms and rules underlying heroism. An ideological shift would be required to reconcile this problematisation, which would involve a wider transformation of the organisational culture. To further explore how wellbeing can be otherwise framed, the following section will take these social norms and rules into consideration and discuss canteenism and canteen wellbeing.

### 7.2.3 Canteenism and the construction of canteen wellbeing

In the previous section the chief constable reflected on the problems that are encountered when rewarding deliberate extreme risk taking. This poses an interesting dilemma. Deliberate risk taking is part of policing and as Skolnick (1966) found, part of the working personality of police (i.e. danger). However, it also contributes to the problem of wellbeing as was demonstrated. Reintroducing canteenism provides insight to solutions and responsibilities regarding the problem of wellbeing. To reiterate, canteenism is mobilised in this study as social ideology project that refers to the canteen culture (ch. 3.4.1) characteristics commonly attributed to police culture. This section will address the chief constable's conceptualisation of canteenism in the organisation and how this influences how wellbeing is constructed, consumed, mobilised, and reconstructed.

The chief constable reflected on his own experiences in policing following my enquiry into masculine characteristics of police organisations. In his words, they are 'not just masculine but macho environments'. He went on to provide a personal example of how he came to conceptualise organisational culture and wellbeing:

Thinking back to when I was in [another force] no one ever talked about finding it tough, colleagues were being murdered, literally shot at and bombed, 4-year-old kids were throwing stones at you. Everything, you were in this horrible atmosphere and no one ever said I'm finding this tough. How did you deal with it, you got blind drunk, that's how, that's your therapy (chief constable, 2017).

This example provided context into his own conceptualisation and perpetuation of canteenism in the organisation and discussed wellbeing as responsibilities. Drawing on Goffman's (1959) work on the presentation of self, these social interactions address 'the reciprocal influence of individuals on one another's actions when in one another's immediate presence' (p. 15). According to frame analysis, performances and situational definitions take place within the constraint of 'frames' or 'principles of organization which govern events' (Goffman, 1974, p. 10) and influence social constructions of the situation in the context presented. From a symbolic perspective, the 'ongoing processes involved in the accomplishment of a self with a biography' (Brickell, 2005, p. 32) is important in addressing these gendered enactments. The constructed masculine behaviours that the chief constable explored were acted out, perpetuated, and legitimated which in turn have an influence on how he constructs wellbeing issues based on his experiences. In this excerpt, it was not 'appropriate' to show 'weakness' which echoes with the previous section where I discussed masculinity and echoes with other studies of masculine environments (de Viggiani, 2012). However, this reflection led to the chief constable distancing himself from the 'appropriateness' of canteenism, rather than celebrating it. This represents an ideological shift from his perspective, but one that has not yet been experienced by the front-line officers who were also associated with canteenism.

Providing further insight to social norms and rules that guide canteenism, the problem of canteen wellbeing was also addressed by the Chief Constable through his reflection:

You didn't have to worry about your sergeant or your inspector it was your senior PC, and you know you literally would get a clip round the ear, a slap on the back of your head if you were being cheeky… you were put through initiation rituals to see what your breaking point was. It was bullying. But it wasn't to me…everybody got it and

that wasn't right because I came through it and some people didn't, some people don't and I think that's a sense of you know, how on earth could an officer who's different or female or gay or BME, be subject to that sort of harassment, that must have been very difficult and some people didn't get through it, some people left. So that sense of injustice or, who do they think they are trying to make someone's life a misery, what to feed your own sense of ego, your own sense of power, so that was a thing for me.

This experience of the chief constable is a prime example of canteenism in the organisation. While his reflection discusses social norms and rules, I will instead focus on the problematisation of wellbeing through canteenism. At the time of the example, the chief constable was a PC and the norm was this type of initiation and in his words bullying despite not recognising it as such until later in his career. While I did not see this degree of 'bullying' during my time in the field, it reflects the challenges front-line officers and even senior managers may have regarding addressing these behaviours as they could lead to portrayals of weakness or breaking the 'blue code of silence', should they be opposed to the behaviours (Bullock & Garland, 2018; Workman-Stark, 2017). Despite the desire for enacted paternalism (ch. 5.3.1), the tension between these ideologies is maintained based on differences between what is said and what is done (i.e. voicing concern about behaviour vs. perpetuating it) (Waddington, 1999). This insight to the chief constable's current construction and reconstruction of wellbeing provides insight to how he may pay attention to certain processes, solutions and interventions which has an influence on how the rest of the organisation may interpret the concept based on his elite position.

Specifically, the chief constable focused on certain solutions that satisfied his own construction of wellbeing and provided further insight to how the concept is mobilised and consumed:

Like with William and Harry [raising awareness about mental health]…it is more acceptable [and] that taboo is less. But I don't think that taboo is gone, it will take a long time for people to feel that… if I've got a physical illness I can be upfront about it, and get help and get support and get fixed, somebody will fix my broken leg. If I

have the awareness that I'm stressed, I can't sleep at night, you know, people are very reluctant to say hold on…

Using his own insight regarding how wellbeing emerges in the organisation, the chief constable spoke about the issues he sees as important and thus his construction of wellbeing. This construction emerged out of social relations he experienced throughout his career and support for societal initiatives that parallel what he sees as important. This relational focus enables a 'transformative dialogue' (Gergen, 2009) that initiates a trajectory of solutions developed through collaboration. Encouraging a collective and inclusive social vision is part of this (White, 2017) in order to reproduce the social norm. The importance of understanding relationships between social ideology projects and the number of ways wellbeing is understood is fundamental to encouraging the collective and inclusive social vision.

The Chief Constable highlighted some of these relationships between social ideology projects on his reflection of an incident within the organisation:

> There was one particular case of an officer who was sexually harassing young women officers mainly and in a sense almost picking them out and targeting them until he either got what he wanted or he got a rebuff, and in the culture he was known as, whatever his first name was, let's say John, John the Lech…His nickname in the culture reflected his behaviour but who did something about it? One of his victims, one of his victims effectively eventually has a mini breakdown and it came out and then when it came out others stepped forward…He has a nickname reflecting his behaviour and no one does anything about it.

Paradoxically, the social relations legitimized and reproduced by canteen wellbeing were shown here to be disempowering and uniting. From the perspective of the front-line officers, this could indicate one of the 'rites of passage' to become part of the police culture but the relational dynamics of this could vary from person to person. In an earlier example, the chief constable discussed how he did not see bullying early in his career as he does now, which could indicate the social and spatial experiences of sexual harassment in the above example. Social legitimacy is a part of canteenism, where constructing and maintaining certain social

norms and rules influences how canteen wellbeing is constructed. The construction of canteen wellbeing in turn influences the very social ideology project (i.e. canteenism) that it emerged from by reproducing and reifying its underlying social norms and rules and ideologies.

A final example of canteen wellbeing was highlighted from the chief constable reflecting on how he interprets senior managers', front-line officers', and at times his own approach to constructing wellbeing:

> I think and this is not unique to [Cadogan] Police, I think part of it is that first of all, there's the sort of ego centric approach which is hold on they've fallen over, I haven't fallen over I've done the same as what they've done…I've been to lots of incidents, I've done this, I've had my workload, I've been busy, so how come I'm ok and they're not?

This example again highlighted wellbeing as a problem, but also reflected his sense of responsibility for 'solving' it. While empathy is associated with an 'ideal' police officer (Inzunza, 2015), in an organisational context the chief constable interprets a dearth of empathy related to wellbeing and understands the requirement to narrow this gap. The masculine identity that has been constructed in the organisation can be viewed as part of this problematisation. However rather than leaving this as a problem, by reflecting upon this he provides insight to the processes, solutions, and interventions he sees as important hence considering the problem of wellbeing as his responsibility and creating solutions. This influences how he constructs meaning about wellbeing which can be transmitted throughout the organisation given his position of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989) in the organisation.

Notably, canteen wellbeing was apparent in my analysis at every level of the organisation (i.e. front-line officers, senior managers, chief constable) unlike the other versions of wellbeing that have been explored (with the exception of managerial wellbeing). This highlights a number of different ways that canteenism is reproduced throughout the organisation. It further suggests managerialism and canteenism are dominant social ideology projects that reproduce social relations in the organisation. In turn, they become 'naturalized, legitimized,

universalized and firmly embedded in everyday discourse, operating as a mechanism for upholding and reproducing the asymmetrical power relations' (Macris, 2002, p. 21). Therefore, they should be focused on in terms of the types of certain processes, solutions, and interventions that can be drawn from them. Specifically, for canteenism, this could involve working towards shifting the pervasive macho social norm, which involves considering how the patriarchal interests of the organisation would be altered. This idea does intersect with other social ideology projects, which will be discussed in the following chapter. Prior to this, I will address the final social ideology project illustrated by the chief constable.

### 7.2.4 Neoliberalism and the construction of neoliberal wellbeing

Although patterns of neoliberalism were not as dominant as managerialism, heroism, or canteenism throughout my interview with the chief constable and subsequent analysis, its emergence raises important considerations when looking at his construction of wellbeing. Neoliberalism is viewed 'with its triumphant celebration of individual entrepreneurship, private property, free markets and free trade – as the central guiding principle of economic management for the new imperial capitalist class' (Kingfisher & Maskovsky, 2008, p. 118). To reiterate, neoliberalism intersects with police organisations, especially in the current economic climate of austerity, competitiveness, outsourcing of services, and links with private and political firms. Further supporting this intersection, police work has been dominated by the myth of 'law and order' which implicates police as crime preventers and detectors, and 'advocates police power as the panacea for law enforcement and public order problems… since the 1990s, it has become the hegemonic, almost unquestioned perspective, after neoliberalism became the embedded consensus' (Reiner, 2010, p. 139). The ideological position and social norms and rules that go along with it inherently influence how phenomena such as wellbeing are constructed as I have done and will continue to do in this thesis. Given its focus on self-interest, it makes sense why a chief constable may lack a strong neoliberalist position and instead focus on his/her centrality in solutions and interventions regarding the problem of wellbeing.

The idea that versions of wellbeing emerge from neoliberalism is important to explore because the chief constable has a political responsibility along with the overall responsibility

for the organisation in ensuring they meet the standard set by Policing and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) and HMICFRS. Attention to this also inherently requires that the chief constable attends to a number of versions of wellbeing within the organisation. This is illustrated below through the chief constable's answer to my question regarding if he thinks the organisation as a whole is on board with his explicit prioritisation of wellbeing (the following 3 excerpts comprise the answer to this):

> I had a really sort of surprising…encounter with the [senior managers]…we were all sort of sitting around, a couple of items on the agenda, [one of them] did [their] bit…[the] first item was performance and I talked about how do we get better performance, how do we deal with people who are underperforming, and that was a very muted, no big issues

The beginning of this interview excerpt is an introduction to underlying tensions that exist between the chief constable and senior managers, and more specifically between neoliberalism and managerialism. Based on the initial reaction from the senior managers involved, it appeared that self-regulation was satisfied, and little intervention was needed. The chief constable went on to say:

> …and then wellbeing and whoosh; this huge reaction around is the wellbeing strategy a charter for those that are underperforming, are we too soft, should we not make an example of someone and several anecdotal, more evidential than anecdotal, examples of [senior managers] who have stepped in to try and deal with somebody who is under performing and found themselves pushed back and the classic scenario of…I tell you you're underperforming and you say that's not fair, everyone else is underperforming and you're not dealing with them, and put in a grievance and say you're treating me unfairly. Oh, ok well let's leave it, just do better next time.

When the meeting moved on to wellbeing as an agenda item, it elicited a response from senior managers that highlighted a neoliberal tension. Here, wellbeing was a strategy for enhanced productivity from their perspective. However, there was a resistance to this intervention from front-line officers who challenged managers stepping in to try and mitigate

perceived unfairness. Front-line officers expected senior managers to deal with unproductivity, however felt this was not being done in an equitable way, which in turn widened the gap between how life is and how it ought to be. Presumably, the reason for making an example out of a few people is the need to economise both time and money. While this serves economic and political agendas of the organisation (i.e. they are subject to fiscal restraints), it contributed to the idea of neoliberal wellbeing. Senior managers expressed frustration with productivity levels but retreated from regulating it for fear of backlash, as the aforementioned quotation alludes to. This allows the gap between the productive and less productive to grow. The chief constable went on to explain the impacts their practices were having:

> …So that sort of scenario. So without being able to follow through…that surprised me because they didn't talk about the performance issue in the performance section of the agenda, they talked about it in the wellbeing bit….We've done some stuff since…around landing the wellbeing strategy so for example as a direct result of that, [a senior manager] wrote in a section around…discretionary effort, making public money go further. Our sickness rates some of the worst in the country, if someone isn't here then everyone else works harder, that sort of sense of why as a business are we doing this, it's not just because we're nice people, trying to land that as much more of a central piece of how we run the organisation not just about putting our arm around people.

The above excerpt shows an impetus for individualised responsibility and strategies to address the problem of wellbeing, albeit focused on productivity. This identifies both implicit and explicit challenges to neoliberalism. Interestingly, in chapter six, I discussed how senior managers problematised wellbeing based on neoliberalism, however when it came to strategizing wellbeing they turned wellbeing into a performance management concept. The chief constable recognised that wellbeing strategies should go beyond the paternalistic 'care' for people and instead be embedded as an organisational (or business) priority. While this approach could reflect a genuine focus on finding solutions to the problem of wellbeing, it also serves the interests of the chief constable and his political responsibility.

The conversation reflected in the above interview excerpts began with a managerial inflection (i.e. senior managers attempting performance management), but neoliberalism emerged and became reified when analysing the apparent tension between senior managers and how the chief constable conceptualised or understood wellbeing. What this means for practice is reflected in the apparent disjuncture between the chief constable's attempt to introduce change and the lack of capacity, driven by culture, for those in the organisation to change. The lack of capacity was reflected through the previous chapters, where the resistance to imposed strategy and interventions was reflected through certain expressions from front-line officers and senior managers. For example, the reaction from front-line officers regarding the 'refs break' email.

The chief constable also highlighted disjuncture between how front-line officers conceptualise wellbeing (i.e. through paternalism, managerialism, and canteenism) versus senior managers (i.e. through paternalism, managerialism, canteenism, and neoliberalism) which has implications for what aspects should be paid attention to by individuals and the organisation regarding proposed strategies or interventions. For example, rather than addressing a wellbeing strategy as a performance management tool, understanding how and why different social ideology projects contribute to constructions of different versions of wellbeing could and should be a focal point. When wellbeing is used as a performance management tool without understanding the complexities of the problem (i.e. the social relations that underlie it), in effect it can contribute to widening the gap between how life is and how it ought to be. While it may serve the immediate needs or agendas of those using it as a 'tool', it undermines the collective, relational wellbeing approach. This point will be returned to in the following concluding discussion chapter. The wellbeing strategy discussed in the above interview excerpt was initiated by the chief constable in 2017 and involves the formation of a strategic wellbeing board and subsequent wellbeing strategy. While I chose not to include my findings from being a member of the board in this analysis, it did provide guiding evidence regarding wellbeing as a problem. It further demonstrated the mobilisation of wellbeing in the organisation.

**7.3 Chapter summary**

This chapter has addressed the following research objectives throughout this chapter:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects and;*
4) *Identify how the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing and the implications this has for organisational practice.*

In this chapter, I have identified four social ideology projects through which social relations are effected within the police organisation by the chief constable: managerialism, heroism, canteenism, and neoliberalism. These social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing form a framework for analysing relationships that both contribute to, are challenged, and are reified and reproduced by constructions of wellbeing. This framework considers the social and spatial aspects involved in constructions of wellbeing and presents wellbeing as a relational concept. Framing wellbeing in this way (i.e. as relational and situated) facilitates an exploration of the concept through social perceptions and practices (Sointu, 2005) which in turn shifts focus from the individual to the relationship between the individual and the collective (White, 2015).

The exploration of my interview with the Chief Constable provided insight to how wellbeing emerged and, in turn, reproduced and reified the social ideology projects these constructions emerged from. Similar to the two preceding analysis chapters, the social ideology projects were presented in such a way that differences and similarities could be understood. For example, managerialism emerged and was reified and reproduced through discussions regarding taking responsibility for the problem of wellbeing. Reflecting on his relationships and experiences, the chief constable reflected the embedded bureaucratic practices within the organisation which in turn problematised wellbeing and detracted from understanding wider implications of wellbeing. It also drew attention to the service of power in a managerial context (Klikauer, 2015) and how this put him in a powerful position. He found some aspects of the problem of managerial wellbeing resolvable, but the strategies he implemented reinforced how embedded and strongly linked to wellbeing managerialism is. Interestingly, heroism emerged from my interview with the chief constable, which as I discussed in one

sense reinforces managerialism. That is, it gives managerialism extra power or influence, and based on interplaying hierarchical positioning (and bureaucratic processes) and heroic accolade, the chief constable is granted supplementary implicit power. Having said that, there were also demonstrated problematisations of heroism as discussed by the chief constable.

Heroism emerged through both discussions with the chief constable and others within the organisation regarding him. Because of the heroic status we have constructed chief constables to have within police organisations, it was no surprise that the elitist foundation and symbolic importance of him became reified through his (and others) discussions of wellbeing. Although it brought along with it a certain accolade, heroism also presented tensions and barriers to proposed solutions to the problem of wellbeing, primarily by resistance from senior managers to carry through his solutions. The chief constable further reflected that the power dynamic is problematic. Although he was shown to be in a position to potentially create an ideological shift away from heroism, it may not be in his best interest to do so. By having supplementary power granted through heroism, he may be able to carry out his agendas with more influence than managerialism affords. Considering this, the reinforcement of both managerialism and heroism, despite some demonstrated tensions, is sustained. Some of this sustainability emanates from the idea of canteenism, where the reciprocal influence of people on each other draws out the social construction of canteenism and perpetuates the practices found within (Goffman, 1974).

Canteenism emerged through reflections on the macho environment that has been constructed in police organisations. The chief constable, unlike other hierarchical groups, seemed to have a desire to distance himself from canteenism. He recognised the 'canteen paradox' I discussed, in that the social relations legitimized and reproduced by canteen wellbeing were shown to be disempowering and uniting. Despite reflecting on the problem of canteen wellbeing, I discussed how the chief constable perpetuated it throughout his career. Again, the chief constable in in a position to initiate ideological shifts based on principles of managerialism and heroism, but the power of social norms and rules throughout the organisation in terms of canteenism appeared to prevail.

Finally, neoliberalism related to how productivity levels were framed as an outcome of wellbeing and again highlighted fissures between font-line officers, senior managers, and the chief constable. Here, the apparent disjuncture between the chief constable's attempt to introduce change and the lack of capacity, driven by culture, for those in the organisation to change was highlighted. In a sense, neoliberalism was seemingly exploited within the chief constables' reflections, based on senior managers turning the problem of wellbeing into a tool for enhanced productivity. Neoliberalism enabled a challenging of managerialism, where in contrast the adherence to hierarchical norms was generally displayed, albeit with occasional subtle challenges.

In this chapter, I identified how wellbeing was viewed as a problem, and how the chief constable took responsibility for it and recommended solutions through strategies. While wellbeing was primarily problematised in chapters five and six (although some solution arose here), this chapter brings understandings to different processes, solutions, and interventions as conceptualised from someone at the top of the hierarchy. This also presents idealised situations and shows where there could be gaps between how life is and how life ought to be by virtue of fissures between the hierarchical levels. The presence of contradictory and supporting versions of wellbeing are thereby important aspects to explore. With this exploration, insight to the power of human experience, and how multiple versions of wellbeing can interplay can be further understood. Specific to this chapter, how the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing shapes how he proposed interventions and strategies. This again highlights the importance of understanding relationships between social ideology projects and the number of ways wellbeing is understood because it is fundamental to encouraging the collective and inclusive social vision.

Throughout the last three analysis chapters, I have provided an in-depth exploration of how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed throughout the hierarchical levels of the police organisation. This provided further insight to how these constructions reproduced and reified the very conditions (i.e. social ideology projects) they emerged from (Althusser, 2008), along with addressing dominant ideologies (Macris, 2002). Rather than addressing how to enhance wellbeing programmes or resources, attending to the situated social relations that wellbeing emerges from is central to this consideration. The way

wellbeing has been framed provides insight to the processes, solutions, and interventions that require attention at both the individual and organisational level. By attending to the social norms and rules and ideologies that together shape a relational wellbeing framework, it is possible to understand one of the many ways that wellbeing features in daily organisational life (Cieslik, 2015). The following chapter will bring together the findings from both the extant literature reviewed in chapters two and three and the empirical data presented in chapters five through seven in order to summarise how the overall aim of the study has been explored as well as how my findings have informed theory and practice.

**Chapter Eight**

**8.0 Concluding discussion and key contributions**

**8.1 Introduction**

Wellbeing and it's analysis have proven to be complex issues. We have to question how wellbeing can be addressed in an organisation when there are a number of different versions of such, constructed through underlying social norms and rules and ideologies. This study sets out to explore the role of social ideology projects in the construction of versions of wellbeing within a police organisation, and the implications that these constructions had on the social ideology project. My overall aim is to contribute to understanding relational wellbeing and its relevance for how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed in a police organisation. The generative ability of social relations is a generally neglected area for mainstream wellbeing and organisational wellbeing research and practice (Atkinson, 2013, Ramirez, 2017), in this case, specifically, wellbeing in policing research and practice. I sought to attend to these theoretical and practical gaps by completing an ethnographic study focusing on the emergence, reification, reproduction, and challenging of certain social ideology projects as they related to wellbeing. It specifically answered the following overarching research question:

> *How can a relational wellbeing approach contribute to understanding how wellbeing is constructed in a police organisation?*

This main research question was explored through accompanying objectives which were to:

1) *Identify the role of police culture in understanding social ideology projects;*
2) *Explore how different versions of wellbeing emerge from an understanding of social ideology projects;*
3) *Identify the similarities and differences between front line officers' and senior managers' versions of wellbeing;*

*4) Identify how the chief constable conceptualises wellbeing and the implications this has for organisational practice.*

To address these objectives, I completed an ethnography which brought together extant literature and empirical evidence. The above objectives were addressed chronologically in chapters five, six, and seven. In this chapter, I will discuss the empirical findings presented in chapters five, six, and seven in context of the relevant literature and conceptual framework introduced in chapters two and three.

In chapter two, I provided an overview of wellbeing literature and its intersections with social relations in work organisations. Here, I addressed the different ways wellbeing has been addressed in work and organisational literature, as well as policing scholarship. I introduced some concepts of wellbeing as institutionalized versions of what wellbeing is in extant literature. These versions of wellbeing act as touchstones for both practitioners and academics interested in wellbeing. I also introduced relational wellbeing (White, 2010; 2015; 2017) as the primary basis for my approach. Relational wellbeing considers the mutual imbrication of peoples' experiences considering subjective, material, and relational elements. Based on a relational ontology, relational wellbeing is considered to be a collective process that has a contextual orientation. The aim of this chapter was to understand how wellbeing has been approached previously and identify different ways to explore social relations in police organisations. Specifically, understanding wellbeing through social relations, or rather, through a relational wellbeing framework, in organisations emerged as a gap in literature. Hence, understanding complex processes through which wellbeing is influenced by social relations became a focus.

In chapter three, I introduced the conceptual framework for the thesis. Here, I addressed organisational culture as the context in which social relations emerge (or do not) and differ, as well as being at the core of all organisational practices. I discussed how social relations result in the transmission of shared meanings and symbols, which ultimately contribute to understanding how wellbeing is constructed, mobilised, consumed, and reconstructed with a relational approach. Understanding police culture has direct relevance to how relational wellbeing is conceptualised, as relational wellbeing relies on a contextual orientation. Thus,

understanding the context through which wellbeing was explored was key. This background also aided in understanding accepted social norms and rules within the organisation (Foster, 2003; Westmarland, 2001). Between chapters two and three, I identified the following:

1. There is limited understanding of relational wellbeing in organisational settings.
2. Social relations are generally approached as determinants of wellbeing or a means of improving wellbeing in organisations rather than processes that construct, reify, and challenge it.
3. Previous work on wellbeing in organisations has primarily addressed it as eudaemonic or hedonic (i.e. PWB or SWB) and looked at aspects that externally impact wellbeing. Wellbeing has often been approached as an outcome of certain environmental factors such as salary, age, etc.
4. Previous work on wellbeing is primarily individualist, focused on individual determinants and outcomes.
5. In academic scholarship, police culture as a concept has been constructed primarily through previous ethnographic work, however has yet to address different typologies of social relations.

In chapter four, I justified my ethnographic approach and constructivist perspective for the purpose of understanding relational wellbeing in the context of police culture. Here, I explained my relational ontology and constructivist epistemology, arguing that 'reality' is socially constructed and that 'the sociology of knowledge must analyse the process in which this occurs' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 13). With a relational ontology, the nature of reality is mutually constitutive and grounded in the idea that social relations are fundamental to understanding phenomena as opposed to an individualistic approach. My analysis focuses on the process of social construction and specifically the influence social relations have on peoples' multiple 'realities' of wellbeing.

In chapters five, six, and seven, I analysed my empirical data that was collected during my time with Cadogan Police. The qualitative analysis chapters each addressed a different hierarchical group within the organisation. Data for chapter five was gathered during fieldwork with front-line officers, data for chapter six was gathered during ethnographic semi-

structured interviews with senior managers, and data for chapter seven was gathered during an ethnographic semi-structured interview with the chief constable. I discussed the implications and conclusions found within each chapter summary, however the overall aim of the thesis is met by bringing together the three chapters and addressing the intersections of them.

Therefore, in this final chapter, I bring together the findings of the empirical chapters and critically examine them within the context of each other. In the first section I will discuss the empirical evidence. This includes a brief reiteration of the main findings of each chapter followed by a discussion of how they together answer the main research question. This will be done by addressing them within the context of extant literature as well as the context of the current study. In section 8.3 I build on these and draw out the key contributions of this study. These will be addressed as following:

1. Contributing to relational wellbeing research.
2. Buzzwords, bureaucracy and badges: Understanding the process of wellbeing in policing.
3. Contributing to understanding wellbeing by addressing the relationship between the individual and the collective.
4. Contributing towards a more inclusive methodological approach to wellbeing research: Understanding the process versus components and outcomes.

In section 8.4, I will reflect on limitations of my theoretical and methodological approach. In section 8.5, I will offer practical recommendations. Finally, in section 8.6, I will reflect on the contribution I am making to knowledge and the implications of this study.

## 8.2 Why social relations and wellbeing? A general discussion of the empirical evidence

In her novel study on relational wellbeing, White (2016) explained the rationale for seeking a new way to understand wellbeing:

The identification of the empirical with measurement dominates much of the recent writing on wellbeing…Sample sizes may be large but the data are thin, comprising numerical scores by which people rate their emotional experience or satisfaction with their lives. This casts a huge shadow over the very different ways that people may identify what is important for them to live well and the work they put into bringing this about (p. xi).

Within this study, I sought to shed light on the above noted shadow and bring about an understanding of how people relate with each other and in turn construct meanings about wellbeing in an organisational setting. By explaining shared meanings and symbols, it is possible to see the role social relations play in wellbeing. Of importance, 'wellbeing does not 'belong' to individuals at all, but is produced through interaction with others and the context in which wellbeing is experienced' (White, 2016, p. xii). In this study, I analyse the social relations and context in which wellbeing is experienced, and in turn the implications this experience of wellbeing has on the social relations and context. The context in which wellbeing is experienced was discussed in chapters one, two, and three which were outlined in the introduction of this chapter. Therefore, the remainder of this section will briefly reiterate the findings of each empirical chapter.

As I discussed in my methodology, I initially wrote up the results of my data analysis using informal and formal organisational characteristics as a framework for understanding a relational construct of wellbeing. However, upon reading through these chapters, I noted that I had missed an opportunity to explore the presence of multiple versions of wellbeing that were rooted in social ideology projects. After consultation with my supervisors, a relational framework comprised of social norms and rules and ideologies emerged which resulted in the final structure for this thesis. It is important to note that these social ideology projects (e.g. managerialism, canteenism) were not imposed on the data, but were emergent characteristics within the data. They emerged through the iterative-inductive approach that I engaged with, or my process of reflexively moving between data and theory and engaging with concepts that supported my findings. The variations in social ideology projects throughout the three different hierarchical levels informed my position regarding how multiple understandings of wellbeing are constructed through shared meanings and symbols

and ideologies.  By introducing this framework, I will provide insight to why different people and groups may construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing in different ways, and the implications for practice.

In chapter five, I discussed how front-line officers construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing. Three social ideology projects emerged from an analysis of the social relations, which were also reified and challenged: paternalism, managerialism, and canteenism. The implications that the constructions of wellbeing had on these social ideology projects were also discussed. Within all three, wellbeing was presented as a problem. I often heard from front-line officers during my fieldwork that feeling valued and appreciated in a job where thanks are seldom given is important to them. This was reflected in paternalism and their constructions of an ideal leader, undermined by managerialism, and problematised by canteenism. Presenting the attendant versions of wellbeing as facilitated by different social and spatial contexts (Hall, 2010) leads to an understanding that wellbeing is not something that we can 'have', but rather something in constant production and reproduction (Atkinson, 2013) that emerges through this relational framework (White, 2015). Further, it provides space for discussing wellbeing as an emergent issue by exploring how police officers relate to each other and navigate their social norms and rules and ideologies in an organisational context. This study addresses the existence of multiple versions of wellbeing throughout the organisation that emerge from social ideology projects. These social ideology projects are underpinned by social relations and identified through expressed patterns. By interpreting the problem of wellbeing as the gaps between how life is and how it ought to be, these patterns can be applied to them and ultimately provide order to the social concept of wellbeing.

In chapter six, I discussed how senior managers construct, mobilise, consume, and reconstruct wellbeing. Four social ideology projects emerged, which were also reified and reproduced: paternalism, managerialism, neoliberalism, and canteenism. The implications the constructions of wellbeing had on these social ideology projects was also discussed. Within each of these, wellbeing was addressed or framed as a problem, however the emergence of potential solutions was introduced. Throughout interviews with senior managers there were expressed challenges around attending to the varying perceptions of

wellbeing in the organisation as well as tensions between attending to idealised situations created by front-line officers and carrying out organisational priorities. This concept is reflected by Morgan (2006) who stated '…just as individuals in a culture can have different personalities while sharing much in common, so too with groups and organizations' (Morgan, 2006, p. 125). When every person and every subgroup have different ideas of what wellbeing is, this poses an extra challenge for everyone in the organisation who has a role in influencing practice, such as senior managers implementing wellbeing strategies. Along with having their own conceptualisations of wellbeing, senior managers have conceptualisations from others imposed upon them which they are then expected to deliver, which was primarily reflected through managerialism. For example, senior managers were tasked with delivering a wellbeing strategy as discussed throughout analysis, however this was often at odds with their own conceptualisations. For example, with regard to delivering one of the wellbeing strategy priorities (i.e. sleep awareness), one senior manager stated:

> I get why the chief wants to prioritise wellbeing, I really do, but they've got to find a way of doing it, because I've picked sleep, and I told Eric, he asked at the time why did you pick sleep, and I said it seemed like the easiest one I could get out of the way and then it's done. But it's the wrong attitude to go into it with because this is really important stuff.

While this senior manager acknowledged the importance of addressing wellbeing in the organisation, there was an apparent reluctance to have a main role in this social action. In terms of 'sleep' as a wellbeing strand, the superintendent in charge was required to develop an awareness programme and utilise resources such as mobilising sales representatives from mattress shops in order to improve the employee survey regarding sleep quality. With the intention of serving employee interests including productivity, retention, and improved 'ratings' on the workplace surveys, this conceptualisation was an example of how wellbeing becomes bureaucratised and a 'tick-box' when considered within managerialism, which further links to neoliberalism. It also illustrates a discursive shift wherein a wellbeing solution becomes problematised. This ends up implicitly reifying managerialism, because despite not agreeing with the strategy, the superintendents had to execute it. Despite adhering to

bureaucratic priorities, this implicitly creates a fissure between the chief constable's idealised situation and delivery to the front-line officers.

In chapter seven, I discussed how the chief constable constructs, mobilises, consumes, and reconstructs wellbeing. Here, four social ideology projects emerged: managerialism, heroism, neoliberalism, and canteenism. The implications the constructions of wellbeing had on these social ideology projects was also discussed. Again, wellbeing was framed as a problem, however the chief constable took responsibility and recommended solutions and strategies. This chapter drew out underlying social, political, and cultural structures and processes (White, 2017) with the intention of identifying how wellbeing was constructed in the upper echelons of the organisation. The chief constable is in a unique position, because he has experienced every single one of the other hierarchical positions in the organisation. Therefore, he is able to view the organisation as a whole and offer a different perspective from the top. His views of social ideology projects were notably different than senior managers and front-line officers. For example, canteenism helped to understand social norms and rules in the organisation at other ranks, however the chief constable distanced himself from it. Thus, is was problematised in a different way. This shows there are variations not just amongst hierarchical groups, but also within social ideology projects and versions of wellbeing themselves. While these social ideology projects and versions of wellbeing are still recognisable through common patterns, this adds a level of complexity when analysing constructions of wellbeing. It could further highlight disjuncture between groups in the organisation, which as I explained often contributes to fissures in idealised situations.

The three analysis chapters brought attention to a number of idealised situations, which were reflected within the aforementioned social ideology projects. These social ideology projects and idealised situations serve the idea that people are subjects formed within specific social and cultural contexts (White, 2017). This approach is the foundation for understanding relational wellbeing in the organisation, as the context lends insight to the process through which wellbeing is framed at every level and the implications this has. The three analysis chapters also highlighted differences and similarities in how wellbeing is constructed at each hierarchical level. The below figure demonstrates the differences and similarities between them.

| Version of wellbeing | Front-Line Officers | Senior Managers | Chief Constable |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Paternalism* | Problem<br>Resolvable | Problem<br>Solutions | Not identified |
| *Managerialism* | Problem | Problem<br>Solutions | Problem<br>Responsibility<br>Solutions<br>Strategies |
| *Canteenism* | Problem | Problem | Problem<br>Responsibility<br>Solutions |
| *Neoliberalism* | Not identified | Problem<br>Responsibility | Problem<br>Responsibility |
| *Heroism* | Not identified | Not identified | Problem |

Figure 8.1 *Comparing social ideology projects and wellbeing conceptualisations*

This chart represents the noted differences in how each hierarchical level constructed wellbeing (or rather, how I interpreted their constructions of wellbeing), and what these constructions did within each social ideology project. Although I explained the use of problems, solutions, responsibilities, and strategies within each respective chapter, I will briefly reiterate this. The implications of these concepts were two-fold throughout each chapter. That is, I identified how, for example, front-line officers problematised wellbeing within paternalism. In turn, addressing this problematisation helped to identify how paternalism was problematised itself. This links back to my use of ideology which refers to the idea that these values and beliefs produce and are produced by the very conditions they exist in (Althusser, 2008) and that the social positions each group is in, is a result of the ideological apparatuses at play (Archer, 2000). The reason that a social ideology project can simultaneously frame wellbeing as both a problem and solution, for example, is based on

either different conversations or discursive shifts within one conversation. *How* people spoke of wellbeing varied amongst contexts or conversations. Thus, this approach helped to understand the existence of multiple versions of wellbeing and how this was underpinned by varying social relations across the organisation.

To return to an earlier point regarding a fissure between the chief constable and the front-line officers, the way in which wellbeing was problematised by senior managers posed one of the more significant challenges within my study. For example, one senior manager stated during one of the Wellbeing Board meetings:

> I think we are ok with some stuff on keeping yourself healthy, so the fitness test has probably driven that, there's healthy eating and advice and no smoking policies in place.

As I experienced this after completing fieldwork with front-line officers, I was aware that these issues did not represent what they constructed as prominent wellbeing issues. Rather, this approach would legitimate managerialism and neoliberalism, which were both problematised by front-line officers and senior managers respectively. In practice, I witnessed the influence that messages like this had on front-line officers (e.g. refs break as in 5.3.2), where the message was explicitly rejected. Rather than attending to relationally emergent characteristics, this approach trivialised how we understand wellbeing. Instead, by considering a relational approach, we can begin to direct attention to social norms and rules through which wellbeing is effected.

Front line officers' conceptualisations of wellbeing were the initial focal point of this study, but it became apparent that it was an organisation-wide issue, which justifies my approach. Therefore, I paid close attention to how wellbeing was constructed and discussed amongst the different levels of the hierarchy and the influence this had. Where the front-line generally talked about it as others' responsibility and expressed pressure from above, senior managers generally discussed the concept pragmatically and considered pressure from below and above as reflected in the respective social ideology projects. This has implications for the chief constable's capacity to deliver wellbeing strategies as the tensions between social ideology

projects add a level of complexity to an already complex organisational culture. While I interpreted a number of wellbeing strategies as a bureaucratised version of wellbeing, taken into consideration with constructions I drew out throughout analysis, I built an overall interpretation of a multiplicity of features that supported the constructivist nature of wellbeing. The aim is to consider how, through the exploration of social ideology projects regarding wellbeing in the organisational context, these findings may be extrapolated beyond the current situation. To expand on this summary of findings, the following section will explain my key contributions in more depth.

**8.3 Key contributions**

The overall contribution of this study is connecting two large research areas, wellbeing and organisational (i.e. police) culture, to explore situated social relations through an ethnographic perspective and a constructivist approach. This approach allowed new contributions to each set of literatures. The main findings are presented in each analysis chapter, however in this section, I summarise the theoretical contributions that emerge from the findings discussed previously, as well as the methodological implications.

*8.3.1 Contributing to relational wellbeing research and developing its analytical utility*

The wider concept of wellbeing research has been in existence since the early days of philosophy. Tracing back to Protagoras, Socrates, Plato, Epicurus, and Aristotle, the pursuit of happiness, morality, and the nature of being serves as a foundation for the rhetorical search for the meaning of human existence. Since then, the ongoing fascination with living the 'good life' and what this requires has dominated narratives of wellbeing (Diener, 1984; Fisher, 2014; Wright & Cropanzano, 2000). In my quest for a research question early in this study, I engaged with dominant organisational wellbeing literature that explored concepts including SWB (Deci & Ryan, 2008; Tov & Diener, 2013) and PWB (Ryff, 1989). Throughout this, I found myself asking where the underlying constructs of wellbeing emerged from and what the word actually meant. I found these positivistic approaches, while valuable in their own way, distracted me from the complex, situated, processes that shape our existence (Cederström &

Spicer, 2015; Cieslik, 2015). Hence my efforts to explore these social processes, within the social construction of 'reality' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

When exploring how shared meaning and symbols emerged, I identified the centrality of social relations. This led me to explore the concept of RWB (White, 2010; 2015; 2017). As I have identified, RWB is a framework that has not been readily drawn on in an organisational context. This approach acknowledges that social relations are considered in most wellbeing studies, but as discussed in chapter two, previous organisational scholarship tends to assume that social relations are a positive aspect or outcome of wellbeing. They are also dominated by a conceptualisation of autonomous, bounded beings (Gergen, 2009) and they focus on social relations as wellbeing outcomes (Ramirez, 2017) rather than also considering social relations as forging wellbeing. Hence, my interest in understanding the lived experience of social relations and the implications these had on shaping wellbeing constructions. In turn, social ideology projects emerged and were shown to both construct and be constructed by a number of versions wellbeing.

While the concept of RWB appeared novel and commensurate with my philosophical beliefs, the framework developed by White left gaps for development. Specifically, her framework stresses the co-constructed nature of wellbeing, but how to recognise and analyse the social relations that are responsible for these co-constructions is not explored in depth. My approach shows how social relations underlie social ideology projects and can usefully recognised through patterns. By further addressing social norms and rules and ideologies, the social world can be mapped and understood (Freeden, 2003). The approach I developed provides analytical utility which previously lacked. Infusing the concepts of ideologies, social norms and rules, organisational culture, and shared meanings and symbols with social relations provides a framework for recognising the process through which versions of wellbeing are constructed.

This study then, extends our knowledge of social processes (i.e. social relations) in organisations and contributes to understanding complexities of wellbeing which serves the interests of both academics and practitioners building on constructivist work by authors including Ahmed (2010), Cederström and Spicer (2015), Davies (2015), and Hochschild (2012).

Specifically, it draws attention to the importance of understanding how different groups in an organisation construct wellbeing based on varying social ideology projects that are dynamically reproduced by presenting a new analytical framework. In this study, I came to understand and discuss the impact social relations have in constructing, mobilising, consuming, and reconstructing wellbeing by uncovering contextually situated social ideology projects. These reflected and legitimised different patterns of social relations throughout the hierarchy and provided insight to how people experience wellbeing. While I do appreciate the value of previous studies of wellbeing, more attention should be paid to how social relations can create and transform these experiences of wellbeing in future studies.

This study further informs debates about the role of social relations in PWB and SWB studies. As I discussed in chapter two, social relations are often to be considered components or outcomes of wellbeing, with the goal of providing objective measures (Birch et al., 2017). While I do not question the value of these approaches, they do leave unanswered questions such as the underlying reasons and processes involved in creating meaning about wellbeing. It is difficult to impose strategies or 'measure' the efficacy of these strategies in an organisational setting when it is not understood how people actually construct their idea of the problem of wellbeing. By developing a framework based on social relations and exploring socially shared meanings (as opposed to individualised or idiosyncratic), meanings about relational wellbeing become relevant and consequential for both academics and practitioners.

This thesis has contributed to the wellbeing literature by conceptually and empirically demonstrating that a broader outlook towards social relations and wellbeing could uncover important associations between them that have been unaccounted for in previous and traditional approaches. This study can contribute to organisational, wellbeing, management, and police culture literatures as well as develop the conceptual framework of relational wellbeing as it demonstrates the complex and intricate links between social relations and wellbeing, creating situated knowledge.

_8.3.2 Buzzwords, bureaucracy and badges: The process of wellbeing in policing._

A key original contribution of this thesis is that is has uncovered particularities in the way in which wellbeing manifests and is experienced within a police organisation. This involved considering the nature of police culture (Chan 1997; Reiner 1985; Rowe; 2007; Silvestri 2017; Westmarland 2001) where work or 'crime fighting' was perceived to involve strength, power, and authority (Silvestri 2017; Workman-Stark, 2015). The cult(ure) of masculinity and historic attributes of police culture (Holdaway, 1983; Foster, 2005; Loftus 2009; Skolnick, 1964) have often been attributed to exploring the masculinised ethos of police culture. This study does not discount the masculinised ethos, but rather explores how cultural understandings such as this both construct and are constructed by conceptualisations of wellbeing. Thus, the study contributes new understandings of wellbeing to the academic debate of police culture. Despite concerted efforts to address wellbeing in police organisations (Hesketh et al., 2016; Howard et al., 2000; Houdmont, 2016; Randall et al., 2012) I sought answers to why certain practices acted as touchpoints for how wider concepts of wellbeing are interpreted, based primarily on the linkages made within them to 'the good life'. This perspective allowed me to explore the extent to which different people and groups (i.e. within hierarchical levels) interpret wellbeing.

Within this study wellbeing is understood to emerge from the gap between how life is and how life ought to be. However, when discussing wellbeing with people in the police organisation, I found that the issue of wellbeing was inherently complex and dynamically constructed by individuals in the organisation. These constructions are based on their social relations with each other (McNaught, 2011) in the context of their organisational experiences. Building upon other studies that have addressed wellbeing in policing (Evans et al., 2013; Houdmont et al., 2012; Padhy et al., 2015) I go beyond the economic and psychological foci to consider the co-constructed process of wellbeing. In turn, we can understand how social ideology projects shape and are shaped by constructions of wellbeing which predictably influences individuals' experiences in the workplace. For example, job satisfaction, organisational commitment, and/or loyalty could fluctuate based on how people react to managerial wellbeing (such as the refs break example in chapter five). While this study did

not set out to measure these factors, they are considerations in potential influences of the outcome of this study.

Throughout my study, individuals either communicated in certain terms what wellbeing meant to them (e.g. being looked after) or doubted the organisation's motivation in acknowledging wellbeing overall (e.g. it was to 'tick a box'). Wellbeing was considered a measurable outcome (or desired outcome) throughout the organisation. This approach was also demonstrated in extant literature that addressed wellbeing in organisations (Ryff, 1989; Houdmont, 2016; Kula, 2017). Viewing wellbeing in this objectivist manner involves 'assessing the relative influences of different determinants and trying to identify successful policy interventions to enhance that outcome' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 139). However, rather than trying to objectively measure determinants and outcomes, I was interested in how wellbeing was positioned as part of a social, ideological, process. This helped to uncover how and why different hierarchical groups constructed wellbeing as they did by identifying whose interests and agendas were served by them. Namely, these political and economic interests and agendas that were served introduces a new concept to wellbeing literature that has previously been overlooked. Extending managerialism, paternalism, neoliberalism, heroism, and the newly coined canteenism into police wellbeing studies gives insight to the power struggles at play, which as I demonstrated has implications for how wellbeing is consumed and mobilised throughout the hierarchy. This further refines work that has been done in RWB (White 2010; 2015; 2017), PWB (Ryff, 1989), and SWB (Diener, 2009; Kashdan et al., 2008; Ryan & Deci, 2001) because it extends knowledge into a police organisation with a consideration for the power relations involved in the creation of shared meanings and symbols.

Part of this understanding comes from considering that divergent perspectives regarding wellbeing influence practice in different ways within the organisation. For example, a dominant practical consideration which brings together my empirical findings is the realisation that wellbeing was largely bureaucratised which was especially drawn out in my explorations of managerialism. As dominant ideologies 'tend to work in favour of the capitalist interests and the powerful networks of corporate and political elites' (Macris, 2002, p. 24), this provides insight to the interests and agendas that are served through

conceptualising wellbeing through managerialism. Here, a definition of wellbeing was created and 'mandated' with certain desired outcomes through the creation of the wellbeing board and properties of 'wellbeing' within it that had to be delivered. This created and emphasised a local wellbeing project and inherently shaped how others in the organisation then conceptualised it. The danger with this emphasis in the organisation is that it can distract from more complex issues, especially by making individuals responsible for delivering their own wellbeing (White, 2017), while ignoring the nature of how wellbeing is constructed. Further, it creates idealised situations and when these moral imperatives (Cederström & Spicer, 2015) are not met, it creates fissures between people and groups in the organisation. This was highlighted through my discussions of tensions between social ideology projects.

A primary example of this idea emerged in one of my interviews with a senior manager. We were discussing the 'strands' of wellbeing that were created as a result of the Wellbeing Board and the implications this had for people in the organisation:

> One of the barriers is the chief says this is a priority, so you've got to do it. So, what about my wellbeing? I'm telling you I haven't got the capacity to do it… With no consideration to what capacity they've actually got to deliver it and give it the attention it deserves, so I do think that…wellbeing is really important, but I don't have the capacity to give it the attention it deserves without it dropping off the end (Senior manager).

This quote represents a discursive shift concerning the different ways wellbeing was framed. Here, wellbeing was identified as a problem, reflected as something senior managers are delegated responsibility for, and identified as something that is resolvable. While the mandated wellbeing priority reflects an objectified and bureaucratised 'add-on', this account also represents how this senior manager constructs wellbeing more informally. They were made responsible for delivering something to satisfy the chief constable's agenda, however in turn this inherently shaped how they conceptualised their own wellbeing. While it attended to how one person (i.e. the policymaker) conceptualised wellbeing, it created an idealised situation and a gap between how life is and how it ought to be for this senior manager. It is possible to see in this example the risk in disorganising one version of wellbeing by organising

another. This is an important consideration for policymakers and grants further insight to the implications for social relations in wellbeing. The managerial wellbeing that is reflected in this example extends our knowledge of and has drawn attention to the implications that imposing idealised situations can have for people who are on the receiving end. Along with managerialism shaping this senior manager's experience of wellbeing, managerialism was also reproduced and legitimated through this process based on a lack of challenging and accepting the 'order' from above. This idea sits comfortably with literature that focuses on managerial processes in policing (Reuss-Ianni, 1983) but informs it by proving an exploration of the implications these processes have for social relations (Gergen, 2009). The idea further informs this set of literature by exploring how wellbeing plays a role in reproducing and extending managerialism in policing.

Returning to the quotation that introduced this thesis, 'You know…wellbeing, leadership, they're all just buzzwords for management. What do they actually mean?', the above discussion provides insight to how wellbeing was delivered in the organisation. Regardless of how it was received by front-line officers, this reflects how through its operation in a bureaucratic organisation, wellbeing itself became bureaucratised. This was met with discussions around 'ticking a box' and provided a platform for people to discuss it as a buzzword.

### 8.3.3 Contributing to understanding wellbeing by addressing the relationship between the individual and the collective.

Another contribution of this thesis is the insight it provides into the relationship between the individual and the collective in wellbeing studies (White 2010; 2015; 2017; White & Blackmore, 2016; White & Jha, 2018) and how people in the organisation negotiate these experiences over time. This directly contributes to developing analytical frameworks for understanding relational wellbeing, and further how wellbeing can be understood in an organisational setting. Prior to beginning my study, I considered wellbeing to be an achievable entity, something that we could (and should want to) acquire in our own lives. Something that could be measured, as has been done in previous studies (Adler & Seligman, 2016; Fisher, 2014; Forgeard et al., 2011). I saw utilitarian policies and practices as being driven by what

could be done to acquire these individualised components, measured by the greatest happiness of the greatest number (Bentham, 1776). By exploring notions of constructed wellbeing (Cieslik, 2015; Sointu, 2005) I could see how peoples' own conceptualisations of wellbeing could contribute to a collective wellbeing, however, the relationship between the individual and the collective was not something I had explored. In this study, the dynamics between the individual and the collective were something that I focused on and with that, my entire outlook was changed.

The process of negotiating individual and collective wellbeing is underlined by how people within the organisation understand and mobilise social relations within the organisation. Wellbeing is what happens between the individual and collective, which transforms the terms through which they engage with each other (White, 2010). There is a noted tendency in previous studies to shift responsibility from the collective to the individual (Sointu, 2005), however by focusing on the social relations as I have in this study, this tendency can be mitigated. By doing this, we can understand the grounding of wellbeing in social and spatial contexts, which explicitly develops the RWB approach. Further supporting this, Atkinson (2013) explained wellbeing as an effect 'of mutually constitutive interactions among the material, organic and emotional dynamics of places' (p. 138). Rather than abstracting conceptualisations of wellbeing, this concept focuses on 'the social, material and spatially situated social relations through which individual and collective wellbeing are effected' (Atkinson, 2013, p. 138). It is these social relations that social ideology projects emerge from and helps to explain how wellbeing contributes to them being reified. For example, when paternalism is linked to a notion of the good life in an organisation, it becomes a way the organisation, and thus society, ought to be run.

Negotiating the implications of this interpretation is significant in considering wellbeing as a construct in this police organisation; considering that there are multiple versions through which wellbeing is framed requires attention to certain processes or interventions within the organisation and by individuals. For example, managerial processes were shown to elicit resistance from front-line officers, while simultaneously serving the 'business' requirements of the organisations for senior managers. To remedy this fissure, attention to relational processes and different versions of wellbeing may prove beneficial to the above noted

processes and interventions. Part of this consideration arises from what I interpreted as an interplay between aspects of police culture. This consideration has implications for practice and scholarship because it helps us to understand worldviews of people in the organisation as relative to their own terms as possible, based on the idea that the process of wellbeing construction is rooted in a certain time and place (White, 2015; Atkinson et al., 2012). In scholarly terms, this provides insight and builds on police culture studies, for it extends our knowledge regarding how people interpret organisational practices based on an interplay of social relations within the organisation. In practical terms, as I explained above, it provides insight for senior managers regarding the reactions their actions may have, and provides insight to front-line officers regarding *why* certain processes or interventions are implemented as such.

### 8.3.4 Contributing towards a more inclusive methodological approach to wellbeing research: Understanding the process versus components and outcomes.

This study has contributed to wellbeing research by shifting the focus from the components and outcomes approach (Bakker et al., 2008; Panaccio & Vandenberghe, 2009; Rich et al., 2010; Sointu, 2005) to addressing wellbeing as a dynamic, social process. This was made possible by adopting an ethnographic methodology, which could have implications for future research that addresses similar concepts in police organisations (e.g. social relations, ethics). While leadership (Rowe, 2006) socialisation (Van Maanen, 1973) and organisational transformation (Marks, 2004) for example have been addressed with an ethnographic methodology, the approach I adopted extends knowledge of wellbeing processes in police organisations specifically.

Previous studies have utilised ethnographic methods for exploring wellbeing, albeit with a focus on different indicators and in varying contexts (i.e. not in police organisations). For example, Munoz et al., (2015) addressed social enterprises as a space for wellbeing, and Loerak-González (2016) addressed diversity within local understandings of wellbeing. Drawing out some of these previous findings and acknowledging that there is bound to be diversity in wellbeing in in a single context (Loerak-González, 2016) and how wellbeing is "spoken", "practiced" and "felt" within a single context (Munoz et al., 2015) helped to provide

a foundational basis for this study. The approach of this study sits comfortably with, but further refines, studies such as these, as it focuses attention on human indicators and variances within a single context and in turn provides an opportunity for exploration in further studies.

This study was focused on social relations and wellbeing, as experienced through talk, interpretations, and experiences. As I discussed in my methodology, attending to multiple realities and interpreting 'truth' from the research participants' perspectives were central considerations in my efforts to understand the process of how people construct wellbeing. The methodological approach adopted allowed me to 'progressively focus the study on the features of the case which gradually appear[ed] to be most significant' (Mabry 2008, pg. 216). This approach was suitable to adopt based on my constructivist philosophical positioning because of the aforementioned iterative-inductive approach, which allowed me to seek answers to my research questions in a circular rather than linear way. This means that I was able to shape and reshape the focus of ethnographic work as new ideas emerged.

Understanding the social ideology projects that produce wellbeing constructions and, in turn, are reproduced by these constructions required this flexible approach and provides a pathway for future studies that aim to understand constructions of wellbeing. By adopting a methodology that permits fluid movement between empirical and theoretical data as well as the study participants, I was able to draw out concepts that are in themselves dynamic and evolving. Further, I argue that 'truth' is constructed by the mind that sees it and interpretations of a sensory experiences are of importance to explore. In this vein, the human imagination projects a certain reality (Morgan & Smircich, 1980, 492) and is subject to interpretation. Thus, there is not an objective 'reality', but rather multiple realities created by human interpretations.

To illustrate this, in her inaugural professorial lecture, White (2018) stated:

> If we are going to recognise people as subjects of their own lives, rather than objects of our philanthropic or critical gaze, we need a better model of wellbeing. We need to resist the reduction of wellbeing to just subjective wellbeing and the reduction of

subjective wellbeing to a measures of life satisfaction or emotional balance or abstracted items to be scored on a Likert scale.

This quotation supports the value of an ethnographic approach for future studies of wellbeing, or more specifically, wellbeing in an organisational or cultural context. Qualitative methods, including ethnography, allow for the observation of social relations (i.e. through talk, perspectives, experiences) and wellbeing (Ramirez, 2017). As I have discussed throughout the study, observing these social relations is valuable to understanding the relational process through which wellbeing is constructed. While I do not contest that there are other qualitative or mixed-methods approaches which may be drawn upon to meet this end, ethnography allowed me to step away from doing research 'on' people in the organisation and instead communicate interpretations that were gathered while being empathetic.  It was important for me throughout the study to emphasise that individuals in the organisation construct a world of lived reality which results in situation-specific shared meanings and symbols, which were the general objects of investigation (Schwandt, 1998). The process of this construction required analysing interrelations between people and groups which, in turn, led me to understand and communicate through this thesis the importance of social relations in constructions of wellbeing and the influence these have on practice.

### 8.3.5 Contributing to quantitative intervention studies

In this study I considered existing scholarship on participative wellbeing interventions and their effects as an area that this thesis can contribute to. Interventions, or concerted employee-employer actions that aim to change the organisation, design, and management of work to ultimately improve health and wellbeing (Tafvelin et al., 2018), have been studied primarily through psychosocial scholarship (Nielsen, 2013; Nielsen & Randall, 2012b; Tafvelin et al., 2018). Interventions are evaluated by employing pre-measurement and post-measurement design through controlled before and after studies, randomized control trials, and interrupted time series (Joyce et al., 2010, Nielsen & Abildgaard, 2013).

These studies generally acknowledge that employee participation is an important factor in interventions (Nielsen et al., 2010; Randall, 2012), that line managers are central in translating

change plans into actions (Bryant & Stensaker, 2011; Tafvelin et al., 2018), and that the social context, along with individual psychological factors, in which interventions are considered influence the efficacy of interventions (Nielsen and Randall, 2012). All three conclusions both align with my findings and provide a space for the contributions of this thesis. With a focus on positive wellbeing, this thesis can provide a foundation for explorations of intervention design and implementation. This will be the focus of the remainder of this section.

First, intervention studies highlight the importance of employee participation, which fits well with my findings that management-imposed interventions generally elicited a negative response amongst front-line officers (see chapter four). As Nielsen and Abildgaard (2013) found, organisational members are not simply passive recipients of interventions but play an important role in determining the intervention process and whether an organisational intervention is successful in improving employee health and wellbeing. By encouraging and empowering front-line officers as I have suggested, mutually agreeable intervention plans can be formulated. This study goes further to acknowledge the politicised barriers to this, namely managerialism and canteenism. These barriers provide insight to the complexities of the organisation and the need for innovative strategies to work past them.

Further, in this thesis, I assert that there are gaps in communication between senior managers and front-line officers. Intervention research widely finds that middle managers can play a role in driving changes strategized by senior managers (Nielsen & Abildgaard, 2013). By streamlining and improving means of communication throughout the organisation, all actors in the organisation are given an improved opportunity to contribute to intervention practices. These actions can work to bring together and compromise on idealised situations created by employees at all ranks of the organisation. Improving communication and social support, modification of work roles, reformation of work environment and workload, focus on empowerment, and increased autonomy are commonly cited outcomes of organisational interventions that aim to improve wellbeing (Naghieh et al., 2015, Nielsen et al., 2010). Without effective and possibly restructured communication between ranks, I argue that this end is not possible to achieve. This study therefore evidences and provides deeper insight to cultural mechanisms that enable and prevent effective communication from happening, by way of identifying social ideology projects.

Finally, the importance of understanding social context cannot be understated, and it is here where the background provided from this ethnographic study, and other ethnographic studies, can be especially useful. I found that the social context of wellbeing must consider variations in constructions of wellbeing amongst organisational participants. Understanding the variance in versions of wellbeing based on social relations can be considered to be the foundation which interventions may rest on. This further supports that there may be a need for *multiple* intervention strategies, based on the findings of multiple versions of wellbeing. Further, it provides a basis for understanding the complexities of organisational, or police, culture and helps to unravel the many layers of culture that provides both scholars and practitioners with the necessary background to proceed with creating effective interventions.

### 8.4 Methodological reflections and research limitations: Implications for future research

In chapter four, which considers the methodological approach, I have outlined some critiques of ethnographic research. In this section I will reflect upon my methodological approach and address some specific limitations for this study. If I were to repeat this research, some of these limitations may be able to be mitigated, and others are embedded in the overall research design and therefore unavoidable.

With regard to unavoidable limitations, I have identified early in my thesis that my preconceptions and prejudices played a role in how I initially conceptualised wellbeing. This was based primarily on my past experiences in law enforcement as well as how front-line officers and my gatekeeper initially portrayed their conceptualisations of wellbeing in the organisation to me. Regarding the former, I addressed the turn to reflexivity which accounts for the idea that I, as a researcher, am constructed and working within a socially constructed context. There is no effective way to eliminate this issue in this study or in social research, nor should it be viewed as a problem. Rather, by considering my social position within ongoing currents of communication between myself and the participants in my study (Lichterman, 2015), I was able to maintain a conscious reflexive approach throughout my data gathering and analysis. Supported by Fetterman (2010), 'the ethnographer enters the field with an open mind, not an empty head' (p. 1). With an open mind, I enabled the exploration and

communication of multiple realities. Multiple versions of 'reality' are relied upon for this study due to the nature of exploring individualised constructions. Therefore, access to this socially constructed 'reality' is through the interpretation of shared meanings and consciousness (Myers, 2013). The relational ontological positioning supports an intersubjective nature of reality, hence, there is no claim to be discovering 'truth' (Cho & Trent, 2006). Thus, the approach infers that my own heuristics were brought into the research process.

Ethnographic methodologies have been criticised for their sometimes 'anecdotal' (Martin, 2001) evidence, however I discuss that the complexity of a culture can only be captured by such thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) and rich data as offered in this study. These thick descriptions and rich data were made possible by the process of 'entering and communicating the experience of men and women in a given context: their way of apprehending the world, of considering their place in society and their relations with others' (Fassin, 2013: x). It was important to reflect the police officers' interpretations of their world and understand their experiences. This understanding came from analysing how wellbeing was co-constructed in the organisational context and I communicated this understanding as an intersubjective 'reality'.

With regard to specific limitations I could have mitigated, I reflected on two different choices that I made early in the research. First, I chose to work with only one organisation. This decision was primarily based on practicalities. The process of having a research proposal accepted, going through multiple levels of gatekeepers to gain access, vetting, completing all legal processes (i.e. paperwork), and coordinating schedules was time consuming and it would not have been feasible to go through these processes with more than one organisation. While this could be perceived as resulting in a thesis that is limited in scope, it allowed me to gather rich cultural data about the organisation I worked within. As I stated earlier in the research, I addressed the organisation *as* culture (Smircich, 1968) and therefore can reason that another police organisation would be another culture, which would limit my ability to communicate specific cultural nuances. My approach is supported by earlier police ethnographies (Foster, 2005; Holdaway, 1988; Loftus, 2009; Skolnick, 1964; Van Maanen, 1978) who also focused on one police organisation. While each organisation or culture will

have their nuances, understanding the nature of how meaning is constructed (i.e. through social relations) and how social relations influence constructions of wellbeing (and in turn practice) is the focus rather than 'applying' specific cultural understandings to another organisation. Further research could aim to go beyond the bounds of the organisation and consider external experiences more in depth, however, for the purpose of this study the implications of wellbeing constructions *in* the workplace was a focal point.

Second, I chose to work only with response officers. There were other departments in the organisation including detectives, proactive teams, armed teams, neighbourhood policing teams, and police staff, however, again practicalities and logistics were a consideration. Because there was a limited time to complete this study, adding in other teams would have added a level of complexity both to the nature of data collected (i.e. work experiences are different for response officers versus detectives) and the analysis. Future studies could extend into other groups to see if there are differences or similarities in how police staff, for example, construct wellbeing.

While I have addressed the limitations of my approach, I would argue that my approach is aligned with extant police ethnographies. I acknowledge the rarity of being able to obtain the access to police organisations that I received in contemporary times (see De Camargo, 2016 for example), however I can also attribute my ability to navigate my insider-outsider positionality and make meaningful relationships as factors in gaining and maintaining relatively free access within the organisation for an indeterminate length of time. Because of the length of time I spent with the organisation (and continue to communicate with some individuals at the time of this writing) and the relationships I built, I am in a position to offer meaningful recommendations to the police organisation. These recommendations are the focus of the following section.

## 8.5 Practical recommendations

By understanding the dynamics of social ideology projects and the influence they have on the construction of wellbeing, we can begin to understand *why* individuals in police organisations understand wellbeing as they do. As I have demonstrated, this has further implications for

how these social ideology projects are shaped by the very conditions they produce. While this provides a space for future research, there are useful practical recommendations that can be drawn from this study. Broadly, how people construct wellbeing has implications for organisational practices and experiences of work. Thus, I will provide two primary practical recommendations for practitioners.

First, I will outline the practical significance of uncovering the five different social ideology projects and attendant versions of wellbeing for the organisation. Understanding how meanings are shaped by social relations and how those social relations are shaped by these meanings may seem like a common-sense recommendation. However, by introducing context-specific social ideology projects it becomes possible to understand the dynamics of social relations in the organisation, which should be a key focus of everyone in the organisation, not just managers. Throughout my time with Cadogan Police, I observed a number of processes and practices that mediated constructions of wellbeing within the organisation. In simple terms, my principal recommendation is to focus on *communication* within the organisation in order to develop collaborative or collective approaches to resolve ideological tensions.

To provide an example of the above recommendation, front-line officers often spoke of senior management implementing policies or communicating with them with a disregard for their situation. In other words, there seemed to be a focus on enacting managerialism (e.g. 'refs breaks' or the Wellbeing Board) without considering how others in the organisation may conceptualise wellbeing. However, it is noted that there are barriers to this that I discussed throughout the analysis such as the hierarchical challenges to approaching 'superiors', which was reflected in the reification of managerial and canteenism social ideology projects. This has an influence on how wellbeing animates other hierarchical processes (for example discipline).

By understanding tensions and similarities between social ideology projects throughout the organisation, it not only helps us understand how wellbeing is attached to different political interests, but it is also possible to address how and why people react to certain practices. The way in which people in the organisation interpret wellbeing and how this interpretation is

translated through the organisational hierarchy (i.e. how it is being transformed, what interests or agendas it serves) is important to consider because it undoubtedly has implications for their work experiences. Understanding how people attach meaning to concepts such as wellbeing in a specific cultural context is useful for anyone in an organisation who has a role in implementing practices. In addition to suggesting another area for future research (i.e. leadership), this highlights the idea that leaders require an appreciation of how people create meaning in organisations. Understanding the impact of strategies or initiatives (and more generally what is happening within the organisation) is important for people leading organisations in order to effectively communicate and implement them.

A second practical recommendation is to reconsider using self-report surveys as the primary mechanism for 'collecting' wellbeing information in the organisation. Not only do these implicitly place responsibility on people in the organisation to report on issues they may not have initially perceived as wellbeing issues (e.g. healthy eating), they also fail to capture the dynamic and evolving nature of wellbeing. Further, in an organisation setting, self-report surveys on wellbeing pose a risk of being treated 'as if they were self-disclosures – i.e., revelations of actual selves and actual happiness – rather than provisional, temporary self-expressions' (Thin, 2012, p. 319). As I discussed in chapter seven, the chief constable and senior managers relied on self-report surveys[44], which serves both managerial and neoliberal social ideology projects based respectively on the implicit requirement to 'tick a box' and attend to productivity in the organisation. While these surveys may have aimed to address a communitarianism ideology by drawing out 'issues' that could genuinely improve work life for people, I noted the ideological tensions that presented themselves as discussed in chapter seven.

To reiterate the evidence of this, the chief constable acknowledged the importance of wellbeing practices and strategies within the force, which was based on the outcome of the aforementioned mandated self-report wellbeing survey. This led to the Wellbeing Board:

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[44] I was not able to view the self-report survey results, thus am relying on the feedback provided by interview participants.

There was a survey done across all the organisations and we don't fare very well. There's higher levels of distress, and you could say oh that's because of what you do…it's probably not actually… our workforce survey, the one I talked about first, has just landed and it had just landed when I started, so two years ago, and when I first started it was clear to me that that sort of package around welfare and wellbeing wasn't in place. There was some sort of tentative effort…they'd trained something like 40 people to be mental health trained but the staff survey in 2015 described a problem and there wasn't a solution. [Eric] was doing some stuff over here, it wasn't being mainstreamed in to the force.

This practice introduced an important concept to me. The idea that a biennial survey was the medium that was relied upon for wellbeing feedback suggested the bureaucratized nature that encompasses wellbeing in the organisation, which again returns to the focus on managerialism. This served as a metaphor for other organisational processes and made me question the efficacy of the wellbeing and 'organisational satisfaction' surveys I had filled out in my former career. When I asked front-line officers about the surveys, the typical response was a sarcastic one, implying that it would not make a difference. This was another concept that resonated with me. Again, the feelings of hopelessness for front-line officers were brought to light. I shared that feeling in my former career that these surveys would not make a difference, but rather they were done to 'tick a box'.

As one sergeant stated in support of this, 'there is a feeling that changes are often made with little to no regard for thinking about the consequences. They make changes for the sake of checking off a tick-box' (fieldnotes, 2017). If there is no evidence of action after results of a survey are analysed, what does that tell individuals in the organisation about how their input is valued? It is time to consider the influence of social relations in wellbeing constructions and move beyond the buzzword and bureaucracy. Hence, by understanding the implications of a variance of social ideology projects throughout the organisation, different methodologies can be applied to attend to these and in return attend to what people mean when they talk about wellbeing.

Offering an exploration of how meaning is created in organisations, I also drew attention to the importance of exploring and considering how cultural characteristics (i.e. social norms and rules and ideologies) interact to mediate constructions of wellbeing. In this study, social relations were shown to both legitimise and reproduce these cultural characteristics. For example, in chapter five I discussed how one of the front-line officers I worked alongside displayed hyper-masculine behaviours in the office and was often referred to as 'quite laddish' by other PCs (fieldnotes, 2017). However, when we spoke one-to-one in a patrol vehicle, he displayed different characteristics in that he opened up regarding his own struggle with wellbeing issues. Further, he explained how he expressed his challenges with his team away from the workplace. In the workplace, one would never guess his gap between how life is and how it ought to be was continually widening. This example revisits the importance of exploring the gap between talk and action (Waddington, 1999) and how people relate with each other. This importantly has implications for work practices, because it raises a consideration for those in positions of creating wellbeing 'strategies' and implementing practices (i.e. primarily senior managers). That is, if they understand that all is not as it seems on the surface, there may be an impetus for developing new methods in the workplace for resolving the problem of wellbeing. Having said that, the interests and agendas of the organisation may intervene as I have demonstrated throughout the entirety of the thesis. For example, the political responsibility the chief constable has to the PCC and HMICFRS may supersede his capability to deliver strategies that are more meaningful to front-line officers.

**8.6 Final Thoughts**

Prior to completing this thesis, I was invited to attend a job interview for a 'wellbeing lead' in a police organisation in the UK. During the interview I was told that 'enough research had been done on wellbeing', so they were solely looking for someone to deliver the established 'programme' and policies that had been developed. This struck a chord. As I have discussed throughout this study, wellbeing and the social relations that underlie it are fluid, dynamic, and constantly open to new interpretations. The idea that wellbeing had been objectified and would be applied to police organisations is in contrast to my central critical contribution. Still, this understanding and application of wellbeing has become a powerful and institutionalised version of the concept for both academics and practitioners.

Police officers – people - are moral subjects. By creating a static wellbeing delivery programme as this organisation had done (along with my experience with the Wellbeing Board), we risk reducing wellbeing to a bureaucratised buzzword. What I argue is that wellbeing is not a panacea for remedying fissures in social relations throughout the organisation or dealing with perceived shortfalls. Rather, people in organisations should be receptive to explorations of how the problem of wellbeing is shaped by social ideology projects, and the role of those wellbeing constructions have in shaping the conditions they emerged from (Torres & Antikainen, 2002). By taking this approach, we are able to understand how and why people feel the way they do.  The first is to shift from objectifying people to recognising them as moral subjects, with a critical relational dimension and extending possibilities for social relations (White, 2018).

This shift needs to go beyond an implementation and analysis of programmes, procedures, efficiency, and of the resources people can have and use. Considering how and why people feel the way they do requires acknowledging the subjective material, and relational (White, 2010) impacts of these wellbeing provisions and specifically exploring how individuals and social groups construct meanings around the gap between how life is and how life ought to be. The shared meanings though which this gap is constructed are shaped by a number of factors, one of which is the construction of social ideology projects.

Wellbeing is not simply about feeling well or being devoid of illness, but rather is constructed and mediated through social ideology projects that emerge in an organisational context, and are in turn shaped by the attendant versions of wellbeing. These social ideology projects not only legitimise certain types of social relations (e.g. neoliberalism legitimises atomistic social relations), but also serve wider interests and agendas, such as capitalism, patriarchy, democracy, or meritocracy. In the current context of political influences on the police such as the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners, New Public Management, outsourcing, and austerity, having a grasp on these wider interests provides further insight to where and why certain social ideology projects may emerge.

This study has shown that there is more to the wellbeing 'buzzword' than it may appear on the surface. Disentangling the ways in which wellbeing is constructed and emerges, from the way it has been deployed in practice and theory is an important step in understanding the socially constructed 'reality' of wellbeing. The dynamic, fluid process of wellbeing means different things to different people, but by understanding underlying social ideology projects in organisations and beyond, we can begin to better understand this complex and abstract concept.

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Appendix A: Informed consent forms: interviews

**Loughborough University**

## Protecting the Protectors: Leadership, Engagement, and Welfare Management

### INFORMED CONSENT FORM
### (to be completed after Participant Information Sheet has been read)

**Taking Part**                                                                 **Please initial box**

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me.  I understand that this
study is designed to further scientific knowledge and that all procedures have been
approved by the Loughborough University Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-
Committee.

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form.

I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study, have the right to
withdraw from this study at any stage for any reason, and will not be required to explain
my reasons for withdrawing.

I agree to take part in this study. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed
and recorded (audio only)

**Use of Information**

I understand that all the personal information I provide will be treated in strict confidence
and will be kept anonymous and confidential to the researchers unless (under the statutory
obligations of the agencies which the researchers are working with), it is judged that
confidentiality will have to be breached for the safety of the participant or others or for
audit by regulatory authorities.

I understand that anonymised quotes may be used in publications, reports, web pages, and
other research outputs.

I agree for the data I provide to be securely archived (7 years) at the end of the project.

_____        _____        _____
Name of participant      [printed]        Signature                              Date

_____        _____        _____
Researcher                    [printed]        Signature                              Date

![Loughborough University logo]

**Protecting the Protectors: Leadership, Engagement, and Welfare Management**
**Participant Information Sheet**

Jamie Ferrill, Doctoral Researcher
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**Section A:**

**What is the purpose of the study?**

This PhD study began in October 2015, and the focus is on how welfare is managed within the force. Emergent themes include morale, job satisfaction, retention, and communication. The study further includes considerations surrounding leadership, police cultures, and organisational behaviour.

The first stage of data collection involved observing response teams over a 7-month period. This provided the perceptions from the front-line teams (including PCs, sergeants, and inspectors) which will now be linked to perceptions from the senior leadership team (Chief Inspectors, Superintendents, Chief Superintendents, the ACC, DCC, and Chief Constable) after interviews with the senior leadership team are completed.

The goal is to gather first-hand evidence of the value of engagement in leadership as it pertains to welfare while considering underlying interacting mechanisms. Further, this research will add to current rhetoric on leadership theories, provide insight to welfare issues within police forces, and have a practical implication by providing recommendations for training and promotional guidelines within the police force. The study aims to close current gaps between governance and front-line delivery of welfare initiatives and proposes innovative programs within the force that support welfare for all ranks.

**Who is doing this research and why?**

This study is being completed by Jamie Ferrill and is part of a research project supported by Loughborough University. The study is funded by the Mini Centre for Doctoral Training: Policing for the Future.

Jamie is based in the School of Business and Economics at Loughborough University and supervised by Prof Christine Coupland and Dr Dan Sage.

**What will I be asked to do?**

You will be asked to take part in an interview that will last approximately one hour. Questions will be about your job history, current role, and views on welfare management within the force.

**Once I take part, can I change my mind?**

Yes.  After you have read this information and asked any questions you may have I will ask you to complete an Informed Consent Form, however if at any time, before, during or after the sessions you wish to withdraw from the study please contact the main researcher (Jamie).  You can withdraw at any time, for any reason and you will not be asked to explain your reasons for withdrawing.

However, once the results of the study are published it will not be possible to withdraw your individual data from the research.

**How long will it take?**

The interview is expected to last approximately one hour.

**Are there any risks in participating?**

There are no risks to participation. All names and ranks are anonymised, the force is anonymised, and only the researcher will be privy to the recordings.

Job history will be discussed in the interview, so if there are any traumatic occurrences these may affect the interviewee.

**Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?**

Interviews will be recorded for the researcher's use only. Interviews (recorded and text) will be transcribed, securely encrypted and locked when not in use. All data will be destroyed within seven years as per University guidelines. Legal documents ensuring anonymity and

confidentiality have been signed with Northamptonshire Police, and nothing will be published until the force and researcher agree on content release. Ethical approval has been granted by the Loughborough University Ethics committee.

**What will happen to the results of the study?**

Results of the study will be published in the final PhD Thesis. This will join the British Library archive.

**What if I am not happy with how the research was conducted?**

If you are not happy with how the research was conducted, please contact Ms Jackie Green, the Secretary for the University's Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee:

Ms J Green, Research Office, Hazlerigg Building, Loughborough University, Epinal Way, Loughborough, LE11 3TU.  Tel: 01509 222423.  Email: J.A.Green@lboro.ac.uk

The University also has a policy relating to Research Misconduct and Whistle Blowing which is available online at http://www.lboro.ac.uk/committees/ethics-approvals-human-participants/additionalinformation/codesofpractice/

Appendix C: Interview schedule

- Introduce myself and project
- Explain aim of research

Identity

Can you walk me through your career history, starting from when you joined as a PC?

Thinking back, can you tell me why you joined the police?

What made you want to start going through the promotion process – going back to when you went from a PC to a sergeant?

How has the job changed since you joined?

Leadership

What does the word leadership mean to you?

In your role, what is the most important aspect of leadership that you are responsible for?

How has your leadership role changed throughout your career?

What aspects of leadership do you think should be promoted in the force?

What behaviours relating to leadership do you think you exhibit in your current role?

Wellbeing

What does wellbeing management mean to you?

Who do you feel is responsible for managing wellbeing in the force?

Who do you think requires the most wellbeing management within the force?

How well do you feel the organization manages wellbeing?

What do you feel are the main barriers to wellbeing management in the force?
- (probe for specifics – rank, hierarchy etc)

With regard to just the front-line, which aspects of wellbeing do you think are the most important to be managed?
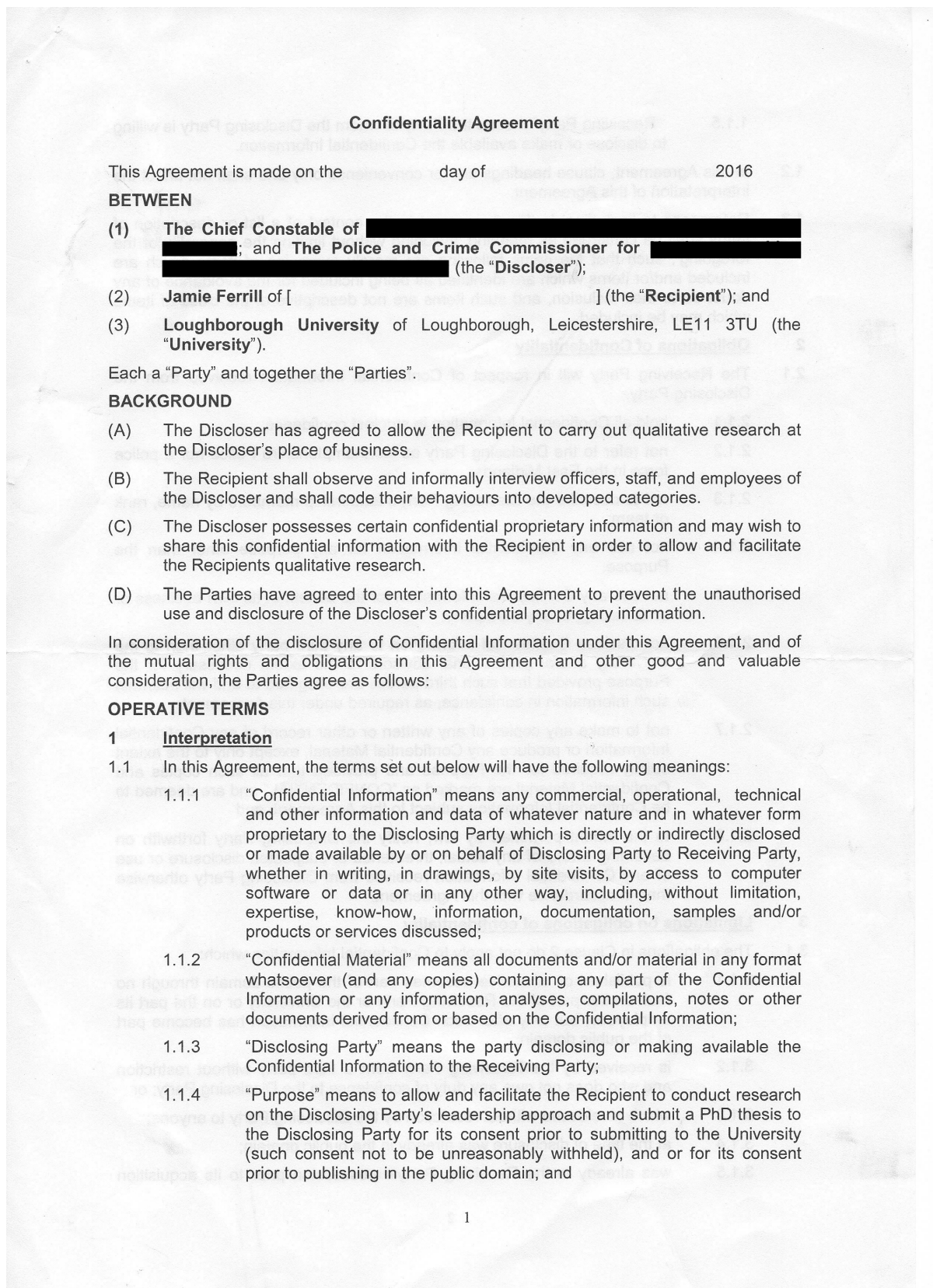
What do you think could be done to improve wellbeing management?

How well has your own wellbeing been managed throughout your career?

<u>Masculinity</u>

Does the dominance of men in the police force (especially in senior roles) make a difference in how the organisation is led/run.

Appendix D: Legal documents signed with organisation

<center>**Confidentiality Agreement**</center>

This Agreement is made on the        day of        2016

**BETWEEN**

(1)    **The Chief Constable of** ███████████████████████; and **The Police and Crime Commissioner for** ███████████ ████████████████████ (the "**Discloser**");

(2)    **Jamie Ferrill** of [              ] (the "**Recipient**"); and

(3)    **Loughborough University** of Loughborough, Leicestershire, LE11 3TU (the "**University**").

Each a "Party" and together the "Parties".

**BACKGROUND**

(A)    The Discloser has agreed to allow the Recipient to carry out qualitative research at the Discloser's place of business.

(B)    The Recipient shall observe and informally interview officers, staff, and employees of the Discloser and shall code their behaviours into developed categories.

(C)    The Discloser possesses certain confidential proprietary information and may wish to share this confidential information with the Recipient in order to allow and facilitate the Recipients qualitative research.

(D)    The Parties have agreed to enter into this Agreement to prevent the unauthorised use and disclosure of the Discloser's confidential proprietary information.

In consideration of the disclosure of Confidential Information under this Agreement, and of the mutual rights and obligations in this Agreement and other good and valuable consideration, the Parties agree as follows:

**OPERATIVE TERMS**

**1**      **Interpretation**

1.1    In this Agreement, the terms set out below will have the following meanings:

1.1.1    "Confidential Information" means any commercial, operational, technical and other information and data of whatever nature and in whatever form proprietary to the Disclosing Party which is directly or indirectly disclosed or made available by or on behalf of Disclosing Party to Receiving Party, whether in writing, in drawings, by site visits, by access to computer software or data or in any other way, including, without limitation, expertise, know-how, information, documentation, samples and/or products or services discussed;

1.1.2    "Confidential Material" means all documents and/or material in any format whatsoever (and any copies) containing any part of the Confidential Information or any information, analyses, compilations, notes or other documents derived from or based on the Confidential Information;

1.1.3    "Disclosing Party" means the party disclosing or making available the Confidential Information to the Receiving Party;

1.1.4    "Purpose" means to allow and facilitate the Recipient to conduct research on the Disclosing Party's leadership approach and submit a PhD thesis to the Disclosing Party for its consent prior to submitting to the University (such consent not to be unreasonably withheld), and or for its consent prior to publishing in the public domain; and

<center>1</center>

1.1.5 "Receiving Party" means the Party to whom the Disclosing Party is willing to disclose or make available the Confidential Information.

1.2 In this Agreement, clause headings are for convenience only and shall not affect the interpretation of this Agreement.

1.3 References to 'including' in this Agreement in the context of a list or description of items shall be construed as meaning 'including without limiting the generality of the foregoing', such that the items following are merely examples of items which are included and/or items which are identified as being included for the avoidance of any doubt as to their inclusion, and such items are not descriptive of the class of items which may be included.

## 2 Obligations of Confidentiality

2.1 The Receiving Party will in respect of Confidential Information received from the Disclosing Party:

2.1.1 hold all Confidential Information in strictest confidence;

2.1.2 not refer to the Disclosing Party as ███████████████ nor ███ ███████████████;

2.1.3 not to describe the Disclosing Party's leadership members by name, rank or team;

2.1.4 not use any Confidential Information for any purpose other than the Purpose;

2.1.5 not use any Confidential Information for the benefit of its own business or undertaking, or any third party;

2.1.6 not disclose Confidential Information to any third party other than to the University and/or professional advisors to the extent necessary for the Purpose provided that such third parties are obligated to and will maintain such information in confidence, as required under this Agreement;

2.1.7 not to make any copies of any written or other record of any Confidential Information or produce any Confidential Material, except only to the extent strictly required for the Purpose and provided that all such copies and Confidential Material are marked as "CONFIDENTIAL" and are deemed to be Confidential Information subject to this Agreement; and

2.1.8 to the extent permitted by law, notify the Disclosing Party forthwith on becoming aware of any actual, threatened or suspected disclosure or use of any Confidential Information received from Disclosing Party otherwise than in accordance with this Agreement.

## 3 Limitations on obligations of confidentiality

3.1 The obligations in Clause 2 do not apply to Confidential Information which:

3.1.1 is published or otherwise becomes part of the public domain through no fault on the part of the Receiving Party or the University or on the part its employees, but only after such Confidential Information has become part of the public domain;

3.1.2 is received by the Receiving Party from a third party without restriction and who does not owe any duty of confidence to the Disclosing Party; or

3.1.3 which is released without restriction by the Disclosing Party to anyone;

3.1.4 at the time of disclosure was already in the public domain;

3.1.5 was already in the Receiving Party's possession prior to its acquisition

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from the Disclosing Party as evidenced by written records;

3.1.6   was independently generated by the Receiving Party without use of the Disclosing Party's Confidential Information, as evidenced by written records;

3.1.7   is required to be disclosed by law or a court or other competent authority; or

3.1.8   is disclosed with prior written consent of the Disclosing Party.

## 4   No warranty

4.1   Subject to clause 4.3, each Party makes no representation or warranty in relation to any Confidential Information disclosed by it, its adequacy, accuracy or suitability for any particular purpose and (unless expressly agreed in writing) to the extent permitted by law will not be liable for any loss or damage arising from the use of any information howsoever caused.

4.2   The Parties acknowledge and agree that any breach of this Agreement could cause irreparable harm to the Disclosing Party for which damages may not be an adequate remedy and that the Disclosing Party may therefore be entitled to remedies of injunction, specific performance and other appropriate equitable relief in addition to all other remedies available at law for any threatened or actual breach of this Agreement.

4.3   Nothing in this Agreement will limit or exclude either Party's liability for:

4.3.1   fraudulent misrepresentation; and/or

4.3.2   death or personal injury resulting from negligence.

## 5   Ownership and cessation of use

5.1   Confidential Material shall be and remain the property of the relevant Disclosing Party of the Confidential Information contained within it.

5.2   Nothing contained in this Agreement nor any disclosure of or access to a Disclosing Party's Confidential Information shall constitute the grant of any licence to the Receiving Party nor shall it constitute a transfer of the ownership or copyright in respect of the Confidential Information received from the Disclosing Party other than in relation to use of the same for the Purpose.

5.3   On written request, the Receiving Party will cease use of all the Disclosing Party's Confidential Information in tangible form and at the option of the Disclosing Party return or destroy any of the Disclosing Party's Confidential Material in its possession or control or power, together with a statutory declaration/certificate given by a director/officer of the Receiving Party declaring that such documents and things returned or destroyed comprise all the Disclosing Party's Confidential Material in the Receiving Party's possession, control or power and that none of the Disclosing Party's Confidential Material has been retained by the Receiving Party.

## 6   General

6.1   This Agreement may not be amended unless in writing signed by the duly authorised officer of each Party.

6.2   The failure or delay of either Party to exercise or enforce any right under this Agreement shall not operate as a waiver of that right or preclude the exercise or enforcement of it at any time thereafter.

6.3   Any notice or consent which is to be given by either Party to the other shall only be valid if given by letter (sent by hand, first class post, recorded delivery or special delivery), or by facsimile transmission (confirmed by letter). Such letters shall be

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addressed to the other Party at the address for that Party set out on page 1 of this Agreement (or such other address notified to the other Party in accordance with this clause 6.3). Any such notice or consent shall be deemed to have been duly received:

6.3.1    if hand delivered, at the time of actual delivery;

6.3.2    if dispatched by first class post, recorded delivery or special delivery, 2 Working Days after the day on which the relevant letter was posted to the correct address;

6.3.3    if dispatched by facsimile transmission, 4 hours after successful transmission to the correct number;

Provided in each case that if the deemed receipt time occurs either on a day that is not a Working Day or after 5.00pm on a Working Day, then the notice or consent in question shall not in fact be deemed to have been received until 10.00am on the next following Working Day (such times being local time at the address of the Discloser).

6.4    The Parties may not assign or transfer all or any of its rights or obligations under this Agreement without the prior written consent of the other Party.

6.5    This Agreement constitutes the entire agreement and understanding of the Parties and supersedes all negotiations, understandings, or previous agreement between the Parties relating to the subject matter of this Agreement.

6.6    If any provision of this Agreement shall be held to be unlawful, invalid or unenforceable, in whole or in part, under any enactment or rule of law, such provision or part shall to that extent be severed from this Agreement and rendered ineffective as far as possible without modifying or affecting the legality, validity or enforceability or the remaining provisions of this Agreement which will remain in full force and effect.

6.7    A person who is not a Party to this Agreement shall have no right to enforce any of its provisions which, expressly or by implication, confer a benefit on him, without the prior written agreement of the Parties. This clause does not affect any right or remedy of any person which exists or is available apart from the Contracts (Rights of Third Parties) Act 1999.

6.8    This Agreement, and any dispute or claim arising out of or in connection with it or its subject matter or formation (including non-contractual disputes and claims), shall be governed by, and construed in accordance with, English law and the Parties irrevocably agree that the English Courts shall have exclusive jurisdiction to deal with any such dispute or claim.

IN WITNESS of which this Agreement has been executed on the above date.

Signed …………………………….
Authorised Signature for and on behalf of the
Chief Constable of ███████████████

Name:

Position:

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**Home Office**

# A common goal for police wellbeing
## To be achieved by 2021

July 2018

# Foreword by Minister of State for Policing and the Fire Service, Rt Hon Nick Hurd MP

At the beginning of this year I hosted a roundtable discussion drawing together a range of organisations with a stake in police wellbeing. I wanted us to consider how the Government can help police chiefs in their duty to support the welfare of their officers and staff.

I heard from a range of police leaders, cross-government partners, charities and welfare providers who support the police and their families. It was clear that there is a huge amount of energy, common cause and support for making sure we are doing all we can to support the wellbeing of our police officers and staff – who play such a vital role in keeping our country safe.

A key outcome of our conversation was a need to agree a shared vision for the police wellbeing. We need to be really clear on where we want to be in the future, and begin the important work to get there. In order to demonstrate our shared drive and passion, we have agreed that we want to act quickly and have chosen a demanding timescale of 2021 to deliver on our shared goal.

I am therefore pleased to launch this goal for police wellbeing.

**Minister of State for Policing and the Fire Service, Rt. Hon. Nick Hurd MP**

# A common goal for police wellbeing by 2021

- **Goal:** By 2021, policing will ensure that every member of the police service feels confident that their welfare and wellbeing is actively supported by their police force throughout their career, that a culture supporting this is embedded in every force, and that individuals have access to appropriate support when they need it. This includes physical and mental health as well as the broader concept of wellbeing - which enables individuals to realise their potential, be resilient, and be able to make a productive contribution to the police workforce.

- **Plan:** to do this by:

  - achieving an organisational culture which focuses on prevention, early intervention and support for individuals.
  - embedding clear, consistent, evidence-based standards throughout policing in welfare and wellbeing support provided to police and staff, including through occupational health and effective line management; and signposting to relevant police charities and other providers who deliver treatment and support when requested; and
  - effective sharing of innovation and best practice.

This approach will still allow for individual local force based approaches but they will operate within this shared strategic intent.

This vision is aligned with the recommendations within the *Thriving at Work: Stevenson Farmer Review*.

- **Who owns the delivery of this ambition: Chief Constables hold a statutory responsibility to manage the welfare of their officers and staff, and it remains the role of elected Police and Crime Commissioners to ensure they are held to account.** This goal supports those roles and responsibilities and is also a consensus commitment to work collaboratively across forces, between organisations and including all independent and third sector parties.
- In order to support this goal, better evidence of the problem, causes and potential solutions will be achieved. Mapping of the landscape and the other work being undertaken through the College of Policing's £7.5m Welfare and Wellbeing Project will all help to enable the necessary changes.
- To measure success against this goal, evidence on progress will regularly be sought – through formal and informal means, including through HMICFRS's Integrated PEEL assessments (IPA) and Force Management Statements.

Police Dependants' Trust

College of Policing

Association of Police and Crime Commissioners

Working with
mind.org.uk/bluelight
For better mental health
in 999 teams

HMICFRS
Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
and Fire & Rescue Services

Police Federation

NPCC
National Police Chiefs' Council

Public Health England

FLINT HOUSE
POLICE REHABILITATION CENTRE

FELICITER SERVIMUS

The Police Treatment Centres

OSCAR KILO

Police Superintendents' Association

Loughborough University