

Approximately There –

Positioning video-mediated interpreting in frontline police services

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## **Abstract**

This study looks at how UK police forces make use of video interpreting services to complete standard police procedures. Two frontline police services were examined: video relay service (VRS) calls to a Police Scotland's force control room (FRC); and video remote interpreted calls (VRI) to a Police Scotland custody suite. Both contexts were identified as areas for potential VRS/VRI expansion by Police Scotland. The research questions focused on how co-operation was negotiated during a video-mediated interpreting interaction in a frontline policing context and how co-operation affected the delivery of the combined service.

To chart how co-operation was received or negotiated, this study combined Positioning Theory (Davies & Harré, 1990) with Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Callon, 1986; Latour, 2005; Law, 2004). Using this hybrid framework, this study traced the capacity and willingness each participant displayed as they assumed, negotiated, or challenged the shared rights or duties (an interactive position), and considered the role non-human entities (e.g. technology, policies, artefacts) had in shaping these positioning moves.

This study found a range of positioning moves that either work towards or become a co-positioning arrangement. The establishment of co-positions means different actors have established a unified group of rights and duties that are mutually shared. The findings reaffirm the challenges of remote communication, as well as which features of communication promoted by call handlers, custody sergeant and interpreters appear to be mutually effective for frontline policing interactions. The police participant and the interpreter have a shared objective: to learn about the citizen and to construct an understanding of the issue at hand. Issues still exist regarding knowing how to adapt standard police procedures or generic responses to become meaningful to someone who is a deaf BSL user. Interpreters will sometimes become involved in these matters, advocating the deaf person's right to receive parity of service beyond the VRS/VRI call. By focusing on standard police procedures and understanding what works and why, we can identify where and when VRS/VRI services could be used to increase citizen access to other areas of police services.

## **Dedication**

For Zhujeta, Otto and Zigi



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# DECLARATION STATEMENT

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## **LISTS OF GLOSSARY**

101VRS – 101 Non-emergency video relay service  
101CH – 101 call-handler  
ANT – Actor-Network Theory  
Auslan – Australian Sign Language  
AVIDICUS – Assessment of Videoconference Interpreting in Criminal Proceedings  
BDA – British Deaf Association  
BSL – British Sign Language  
CRM – Customer relationship management  
CSW – Communication support worker  
CustodyVRI – Custody VRI calls  
DI – Dialogue interpreting  
DWP – Department for Work and Pensions  
EU – European Union  
FCR – Force control room  
HMICS – HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland  
IME – Interpreter-mediated encounter  
NCS – National custody system  
NOAP – Not officially accused person  
OPP – Obligatory passage point  
PIROS - Police Interview – Rights of Suspects  
PLOD – Police Link Officer for the Deaf  
PP – Primary Participants  
RI – Remote Interpreting  
TRS - Telecommunication relay services  
VMI – Video-mediated interpreting  
VRS – Video relay services  
VRI – Video remote interpreting  
SCP - Situational Crime Prevention  
SHift – Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and Today project  
SOP – Standard operating procedure  
STS – Science, Technology and Society

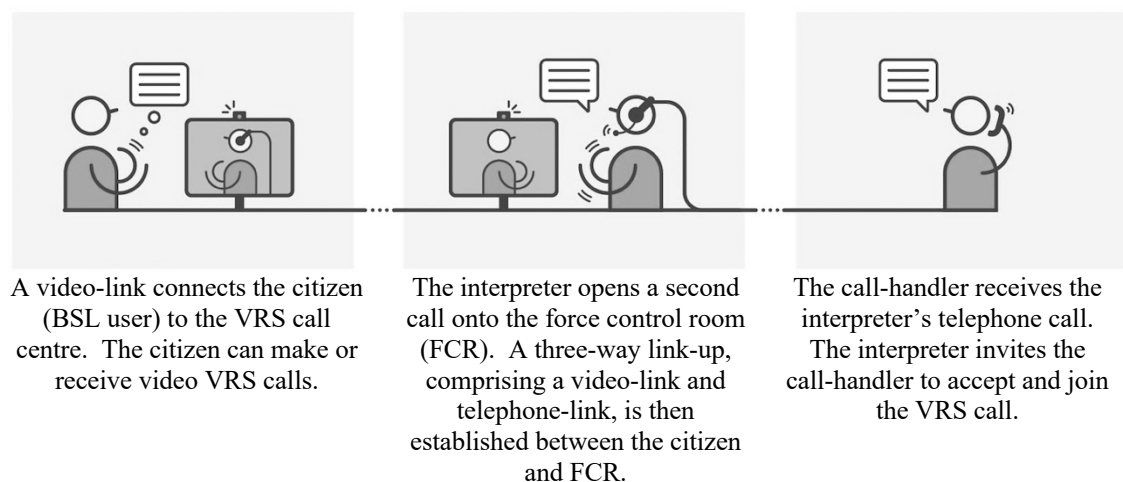




## Chapter 1 – Introduction

Over the past decade, six UK regional police forces have introduced a local technical solution to create pathways determining how a deaf citizen whose preferred language is British Sign Language (hereafter referred to as BSL) is assisted for non-emergency matters (Skinner et al., submitted). Private video-mediated interpreting (hereafter referred to as VMI) companies are directly contracted by the regional force to function as an auxiliary service, relaying video calls on to the designated 101 non-emergency helplines. These services are commonly known as **video relay services** (hereafter referred to as VRS); see Figure 1 (Skinner et al., 2018). The VRS concept is a popular solution because it creates equal opportunities to access helplines run by public bodies and private companies (Napier et al., 2017; Turner et al., 2016).

*Figure 1: Configuration D: Video Relay Services (VRS)<sup>1</sup>*

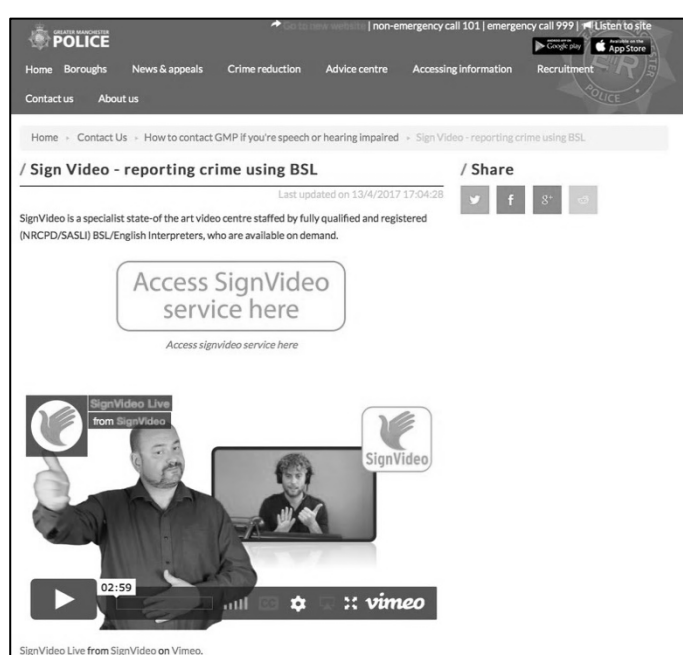


Citizens who are not deaf and wish to reach the 101 non-emergency helpline must first dial the 101 number from their phone<sup>2</sup>. A deaf citizen who uses BSL follows a different pathway. A video call to the 101 helpline is first placed via a designated webpage (see Image 1, which is an example from Greater Manchester police force) or via an app (see Image 2, ContactScotland's registration page). Using an internet-enabled device (e.g. smartphone, tablet, laptop or computer), the deaf citizen clicks on the contact button and

<sup>1</sup> Figure 1: Configuration D: Video Relay Services (VRS) and 4 were produced by the Insign project. Insign was funded by the European Commission to look at improving the communication between deaf and hard of hearing persons and EU institutions. Insign was led by the European Union of the Deaf in collaboration with Heriot-Watt University, European Forum of Sign Language Interpreters (efsli), SignVideo, DesignIT and Ivès (<https://www.eud.eu/projects/past-projects/insign-project/>).

<sup>2</sup> The 101 non-emergency service was introduced in 2013 to reduce the number of 999 emergency calls made to emergency services; see <http://news.met.police.uk/news/the-999-emergency-number-celebrates-its-80th-anniversary-249411>

is instantly transferred to the online interpreting service. After a brief introductory exchange between the interpreter and deaf caller, the interpreter then initiates a separate telephone call to the 101 call handling service. The interpreter facilitates the interaction across two types of media: a video-link and a telephone-link. Currently, only one UK police force offers full twenty-four-hour, seven day 101 VRS (hereafter referred to as 101VRS) coverage, while others offer a partial service, e.g. during standard office hours (Lumsden & Black, 2017a; Skinner et al., submitted). This auxiliary 101 service for BSL users is equivalent to the spoken language telephone interpreting service used by police forces nationwide.



*Image 1: Greater Manchester Police webpage, the SignVideo service*

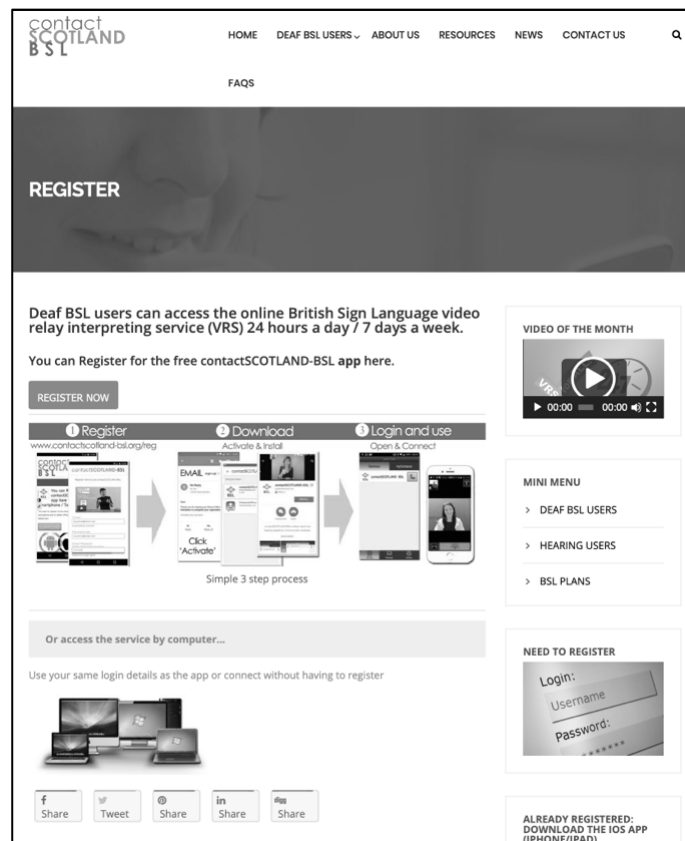


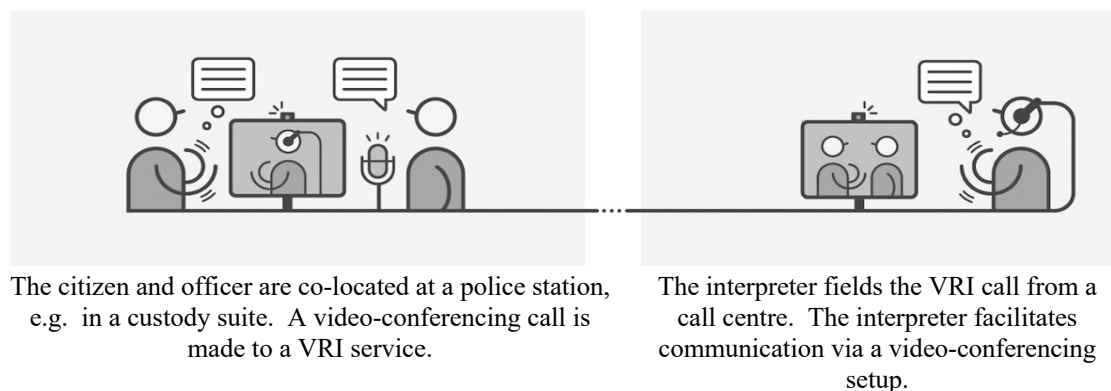
Image 2: ContactScotland registration webpage

The VRS model described so far concerns facilitating calls to a contact centre. For on-site interactions where the citizen and a police officer are in the same location, an alternative concept called **video remote interpreting** (hereafter referred to as VRI) is required; see Image 3. This technical solution is used by public bodies and private companies to facilitate on-site interactions, for example when a deaf person goes into a bank or into a council building. The in-house staff will initiate a video-conferencing call to a remote interpreter<sup>3</sup>. According to Skinner et al. (submitted), no frontline police service in the UK offers the VRI solution to date. The VRI solution could be used in custody suites to book a suspect into custody, or at the front desk to assist a victim or witness who approaches the police directly.

<sup>3</sup> See <https://www.signvideo.co.uk/signvideo-for-customer-services/>



Image 3: Configuration Video Remote Interpreting (VRI)



The VRS and VRI configurations described are the two services featured in this study. Both configurations represent popular methods for using sign language interpreting services (see Skinner, Napier & Braun (2018) for a complete description of how videoconferencing technologies are used by public services to introduce the interpreter into the interaction). How VRS or VRI is used by frontline police services has yet to be investigated. This study trials the concept of VRI in custody settings and reviews the existing 101VRS model.

### 1.1 Research questions

To approach the issue of delivering a VRS/VRI frontline policing service to a deaf BSL user, this thesis asks:

- 1) *how is co-operation negotiated during a video-mediated interpreting interaction in a frontline policing context?*
- 2) *how does co-operation affect the delivery of interpreting and frontline policing service?*

The term *co-operation* in policing studies, interpreting studies and linguistics is not the same. The definition followed here closely aligns to Napier's (2007b) '*cooperative principles of interpretation*'. Napier looked at how participants with different roles worked together to make communication possible in an interpreter-mediated monologic talk. In her study, she lists six maxims for effective interpretation to occur: trust, preparation, negotiation, eye contact, turn-taking and visual cues (see section 3.3.2 for

further discussion). Napier's co-operative model was inspired by Grice's co-operative maxims for conversations (quality, quantity, manner and relevance). Napier's six co-operative maxims were, like Grice's, put forward as features that can be beneficial to the goal of delivering an interpretation; if flouted, 'interpretations may be less effective' (Napier, 2007b, p. 16).

Napier's (2007b) study was in line with growing evidence that participants who rely on an interpreter to facilitate communication do not simply use an interpreter as a tool but must also be prepared for different ways of working with an interpreter (I. Mason, 2009; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998) and recognise that interpreting is 'co-operative venture' (Turner, 2007, p. 181) (see Chapter 3). It is the working *with* each other I am interested in investigating: how different actors spontaneously come together, via technology, to complete a standard frontline policing procedure. In an institutional setting like the police, the ability to share responsibility for communication is known to be problematic (Howes, 2019b; Perez & Wilson, 2007; Skinner et al., submitted). As Wadensjö summarises,

[a] general feature of institutional encounters is that a professional party normally is in charge of them. That is, the representative of the institution is by definition in control of how topics are selected, of how much and how often clients/patients/suspects etc. normally are expected to talk, and how their contributions will be evaluated (cf. Agar 1985, Drew and Heritage 1992). In interpreter-mediated institutional interaction, the person in charge occasionally may have to lose some of this control. The interpreter — willingly or unwillingly — ends up taking a certain responsibility for the substance and the progression of talk. (Wadensjö, 2004, pp. 107–108)

Frontline police services are the gateways into the police institution. How these services share control with another professional, e.g. the interpreter, is expected to introduce a different narrative to the more common area of academic focus: the interpreter-mediated police interview (Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2019; Howes, 2019a, 2019b; Mulayim et al., 2014; Perez & Wilson, 2007). Frontline police services and interpreters do not face the same legal standard expected for police interviews, and have more flexibility to work with each other to enable the citizen to retell their story. The same is true of call-handlers or custody sergeants when carrying out their assessment of how to allocate police resources. The findings reported in this study feed into an assessment of: i) procedural justice for deaf people; ii) the strengths of policing vulnerabilities; iii) the joint-venture of delivering an interpreting service; and iv) how online VMI services can be used to

facilitate equal access for deaf BSL users in Scotland when contacting a Police Scotland FCR or come in to contact with a frontline police service.

## **1.2 Research aims**

One standout value in looking at co-operation between participants in an interpreter-mediated event is how the investigator is encouraged to consider the role played by all of the actors, as opposed to solely focusing on what the interpreter brings to the interaction (I. Mason, 2009; Napier, 2007b). This was the outcome of Napier's co-operative principle of interpretation, as each maxim required something from each participant. Napier (2007b) developed her maxims based on a conference presentation where the presenter, a deaf Australian Sign Language (hereafter referred to as Auslan) user, and two interpreters worked together preparing and delivering a live interpretation into English. Unlike Napier's monologic study, this study looks at co-operation in a dialogue interpreting setting between people who are unfamiliar with each other. In dialogue interpreting contexts, the flow of communication and action moves in different directions between people and tasks, allowing a range of opportunities to explore the role of co-operation between participants (I. Mason, 1999).

To chart the rhetorical and reciprocal progression of these interactions, I have identified Davies & Harré's (1990) positioning theory as offering a higher-level and broader theoretical and methodological framework to Napier's (2007b) co-operative maxims. Positioning theory 'aims to examine and explore the distribution of rights and duties to speak and behave in certain ways among the participants of face-to-face interaction or intra-group relations' (Hirvonen, 2016, p. 1). A positioning-orientated study has been argued to produce a more immanent appreciation of how people create and negotiate identities for themselves and others, what Davies & Harré defined as a 'selfhood account' (1990, p. 43). Mason (2009) applied Davies & Harré's (1990) positioning framework to describe how interpreter-mediated interactions involved a variety of co-operative and unco-operative actions, whereby the interpreter assumed a distant or co-operative position (co-position) with the participants, e.g. the immigration officer or barrister. Mason's (2009) study was an exploratory piece of work, and this study seeks to revisit the idea of co-positions but from multiple perspectives: the citizen's and police participant's co-positioning moves. When an interpreter, a citizen or police participant occupy a co-

position, their displayed rights and duties will then align closely to another's. In using positioning theory I aim to chart:

- a) the capacity that the police participant, interpreter and citizen have in positioning themselves and others;
- b) the willingness of the police participant, interpreter and citizen to accept the positioning of themselves and others;
- c) the impact non-human entities have on how these positioning moves are realised.

Why look at the capacity? Capacity is intrinsically linked to one's awareness of one's moral capacity, i.e. what one 'person has the right to do in terms of positioning themselves and others' (Howie, 1999, p. 53). In an institutional and interpreter-mediated context, the moral rights and duties will be unevenly distributed (I. Mason & Ren, 2012). Despite this imbalance there will still be interactive choices available to all, and how these are realised and negotiated will require skill. How one expresses one's moral capacity has the potential to create or prohibit opportunities for co-operation. The skills aspect relates to one's willingness to create or respond to self-other positioning. Finally, the inclusion of non-human entities (e.g. software technologies, hardware technologies and policies) expands the current model to consider how positions originate from non-animate objects. The presence of technology in this study could not be ignored; to account for how technology impacted on positioning moves, I combined positioning theory with Actor Network Theory (hereafter referred to as ANT), as discussed in section 0.

In the remaining part of this chapter I intend to clarify and foreground some concepts that are relevant to understanding how the police and interpreters meet the needs of deaf people. Firstly, I review in brief the current literature from the field of deaf studies that looks at what it means to be deaf. This foregrounds the next section, which explains the struggle of deaf people in the UK to successfully achieve recognition as a linguistic-cultural minority. The improved status of deaf people as a linguistic-cultural minority received a significant boost in 2015 when the Scottish government recognised BSL as an official language. This social and legal context renders this study both important and relevant, as it has the potential to meaningfully inform Police Scotland's future policies

regarding whether the use of VMI technologies would improve access to vital police services for deaf citizens from a BSL linguistic background. Section 1.4 introduces the reader to my researcher positionality, presented early in this thesis because of my unusual position as a ‘researcher from within’ (Napier & Leeson, 2016). The structure of this thesis as a whole is then covered in the final part of this chapter.

### **1.2.1 A note on terminology: “the citizen”**

Throughout this thesis, I refer to the deaf participant, who comes from a BSL linguistic background, as ‘the citizen’. The intention is to avoid foregrounding the individual’s audiological status but instead to focus on their legal rights, as a British citizen, to access public services as described in the Equalities Act (2010). However, should the discussion require drawing comparisons with citizens who can hear and interact using English, to avoid ambiguity I may stray from this principle and make this distinction clear by referring to a citizen’s deaf/hearing audiological status.

## **1.3 Deaf people and British Sign Language (BSL)**

In the 2011 census 12,556 people living in Scotland reported using BSL in the home; according to the British Deaf Association (hereafter referred to as the BDA), 7,200 of these respondents were deaf (British Deaf Association, 2018). These estimates are part of efforts to understand the size of BSL population. This study is interested in this sub-population of deaf people who use BSL as their preferred language to access frontline policing services. BSL, like other signed languages, is a visual-gestural language and is produced through the use of hands, arms, body and face (Meier et al., 2002; Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999). Studies investigating the use of signed languages have demonstrated comparable linguistic phenomena to spoken languages. Signed languages are found to contain sub-lexical, lexical and grammatical components (Brennan, 1990; Johnston & Schembri, 2007; Meier et al., 2002; Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006; Schembri & Lucas, 2015), as well as sociolinguistic variety associated with age groups, ethnicity and region (Lucas, 2001, 2014; Schembri et al., 2010; Schembri & Lucas, 2015; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999). Deaf people come into contact with signed languages at different stages in life and acquire a signed language to different levels of fluency. This variability in sign language development is related to how deafness is acquired and opportunities for sign language exposure (J. G. Kyle & Woll, 1988; Lane et al., 1996; Woolfe et al., 2010). For example, a small proportion of deaf people have deaf

parents (Mitchell & Karchmer, 2004), where the primary language in the home will most likely be BSL. The majority of deaf people (90-95%) will be born to hearing parents and most will not have full access to BSL in the home context. Opportunities to be exposed, acquire and interact in BSL will depend on the families engagement in learning BSL, if the school promotes the use of BSL in the classroom and BSL development, and the individuals social opportunities to mix and engage with others in BSL (O'Brien, 2012; R. O'Neill et al., 2014). In a highly mobile world, the UK will also be home to deaf people of other nationalities, for whom BSL may be acquired as another signed language that features in their linguistic repertoire (Kusters, De Meulder, et al., 2017).

An ambition for many deaf people has been to gain recognition as a linguistic-cultural community of equal status within society, acknowledged as being as vibrant as any other culture (De Meulder, 2014; Emery, 2009; Pabsch, 2014). The recognition of signed languages is argued to be of immense social significance, positioning deaf citizens as belonging to a linguistic minority rather than as a group of people bounded through disability (Bauman & Murray, 2009, p. 211).

### ***1.3.1 Deaf people as bilinguals***

For readers who are unfamiliar with deaf communities, understanding that there are many ways of being deaf is an important distinction (Kusters, De Meulder, et al., 2017; Napier & Leeson, 2016; Young & Temple, 2014). This understanding is necessary not only for signed language interpreters and the police, but for researchers working with deaf people as well (M. McKee et al., 2013; Young & Temple, 2014); see Chapter 5. Recognising deaf ways of being, or deaf ontologies (Kusters, De Meulder, et al., 2017), and deaf epistemologies (Hauser et al., 2010; Young & Temple, 2014), means opening our minds and consciousness to the differences that come from being a deaf person, to how knowledge about the world is accessed and formed, and how all of this is done in a hearing dominated world (Hauser et al., 2010; Kusters, De Meulder, et al., 2017).

When a public service like the police is unexpectedly confronted with someone who is deaf and whose preferred language is BSL, a common misconception is that it is appropriate to proceed with the interaction in English (Brennan & Brown, 1997). An officer may attempt to articulate English words in a way that could be perceived as helpful to someone who is able to lip-read or who has difficulties in hearing. Alternatively, an

officer may suggest communicating via written notes. In both examples, there is an assumption that the deaf person will understand and can interact in English (Brennan & Brown, 1997; LaVigne & Vernon, 2003; Vernon & Miller, 2005). For many deaf people, English is not an accessible language. Literacy skills among deaf people vary considerably and are considerably lower than non-deaf demographics (Harris et al., 2017; F. E. Kyle et al., 2016). Even where a deaf person has sufficient or adequate English literacy skills, e.g. as a second language, the experience of interacting with someone via written notes is inferior to the quality of engagement that can be achieved when one can express oneself in a signed language (Pilling & Barrett, 2007; Turner et al., 2016). This explains why interacting with someone from the BSL community in their preferred language, whether directly if one knows BSL or via an interpreter, is the most sought-after outcome, as a result of which deaf people feel a step closer to receiving parity of service (Brennan & Brown, 1997; Brunson, 2007; Race & Hogue, 2017; Turner et al., 2016). Having an interpreter in place demonstrates respect for the deaf person's first and preferred language, although having an interpreter present does not preclude other communication methods being employed by the deaf person such as speaking or writing in English (Napier, Oram, et al., 2019).

### ***1.3.2 BSL (Scotland) Act of 2015***

The focus on BSL is of importance in a Scottish context. Members of the Scottish Parliament unanimously voted through the British Sign Language (Scotland) Bill, which received Royal Assent on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 2015. The BSL (Scotland) Act represents a significant step forward in recognition of the Scottish deaf community as a linguistic and cultural minority group, and there are now legal requirements to promote the use of BSL in Scotland<sup>4</sup>. As outlined in the BSL (Scotland) Act, relevant Scottish public authorities are required to take action to align with a National Plan for BSL and to review progress systematically. Development of the National Plan has been guided by the principles of 'co-production' with the signing community in Scotland, and a National Advisory Group was created with over 50% representation from BSL users. The ambition is to integrate BSL into everyday life, making Scotland the best place in the world for BSL users to

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<sup>4</sup> See more at:  
[www.scottish.parliament.uk/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/83760.aspx#sthash.8HwTcT41.dpuf](http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/83760.aspx#sthash.8HwTcT41.dpuf)

“live, work, learn and visit” (Scottish Government, 2017), emulating similar principles to the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act (2005).

### **1.3.3 Justice Sector National Plan for BSL**

In 2017 the Justice Sector partners for Scotland began their consultation with the Scottish BSL communities. Part of this consultation included ways in which organisations like Police Scotland can make greater use of VMI services to facilitate interactions between those who use English and BSL respectively. A national online VRS is already available and free to use in Scotland; this service is called *ContactScotland*. ContactScotland was developed as a demonstration of the Scottish Government’s commitment to providing equal access to public services and non-governmental organisations for Scottish deaf BSL users. Since its establishment in 2014, deaf Scottish citizens whose preferred language is BSL have had the opportunity to make independent and direct contact with Scottish public authorities<sup>5</sup>. No equivalent national service exists in other parts of the UK. Police Scotland have been inviting deaf citizens to comment on ContactScotland and shape it’s BSL national plan. The process is opening a dialogue that will hopefully create a social contract between the police and the deaf community. It is hoped the findings from this study will go on to inform Police Scotland policies around the use of VMI services as well as contributing to training programmes to prepare interpreters to work effectively with frontline policing services.

## **1.4 Researcher Positionality**

As with any qualitative study, the analysis will be shaped by the researcher’s lens or positionality, which I discuss in this section. The term positionality describes an individual’s world-view and the research position they occupy, which could be defined as an outside or insider position (Napier & Leeson, 2016). My connection with VMI as a research subject is through an insider perspective. Not only do I have a professional connection to VMI as a sign language interpreter, but I have a personal one as well. I grew up in a household where everyone in my family, except me, was deaf. Beyond the family sphere, my social life was primarily spent with other deaf people. In these

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<sup>5</sup> For a detailed list of these, visit: <http://contactscotland-bsl.org/list/>



situations, we identified with each other as belonging to the same linguistic-cultural minority (as explained in section 1.3).

My position as a BSL-English bilingual who can also hear has seen me fulfil a specific language brokering role in the community, one that is responsive and sensitive to the communication challenges deaf people face day-to-day. Whether I was with a family member, friend, an acquaintance or stranger, I would step into situations and facilitate communication between people in BSL and English. My experience in providing language brokering assistance started long before the internet and before telecommunication relay services (hereafter referred to as TRS) were in existence. I would facilitate communication for my family and friends either to make or receive calls, assist with writing and reading fax messages, and assist with sending pager messages. The advent of TRS and other technology has dramatically altered my experience of language brokering. The earliest nationwide free TRS service in the UK, Typetalk, was introduced by BT in 1991 (Pilling et al., 2006). Typetalk was a service I frequently benefited from to make contact with friends and family until SMS, emails and video calls became the norm and preferred medium for remote communication (Lang, 2000; Pilling & Barrett, 2007; Power et al., 2007; Power & Power, 2010).

The rise of technology has reshaped the kinds of language brokering requests I am asked to support with. Deaf people are now seeing that they have a wider range of choices of how and when to independently make contact with another person, e.g. by video chat, email, SMS, VRS service, on-site interpreter or text-relay. Although deaf people now have improved choices, I am still sensitive of the simple fact that my family and friends do not have the same choices as me. When accessing public services, often the choice they are offered is an interpreter or no access at all. It is rare for deaf people to access a public service without the assistance of an interpreter. Reviewing how a VRS/VRI service functions as an auxiliary service to Police Scotland is not an easy or comfortable subject, because I am acutely aware how deaf people would prefer to have the means to make direct contact with public services without the assistance of an interpreter (De Meulder & Hualand, 2019). The improved rights of deaf people to access public service has seen sign language interpreting service to ‘become the institutionally normative, often unquestioned, solution to grant deaf people access to education and public services [and conceal] the need for language-concordant education and public services’ (De Meulder

& Haualand, 2019, p. 13). All of these wider social issues shape how I view and critique the current model.

My research interest is also strongly aligned with my choice of career. In 2000 I graduated from the University of Wolverhampton with 1<sup>st</sup> class Honours degree in BSL/English interpreting, and have since developed a professional career in interpreting. This includes more than ten years working as a remote interpreter for SignVideo, for which I continued to work as part of my SGSAH PhD placement. In those ten years I have witnessed how the VMI market had grown, mainly through heightened statutory requirements such as those instigated by the Department of Work and Pensions' Access to Work grant scheme, the Equality Act (2010), the NHS Accessible Information Standards, and the BSL (Scotland) Act (2015). Globally, I have witnessed more companies respond to these opportunities by developing and improving the technology and usability of VMI platforms. These changes have also been stimulated by improved mainstream technical products that make video telecommunication easier to use and therefore normalised (Braun & Taylor, 2012; Lang, 2000). The smartphone and tablet are prime examples. The introduction of these products and their associated apps has seen the demise of specialist pieces of technology like the standalone videophone that needed to be connected to a television set (Lang, 2000; Maiorana-Basas & Pagliaro, 2014). Today, VMI technologies are integrated into universal devices (e.g. smartphone, tablet, laptop or computer), which increases accessibility to VMI services. All of these changes have impacted on the type of calls that remote interpreters are expected to handle and how they manage their service (see section 3.4 - 3.5).

This background clearly shapes my world-view and marks my positionality as a researcher from within (Napier & Leeson, 2016). How I articulate the issues around interpreting and policing will potentially be biased towards my personal and professional experience. I know more about being an interpreter than I do about being a police officer or call-handler. This will reveal itself in how I write about the two fields.

Some of the participants in this research are people who are involved in developing and deploying VMI in a policing context. These individuals may share a similar background to myself, and/or be aware of my background as an interpreter working in a VMI setting. Naturally, and rightly, these participants may infer a shared sense of objective in working in this field. Whilst it might be argued that I am too familiar or close to the service, I

have no control over where and when VMI services are used. Developers, campaigners and providers are collectively pushing to improve the range of telecommunication choices and define “accessibility”. I have sometimes found myself questioning the logic of driving through the development of technology and find such policies to be out of sync with what we as interpreters can realistically deliver. Developers can conjure a technical solution, but a more organic process is needed to build the collective human skills to make the technology work as intended. As someone who is expected to provide language mediation service on-demand in response to calls from around the country, it is in my interests to critique and observe how and whether this can be accomplished. How is knowledge spontaneously co-constructed between individuals who are from different backgrounds? This means that I go into this study with a degree of caution. I am keen to produce a set of recommendations that articulate to stakeholder groups the situations where interpreters can safely operate, and the situations where direct engagement is ideally needed, e.g. with a deaf or hearing police representative who can fluently interact in BSL.

## **1.5 Structure of the thesis**

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents the conceptual apparatus and theoretical underpinnings of the study: positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990). Positioning theory was introduced in the latter part of the twentieth century and built upon a legacy of ideas regarding how to approach social discourse analysis. Chapter 2 includes a look at ideas connected with how to approach human interactions and human communication, before going into detail on how a positioning-orientated study is performed. Positioning theory centres on the concept of rights and duties between people, yet we live in a world where interactions are multi-modal and involve understanding or using non-animate objects. Interactions are sometimes structured around one’s knowledge and understanding of policies or procedures through which to work with institutional databases. The presence of non-animate entities is not fully considered in a positioning framework, therefore, to open up the investigation to include non-human actors I merge aspects of ANT to consider how positions originate from non-animate objects.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 look at the two professional services involved in this study: the frontline police service and the interpreting service. Both fields have experienced a

similar trajectory in recent decades, where a broadening understanding of what it means to do policing or interpreting has emerged. With these broadening definitions of practice, scholars have struggled to define normative and legitimate behaviours and how the public can make sense of what to expect from both services. The law does not fully explain why or how a police officer operates; likewise, the interpreter's code of ethics does not fully explain why or how an interpreter operates. In both cases, other social factors or values have been known to impact on decisions regarding how the respective services are dispensed. All of these concerns with legitimate action are relevant to this study. Both chapters consider what moral orders are attached to being part of a frontline police service or an interpreter. The intention of this project is to build on the descriptive approaches promoted in both policing studies and interpreting studies by using Davies & Harré's (1990) positioning theory. Positioning theory is a model that is widely used by social psychologists and sociolinguists (Gordon, 2015; Herbel-Eisenmann et al., 2015; Kayı-Aydar, 2018; Tirado & Gálvez, 2008a), and which will enhance the understanding of how interpreters and frontline services manage their multifaceted roles.

Chapter 5 covers the methodology, research design and analytical approach. This study looks at simulated calls combined with post-simulation focus group discussions to appreciate the range of co-operative positions assumed. The rationale for relying on simulated instead of authentic interaction is discussed, as there are consequences attached to using simulated data. Throughout the research development and design process, I have had to take regular stock of the risks attached to conducting simulated interactions and consider how to manage or mitigate these risks. The steps taken to develop close-to-authentic calls are explained. Once collected, the raw data underwent a lengthy transcription, translation and coding process. The process of creating a single coherent canvass for data analysis when working with multi-modal and multilingual data is discussed; this discussion includes recognition of where the process itself can influence the researcher's focus.

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 present the data analysis and discussion for the 101VRS calls and CustodyVRI calls respectively. The analysis follows the hybrid positioning theory and ANT framework. Each chapter is dedicated to one frontline service. The analysis of the VRS or VRI calls includes the post-simulation discussions, adding participant's accounts to the overall analysis.

Chapter 8 summarises the findings in light of the study's aims and research questions, and discusses their implications. The limitations of the study and avenues for future research and training for police and interpreters are also explored. The discussion presented in Chapter 8 addresses the features of the co-positions observed and highlights the high degree of collaboration in interpreter-mediated interactions.

## **Chapter 2 – Analysing interactions**

For this study, I have identified Davies & Harré's (1990) positioning theory as a suitable theoretical and methodological framework for approaching multi-professional interactions. Positioning theory provides a self-hood account to how people construct identities for themselves and others. This is achieved by charting 'the rights, duties, and obligations distributed among interlocutors or characters in and through conversations or narratives' (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 1). Positioning studies have taken as their focus a wide variety of interactions on varying scales, including between individuals, in classroom settings, in business meetings, in interpreter-mediated interactions, and between institutions or states. Across these studies, researchers have sought to understand how people, groups or organisations impact on one another by either recognising, establishing, negotiating, enforcing, or tacitly accepting their own and other's rights or duties. The context of the interaction plays a vital role in each of these studies, as a person's rights and duties may change as they move between being the professional to a colleague, a consumer, a family member, and so on. The development of rights and duties is described as 'symbiotic relationship (it affects and is affected by at the same time)' (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 22). This is a critical ontological and epistemological focus for this study. All interactions are viewed as being co-constructed and dynamically produced between participants. When viewing interactions in this way, especially professional/lay-person interactions such as those in a frontline policing context, a positioning analysis offers real potential to look at how the expression of rights and duties can impact on the success of these interactions. The charting of positions in an interpreter-mediated interaction becomes especially interesting because of how positions are negotiated via an interpreter, as well as positioning being expressed via an interpreter. Using positioning theory to describe aspects of an interpreter-mediated encounter (hereafter referred to as IME) will open up numerous issues on a scale that is beyond the scope of this thesis. I have intentionally framed the research question in a way that limits the current focuses on how participant move between positions in recognition of their shared responsibility to make communication work.

The opening of this chapter explains the different sources that have contributed to the ideas of co-construction that are central to positioning theory, these include the shifting interest with social constructionism in the field of psychology (section 2.1), Mikhail Bakhtin's (1981) work on dialogism (section 2.1.1) and Erving Goffman's participation

framework (section 2.1.2). Section 2.2 explains how Davies & Harré (1990) introduced positioning theory as way of improving how researchers describe and evaluate social interactions. Sections 2.2.1 – 2.3.6 explain many of the key terms used in positioning studies and the real-world sources to construct a positioning analysis. To conclude this chapter, section 0 explains how multi-modal forms of communication and the presence of technology has yet to be properly accounted for in a positioning analysis. To overcome this gap I put forward my proposal to merge ANT, a semiotic social framework and methodology that originated in the field of Science, Technology and Society (hereafter referred to as STS), as a complimentary framework to positioning theory. In section 2.4.1 – 2.4.2 I provide an explanation of ANT philosophical underpinnings, and how the recognition afforded to non-human agents (e.g. computers, policies and artefacts) as active being has challenged existing theories or informed the development of public policy.

## **2.1 Background**

The theoretical framework used for this study originated in the field of psychology. Psychology has traditionally been a positivist-driven discipline and in the latter part of the twentieth century cognitive and social psychologists were turning to notions of social constructionism. The shifting emphasis, for some psychologists, was towards the performativity of language-use across participants in its original context (D. Edwards & Potter, 1992; Holtgraves, 2002). Holtgraves (2002) explains how this gradual shift among psychologists involved a growing interest with the models and frameworks developed in the field of discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is a broad field, but generally refers to studies looking at language in use at sentence level or above (Schiffrin, 1998; Wooffitt, 2005). Studies on discourse have emerged throughout different disciplines, ranging from philosophy, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, cognitive psychology and social psychology (Tannen et al., 2015). Across these academic endeavours, the focal point for discussion is how people construct their worlds through their accounts and descriptions (Augoustinos, 2013; Bozatzis & Dragonas, 2014; Holtgraves, 2001; Potter, 1998, p. 235; Schiffrin, 1998; Tannen et al., 2015). Kayı-Aydar (2018) explains that discourse is viewed by those following a positioning framework analysis as ways of being in the world:

Individuals use the language to act, behave, and speak as a way to take on positions others will recognize (ibid.). The focus is not only on the language itself, but “language used to do something and mean something, language produced and interpreted in a real-world context” (Cameron, 2001, p. 13). (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 21)

There was a push from psychologists towards an ontological and descriptive approach, one that invested in the normative and rhetorical aspects of social life, so as to develop theories around social action (Bozatzis & Dragonas, 2014; Potter, 1998; Potter & Wetherell, 1987). For social psychologists, discourse analysis frameworks naturally aligned with notions of social constructionism. Embedded in these social constructionism approaches was the recognition that people are capable of exercising choice and that social realities are symbiotic: what one says or does in the presence of another is inherently affected and responsive to who this ‘other’ is. A dialogistic account was one such example, which focussed on the interplay of meanings and actions as dynamically co-produced and displayed between interlocutors and events.

### **2.1.1 Dialogism**

Before dialogism communication was described as a transfer process, whereby ideas and messages between people were passed back and forth in a linear fashion (Linell, 1998). This was a monologicistic account of human interactions. Such a model failed to properly account for the ‘in the moment’ negotiated aspects of communication. Bakhtin (1981) argued for a broader and dialogic account of interactions by viewing interactions as being symbiotic

“The word in language is half someone else’s. It becomes “one’s own” only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. (...) Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker’s intentions; it is populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one’s own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process.” (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 293-294)

When viewing interactions as dialogic, the focus shifts towards the collective activity in communication and (possible) consequences of actions (Linell, 1998; Wadensjö, 1998). Many of Bakhtin’s (1981) writings have influenced how scholars view and approach the study of interpreter’s involvement in interactions, which is covered in Chapter 3. It is important to stress that interactions should not be reduced to an event between people but recognised as a dynamic experience that is receptive to, and interdependent on, the



context within which it is lived/experienced. People communicate in different ways and for different purposes depending on who the interactive partner is and the context. For example, a woman might be a mother, a teacher, a friend, a colleague, a consumer, a suspect, or a victim; her communication may vary according to her role. Linell proposed four perspectives which an analyst may choose to approach Bakhtin's dialogic interaction: *sequential organisation*, *joint (social-interactive) construction*, *interdependence between acts (local units)*, and *activities (global units and abstract types)* (1998, p. 9). Each of these perspectives are explained below.

The sequential organisation of social activities implies that any aspect of an interaction cannot be viewed in isolation. Meaning is derived from understanding what came before and the potential onward trajectory (Linell, 1998), or what is also known as intertextuality: 'the interlinking of specific social interactions' (Gordon, 2015, p. 370). For example, when a civilian contacts a police helpline, they begin this interaction with a matter to be passed onto the police. The call-handler comes into the same interaction with an awareness of how matters brought to the police should be processed. At this point, a story-line between two people emerges. This new story-line does not stand alone but is linked and receptive to multiple story-lines that came before and will likely follow. There is a difference in the respective knowledge of the caller and call receiver, and each has a different epistemic stance (see section 4.8.2 for further explanation of epistemic stance). What follows requires a sharing of perspectives to move the conversation forward (Fernández Pérez & Toledano Buendía, 2018; Linell, 1998; Tracy, 1997; Zimmerman, 1984). Each interlocutor will draw on their own resources and abilities to communicate their identities and needs, as well as to make sense of the other's. Police officers or call-handlers cannot provide an assessment without first understanding the problem; indeed, through careful interrogation, the civilian's story may change and manifest into something different to the version first described (Garcia, 2015). This exchange of perspectives and epistemic realities is responsive to the personal needs and the perception or input of others (Linell, 1998), thus highlighting the interdependence between acts. Interactional moves can emerge from a variety of sources and be responsive to another person, context and event.

This interdependence or dialectical relationship between people and their actions is not just about the turn-by-turn pattern of understanding and responding; interdependence recognises how power, control and the ability to shape communication are present and

dynamic. This perspective of communication emphasises the capacity of the listener in any given interaction. Interactions cannot be experienced without another interlocutor, be it a person in the real world or the voice in one's head; therefore, the act of listening is as critical as the act of speaking/signing (Linell, 1998). From a dialogism perspective, a listener is not only a recipient but a co-producer of thought and meaning (Linell, 1998). For example, during an interpreter-mediated custody booking-in process, the interpreter may engage in one-to-one side-discussions with the detainee in order to clarify the name of an allergy and physical response. The custody sergeant, who does not know BSL, is temporarily locked out of the side conversation; however, s/he is still actively contributing to the interaction by being present and remaining on 'standby', thus sanctioning the side-discussion. The willingness to remain on standby is understood to be a temporary gesture, and the interpreter must aim to conclude as expediently as possible or risk being reprimanded or challenged (Wadensjö, 1998). As Linell (1998) notes, silence is not always redundant but can contain meaning and purpose.

In a similar vein to that of recognising the interdependences of events and interlocutors, the topical and physical context is another fundamental aspect of how social interactions are experienced. This aspect is called the 'act-activity interdependence' (Linell, 1998, p. 87). This final overarching concept is the recognition of reflexivity, which 'means that two orders of phenomena are intrinsically related so that one of them is conceptually implicated by the other, and vice versa' (Linell, 1998, p. 88). It has been argued that this higher level overview of interactions offers a more 'superordinate-level [sic]' response to describing human interactions (Linell, 1998, p. 88). The dialogic case for human interactions is a central ontological perspective for this study. Interactions between people do not contain one author, as described in monologism, but are co-constructed experiences. The context of these encounters equally shapes positions and are not isolated from other realities, whether past or present.

### ***2.1.2 Goffman's (1981) role, framing and footing***

Erving Goffman is credited as being an influential social scientist who was prolific in formulating and bringing together ideas around analysing and explaining human communication. Much of Goffman's work has been used to critically investigate a broad range of interactions including police-citizen interactions (Heydon, 2005; Manning, 1988; M. O'Neill, 2005; Tracy, 1997) and interpreter-mediated interactions (Böser, 2013;

Marks, 2013; Metzger, 1999; Nakane, 2014; Wadensjö, 1998). This section reviews some of the basic ideas behind Goffman's (1981) work, especially *role*, *framing* and *footing*. For Davies and Harré (1990) their positioning framework was originally put forward as an alternative to Goffman's notion of 'role' (Gordon, 2015; Harré, 2012).

Goffman took as his starting point the dramaturgical model, where interactions were viewed as an unfolding story-line and through which the investigator would attend to the ontological and interpersonal relations displayed through communication acts and their interrelated social acts (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 48). In Goffman's model, *role* was a central concept, and participants are viewed as multiple-role-performers. According to Goffman (1981), it is possible to then understand how interactions will be played out by the role one actor assumes. An actor could move between their normative role, typical role and performative role. The normative role can be understood as the 'commonly shared ideas about a certain activity, what people in general think they are or should be doing when acting in a certain role' (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 83). Analysts in using role will refer to the interpreter's or police representative's job description and code of conduct to explain the normative aspect (Heydon, 2005; Wadensjö, 1998). When actors deviate from these preconceived normative notions, due to contextual factors, this can fall into either the typical role or performative role. The two categories represent the relative shift away from the commonly shared ideas. Typical role is an extension of the normative role, qualities are used to enable the individuals 'to handle typical situations not foreseen by shared established norms' (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 83). There will be instances where the actor's behaviour cannot be reference back to the normative role. In these instances the actor is performing in a 'personal style while on duty' (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 83).

In using Goffman's participation framework, investigators could begin to scrutinise the social skill demonstrated by actors when engaged in talk. This was especially the case in interpreting studies, where Goffman's framework has helped redefine our understanding of the interpreter's broader and shared role in interactions (R. McKee, 1992; Metzger, 1999; Wadensjö, 1998) (see section 3.3) and the discursive skills involved in police-citizen interactions (Heydon, 2005; Manning, 1988; M. O'Neill, 2005; Tracy, 1997). The concept of role expands into the notion of interactive frames, which explain the expectations one brings to an interaction (Goffman, 1981). Participants draw from prior knowledge of and preconceived ideas about how to approach and handle their interactions. Framing has been used to describe an interactional issue when participants

do not share the same definition of a situation. For example, Tracy (1997), looked at calls to FCR where citizens predominately approached the interaction within a customer service frame. In Tracy's study, citizens were found to expect their demands or instructions to be met without question. This expectation was often unrealistic, as call-handlers perceived their role as providing a public service, part of which involved filtering police-related calls from non-police related calls. Therefore, before any communication had occurred, the citizen and call-handler were approaching the conversation from within two different interactional frames.

A key part of a frame analysis is *footing*, which Goffman described 'as the alignment we take up to ourselves and to the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance' (Goffman, 1981, p. 128). For example, Wadensjö (1998) described the way interpreters will manoeuvre themselves as someone functioning as an active participant in the interaction, e.g. co-ordinator of turns, and switch to functioning as the relayer of other people's talk. Footing not only considers the alignment between participants but alignment towards utterances. A speaker may be defined as the *author* (who physically produces the words), the *animator* (who selects the words) and the *principal* (whose position is established by, and who is committed to, what the words express) (Goffman, 1981, p. 128). At any given moment a speaker can occupy one or more of these footings, however a change in footings triggers a change in one's production format. Those receiving the message also hold a type of footing. A receiver may be classified as a *non-ratified participant*, e.g. someone who overhears the interaction and was not the intended receiver of the message, *ratified but not specifically addressed* or *ratified and the intended receiver* of the words spoken (Goffman, 1981, pp. 9–10). This model provides ways of describing the shifting production formats each participant displays and the ongoing negotiation of relationships that occur within an interaction.

Davies and Harré (1990) were originally critical of Goffman's participation framework, especially the notion of role as being too 'static', arguing that roles do not always determine behaviour. Herbert (1997) was also critical of models that over emphasised the importance of role, where he observed that the law or an officer's job description could not always account for an officer's behaviour (see section 4.7). Wadensjö (1998) made similar observations regarding interpreters, whereby their code of conduct could not always account for their decisions (see section 3.3). Davies & Harré (1990) describe

positioning as being more fluid and ‘used by people to cope with the situation they usually find themselves in’ (Harré & Langenhove, 1991, p. 217). Take, for example, the distressed citizen who calls an emergency helpline. A positioning theorist would begin with the citizen’s projected identity, i.e. as someone distressed. The citizen’s endeavour to locate immediate help places the call-handler in a position of power, as someone who has access to resources and the ability to dispense help. How the call-handler responds to this other-positioning provides evidence of how they view their moral capacity in contrast to the identity created by the caller. If the call-handler disregards the caller’s displays of distress, is this because the call-handler viewed their primary duty as ‘data gather’ and their behaviour reflected this viewpoint? In this way, the tracing of positioning becomes a more immanent and highly person-centric. Individual notions about self and the world around us, our rights and duties, and the consequences of our communication acts or social acts, were not fully considered by Goffman (Davies & Harré, 1990, 1999; Gordon, 2015; Sui-Lan & Moghaddam, 1999).

It is now accepted how many of Goffman’s ideas can be incorporated into a positioning framework analysis (Gordon, 2015; Harré, 2012; Herbel-Eisenmann et al., 2015; Van Langenhove, 2017). In the analysis and discussion chapters Goffman’s notions of frames and footings have been of value. Harré later explains how long-term positions come ‘close to’ Goffman’s concept of role (2012, p. 194). Furthermore, the concepts of framing and position have been described as ‘kindred spirits’ (Gordon, 2015). Both framing and positioning reveal ‘the complexity of human social interaction, including the ongoing discursive co-construction of meanings, situations, relationships, and identities’ (Gordon, 2015, p. 340). The critical difference is that Davies & Harré’s model begins each analysis with the negotiated aspects of interpersonal encounters. Interestingly, the framework developed by Davies & Harré has been positively received by sociolinguists when conducting discourse analysis, because of its focus on describing the co-constructed aspects of communication (Gordon, 2015; Kayı-Aydar & Miller, 2018; Tirado & Gálvez, 2008b). This final point leads on to the following section, which introduces the concept of positioning theory as originally defined by Davies & Harré (1990).

## **2.2 Positions and Positioning**

Davies & Harré consolidated their thinking of interactive positions with their publication *Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves* (1990). Positioning theory has been

advanced by other scholars including Van Langenhove, Moghaddam, Deppermann, Bamberg, Herbel-Eisenmann, and Kayı-Aydar. It is their collective work in advancing positioning theory that has contributed to how positioning theory has been understood and described in this thesis. Positioning theory 'is concerned with revealing the explicit and implicit patterns of reasoning that are realised in the ways that people act towards others' (Harré, Moghaddam, Cairnie, Rothbart, & Sabat, 2009, p. 5). Harré et. al summarise three fundamental interconnected aspects of interpersonal encounters that positioning theory is concerned with:

Rights and duties are distributed among people in changing patterns as they engage in performing particular kinds of actions.

These patterns are themselves the product of higher-order acts of positioning through which rights and duties to ascribe or resist positions are distributed.

Such actions are the meaningful components of story-lines. Any encounter might develop along more than one story-line, and support more than one story-line evolving simultaneously.

The meanings of people's actions are social acts. The illocutionary force of any human action, if it has one, as interpreted by the local community, determines its place in a story-line and is mutually thereby determined. Any action might carry one or more such meaning. (Harré et al., 2009, pp. 7–8).

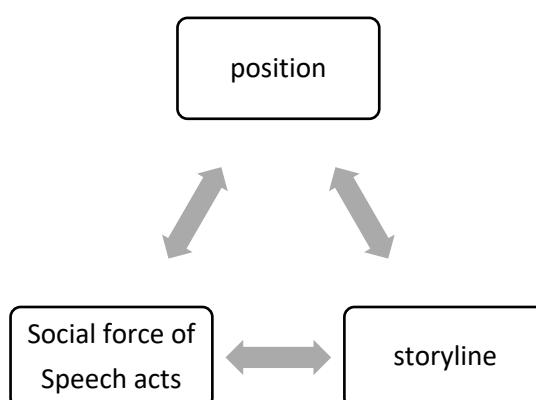
Each of these points will be covered in sections 2.2.1 –2.3.6. The use of the term 'rights' is not the 'duties and rights as declared in laws and constitutions. These are excluded from the domain of positioning theory since they are set up by decree and are intended to last' (Harré et al., 2009, p. 11). Harré (2012) summarises rights and duties as:

Rights: My rights are what you (or they) must do for me.  
Duties: My duties are what I must do for you (or them). (Harré, 2012, p. 197).

The right to contribute to interactions and the duties placed on one will not always be equal. This is especially true in a policing context, where the imbalance of rights and duties is an inherently asymmetrical feature. Accessing these rights and enabling these duties becomes disrupted by the presence of an interpreter (I. Mason & Ren, 2012). The right to speak, the right to explain, and the right to manage the interaction, each add a layer of complexities. Not all the rights and duties will be universally understood by

those involved in the IME and will require a degree of in-situ learning by all parties. This latter point highlights the need for co-operation between interlocutors.

The process of charting interactive positioning moves can be achieved by considering three elements, positions, storylines and communication acts. These three elements mutually determine one another. ‘The position—the presumptions of rights and duties—influences the meaning given to certain speech [communication] acts, while the position and the speech [communication] acts influence and are influenced by the story line’ (Van Langenhove, 2017, p. 9). The tri-polar structure developed by Van Langenhoven & Harré (1999, pp. 17–18) schematised Davies & Harré’s (1990) positioning theory and can be viewed as another way of accounting for the sequential organisation, joint (social-interactive) construction, and interdependence between acts (local units) and activities (global units and abstract types) within an interaction (Linell, 1998, p. 9) (see section 2.1.1 for an explanation of dialogism).



*Image 4: Mutually determining triad (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 18)*

The three elements are explained in the following sub-headings 2.2.1– 2.2.3.

### **2.2.1 Positions and positioning**

The term position refers to the individual’s ephemeral ‘standpoint’ (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999, p. 1) which sets the ‘local moral landscape’ (Harré et al., 2009, p. 9) in how one sees the world around them at a given moment.

a position is a cluster of beliefs with respect to the rights and duties of the members of a group of people to act in certain ways. These belief clusters may be tacit, existing only as immanent features of unchallenged patterns of action. They may be explicitly formulated as rules and conventions. (Harré, 2012, p. 196).

The viewpoint of participants forms the premise of a positioning analysis that seeks to understand how these participants were ascribed, taken up, refused, or contested.

Because positions are ephemeral compared with roles the focus of research interest must include the social/cognitive processes by which positions are established. This dynamics is positioning—that is, processes by which rights and duties are assigned, ascribed, or appropriated and resisted, rejected, or repudiated. (Harré, 2012, p. 196).

Herbel-Eisenmann et al. cautions how this definition of position and positioning risks distorting how a researcher approaches their analysis, and that both positions and positioning should be viewed as a ‘process’ (2015, p. 190). The development of a position and positioning is treated as symbiotic, in a constant state of flux, and ephemeral. Positions can happen incidentally, in agreement, by force, through negotiation, or even through persuasion. Progressing forwards, the analysis looks at how ‘rights and duties are assigned, deleted, withdrawn, taken up, and so on’ (Harré et al., 2009, pp. 16–17).

### **2.2.2 *Communication act and actions***

Davies & Harré incorporated aspects of Austin’s speech act theory into the analytical framework. This is because when looking at what someone says, language is not viewed merely as a means to convey information but as a means to ‘make (or attempt to make) their own and each other's actions socially determinate’ (Davies & Harré, 1999, p. 34). For Davies & Harré (1990), there were problems with how speech act theory could be integrated into a positioning analysis, but Davies & Harré (1990) regarded the concept of illocutionary and perlocutionary force as holding analytic value in understanding positions (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 46). ‘Illocutionary force refers to the speech act itself as a performative action (e.g., question, command, comment), whereas the perlocutionary effect refers to the consequences of the illocutionary act (e.g., answer, denial, or counterargument’ (Hirvonen, 2016, p. 2).

In a study where languages cross different modalities, there is a justifiable case for rephrasing the term ‘speech act’ as ‘communication act’, so as ‘to include not only speech but also gestures, physical positions, and stances’ (Herbel-Eisenmann et al., 2015, p. 187).



Bringing all these ideas together and applying a dramaturgical model, positioning theory becomes an interactive framework invested in analysing:

communication acts within any discourse [that] both influence how people identify positionings (either researchers, explicitly in analysis, and participants, either implicitly or explicitly) and are influenced by such identifications. (Herbel-Eisenmann et al., 2015, p. 193)

The analytical development of positions can be undertaken through tracking the communication acts displayed, in this instance with and through technology. The third interconnected aspect is storylines which is covered in the following section.

### **2.2.3 *Story-lines***

To explain how story-lines are understood, Harré et al. (2009) referred to the way narratologists used the concept of Goffman's (1974) frames, for example when a call-handler answers a call from the public, a 'customer-public service' frame. This creates a helper/receiver or saviour/victim story-line. The story-line may not be mutually understood, and multiple and conflicting story-lines may exist (Herbel-Eisenmann et al., 2015; Kayı-Aydar, 2018). Harré (2012) provides the example of a fall out between George Town University and the local residents, citing headlines that demonstrated six competing story-lines that attributed a mixture of positions; these included 'student savages', 'neglectful parents', 'ideal students', and so on. Therefore, story-lines become a way for 'locating ourselves in conversations according to those narrative forms with which we are familiar and bringing to those narratives our own subjective lived histories through which we have learnt metaphors, characters, and plot' (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 52).

Herbel-Eisenmann et al. (2015), like Deppermann (2013) and Kayı-Aydar (2018) were critical of Davies & Harré's (1990) description of story-lines and sought further clarification. The issue for Herbel-Eisenmann et al. was determining scale between these examples: 'how does the analyst know at what scale to identify a storyline?' (2015, p. 191). One useful and relevant measure can be found in Kayı-Aydar's assertion that 'the topic of a conversation is not a story line, but rather a story line is developed around a certain topic or various topics' (2018, pp. 7–8) [sic]. She continues:

The story lines, positions, and acts/actions closely influence each other. The positions people assign to themselves and others are impacted by a previous story line(s) or the story line developing in the conversation. When people take up new positions, certain acts and actions will emerge, and a new story line will develop. The sequence of statements and displays of personhood will create a new story line(s). (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 9)

In section 0, I explain how the ANT framework, *sociology of translation* (Callon, 1986), is used to segment the interaction into different story-lines based on the goal or purpose of the interaction (e.g. introducing the VRS/VRI platform, recording personal details, getting background information, understanding the citizen's story, explaining police procedures). This approach is discussed further in section 0. Both of the frontline services investigated in this study were highly process driven; that is, an assessment had to be explained, managed and documented. Sometimes this process was disrupted; if so, this disruption would represent a new story-line. How the participants navigated their way back to the standard procedure was also treated as a stand-alone story-line.

### **2.3 Applying a positioning analysis**

Positioning theory offers an analytical framework that can cope with mapping and tracking how a multi-professional interaction was realised. This person-centred approach is of value to both policing and interpreting, as there is increasing awareness that individuals within both services need to become effective communicators and collaborators. Currently, senior police managers expect their officers and staff to become better at communicating with the public, understanding their particular needs, and explaining how the police can become involved (Herbert, 1996; Loader & Mulcahy, 2001; Lumsden & Black, 2017b). Close analysis of how police officers and staff manage an atypical encounter, i.e. a VRS/VRI interpreter-mediated interaction, could be argued to be a test-case opportunity. Police officers and staff in this study had to consider how they interact with someone who comes from a different language background, as well as how to offer assistance when drawing on resources that have been designed for someone from an English-speaking, hearing background. For example, when an officer performing a frontline police service, an interpreter and a civilian converge in one place for a specific purpose, e.g. to book someone into custody, there begins a process of learning how to interact with one another. The general topic of this encounter may be to complete a standard protocol; however it is also an atypical encounter, due to the language differences and the inclusion of an interpreter. The sequence of story-lines and episodes

will unveil the in-situ learning about how to interact with one another and to manage the interaction so as to complete a routine policing task. The custody sergeant in this encounter holds the moral duty to conduct a risk assessment; this is a legal protocol with booking suspects into custody, with the expectation the detainee demonstrate compliance. This power imbalance means the custody sergeant can determine the discourse mode – for example, issuing orders, asking questions, engaging in conversation. This power is not fixed, and this power can only be maintained if others are willing to comply (social force). A custody sergeant who instructs “*come here and stand by this desk*” will assume that this instruction carries specific meanings and implied consequences that are different depending on for whom it is intended, i.e. the detainee or the interpreter. In either case, the instruction is given within police territory, where the moral authority to give orders belongs to the custody sergeant. Directing the instruction at the detainee positions the custody sergeant as the figure of authority; the instruction is communicated with an expectation that the suspect will comply with the appropriate action (story-line). If the same instruction is directed to the interpreter, this positioning move tells a different narrative. The instruction places the custody sergeant in their official position (i.e. prepared to begin the check-in process), and positions the interpreter as collaborator or assistant. The interpreter’s capacity to challenge the instruction holds different potential to the detainee. The interpreter has a broader scope to reject or partially accept the invitation, and to explain why, than does the detainee. The way this challenge is handled may conflict with the custody sergeant’s projected competence and morality; this conflict can be described as face-threatening (P. Brown & Levinson, 1987). However, the interpreter may have declined the instruction merely because of ergonomic considerations regarding where they have been requested to stand. Alternatively, the interpreter may carefully agree, keen to impress her neutrality and equal alignment between the custody officer and the detainee. The terms ‘positions’ and ‘positioning’ are intended to mark out the viewpoint of participants and form the premise of an analysis that seeks to understand how these participant viewpoints were ascribed, taken up, refused, or contested.

The basic example above demonstrates how people can differ in their capacity to position themselves, and in their willingness or intention to position and be positioned. Participants’ cultural stereotypes, such as nurse/patient, interpreter/client, officer/suspect, father/son, may be called upon as a resource (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 50). The ability to perform self-other positioning is unevenly distributed; furthermore, the acts themselves bear different social meanings. The detainee can attempt to assert their power by refusing,

or delay, to comply with an officer's instructions. This analytical focus is appropriate for any public and professional service, as the management of actions can be tracked and critiqued on a moment-by-moment level. The following sub-headings from 2.3.1 - 2.3.6 explain how the moment-by-moment is defined and critiqued.

### **2.3.1 Episodes**

All social interactions (or story-lines) have a start and endpoint and, within the interaction, a sequence of units (the sequential organisation and interdependence between acts and activities). These sequential units are defined as *episode/s*. Episodes used here is not like the term adopted in dialogism, where the boundaries are marked according to sequences of topics or tasks (Linell, 1998, p. 187). In dialogism, a change or move from one *topic space*, or *task space*, to the following forms the boundary of each episode. Instead, episodes in positioning theory are 'any sequence of happenings in which human beings engage which has some principle of unity' (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999, p. 4). Herbel-Eisenmann et al. go on to explain that episodes "include participants' visible behaviours, thoughts, feelings, intentions, plans, and so on and are defined by their participants and at the same time influence what participants do and say" (2015, p. 187), thus making the whole approach to the analysis extremely dynamic and mind-centred.

Within one topical or task sequence, an actor may assume multiple positioning moves. The investigator must keep pace with the positioning moves observed across all of the actors, as opposed to tracing the jointly constructed identities. Referring back to the custody sergeant's instruction *to come forward*, when the custody sergeant initiates this initial position move this marks an opening for a new episode. Suppose that the suspect or interpreter complied with this instruction by a moving forward; the episode concludes when the custody sergeant switches to the 'interviewer' position by reading from the national custody system. In this subsequent move, the suspect becomes 'the interviewee' and the interpreter the 'mediator'. This approach to isolating one episode from the next is driven by the evanescent and joint formation of positionality moves (Tirado & Gálvez, 2008a; Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). Within episodes, Van Langenhoven and Harré (1999) provide a taxonomy that describes modes of positioning, listed below in sections 2.3.2 – 2.3.6. These positioning moves are dyadic, bi-directional and a co-constructed activity. Through a communication act or social act, the lead character immediately assumes a position, and by default positions others; this is also known as self-other

positioning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). Bucholtz & Hall (2005) explain how the expression of self in an interaction is not only shaped by world knowledge or personality but also by an interlocutor's interpretation of that expression of self. As will be explained, positions can be accepted, challenged or questioned by interactive partners. No position is secured; instead, they are continuously negotiated, which relies on preconceived ideas and expectations about identities, duties, roles and even power.

### **2.3.2 *First-order and second-order positioning***

The fundamental nature of interactions means that a first move has to occur before an analytical story-line can emerge. First-order positioning, as Van Langenhove & Harré (1999, p. 20) explain, refers to the way in which persons locate themselves and others within an essentially moral space by using several categories and story-lines. 'When people are assigned a position through first-order positioning, they may have options: they may accept the position, challenge or question it, or refuse it altogether. Choosing any of these options will result in second-order positioning' (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 23).

The example of the custody sergeant's instruction is the perfect case in point. The first-order positioning, "*come here and stand by this desk*", places the custody sergeant in a position as one's own, where they *see* 'the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, story-lines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned' (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 47). Depending on the social force, this instruction could be delivered in a mild manner, to avoid antagonising the detainee, or firmly, to assert authority. When communicating this request, the custody sergeant will recognise their moral capacity to do so, especially where an instruction of this kind has taken place on police territory. Outsiders will rely on those who know the space intimately to provide guidance. Hence, following this illocutionary first step, the suspect or interpreter may dutifully come forward (the perlocutionary force). Should the detainee ignore, challenge or question this instruction, they would be performing an intentional re-positioning move (see section 2.3.5), and a second-order position would open up. 'By engaging in repositioning, people claim a right or a duty to challenge the initial or first-order positioning, or they can deny some- one a right or refuse a duty or challenge the right of someone to assign positions' (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 12).

Third-order positioning is a ‘retrospective discussion of previous acts of positioning’ (Deppermann, 2015, p. 373). Suppose the interpreter complied with the custody sergeant’s request to stand by the detainee but later flagged their objection, this step would be defined as third-order positioning (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 21). Third-order positioning can also occur in a different space and with other people (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999). An interpreter who explains to their line manager how a custody sergeant’s instruction impacted on their ability to facilitate communication would be undertaking third-order positioning of the past event *and* first-order positioning between the interpreter and their line manager. Based on this definition of third-order positioning, a misunderstanding about or conflict over where to position the interpreter may be the root cause for participants to revisit a particular exchange to clarify any misunderstandings.

### ***2.3.3 Performative and accountive positioning***

Performative and accountive positioning function as tools to explain the way in which first-order positioning remains relatively on track. When first-order positioning has been realised, this brings to life a network of positions which may or may not go unchallenged. If the suspect walks forward towards the charge bar (perlocutionary effect), they are responding to the custody sergeant's first-order positioning through a performative positioning move, i.e. performing their response as an action. If the interpreter explains how the proposed placement is unsuitable in terms of the ergonomic arrangement, they have assumed an accountive positioning, whereby the ongoing interaction involves talk about talk. The interpreter may explain how lighting or sightlines are unsuitable and propose an alternative location to stand; the prior conversation becomes the topic for the current conversation.

### ***2.3.4 Moral and personal positioning***

A positioning-orientated study is concerned with distribution of rights and duties, therefore, a critical aspect is understanding the moral capacity each actor holds and the range of moral orders that are available to each interlocutor. Van Langenhove explains how there are cultural, legal, and institutional moral orders in play that are pre-given’ (2017, p. 10). The variety of moral orders can co-exist and could ‘be seen as a moral field that envelops person and in which the different orders have a certain “valence” toward the individual’ (Van Langenhove, 2017, p. 11). Moral position can be determined by

cross-referencing an interlocutor's behaviours with their prescribed role or social expectations. The concept of moral orders and moral field can be linked to Herbert (1996) normative orders, explained in section 4.7. These normative (or moral) orders were introduced by Herbert to describe how police officers make and mark space. In section 3.3.1 an equivalent set of values for interpreters, produced by Merlini (2009), is explained. These moral orders can be viewed as working template to describe and track how actors make and mark interactive positions. All of these moral orders co-exist but do not become salient until activated by a communication act (Van Langenhove, 2017). An important part of understanding an actor's moral capacity is recognising their legitimacy to occupy such a moral position (Harré, 2012). Responsibility and accountability must exist for the actors 'to be treated as agents'. (Harré, 2012, p. 193).

A custody sergeant will hold the institutional duty to interview the suspect, to log the suspect's details on to the national custody system, explain the custody process, assess the citizen's well-being, and respond to the citizen's lack of understanding. The custody sergeant's job description can account for these positions, which is shaped by the requirements placed on them by the institution and the behaviours learned through institutional training. The same can be said for the interpreter when actively engaged in developing an interpretation: this position is an institutional one. A citizen's moral position is to enter the interaction as the layperson, i.e. the one being served. There will also be moments where interlocutors will assume a personal position. A custody sergeant may inject humour into the interaction to mitigate misunderstanding or manage a suspect's anxiety. Van Langenhove & Harré explain that the 'more a person's actions cannot be made intelligible by references to roles, the more prominent personal positioning will be' (1999, p. 22).

Howie (1999) extends the concept of moral and personal positioning by not only asking what rights someone has to position themselves and others, but also 'what skills or capacity the person has to utilize those rights' (Howie, 1999, p. 53). Howie provides three useful distinctions to describe how positioning occur:

- a) Capacity for positioning oneself and others;
- b) Willingness or intention to position and be positioned;
- c) and, the power to achieve positioning acts.

(Howie, 1999, p. 53)

Howie's (1999) distinction qualifies the moral/personal positioning act and allows us to judge the shortcomings of a police staff member's or interpreter's approach. The concept of moral-personal positioning is a useful tool for analysing police-civilian and interpreter-mediated interactions, where participants will not only be focusing on making communication possible but also learning how best to navigate their way through a given interaction. For example, in institutional interactions, police staff or interpreters can assume moral positions that may fall outside of their normative role. Police staff who are unfamiliar with how to assist someone who is deaf, or how to work with an interpreter, may call on others to assist. Police staff may invite the interpreter to "*tell me to slow down if I speak too fast*" or reassure the civilian "*if you do not understand, please tell me to repeat*". In these instances, the custody sergeant has anticipated a potential problem and offered resolution by sharing their moral position in monitoring the quality of communication. Likewise, there will be instances where an interpreter calls on the police staff or the civilian to assist with their formulation of an interpretation, by requesting clarification or explanation. The moral capacity is passed back and forth between each of the participants, and the agreement to assist the interpreter can manifest in an accountive (a counter question about the interpreter's understanding or need) or performative move (an explanation that helps the interpreter formulate an interpretation).

An interesting scenario would be the creation of a moral position that was not mutually recognised. For example, if a citizen believes an interpreting error has been made and intervenes to correct the mistake, this intervention could be described as a moral and personal kind, depending on the participant's approaches. At the point of intervention, the civilian may feel they have a moral duty to act, but the interpreter may not recognise this capacity and may be unwilling to be repositioned in such a way. From the interpreter's perspective, the citizen may not hold the capacity to comment; thus the perception of such a move is personal. What follows is a negotiation of viewpoints (accountive and interactive positioning) before either party can realise who in fact should assume the moral position. Another example could relate to an interpreter who covertly adds information to the primary participant's utterance; this may be a move to benefit the on-going interaction. If the police officer asks the civilian for their phone number, the civilian may state "my number is 07123456789"; the interpreter may add "it's SMS only" to make clear that the deaf person cannot receive calls. The interpreter may regard this step as within their moral scope, yet this moral premise may not stand as the act was



covert and not generated by the citizen. Here we see one weakness with positioning theory: where the reasoning for the speech or social act is ambiguous, this ambiguity increases the dependence on the investigator to distinguish whether such a move constitutes a moral kind or personal kind positioning. The focus is therefore on ‘bringing to light the normative frames within which people actually carry on their lives, thinking, feeling, acting, and perceiving—against standards of correctness’ (Harré et al., 2009, p. 9).

The credibility of moral rights or duties needs to be considered. Anyone could invent the claim that they have a duty to book a suspect into custody, the duty to field calls to an FCR, or duty to interpret. Can the individual hold the same duty beyond the current focus? Harré et al. describe this criteria as ‘trans-situational standing’ (2009, p. 11). However, a duty can also be imaginary, but only if the belief is autonomous and belongs to the individual. Harré et al. provide the following example to illustrate this point:

One cannot position someone as having the duty to gnaw off their own flesh. However, someone might position him- or her- self as having that right—“They are my nails! I can bite them if I want!” (Harré et al., 2009, p. 11)

The moral rights and duties an actor hold can influence how one access cultural resources and power is achieved. A custody sergeant is a perfect illustration of this point. The custody sergeant has access to police resources and personnel on a scale that is unmatched by the detainee. A custody sergeant in this case has institutional power (I. Mason & Ren, 2012). This advantage will be manifest as positions are realised and negotiated. Kayı-Aydar (2018) explains how power holds multiple meanings and is not consolidated:

The notion of power has multiple meanings: it can be understood as control—control of one individual over another or others, or control of one group over another or others (van Dijk, 2008). This kind of power would enable some individuals or groups not only to be able to access goods and resources, but also to constrain the contribution of less powerful or non-powerful individuals’ or groups’ access to the same goods and resources (Fairclough, 2001; Rex & Schiller, 2009). Foucault (1980) challenges this understanding of power, arguing that power is not in one individual’s or group’s possession, but always circulates among people in social contexts. (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 20).

The investigator must pay attention to context, it can be used to enable or hinder one’s capacity to create or challenge an interactive position. For example, a civilian caller to

an FCR can make individual requests and create topics for discussion that a detainee brought into police custody cannot. A custody sergeant, who is booking a detainee into custody, does so on police territory and inherently wields far higher power and capacity to interrogate and to determine the length of the interaction than a call-handler. For Harré et al., the attention given to the context of the interaction, the normative constraints participant must navigate through, and how action is produced within an unfolding storyline, is not determined ‘by individual levels of competence alone, but by having rights and duties in relation to items in the *local* corpus of sayings and doings’ (2009, p. 6).

### **2.3.5 *Tacit and intentional (deliberate or forced)***

The concept of tacit and intentional positioning moves relates to the moral order of who can or cannot say certain things. The ‘rights for self-positioning and other-positioning are unequally distributed, and not all situations allow for or call for intentional positioning of participants’ (Harré & Langenhove, 1991, p. 23). Van Langenhove & Harré find first-order positioning to be a ‘tacit kind’, committed consciously or not (1999, p. 22). Those who begin their interactions in a cloaked way, i.e. by teasing or being deceitful, are committing an intentional first-order positioning move. A custody sergeant may engage with a detainee by first introducing themselves and inviting the citizen to provide some form of response. Depending on the visible behaviour of the detainee, this communication act may be produced in an unintentional, tacit way, or as part of a deliberate self-other positioning move. Supposing that the detainee appeared agitated or uneasy, the custody sergeant might use this opening exchange as an opportunity to evaluate the detainee’s willingness to comply or communicate.

In all cases, a second, or third, order response is defined as intentional. The second or third-order position requires a willingness to comply, negotiate or challenge the first-order position communication/social act. Harré & Van Langenhove (1991, p. 23) claim that there are four types of second/third-order responses that can follow, see section 2.3.2. A second or third-order act can be defined as a deliberate kind or forced kind, which will either be a product of the performative/accountive move (section 2.3.3) and assert the self or the other (see section 2.3.3).

Table 1: Types of intentional positioning (Harré & Langenhove, 1991, p. 24)

	<b>Performative positioning</b>	<b>Accountive positioning</b>
<b>Self-positioning</b>	Deliberate self-positioning	Forced other positioning
<b>Other positioning</b>	Deliberate positioning of others	Forced positioning of others

A deliberate self-positioning is often goal-orientated and part of an effort to express one's identity (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 24). A detainee may announce "*I want to see a solicitor*" to challenge the distribution of power, for example. Forced self-positioning occurs as an obligatory response, where the initiative was instigated by another; for example, the detainee's move forward towards the charge bar after hearing the utterance "*come stand by this desk*" falls into the category. Forced self-positionings frequently happen in legal interactions, where the police or courts make moral judgements and expect a suspect or detainee to account for their behaviour (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999, p. 26). With interpreted interactions, forced self-positionings regularly occur. It is not uncommon for the interpreter to be directly approached and asked to begin interpreting ("*can you tell him/her...*") or to clarify ("*what does he mean?*"). The interpreter's compliant response is an example of forced self-positioning.

The deliberate positioning of others can take place in the presence or absence of those being positioned. When an arresting officer explains the reasons for a detainee's arrest to a custody sergeant, this is done in the presence of the detainee. The detainee is not addressed but an observer and the subject of the arresting officer's utterance. In Chapter 7, we see the arresting officer positioning the detainee as "*refusing to communicate*" because they were unable to interact in English at the time of the arrest. When a deliberate other positioning has been committed, it is at the talked-about person's discretion to determine if a such an other-positioning is permissible.

Forced other positioning can also occur in the presence or absence of the person being positioned. When a custody sergeant interacts with a detainee, the citizen will be treated as a suspect under investigation. The law requires this perspective, and it is reinforced by the check-in procedure, which was established by the institution. The interpreter, through their behaviour, will either reinforce this forced other positioning by sharing the custody sergeant's perception of the suspect, or counter this forced other positioning by engaging with the citizen as a victim of police treatment. Harré & Van Langenhove describe forced-other positioning as a potentially interesting interactive device that can

be used as part of a 'positioning game' (1991, pp. 27). For example, defendants in courtroom interactions who are blaming each other over a dispute will routinely invoke forced other positioning and call on witnesses or experts to corroborate their forced other positioning moves.

### **2.3.6 *Interactive and reflexive positioning***

Across all of these modes, the production of positions through communication/social acts can be described as interactive positioning, i.e. what one person says/does positions the other. Alternatively, what one says/does can be reflexive and used to position oneself. Both interactive and reflexive positioning can be intentional or unintentional (Davies & Harré, 1990). An interpreter, who occupies the mediator role, may coordinate speaker turns (interactional positioning), but it is not uncommon for participants to challenge the interpreter's sanctioning of turns by asserting their own right to an interactive turn. Such a move is a reflexive kind.

## **2.4 Positioning non-human agents**

Positioning studies take the joint storylines, communication acts and positions created between people as the analytical focus. However, there are grounds to explore the role played by non-human entities in each of these parameters. The definition of non-human actors can encompass animals, technology, texts, concepts or scientific facts. In this study technology and institutional policies can arguably be seen to play a prominent role in organising and facilitating communication. For example, when a citizen reaches the SignVideo/Police Scotland webpage, the text and images promote a set of rights and duties: the citizen is encouraged to enter the VRS call where SignVideo and Police Scotland are ready and willing to offer their partnership service. This text is an example where a non-human actor (e.g. the webpage) carries agency and influences with how a person approaches their subsequent storyline, position and communication act.

Further complication arises where an interpreter is more likely to be aware of how the VRS platform is promoted via the designated webpage, while the call-handler is likely to be less informed. Based on these mismatches, the interpreter and call-handler will be drawn into a working partnership with different understandings of their shared rights and duties. Another example of technology shaping how communication unfolds is the

constant use of computers to document police-citizen interactions. A detainee who is brought into custody will be affected by a custody sergeant who chooses to read their legal rights, verbatim, from a computer screen<sup>6</sup>. From the detainee's perspective, their participant status is ambiguous: "are you talking to me or the computer?" The eyes and mind (or alignment) of the custody sergeant is split between the computer and the detainee. The manoeuvrability of the detainee's response is influenced by the custody sergeant's split focus between human and non-human entities. Contrast this hypothetical scenario with a custody sergeant who chooses to not read the scripted text verbatim and provides explanations instead, focusing their gaze on the suspect. The custody sergeant may have reflected on their approach and concluded that a shared focus with the computer could antagonise the suspect. The decision not to read from the computer is a meaningful action. In using these examples, the presence of non-human entities is not mutable. I am not aware of a positioning study that explains how non-human actors are factored into these discussions. The need to acknowledge how other non-human artefacts shape positions is not a new argument. Kayı-Aydar (2018) was confronted with the same concern when analysing classroom interactions, whereby the presence of multi-modal communication (e.g. written text) between students and teachers was unaccounted for.

The issue is how positioning theory was developed initially to concentrate on active beings who can independently interpret and formulate a set of rights and duties with another being. Harré gives the example of a tree, whereby the relationship between person and tree is asymmetrical. A person can recognise their set of rights and duties towards a tree, e.g. to grow or cut the tree. However, the tree cannot be called upon to adapt their set of rights and duties. As Harré notes, '[t]rees are instruments, not agents' (2012, p. 198). In Harré's view, a positioning analysis is constructed around actors who are capable of enacting their rights. An actor must have agency and consciousness to be responsive to these moral orders. Based on this definition, the role of text and other resources (e.g. a police database or webpage) remains unaccounted for. It is on this detail that the application of positioning theory becomes problematic: how to account for the role played by inanimate objects within a positioning analysis? I do not intend to argue that non-human actors (such as computers and scripts of policies) have actual rights and duties, but they can bear a set of imagined rights and duties or pre-determine the moral

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<sup>6</sup> The sergeant who reads the detainee their rights like a script is what Goffman (1981) would describe as the 'animator' (see section 2.1.2). The custody sergeant has not chosen the words nor is the owner of this text. In this instance, the custody sergeant is relaying the words chosen by another.

field between people. To overcome the unaccounted role of non-human entities, I sought to combine positioning theory with Actor-Network Theory (ANT), an anti-essentialist post-humanist methodological and theoretical framework, advanced by Science, Technology and Society (STS) scholars like Bruno Latour, John Law and Michael Callon (Cassandra, 2005). The balanced focus afforded to the role of non-humans in social life has inspired ANT-based studies in agriculture (Nimmo, 2011), education (Fenwick & Edwards, 2010; Fox, 2005), health care services (Cresswell, 2011; Cresswell et al., 2010; Greenhalgh & Stones, 2010), the military (Law & Callon, 1988), organisational management (Pollack et al., 2013), tourism (Ren, 2011; van der Duim, 2007), and translation studies (Buzelin, 2005; Hekkanen, 2009; Kung, 2009). To illustrate ANT in practice, I will explain the ANT framework followed by examples from across criminology studies and interpreting studies.

#### ***2.4.1 Actor-Network Theory overview***

STS studies generally investigate how social, institutional, economic and cultural factors have shaped: 'i) the direction as well as the rate of innovation; ii) the form of technology: the content of technological artefacts and practices; iii) the outcomes of technological change for different groups in society' (Williams & Edge, 1996, p. 856). ANT was an extension of this discipline and in its simplest form is an ethnographic paradigm that seeks to trace and assemble connections between human and non-human actors, and views this hybrid network as 'a major puzzle to be solved' (Latour, 2005, p. 5). In using an ANT approach, investigators can question how technologies designed to advance public policy may impact on the way people live, or offer theories that explain how objects matter in social life.

An actor is defined as one entity (human or non-human) that acts upon another and whose absence is felt if removed. Actors or 'entities take their form and acquire their attributes as a result of their relations with other entities' (Law, 1999, p. 3). This relational ontology approach is comparable to positioning theory, where positions are symbiotically created. A network is 'a process through which an actor transforms its own interests into ideas relevant to other actors with the aim of furthering its own interests in the network' (Hekkanen, 2009, pp. 8–9). A network is defined in terms of connections rather than distance and extensions. The boundaries of a network are not always fixed or closed and can be expanded, tracing connections between actors not previously considered. Finally,

ANT's status as a theory has been a controversial subject, one that is acknowledged by Latour (1999) himself. This controversy is because there are empirical difficulties in testing its claims which are therefore challenging to refute. As Latour explains, ANT was intended to provide a means for:

social scientists to access sites, a method and not a theory, a way to travel from one spot to the next, from one field site to the next, not an interpretation of what actors do simply glossed in a different, more palatable and more universalist language. (Latour, 1999, p. 20)

My interest in ANT was based on its methodological principles, to appreciate the presence of non-human entities within a positioning framework analysis. The advice to follow the actors is not a straightforward matter as it leaves open the question “what is an actor?” ANT has received further criticism with how to award equal status to animate and inanimate actors. For example, how does a non-human actor modify its rights and duties towards another? It is therefore not uncommon to see ANT frameworks being merged with other more powerful descriptive models to analyse why such relationships occur and what impact this can have on those within the network. In section 2.4.2 I describe two studies where the ANT framework was merged with a sociological framework to resolve this gap. In this study I observe human actors mirroring or aligning themselves towards non-human actors to present a type of identity or set of rights and duties. This combined focus produced a more descriptive account of what may be happening in a multi-modal interaction. Across sections 5.10.1 - 5.10.8, I provide further explanation of how I build on this argument and how I apply the ANT framework to analyse interactive data.

Buzelin explains how ANT was in line with other ‘poststructuralist thinking that would place greater emphasis both on agency and on the analysis of the attention towards distribution of power’ (2005, p. 195). The ‘focus is not on how power is possessed and exercised, but the ways in which power relations are constructed and maintained through the stabilization of networks’ (Mopas, 2015, p. 86). For example, research carried out on the diffusion of CCTV find different responses and acceptance based on the success of the narratives supporting its expansion (Douillet & Dumoulin, 2015). The driving force behind the uptake of CCTV systems was not the quality of the technical artefact but the shaping of views and connections to crime or social disorder event. It is this endeavour to explain relationships within a network that led Latour to argue for ANT as

redefining sociology not as the ‘science of the social’, but as the tracing of associations. In this meaning of the adjective, social does not designate a thing among other things, like a black sheep among other white sheep, but a type of connection between things that are not themselves social. (Latour, 2005, p. 5).

When undertaking the task of tracing, the ANT investigator is advised to embrace three principles, ‘agnosticism (impartiality between actors engaged in controversy), generalised symmetry (the commitment to explain conflicting viewpoints in the same terms) and free association (the abandonment of all a priori distinctions between the natural and the social)’ (Callon, 1986, p. 196). The first and third conditions align with the non-deterministic principles of positioning theory. Latour cautions how the ‘task of defining and ordering the social should be left to the actors themselves, not taken up by the analyst’ (Latour, 2005, p. 23). The analogy often used is a cartographer, one who attempts to translate real-world patterns and shapes on to a piece of paper.

During this “fact-building” mission, the ANT researcher must engage in the task of mobilizing and aligning the host of heterogeneous actors into a stable network. By identifying and following the actors, it is the ‘[a]ctors [who] do the sociology for the sociologists and sociologists learn from the actors what makes up their set of associations’ (Latour, 2005, p. 32). This process of assemblage is also described as ‘sociology of associations’ (Latour, 2005). The development of this network is guided by the ‘identity of actors, the possibility of interaction and the margins of manoeuvre are negotiated and delimited’ (Callon, 1986, p. 202). For example, across translation studies the process of translation is no longer viewed as an individual activity but a joint venture that involves a hybrid network of human and non-human actors (Buzelin, 2005). The process of translation has become known as ‘a site of tension, conflict [and] resistance’ (Buzelin, 2005) because there exist multiple actors across the source and target cultures who are implicated in the process of demanding, defining and delivering the translation. This network can consist of clients, commissioners, editors, readers, institutions, culture, policies and more. By considering the larger sociological context, translation scholars develop a broader appreciation of the translation process.

The process of identifying actors and tracing relationships needs to be problematised and communicated in such a way that ‘those outside of our own academic circles can not only understand, but also see [it] as valuable’ (Mopas, 2015, p. 82). This process has been referred to as ‘the sociology of translation’ (Callon, 1986) (see sections 5.10.2 - 5.10.7)



or ontological politics (Mol, 1999). This translation phase is ‘a process through which an actor transforms its own interests into ideas relevant to other actors with the aim of furthering its own interests in the network’ (Hekkanen, 2009, pp. 8–9). When problematising how actors mobilise their own interests, the researcher is advised to remain mindful of why things occur, review accepted ideas, and question how or why the social came into being (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004). Actor/s within a network will use a range of tactics to either impose, adapt, persuade or follow to reach a type of progress that defines an ‘obligatory passage point’ (hereafter referred to as OPP), ‘a node in the network through which all network traffic must pass’ (Hekkanen, 2009, p. 9). It is useful to remember that ANT does not argue that objects, not humans, do things: instead ‘it simply says that no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored’ (Latour, 2005, p. 72). This is where positioning theory and ANT depart. Positioning theory views non-human entities as outside its focus. However, as this brief overview has demonstrated both positioning theory and ANT are interested in what actors dynamically become as a result of their position in a network, and how this status is maintained (‘relational ontology’). Both frameworks recognise the interdependent nature of both actors and storylines. The following two subsections discuss how ANT has been applied in interpreting studies and criminology.

#### ***2.4.2 ANT in practice – criminology studies and interpreting studies***

I discovered the ANT framework through the doctoral work of Devaux (2017) and Haualand (2012), who looked at the perception of VMI technologies across different social groups and how their affordances created varying and competing narratives around how people experience and use VMI services (Devaux, 2017; Haualand, 2012). To my knowledge, these happen to be the only interpreting studies that have applied the ANT framework. Haualand (2012) applied ANT to her ethnographic critique of how video-based interpreting service became objects of politics, where their associated descriptions achieve a form of inclusion for deaf citizens who use sign language. Haualand begins with her homeland Norway and moves on to the United States, where she spent time as a practising academic, and finally looks to Sweden, a nation recognised as proactively developing VMI services for deaf people. Haualand's original goal for her PhD study was to investigate the importance of new information technology as a means to increase employment rates among deaf people: as she explains this journey took a diversion when

she began to scrutinise her own premise and definitions - a premise that became clear to her as potentially reinforcing particular political goals. Before going further with her area of interest, Haualand realised the importance of critiquing concepts which we take for granted such as 'inclusion' into the workplace, how inclusion is provided and defined. For Haualand, what struck her was how different actors defined 'inclusion' when referring to the same video-based interpreting services. By looking across three political worlds, Haualand found a range of ideologies that shaped the use of technology to achieve 'inclusion' which go beyond the technical equipment but how regulations and conditions of use stipulated by State departments define inclusion for deaf people. Haualand found the description of VMI technologies as “*assistive technology*” within one sociotechnical system, while it is conceived as a “*generic technology*” in another (Haualand, 2012, p. 112). The different political ideologies, what is included and what is excluded, concerning the use of a piece of technology all impact on the actual experience of inclusion for deaf people. It was these definitions she described as producing an overbearing distortion in the lives of deaf people.

For Haualand, the combined framework of ANT and STS provided her with the tools to critique the political and funding objectives behind the deployment of VMI services and their broader social implications for those who use them. Although the principles of ANT advocate an agnostic approach, Haualand placed herself as an actor in this network. This was because of her position or habitus as an academic who is deaf and has had personal experience of living and using VMI services in Norway and the United States. The position of the researcher is often one area of criticism within ANT studies, as the existence of a truly detached observer is challenging to achieve (see section 5.1, where I raise similar concerns with my own ‘researcher within’ status).

Devaux (2017) surveyed 18 court interpreters who have experience of working via video-link and their perception of role when working in this way. Devaux combined ANT and role-space (2014), a newly-established theoretical interpreting studies model, to analyse how technology impacted on the interpreter’s perception of role and questioned the interpreter’s ability to perform to a level needed by the courts (see section 3.4). The research was of significance because of the increasing use of video conferencing technology within the legal system as a form of deploying and receiving interpreting services. This increase has arisen because of a drive to improve efficiency and

opportunities to introduce interpreting services into the legal system (Braun et al., 2018), such as in criminal procedures (see section 3.4).

Devaux invited his participants to describe how technology impacted on the interpreter's ability to align or modify their service during a courtroom interaction by mapping out their role-space. The focus was to draw out descriptions of role and practice when delivering their service remotely, i.e. in a manner that is potentially different from traditional on-site face to face interactions. The interpreters who participated in Devaux's study demonstrated a high level of diversity around the perception of roles and responsibilities. The interpreters defined their practice mainly by individual beliefs or concerns as opposed to the role prescribed by their regulator. Based on the individual accounts, many felt the use of technology shifted the balance of power heavily towards the judge. The ability of the judge to turn on or turn off the remote interpreter increased the level of control exercised by the judge in how the interpreter was introduced to the courtroom. If the judge was mindful of the interpreter's needs, a more positive outcome could be achieved: however, in circumstances where the judge did not appreciate the interpreting process, the power to turn on or turn off the interpreter caused real problems. Anecdotes include the introduction of the interpreter at a later point than usually experienced on-site, or the interpreter not being introduced or sworn into the hearing.

Haualand and Devaux both apply ANT's theoretical and methodological principles to map and describe the range of ontological viewpoints and uncover how innovations (either through technology, policies, ideologies and humans) can produce outcomes not anticipated by commissioners of interpreting services. The scale and size of the interpreting profession are unlike the scale and size of policing and the wider legal system. Therefore, the domain of policing offers fertile terrain for ANT research, because the police comprise an institution consisting of a vast and complex world of hybrid networks, each depending on the enrolment of people, technologies, artefacts (such as uniforms and facilities), policies, legal and sometimes cultural concepts. This police hybrid network does not exist in isolation; it must be capable of manoeuvring and interacting with the vast array of hybrid networks that exist in the public domain. In using ANT, criminologists can draw attention to the controversies that surround the use of technology to regulate and harmonise the behaviour of people (either those who represent the police or the public) , the use of scientific facts or expertise to advance one school of thought at

the expense of another (Machold, 2019; Mopas, 2015), or policing practices to advance our understanding of what generates or inhibits crime (Dufresne, 2016).

In a special edition advancing the ANT paradigm within the field of criminology, the editors argue how in

... crime studies, the relevance of technology, materiality, and objects still needs to be emphasized. While many prevention and crime control practices necessarily involve the use of devices, little analytical attention has been given to them. (Robert & Dufresne, 2016, p. 2)

This collection of work contributes to the existing sociological research which has traditionally focused on asking questions about the social functions, role and institutional culture of the police. To rephrase Latour's "science in the making", what is being described in these ANT studies is *policing in the making*. For example, Demant & Dilkes-Frayne (2015) compare and contrast how Situational Crime Prevention (hereafter referred to as SCP) theoretically focuses and explains the outcomes of human and non-human resources when deployed in particular spaces and their relationship with particular crimes against an ANT approach. The authors explain how SCP

tends to focus on the ways in which humans and non-humans come together in situations, with non-human actors such as objects (for example, steering locks, signs, street lights) and spaces (for example, off-street parking, street closures) being routinely employed as measures to influence offending behaviour. (Demant & Dilkes-Frayne, 2015, p. 7).

While SCP theorises the way police resources and practices can be mobilized to disrupt crime, the authors view SCP as being unable to engage with how this process transforms crime or behaviours. Demant & Dilkes-Frayne (2015) take the example of sniffer dogs at festival entrance spaces and news outlets to notify the public of the presences of sniffer dogs. These actors were strategically mobilised by the police to disrupt the network of drug possession and dealing. The SCP framework would view such a strategy as increasing the perceived risk of being caught by improving the police's search and detection abilities. Through extensive fieldwork at a festival site, the investigators describe not an elimination but an alteration in behaviour. Festival-goers were observed to assemble new networks that either managed, reduced or transferred to others the risk of detection. In using ANT, the authors were able to demonstrate how 'crime and its prevention involve diverse relational networks rather than simply offenders, opportunities, and risks' (Demant & Dilkes-Frayne, 2015, p. 17).

The ANT paradigm has gained some traction among criminologists (Diphoorn, 2020; Robert & Dufresne, 2015; Yarwood, 2010). These studies ground their work within the ANT theoretical framework or as a methodological toolbox to review existing theories and to provide a more nuanced account of how the development of hybrid networks align to policing objectives. For both interpreting and policing, the ANT paradigm opens up the discourse around the role played by non-human actors in how interpreting or policing is experienced. I have not come across ANT as a toolkit to problematize and explain how a hybrid network is realised at an interactive level. Across sections 5.10.1 - 5.10.8, I explain how I adapted the ANT framework to provide a route into investigating how a network of human and non-human entities affect and shape each other's interactive positions. The outcome of this experiment could be described as producing an ethnographic framework for multi-modal communication.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This relational ontological framework has been used to describe the co-constructed process of interactions across a range of contexts, such as education (Anderson, 2009; Herbel-Eisenmann et al., 2015; Kayı-Aydar, 2018), international conflict (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1998), social care (Howie, 1999), workplace communication (Clifton, 2014; Hirvonen, 2016) and mentoring (Bullough & Draper, 2004). In section 3.5 it is explained how a small number of interpreting studies have applied a positioning analysis to understand questions such as “why did the interpreter educate another on how to interact via a VRS call?” or “why did the interpreter intervene and co-ordinate other participant's communication?” In each case the context of the IME has contributed to this discussion. The distribution of rights and duties has helped clarify the wider role interpreters play in different contexts and what constitutes legitimate behaviours. I have yet to come across examples where positioning theory has been used to understand and describe non-interpreted or interpreter-mediated police-citizen interactions. This is especially surprising given that the distribution of power and the expression of duties and rights are constant and topical subject for policing scholars.

Using a positioning framework this study seeks to investigate the shared responsibility for communication in a VRS or VRI frontline policing context. This is achieved by tracing the displayed rights and duties between participants. The unplanned and remote aspects of communication will mean the knowledge between participants is uneven, this

differences in knowing is defined as epistemic positions (Harré, 2012, p. 203). In the VRS scenario the call-handler and citizen will be dependent on the interpreter to project each other's interactive positions. Their judgements of the other person's identity are of a mediated kind, obscured and retold by the interpreter. This can create a challenge for the call-handler and the citizen, as they seek to understand where their interactive partner's proposed position is actually placed and what this can mean for their own positioning. Call-handlers are already expected to be well-versed at handling a citizen's story-telling (Tracy, 1997; Zimmerman, 1984) and in some cases direct citizen to act as mediators, e.g. in hostage settings (Garcia, 2017). If call-handlers are already skilled at communicating via technology, especially when dealing with rare or extreme contexts, one would expect call-handlers to be well-prepared for dealing with an unannounced non-emergency VRS call.

In the VRI custody context the shared visual field is partially restored. Although interlocutors may see each other, the process of communication still has to consider each other's reality, abilities and needs. For example, the custody sergeant will need to divide their attention between the suspect in the room and the interpreter on the video-link, to monitor their involvement and behaviours. The interpreter will need to assess how well the citizen or custody sergeant understands their interpretation and call on others to assist with enabling communication. How the interpreter achieves this in a custody context has yet to be fully understood.

The fusion of ANT with positioning theory ensures a broader scope by recognising the impact of technology and multi-modal communication on interactions. I believe there is enough evidence to suggest the importance of looking at the relationships people have formed with non-human actors and how these shape the way people manage their interactions. In undertaking this study, I have made use of the qualities and arguments from positioning theory and ANT to evaluate the macro, meso and micro levels that shape how a frontline policing service is delivered to someone who is from a different language background and assisted by a remote interpreter. In each of these interactions the data will show how technology, institutional policies, or training have shaped how communication is experienced or directed.



### **Chapter 3 – Establishing the Video-Mediated Interpreter (VMI)**

The focus of this chapter is to review the literature to appreciate the normative constraints that shape the interpreter's practice. Understanding the moral order of a professional interpreter and what causes the interpreter to assume a type of rights and duties framework can inform the discussion and analysis in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. The review offers a broad consideration for interpreters when seeking to form partnerships with others, this includes how to work with others when rendering their stories into another language, attending to lay people's understanding of the interpreter's role and attending to other's ability to interact via an interpreter. In a VRS/VRI contexts, many of these interactive issues become amplified because of the interpreter's remoteness, dependence on technology, low familiarity of interlocutors, and the constrained opportunity to prepare with how to deliver their remote interpreting service. These challenges must then be resolved alongside the task of facilitating communication.

The first half of this chapter mainly focuses on the work of the interpreter in face to face contexts. This chapter begins with an introductory overview of the UK's BSL/English interpreting landscape (section 3.1). In section 3.2, the type of interpreting relevant to this study - dialogue interpreting, remote interpreting and VMI - is explained. In section 3.3 the pioneering and descriptive work carried out by academics who applied sociological or sociolinguistic frameworks to understand the broader role played by interpreters is explained. Interestingly, the broadening description of interpreting resonates closely with the expanding description of policing and the significance of understanding police discretion, as outlined in section 4.1, 4.6 and 4.7. Recognising this shared academic focus is beneficial for this current interdisciplinary project, as in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 positioning theory is used to chart the many ways of being an interpreter or frontline service and the evolving status of rights and duties.

The second half focuses on VMI, where more interpreters in different parts of the world have had to find ways of adapting their practice to remote settings. Section 3.4 explains the drivers shifting interpreters towards using technology. This background is beneficial for understanding the new macro, meso and micro level demands and pressures that impact on how interpreters self-define their moral field. Subsequently, section 3.5 focuses on the sociological and sociolinguistic literature that describes how interpreters



perform in remote contexts. The conclusion in section 3.6 explains how focusing VRS and VRI on a specific context, e.g. frontline policing service, can offer a more refined look at how responsibility for communication is shared to benefit the overall goal of the interaction.

### **3.1 Interpreting in a UK context**

The UK BSL/English interpreting profession is in an advanced state compared to other parts of the world. There is a vibrant and active political scene with a high level of demand for BSL/English interpreting services (De Wit, 2012, 2016; Townsend-Handscomb, 2018). There are established training pathways, established professional regulatory bodies and professional associations (Dixon, 2015). The combined number of interpreters in the UK who voluntarily register with a professional regulatory body is nearly 1,500.

Registered interpreters market their specialised linguistic and cultural mediation skills to a range of clients, from public services, private organisations, non-governmental agencies, as well as to individuals. Interpreters are known to work in face to face contexts, from a distance (e.g. in booths or on platforms) or remotely from a different location to users of the service (such as news broadcasts or for a company marketing VMI products). Interpreting in face to face contexts is generally an activity and service that is conducted within another professional service and sometimes provided at private or personal event (Napier et al., 2006). In a modern context, interpreting has been described as a practice profession, where ‘one’s technical skills are typically applied in a socially in-teractive setting, requiring keen judgement abilities’ (Dean & Pollard, 2018, p. 39). This is because interpreters in the UK are trained to critically analyse and consider how their services are deployed in the presence of others and to reflect on the success of their professional actions and decision-making (Dean & Pollard, 2013; Napier et al., 2006). The issue with interpreting as a practice profession is comparable to the rank and file police officer, where both are dealing with members of the public away from the gaze of their supervisor. Interpreters operate in unsupervised conditions and to safeguard clients and users, interpreters are expected to undergo regular training, reflection and abide by a code of conduct<sup>7</sup>. This code cautions the interpreter to consider their actions and prevent levels

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<sup>7</sup> See the National Registers of Communication Professionals working with Deaf and Deafblind people (NRCPD) [www.nrcpd.org.uk/standards](http://www.nrcpd.org.uk/standards) or the Register for British Sign Language Interpreters (RBSLI) [www.rbsli.org/code-of-ethics/](http://www.rbsli.org/code-of-ethics/) for further information.

of unjustified visibility and involvement. The intention behind the interpreter's code of conduct is to promote a natural and free exchange between the interpreter's clients and restrict the interpreter's involvement.

Although the sign language interpreting profession is becoming well-established it is still a relatively new field. The professionalization of BSL/English interpreters emerged from interpreters working in community settings, e.g. at family events, within public services such as NHS, policing and social services (Adam & Stone, 2011; Frishberg, 1986; Leahy, in prep; Napier, 2015; Solow, 1981; Stone, 2010). This historical development was unlike the professionalization of spoken language interpreters, which emerged from demands for interpreters at international level, for diplomatic and national meetings, such as the UN and Nuremberg trials (Pöchhacker, 2014; Roy et al., 2018). As globalisation increased the demand for spoken language interpreters at community level increased. The status and recognition of interpreters, working between spoken or signed languages, operating in public service settings did not gain confidence until the 1990s (I. Mason, 1999). Several scholars regard the first Critical Link conference hosted in Canada in 1995 as symbolising this step. The conference was called 'Critical Link' to

‘signify both the interpreter as a critical link between people not sharing a common language, and the conference itself, as a critical meeting point for people working with interpreting in the community’. As the exchange of ideas is carried further, new kinds of links are developing. (Wadensjö, 2007, p. 1)

Research on interpreting, regardless of the language combination, have unearthed many converging ideas and issues. This has helped bring together a more coherent understanding of what it means to do interpreting in community settings and where subtle differences arise due to language modality or cultural background (Napier & Leeson, 2016; Pöchhacker, 2014; Roy et al., 2018).

### **3.2 Defining the Dialogue interpreter in remote settings**

In the latter part of the twentieth century, the increasing numbers of interpreters being called up to facilitate communication in public service settings caught the attention of interpreting scholars. Investigators were keen to understand what signed and spoken language interpreters were doing when in public service settings, such as the legal sector, health sector and welfare sector. What interpreters did in these complex face to face

contexts was poorly understood and lacked proper definition (Angelelli, 2004; Davidson, 2000; Frishberg, 1986; Krouglov, 1999; I. Mason, 1999; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Solow, 1981; Wadensjö, 1998). Prior to this development, the majority of scholarly attention had concentrated on interpreters working in conference settings (I. Mason, 1999; Wadensjö, 1998). Furthermore, the notions and descriptions of interpreting norms and goals had been dominated by norms emerging from the field of translation studies, which was in an advanced state compared to the field of interpreting studies. The sociological and sociolinguistic research carried out by Cynthia Roy (1989) and Cecilia Wadensjö's (1992) are recognised as being seminal pieces of work that reframed the description of face-to-face interpreting – including the theoretical frameworks adopted to approach interpreting interactions. Roy's PhD was later published as a monograph '*Interpreting as a discourse process*' (2000) and as the title suggests, communicated Roy's belief that interpreting should be approached using a discourse-based framework. This same argument was made by Wadensjö (1998), whose approach was inspired by Bakhtin's (1981) dialogism and Goffman's (1981) participation framework (section 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). Wadensjö (1998) explained that in using discourse-based paradigms, the investigator was focusing their attention on the interactive competence displayed and used by participants when engaged in talk.

When undertaking this type of sociolinguistic research, investigators could not overlook how the interpreter's practice *in-situ* would frequently deviate from their once rigid code of conduct (Angelelli, 2004; Metzger, 1999; Napier, 2016; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998). According to the interpreter's regulatory code, interpreters were described as being neutral, impartial and faithful actors. The incompatibility sparked further need for studies to understand where the problem lay: the interpreter, the code of conduct or the context? By interrogating what the interpreter was doing, or being asked to do, it became evident how the interpreter's performance was influenced by their own moral stance, beliefs, as well as the expectations, demands and cultural differences associated with the people using their service and the settings for the encounter (Baraldi & Gavioli, 2007; I. Mason, 2009; Merlini, 2009; Metzger, 1999; Napier, 2016; Wadensjö, 1998). Interpreting scholars have produced a plethora of examples suggesting that an ambiguous set of rules, such as an interpreting code of conduct, will always be inadequate in regulating interpreters' behaviours, and that the interpreter's task in face-to-face contexts is far more complex than previously thought. Interpreters, when dealing with other people's stories, do not remain detached from how others behave or communicate. The interpreter's

presence is continuously felt. This presence can be identified in their translations of other people's messages and how people interact with one another.

In a special edition on **dialogue interpreting** (hereafter referred to as DI) Ian Mason (1999) sought to differentiate the work undertaken by interpreters working in community/public service settings from those operating in conference settings. The defining characteristics of a dialogue interpreter included 'spontaneous face-to-face interaction' and working primarily in 'consecutive mode' (I. Mason, 1999). The consecutive mode of interpreting is when the interpreter delivers an interpretation after a participant has finished speaking or signing. Within this definition, Mason included 'all kinds of professional encounters: police, immigration and welfare service interviews, doctor-patient interviews, business negotiations, lawyer-client and courtroom interpreting' (1999, p. 147). The definition of DI has progressed to include the multi-directional interpreting process - an exchange which involves a mixture of spontaneous and prepared communication. Dialogue interpreters can and do move between consecutive and simultaneous mode, and this is common among dialogue interpreters who work between spoken and signed languages (Merlini, 2015; Napier & Leeson, 2016). Simultaneous interpreting is where the interpretation is rendered soon after the source utterance has been produced. DI is performed and negotiated in the presence of others, and more importantly, where interpreters are considered as having a recognised status in the interaction, see section 3.3.2 (Merlini, 2015). As explained by Merlini DI is synonymous with other nomenclatures such as *community interpreting*, *public service interpreting*, *legal interpreting* and *police interpreting*. Merlini (2015) explains how this broader definition of DI can include interpreters who work with technology in remote settings, like VRS, where one half of the interaction is via a telephone link (2015, p. 102), see section 3.5.1 and 3.5.2.

The term **remote interpreting** (hereafter referred to as RI) was introduced to distinguish the work performed by interpreters on-site from work performed by an interpreter via technology, where one, some or all of the participants were dispersed across different locations (Braun, 2015). Originally, the term RI was used to describe **telephone interpreting/over-the-phone interpreting** services, where the interaction is void of visual information (Braun, 2015; Fernández, 2017; Fernández & Russo, 2017; Spinolo et al., 2018). For sign language interpreters, telephone interpreting was only possible if they were co-located with the deaf participant (Dickinson, 2002; Pollitt & Haddon, 2005).

With an interpreter present, a deaf person had the opportunity to make or receive a telephone call with the interpreter's assistance. Research on RI has mainly concentrated on spoken language interpreters based in a call centre settings or a secure private environment, equipped with appropriate technology and remotely deploying their specialist service (Mikkelsen, 2003; Ozolins, 2012; Rosenberg, 2007; Wadensjö, 1999). This area of research did not include the work of sign language interpreters facilitating telephone calls. The term RI reminds us to recognise the particular challenges that are created when the interpreter is not physically located in the same arena as the participants.

Improvements with video-conferencing technologies and digital communication opportunities opened up new forms of RI (Braun, 2015; Locatis et al., 2010; Price et al., 2012). Braun (2015) explains how the shift to audio-video based communication for spoken language interpreting provision provided the added benefit of visual-contextual information for expressing and comprehending another person. For signed languages, video-based communication was the only possible medium. The opportunities brought by digital communication created a further range of configurations of how interpreting services can be arranged. To encapsulate the variety of configurations available, Braun and Taylor (2012b) introduced the term **video-mediated interpreting (VMI)**. This umbrella term was used to distinguish the variety of VMI configurations from telephone interpreting, as the video dimension of a call contributes to at least part, and in the case of signed languages, all of the interactive experience.

To contextualise the various terms and definitions, the interpreters who participated in this study were operating in a VMI context. They were facilitating communication from a remote setting and using equipment that enabled them to make or receive telephone or video-conferencing calls. The interpreter's approach to the IME followed the description of a DI. When referring to the interpreters in this study, it is intended to contextualise them within the DI, RI and VMI paradigms. The following section explains the analytical approaches to studying IMEs.

### **3.3 Empirical shift in interpreting studies**

The increasing scholarly attention on the DI is credited with introducing an empirical shift in how interpreters and the primary participants (hereafter referred to as PP) are investigated. Wadensjö (1998) introduced the term PP to refer to the non-interpreters,

those who were engaging in the IME as users of the service. This was to distinguish the type of role played by the interpreter, who was described as occupying a ‘co-participant’ status in the interaction (Wadensjö, 1998). For Wadensjö, the interpreter was not only the recipient but producer of utterances; furthermore, the interpreter’s presence shapes how others form their utterances and become understood by others. At the time, this work directly challenged the description and treatment of interpreters as ‘conduits’ or ‘machines’ whose presence should not be felt. For Wadensjö (1998) and several other scholars (Hale, 2007; Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014; Metzger, 1999; Napier, 2002; Roy, 2000), pretending or expecting the interpreter to be ‘invisible’ meant setting unachievable expectations. As ‘invisible’ actors, the interpreter was measured by their ability to capture the original utterance against vague measures such as ‘accuracy’, ‘faithfulness’ and ‘equivalence’ (I. Mason, 1999; Metzger, 1999). Any interference or failure to deliver on these translation norms meant the interpreter had contaminated and influenced the course of another person’s experience. These ideas have long been rejected by interpreting scholars in place of a broader dialogic description of interpreting as an involved activity.

To demonstrate how an interpreter was an active participant in the IME, Roy (2000) focused on an essential feature of discourse, the turn-taking negotiated between participants. Roy (2000) described how interactive turns were often being managed and sanctioned by the interpreter. This level of interactional management demonstrated that interpreters were far from neutral or invisible but are actively involved. It is the interpreter’s sociolinguistic competence and judgements that control a fundamental aspect of how people engage in talk (Roy, 2000). To not manage how other PP assumed their turns would be counter-productive and detrimental to the whole IME. Appreciating the broader status of an interpreter and their active involvement is essential. This broadening awareness promoted the belief that interpreting was ‘a process of negotiation of meanings amongst participants’ (Wadensjö, 1998, p. 8).

The body of work that followed Roy’s (1989, 2000) and Wadensjö’s (1992, 1998) descriptive approaches represented the empirical turn in interpreting studies, where investigators were being encouraged to look towards ‘sociological and sociolinguistic discourse studies rather than translation theory’ for inspiration (Pöchhacker, 2014, p. 79). In Chapter 2, I provided a comprehensive overview of theoretical frameworks and analytical paradigms used to critique how people engage in talk. This included Bakhtin’s (1981) dialogism, Goffman’s (1974, 1981) participation framework and Davies & Harré

(1990) positioning theory. These and other frameworks used in interpreting studies, not mentioned already because their different focus, included Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson's (1978) conversational analysis, Hymes' (1964) ethnography of communication, and Spencer-Oatley's (2000) rapport management theory. Each of these theoretical and methodological models have been used by interpreting scholars to look at how interpreters function as 'co-participants' and facilitate communication (Anderson, 2009; Angelelli, 2004; Davitti, 2012; Major, 2013; Marks, 2015, 2015; R. McKee, 1992; Merlini, 2015; Metzger, 1999; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017; Napier et al., 2018, 2018; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998; Warnicke, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2012, 2016, 2016). In each of these studies the interpreter was viewed as a social actor constantly making choices about how to formulate a translation, how to relate to the PPs, and how to negotiate rights and responsibilities in the interaction. Interpreters have been found to actively make decisions about how to co-ordinate the turn-taking between the PPs in both on-site and VMI interactions (Davitti, 2012; Marks, 2013; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017; Napier et al., 2018; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012). They are seen engaging in conversation about other people's messages (Baraldi & Gavioli, 2007; Merlini, 2009; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998). They also discuss with others the on-site or VMI interpreting service (Marks, 2013; Napier et al., 2018; Wadensjö, 1998; Warnicke, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2016). Furthermore interpreters have been documented as responding to participants when approached (Napier, Skinner, et al., 2019), autonomously engaging in talk about themselves or others (Dickinson, 2010; Major & Napier, 2019). Across all these studies, the description of the interpreter has become broader, where the interpreter can occasionally play a more prominent role in the IME. Within each of these examples listed above research has uncovered legitimate behaviours where interpreters sought to promote trust and engagement with those relying on the interpreter's service (Major, 2013; I. Mason, 2009; Metzger, 1999; Napier et al., 2018; Napier, Skinner, et al., 2019; Roy, 2000; Warnicke & Plejert, 2016).

In promoting descriptive approaches to analysing IMEs, the role of the DI was significantly redefined (Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 2007). The DI was now described as a key 'social actor' or 'co-participant' contributing to the way others engage in talk. The issue of reframing the dialogue interpreter as a co-participant takes us to Roy's question.

While descriptions and standards of ethical practice extensively, sometimes exhaustively, list what interpreters should not do, they seldom, if ever, explain what interpreters can do, that is

explain what 'flexible' means. Consequently, no one really knows where to draw the line on the involvement of the interpreter. (Roy, 1993, p. 134)

If interpreters are doing more than relaying other people's talk, how do we legitimise these 'other' social actions? Davidson's (2000) ethnographic study of interpreters who routinely worked in hospital setting found interpreters make selective decisions on what to relay to the health professional, functioning as gatekeepers as oppose to interpreters. These interpreters would filter and condense patient stories by only relaying physical ailments, or medical treatment being received. For example, a patient had come to see a physician for a follow up appointment to discuss a burning sensation in his eye. The patient not only complained about a burning sensation in his eyes but explained to the interpreter difficulties with the previous appointment. *"Well, I tried to tell the doctor more than four five visits ago [that] it was already happening to me. But, I don't know if he understood me or not."* The interpreter in this example omitted large parts of the patient story, including the complaint around communication, and took an executive decision on what the doctor wanted to know. The interpreter made changes based on their understanding of the doctor's goals. The interpreter's focus was on managing the appointment as expediently as possible. Davidson (2000) questioned why this physician did not challenge or seek clarification about what was discussed in his presence. It was obvious to all how the patient disclosed more to the interpreter than what was passed on by the interpreter. It appears that the doctor was condoning the interpreter's management of communication.

In a similar IME, Wadensjö (1998) observed a Russian patient who had difficulty disclosing a personal and sensitive health issue. The patient in one sequence was repetitive, disjointed and ambiguous. The interpreter did not provide the nurse with a rendition of the patient's vagueness but instead concentrated on the patient, supplied him with subtle, reassuring prompts in the hope that he would eventually find the power to explain his health matter. The interpreter's concern was to assist the nurse. The nurse, however, was excluded from the exchange. She reached a critical point where she suspected the interpreter of going beyond her authority and told her to *"break it off and say what he says now"*. In this example, the interpreter's side-conversation was not intended to exclude the nurse but rather to manage the patient's discomfort. The issue was that the side-conversation was evident to the nurse, who was excluded beyond what she deemed as an acceptable threshold. In Wadensjö account, the interpreter was



permitting herself a degree of autonomy as part of an effort to normalise her presence and to promote communication between others.

The two examples presented above highlight how interpreters bring their own moral understanding of how to operate in certain contexts. There exist typologies of approaches to describe the interpreter's motivations within the IME. These include "conduit" "advocate", "helper", "bi-lingual-bi-cultural mediator", "cultural mediator" "educator", "gatekeeper" and many more (Mole, 2018; Roy, 1993). This array of metaphors has been devised to illustrate the degree of involvement the interpreter displays, either covertly or overtly. The conduit represents one extreme pole, where the interpreter remains in a less-visible language mediator role. At the other extreme are highly interventionist approaches, such as the advocate or helper. In these roles the interpreter creates their own self-generated contribution. This type of intervention is generally provoked by a power imbalance or from cultural empathy (Merlini, 2009).

The concerns around interpreter participation take us back to Roy's point, which was what is it that an interpreter can legitimately do? Interpreters are known to be inconsistent in their behaviours and often responsive to contextual demands (Angelelli, 2004; Braun, 2017; Davitti, 2012; Major, 2013; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017; Napier et al., 2018; Wadensjö, 1998). If the inconsistent behaviour observed are an outcome of the interpreter's judgement of the PP's goals, how can these judgement be governed or monitored by the PP? I intend to return to this final point in section 4.4.2. The following section will first explain how studies have sought to explain the many ways of being an interpreter.

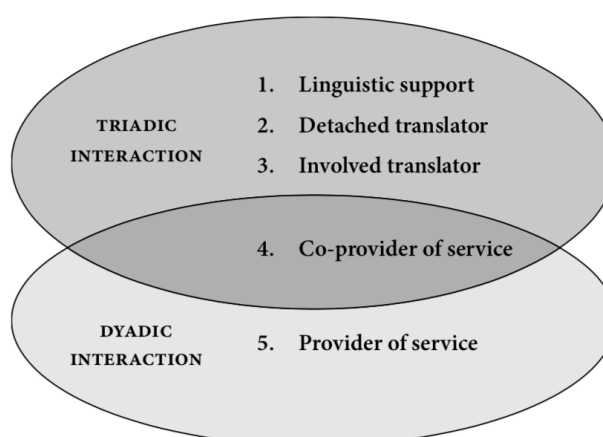
### ***3.3.1 The many ways of being an interpreter***

Wadensjö (1998) divided the work of the interpreter in to two parts, the relaying of talk and the coordination of talk. The two features contain different degrees of involvement and are now widely recognised in the interpreting studies field (Crawley, 2016; Davitti, 2012; Major, 2013; I. Mason, 1999; Merlini, 2015; Turner, 2007; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). The relaying of other people's talk is the main reason for interpreters' involvement, enabling people who primarily use different languages to communicate their ideas and messages. The consensus among interpreting scholars is that interpreters, when undertaking this translational task, will strive to produce a meaning-based rendition

(Hale, 2007; Mulayim et al., 2014; Napier, 2016; Wadensjö, 1998). The expectation of an interpreter is to critically analyse the original utterance as part of a cognitive and conceptual process to determine how ‘would the original utterance (in the given context, with the given participants) be appropriately phrased in the target language and culture in order to reflect the author’s intentions and achieve a similar reaction in the listeners as the original might have’ (Hale, 2007, p. 7). This approach involves setting sights on both the source of the message and the target (or audience design). This process requires an

understanding the meaning of the utterance beyond the literal meaning of the words, understanding the speaker’s intentions in context, taking into account the participants and the situation, and then assessing the likely reaction of the listeners to the utterance. It also involves understanding the appropriateness of the utterance according to the different cultural conventions that are linked to the languages in question. (Hale, 2007, p. 7)

Hale’s description permits the interpreter a degree of flexibility to use their linguistic, cultural and institutional knowledge to reproduce utterances between people. ‘Different interpreters will produce different renditions, choosing different words, different syntax, different nuances, which may trigger different reactions in the participants, the significance of which is yet to be determined’ (Hale, 2007, p. 12). The task of relaying of other people’s talk may involve requests for clarification, or covert and overt explanations to avoid causing offence or misunderstandings (Major, 2013; Merlini, 2009; Napier et al., 2018; Wadensjö, 1998; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016) . This aspect of communication moves the focus on to how interpreter co-ordinates talk. Indeed the act of relaying other people’s talk and coordinating talk (or interactional management) are not exclusive and can co-occur. In recognising the gradual shift in how an interpreter moves from one type of approach to another, e.g. focusing on the relaying to co-ordinating of talk, Merlini (2009) produced the ‘Cultural mediator’s model’, see Figure 1.

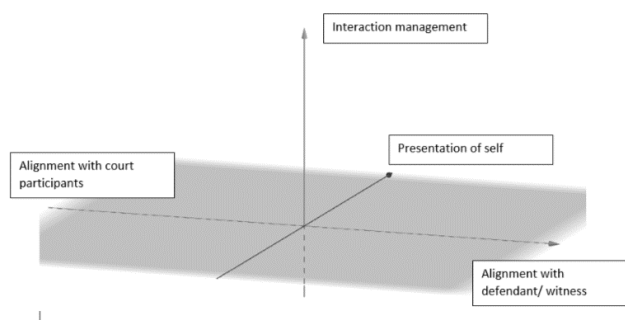


*Image 5: Merlini's (2009, p. 65) Cultural mediator's model*

Merlini's (2009) description of the cultural mediator resembles the description of the dialogue interpreter in one respect, in that the cultural mediator is permitted to assume a more supportive role in educating and explaining gaps in other people's understanding of systems and cultures. Although the cultural mediator assumes greater responsibility, this does not mean the dialogue interpreter does not perform the same task. Row 1, linguistic support, signifies minimal involvement, for example, when the interpreter only intermittently contributes an interpretation between PPs who can semi-converse with one another. Here, the interpreter's service is only partially required, to fill gaps in either PP's language competency (Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017). Row 2, detached translator, describes the primary feature of interpreting as 'a form of Translation [sic] in which a first and final rendition in another language is produced on the basis of a one-time presentation of a text in a source language' (Pöchhacker, 2014, p. 11). Within this responsive endeavour the interpreter's personal goal is to produce a rendition that can be regarded as representative of the original (Hale, 2007; Napier, 2016). When in this detached translator mode, the interpretation is delivered in the first person (Hale, 2007; Napier, 2016; Napier et al., 2006). The interpreter's will not, however, always have advance notice of how a speaker/signer will formulate their utterances. In most dialogue settings, then, the ephemeral pressures can make remaining in the 'detached translator' role unsustainable. The involved translator (rows 3) through to Provider of service (row 5) represent the more visible interpreter, where PPs are referred to in third person, asking questions about the PP's utterances, through to explaining other people's utterances and holding direct interactions with the PPs.

Interestingly, Merlini (2009) marks increasing interpreter involvement as changing the triadic arrangement in the interaction to dyadic. As the interpreter engages in direct talk, the exclusion of the other PP implies *complete* exclusion. I question if this is in fact the case. As demonstrated in Wadensjö's (1998) nurse-patient example, the interpreter could not freely engage in a dyadic side conversation with the patient. The attempts to reassure the patient to disclose his health problem was always expected to cease. The presence of the nurse was never completely removed, and the side conversation was dependent on the nurse's willingness to wait and silently co-operate. Being silent, however, does not mean complete exclusion.

Merlini's (2009) intention in developing the cultural mediator model was similar to that behind the development of Llewellyn-Jones & Lee's (2014) role space model. These authors' models recognise how interpreters routinely adapt and respond to immediate demands. Merlini's (2009) model contains a set of attribute characteristics, while Llewellyn-Jones & Lee's model is represented visually using a 3D spatial map, see Image 6.



*Image 6: Llewellyn-Jones & lee (2014)'s role-space template*

The model contains three axes to delineate and describe how the interpreter dynamically shapes their practice in any given IME. The three axes are: alignment, interaction management, and the presentation of self (2014, p. 10). Firstly, alignment describes how the interpreter aligns with the other participants. Llewellyn-Jones & Lee (2014, p. 14) agree with Metzger's (1999) argument that impartiality and neutrality are unattainable. They confront this issue by measuring the interpreter's fluctuating alignment with either PP, where each PP is located at each end of the axis (e.g. the participants of the court and the defendant/witness). Secondly, interaction management relates to the interpreter's role in co-ordinating talk, especially the turn-taking aspect, e.g. overlapping talk. The management of an IME can happen through overt actions or covert actions. A high level of interactional management is situated at the top of the axis, and low interactional management is at the bottom end. Thirdly, the presentation of self-axis was inspired by the work of Goffman (1981), 'the scale of the presentation of self-axis [which] runs from low presentation of self (not interacting, not presenting any information) to high (speaking for one's self, providing information)' (Llewellyn-Jones & Lee, 2014, p. 15). This continuum places the conduit model (low presentation of self) at one end of the scale and interpreters as full participants (such as the advocate) at the other. The objective in

introducing this role-space model was to enable practitioners, regulators and trainers to evaluate approaches displayed by interpreter. The concept of role-space challenged the existing prescriptive codes of practice set by interpreters' regulatory bodies' codes that promoted a static concept of interpreter role and did not sufficiently recognise the local challenges or conditions community interpreters were expected to negotiate.

The concept of role space is a useful reflective tool to describe how an interpreter behaves and responds to the immediate demands of an IME. Devaux (2017) extended Llewelyn-Jones & Lee's (2014) model to explain how humans (e.g. lawyers and judges) and non-humans (e.g. VMI technology) influence how interpreters express themselves as interpreters along each axis, which is discussed further in section 3.5.3. The benefit with using Merlini's (2009) model in favour of Llewelyn-Jones & Lee's (2014) model is the ability to use each grade 1-5 as a pre-positioning attribute codes, see section 5.10, where each mode articulates the type of rights and duties the interpreter seeks or is expected to assume. Another benefit in using Merlini's model is its compatibility with Herbert's normative orders (introduced in section 4.7). Herbert's normative orders is a framework intended to account for the heterogeneous approaches of an individual officer when at the scene (or space) and the value system that explains the path chosen: law, bureaucracy, safety, adventure/machismo and competence. Merlini's (2009) typologies also describe the interpreter's heterogeneous and variable approaches. Merlini's (2009) model could arguably be defined as a working set of dialogue interpreter's normative orders - one that can explain how an interpreter evaluates an interaction (space) and the interpreting approach (values) expressed in a given moment. A shift from one DI normative order to another represents a pronounced shift in the interpreter's interactive rights and duties.

How the interpreter manoeuvres themselves up and down these grades is a focal point for this study. When transitioning between the grades the interpreter does so in unsupervised conditions. This is similar to patrol officers, who occupy the lower-ranks of the police force and operate with special powers in unsupervised conditions. However, specific controls are in place to govern police discretion, such as proactive-domestic violence policies (Black & Lumsden, 2020; Loftus, 2009), see section 4.8.3. When a citizen claims to have been a victim of domestic violence the police officer has to initiate a set of procedures, regardless of whether the situation has de-escalated or if there is no obvious cause for further police involvement. The officer's or call-handler's judgement is sometimes superseded by risk-adverse measures (Black & Lumsden, 2020; Loftus, 2009).

The situation for interpreters is different. They may be mindful of their code of ethics, but their decision-making remains their own. How the interpreter is governed becomes the PP's responsibility, like the nurse in Wadensjö's (1998) study who challenges the interpreter's side conversation with her patient. This proposal is a difficult one to resolve as the PPs cannot always see for themselves what an interpreter is bringing to the interaction. Turner (2007) believes one alternative measure is to encourage interpreters to consider ways of explaining their decision making and ways of promoting a 'co-venture' in IMEs.

### ***3.3.2 Promoting a co-venture in IMEs***

To begin the process of building a co-venture in an IME, Turner (2007) describes a need for interpreters to become better prepared in employing different overt and covert techniques to support PP to become co-constructors of meaning and co-ordination. Turner's argument for co-venture aims to extend Roy's point that 'all three participants [the professional, the client, and the interpreter] jointly produce this event, and all three are responsible' (Roy, 2000, p. 63). In a policing context, this understanding of IMEs has been described as problematic, as institutional rules do not promote such co-operation between participants; furthermore, officers are generally reluctant to share control with interpreters or even to trust the interpreter to do their job appropriately (Goodman-Delahunt & Howes, 2019; Howes, 2019b). Based on their experience of training of police officers, Perez & Wilson describe the solution as 'not solely a question of training more professional interpreters to work competently in police settings, [but] it is also about training police officers to be able to work "professionally" through and with interpreters' (2007, p. 93).

When relying on an interpreter, the communication strategies used by police officers in interviews or solicitors in cross-examinations have been known to become ineffective (Berk-Seligson, 1990, 2009; Gallai, 2013; Nakane, 2014). Often the original intention does not manifest in the same way in another language, or it is the interpreter's interpretation that becomes the subject of discussion rather than what was originally expressed (Böser, 2013; Krouglov, 1999, 2014). It has been problematic for the police to recognise and accept that it is not always possible to move between languages without losing something from the original (Goodman-Delahunt & Howes, 2019; Howes, 2019a). To reduce misunderstanding, officers have had to reconsider how language is

used and how questions are formulated (Howes, 2019a; Mulayim et al., 2014; Perez & Wilson, 2007). Interpreters, likewise, have been challenged to do more to learn how their actions and decisions impact on the outcome of an interview and how the participants form opinions of one another (Böser, 2013; Krouglov, 1999, 2014; Lai & Mulayim, 2014; Mulayim et al., 2014; Nakane, 2014). Although these studies are concerned with how officers work with an interpreter to manage formal interviews, the argument remains valid for frontline services. These discussions highlight the potential value of co-operation, and warrant a closer look at the components, benefits, and means of achieving co-operation in the context of dialogue interpreting in frontline police settings.

The idea that interpreters and PPs can work together was investigated by Napier (2007b), who carried out a case study analysing the co-working relationship between a deaf conference presenter and two Auslan/English interpreters. The participants were familiar to each other and used this shared background as a base from which to prepare for and co-deliver a presentation to a non-signing audience. The collaborative approach included a pre-briefing session covering the content of the conference presentation, the presenter's aims, agreed ways to monitor and support each other during the talk, and the extent of creative license that the interpreters were to be afforded when representing the presenter. Analysis of this collaborative process led Napier (2007b) to put forward her *co-operative principles of interpretation*, consisting of six maxims: *trust, preparation, negotiation, eye-contact, turn-taking* and *visual clues*. Napier's (2007b) framework was an adaptation of Grice's (1975) co-operative framework for conversations, and was an appreciative inquiry that described how control and responsibility in producing and delivering an interpretation can be shared between participants. Napier (2007b) acknowledged that dialogue interpreting settings would introduce a different set of variables than those she studied, such as low familiarity between participants and the bi-directional flow of communication, and would therefore be likely to produce different outcomes. It is the shared control and responsibility between participants who come together for an unplanned event, via technology, that I intend to examine further.

I have decided to follow Davies & Harre's (1990) positioning framework instead of Napier's (2007b) co-operative principles because of the interdisciplinary focus promoted in this study. A positioning-orientated study offers a broader outlook that considers the moral order (rights and duties) and the wider context (storylines) as well as what people do (communicative acts). The VRS or VRI interpreter who participates in the calls will

require the co-operation of a call-handler and custody sergeant to facilitate communication. There appears to be no formal training for Police Scotland call-handlers or custody sergeants about how to manage their interactions via an interpreter; this means call-handlers and custody sergeants who participate in this study will be relying on established communication practices and devising new, in-situ, solutions. This study intends to critically look at how the interpreter transitions from one normative order to another. Interpreters and frontline service staff cannot remain in one mode throughout an interaction. Changes in rights and duties will naturally occur. How actors move from one set of rights and duties to the next may be voluntary or involuntary, but how this is communicated and negotiated feeds into the co-operative venture in all IMEs.

Warnicke & Plejert (2016) have made valuable progress in describing the positioning moves in a VRS contexts (see section 3.5). The focus of Warnicke & Plejert's (2016) studies was on the VRS context; however, they did not describe how the VRS service and interactants benefits from, or is disrupted by, the context of the VRS call. The analysis of VRS or VRI interactions can go further with a more focused study that looks at VRS or VRI in one context, e.g. a VRS non-emergency call or a VRI custody booking-in process. It is often the case that the VRS or VRI service sits within a public service setting. The public service will have devised a set of interactive management techniques which may supersede or compliment VRS or VRI practices.

### **3.4 Drivers in establishing VMI platforms**

Before discussing the intricacies of managing VMI calls on an interactive level, it is necessary to understand the factors that have driven the establishment of VMI services and whether or not the technical concept is the right fit for the contexts in which it is employed. This discussion includes both the physical arrangements, for example the technology used and the placement of actors; and the thinking behind the VMI concept, such as why is VMI viewed as the right solution in preference to on-site provision? Interpreters have to work in settings that are conducive to their practice (Braun et al., 2016; Ryan & Skinner, 2016). A number of scholars have demonstrated that it cannot be assumed that an appropriate level of thinking and consultation has happened by and with key stakeholders before introducing VMI services (Braun, 2018; Braun et al., 2018; Haualand, 2014, 2012; Skinner et al., submitted). Indeed, interpreters are often being



asked to compromise on best practice to meet the increasing demand for their service (Alley, 2019; Braun, 2018; Braun et al., 2018; Brunson, 2011, 2018; Napier et al., 2017).

The primary rationale for greater use of remote interpreting (either by telephone or audio-video link) has been to meet the unexpected demands for interpreting services in an affordable and expedient way (Braun, 2015; Haualand, 2011; Locatis et al., 2010; Morgan, 2012; Skinner et al., in press; Turner, Napier, Skinner, & Wheatley, 2016). Health settings are one prime example where remote interpreting services have been extensively used to facilitate interactions between a medical professional and a citizen (Conway & Ryan, in press; Locatis et al., 2010; Price, Pérez-Stable, Nickleach, López, & Karliner, 2012). The concept of remote interpreting provides a logistical advantage where medical professionals can request, for unplanned events, language mediation services for short or long interactions. The interpreter's actual proximity is no longer a barrier as videoconferencing technologies provide a virtual interactive space.

The assumption that expedient and efficient access to an interpreter will help improve how deaf people, or people from other linguistic communities, access police services is often misplaced. Spoken and signed language interpreters have expressed mixed feelings about redeploying their on-site services to virtual spaces (Braun et al., 2018; Braun & Taylor, 2012c; Brunson, 2011, 2018; Koller & Pöchhacker, 2018; Moser-Mercer, 2003, 2005; Napier, 2013; Roziner & Shlesinger, 2010; Skinner et al., submitted). Across these studies different conclusions have been reached about where and when VMI can be appropriately used. Firstly, interpreters believe communicating via technology adds an additional layer of complexity to an already complex task (Bower, 2015; Brunson, 2011; Napier, 2013; Napier et al., 2017; Tyler, 2018). For signed language interpreters their main concerns stem from the reliability of the technology, the wide variety of VRS/VRI calls in a given day (Napier et al., 2017), and the need to interact in sign language via a two-dimension format. Indeed, communicating in a signed language via video-link does require mutual awareness of how signs are perceived when being produced (Keating et al., 2008). These variables can impact on the interpreter's performance or experience with facilitating communication, where the flow of the interaction can become challenged or riddled with interpreter-induced errors. Whether or not interpreters do produce more errors when working remotely remains to be fully explored. A handful of VMI studies suggest that interpreters do produce slightly more errors or produce more repetitions,

although this is not conclusive (Braun, 2017; Roziner & Shlesinger, 2010; Wang & Fang, 2019).

Interestingly, Koller & Pöchhacker (2018) viewed the success of an Austrian VRI spoken and signed language interpreting service as being tied to a new breed of interpreters, who were routinely delivering a remote interpreting service for medical appointments. According to Koller & Pöchhacker (2018) the interpreters they interviewed were not perturbed by the remoteness and call volume. The interpreters saw working remotely as another way of deploying their interpreting service. Whilst comfort and attitudes towards working with technology are certainly contributing factors, Koller and Pöchhacker did not consider how the PPs' involvement contributed to the success of the interaction. Neither did they consider whether the model promoted by the VRI provider and the public service was conducive to VRI calls. In what way did the VRI model preserve best practices? Is the interpreter awarded a level of autonomy to engage directly with patients and health professionals? A lack of interpreter autonomy, as seen in the US, has been argued to impact on the quality of the interpreting service (Alley, 2019). The type of VRI services describe in Koller & Pöchhacker (2018) were not working to the same standards or pressures as remote conference interpreters (Moser-Mercer, 2003, 2005; Roziner & Shlesinger, 2010) or remote legal interpreters (Balogh & Hertog, 2012; Braun & Taylor, 2012a; Devaux, 2016, 2017; Miler-Cassino & Rybińska, 2012; Napier, 2012). It is possible that the VRI interpreters in Koller & Pöchhacker's (2018) study benefited from the suitability of calls (which has yet to be properly investigated) and/or the improved communication styles adopted by the health professionals. Acknowledging these variables can help distinguish the difference discovered in this study with other studies looking at the use of VRS or VRI.

Comparing the provisions of VRS/VRI, for signed language interpreting services, by country to country further differences arise. National or local authorities/departments will have developed their own approaches about how best to use a finite amount of funding to commission VRS/VRI services (Haualand, 2011, 2012). In the United States campaigners have achieved legal recognition under discrimination laws to ensure equal opportunities to access the telephone in a functionally equivalent way (Alley, 2019; Brunson, 2011). Each U.S. state has a legal obligation to provide its citizens with equal opportunities to access a telephone relay service, thus enabling deaf, hard of hearing or individuals with a speech impediment to make use of the telephone. Telephone relay

services can include a VRS, a remote captioning service, a remote speech-to-text relay service or a remote speech-to-speech relay service (see Turner et al., 2016 for further background). The system established in the US promotes the belief that a citizen should be capable of making a telephone call to anyone of their choice, at any time and of any length (Brunson, 2018). For this to happen, a significant pool of interpreters has to remain on stand-by to field large call volumes. In one shift a VRS interpreter can handle a range of calls that vary from ordering building parts, speaking to a relative, selling a product, seeking medical advice and emergency calls (Bower, 2015). Looking at what is being developed in the US suggests that there is no limit to VRS, and interpreters can field calls between strangers on any topic of their choice. For academics interested in the US system there is real opportunity to explore how interpreters might have sacrificed their best practice standards to benefit people's rights to function as equal citizens (Alley, 2019; Bower, 2015; Brunson, 2018). Another angle to this debate would be to question in what way deaf people might be settling for an inferior, but more widely available, VRS interpreting service when an on-site service might produce a better result? This is an example of how overarching policy, and perceptions of VRS as a service, can determine the nature and quality of interactions that take place.

The on-demand nature of accessing interpreting services in the US has seen a shift in the way interpreters self-regulate and determine how their services are to be deployed (Alley, 2019; Brunson, 2018, 2015; Tyler, 2018). Interpreters are not defined or known as interpreters by the Federal Communications Commission, the US VRS regulator, instead they are described as Communication Assistants. Interpreters working for US VRS call centres have seen an increase in their productivity (more customers per day) as well as an increase in their repertoire of work (Bower, 2015). The US model is being replicated in other parts of the world, on a limited scale (e.g. fewer operational hours per day) (Cassiopeia, 2013; Napier et al., 2017; Vogler et al., 2011). Regardless of the funding model, Napier et al. (2017, 2018) report on how the diversity and volume of work also brings the interpreter into direct contact with a broader variety of people and language use.

In a UK context, VRS and VRI services tend to be established on a limited scale. The terms of use do not come close to the unlimited VRS use promoted in the US. In the UK, public or private organisations directly contract a private VMI company to facilitate VRS or VRI calls (Cassiopeia, 2013; CSMG, 2012). This means the VMI company and the

purchaser, which could be a public authority, a private business or individual, have a more engaged relationship in determining how the auxiliary VRS or VRI service is defined. This relationship can play an essential role in defining how technology is used to call upon vital interpreting assistance. For example, in the US context, a police force has no direct relationship with the VRS company which fields 911 calls. In a UK context, a police force has determined for itself which VMI company should become a partner in fielding their 101VRS calls (Skinner et al., submitted). There is one exception. In Scotland, the Scottish Government fund a nationwide VRS platform called ContactScotland. The Scottish Government, on behalf of Scottish public authorities, has determined the relationship with a VRS company. As discussed in the opening of this thesis, the description of the VRS-police force partnership is made publicly available on the police force website. This partnership means that there is the potential to review how the 101VRS service is used and to identify common issues in fielding 101VRS calls.

The involvement of interpreters with UK frontline police services appears to be increasing as technology progresses. Few studies have looked at how interpreters are used in these frontline contexts, where the focus is not always on detecting criminal activity but dealing with someone's vulnerability. The SHaping the Interpreters of the Future and Today project<sup>8</sup> (hereafter referred to as SHift) has made some progress with the inclusion of interpreters in frontline settings. The SHift project staged a number of simulated emergency calls via an Italian telephone spoken language interpreting service. In these instances interpreters were described as holding a degree of autonomy, where permission from their employer and the emergency services was granted to extract caller details without waiting for the call-handler to generate the questions as part of an effort to increase expediency and efficiency (Amato, 2017; Spinolo et al., 2018). The interpreters involved in the SHift project were seen to independently ask the caller for their location, the reason for calling the emergency service and time of the event.

Experienced telephone interpreters are usually aware of the conversation routines of the different settings they work for and, therefore, they may opt for autonomously gathering as much information as possible before referring back to the operator, thus speeding up the process to guarantee the operator's quick response to the caller's request for help. (Spinolo et al., 2018, p. 58)

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<sup>8</sup> Website: <https://www.shiftinorality.eu> [Accessed: 13/08/2018]

The description provided by Spinolo et al. (2018) suggests that there is scope to refine the remote interpreting service, increasing a type of moral duty of the interpreter to achieve a specific purpose. The interpreters in the SHift project used their knowledge of emergency calls to autonomously generate questions to the caller and relay all essential details onto the call-handler. The reasoning behind the changes is not purely tied to the interpreting activity but the coordination of tasks; for example, only one person can be understood at a time in an emergency telephone interpreted interaction. The need and demand for remote telephone interpreting services, in the case of emergency calls, is to be expedient in accessing emergency-related resources. The increased autonomy awarded to interpreters appeared to be practical solution developed between the Italian interpreting agency and Italian emergency services (Fernández, 2018). Being able to review how the interpreter operates in remote settings is an undervalued part of expanding the use of technology, the VRS and VRI solution may unintentionally introduce new problems.

The literature review presented here does reinforce the need for careful assessment of what humans, technologies, institutions and educators can collectively achieve to make remote interpreting possible. One caveat is accepting how VMI services cannot become the single solution to locating an interpreter (Skinner et al., submitted). As Skinner et al. (submitted) have argued, it is the responsibility of investigators to define the boundaries and limitations of remote interpreting services, and regularly to review this stance. It goes without saying that video-conferencing technology should at the very least uphold best practice principles, if not go further and improve how interpreting is delivered. These considerations will be communicated in the recommendations part of this thesis, see section 8.4.

### **3.5 Locating a self-hood theory in interpreting studies**

Positioning theory was identified as the ontological paradigm to be used for this study because of its ability to offer an account of how each of the participants impacted on each other's positioning moves (section 2.2), and its potential has been tested on a small number of studies looking at interpreted interactions (Anderson, 2009; Davitti, 2012; I. Mason, 2009; Merlini, 2009; Warnicke & Plejert, 2016). Mason (2009), who introduced the concept of positioning theory to interpreting studies, described the need to evaluate

what happens in an interpreted (multi-party) interaction by simultaneously looking at the contributions brought to the interaction by everyone involved.

Mason's premise was to build on the learning acquired from Wadensjö (1998) and Roy (2000) whose descriptive approach to dialogue interpreting in public settings, contributed to a broadening understanding of what it means to do interpreting (see section 3.3.1). By refocusing how we look at interpreted interactions, Mason intended to steer the discussions away from professional acceptability and instead consider 'the potential impact on the event and its internal evolution' (I. Mason, 2009, p. 52). Warnicke & Plejert (2016) extended Mason's use of positioning theory when evaluating their corpus of authentic Swedish VRS calls (in their paper they use the term VRI). The focus of their study was to investigate the causes that disrupt the interpreter's ability to remain in the 'detached interpreter' mode, an approach PPs and sometimes employers expected of VRS interpreters (Brunson, 2011; Marks, 2013; NCIEC, 2008; Oldfield, 2010). Warnicke & Plejert began their analysis on the Swedish model, where interpreters were viewed as an active co-participant and co-creator within an interpreted interaction. This co-participatory distinction is significant, since it permits the interpreter greater autonomy in determining how and when an interpreter can move away from, and back to, the detached translator mode (Alley, 2019). Based on nine excerpts from two authentic calls, Warnicke & Plejert (2016, p. 218) described how the rights and duties of each actor were constantly shifting in response to the PPs' awareness of the situation and the challenges in communicating across two modalities (technical and linguistic). To convey the impetus for the positioning shifts, Warnicke & Plejert (2016) divided their analysis into two parts: *knowledge asymmetries* and *dependence on technology*. Each is discussed in the following sub-sections.

### **3.5.1 VRS - Knowledge asymmetries**

Knowledge asymmetry is a common feature in all interpreted-mediated activities (on-site or remote), and with VRS calls a specific kind of knowledge asymmetry occurs. Most of the work carried out by interpreters in call centres is a VRS calls initiated from a deaf person (Napier et al., 2017; Turner et al., 2016). The deaf person maybe seeking to contact a friend, relative, public or private service. The first type of knowledge asymmetry occurs when answering the deaf person's call. The interpreter will not know the caller or their reasons for calling the VRS platform. In the UK context, before a call

is answered a pop-up window will appear on the interpreter's computer. The pop-up will announce the nature of the call e.g. 'Barclays Bank', 'BT' or 'Northants Police 101'. In some cases the pop-up may be ambiguous e.g. 'caller ID' or a standard phone number. This pop-up window is intended to prompt the interpreter about what type of call is about to be made. When the call is received by the VRS interpreter, time may be allocated to resolving this knowledge asymmetry. Studies looking at simulated and actual VRS calls have documented a variety of approaches when an interpreter receives a VRS call (Marks, 2015; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). Some interpreters instantly relay the call without seeking an explanation, whilst others will attempt to retrieve specific information about the caller and purpose of the call. There are consequences attached to each of these approaches. To instantly relay the VRS call, the caller does not experience any further delay. The interpreter in this example has yet to discover what they will be asked to interpret. To seek information about the call and to determine how the call will be relayed to the hearing call receiver slows the entire process down. This may or not have a negative impact, as the concerns with how to prepare for a VRS call will not always be the same.

Dealing with an on-demand request to order a book does not provoke the same concerns as an on-demand need to facilitate a mortgage application, a conference call to discuss architectural plans for a major contractor, or even an emergency medical need. In the case of calling for a book purchase, the VRS call is a straightforward matter and requires no briefing at all. The mortgage application is highly complex, but the exchange of information is gradual and collected in stages, thus removing the need to be briefed since the briefing is spread throughout the VRS call. An interpreter cannot realistically interpret a team conference call, discussing plans of a building, with confidence unless they are able to familiarise themselves with the contents of the project prior to the meeting. Finally, to expect to be briefed when the VRS call is a medical emergency would be counterproductive and harmful to the citizen's immediate need. The question of preparing for unplanned VRS/VRI calls ties in with service level agreements between the commissioners and VRS/VRI providers. In what way do these service level agreements acknowledge or describe interpreter autonomy and breadth of involvement (as discussed in section 3.4)? Interpreters are not always supported and empowered to make individual decisions with how to handle preparation on a call by call basis (Napier et al., 2017)?

The next type of knowledge asymmetry arises when the VRS interpreter invites the call receiver to join the call, usually this is a hearing person. Unlike telephone spoken language interpreting services, VRS interpreters have increased responsibility with brokering the opening of a call. Investigators describe this duty as more akin to being a call-handler as oppose to being an interpreter (Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). With telephone spoken language interpreting it is the public or professional service who brokers the opening of a call, inviting the interpreter to participate with a conference call. How the public servant or professional co-ordinates the opening can impact on the interpreter's ability to conceptualise the need and interpret other people's utterances (Xu et al., 2020). Fernández Pérez & Toledano Buendía (2018) looked at how contextualisation clues were intentionally passed on to the remote telephone interpreter by public servants, professionals and call handlers. Attention was on the call subject and call objective being communicated by those relying on the interpreter. For example, when working in a face-to-face medical context and a doctor opens with "what is the reason for the consultation today?", Pérez & Buendia (2018) asks, what part of the utterance is of most value to the interpreter? Instead it is the word, "reason", 'that carries the information focus of the clause' (Fernández Pérez & Toledano Buendía, 2018, p. 238). However, for the remote interpreter who receives the call, "consultation" 'becomes a key element for inferring information about the context in which the encounter is taking place' (Fernández Pérez & Toledano Buendía, 2018, p. 238). The verbalised clues within the PP's utterance enable the interpreter to conceptualise the type of demand that must be attended to and the process that must be completed. Fernández Pérez & Toledano Buendia (2018) identified how those who routinely deal with other people's stories via the telephone, e.g. emergency call-handlers, were more mindful and prepared with how to involve an interpreter in the conference call and communicate epistemic differences.

In a VRS context, it is the interpreter who is the broker and has a duty to contextualise the call for the call-receiver. To spontaneously explain to the hearing call-receiver, as expediently as possible, that they are communicating via an interpreter, with someone who is deaf, and across two types of media, requires skilful call-management technique. Further variables come from the hearing call-receiver, their receptiveness to receiving unannounced interpreted calls, attentiveness to learning the atypical VRS arrangement and awareness that deaf people belong to a linguistic minority (Napier et al., 2017; Warnicke & Plejert, 2016). Warnicke & Plejert (2016) found that it was not uncommon for the VRS interpreter to feel empathy for this knowledge asymmetry and that their first



and moral/personal positioning would be to explain or introduce the VRS service to the hearing person, see example 1.

Warnicke & Plejert (2016, pp. 207–208) - Example 1 (from call no. 1)

INT: Interpreter

PT: Participant on the Telephone

1. INT ja hejsan jag ringer från [bild ] telefoni jag ska [förmedla ett samtal. ]  
yea hello I am calling from [video] telephony I will [mediate a call. ]
2. INT [BILD ] [FÖRMEDLA SAMTAL]  
[VIDEO] [MEDIATE CALL. ]
3. PT okej  
okay
4. INT har du [använt tjänsten förut ]  
have you [used the service before]
5. INT [ANVÄNDA TJÄNST FÖRUT ]  
[use service before ]
6. PT nääe::  
no::

In Example 1, the interpreter was first positioned as the educator or provider of the service. This can be seen by her use of contextualisation cues, such as *video telephony*, *mediate*, *service*, and checking the call-receiver's willingness to participate. The shift in position from educator to detached translator occurred once both sides confirmed that they were ready to progress. The smoothness in switching from educator/provider of service to detached translator was contingent upon the hearing person's previous experience and ability to conceptualise the service and ways of working with an interpreter. A clash in interactive frames is a common occurrence, as the call-receiver may not be aware how they need to adapt their behaviour to benefit the interpreted interaction (Napier et al., 2017; NCIEC, 2008; Taylor, 2009). Warnicke & Plejert (2016) recognise how this particular phase could be viewed as face-threatening by the hearing call-receiver, 'since it highlights that she does not know how to behave during the interaction and, in some ways, 'fails' (cf. Wilkinson 2007) to adapt her behaviour appropriately' (2016, p. 212). This latter point again links back to VRS companies' training and policies permitting interpreters to change their involvement (moral/personal positioning moves). This hand-over stage is known to be problematic and can be controversial depending on the perceived role of the interpreters. There is not always agreement about who should lead the opening of a VRS call to the hearing call-receiver

(Napier et al., 2018). Napier et al.(2018) found that there were two schools of thought among interpreters. The first rationale for leading with the handover was to assert the interpreter's professional experience to the benefit of the call more broadly. Also, some interpreters preferred to lead with introducing the call because of past experiences with call failures, where the deaf person's initial position as 'caller' was often ineffective. Another rationale for interpreters to lead with the introduction was to overcome time constraints. In Spain VRS calls are free but cannot exceed 30 minutes in length. This has meant Spanish VRS interpreters controlling the introduction of the VRS call to preserve as much time for the business of the call to be transacted. This is clear example of how different actors' rights and duties can be pre-determined by external forces, in this case the VRS policies and funding structure pre-determining how an interpreter's positioning is expressed.

In contrast, the rationale against leading with the hand over was to avoid asserting dominance over a deaf caller who is from an oppressed minority (Napier et al., 2017; Turner et al., 2016). The rationale for taking the lead from the deaf person acknowledges their right to manage the call. Often the deaf person's motivation to lead with the introduction of the call was to replicate the one-to-one interactive experience. Furthermore, in some cases, the interpreter was required to assume a conduit 'invisible' model of interpreting. A deaf person may seek to enter a VRS interaction without having to declare their audiological status and their use of an interpreter (Alley, 2019; Brunson, 2011; NCIEC, 2008; Taylor, 2009). To not disclose the interpreter's involvement has been known to result in an unnatural and unexplained time lag (Napier et al., 2017, 2018). In cases where the interpreter remains unannounced, the hearing call-receiver will not have been made aware of the interpreted aspect of the call or their need to adjust how they communicate, creating a type of knowledge asymmetry in moral duty. Hearing participants receiving a VRS call have been known to struggle with conceptualising the VRS service related to their lack of experience of being interpreted via the telephone (Napier et al., 2018).

When comparing how the interpreter opened the VRS call in Warnicke & Plejert's (2016) study with other published studies, we see that interpreters can and do tailor their approach depending on the funding model as well as considering who is making/receiving the call. In Mark's (2015) VRS studies she found the interpreter to provide minimal information, e.g. *"this is an interpreted call, I'll connect you now"*. The initial

positioning assumed by the interpreter was a relay or operator kind. Napier et al. (2018) found interpreters to provide a more detailed description of the interpreting process, including the VRS configuration and the gender of the deaf caller (if this was different from the gender of the interpreter). These displays of moral duties were intended to establish the shared rights and duties between PPs to benefit the call more broadly (Napier et al., 2018).

Another way of framing this issue of knowledge asymmetry is to view this endeavour as goal driven. The interpreter when handling the opening of the call seek to establish consent with the call-receiver. Achieving this consent suggests that each of the actors has begun to consider their rights and duties about how to proceed with a VRS IME. In a UK context, how a VRS call is handed over to a telephone helpline is especially interesting. The citizen will have approached the VRS service via a designated webpage or app (see Chapter 1). The webpage or app often pre-establishes the moral order by promoting cohesive partnership service between the mainstream helpline and the VRS. What is being promoted via the webpage or app may not be an accurate representation of what is about to happen. The interpreter and call-handler may be working together for the first time. How the interpreter and call-handler work together under these pre-established conditions has yet to be explored. How do interpreters' and call-handler's actions align to the sentiments presented on the webpage or app?

Positioning moves to resolve knowledge asymmetries not only occurred during the opening of a call. Warnicke & Plejert (2016) also described real-world knowledge asymmetries, where information about the deaf/hearing person's world was inaccessible to the other. For example emotions displayed by the deaf caller would be communicated to the hearing participant “*yea yea yea he is laughing here it might*” underlined added to indicate where the interpreter communicated the caller's manner (Warnicke & Plejert, 2016, p. 216). The interpreter in this example assume a commentator position to impart information that would normally be accessible to both participants in a monolingual call. These repositioning moves, instigated by the interpreter, will depend on their willingness and capability to shift their rights and duties from the detached translator mode. This is an issue that will be looked at in this study. I propose to redefine this type of knowledge asymmetry as a difference in epistemic stance. In doing so, the term allows us to appreciate the kind of knowledge difference that is impacting on the call. Not only is this term in line with how call-handlers cope with real-world differences (see section 4.8.2),

it is also an issue briefly discussed by Harré (2012). Harré (2012) described gaps in another person's belief or knowledge as ignorance, and how this was dealt with was defined as 'epistemic positioning' (2012, p. 203). Harré's (2012) description of epistemic positioning was further clarified, where 'important questions about how rights to know something are distributed and contested, how duties to remedy ignorance are imposed, and so on' (Harré, 2012, p. 203). In the context of this thesis, the VRS interpreters' endeavours to provide additional information can be invaluable to call-handlers, who will not have direct access to the emotional state of the deaf caller. For example, Skinner et al. (submitted) interviewed key stakeholders in the development of 101VRS platforms in the UK, and found that interpreters and representatives of the police understood the need for interpreters to be aware of intonation and mood when handling 101VRS calls. This knowledge feeds into the call-handlers risk and vulnerability assessment, see section 4.8.3.

A related issue of knowledge asymmetry in not being able to independently access the other PP's real-word is the common occurrence of silence during a VRS call. Due to the time lag, the time it takes to complete an interpretation into either language, a hearing person can be expected to wait in silence for some length of time (Napier et al., 2018). Hearing people who find themselves in this situation have commented that it is an unusual experience and that they are unsettled, mostly by the lack of feedback (Napier et al., 2018). The silence does not mean inactivity; however, indeed it can be the opposite. An interpreter may still be actively signing and rendering a prior spoken utterance. Hearing people engaged in a VRS call have been known to not relinquish the next turn to the deaf person because periods of silence were misunderstood as a turn being declined. Napier et al. (2018) commented that the VRS interpreter, who is mostly working in the simultaneous mode, should ideally develop back-channelling strategies. The issue with this expectation, however, is how do interpreters sustain this level of multi-tasking? The interpreter's attention and cognitive effort are engaged in comprehending the speech input and formulating an interpretation. They will also be observing the deaf participant to assess understanding and considering how to formulate their interpretation from an audience design perspective. Adding verbal back-channelling to this workload can be highly demanding, but it is sometimes possible. An alternative approach is for the interpreter to forewarn and explain to the hearing call-receiver, during the opening part of the VRS call, how to recognise and treat periods of elongated silence. Managing this

expectation can be helpful to call-handlers who may wish to promote the citizen's ability to freely recall and explain their circumstances.

The knowledge asymmetries described here were specific to the VRS context and the impact of participants being distributed across three separate locations. The rights and duties the interpreters displayed were a mix of moral and personal. The role of the VRS interpreter remains ambiguous, however, and there is no formal written description that directs VRS interpreters how to handle the opening and establishing of VRS calls or how to assume responsibility for non-linguistic information. Based on past experiences and an understanding of the communication challenges of interacting across two types of media, the interpreters in Warnicke & Plejert's (2016) study and Napier *et al.*'s (2018) study appear to have refined and formalised personal (empathy) positioning moves into a moral (duty-bound) kind.

For VRS calls with police call-handlers (e.g. 101 non-emergency or 999 emergency calls) it is possible that these knowledge asymmetries are mitigated through the call-handler's technique and experience. Till now the focus on VRS has been on the interpreter's actions. Work carried out by Pérez & Buendia (2018) suggests those who routinely work from public service call centre are more prepared with managing and guiding remote telephone spoken language interpreters. By focusing on VRS calls in one contexts, e.g. frontline policing, this study can describe the call-handler's actions to reduce knowledge asymmetries. Call-handlers are used to dealing with a variety of people and issues via the telephone (see section 4.8.2). Call-handlers manage their interactions by following established procedures and questioning techniques. These interactional strategies are part-of the call-handler's broader endeavour to readjust the knowledge asymmetry, cope with epistemic differences, and to gradually determine how police resources are to be allocated.

An unexplored area is how the call-handler formulates an understanding of risk and vulnerability. Risk and vulnerability can be assessed against what someone says and how they communicate their complaint or request. With a 101VRS call, the manner of a citizen's signing will be a mediated kind. How the interpreter recognises and responds to this feature of talk can be critical to the call-handler. There can be risks or on-going problems should the interpreter decide to remain as the detached translator, rather than round off their interpretation with some form of commentary such as "*I can see the person*

*is looking distressed and not making complete sentences*". Interpreters may find themselves in a situation where they must evaluate where and when to move away from this preferred mode.

### **3.5.2 VRS - Technical asymmetries (and linguistic differences)**

In a VRS configuration, there is not only knowledge asymmetry but also technical asymmetry. The interpreter is straddled across two types of media and operates between two linguistic modalities. When the technology does not perform as expected or when there is overlapping discourse the interpreter has to manage this disruption. 'Here the interpreter's involvement would be to ensure nothing uttered previously was lost, and communication resume at the next appropriate window' (Marks, 2015, p. 84). Hence unexpected technical disruptions or overlapping discourse mean that the interpreter must intentionally re-position themselves as the co-producer (or co-ordinator) of the service to 'ensure that both participants are given the same information (cf. Wadensjö 2004:118; "sustaining the participants' experience of common ground") about what is occurring in such cases' (Warnicke & Plejert, 2016, p. 217). This is because the environmental and technical variables are not accessible to the other parties. Neither PP can see each other and recognise if the other person has begun, or is still talking/thinking, or is doing something else (laughing/pointing/looking through some notes/wandered off-screen). Similarly, either PP can independently identify when technology has interfered with communication. In each case, how the asymmetry is resolved relies on the interpreter's capacity and willingness to explain. In the case of overlapping discourse, the interpreter must decide if an intervention is needed, and in doing so disrupt the flow of the interaction. For example, instead of asking the speaker to repeat their utterance and prolong the call, the interpreter may decide to summarise the gist of what they understood.

As a specialist technologised communicator (Amato, 2017; Fernández & Russo, 2017; Hutchby, 2013) the interpreter will have developed a repertoire of techniques and strategies that promote the flow of spoken or signed communication that enable their focus on delivering a linguistic mediator service to happen (Marks, 2015; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). One example of coping with the technical differences is for VRS interpreters to use code-blending strategies. Code-blending is when the interpreter speaks and signs simultaneously (see section 5.9.4). This is often used to either guide the participants on the current state of play or to indicate that

it is their turn to take the floor (Major, 2013; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). Other examples of coping with the technical differences and co-ordination of turns include the interpreter intentionally making themselves unavailable, e.g. looking away or not releasing the floor e.g. prolonging their speech (Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, p. 1323), thus postponing the sanction of a turn. In some instances these diversion tactics are also about managing the cognitive load (Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012). These are some of the VRS interaction management techniques or strategies that are known to be used by VRS interpreters. Warnicke & Plejert describe the position inherited by the interpreter as a ‘gatekeeper and power figure’ (2012, p. 1331). This is one striking feature with the VRS configuration, in which the technical set up has stripped the type of paralinguistic interactional opportunities normally available between participants who are co-located; eye-gaze and gestures are examples of paralinguistic interactions that can be used between primary participants (Davitti, 2012; I. Mason, 2009).

### **3.5.3 Research on VRI**

The latter part of this chapter has concentrated on the VRS configuration. Another configuration yet to be discussed is the VRI arrangement. The VRI configuration has been used for triadic encounters such as public service appointments (e.g. medical appointments and social service appointments) (Conway & Ryan, 2018; Koller & Pöchhacker, 2018; Locatis et al., 2010) participation in political event (Napier et al., 2018), or for larger group interactions (e.g. court hearings (Braun, 2013; Napier, 2012) and business meetings (Braun, 2007). For triadic IMEs, VRI encounters has been found to be less problematic compared to VRS calls (Napier et al., 2018). This is because the actors involved in a VRI call will have increased, though not complete, visual access to each other’s world, reducing the difference in epistemic stance. The deaf and hearing person participating in a VRI call have been seen to benefit from paralinguistic clues (e.g. eye gaze, speech/sign production, gestures and other physical behaviours) (Napier et al., 2018). Another crucial difference between VRS and VRI is how both the deaf and hearing PP in a VRI call have mutually and consensually agreed to invite a remote interpreter to the interaction. The deaf person and the hearing person will be co-present when a VRI call is initiated. The rights and duties between the PPs have either been implicitly or explicitly considered. Explaining to the hearing participant the nature of the VRS call, so they understand their expected moral field, becomes unnecessary.

It is the number of people involved in the interaction and their mindfulness of the interpreter's involvement that has been found to impact on the success of VRI (Devaux, 2017; Napier, 2012; Napier et al., 2018). Not only is it harder for one interpreter to represent multiple speakers/signers during one call, it is also harder for the interpreter, who is based in a remote location, to evaluate via a video-link when and how to interject (Devaux, 2017; Napier, 2012). This is because in large scale meetings or legal hearings, the PPs may not be monitoring the interpreter progress.

Although a body of academic attention on the VRI configuration exists, there are only a handful of studies that look at of interactional data of a VRI call. Almost all of these have come from the legal field, such as police interviews or courtroom interactions (Balogh & Hertog, 2012; Balogh & Salaets, 2018; Braun, 2017; Braun & Taylor, 2012a; Fowler, 2018; Miler-Cassino & Rybińska, 2012; Napier, 2012), and one looking at the participation of political process (Napier et al., 2018). The Assessment of Video-Mediated Interpreting in the Criminal Justice System (hereafter referred to as AVIDICUS) Project<sup>9</sup>, funded by the European Commission (EC). represents the largest comprehensive study of VMI services. Within the AVIDICUS project the VRI arrangement for police interviews and courtroom hearings was investigated. Napier (2012), produced an equivalent study Auslan/English interpreters working within the VRI configuration for a courtroom hearing. Across both the AVIDICUS and Napier's (2012) research the interpreters were being asked to facilitate communication as part of highly complex tasks, where the settings and way people communicate have to be managed via a video-link. These are settings where interpreters already struggle to operate when physically co-located in the same space (Berk-Seligson, 1990; Hale, 2004; Mulayim et al., 2014). The negotiation of rights and duties become challenged because it demands attention and negotiation with a larger number people. These variables introduce substantial differences to the current focus. The VRI calls looked at in this study are mostly triadic and take place in a confined space. The custody process was conducted in a controlled way, where one person spoke at a time. This controlled pace is connected to the custody sergeants' approach to not antagonise detainees and find ways of increasing compliance and cooperation, see section 4.9.2. All of these new variables change how rights and duties are accessed and negotiated. Finally, the interpreters in this study were responding to unplanned frontline policing needs. The interpreters who took part in the

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<sup>9</sup> Website: <http://wp.videoconference-interpreting.net> [Accessed: 06/06/2017]



AVIDICUS project and Napier's (2012) assessment were given advance notice and description of the VRI event. The interpreter would have travelled from their home location to a recognised and secure facility, e.g. a police station, courthouse or prison, to participate in the VRI call (Balogh & Hertog, 2012; Balogh & Salaets, 2018; Braun & Taylor, 2012a; Devaux, 2017; Fowler, 2018; Miler-Cassino & Rybińska, 2012; Napier, 2012). The interpreters in this study did not have that same opportunity to prepare for their assignment.

Many of the variables identified from the AVIDICUS (Braun, 2016, 2018; Braun & Taylor, 2012b) and Napier's (2012) study have been removed through the research design process, where it was agreed to focus on VRI for triadic encounters. This was a deliberate decision to reduce the complexity of managing a VRI call. In doing so, one can critically analyse what works and why within a simple interactive arrangement.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has covered the development of dialogue interpreting as both a form of interpreting and a field of study. For some decades researchers and practitioners have been battling with understanding and establishing the unique role of the dialogue interpreter, one that breaks from the conduit description of human interactions and translation norms. Recognising the collective responsibility in making communication work has been helpful with realigning the expectations and messages communicated by practitioners, trainers and PP. The interpreter's presence and involvement in reshaping messages between people, languages and communities means that how the interaction is experienced will always be an "interpreted interaction" (Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998).

The migration towards technology has been explained and how this has impacted on the way interpreters perform. One noticeable concern is how the introduction of technology has not always aligned with this broadening understanding of what it means to be a dialogue interpreter. Technology has been indiscriminately introduced to tackle a specific need, increasing on-demand access to an interpreter. The ability to initiate contact, however, does not always include considerations of whether VRS or VRI is the right approach. This means that an interpreter may be called upon to facilitate communication between people in an environment that is not conducive to remote communication. This

incompatibility can be traced back to the expectations of the interpreter, to the suitability of the topic or context.

The discussion concerning the funding framework for expanding VMI service was necessary because this study is based on the UK VRS/VRI market, more specifically SignVideo's approach to promoting VRS and VRI. In a UK context VRS/VRI interpreters have the freedom to become co-participants. This means there is scope for the interpreter to migrate between a detached translator mode through to a co-provider of the service. The designing of the simulations (see section 5.5 and 5.6.), including the process, was given equal attention to the development of content of the VRS or VRI call. Certain variables have been identified and controlled for in this study. Furthermore, the issues with how the interpreter operates from a remote location has rarely considered the contributions made by the PPs. Frontline police services are versed at dealing with unplanned events, a citizen's need and idiosyncratic styles of communication. This suggests frontline services have much to offer interpreters working in VRS or VRI contexts. Understanding the skills and approaches to social order promoted in frontline policing is reviewed in the following chapter.

## **Chapter 4 – The Challenges of Policing Diverse Communities**

In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 the application of positioning theory will be used to chart the interactive moves of the call-handlers and custody sergeants. The focus will be on how call-handlers and custody sergeants work with others to ensure a citizen's story is documented and a routine frontline procedure is completed. To better appreciate why positioning moves are created or rejected this chapter begins with a general description of current UK policing, its role and its evolving place in society (section 4.1). The organisation has been gradually shifting towards promoting social order and dealing with citizen vulnerabilities. These reforms can be linked to developments with procedural justice, where there is greater recognition on promoting a type of citizen engagement (see Chapter 1). Section 4.3 - 4.5 moves from a general concern to police-citizen interactions to deaf people's experiences of interacting with the police and accessing police services.

The second part of this chapter returns to the broader research themes of policing diverse communities (section 4.6). This section touches on the how the police have found to be failing certain social groups and institutional led reforms to improve police practices. Section 4.7 reframes the focus on the actions of an individual officer when engaged in the task of day-to-day policing. I have identified Steve Herbert's (1996) work on normative orders as being highly compatible with a positioning orientated study. For Herbert's model to remain applicable to the two frontline police services investigated in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, i.e. calls to the FCR (section 4.8), and detention into police custody (section 4.9), I propose including policing vulnerability and risk management (see section 4.7.1). By including the two strands it is intended to produce a more holistic model that can explain a call-handler's or custody sergeant's approach to IMEs.

Section 4.8 provides an overview of research looking at the role of FCR and known challenges that impact on how call-handlers operate. Section 4.8.1 considers the general structure of a citizen's call to a FCR (4.8.1), the strategies developed by call-handlers to cope with increasing demands from the public (Sections 4.8.2 and 4.8.3). Section 4.9 looks at the second area of policing featured in this study: custody settings. Section 4.9.1 - 4.9.2 describes interactions typical to custody settings. Section 4.9.3 offers a brief review of UK legislation and Police Scotland's custody protocols advising on the treatment of deaf people brought into custody. The conclusions (section 4.10) highlight

the areas of potential challenges with how both frontline services work with interpreters and how parity of service be offered to a deaf BSL user.

#### **4.1 Establishing the institutional moral order**

This section contains a brief description of Police Scotland's current objectives, which include a focus on equality and social harmony, and establishes the wider institutional moral field when analysing the distribution of rights and duties of an IME. The modern UK police force is described by Crawford as a 'social organisation which holds a broad mandate of crime control and order maintenance' (2012, p. 148). The principles of this description are supported by Police Scotland's public pledge:

***Our Purpose:** To improve the safety and wellbeing of people, places and communities in Scotland. **Our Focus:** Keeping People Safe. **Our Values:** Integrity, Fairness and Respect.*  
(Police Scotland, 2/11/16)

Crawford's (2012) definition seeks to articulate the strategic direction of UK policing, which includes a broader range of tasks and duties than had previously been envisaged. Earlier definitions, which are still in use, concentrate solely on the crime control and crime prevention aspects of policing work (Reiner, 2010); depending on the researcher's objective, there are benefits to this narrow focus on crime control and law enforcement. For this study, however, the broader definition of policing holds more relevance, since it focuses on a particular social group seeking to access police services and how frontline police services complete standard procedures involving someone from another linguistic background.

To better illustrate the broader definition, the College of Policing conducted a survey of police forces across England and Wales. The research team sought to understand the variety of demands on policing and its potential impact on policing resources. The survey recognised the change in pattern of demand, where reported crime was falling but the demand from the public was still increasing. Police staff were not only called upon to engage in crime-related activities, but matters concerning citizen vulnerabilities (see section 4.7.1), public protection and safeguarding. This broader portfolio of work included traffic control, severe weather disruptions, searching for missing people, suicides and people with mental health issues. The College of Policing report recognised

how non-crime related matters represents a greater share of what the police do on a day to day level.

Non-crime incidents account for 84% of all command and control calls. Local police data suggests in some forces, 'public safety and concern for welfare' incidents now represent the largest category of recorded incidents. As with crimes that related to vulnerability, public protection and safeguarding, these incidents are likely to consume more resource effort as they can be more complex, many involving combined agency responses eg, mental health. (College of Policing, 2015, p. 16).

Part of adapting to this changing landscape will involve reaching out to partners, such as interpreters, to align their actions in the appropriate way. Scant attention has been given to interpreter involvement in non-crime related matters or how interpreters can support these earlier stages of police-citizen interactions (Howes, 2019b; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2018; Shift Project, 2017; Skinner et al., submitted). The focus for interpreting scholars has predominantly been on high consequence settings such as interpreting police interviews with a suspect or victims. The investigator's focus in these high consequence settings concern interpreter involvement and how they must negotiate a fine line between legitimate and illegitimate involvement (see section 4.5). The outcome of the interpreter's involvement can interfere with how stories are retold, the development of relationships and how citizens are perceived and treated. In frontline settings the issue of interpreter's involvement will not be measured against the same types of demands. Instead, in frontline settings the interpreter's involvement may need to be measured against the impact this has on the police forces' objective to offer protection or safeguarding, a point that is returned to throughout sections 4.8 - 4.9.

The broader definition of policing promoted by Police Scotland is more than an articulation of the values and standard expected of itself. The public pledge quoted above forms the basis on which to measure police performance and chart the progress of police reforms (Scottish Police Authority, 2019). For some time the police have been engaged in the task of transferring these values and standards across the workforce by looking closely at how the police conduct their interactions with the public (Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2009; Rowe, 2002). This focus shines a light on who the police are, how these privileged individuals carry out their duties, and police discretion: i.e. how an officer or member of the police staff approaches their interactions with the public and endeavours to keep people safe – particularly the most vulnerable. The underlying concern here is, how can

the police maintain their legitimacy, as set by their own values and standards, when actively engaged in the task of policing a diverse population? In sections 4.2 - 4.5 I revisit this point by concentrating on deaf people's experiences when in contact with the police and why accessing police service has been consistently problematic. Understanding the deaf person's experience of policing allows a fuller appreciation of what VRS or VRI in a frontline policing context means to a deaf person, and demonstrates how piecemeal access to the police can and does interfere with the police's own standards concerning well-being, fairness and protection.

The institutional expectations presented in this section are relevant to a positioning-orientated study, where institutional rights and duties inform the analytical approach. The moral demands made of the police workforce are exceptional, reflecting the closer relationship to the law and the unequal distribution of power between a citizen and a representative of the police. How these moral orders are negotiated may become challenging, especially as the values of fairness and respect can have different meanings to different people. Communicating what is fair, and what are one's duties and one's rights, therefore becomes an important aspect of how the police manage their interactions with the public. How to promote good quality police-citizen interactions has led to the development of procedural justice, an area of research focusing on how the police embed structural dialogue into their practice (Mazerolle et al., 2012; Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

#### ***4.1.1 Procedural justice***

Procedural justice was put forward as framework that could inform and direct the practice of policing by exploring whether or not interactions with the public could be fashioned so as to garner more co-operative or compliant outcomes (Tyler & Huo, 2002). As summarised by Mazerolle et al. (2014, p. 3):

When police treat people with respect, demonstrate trustworthiness, are neutral in their decision making, and provide people with an opportunity to participate in the process and air concerns before decisions are made (i.e., voice), then people are more likely to believe police are being procedurally just.

Studies looking procedural justice have stressed the importance of fair and respectful treatment as being 'more influential in shaping the citizens' impressions of justice than

was a favourable outcome—a phenomenon called the ‘procedural fairness effect’ (Goodman-Delahunty, 2010, p. 404). Tenets of procedural justice include ‘dignity and respect, trustworthy motives, neutrality, and voice’ (Goodman-Delahunty, 2010). When an officer engages in talk with a member of the public and demonstrates a sincere concern for fairness and working in the best interests of the public, they validate their trustworthiness (Tyler & Huo, 2002). Continuing with this approach to communication, respectful treatment ‘involves a consideration for human rights, and treating people politely and with dignity’ (Mazerolle et al., 2014, p. 8), which also includes the citizen’s opportunity to be heard. Goodman-Delahunty paraphrases this as ‘professional behaviour’ (2010, p. 404). Neutrality is ‘the absence of bias by principled conduct and decisions, consistency, even-handedness, and transparency’ (Goodman-Delahunty, 2010, p. 404). Voice is the citizen’s opportunity to be heard. Giving voice to the citizen, and to the interpreter (Howes, 2019b), holds symbolic value whereby others are included in how the police perform, such as becoming part of the officer’s decision-making process. The inclusion of others, and not just the intended beneficiary, is argued to increase co-operation (Howes, 2019b; Mazerolle et al., 2014).

Implementing the principles of procedural justice and promoting its benefits across the police workforce has been a challenge. Resistance has surfaced in a variety of contexts, such as where police officers were unable to relate the proposed benefits to their actual work experience (Mazerolle et al., 2014). This study cannot look at co-operation without considering procedural justice, where structuring the dialogue comprises the interpreter’s involvement. Knowing how to demonstrate trustworthiness via an interpreter, remaining confident when explaining police procedures via an interpreter, and including a deaf citizen in the decision-making via an interpreter pushes the police officer to operate at a more challenging level than what is normally experienced. Procedural justice can be ‘the most important first step that police can take toward building trust, garnering cooperation, eliciting compliance, and generally building rapport with otherwise disenfranchised groups of people in largely disadvantaged communities’ (Mazerolle et al., 2014, p. 7). As we shall see, issues around policing diverse communities have played an important part in challenging how the police retain their legitimacy. In the following sections, 4.2 - 4.5, we focus on deaf people’s experiences with law enforcement.

## 4.2 Deaf people's experience of the legal system

Historical records of courtroom hearings dating back to 1725 provide fascinating insights into how the justice system has viewed deaf people over time, and what kinds of adjustments have been regarded as acceptable to enable a level of participation and inclusion in the legal process (Roy et al., 2018; Stone & Woll, 2008, p. 227). How a deaf person's inclusion was administered was determined by factors such as the deaf person's ability to assert or explain their rights to participation, the legal representative's understanding and acceptance of what it meant to be deaf, the legal representative's understanding and acceptance of signed languages as another language, and the legal representative's understanding and acceptance of a mediator's role to assist with communication. In these historical records, those facilitating communication could be police officers, missionaries, family members, friends or acquaintances of the deaf defendant, litigant or witness (Leahy, in prep; Stone & Woll, 2008). These were individuals who could hear and demonstrated some skills in a signed language. The standards expected today is in stark contrast, as deaf people's rights are enshrined in law.

The Police Criminal and Evidence (PACE) Act (1984)<sup>10</sup> was the first UK legislation to specifically mention BSL and the right to a BSL/English interpreter. The legal expectation to provide a spoken or signed language interpreter is now stipulated in a range of legal or institutional mechanisms, such as the EU directives 2010/64<sup>11</sup> and 2012/29<sup>12</sup>, the Equalities Act (2010), and Police Scotland's Interpreting and Translating Services Standard Operating Procedure (2018). In many EU countries this expectation cannot always be met as access to appropriately trained signed language interpreters is not always possible (Napier & Haug, 2017). Unlike many countries in the EU, the UK does have access to over a thousand registered BSL/English interpreters; more work must be done to ensure this pool of practitioners is able to operate in complex legal settings (Napier et al., n.d.; Perez & Wilson, 2007).

Research investigating the experiences of deaf citizens when in contact with the wider legal system is extremely limited, yet it reveals a vast number of issues that bring into question equality of justice and its integrity (Brennan, 1999; Brennan & Brown, 1997; Brunson, 2007; Skinner & Leeson, 2015; Turner, 1995). The majority of this research

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<sup>10</sup> Website: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1984/60/contents> [Accessed: 19/05/2017]

<sup>11</sup> Website: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2010:280:0001:0007:en:PDF> [Accessed: 19/05/2017]

<sup>12</sup> Website: <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32012L0029> [Accessed: 19/05/2017]



has concentrated on the experience and quality of linguistic access in courtroom interactions (Brennan, 1999; Brennan & Brown, 1997; Russell, 2002; Turner, 1995). In contrast, little is known about how the police interact with a deaf person who uses a signed language, be it in the custody suite, at the front desk of a police station or on the streets. The challenge for researchers is knowing when these interactions are likely to happen and how to ethically obtain first-hand evidence to critique these encounters. Courtrooms are often open to the public and pre-planned, thus making it comparatively easy to observe and collect data (Brennan, 1999; Brennan & Brown, 1997; Turner, 1995); police encounters are generally unplanned and managed discretely to restrict external interference.

For researchers, there is the added complexity of deaf people's dispersal across the country and the impossibility of predicting where and when an encounter with the police is likely to occur. Minimal descriptions of frontline policing interactions with deaf citizens have surfaced through the informal network of Police Link Officers for the Deaf (PLOD). PLOD is a voluntary network of officers who are conscious of and sympathetic towards the linguistic barriers faced by deaf people, and who work towards promoting better community relations and equal access (Lumsden & Black, 2017a; Race & Hogue, 2017). PLOD officers will have completed, at minimum, deaf awareness training, while many will have gone on to obtain varying levels of qualification in BSL (Gilbert, 2016). PC Glen Barham, the founder of PLOD, was awarded an OBE in recognition of his work with the deaf community; he was one of the few officers who progressed to qualified interpreter status. Although the majority of PLOD officers will have some BSL skills, they will still rely on the assistance of interpreters for complex interactions (Gilbert, 2016). PLOD officers can offer the specialist knowledge needed by the police when dealing with the signing community and working with an interpreter.

Other examples of interactions between a front-line police officer on patrol and a deaf citizen have appeared in the media. Typically, these stories expose the police's mishandling and mistreatment of a deaf citizen. These stories include a deaf person from the United States of America (U.S.) being shot by the police who could not hear the officer's instructions (CNN, 2017), an innocent deaf U.S. citizen being wrongfully arrested after calling for police assistance to evict a tenant from her property using a VRS (Huffington Post, 2015), and the case against a deaf man being thrown out of British court because an interpreter was not present during a police raid ("Finnigan v Northumbria

Police," 2013). The severity of these interactions and their newsworthiness does mean that media coverage is biased. Up to this point, what deaf people's actual encounters with the police are like remains a mystery; looking at how deaf people experience policing benefits the wider study of policing diverse communities and of policing vulnerabilities.

### **4.3 Access to Justice**

Before the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there had only been one nationwide review exploring issues around deaf people's experience of the justice system in the UK. Funded by the Leverhulme Trust, the Access to Justice Project was led by the Deaf Studies Research Unit at the University of Durham. The research findings were published in the monograph 'Equality before the Law' by Mary Brennan and Richard Brown (1997). The project focused on those who identify as belonging to a sign language linguistic-cultural minority (see section 1.3). The data collected by the Access to Justice Project included a review of court document proceedings involving deaf people, and interviews with various stakeholders such as deaf people who had come into contact with the legal system and interpreters who worked in legal settings. Other data included ethnographic notes of courtroom interactions involving a deaf person and sign language interpreters (Brennan, 1999; Turner, 1995).

The review of deaf people's experiences demonstrated how the various justice sector partners (police, court service and prison service) lacked sufficient understanding of what it meant to be a deaf person who identified as belonging to a sign linguistic-cultural minority. The arguments expressed by deaf people maps onto arguments made by other social groups.

Individuals from certain backgrounds (women, ethnic minorities, LGBTQ+ etc) have found grounds to challenge and critique the way policing has been delivered, creating a type of narrative that describes the relationship and history between a social group and the police (Bowling & Phillips, 2012; Britton, 2000; Hanmer et al., 2013; Loftus, 2009). The issue of policing diverse communities, i.e. gender, race, class, faith, age, disability and so on, has historically been linked to police discretion i.e. the capacity an individual officer has to render justice (Herbert, 1996; Skolnick, 2011). The police as an organisation is unlike other public services, the power to shape another person's reality 'increases as one moves down the hierarchy' (Wilson 1968:7 cited in Rowe, 2014, p.

123). Rank-and-file officers who interact with the public at street level do and are known to 'prioritise which laws to enforce and to what extent they will be enforced in particular circumstances' (Rowe, 2014, p. 122). This argument suggests there is a lot of freedom with how institutional rights and duties are expressed. If one was to look back at Brennan and Brown's (1997) original study, the authors attribute the lack of accommodation of deaf people to the typical traits of police officers who exhibit a heightened sense of suspicion, a focus on the safety of others, and no understanding of deaf communities. This level of suspicion, and resulting heavy-handed responses, has been described as a typical trait among police officers (Loftus, 2009; Reiner, 2010; Skolnick, 2011) and is attributed to their regular exposure to the 'darker sides of society' (Loftus, 2009, p. 190).

Cultivating a workforce to become aware of how their own actions impact on the quality of policing is a current concern. For the citizen it is whether they have been understood and managed in a fair and non-stigmatised way. Providing parity of service is an ambition for the police forces across the UK and is measurement used by police inspectors (HMICS, 2018a, 2019). Therefore, part of this PhD review will need to consider how the police empower frontline services to meet this standard, especially when someone is deaf and belongs to a sign linguistic-cultural minority.

The Access to Justice project team uncovered a range of high-level concerns and gave a voice to the failures of the justice system in delivering equal and fair justice. The anecdotal accounts contained descriptions of deaf people being grossly misunderstood, inappropriately handcuffed and physically restrained. Brennan & Brown (1997) described the use of handcuffing as 'gagging', where the detained deaf person is 'incapacitated linguistically' (1997, p. 95). The researchers found a general lack of trust and confidence in the police because of the low level of deaf awareness and the prevalence of attitudes such as stereotyping deaf people as 'being disabled' and 'less educated', regarding 'BSL as a form of English on the hands', and 'perceiving the physical nature of signing as acts of aggression'. Recent studies of deaf people's perception of the police suggests the low levels of trust remain unchanged (Race & Hogue, 2017; Skinner & Leeson, 2015). Race & Hogue consulted a small number of deaf people as part of a nationwide survey of police and crime commissioners' (PCCs) and police officers' attitudes towards deafness. The deaf participants who had experience of contact with police found the police to demonstrate low levels of deaf awareness. Further anecdotal accounts were captured in the Justisigns project (see section 4.5), where deaf citizens

described being handcuffed after being misconstrued as aggressive, or being expected to communicate in written English (Skinner & Leeson, 2015).

In the twenty-five years since the Access to Justice project changes have been introduced through broader campaigns to protect the linguistic-cultural minority status of deaf people and the standards of interpreting. Little is known with how these advancements have benefited deaf people and policing. The needs of deaf people have not surfaced in the wider debate in policing diversity. For example, the Macpherson report, an independent inquiry set up after the murder of a black teenage boy Stephen Lawrence, is heralded as introducing wide ranging reforms with how the diversity agenda can improve how policing is administered. As Bartkowiak-Théron and Asquith explain, the Macpherson inquiry was “built upon a long legacy of public dissatisfaction with the police and of public and government outcry about better policing practices regarding ‘visible’ minorities” (2015, p. 91), and directly challenged the British police to reflect on and learn how to resolve highly complex issues around policing diversity. Reform efforts that followed the Macpherson enquiry were not always successful, but a process was set in motion to determine how best to use a finite set of resources to improve workforce skills. It is not immediately obvious where specific consideration is given to deaf people or BSL.

The police have yet to establish clear or dedicated procedures that recognise the particular communication needs of deaf people, including ensuring access to qualified sign language interpreters who are capable of working in highly complex situations in both English and BSL. Without suitable measures in place, police officers enact standard protocols designed for hearing English-speaking citizens and thus transmit and amplify the institutional lack of preparedness on a micro-level. The extensive work carried out by the Access to Justice team culminated in far reaching recommendations for the legal system. These recommendation still hold value and are listed in the following section.

#### ***4.3.1 Recommendations for reform***

Based on the nationwide review, the Access to Justice team produced a set of recommendations which was received by the Ministry of Justice. The team argued that, in order for a legal system to be classed as ready to cater for someone who is deaf and from a sign linguistic-cultural background, it would:

- recognis[e] BSL as a bonafide language, one that is distinct from English
- [appreciate] the varying linguistic abilities deaf people have when it comes to using BSL and literacy skills in English
- [recognise] the need to source a qualified interpreter (or team of interpreters), preferably someone who is trained to operate in legal settings
- [...] video record signed statements
- [...] independently review the interpretation
- [...] provide services in BSL
- provide deaf awareness training and resources to police officers, solicitors and other representatives involved in the legal process
- [...] accommodate or make adjustments to benefit the linguistic and vocabulary differences and sometimes incompatibility
- [...] accommodate the communication needs of a deaf person or an interpreter
- adjustments to the room ergonomics to benefit interactions in a signed language

(Brennan & Brown, 1997, pp. 168–174)

The training of legal representatives, such as police officers, was also a key recommendation. The research team saw a need to increase awareness of deafness, signed languages and methods for dealing with people from a different linguistic community. Further recommendations were made to the interpreting profession, pressing for improvements in the standard and regulation of interpreters working in legal settings. Many of the recommendations have been accepted into national and local police policies, including guidance with how to interact with a deaf person and an interpreter, such as Interpreting and Translating Services Standard Operating Procedure (Police Scotland, 2018) and PACE Act (1984). These policies suggest a commitment to developing a specific approach to dealing with deaf people. Unless these guidance documents are made known to officers through training, its relevance becomes dependent on the individual's awareness. Creating siloed responses has been criticised as the police need to develop a framework that enables effective policing for all citizens. Section 4.7.1 provides other theories around policing that could potentially cope more effectively with the variation and individual needs that need to be understood and responded to. The focus of the Access to Justice Project was the use of interpreters, improving police policy, improving the training of police staff and interpreters. The recommendations did not go further and advocate deaf people's involvement in the running of the police.

#### **4.4 The British Deaf Association Hate Crime Report**

In 2015 the British Deaf Association (BDA) published its Hate Crime in Scotland report. The key concern for the BDA was the lack of awareness among deaf people as to what constitutes a hate crime and how a deaf person can make themselves known to the police as a victim. The report described the experiences of deaf people when they fall victim to hate crime. Outreach workers approached 239 deaf BSL users to raise awareness on the subject of hate crime; from this group of participants, 76 took part in a hate crime survey. The BDA found 43 had been a victim of hate crime, of which 25 reported an incident of hate crime. In summary, the survey reported that deaf BSL users expressed a general lack of trust in the police and their ability to comprehend and handle deaf citizen's concerns in an appropriate way. Further challenges existed regarding how to contact the police and how to raise awareness among deaf people as to what constitutes a hate crime (British Deaf Association, 2015).

Interestingly, the report noted that data collected by the police do not distinguish deaf people as a discrete group with sub-categories, i.e. a sign linguistic minority, deafened, deaf non-sign language background etc. This means that any deaf person who reported a hate crime incident to the police would be classified solely as 'disabled'. The lack of distinction meant the police could not correctly reflect on or measure how they offered assistance to a particular group of deaf people, including identifying how communication barriers were resolved and how many from this community were reporting hate crime incidences to the police.

#### **4.5 Justisign project**

Around the same time as the BDA hate crime investigation, the Justisign project<sup>13</sup> (funded by the European Commission LifeLong Learning fund) was looking into the issue of interpreters working in police settings. The Justisign remit was to look at ways of developing training materials and resources to assist those who were responsible for delivering appropriate access in policing interactions (Napier et al., n.d.). Part of the Justisign work included a review of the original recommendations put forward by the Access to Justice Project, development of resources and training materials, and strategies to increase the number of interpreters working in legal settings across the E.U.

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<sup>13</sup> Website: <http://www.justisigns.com> [Accessed: 01/10/2017]

At the time of the Access to Justice Project, the number of qualified interpreters was at a lower level than it is today. Locating a qualified interpreter was either not considered as an option or was too challenging to achieve at short notice (Brennan & Brown, 1997). In some cases, it was assumed a deaf person could proceed in a police interview, a trial setting and a prison sentence by relying on written notes or by being provided with ad-hoc access to a communication support worker<sup>14</sup> (hereafter referred to as CSW). The CSW's low level of signing skills rendered them unable to cope with the linguistic complexity of the legal system. Even for those deaf defendants who did receive interpreting support, the quality of the interpreter was questionable (Brennan & Brown, 1997). The authors of the Access to Justice project reported that their deaf participants expressed an overwhelming sense of powerlessness (1997, p. 102). The concern for the deaf people was how they were to be represented by the different communication professionals, especially by someone who was not trained in interpreting in legal contexts; indeed, spoken language interpreting studies have shown how interpreters can cause inconsistency with how suspects' accounts were rendered (Böser, 2013; Gallai, 2013).

When considering the interpreter's perspectives, the authors described a struggle to confidently provide an impartial interpreting service (Brennan & Brown, 1997). Part of the issue was around acceptance from legal representatives and deaf people of the professional and independent status of an interpreter. The role of the interpreter as an impartial linguistic-cultural mediator was not always fully appreciated. The courts and the police and citizens would project expectations, where the interpreter was expected to be a helper, carer or being some kind of ally. Negotiating and responding to these perceptions distract the PPs from building relationships and communicating with one another via an interpreter. It was not only perceptions or expectations that needed to be negotiated but recognising the interpreter's own biases. Interpreters confessed to contain their own biases, especially when witnessing how the deaf person's linguistic and cultural needs had been inadvertently overlooked by the courts or police (Brennan & Brown, 1997). At the time of the Access to Justice project there was, and still is, no formalised training pathway to prepared interpreters on how to operate in police or court settings. Interpreters enter these arenas without fully appreciating the cognitive interview

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<sup>14</sup> CSW do not have the same training background or BSL fluency as a trained interpreter. Generally, a CSW's role is to facilitate communication and do not engage in the same kind of inter-cultural communication work undertaken by interpreters.

approaches adopted by officers or the questioning techniques by barristers or solicitors. Brennan & Brown (1997) voice further concerns when realising how interviews conducted by the police were not recorded in video format (recording both the deaf person and the interpreter) for later scrutiny.

Under the current system, the UK police have an obligation to provide a qualified and registered interpreter (see section 4.2). It is unclear how this has improved or resolved the issues previously identified by the Access to Justice project and whether the standard of provision has improved. In the U.S., Brunson (2007) recently interviewed 12 deaf respondents about their experiences of interpreter provision in police settings. Current legislation in the U.S. places a mandatory requirement on the state to supply and manage the interpreting provision for spoken or signed languages at no cost to the suspect or victim (Berk-Seligson, 1999); this same requirement also applies to EU Member States (European Union, 2010; Hertog, 2015; Morgan, 2012). Brunson's presented his findings according to three overarching themes: i) obtaining accommodation, i.e. sourcing a qualified interpreter; ii) dealing with a problematic accommodation, i.e. interpreter quality; and iii) partial accommodation, i.e. coping with interpreter induced errors (2007). Accessing an appropriately trained interpreter for unplanned events is problematic due to issues of availability, and quality of provision cannot be ensured (Monteoliva-Garcia, 2020; Perez & Wilson, 2007). For this reason, the police and, by extension, the deaf suspect often have little choice of interpreter. Brunson summarise the concerns expressed by his participants as holding 'little control over the accommodation they receive and yet are held fully responsible for ensuring its efficacy' (Brunson, 2007, p. 77). Brunson's observation is creating quite a frightening picture, where deaf people are depending on an interpreter they do trust as being capable yet must proceed in the hope they are properly represented. Similar issues were reported by British deaf people when in contact with the British legal system in Brennan and Brown's (1997, pp. 92-94) study. These challenges mean deaf people go into their interactions with the police with a high degree of uncertainty and low levels of confidence. It is necessary to bring these broader issues to the reader's attention since they link to the positioning moves demonstrated by the citizen participants in this study. The citizens in this study are found to take steps to monitor the interpreter and assist them with their work.

One obvious area that requires further exploration is the question: on what merit are suppliers of legal interpreting services selected by the justice system? Additionally, how



do these providers ensure the right interpreters are deployed? It would appear that current practice is falling short of this expectation to provide appropriately trained interpreters. Brunson (2007) concluded his study by arguing for changes in policies that take into account the detailed considerations needed for a legal system to become fully inclusive. Similar concerns around the selection of interpreters have been expressed by deaf people when using VRS (Skinner et al., submitted; Turner et al., 2016). Based on anecdotal accounts, deaf people have repeatedly described the struggle with communicating via an interpreter, where they are deprived of a say in who gets to interpret their VRS call (Lumsden & Black, 2017a; Skinner et al., submitted; Turner et al., 2016). Currently, VRS platforms randomly select the interpreter from an available pool, thus removing any human intervention in the allocation of work.

The development of training materials was seen as critical to tackling the issue of accessing appropriately trained interpreters for investigative interviews. Research with interpreters in the U.S. found a general reluctance to accept legal work (Roberson et al., 2012). Roberson, Russell & Shaw (2012) attributed this mood among interpreters to the lack of training available through which to develop skills and gain confidence to go on to accept legal interpreting work. Based on an online survey the Justisign project found a lack of training pathways across the EU and no accreditation system to ensure interpreters were properly prepared to work in the legal system (Napier & Haug, 2016). This suggests that interpreters and police officers have to learn how to work with each other and devise their own best practice approach.

The Justisigns research team carried out a nationwide review through the use of one-to-one interviews and focus groups (Leeson et al., 2016). The team found some progress in awareness and understanding among police officers towards working with interpreters (Skinner & Leeson, 2015). Some police officers appreciated the linguistic-cultural status of deaf people, as opposed to the disability status, e.g. officers sought to appoint qualified interpreters to facilitate communication and would consult with the interpreter to determine the success of communication. Although, the project described some progress, the project also found a lack of sufficient guidance to assist police officers in properly preparing and handling interviews with a deaf suspect, victim or witness.

The Justisign Project concluded their work with a case study analysis of a police interview conducted with the assistance of a signed language interpreter, a collection of training

materials made available online, and a host of best practice resources to assist police officers and interpreters to achieve better quality outcomes in communication (Napier et al., 2017). The development of training materials based on actual experiences was problematic for the Justisign team. With access to only one authentic interpreter-mediated police interview, little can be gleaned about the broader issues that exist. This restricted access to authentic data has created a gap in knowledge about how sign language interpreters operate in these settings.

#### **4.6 Policing diverse communities**

The importance of looking at police treatment of the public is tied to how the police are handed legal powers by the public, through which a citizen's liberty may be protected or even reduced. The sensitivity of this subject intensifies when one considers how police discretion, the capacity to render justice (Herbert, 1996; Skolnick, 2011), 'increases as one moves down the hierarchy' (Wilson 1968:7 cited in Rowe, 2014, p. 123). Rank-and-file officers who interact with the public do so 'in circumstances distanced from their supervisors' (Rowe, 2014, p. 123) and 'prioritise which laws to enforce and to what extent they will be enforced in particular circumstances' (Rowe, 2014, p. 122). In these unsupervised conditions, Westmarland describes the need to understand what influences police behaviours:

Those whom the police choose to target will become 'the criminals' and those who are left alone are the 'innocent'. In other words, anything that might be inclined to influence behaviour by frontline officers, such as deference to class or beliefs about certain ethnic groups being involved in crime, can create, construct and influence important and fundamental questions about how crime is defined and counted and who is criminalised. (Westmarland, 2008, p. 255)

To unpack these concerns further, the rules and regulations set by the police cannot fully account for or explain individual police actions (Bittner, 1967; Reiner, 2010; Skolnick, 2011). How then does a police officer, or police staff, reach a particular decision and in what way does a police officer's, or staff's, personal or institutional beliefs shape their actions? Understanding the relationship between officers' decision-making and action is essential because it contributes to public perception and police legitimacy (Mazerolle et al., 2014). Police legitimacy is 'defined as the sense of obligation that citizens feel to obey the police and other legal authorities' (Skinns et al., 2017, p. 602). Convincing a

diverse public to obey a police force that has historically been a predominantly white-male workforce represents a public engagement and public service issue.

The connection between citizen diversity and policing is how the citizen's background often characterises their encounter with the police. For example, studies show women who had had dealings with the police were critical that they were not being offered appropriate protection or treatment by male officers (Hanmer et al., 1989; Silvestri et al., 2013). The argument repeatedly put forward was that male officers could not understand or appreciate what it would be like to be physically or sexually assaulted (Hanmer, 1989). As with the above feminist case for change, the police were also found to be ill-prepared when dealing with issues around race and unaware of their contribution to discriminatory practices (Bowling & Phillips, 2012; Skolnick, 2011; Whitfield, 2004). For victims from an ethnic background, the police were not seen to empathise or take seriously their claims of racism; yet the police would enforce punishment or social order against a person from an ethnic background when caught doing something towards a white person (Whitfield, 2004). The failure to act in support of minority victims combined with police harassment and intolerance towards members of ethnic groups contributed to the demise of trust and confidence.

The two independent reports, Scarman and Macpherson, initiated by the government provided a focused opportunity to articulate the concerns around race relations and policing. Although both reports produced different conclusions, both have attempted to increase the accountability of the police to communities and enhanced the level of scrutiny the police experience. The Macpherson's inquiry is recognised as being a watershed moment for the UK police, wherein the police was described as being 'institutionally racist'.

'Institutional racism' consists of the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate professional service to the people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness, and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic groups. (Macpherson 1999: 6.34)

The Macpherson report directly challenged the police to reflect on and learn how to resolve highly complex issues around policing diversity. Efforts to reform were not always successful but a process was set in motion to determine how best to use a finite

set of resources and improve workforce skills to better cope with the citizen diversity (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2015; Rowe & Garland, 2007). Reforms have included increasing the diversity (ethnicity, gender, faith, life-style) of the police workforce, training around diversity issues, establishing an independent complaints inquiry and better data recording that tracks who the police come into contact with and why. More could be done to understand and explain how these reforms have benefited citizens who are deaf, and what type of indirect discriminatory practices impact on someone who is deaf and uses a signed language. Although diversity training has been rolled out to tackle issues around discrimination, diversity is still a challenging subject to teach (Rowe & Garland, 2007). The question that remains is how to prepare and guide a workforce who can cope with demands that encompass both crime and non-crime related matters and citizen diversity. This final point links to the individual officer's decision-making process and studies that have sought to explain why officers conduct their interactions in the way they do.

#### **4.7 Normative orders of controlling territory**

Since the late 1960s, studies looking at police discretion have been of acute academic interest. Scholars have sought to understand how officers assess and determine an appropriate response in a range of contexts. This focus has helped to articulate the extent to which the law can, or often cannot, account for individual police behaviours (Bittner, 1967; Loftus, 2009; Reiner, 2010) and how subcultures within the police feed into individual and collective actions (Reiner, 2010; Skolnick, 2011; Westmarland, 2008). Herbert's contribution was prompted by his dissatisfaction with existing descriptions of police discretion, because they could not account for inconsistent patterns of behaviour. This final point resonates closely with academic interest in the heterogeneous approaches to interpreter behaviours (section 3.3.1). Herbert shifted the subject of approaching police behaviours and police discretion by looking at how the police *make and mark space* (1997, p. 18), observing how officers:

*often read situations against their understandings of what is normal or typical for the location; how they interpret action is shaped by where it occurs. This observation accords with broader insights into the influence of place on human actors. Understandings of place commonly shape how people interpret the nature and motivation of action. These geographic understandings are important elements in the narratives we construct about behavior. Place is not just a neutral*

*backdrop, but an important element structuring the nature and comprehension of social action.*

(Herbert, 1997, p. 21)

Herbert's (1996) normative orders grew from his ethnographic work with officers operating at street level, often in high consequence settings. Herbert's normative orders and Merlini's (2009) cultural mediator model (section 3.3.1) present an interesting combination as regards understanding the motivations driving an officer's or interpreter's outlook. Their typographies offer a starting point for developing a positioning-orientated study, where the shifting from one moral order to another becomes the analytical focus.

Instead of focusing on how people shape each other's behaviours, Herbert proposed six normative orders as an analytical tool to explain 'the cognitive and reflexive activities of human agents in defining situations' (1998, p. 350). Herbert's focus was not only between people (as described using a positioning framework) but between an officer and the scene (including people) of interest. The normative orders include law, bureaucratic control, adventure/machismo, safety, competence, and morality. Each of these orders was not intended to be viewed in isolation, which may not in fact be possible to achieve; instead, they could be combined to provide a holistic account of decision-making and action. These normative orders were intended by Herbert (1996) to be flexible enough to account for an individual officer's approach to policing matters, which may conflict or align with another officer's response. Herbert compares his approach to the work of Bourdieu (1990) and its closeness to the notion of habitus: a set of principles 'which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53). Based on this approach, call-handlers and custody sergeants define their interactions through the ordering schemes that are available to them. This enhances understanding of the moral compass that orientates the officer response towards a type of positioning move. The following paragraphs consider each of Herbert's six normative orders.

First, we consider the normative order of *law*. Although it has been well-documented that a street patrol officer with a high level of local street knowledge will sometimes opt to not enforce the law as part of an effort to promote harmony and peace (Bittner, 1967; Loftus, 2009), there are still a set of rules police officers and staff cannot avoid. The law, as Herbert (1997, p. 3) describes, operates as a 'legislative fiat [that] defines the permissible parameters of police action'. In all instances, officers should consult their

own, or other's, knowledge of the law in determining how to approach and handle a policing event. For custody sergeants, the law is highly prescriptive about how a detainee is introduced into custody, assessed and placed in a holding cell (see section 4.9). Unlike the street patrol officer, the weight of the law in a custody sergeant's decision making is great and leaves little space for digression (HMICS, 2018a; Skinns, 2011). For call-handlers, the fact that 80% of their work dealing with citizens may be non-crime related can mean a higher mix of law and bureaucratic regulations (promoting social order) that shape and determine how interactions are approached and managed.

*Bureaucratic control* relates to the politics of belonging to an institution with a remit for responding to and dealing with crime and social order. Bureaucratic regulation is unavoidable in both FCR and custody settings, where record keeping is a necessary part of the role; as gatekeepers, call-handlers and custody sergeants have a public service duty to respond to and proactively deal with incidents. These measures structure how frontline services assess and document their interactions, with a particular focus on understanding risk or becoming risk-averse (Flanagan, 2008; HMICS, 2015, 2018a). Garland (2003, p. 50) rightly notes that the term 'risk has a range of different meaning[s]' but 'put at its simplest, risks are estimates of the likely impact of dangers' (Garland, 2003, p. 50). The concept of dealing with risk is closely tied to risk management and accountability. Failure to deliver on expectations and performance can result in financial penalties as well as harm to public perception (Flanagan, 2008; Heaton et al., 2018). This demand to understand risk is associated with how the police now routinely deal with 'large volumes of 'risk' business, such as actual and potential violence, acute mental health problems and missing people' (Heaton et al., 2018, p. 153). The aim of protecting the public from the likely impact of dangers can be seen in policies and frameworks used to guide call-handler decision making (Black & Lumsden, 2020) and the legal frameworks custody sergeants operate within (HMICS, 2018a; Skinns, 2011). Failure to deliver protection through proper risk management protocols is taken seriously by the police (Flanagan, 2008; HMICS, 2015, 2018a). The impact of bureaucracy, in terms of risk management, is undeniably significant for FCRs (section 4.8) and custody settings (section 4.9).

*Adventure/machismo* and *safety* are two juxtaposed values that distinguish how officers approach or become drawn to policing events (Herbert, 1996). An officer caught up in a sense of duty to react to and obstruct criminal behaviour may display a higher level of adventure/machismo and may become entangled in high consequence events, e.g. high

speed car chase, as a result. Herbert (1997, 1998) explains how an officer in a different capacity at the same scene, e.g. a helicopter pilot following a high-speed car chase or a lieutenant overlooking the event, may concentrate on the safety of others, rather than the obstruction of the criminal, and approach the same police event with a different priority (which could be tied to their bureaucratic control order). This contrast demonstrates how adventure/machismo and safety, two counter values, can co-exist. For call-handlers and custody sergeants, it is harder to identify the values adventure/machismo as a normative order in comparison to safety. Although call-handlers may demonstrate the same eagerness as officers on the street to disrupt a criminal act or apprehend a suspect (Lumsden & Black, 2017b), their response is mediated through the actions of the officer at street level, who determines how adventure/machismo should be communicated and actioned. Safety, as in risk management, is a clear priority for both FCR and custody settings (Flanagan, 2008; HMICS, 2015, 2018a). The promotion of citizen safety is paramount and must be accounted for throughout their interactions with the public (discussed further in section 4.8 and 4.9).

*Competency* refers to the performance of an officer, i.e. ‘what constitutes as doing a good job’ (Herbert, 1998, p. 358). Herbert describes competency as the ‘least well-defined’ (1998, p. 358) normative order. The definition of ‘doing a good job’ is subjective, and may be coincidental to the situation as opposed to reflecting the officer’s actual skill. An example of the potentially contradictory nature of ‘doing a good job’ from the FCR or custody context is the tension between meeting productivity targets (the quantity of interactions) and ensuring a high quality interaction. According to Stafford (2016), quality in communication is a workplace value that has taken precedence in an English FCR; however, although quality was the preference, call-handlers could never entirely escape the pressures of processing calls as expediently as possible (HMICS, 2015; Stafford, 2016). The impulse to be quick will inevitably be challenged when interacting via an interpreter, as this process requires additional time. In an interpreter mediated context, it is the interpreter who holds interactive power (I. Mason & Ren, 2012), determining whose turn it is to speak and how utterances are re-rendered. Actively calling on the interpreter’s interactive support is necessary and unavoidable. Without the interpreter’s cooperation, a citizen cannot retell their story. The competency order could be enhanced by considering how competently does the call-handler or custody sergeant deal with the citizen’s vulnerability. Bartkowiak-Theron & Asquith (2012, 2015) believe

the way to tackle the diversity issue in policing is to re-centre ‘vulnerability’ as an overriding theme for all police-citizen encounters, which is discussed in section 4.7.1.

Finally, *morality*, whereby the moral aspiration to be a force of good and to uphold the law feeds into notions of good versus evil. Herbert (1996, 1997) relates this to the police's hegemony, where the officer's privileged and powerful position reinforces a sense of warrior versus predator. Herbert explains (1996, 1997) that the morality value not only demonises certain individuals in society (‘terrorists’, ‘assholes’, ‘idiots’, ‘predators’, or the ‘dirty’) but glorifies the police's own involvement in other people's lives. The police do not only ‘police with the subtle touch of a professional (Muir, 1977) but with the rigid hand of committed, moralistic warrior’ (Herbert, 1998, p. 361). In the following two sections it will become apparent how the morality order in an FCR is more akin to delivering a good public service and establishing good professional approach to dealing with members of the public (Stafford, 2016), whereas for custody sergeants, it relates to how coercive control is used to promote good behaviour and co-operation (Skinns et al., 2017).

Herbert (1996) recognised that a different set of values might be required when looking at other areas of policing or at a different point in time where reforms have refocused and realigned policing priorities. Many of these values can be deduced by looking at the current workplace demands, institutional procedures and objectives. As explained earlier, risk management brings together aspects of bureaucratic control and safety. Dealing with citizen's vulnerability was a potential order that could clarify the way that competency is measured.

#### **4.7.1 *Framing vulnerability in policing***

Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith (2012, 2015) have presented a convincing argument that police staff need to become better prepared for dealing with another person's needs by placing vulnerability as a benchmark for all police-citizen interactions.

The policing of vulnerable people as a process—as opposed to a normative categorization exercise—emerges when policing services adopt a more coherent, and less paternalistic and stigmatising model for managing the vulnerability that adheres to most criminal justice encounters. (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2015, p. 98)



Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith (2012, 2015), alongside others including Brown (2012, 2015), Coliandris (2015), Chakraborti & Garland (2009), and Thorneycroft (2017), caution against defining the term ‘vulnerability’ in the narrow sense of an individual’s association with certain minorities or social groups (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2012, 2015), but in a ‘broader sense’ whereby one might be perceived as existing in a vulnerable situation (Chakraborti & Garland, 2009, p. 89). The term ‘vulnerable’ is generally acknowledged as problematic since it conflates with notions of being weak or burdensome (for example, a deaf person defined as ‘vulnerable’ may also be considered dependent and incapable). Using vulnerability as a benchmark could, as Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith caution ‘send a wrong message to institutions, practitioners and society about the social costs of diversity, where individuals are represented as a burden on government’ (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2012, p. 46),

Instead, several authors propose a broader definition, one that is not a condition but an experience (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2012, 2015; K. Brown, 2012; Thorneycroft, 2017). A more useful concept is ontological vulnerability, whereby all humans are fragile and can be affected by and affect others:

In addition to our ontological vulnerability, situational vulnerability points to the specific harms generated as a consequence of social life, whereby we each have the capacity to affect each other differently due to our different experiences and situations (Gilson, 2014). (Thorneycroft, 2017, p. 37).

Thorneycroft regards this mindset as instrumental in developing practices that increase our shared security. Therefore, one would expect to see positioning moves encouraging dialogue between police staff and others. A constructive dialogue would focus on understanding how the context is disempowering or impacting on the citizen and what is within the police's powers to intervene and manage. This argument fits with the warnings from Loftus, who found police attention to be unfairly directed at the economically impoverished (2009). Loftus (2009) described a need for the police to develop professionalism towards people not merely because they are ‘emphasized in current diversity agendas’; instead, ‘officers should be encouraged to extend professionalism towards people because they are citizens with rights’.

The efforts to reframe the discussion through the gaze of vulnerability as a ‘mechanism for activating appropriate responses to the specific barriers faced by individuals in their

criminal justice encounters' (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2015, p. 93) holds much promise, especially for those from disempowered social groups. To find ways of developing appropriate responses, Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith (2012) recommend the police view vulnerability through Herring and Henderson's (2011) model of critical diversity, one that moves:

away from 'colorblind diversity' and 'segregated diversity' toward a 'critical diversity' that examines all forms of social inequality, oppression, and stratification that revolve around issues of difference. (Herring & Henderson, 2011, p. 629)

Herring and Henderson describe critical diversity as a model that embraces the:

cultural differences that exist between groups and appreciating those differences, but critical diversity must also include examining issues of parity, equity, and inequality. It is imperative that it examines all forms of social inequality, oppression, and stratification that revolve around issues of diversity. (Herring & Henderson, 2011, p. 630)

The intention in driving this definition forward has been to focus on the 'need to offer fair treatment, where everyone deserves a chance – especially those who are routinely denied such opportunities' (Herring & Henderson, 2011, p. 636). Equally, the premise of policing vulnerabilities is not to assume someone is vulnerable because of their connection to the diversity model. Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith (2012, 2015) conclude by advocating for an approach to policing that:

takes for granted that 'all' criminal justice actors are diversely vulnerable. Designing out the universal aspects of human vulnerability will go a long way in fundamentally changing the relationships between police and their communities. (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2015, p. 98)

Many of these concepts feed into notions of procedural justice and the ambitions behind community policing, where attention is directed towards low satisfaction levels towards the police from different parts of society and the legacy of police-citizen interactions (Mazerolle et al., 2014; Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008).

For the purposes of this study, one strength in the position put forward by those arguing for an ontological understanding of vulnerability is the compatibility of this view with deaf people's ambition to be defined not by their ability to hear or interact in the national spoken/written language, but by their right as an equal citizen to access public and private

life. Deaf people seek the same opportunities as other citizens, and to be able to engage with these opportunities in a signed language of their choice.

Using procedural justice, risk management and vulnerability as frameworks, the police can structure police performance in a manner that holds real potential to promote better quality engagement, regardless of one's background. The following two sections will pay a closer look at the two frontline services under study: calls to FCR and the custody booking in procedure. The issues around policing diverse communities raised in the previous sections will be included where applicable.

#### **4.8 Telephone interactions with the public**

The FCR is a vital part of the UK's police force in terms of communicating with the public and responding to crime or disorder (HMICS, 2015). FCRs field both 999 emergency calls and 101 non-emergency calls; in Scotland, FCRs handle around 3.5 to 4 million 999/101 calls per year (HMICS, 2017). The original purpose of introducing FCRs was to enable citizens to make contact with the police, who would then dispatch officers to the scene (Metropolitan Police, 2017). Today a significant number of calls will be resolved without needing to dispatch officers (HMICS, 2015; Lumsden & Black, 2017b). By offering a telephone-based service, the police have had to develop general systems, protocols and communication skills that can be adapted and modified to handle public demand. These processes have seen customer service and citizen-focused approaches being introduced to policing (Flanagan, 2008; HMICS, 2015; Stafford, 2016). Delivering a high-quality service can impact negatively on the staff who manage public demand over-the-phone (Lumsden & Black, 2017b; Stafford, 2016), as remaining open and supportive to a substantial number of callers and concerning a range of matters requires a high level of emotional labour (Lumsden & Black, 2017b; Stafford, 2016). The following quote from one call-handler, taken from Stafford's (2016) study of an English FCR, neatly describes the day in the life of an FCR call-handler:

[Call-handlers] take calls from anything from 'what time does the next 37 bus go through?' ... to 'I've just been raped', you know, and we're expecting them to go from one end of the scale to the other, and back again, all day, and deliver the same quality of service to all callers, and they do, the vast majority of them do a fantastic job, in an incredible stressful situation. It's not unusual to see men and ladies put the phone down and have a few tears because they've just dealt with

someone who's about to commit suicide ... but then five minutes later, hanky put away, they'll get on with the calls again. (Stafford, 2016, p. 380)

This study does not look at call-handler's emotional labour; however, it is worth being mindful of the complexities attached to being a call-handler. The call-handlers who participated in this study had already been fielding a variety of calls from the public before receiving the unannounced call from a deaf citizen via a VRS service. It is not known what challenges they had already managed before negotiating the VRS call, and how these earlier interactions impact on their frame of mind and attitude in the call being analysed.

Studies into how FCRs operate have either been undertaken by conversational analysts paying close attention to how people engage in talk during a single call (Garcia, 2015, 2017; Tracy, 1997; Tracy & Tracy, 1998; J. Whalen et al., 1988; M. R. Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman, 1984, 1992), or from ethnographers stationed in an FCR (Black & Lumsden, 2020; Lumsden & Black, 2017b; Manning, 1988). From this vantage point ethnographers have been able to engage personally with call-handlers to understand the reasoning behind how they fielded calls. Stafford (2016, 2017) provides a unique addition to this body of work. He (2016) followed a multi-faceted qualitative methodology which included ethnographic work, the recording of authentic calls to an FCR, and interviews with both call-handlers and citizens who had contacted the FCR. Some of the interviewees were played back the recording of their call as part of the interview. Taken together, these studies describe the typical structure of a call to an FCR, the type of interactive issues that may arise, and some of the main communication strategies developed in order to maintain high-quality over-the-phone assistance to the public.

#### ***4.8.1 Global structure of a call to a police helpline***

Institutional discourse between a professional and layperson typically includes a *core activity* (Linell, 1998, p. 243) to be performed with an opening and closing segment either side (Drew & Heritage, 1992). The core activity can be further segmented through an internal phase structure (Linell, 1998, p. 243). By segmenting calls in this way, the purpose for the interaction can be better understood and evaluated. Zimmerman (1984) classifies police-citizen telephone interactions as meeting the criteria for 'service calls' (1984, p. 213), a notion which suggests a conversational framework whereby one person

seeks or requests a product from another who is in a position to sanction the request and provide a product in return. Based on this presumption, Zimmerman (1984, p. 214) produced a model that describes the global structure of a police-citizen telephone interaction:

- (i) Opening/Identification
- (ii) Complaint/Request
- (iii) Interrogative series
- (iv) Remedy/Response
- (v) Closing

Zimmerman summarises the five stages as:

the police complaint-taker and citizen-caller must (1) accomplish a proper 'opening', that is, align their respective identities and thus project the nature of the call; (2) provide and/or elicit a reason for the call, e.g. by making a 'complaint' or a 'request' for assistance; (3) arrive at a mutually acceptable description of the reported trouble, including the caller's stance toward or involvement with it (Whalen and Zimmerman forthcoming) and an adequate formulation of the trouble's location—a process involving what is called here an 'interrogative series', ordinarily initiated and directed by the complaint-taker; (4) the offering of a 'remedy' or 'response' to the complaint or request for assistance; and (5) the achievement of 'closing', that is, a coordinated exit from the call. (Zimmerman, 1984, p. ??)

Zimmerman (1992) cautions that this structure is not fixed, but functions as a resource that may be modified, augmented, used retrospectively, or not used at all by the call-handler. The organisational structure presented above is a non-interpreted call. The inclusion of a VRS interpreter will expand the number of phases and is explained in section 3.5.1.

*Example 1: Mid-City Emergency call from Zimmerman (1984, p. 214)*

(C = caller/citizen; CT = call-taker)

1	CT:	Mid-City Emergency.	<b>Opening</b>
2	C:	Um yeah (.) somebody jus' vandalized my car,	<b>Request</b>
3	CT:	What's your address.	<b>Interrogative Series</b>

4	C:	[Gives address]	
5	CT:	Is this uh house or an apartment.	
6	C:	Ih tst uh house	
7	CT:	Uh-your las' name.	
8	C:	Minsk	
9	CT:	How you spell it.	
10	C:	M-i-n-s-k-y	
11	CT:	Wull sen' someone out to see you.	<b>Dispatch response</b>
12	C:	Than' you.	
13	CT:	umhm bye.	<b>Closing</b>
14	C:	Bye	

#### 4.8.2 *Epistemic difference*

Emergency and non-emergency telephone interactions can become challenging because the familiarity between interlocutors is low, and neither party can rely on visual clues to learn each other's communication styles or how their immediate environment is impacting on their current behaviour (M. R. Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990). In these contexts, there is a high degree of difference between what is known by each interlocutor, creating two separate epistemic stances (Gerwing, 2015; M. R. Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990). Gerwin describes epistemic stance in the following terms:

Lack of copresence has obvious implications for the operator, who cannot see the incident that triggered the call nor the caller's proximity to it and ability to report information accurately (i.e., his or her *epistemic stance*). (Gerwing, 2015, p. 1)

The call-handler will seek to control the citizen's story-telling on their terms in order to expediently evaluate the citizen's needs (Stafford, 2016, 2017; Tracy, 1997). This motivation requires the call-handler to guide and encourage the citizen to articulate their issue verbally and coherently. There is always the possibility that the citizen will over or understate the issue; therefore, the call-handler is expected to review the citizen's account to gauge the severity or seriousness of the call (Garcia, 2015; Stafford, 2016), which may include referring to historical records relating to the caller.

For the call-handler to develop an understanding of the citizen's reality, the citizen has to be capable of communicating their perspective. Conversational analysts have looked at recorded calls from the public to police call handling centres to understand how communication is managed, particularly when neither party can see each other's worlds

(Garcia, 2015, 2017; Tracy, 1997; Tracy & Tracy, 1998; M. R. Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman, 1984). A central consideration is the interactional frame of the discourse, i.e. expectations one brings to their interaction (Goffman, 1981), based on the individual's preconceived ideas of how the interaction should unfold. Tracy (1997), whose work expanded on the earlier work of Whalen et al. (1988), found citizens predominately approached the interaction within a customer service frame. In Tracy's study, citizens were found to expect their demands or instructions to be met without question. This expectation was often unrealistic, as call-handlers perceived their role as providing a public service, part of which involved filtering police related calls from non-police related calls. Therefore, before any communication had occurred, the citizen and call-handler were approaching the conversation from two different interactional frames. Tracy (1997) noted how citizens were sometimes unable to independently realise this mismatch of framing and take steps to modify their interactional frame according to the call-handler's approach. The difficulty, as Tracy notes, is that 'what the citizen generally regards as a crisis is necessarily routine to the police; it [the citizen's crisis] becomes part of the regular work and follows routines' (1997, p. 64). Tracy acknowledged how this gap between expectations and frames of interaction, once damaged, cannot easily be repaired. The obligation to develop multiple-discourse framing strategies lies with the call-handler, who is well-versed in handling on-demand calls from the public and working for a public service. These strategies need to be effective at handling conflicting interactional frames so as to redirect the caller's attention towards revealing information that benefits the call-handler assessment.

A recent government-commissioned investigation into the standards and capacity of FCRs in Scotland found that call-handlers 'delivered effective customer service and were generally strong at capturing all relevant information, with a 98% accuracy rate' (HMICS, 2015, p. 6). The report continues:

In 96.9% of calls we listened to, the service advisors were polite, helpful and professional. They asked the caller probing questions and were able to gather information and resolve the call quickly. Service advisors generally delivered an effective and efficient service in often challenging circumstances. They often dealt with callers who were distressed, panicked and incoherent due to the circumstances that led them to contact the police. At times, callers were also incoherent due to their mental state or drunkenness. Service advisors did well in these circumstances to calm the caller, keep them focused and gather information from them. In other

cases, service advisors managed calls professionally despite callers being aggressive and rude. (HMICS, 2015, p. 104)

The HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland (hereafter HMICS) description above suggests the training and working environments in FCRs have progressed since the early work by conversational analysts looking at call-handler's communication techniques. Stafford's (2016) recent survey on one English FCR found that call-handlers fielding non-emergency calls were engaging in sympathetic language use (e.g. empathising with the caller and acknowledging their concerns), demonstrating tolerance and affording the citizen time to retell their story. Stafford's (2016) research suggests that a vulnerability framework is already in place for call-handlers. The call-handlers in Stafford's (2016) study acknowledged how the use of sympathetic language enhanced rapport building and intelligence gathering. Stafford (2016) linked this call management approach to promoting police legitimacy and public trust. For the citizens in Stafford's (2016) study, the manner in which their non-emergency calls were handled and the call-handler's degree of emotional engagement left a positive legacy in terms of how the police were viewed and valued (Stafford, 2016). An essential part of this, Stafford (2017) argued, was for:

call-handlers to explain the process of how a matter will be assessed, by whom, whether the victim will be contacted and how and when, but at the same time ensuring that this information is accurate, is not misleading and is delivered sensitively, [which] involves providing a carefully balanced narrative. (Stafford, 2017, p. 305)

In the instance of a deaf person who uses BSL making a call to an FCR, the dependence on a VRS interpreter will inevitably complicate and pose challenges to the call-handler's approach. The VRS concept is new (Skinner et al., submitted), and call-handlers have yet to familiarise themselves with this form of communication. For example, turn-taking will need to occur between three people (Warnicke & Plejert, 2012). The call handler is also reliant upon a third party (i.e. the VRS interpreter) to deliver, in full, another person's story and perspective (Marks, 2015; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke, 2018, 2018). It is not yet clear how much work is required of the call-handler to understand both the citizen's and the VRS interpreter's epistemic stance in order to make the interaction work.



### 4.8.3 Identifying and managing risk

The subject of identifying risk and developing strategies with which to manage it has become a priority concern for the UK police (Flanagan, 2008; HMICS, 2015; Povey, 2001). A HMICS review into Scottish FCRs found that risk and vulnerability assessment were ‘strong’ and that call-handlers demonstrated proper use of their ‘own experience to assess risk and vulnerability [] whilst supporting ICT systems provide information and guidance’ (HMICS, 2015, p. 7). Call-handlers’ evaluation and documenting of risk is facilitated by FCR computer programmes (such as Storm Unity or Aspire) developing incident reports, and referring to institutional policies. When a call comes through to a Police Scotland FCR, the Customer Relationship Management (hereafter referred to as CRM) system automatically searches and displays the caller’s location and any historical records that may exist. The CRM system is designed to assist call-handlers with grading calls and formulating a risk and vulnerability assessment. Within the CRM system, the call-handler can access other programmes and directories, perform an instant messaging chat with colleagues, and send/receive emails. In England and Wales, call-handlers follow the THRIVE+ (Threat, Harm, Risk, Vulnerability, Engagement and Prevention) model, a supporting acronym that is mapped to guide a call-handler's decision-making process. The THRIVE+ model has been acknowledged as useful in assisting call-handlers to grade calls (HMICS, 2015, 2017) and to classify individual stories (narratives of risk). Calls are then recorded in the CRM system, graded (see Table 2) and passed on to area control rooms where appropriate resources are dispatched.

Table 2: THRIVE Assessment model

GRADE	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1	Immediate	An ongoing incident where there is an immediate or apparent threat to life or a serious crime in progress
2	Priority	Crime/Incident where there is a degree of urgency associated with police action
3	Standard	Incident not ongoing but police attendance is required – where the outcome could be prejudiced by significant delay
4	Scheduled	Crimes/incidents which will not be prejudiced by a scheduled response, with police attendance being at a mutually agreeable time
5	Non-attendant	Incidents that can be resolved by telephone or by some other means which do not require police attendance

Decision-making models like THRIVE+ are not always compatible with other policies guiding the assessment and grading of in-coming calls. In the case of domestic abuse, the application of THRIVE+ model has been superseded by specific domestic abuse

policies (Black & Lumsden, 2020). If a call was a suspect domestic abuse incident, regardless if the matter appears to be resolved, a specific and overprotective response must be followed. This is regardless if the call-handler's personal assessment detects no further risk. Black & Lumsden (2020) have looked at how the domestic abuse policy promoted in England and Wales limits the call-handler's autonomy in evaluating domestic abuse incidences. The intention of introducing domestic abuse policies was to function as a 'safety net to justify practices' (Black & Lumsden, 2020, p. 1). The authors describe how the emphasis on regulation and maintaining public perception has created a 'precautionary policing' approach (Black & Lumsden, 2020).

In 2017 the BBC magazine programme *See Hear* reported on the experiences and heightened risk of deaf victims of domestic abuse and sexual violence. A key issue faced by deaf victims was the limited pathways available through which to seek appropriate support ('See Hear', 2017). Suppose a VRS call into an FCR from a citizen who was deaf and a victim of domestic or sexual abuse was made, this would fall into this precautionary approach. This precautionary policing approach can mitigate communication issue with being understood via an interpreter. When a VRS call is first place, the call is randomly allocated to an available interpreter. It cannot be guaranteed that the call will be channelled to the most competent or appropriate interpreter. Furthermore, for the interpreter, piecing together the deaf person's domestic abuse matter, the call may be complicated by that victim's ability to articulate their complaint. The victim may be distressed, injured or incoherent. These potential complications can mean evaluating a victim of domestic or sexual abuse becomes challenged. Having an overprotective process can mitigate both interpreting errors and the difficulties that the citizen may have with conveying their reality. The problem with risk management is determining where the responsibility lies in resolving issues around assessment and offering guidance. For example, if a call-handler advises that the victim redial 999 if their situation escalates, whose duty is it to notify the call-handler that a 999 VRS service does not exist? Additionally, as Stafford (2017) observed in his data, call-handlers do not routinely explain how a call will be followed up:

Call-handlers were trained to provide information on the immediate next steps that would occur following a victim's report of a non-emergency crime. This involved describing where the information would go, who would look at it, whether there would be follow-up contact and when

and how it would occur. However, it was rare for a response activity description to contain information on all of these points. (Stafford, 2017, p. 309)

Without entering into discussion about how to follow up the interaction, the call-handler will not become aware of broader communication issues in the case of a deaf caller.

When the call-handler does enter into discussion about what comes next, there are generally three possible outcomes: i) a call back; ii) a visit from an officer; iii) a letter explaining how the matter could not be investigated due to lack of evidence (Stafford, 2017). All three options present potential issues when assisting someone who is a sign language user. A call-back is made complicated by the fact that the 101VRS service is only available in one direction: the citizen seeking to make contact with the police (Skinner et al., submitted). It is not always possible for the police to return calls to the deaf citizen. The current 101VRS model only permits calls from the public to the FCR (Skinner et al., submitted). This technical barrier means rethinking how on-going communication is managed. The citizen may suggest an SMS number, email or the contact details of a relative or family member. In each case, the police cannot be confident that the call-back message will reach the intended recipient. A home visit or an interview at a designated police station can offer guarantees that the witness/victim will be responded to; however, this step will require sourcing an on-site interpreter and securing the availability of both the citizen and the police officer. Locating an interpreter and matching schedules can present a logistical challenge. Finally, to issue a follow-up letter may be an inadequate response, as it assumes the citizen has sufficient English literacy skills (see section 1.3.1 for an explanation of why accessing written English is problematic for some deaf people). The call-handler will need to engage in discussion with the citizen to determine what is the appropriate means of on-going contact and weigh this against the severity of the citizen's call. For example, in the case of domestic abuse, the decision might be made to send officers to the victim's address to carry out a visual safety check and to return a second time with an interpreter. It would not be logical for the police to offer a 101VRS service without being prepared to put in place steps that offer protection and on-going communication with the citizen who use this service. How the police offer assistance to someone who is deaf and brought into custody is discussed in the following section.

## **4.9 Police Custody**

This section turns to police custody, where the focus will be on understanding the institutional and real-world constraints that have been found to characterise how custody interactions unfold. When working in institutional settings, staff will have developed strategies that enable them to operate as closely as possible to the expectations of the institution they work for, and to balance these institutional demands against real-world demands. The purpose of reviewing the literature on custody settings is to develop an understanding of why custody sergeants can be seen to approach interactions either in a uniformed patterned way, or in a manner that appears to be responsive and reflective of current needs. These behaviours and traits can then be used to inform and describe the positioning moves displayed by the three custody sergeants who participated in this study.

It should be noted that scholarly investigation into custody settings is somewhat limited and has relied largely on interviews or ethnographic work (Britton, 2000; Cummins, 2012; Dehaghani, 2016; Leese, 2017; Phillips & Brown, 1997; Skinns, 2011; Skinns et al., 2017; Wooff & Skinns, 2017). In contrast to the work on calls to an FCR, custody sergeants' interactions with detainees have not been scrutinised at an interactive-discourse level.

### ***4.9.1 Understanding the custody settings***

The custody centre is 'the gateway to the criminal justice process' (Skinns, 2011, p. 2); it is the initial point where suspects are brought onto police premises. As Skinns explains, police custody is used to establish authority and regulate detainee behaviours:

Police custody is used to pursue police objectives to maintain authority, deference and subordination, as well as exercise summary punishment and social control over those who come into regular contact with the police. (Skinns, 2011, p. 2)

The detainee is brought onto what is described as 'police territory' (Britton, 2000; Phillips & Brown, 1997; Skinns, 2011), where the individual is held under police supervision and is temporarily under police control and care. The police determine who can enter the premises and often how and when a procedure, task or discussion topic is actioned (Britton, 2000; Skinns, 2011).

Police custody is known to be a ‘high risk area of policing business’ (HMICS, 2018b, p. 3). This reflects concern about the number of deaths, or potential risk, that occur in custody settings and the mental-emotional state of detainees when first brought into police custody (Cummins, 2012; Dehaghani, 2016; Leese, 2017). As the gatekeepers of custody, custody sergeants have to assist the detainee as they transition from arrest to detention. When a detainee is brought into police custody, the first step is to complete a background check and inform the detainee of their legal rights (Britton, 2000; HMICS, 2018a; Skinns, 2011). The subsequent step is to conduct a risk assessment and complete a care plan (Cummins, 2012; Dehaghani, 2016; HMICS, 2018a). This second phase includes questions relating to drug or alcohol use and a health and well-being assessment. The custody sergeant’s ability to document and formulate an assessment is dependent on the detainee’s willingness to respond (Cummins, 2012; Dehaghani, 2016; Leese, 2017). The booking-in procedure is formally recorded on the National Custody System and holds a dual purpose. The first is to develop records that can be used to assist the police with their immediate work; the second is for monitoring and accountability purposes (Leese, 2017).

The above measures make the custody process a highly regulated settings. All of the steps comply with legal mechanisms, such as the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2016 (described below), as well as institutional procedures. Each of these measures holds safeguarding as paramount. In Scotland, the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2016 is the legal framework that describes police powers when arresting, detaining and interviewing suspects of a crime. These powers have been translated into a set of guidelines known as the Care and Welfare of Persons in Police Custody Standard Operating Procedure (hereafter referred to as SOP). The purpose of the legislation and SOP guidelines is to make clear the role of the police, police powers, and the rights and entitlements of the citizen while in police detention. The equivalent for police forces in England and Wales can be found in PACE Act (1984). PACE is a code of practice designed to clarify and describe police powers. The introduction of the SOP and National Custody System (hereafter referred to as NCS) was to establish consistent working practices across custody settings in Scotland.

Based on these institutional guidelines, custody sergeants have a legal duty to assess the justification for the citizen’s arrest and to conduct an assessment of the citizen’s well-being. A recent custody inspection report produced by the HMICS concluded that ‘staff

were committed to providing a good standard of care for those held in police custody, many of whom are vulnerable and with significant health care needs' (2018a, p. 9). Although the recent investigation of custody settings in Scotland praised the quality of service offered, the consistency and parity of service remained in doubt. As stated in the recent HMICS inspection, 'Police Scotland should improve its systems to eliminate unnecessarily inconsistent processes and practice in custody' (HMICS, 2018a, p. 7). This expectation is an example of where bureaucratic control seeks to control police discretion to prevent variation in treatment. The HMICS inspection report raised issues concerning women, young people, people from certain faiths, transgender people, people with mental health issues, people who needed medical attention, alcoholics, drug users, speakers of foreign languages, people with learning difficulties and people with mobility issues. No mention was made of deaf people or detainees from another linguistic background. The consideration of deaf people's needs is a neglected subject.

Studies that look closely at custody sergeant's decision-making often find grounds to challenge the quality and parity of service (Britton, 2000; Cummins, 2012; Leese, 2017; Vernon & Miller, 2005). The concerns relate to how custody sergeants rely heavily on the law as a moral framework for conducting their duties. For example, mental health assessments may be sanctioned to justify the detention and pursuit of an interview with a suspect (Cummins, 2012). The reluctance to call on third party voluntary organisations to ensure the safeguarding of black or ethnic minorities in custody suggests the law is racially driven (Britton, 2000). Another common factor is the custody sergeant's lack of preparedness to handle and awareness of citizen diversity (Britton, 2000; Cummins, 2012; Dehaghani, 2016; Leese, 2017; Vernon & Miller, 2005). For example, Britton interviewed custody sergeants on the subject of dealing with racial matters in custody and found that custody sergeants:

insisted that it is their duty to apply the law strictly and without discretion. As a result, they perceived little opportunity for the custody process to be racialized and ultimately discounted any meaning for race in their job. (Britton, 2000, p. 644)

Britton further observed how unevenly custody sergeants within a single force incorporated the 'Help on Arrest' scheme into their daily practice. This scheme, supported by volunteers, was designed to support black detainees, where levels of mistrust and concerns around safety had risen. As Britton explained, the volunteer's role was:

to offer practical advice and assistance to detainees. For example, the volunteer's job involved ensuring that any specific dietary, health and religious requirements of the detainee were met. Volunteers were also trained to provide non-legal advice about the police custody process and this included advising detainees to request a solicitor if they had not already done so. (Britton, 2000, p. 142)

The custody sergeants interviewed by Britton (2000) objected to the project's initiative, arguing that it gave black detainees extra support that white detainees did not have. The scheme was further interpreted as a slight on the police, rather than an opportunity to counter broader social problems. Custody sergeants, who held ultimate control over the custody process, could determine the success of the volunteer's visit by their willingness to offer practical support to the volunteer. Britton found that officers were not up to date with or fully behind the scheme:

To summarize, the custody officers exercised their authority through a process of interpretation and decision making whereby their understanding prioritized the demands of operational policing rather than the interests of black detainees. As a direct consequence of the custody officers' maintenance of authority, it was clear that black detainees were by no means certain of receiving the assistance of the HOAS, either partially or in full. By ignoring or selectively implementing the scheme, officers effectively dismissed a meaning for race in the custody process. This meant that the apparent commitment of senior officers to what was essentially a race relations initiative failed to be translated into straightforward cooperation at ground level. (Britton, 2000, pp. 654–655)

The issues around the treatment of black people in custody, or self-reflection among custody sergeants with how their behaviour contributes to broader social issues, is not confined to custody settings. The same issues have been echoed in other areas of policing, such as officers working at street level (Loftus, 2009, 2009; Reiner, 2010; Skolnick, 2011). The concerns raised by Britton (2000) indicate an unwillingness among custody sergeants to take steps that could be perceived as favourable treatment. It is not known what adjustments, if any, a custody sergeants are willing to make to ensure communication via an interpreter is a success with a detainee that is deaf and uses a signed language. It is possible a custody sergeant may respond negatively to any expectations, from the interpreter or detainee, that invites the custody sergeant to behave or perform differently.

#### **4.9.2 Coercive policing – custody**

UK-based studies have investigated the subject of procedural justice and coerced compliance to explain how police authority can be applied in custody to promote better engagement. If police staff conduct interactions where they have listened, responded fairly, given just treatment, guided the citizens through their decision-making strategy, and demonstrated their treatment to be consistent with that of others, then when a punishment or penalty is awarded the citizen is more likely to comply with the outcome (Hough et al., 2010; Skinns et al., 2017; Tyler, 2003).

In more recent studies of UK custody settings a different description of custody sergeants has emerged compared to the findings in Britton's (2000) study. Custody sergeants in certain forces have been found to show flexibility and adaptability when performing their gatekeeping role. This is because custody sergeants are continually to seek ways to create opportunities for a teachable moment as part of an effort to promote a preferred type of behaviour from detainees. A detainee can respond in a variety of ways due to feeling fearful, anxious, angry, neutral or non-compliant (Skinns, 2011; Skinns et al., 2017). Custody staff have a vested interest in achieving co-operation from detainees, since it has been found to reduce disruptive or harmful behaviour while in police care. Achieving co-operation in custody has been found to require a level of coercion, i.e. the use of 'soft power' (Skinns et al., 2017, p. 606). Skinns et al. (2017, p. 606) describe soft power as a subtle approach to the point where 'detainees hardly noticed it'. Part of this effort included establishing 'good first impressions' such as greeting detainees at the dock where they first arrive, and engaging in informal talk, humour or even inviting the detainee to explain what can be done to achieve their compliance and co-operation (Skinns et al., 2017, p. 607). Building on this initial effort, rapport building and co-operation continues as the booking-in process is explained, demonstrating respect, politeness and a willingness to keep detainees informed (Skinns, 2011, pp. 608–610). The value of co-operation did not only benefit the custody setting, but has been applied to subsequent police work such as the formal interview.

Many of these objectives and interactive qualities have been observed in the current study and will be described in detail in Chapter 7. This study only looks at the booking-in process, and the analysis does not include the welcome at the dock or the wait time for an interpreter. The established rapport-building strategies described above have been developed between participants using English. When an interpreter mediates a police-



citizen interaction, these strategies depend on the interpreter's ability to convey. Interpreters have been known to undo the subtle communication techniques that were intended to build rapport (Berk-Seligson, 2009; Filipović, 2019; Gallai, 2013; Nakane, 2014). It cannot be assumed that the interpreter will understand how vital it is for the police to demonstrate how their power or authority as a part of a teachable moment to shape the citizens' behaviour. Interpreters are known to filter information, determining what gets relayed, and even function as gatekeepers to information (Angelelli, 2004; Davidson, 2000). In light of this, how does a custody sergeant recognise a teachable moment, another detainee's anxiety, or manage non-compliant behaviour? For the custody sergeant, this will mean monitoring the interpreter's understanding as well as the citizen's, and this becomes a critical part of the interaction. This will extend the booking-in procedure, as two sets of understanding will need to be reviewed. A custody sergeant who is willing to adapt and recognise the atypical flow of an interpreter-mediated interaction is likely to see a more successful outcome compared to someone who believes the interpreter and citizen must conform to the police's way of doing business.

#### ***4.9.3 Deaf people and custody***

Little is known about the experience of deaf people who are incarcerated in police custody. It has already been explained (Chapter 1) that no VRI service exists in custody settings. This absence means that any interpreting provision in custody settings is performed on-site. It is highly likely that deaf people will remain in custody for lengthy periods while an interpreter is sought and appointed to facilitate the booking-in procedure.

Not only is there a language barrier in this situation, but additionally a linguistic modality challenge. The booking-in procedure is expected to happen as expediently as possible, but cannot be completed if no equivalent to a telephone interpreting service exists for those who use a signed language. This will mean a deaf person being made to wait for typically several hours while an interpreter is physically located. In rural areas, it is not clear how an interpreter can be sourced within a reasonable timeframe. The waiting period is a risk both to the detainee and to police staff who must remain by the side of the detainee. Police Scotland's custody estate portfolio is currently being looked at with a view to improve facilities and upgrade the technological facilities. In the reports published by the HMICS, no mention has been made of videoconferencing facilities, which may either directly or indirectly benefit deaf people (HMICS, 2019). HMICS has,

however, recommended the installation of wifi facilities in custody settings to be used by staff. Installing wifi may open the door to VRI platforms being introduced; however, this is conjecture, and no clear indication of this intent has been communicated.

In England and Wales, when a deaf person is brought into custody, custody sergeants may refer to the PACE guidelines to navigate how to prepare for and manage the booking-in process. The PACE guidelines contain detailed explanations of what is expected from the police when a deaf person is brought into custody, and how to manage someone who is isolated through communication difficulties. For example, 6.2 in Code C recommends caution in the use of restraints and advises that an interpreter be sourced. The PACE guidelines also include advice regarding sourcing an interpreter via video or telephone link. In Scotland, where BSL is recognised as an official language, the police will be expected to refer to the Interpreting and Translating Services Standard Operating Procedure (Police Scotland, 2018). The guidelines are comprehensive and flag many of the issues around inter-cultural communication, what to expect of an interpreter, what an interpreter should not be used for and the subtle changes that can occur to meaning when communicating via an interpreter. The guidelines offer practical advice with how to interact via an interpreter, checking another person's comprehension. Further advice is provided with how to interact with someone who is deaf and common misinformed ideas around signed languages and deaf people's literacy skills. No mention is made of video interpreting, as no facilities currently exist. Police Scotland's Interpreting and Translating Services Standard Operating Procedure (2018) is seventeen pages long and requires time to study and learn. It is not known how effective these guidelines are and if they are used by custody sergeants.

There is much to be learned from reviewing how custody procedures deal with a suspect who is deaf and uses BSL. This is because the whole concept of policing and police procedures has traditionally been designed for those who can hear and communicate in the language used by the police. It has been reported that in the heat of the moment the police are not able to properly evaluate the behaviours of a deaf person, who may appear to be more vocal and animated than someone who can make themselves understood (Brennan & Brown, 1997; Skinner & Leeson, 2015; Vernon & Miller, 2005). These communication barriers and cultural misunderstandings risk agitating the citizen who is not getting help or being properly understood by the police. Additionally, a deaf person in custody cannot be monitored or roused in the usual way. A custody sergeant may

typically call the detainee's name through the letterbox for a verbal or physical response; this approach does not work with someone who is deaf. A sleeping detainee will need to be physically aroused; how this is managed may inadvertently antagonise or intimidate the detainee. These examples highlight how a deaf detainee may be provoked to become non-compliant, an outcome that the police typically try to avoid.

#### **4.10 Conclusion**

This study seeks to open up two under-explored areas: police-citizen interactions mediated by an interpreter for non-emergency calls and for custody booking-in procedures. Call-handlers and custody sergeant remain on stand-by to receive citizens, they have little say or control over the type of work or people they must deal with. The FCR and custody interactions take place on police territory and are highly structured, especially for custody settings. These police-citizen interactions are often concerned with risk management and the collection of personal information. Call-handlers will structure their interactions as part of a drive to populate police databases. Custody sergeants follow regulated and scripted protocols when booking a citizen into detention. This process involves recording citizen information onto the National Custody System database. In the results and discussion chapters it will become clear how these databases, which were introduced by police management, become a resource to frame how interactions are managed.

The shift from being an organisation invested in crime prevention to promotion of social order is equally relevant to this current body of work, because the data touches on how current policies and practices promote a type of policing that is accountable and adaptable. For some time there has been a growing awareness from the police of the need to provide a professional service orientated model, also known as procedural justice, where officers are trained to behave like reflective practitioners and promote engagement from the community. How effectively a custody sergeant or call-handler adapts their practice to apply to a citizen that happens to be deaf and uses a signed language remains to be understood. Sections 4.2 - 4.5 have explained how in the past the responsibility to adapt police practice has been placed on the deaf person's or the interpreter's shoulders. Failure to accommodate the citizen's perspective or circumstances risks leading to discriminatory practices. Although a number of policing reforms have been introduced over the years, and many of the recent reforms have maintained alignment with debates

around human rights and diversity in society, it is not clear how these reforms relate to someone who is deaf and uses BSL. The UK police force has made efforts to diversify the workforce (Blok & Brown, 2005; Bullock et al., 2016, 2017), implement changes to police practices (Chan, 1997; Loftus, 2009) and promote reflective training among their staff (Wheller et al., 2013). The changes that deaf people seek (see section 4.2 - 4.5) appear to be influenced by the campaigns and lessons learned from other areas of diversity reforms. I would argue that more could be done to improve the way that the police serve deaf people, and that part of this will come from looking at how officers approach standard protocols and modify these processes to make not only communication possible (with the assistance of an interpreter) but also less isolating for the deaf person. This final point is highly relevant to the current study, which evaluates the interactive performance of call-handlers and custody sergeants when called upon to perform a routine task via a remote sign language interpreter. It is typical that those who unexpectedly find themselves caught in a situation where direct communication cannot happen will assume that the interpreter is the antidote. The framing of people's vulnerability is one approach that may improve the quality of the police officer's or other staff's interactions with the public.

Interpreters involved in specialist or generic interactions have been known to often unintentionally misdirect intended meanings and misrepresent communication strategies. They require skilful interpreting strategies to repair or avoid such pitfalls, which was covered in the previous chapter. Little is known about the use of interpreters when mediating frontline police-citizen interactions over the telephone or in custody. The use of remote signed language video interpreters has only recently been introduced to UK-based non-emergency contact. For custody protocols, the need is currently met by on-site signed language interpreters. The technology is not in place to permit audio-video internet interactions with a remote sign language interpreting service for the custody process. In both situations, it is not yet known what the issues are in terms of providing access to communication. In what way are generic skills sufficient for these frontline policing interactions, and what areas require further intervention through training and reform?

## **Chapter 5 – Methodology, Research Design and Analytical Approach**

The previous chapters have presented the arguments for a broader understanding of how interpreters and police service operate. Part of this broadening description includes the need to become better at communicating and managing a variety of interactive tasks. For the police, the impetus has been a rhetorical debate between the public, politicians and the police. This debate has played an important part in shaping and introducing reforms. The reforms has often been a top down approach. Recent studies and reports suggest these reforms are beginning to emerge as intended. For interpreters there is still ambiguity with the direction of travel for the profession. Academics have presented a robust case for a co-operative model. Interpreters who work in remote settings are still trying to understand how to transfer this co-operative model to this new way of working, in some case how co-operation is achieved is intentionally restricted.

This is the first study to closely examine how citizens, frontline police services and signed language interpreters interact. I apply a hybrid framework, one with a focus on how moral orders between actors is negotiated and another valuing the presence of technology in shaping networks. The sites of interest were two frontline police settings, using two types of VMI service. In undertaking this study it was decided to adopt a multi-faceted qualitative methodology to critically understand how co-operation was achieved. The process of developing, staging, analysing and reporting on the simulated police-citizen VRS/VRI interpreter-mediated interactions is here explained.

The chapter begins with a section describing my reflexive process as the lead researcher (section 5.1). I move the discussion on to the scoping study carried out mid-way through this PhD project to determine what area of policing should be considered for this study (section 5.2). The outcome of this scoping study led to the decision to simulate VRS and VRI calls as they occur in two different frontline settings. The objective was to simulate credible police-citizen VRS/VRI interpreter-mediated interactions. Section 5.4 discusses the implications of relying on authentic versus research-provoked (Silverman, 2017) data, as a study that analyses the interactive positioning moves within a collaborative multi-professional framework has to be confident it was observing ‘close to real-life’ communication challenges. Section 5.5 - 5.6 covers the preparatory work undertaken to design and stage seven VRS/VRI simulations. This section includes the synopsis for each

of the VRS/VRI simulations. Subsequently, section 5.7 covers the participant selection process. To wrap up the simulations, participants were invited to participate in post-simulation focus groups which were intended to collect individual reflections that could inform and guide how the interactions were later analysed and reported. How the focus groups were managed is covered in section 5.8. The data collected for this study was in audio-video format and contained two languages, the transcription, translation and code processing is therefore explained (section 5.9). Finally, section 5.10 explains how I experimentally applied positioning theory and ANT as part of a two-step descriptive-analytical approach. Part of this discussion requires foregrounding the transcription, translation, annotation and coding process.

## **5.1 Reflexivity**

In this section, I explain how I managed my own reflexive process as the lead researcher engaged in a non-positivist research framework. This consideration includes the ‘footprint’ left behind, the potential impact of how and what I choose to study. There are competing views on the value of reflexivity and how to manage the reflexive process (Lumsden, 2019). This is because reflexivity discloses the researcher’s subjectivity, their biases, the variable power relations and the acceptance of gaps or ambiguity that remain following the completion of a research project. The acceptance and recognition of the investigator’s presence in the creation and communication of knowledge are symbolic of the postmodernist turn in social research methods (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004). It is well established that

[s]cientists have a culture. They have beliefs. They have practices. They work, they gossip, and they worry about the future. And, somehow or other, out of their work, their practices and their beliefs, they produce knowledge, scientific knowledge, accounts of reality. So how do they do this? How do they make knowledge? (Law, 2004, p. 19).

My positionality as a “researcher within” was explained in section 1.4. The disclosure of this status was intended to be transparent and vocal about my own standpoint. The term ‘standpoint’ was initially used by feminists to mark out the voice of marginalized groups and the knowledge that come from being part of that group (Dixson & Seriki, 2013; Lumsden, 2019). The standpoint I am describing is not the voice of a marginalized group, in that I am a white, male, British, hearing, multilingual, middle-class researcher. Although I am not categorically a member of an oppressed group, I am someone who was

born into an oppressed minority (i.e., a hearing person that has grown up with deaf family members and a signed language as my first home language) (Napier, 2009) and has retained close personal and professional connections with deaf people and the interpreting profession. My individual, cultural, political and professional views are unavoidably affected and influenced by this positionality.

The decision to study how frontline policing services respond to the needs of deaf people was inspired by my own personal awareness. Growing up around deaf people, I have since childhood been aware that the police have regularly failed to meet the needs of deaf people (see sections 4.2 - 4.5). Therefore, this awareness marks this study as a political exercise. This means making certain epistemological choices that will affect the methodologies and methods I chose to employ (Law, 2004). For example, Young and Temple explain that the way in which researchers view and define deaf people – through a medical or a socio-cultural lens – will determine how social realities are measured. The medical model would regard the ability to hear as a ‘true standard’ and any type of hearing loss as a ‘deviation from that norm’ (Young & Temple, 2014, p. 30). A socio-cultural model, on the other hand, ‘emphasize[s] the uniqueness of a [d]eaf person’s experience of the world’ (Young & Temple, 2014, p. 31). It was this latter definition that held more relevance to my area of focus, see section 1.3. With regards to interpreting, I see competing epistemological choices emerging: these competing views will advocate a type of ‘preferred’ role the interpreter should assume. Should an interpreter adhere to a detached translator approach (see section 3.3.1) or a function as a social agent who can perform multiple roles (see section 3.3.2)? Based on my own personal and professional experience as an interpreter, I was conscious of how I often practised the multiple role and valued this approach in VRS/VRI settings. In a frontline policing context, my epistemological choices were again revealed in Chapter 4. I advocate a vulnerabilities framework (section 4.7.1) as producing a more collaborative approach to managing interpreter-mediated interactions. Finally, and possibly the most critical is my shared belief with De Meulder & Haualand (2019) that signed language interpreting services (including VRS/VRI) are too often treated as the antidote to social issues, when other options should be explored (see section 8.4). This final point played heavily in how I prepared and presented my recommendations. I was aware how the advice presented in this thesis may not be supported by those who do come from a minority standpoint, e.g. someone who is deaf and uses BSL. I was mindful of what other doors may close as a result of the advice offered. For example, why is VRS/VRI viewed as the only solution

to reforming how deaf people access frontline services? Could the police not explore direct forms of contact, such as increasing the involvement of deaf people in the delivery and design of policing services?

Both Latour (2005) and Law (2004) promoted the idea that the researcher should be defined as an actor within an ANT framework. Although this advice was intended for those engaged in ethnographic research, where a researcher can be visibly seen conducting their field observations, field notes or interviews, I found no reason to reject such advice. For example, the core data for this study consisted of interactive VRS/VRI recorded calls and the post-simulation focus groups. This core data set was supported by my desk-based research, the scoping study carried out the year before (see section 5.2), and my repeated conversations with the PhD partners and users of VRS/VRI services. It was during this scoping period that I recognised my knowledge of interpreting, frontline policing and deaf people's experience of policing to be imbalanced. I was conscious of how this imbalance could interfere with the quality of focus group discussions or how I critically analysed the interactive data. I was not able to approach the issues of policing with the same confidence as issues around interpreting or deaf people's experience of the police. Therefore, I felt it was necessary to engage and call on my partners at SignVideo and Police Scotland to redress these imbalances. To involve consultants in the research design and data collection process meant devolving some responsibilities to others (see section 5.4). For example, I had developed a close working relationship with my primary consultant at Police Scotland. I was impressed by how she had been instrumental with improving how Police Scotland engage with the Scottish deaf communities, and her commitment to reform Police Scotland's services to resolve issues around discrimination and parity of service. By inviting this consultant to join me with observing the VRS/VRI calls and focus groups, I was able to benefit from her expertise and bring balance with the police perspective.

Finally, one unavoidable consideration within social research is how the data collected will always be messy and lack certainty (Latour, 2005; Law, 2004; Lumsden, 2019). Accepting this outcome is especially challenging in an applied research project. The SGSAH partnership (see section 1.4) offered opportunities for this PhD thesis to direct future police policy concerning the increased usage of VRS/VRI platforms, and the training of interpreters and frontline police services (see section 8.4). This relationship created an expectation that I deliver conclusions about the way things are. Learning to



cope with the messiness of research and not succumb to the belief that as social scientists we have special insights was a challenge to accept.

## **5.2 Scoping the field**

For eighteen months I conducted a scoping exercise that included field trips to FCRs, custody settings, VRS/VRI contact centres, one-to-one interviews with PLOD officers, police diversity representatives, and representatives from deaf-led organisations. Through this wider dialogue and reporting my initial observations to my PhD partners, it was collectively agreed to concentrate on 101VRS calls and VRI custody calls. Call handlers had been managing 101 and 999 conference calls with spoken language interpreters for some time, while SignVideo interpreters had recently begun fielding 101VRS calls (Skinner et al., submitted). There was an expressed need from interpreters and call handlers for research to guide their practice. They were interested in learning how to provide meaningful access to a group of people who had historically been neglected. Furthermore, they were keen to learn what behaviours might indirectly discriminate against someone because of their deafness or linguistic background.

It was explained in Chapter 1 how VRI was not an option being offered to deaf people by police forces in the UK. The decision to include VRI in custody settings was related to a specific request made by Police Scotland. Telephone interpreting in custody had been in place for some time, yet no equivalent remote video interpreting facility existed for BSL users. This gap in provision created the basis to investigate how VRI could work in a custody setting. Like the call handlers and the interpreters in that setting, those working in custody were keen to know how VRI could be used to complete a standard custody procedure fairly and equitably. Overall, this PhD project presented a valuable opportunity to contribute to two untested areas of interpreter-mediated police-citizen interactions.

## **5.3 Ethical approval**

In accordance with the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences ethical approval procedure. The applicant's registration number being H00253628 was received on the 9<sup>th</sup> of February 2018.

The ethics application described the responsibilities of the investigator concerning how to approach and invite participants to take part in the study (in BSL or English), and obtaining informed consent. It also detailed why there needed to be concealed aspects of the research. Aspects of this study had to remain concealed from police participants and interpreters, so as to create "as close to real-world" conditions during the simulated VRS/VRI calls. The intention was to replicate police staff and interpreter's actual working conditions, where unexpected demands had to be responded to without prior warning. The design of the simulations is explained further in sections 5.5 - 5.6.

An informal proposal was submitted to Police Scotland's organisational development team, which received approval from them in November 2016. Police Scotland non-police personnel vetting level 2 (NPPV) was received on 9<sup>th</sup> February 2017. The NPPV was valid till 9<sup>th</sup> February 2020. The NPPV permitted access to controlled areas such as custody suites, control rooms and service centres.

To mitigate any potential emotional or well-being risks, the recruitment to and management of the simulations were carried out in collaboration with line managers and expert consultants from Police Scotland and SignVideo. The duty of assessing the well-being of participants was a collective responsibility, and no risk was identified. Although the VRS/VRI content was not based on real-life issues, the police staff and interpreters were being evaluated on a level possibly not experienced before. It was necessary to ensure all professionals involved were made aware of their ability to withdraw from the project either before, during or following the simulation. See Appendices A – N for participant information sheets, consent forms, and Topic sheets.

For the deaf participants, their involvement required specific care as their contributions demanded a personal rather than professional contribution, as was the case for the police and interpreters. The simulations relied on their willingness to supply a mixture of real-world personal information with fictional content supplied by myself (see sections 5.5 and 5.6). Their contributions were intended to function as interactive stimuli. The custody booking-in procedure discussed the citizen's medical physical and emotional history. Therefore by taking part, the participants would be expected to disclose personal details. It was explained, in BSL and written English, how this personal information was to be removed or substituted with pseudo names or content. A BSL translation of the consent form (<https://vimeo.com/258815324>) and topic guide was

(<https://vimeo.com/258818622>) shared via Vimeo. Participants were given the opportunity to discuss the consent form and topic guide via email or video chat. On the day of data collection, I discussed in person (in BSL) the requirements of the study and sought consent. All participants were informed of the audio-video recording requirement and the need to use such materials for both analytical purposes. Although none declined, it was necessary to obtain consent and agreement to be filmed as part of the recruitment process. Additional consent was sought to use images, still or motion, for dissemination purposes. Not all agreed to the use of re-distribution of images or video beyond the scope of analysing and preparing this thesis.

The compensation of deaf and interpreter participants followed the INVOLVE (2016) guidelines<sup>15</sup> for participation in social research. The deaf participants recruited to make 101-non-emergency calls were compensated with a £20 electronic gift card. Interpreters who participate in the VRS and VRI scenarios were compensated with a £20 electronic gift card. The actors recruited for the custody simulations were compensated £15 per hour for their time, based on the Independent Theatre Council's rates of pay<sup>16</sup>. The police participants were not offered any form of financial compensation.

#### **5.4 Research design**

This section explains the collaborative process of designing and staging the VRS/VRI calls. The type of data required for this study had to contain both the video and audio elements of the call. The decision to rely on simulated data was related to the complexities and difficulties in accessing and capturing real-life contexts where VRS or VRI was being used to assist a citizen with a non-emergency problem or booking a citizen into custody.

For an evidence-based study interested in how people from different social groups interact with one another, the preference would have been to access authentic or naturally occurring data. Naturally occurring data is regarded as being far superior to simulated data since it provides us with a window into how people interact in real-world circumstances. Drawing from authentic and naturally occurring interactions would be in line with the type of data that policing scholars typically critique. To date, studies on

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<sup>15</sup> [https://www.invo.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/INVOLVE\\_payment\\_document\\_v4-NOV16.pdf](https://www.invo.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/INVOLVE_payment_document_v4-NOV16.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.itc-arts.org/about-us>

police-citizen interactions have included audio recordings from formal police interviews (Baldwin, 1993; Berk-Seligson, 1999; Heydon, 2005; Krouglov, 2014; Mulayim et al., 2014; Nakane, 2009), audio recordings of emergency or non-emergency calls (Garcia, 2015; Tracy, 1997; Tracy & Robles, 2009; J. Whalen et al., 1988; J. Whalen & Zimmerman, 2005; M. R. Whalen & Zimmerman, 1990; Zimmerman, 1984) or ethnographic fieldwork and interviews (again audio recordings) (Britton, 2000; Dehaghani, 2016; Loftus, 2009; Lumsden & Black, 2017b; Manning, 1988; Reiner, 2010; Skinns, 2011; Skinns et al., 2017; Wooff & Skinns, 2017). Published studies that look at authentic audio-video data from police-citizen interactions are almost non-existent. I am aware of one completed study which looked at the partial involvement of an interpreter who facilitated a police criminal investigation (Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017) and another study still in development looking at the footing shifts of a BSL/English interpreter during a suspect interview (Skinner et al., in prep). Accessing unedited, authentic audio and video recordings of police-citizen interactions is problematic due to data protection.

Skinner et al. (submitted) recently reviewed the provisions of VRS and VRI in a UK frontline policing context. Four UK police forces, at the time of writing, providing 101VRS, but VRI is not an option with any force. SignVideo handled two of the 101VRS platforms. Based on current provision, then, the opportunities for authentic data collection are limited. Additionally, it was not possible to know in advance where and when 101VRS calls were likely to be made, including which SignVideo interpreter would field the call, as SignVideo had interpreters fielding calls from across the UK. Without prior knowledge, I could not ensure I was at the right location to ensure that consent was received from the caller, and that the audio/video recording of the call was actioned.

I did consider following Warnicke & Plejert's (2012, 2016) approach to collecting generic VRS calls, where the interpreters took on the investigator role to obtain consent from all of the participants in the interaction. The issue with this approach was the unknown sensitivity of the content of 101 calls. It has been reported that deaf people might use the 101 service to make either non-emergency or emergency VRS calls (Skinner et al., submitted). Interfering with the trajectory of these VRS calls was a risk. Knowing in advance how to treat a caller, inviting them to participate in a research project and obtaining agreement to being filmed was viewed as generally problematic by the PhD project partners. The potential response might be the premature termination of the call or a diminution of public trust. Additionally, the use of 101VRS, in a UK context, was still

an emerging concept and confidence in the service was still developing (see Skinner et al., submitted). Finally, it was not possible to rely on the automatic recording of VRS calls. According to Police Scotland and SignVideo, neither routinely record or store the video aspects of VRS calls.

Because of these practical barriers, it was decided to explore the possibility of staging VRS and VRI simulations as an alternative data collection method. The following section discusses the issues of relying on simulated data, and the steps taken to create as close to real-life circumstances.

#### **5.4.1 *Authentic versus simulated data***

The process of staging and co-ordinating the VRS/VRI simulations is what Silverman (2017) defines as ‘researcher-provoked’ data; or ‘data which is actively created and, therefore, would not exist apart from the researcher’s intervention’ (Silverman, 2017, p. 546). To make a judgement about policing or interpreting based on simulated data could be met with scepticism. In this current study, the person contacting the 101 helplines did not have a genuine need to do so. The suspect brought into police custody was not going to be placed in a custody cell. Therefore, how can one be sure that the behaviours observed in this study correlate closely to real-world experiences? Studies describing the (monolingual) interactions between citizens and frontline police services often acknowledge how the police’s presence can antagonise, bring a sense of relief or make people uneasy. The mere presence of the law can equally influence the interpreter's natural behaviour. These emotions shape how we communicate.

The question of credibility has been a critical concern as I developed and staged the simulations. While I am aware that it was not possible to create real-life encounters, this study has sought to design and stage interactions that were close to authentic by focusing on conducting procedural matters. Simulating interpreter-mediated encounters has been trialled and used by interpreting scholars because of similar practical and ethical challenges highlighted earlier. Actors or professionals from different language backgrounds have been recruited to create interactive stimuli (Balogh & Hertog, 2012; Böser, 2013; Braun & Taylor, 2012a; Lai & Mulayim, 2014; Major, 2013; Marks, 2015; Metzger, 1999; Miler-Cassino & Rybińska, 2012; Napier, 2012; Shift Project, 2017; Spinolo et al., 2018). In these studies, actors worked with a synopsis or script. The

interpreters were introduced into the encounter with the expectation to perform the same behaviours as in the real world, dealing with other people's talk, formulating interpretations, co-ordinating turns, and explaining to the PP challenges that impact on their ability to work.

The SHift project, a EURASMUS+ (<https://www.erasmusplus.org.uk>) funded project, brought together a consortium of academics and Italian remote interpreting providers. The focus for the project was to develop pedagogical solutions for the training of remote dialogue interpreters and to test theoretical and methodological frameworks for telephone and video interpreting services for public institutions (e.g. healthcare, police, courts) (Braun & Davitti, 2017; Fernández, 2017; Spinolo et al., 2018). When looking closely at public calls to FCR, the SHift research team acknowledged difficulties with accessing authentic emergency calls because of the sensitivity in obtaining consent and reusing the recordings for training purposes. Instead, the SHift team designed their data collection on simulated interactions, drawing on project partner's facilities and resources who were currently delivering telephone and video interpreting services to public organisations (Fernández, 2017). In developing the simulations, the SHift team drew from the empirical work of the AVIDICUS project (see section 3.5.3). The SHift team recruited actors to initiate and receive non-emergency and emergency 112 calls. The simulated 112 calls were routed to un-primed interpreters, who were unaware of the research angle (Braun & Davitti, 2017). This promoted an authentic response from the interpreters; this included interpreters seeking to diagnose and verify the language requirement before establishing the citizen's requirement.

The issue with all simulated interpreter-mediated events is how to increase the scope of who can be evaluated. To be critical of the custody sergeant and call handler's positioning moves it was necessary to strip away the level of direction or scripting given. The police participants needed to enter their VRS/VRI interactions under the same pretext as described for the interpreters. Although less common, research-provoked stimuli have been used to investigate officers' behaviours. This has involved using prepared scripts, as part of an experimental design, to contrast interactive behaviours across groups of officers and their impact on police perception legitimacy. The Australian Queensland Community Engagement Trial (QCET) (Mazerolle et al., 2012) and the Scottish Community Engagement Trial (ScotCET) (MacQueen & Bradford, 2015) supplied officers, who were part of an experimental group, with a script on how to approach their

interaction with a member of the public. The objective for both studies was to use the scripts to generate a response from the public, which would constitute the data for analysis. The data collected was in a survey format and contained citizen's reflections and perceptions of the police following their recent and routine engagement. My study adopted a comparable approach where the use of researcher generated materials, e.g. a synopsis, images, videos, was prepared for the citizen's participation. The police participants role was to extract this information as part of their routine police procedure. How the un-primed call handler or custody sergeant constructed their assessment, explained their assessment, included the citizen in their assessment, included the interpreter in their thinking, and explained how they were planning the allocation of police resources became the subject of interest. The call handlers who participated in this study all commented on the realistic experience and closeness to their day-to-day practice. One call handler in her post-simulation focus group was unsure if she was handling a genuine or a scheduled call, as seen in Extract 1, which confirms the authenticity of the experience.

Extract 1: Paige (101VRS#3: post-simulation focus group comment)

*“to be honest at one point I did- I did think am I taking a normal call, rather than a scheduled one, it did seem like a genuine call to me- it didn't come across to me as being staged or anything like that. So it was a pretty genuine experience.”*

A similar process was developed for the custody simulations. The custody sergeants were aware of the simulated task and viewed their involvement as part of a training exercise. No time was given to prepare the custody sergeants with how to interact with someone who was deaf or via a remote interpreter. The feedback received from the custody sergeants was how close the simulated booking-in procedure was to their actual day-to-day experience.

The interactions contained an on-going degree of uncertainty; participants could not know in advance the behaviour of another and had to remain responsive to maintain their role. For example, as described in section 6.4.2, in one simulated 101 call a misunderstanding of roles occurred between the interpreter and call handler. The call handler assumed the interpreter was a lip-reader and this misunderstanding took some time to resolve. Both the interpreter and call handler managed their contributions based on what they believed to be correct. Despite their beliefs about what was the right response, a clash of

understanding occurred and required a renegotiation. In another example, a VRI interpreter challenged a custody sergeant's decision to document the citizen's language background as "English" because BSL was not a language listed on the National Custody System. When this happened, the interpreter became concerned with inaccurate information being officially recorded. This led the interpreter to intervene and challenge the custody sergeant's decision. As the investigator, I could only assume I was observing and critiquing a type of behaviour that was either reflective of real-life encounters or a performed response that was believed to be within the realms of acceptable behaviour.

Experts from Police Scotland and SignVideo were invited to review the VRS/VRI calls. Reflections from these experts also feature in my analysis. All of these reflections were used to inform the analysis of positioning moves and the impact of technology. It is also recognised how these post-call reflections can only recover a limited amount, the 'analysts paradox' (Sarangi, 2007, p. 579). What could be said in the presence of others, and the limited time to discuss the simulations constrain this stage of the data collection. There was not sufficient time to recount every interactive move from each of the participant viewpoints.

To summarise, the simulations placed the police participants in contexts where a standard institutional task had to be administered. How they conducted their routine work and applied their communication strategies alongside someone, the interpreter, who knew less about their work and institutional context remained comparably the same as real-life contexts. The citizens were the only cohort provided with interactive stimuli (e.g. the storylines). Each was invited to combine this storyline with authentic information about their personal life and relate questions from the police to their real world. The citizens did not know in advance what questions would be asked or how they may be called upon to assist with clarifying an interpretation or diagnosis.

#### ***5.4.2 Observer's paradox, Participant paradox & Analysts Paradox***

Throughout this study, I have had to carefully assess where and when my presence should be felt. In some cases, I had little choice but to become heavily involved while in other areas, I have remained firmly back. For example, in the previous section, I explained how the inability to access authentic data led to the development of VRS/VRI simulations. The development of content for the simulations was where I had a high level of



engagement. In co-operation with consultants from Police Scotland and SignVideo, we agreed on scenarios that were reflective of general day-to-day events. Our first rule was to develop a set of storylines that were moderate in terms of emotional content and risk. The second rule was to create simulations that contained a blend of fictional and non-fictional information. The citizen's actual identity and background formed part of the devised storylines. For the police participants and interpreters, their involvement took place on Police Scotland and SignVideo premises and they worked with the same resources that they would find in their natural working environment. The recruitment of participants was another technique where I reduced my visibility in the project. The selection of citizen participants, the interpreters and police participants was co-ordinated with the non-academic PhD partners and is explained further in section 5.7. These measures were followed to contain the researcher's presence and promote a free-flowing exchange.

Policing scholars and interpreting scholars interested in observing actual interactions have become familiar with Labov's (1972) term "observer's paradox". Across these observational studies, the investigator must consider in advance how subjects' behaviour might be impacted by their own physical presence and the physical presence of those who are on-site (either preparing the audio-video recording equipment for an interactive study or taking field notes as part of an ethnographic study) (Major, 2013; Metzger, 1999; Roy, 2000; Wadensjö, 1998). This is because it is not normal to be filmed or observed by an outsider (e.g. the researcher) (Major, 2013; Metzger, 1999; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017; Wadensjö, 1998), and the presence of a researcher has been argued to skew the degree of authenticity (Sarangi, 2007). In my study, for each simulated 101VRS call I was located in the same premises as the citizen participants, with whom I had already been in contact when developing the storylines. I was not in the same physical space as the call handler or interpreter.

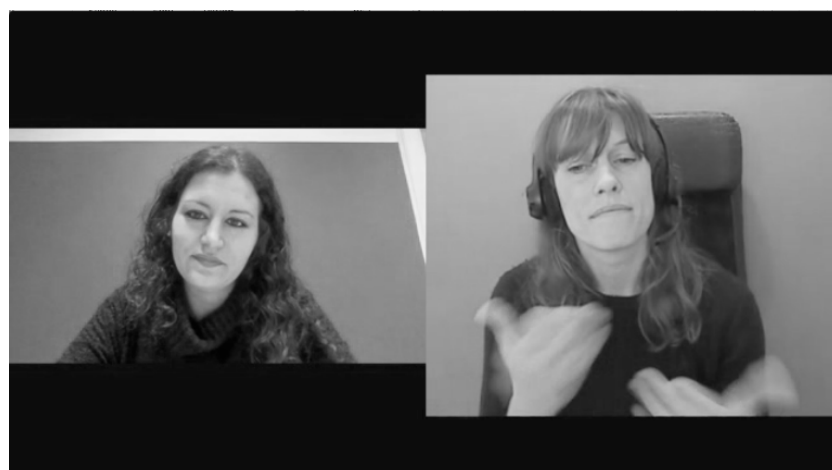
Before the citizen activated their 101VRS call, I removed myself from the room. This was to contain my physical presence to only welcoming the citizen to the research site. The 101 call-handlers were based in a different location and had no prior contact with myself. Expert consultants from Police Scotland ensured the call-handler was ready to receive the call and obtained participant consent. For the VRI custody calls, I was again with the citizen participant up to the point of being restrained and brought into custody by two arresting officers. Although I was in the same building as the custody sergeants,

I did not interact with the custody sergeant, and remained out of their immediate presence. Again, expert consultants from Police Scotland, one a line manager, obtained consent from the custody sergeants and ensured the participants were in the right place at the right time to receive the citizen. In both settings I had no prior contact or interaction with the interpreters facilitating either the VRS or VRI call. The interpreters were working alone in one of SignVideo's UK call centre spaces. The SignVideo interpreter coordinator was responsible for dealing with the interpreters before the simulation, including obtaining signed consent.

With participants spread across two and sometimes three locations, this study benefited from the VRS/VRI technologies used to facilitate remote communication. Using screen recording software the VRS/VRI calls could be captured, see Image 7 and Image 8.



*Image 7: Screen recording - laptop view*



*Image 8: Screen recording SignVideo server*

Another benefit to using VRS and VRI technologies was how the participants could adjust their own webcams and telephone equipment to their preferred setting. This removed a lot of the responsibility with managing the audio-video recording equipment. Although these measures were followed to reduce my own physical visibility, at the time of data collection, the participants were undeniably aware of their own involvement in a research event. The participant paradox, as Sarangi (2007) explains, is the participant's awareness of the investigator presence. The researcher-researched relationship relies on the investigator achieving 'invited guest' status (Sarangi, 2007, p. 578) to promote naturalness. Although I was not visibly present during the simulations, I was a stranger to the interactants. I had not obtained trust nor confidence ahead of the participants' involvement. The participant paradox in this study can be linked to the analyst paradox, where participants will provide 'insights to inform our interpretive practice, especially in light of tacit and layered embeddings of professional conduct' (Sarangi, 2007, p. 579). In the simulations, the behaviours and approaches to dealing with a policing or interpreting task may contain a level of performance from the participants. If such a performance did occur, it was assumed that the participants were creating a type of response they believed to be most appropriate and aligned to completing a standard police procedure. The citizen participants were advised to approach their interaction calmly and naturally. Although this guidance was offered, a citizen may find a reason to intentionally challenge a speech or social act or be sympathetically drawn to help the police or interpreter during the call. For the police participants and interpreters, it would not be logical to create a response that did not align with the task or jeopardise their credibility. The issues raised by the participants and consultants in the post-simulation discussions remained in my consciousness (see section 5.8). Their reflections were shaped by their expectations, expectations for oneself and others. These reflections contaminated how I looked at my data and approached my analysis. The charting of positions involved looking at what occurred in real-time with how participants reflected on each other's actions. Although the participants only had one opportunity to share their thinking, I had met with the PhD consultants on several occasions, pre and post simulations. I had encouraged them to articulate their expectations of interpreters and frontline services and reviewed these expectations after the VRS/VRI calls. My intention was to be contaminated, to be persuaded and convinced to look at the data in a particular way. How I approached the analysis is explained in section 5.10. How I approached the development of the simulations, in a way that aligned to real-world circumstances is covered first in the following section.

## **5.5 Non-Emergency 101VRS simulations**

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 2017, as part of my fieldwork, I visited Police Scotland's Govan contact centre in Glasgow. The purpose was to learn more about the nature of calls that come into the call centre and about call-handler practices. The contact centre was mostly run by citizen (non-police) staff who managed and handled the flow of incoming calls from the public. Officers were present, roaming the floor, to offer call-handlers advice around policing procedures. The Centre's central hub is an open plan office with rows of desks. Each row is divided into booths, and each booth is equipped with sophisticated multiscreen computers and telecommunication equipment. In these complex workspaces, call handlers are engaged in multi-tasking activities. During a live call, call handlers simultaneously extract essential information from the caller, populate this information onto Police Scotland's database, interact with colleagues (either in the contact centre or remotely with a dispatch officer via email or alternative telephone line), seek or receive support from colleagues on-site, and offer help to other colleagues in responding to calls (Lumsden & Black, 2017b; J. Whalen & Zimmerman, 2005). The range of calls that came in during my time was mostly non-emergency and varied from arranging a community awareness event through to dealing with missing persons and potential fraud.

In addition to the field trips, I reviewed news articles and social media postings, and spoke with deaf people about their experiences of contacting the police. I searched for believable storylines that did not require a significant level of acting from the deaf participants. It was necessary to develop storylines that did not require a script. To supply scripts would create a level of burden on citizen participants to rehearse lines and perform translations from English into BSL. Instead, citizen participants were provided with authentic visual aids (video clips or images) and minimal guidance notes on how to make the call to the 101 non-emergency helplines, see sections 5.5.1 to 5.5.4. The citizen participants were encouraged to map and relate these storylines to their real world. The citizens were advised to avoid falsifying and creating fictional details. Names of participants have been changed to conceal their identity. To assist the reader with identifying roles, the citizen participants have been given a pseudonym with the initial C-, police call handlers with the initial P- and interpreters I-.

### 5.5.1 Simulation 1 – 101VRS

Caterina (the citizen participant) was at a local supermarket. While at the checkout queue, she sees a neighbour slap their three-year-old child around the face (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddgLS-8EuWU>). The smack seemed unnecessary and hard. The incident was caught on video using her smartphone. Caterina heads home to report the incident to the police.



*Image 9: YouTube clip of mother striking child*

*Simulation card 1: Child abuse*

#### **Simulation 1**

You were at your local supermarket waiting in line and saw your neighbour slap their child. You happen to catch the incident on your phone. You return home and decide to call the police.

#### **Guidance**

- Think of a shop where this incident could happen.
- Try to relate this to an area you know and your daily routine.
- What time this incident happened?
- Consider your home area and choose one property to be where these neighbours live.

### 5.5.2 Simulation 2 – 101VRS

Colin (the citizen) has become concerned for his friend. Colin has not seen his friend for some time or turned up to regular meetups. Efforts to make contact have been unsuccessful. Colin wants to raise his concerns but not necessarily report the person as 'missing'. Colin provides the details of a close friend (real-world person), with whom he has regular contact.

*Simulation card 2: Missing friend*

**Simulation 2**

You are worried about a friend/relative who has not been turning up to events and has not been seen for a week. You have tried to write to this person but no reply has been received. You want to raise a general concern.

**Guidance**

- Think of someone you regularly meet and where you would normally see them.
- Provide actual information about this person and where you would meet.

**5.5.3 Simulation 3 – 101 VRS**

Charles (citizen) contacts the 101 helpline to report vandalism to his home and property. Charles woke to find that overnight someone had graffitied and caused damage to his car, his bike, and his external walls and windows. Images of vandalism were gathered via Google images (no copyright restrictions) and shared with Charles. The dates and times were invented for the purpose of this study.



*Image 10: Hate Crime photo stimuli (1)*



MARCH 6<sup>TH</sup> 2018  
8:00AM

Image 11: Hate Crime photo stimuli (2)



MARCH 10<sup>TH</sup> 2018  
13:30PM

Image 12: Hate Crime photo stimuli (3)

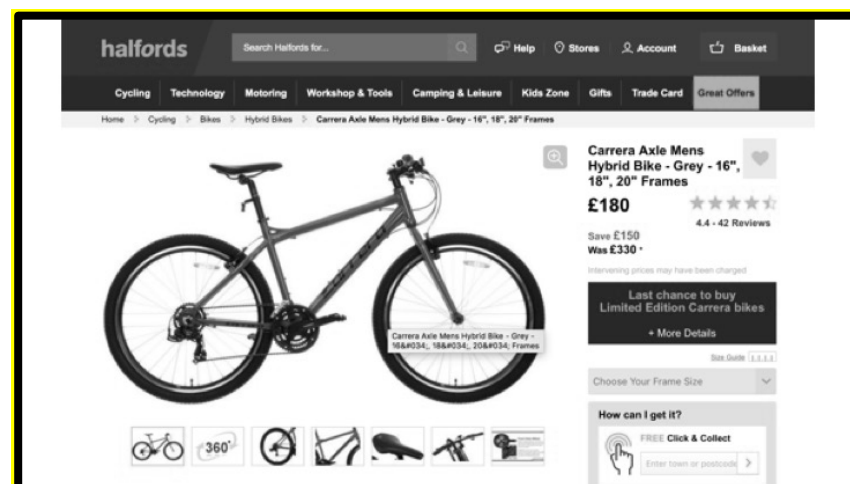


Image 13: Hate Crime photo stimuli – screen grab from www.halford.com (4)



MARCH 14<sup>TH</sup> 2018  
13:30PM

*Image 14: Hate Crime photo stimuli (5)*



MARCH 16<sup>TH</sup> 2018  
13:30PM

*Image 15: Hate Crime photo stimuli (6)*



MARCH 16<sup>TH</sup> 2018  
13:30PM

*Image 16: Hate Crime photo stimuli (7)*



**Simulation 3**

Your property has been damaged. You have taken photos of the damage on your smartphone. This was not the first time. You have kept photos of previous vandalism (all have been dated). You now decide to report this matter to the police.

**Guidance**

- The damage was caused in/around your home. Relate information about the incident to your home environment.
- Check the photos for date and time details.

**5.5.4 Simulation 4 - 101 VRS**

Chloe (citizen) was on her way home from shopping with her partner when a car almost collided into them after driving up the wrong way one-way street. The other driver got out of his car and verbally attacked Chloe and her partner. The incident was caught on a dashcam (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0N1BoACZoE>). Chloe reports the incident as soon as she returns home.



Image 17: Breach of the peace incident (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k0N1BoACZoE>)

#### **Simulation 4**

You were driving home from work/shops/friend's house and caught another person trying to drive up a one-way street. The incident was filmed on your smartphone. Watch the video clip on your phone before calling the 101 non-emergency helpline. You may watch the video on your smartphone more than once.

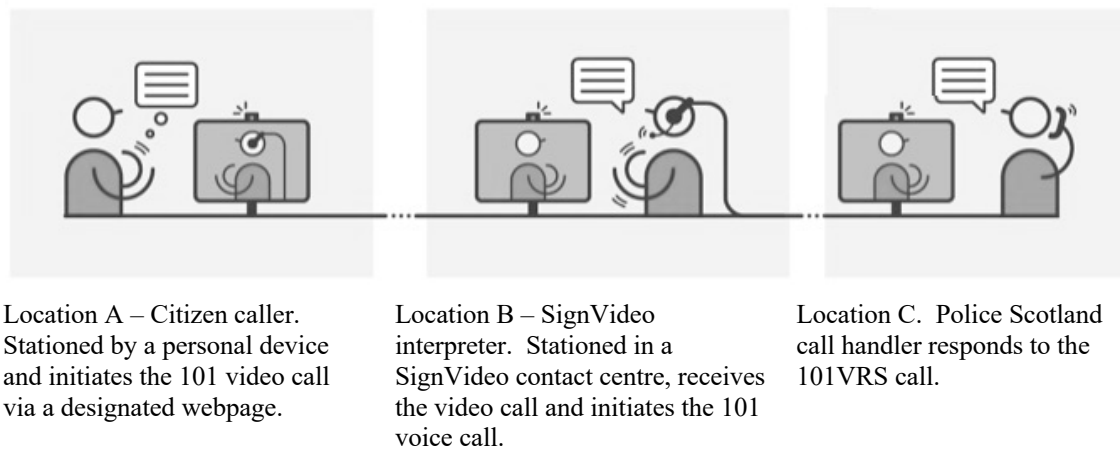
#### **Guidance**

- Think of a street where this incident could happen? Try to relate this to an area you know and your daily routine.
- What time did this incident happen?

#### **5.5.5 The 101 VRS Configuration**

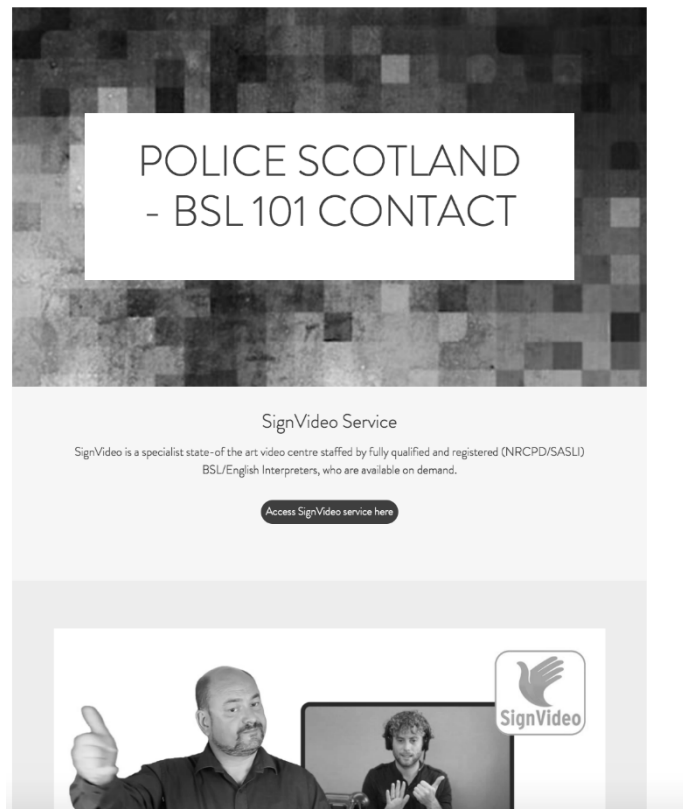
The four simulations were staged on the same day and followed the same configuration, as shown in Image 18.

Image 18: 101VRS Configuration



#### **5.5.6 Police Scotland & SignVideo webpage**

To replicate how a citizen would initiate a call to the 101VRS platform, I created a fictional webpage, see Image 19. The website contained the same information provided on Greater Manchester Police's SignVideo webpage. Although unpublished, the website was fully functional.



*Image 19: Police Scotland SignVideo web page*

The contact button on the website was pre-programmed to call a designated SignVideo demo Police Scotland 101 account. The dedicated line meant that all call traffic for this study did not interfere with the day-to-day business of SignVideo. The next sub-section describes the three custody VRI simulations.

## **5.6 Custody simulations**

In developing the custody simulations, I conducted five site visits to police custody suites and one site visit to a custody facility in a Police Scotland training centre. During each trip, I discussed with representatives from Police Scotland their experiences with using an interpreter and interacting with a deaf citizen. The intention was to learn about any specific issues around communication and treatment of a citizen who is deaf and uses BSL, with or without the assistance of an interpreter. Information gathered informed the development of the simulations.

It was not possible to find a custody suite with a reliable internet connection (broadband, Wi-Fi or 4G). Existing Police internet networks have firewall security which would need to be disabled to permit SignVideo's service to become functional. These adjustments

require undergoing complex security IT procedures, which is likely to be met with little success. Furthermore, the custody environments were often in large open spaces and poorly lit. This would pose ergonomic challenges for interpreters who were reliant on a single microphone and webcam to access the police custody space

To overcome the ergonomic and network issues, we introduced the following solutions.

- a) A private office space at Govan Police station was used for the custody booking in procedure. The acoustics and lighting in the private office space were superior to the custody space. The improved lighting and acoustics was seen to benefit the remote interpreter.
- b) A portable mobile-Wi-Fi device was used to connect to the 4G network.
- c) In this room, a SignVideo device was prepared.
- d) The custody sergeant manually controlled the SignVideo device.
- e) The detainee was escorted by two officers into the simulated custody room.

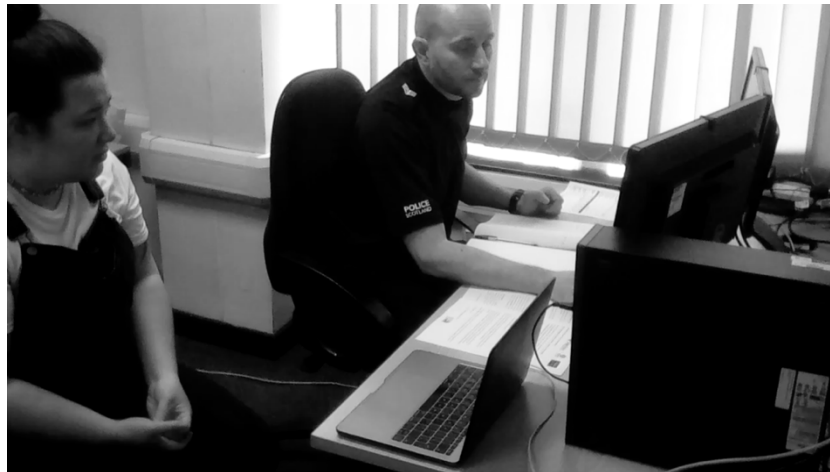
To ensure the simulations were in line with Police Scotland protocols, experienced officers were involved with creating the adjustments to the office space. The adjustments introduced were viewed by the PhD consultants as within the realms of Police Scotland standard operating procedures.

In addition to the screen recordings, room-cams were prepared for the VRI simulation. This was because the room-cams provided greater coverage including the physical presence of the custody sergeants. Image 20 and Image 21 shows how the visibility of the custody sergeant differs.



*Image 20: SignVideo platform recording. The left image represents the custody webcam.*

*The right image is the interpreter's webcam.*



*Image 21: Custody Room-cam.*

The room-cam provided useful information concerning where the custody sergeant was physically positioned, when they moved, and where they were looking (at the interpreter, the citizen or his computer) at different times.

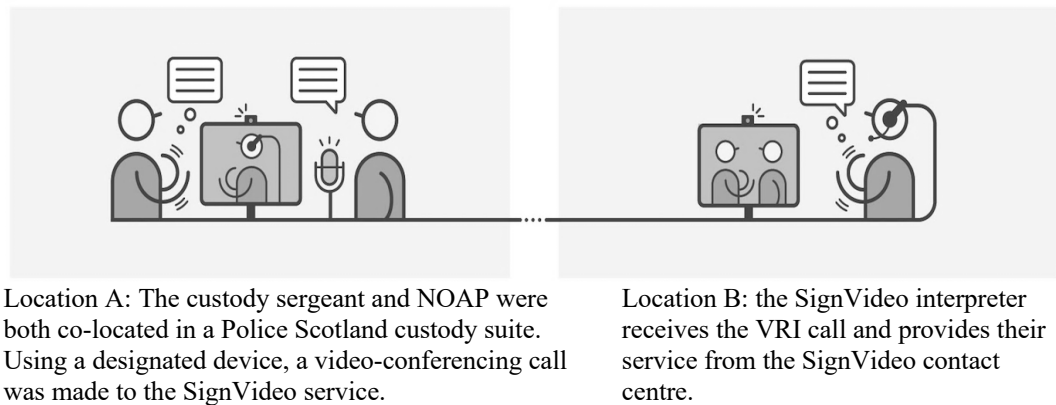
#### ***5.6.1 VRI Custody Call process explained***

Currently, the British Police do not use VRI platforms for BSL/English communication. For this study, I developed a process that aimed to emulate best practice as described by the ASLI (Ryan & Skinner, 2016) and the VMI handbook (Braun et al., 2016). The procedure included a notification stage where the custody sergeant supplied the VRI provider with details about the pending call, such as citizen's gender, grounds for arrest and any suspected problems around communication. The conversation between the custody sergeant and VRI provider was intended to determine the most appropriate interpreter and to prepare the interpreter for the pending call. The citizen actors brought into police custody agreed to provide genuine responses to questions asked, e.g. actual name, address, date of birth, use of alcohol or drugs, medical history, current medication/prescription drugs, and their level of understanding of the legal process. The actors were advised to avoid falsifying personal details.

#### ***5.6.2 Custody configuration***

Three custody simulations were carried out in one day on Police Scotland premises. The custody configuration is illustrated in Image 22.

Image 22: VRI Custody Configuration



### 5.6.3 Custody Simulation 1

Nara (the Not officially accused person (hereafter referred to as NOAP) was brought in after being caught shoplifting. The supermarket security guard claimed he spotted Nara leaving the shop with a bra and she did not stop when asked to do so. The arresting officers were unable to communicate with Nara or take a statement.

### 5.6.4 Custody Simulation 2

Naomi (NOAP) was reported to the police after a neighbour saw her smacking her child on the street. Social services took her child into care. Naomi did not know why she was arrested or where social services took her child.

### 5.6.5 Custody Simulation 3

The police arrested Nicholas (NOAP) after a domestic dispute. A neighbour reported loud noise and disturbance at the deaf person's property. The police found the partner (who was also deaf) injured. The victim indicated that Nicholas (her partner) had caused the injuries. Officers recognised the seriousness of the incident and detained Nicholas.

## 5.7 Participants

### 5.7.1 Citizen 101VRS participants

The participant recruitment process was managed and agreed upon in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Ten deaf people, known to the SignVideo Scottish branch, were recommended and purposively approached to assist with the 101VRS

simulations. These were local people who lived close by to the data collection sites. Four expressed an interest in becoming involved with this study. None had prior experience of the SignVideo platform but could confirm experience in using the nationwide free ContactScotland VRS service (see Chapter 1). Background checks were carried out either via email communication (written English with embedded BSL videos), video calls (in BSL), to determine the participant's suitability and comfort with participating in a police related VRS call. These discussions included questions around potential well-being issues or discomfort the simulations may cause.

### ***5.7.2 Not officially accused Person (NOAP) VRI participants***

For the custody simulations, where a deaf person was to be detained and brought into police territory, it was considered beneficial to recruit trained actors for this role. Although participants were not encouraged to 'perform' per se, the nature of being detained did require a level of pretense. Accordingly, four final year student actors from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland's Bachelor of Art (Performance in British Sign Language and English) programme were identified and recruited as the NOAP. A few days before the data collection was to happen, one of the actors withdrew from the study. With the unexpected withdrawal, it was decided to reduce the number of VRI simulations from four to three.

### ***5.7.3 Police Scotland's call handler***

The Service Centre Manager (West) at the Govan call handling centre chose four staff, from a pool of 140. The selection criteria were to choose two female and two male call-handlers with different levels of experience, e.g. new to working at the FCR or had been part of the team for several years. The call-handling staff received minimal information before participating in this study (see Appendix E and G for pre and post-simulation consent forms; Appendix F and H pre and post-simulation topic sheets). All agreed to participate in a "test call". As in real-world circumstances, none were primed for the deaf caller, the interpreted nature of the call, or the type of incident.

### ***5.7.4 Police Scotland custody sergeants***

For the custody simulations, there was a smaller pool of staff to recruit from. The line-manager for Govan custody suite invited three custody sergeants to participate. Two were

on duty and one was off-duty. Each had a different level of experience, e.g. new to working to custody settings or had been part of the team for several years. As with the recruitment of call handling staff, the custody sergeants were provided with minimal information before participating in this study (see Appendix J for the consent form; Appendix L for the topic sheet). All agreed to participate in a “training exercise”. Replicating real-world conditions, none were aware of the interpreted nature of the call or reasons for arrest until called upon by the arresting officers.

### 5.7.5 *SignVideo interpreters*

The SignVideo administration team managed the selection of their own staff. An invitation to participate was sent to all of the interpreters who were scheduled to work on the day of data collection. Four interpreters came forward for the 101VRS simulations, and three came forward for the custody VRI simulations. On the morning of the 101VRS data was being collected, one interpreter withdrew. SignVideo arranged a replacement interpreter on the same day. To emulate real-world experiences, the interpreters were not primed with the type (VRS or VRI) or content of the call (see Appendix C, G and K for pre and post-simulation consent forms; Appendix D, H and L for pre and post-simulation topic sheets).

Pseudonyms for reporting purposes; following the format: police participants to begin with the letter ‘P’; interpreters’ pseudonyms begin with the letter ‘I’; citizen 101 callers begin with ‘C’ and finally NOAPs with the letter ‘N’.

*Table 3: 101VRS pseudonyms*

Simulation #	Police Scotland – 101 Call handler	Interpreter	Citizen - caller
101VRS#1	Peter	Imelda	Caterina
101VRS#2	Paige	Isabella	Colin
101VRS#3	Paula	Ivan	Charles
101VRS#4	Patrick	Irving	Chloe



Table 4: CustVRI pseudo names

Simulation #	Police Scotland – Custody Sergeant	Interpreter	Not Officially Accused Person (NOAP)
CustVRI#1	Phillip	Iona	Nara
CustVRI#2	Pamella	Isaac	Naomi
CustVRI#3	Pierce	Ian	Nicholas

### 5.8 Post-simulation focus groups and interviews

The multi-faced qualitative methodology followed for this study brought together participant and expert reflections with a detailed analysis of positioning moves created by humans and technology. The hybrid analytical framework is covered in sections 5.8 and 5.9. This section explains the approach taken with staging several focus groups and interviews.

There were seven post-simulation semi-structured focus groups held. Each focus group session involved the interpreter, the police participant, the citizen and expert consultants from Police Scotland. Focus group discussions are a popular technique used among social scientists to gather information from a group of people on a specific topic (Hale & Napier, 2013; Silverman, 2017). As the moderator, I prepared a set of open questions to encourage participants to reflect on their recent experience. The discussion topic were constructed around five key themes (see Appendix B, D, F, H and L for post-simulation topic guides).

- Reflection of overall call experience
- Understanding of procedures
- Interactive issues
- Technical issues
- On-site versus remote interpreting

I was not present during the calls and relied mostly on participants' abilities to recall aspects of their own recent VRS or VRI experience. Questions were designed to encourage the participants to verbalise their internal thinking and describe their approaches to an interactive issue.

The ability to engage with participants and incorporate their reflections on their recent call experience was a novel feature within this study. Discourse analysts or conversational analysts, in policing and interpreting, who typically focus their analysis on real-life audio or video recordings typically have no relationship with the participants being analysed. One benefit in administering the simulated interactions was the possibility to engage with participants following the event. The intention with these focus groups was to facilitate the analysis, enabling it to go deeper into understanding why interactive positions did, or did not, occur.

Acocella describes focus groups as being ‘not naturally constituted, insofar as they are created ad hoc by the research group according to the cognitive goals of the research’ (2012, p. 1127). The status of participants in focus groups is not always equal and not everyone shared the same characteristics. This means a range of views will be brought to the table for discussion. The citizen participant was possibly the least threatened as their professional performance was not under scrutiny, whereas the call-handlers, custody sergeants and interpreters were in the most vulnerable position. As the moderator, I was conscious of this imbalance and the potential threat to someone’s professional image. I was also observant of how participants varied with their contributions to the discussions. In following the advice from Acocella, I saw my role as moderator to ‘encourage cohesion and confrontations of opinions within the group’ (2012, p. 1129). This was because ‘the interaction among participants is more important than the interaction between moderator and participants’ (Acocella, 2012, p. 1129). Participants were more likely to describe their own actions as opposed to being critical of another person’s approach. There would also be stand out events from the call that occupied participants reflections. There were time constraints in running these focus groups. If the VRS or VRI took an unexpectedly long time to complete, this impacted on the available time for the post-simulation focus group discussion. This was problematic as the longer calls possibly produced the most variety of topics to be discussed.

Informal post-simulation interviews were carried out with two consultants from Police Scotland. The thinking and approach to these interviews followed the advice and guidance from Jennifer Mason (2002). The intention in holding interviews was to hold an open and frank discussion on the call handlers’ and custody sergeants’ approach to their VRS/VRI interactions. The first consultant interviewed was the gatekeeper to both custody and FCRs. This consultant was invited to comment on the VRS and VRI calls at

four different points in time. Two were concerned with the VRS data and two with VRI. The first set of interviews was held at the end of each data collection days. The third and fourth interview took place six weeks after the VRS data was collected, and three weeks after the VRI data was collected. At the third and fourth interview, the consultant was shown clips from each of the VRS and VRI calls. I presented my initial analysis to her alongside the video excerpts for expert feedback. The intention with all of these interviews was to elicit a more critical commentary of how the participants from Police Scotland and SignVideo delivered their respective services. The second consultant was an expert in custody settings and was interviewed once, at the end of the VRI data collection day.

The interviews were not predesigned, and the consultants determined the discussion topics. The investigator in these context will be 'thinking on their feet' (J. Mason, 2002, p. 67) to ensure the interviews generated relevant data. However, both consultants had full knowledge of the research topic and had been heavily involved in the planning and designing of the simulations. Both were present with the police participant during the calls and observed the focus group discussions. The interviews were not restricted by time and were allowed to unfold until the topics discussed reached a level of saturation.

## **5.9 Transcription and coding of focus groups and interviews**

All of the simulated calls, focus groups and interviews were recorded and transcribed/translated into English by myself. I am a native BSL and English user and could access the data unaided. My involvement in this process is another dimension that requires transparency and reflection, which will be communicated this section. Sections 5.9.1 - 5.9.3 explain how the data was transcribed, translated and annotated. Section 5.10 explains the development of codes and how codes were applied to dissect the data.

### **5.9.1 *Working with the data***

ELAN is an annotation tool used by communication theorists, interpreting and linguistic scholars working with audio-video data to annotate multi-modal communication (Pollitt et al., 2012; Schembri et al., 2013). ELAN contains a multimedia canvas where multiple texts, images, sound and movies can be collectively synced and coded (with annotations,

transcription and translation) using a tiered system and viewed in real-time. For this study two video sources were synced and coded accordingly.

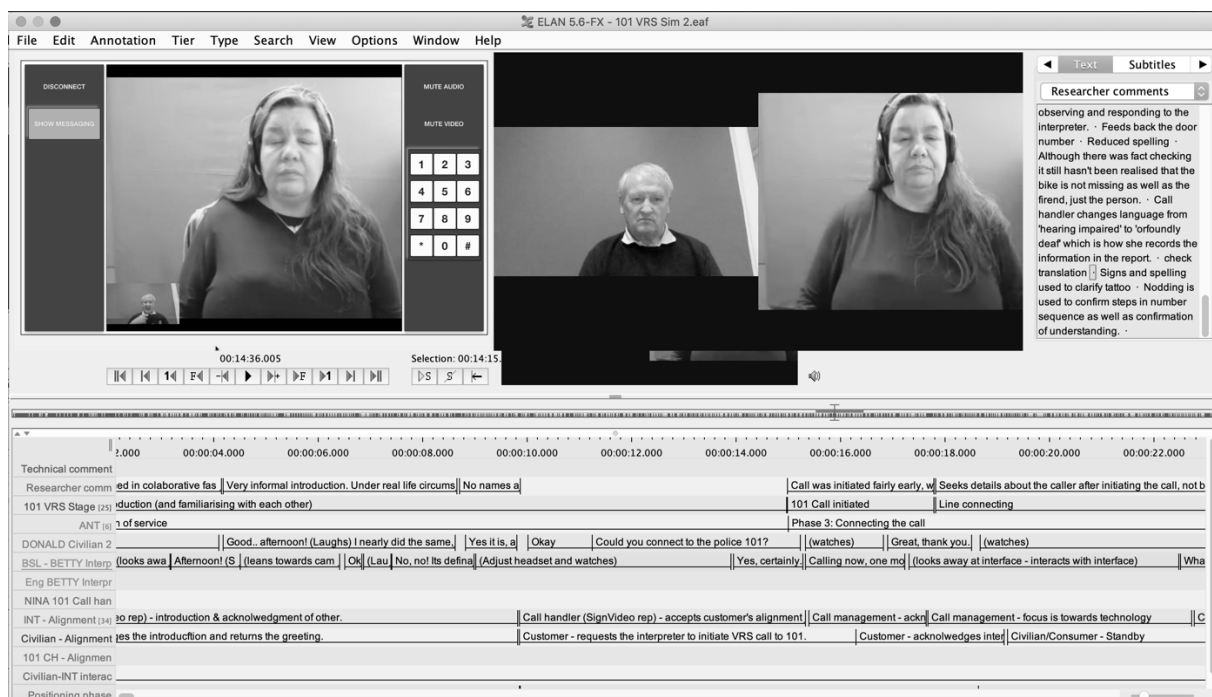


Image 23: ELAN Screenshot

Each audio-video file was number-coded, and all reference to names, people and places were replaced with pseudonyms. The following tiers were established for coding purposes:

- ANT Phase
- Researcher notes
- 101 call handler/Custody sergeant's spoken English transcript
- 101 call handler/Custody sergeant's positioning
- Interpreter's spoken English transcript
- Interpreter's BSL-English translation
- Interpreter positioning
- Citizen/NOAP BSL-English translation
- Citizen positioning
- Arresting Officer's spoken English transcript

The completed ELAN tiers functioned as a supplementary canvas to be reviewed alongside the digital audio-video recordings. The ability to observe the interactions as they were experienced was the preferred and primary analytical source.

### ***5.9.2 Transcription, translation and annotation process***

This section discusses the implications when developing a transcript, translation and annotation of a given interaction. The process, as Young & Temple (2014, p. 130) note, is an epistemological one. I, as the lead investigator, make choices on what type of information should be made known or not known, either consciously or not. Edwards cautioned how each of these choices could ‘affect the researcher's perceptions of the structure of the interaction (Ochs 1979), making some types of regularities easier to detect in the data and others more difficult’ (2003, p. 321).

The same concerns raised by Edwards can also be found across the literature on critiquing the transcription, translation and annotation process in sign language and interpreting research (Jones, 2011; Napier & Leeson, 2016; Stone & West, 2012; Young & Temple, 2014). It has been recognised that preparing and crafting a transcript/translation/annotation output requires a high level of intuitive judgement (J. A. Edwards, 2003; Hale & Napier, 2013; I. Mason, 2000; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017). To become more aware and mindful of my own choices, including decisions to include or exclude information, this required a process of constant revision and reflection. The completion of each ELAN tier (section 5.9.1) was reviewed by myself multiple times, as part of an effort to reach a balance between readability and content describing essential features within the data. Qualified interpreters and colleagues inside and outside of Heriot-Watt University were invited to review parts of the completed translation and coding. Feedback was sought on the relevance of codes, whether the codes could be seen to exist in the data, and the accuracy of the translations.

To capture the interactive features observed in the data set, I produced two types of English text output,

- an English transcript of spoken English
- an English translation of the signed BSL.

I viewed the process of developing a transcript as capturing spoken discourse in a written and spatial medium. The transcript process represented a shift in modality and sought to retain aspects of live talk, such as hesitations, pauses, dysfluency and coherence. The act

of capturing BSL content into written form was seen as a translation process because it was a shift in modality (signed to text) and language (BSL to English). The relationship between spoken English and transcribed English was closer compared to the translation process from signed BSL to written English. This meant the two could not be read in the same way.

For reporting purposes, I decided to follow the horizontal transcription format. The horizontal transcription process was first introduced to interpreting studies by the scholar Gallez (2010) and extended by Monteoliva-Garcia (2017) for her PhD thesis, by Napier et al., (in prep) investigating the interactive moves of participants in an interpreter-mediated police interview, and again by Napier et., al (2018) looking at the interactive moves of participants during VRS/VRI calls.

The horizontal approach is credited with providing a fluid and visual means of following the turn-taking interaction between three participants (Gallez, 2010; Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017). Each participant occupies a column where the reader can trace the chronological flow of the interaction along the vertical axis.

With each extract, the vertical rows are re-numbered. Below is a sample Extract 2 from section 6.4.1. For this study, the police participants occupy the first column, the interpreter placed in the middle column and the citizen/NOAP in the right column. Reading the text along the vertical axis, one can see how speech acts, social acts and contextual information co-occur. Each row represents a non-specified length of the turn.

*Extract 2: 101VRS#1 "Line ringing."*

	<b>101CH - Peter</b>	<b>VRS Interpreter - Imelda</b>	<b>Citizen - Caterina</b>
1	((Line rings))	((Presses call button/Cit)) Line is ringing ((Adjusts headset)) ((Nods/Cit)) Line ringing.	((Nods/Int))
2	<i>Good morning Police Scotland how can I help? (3.0)</i>	((Looks toward bottom right corner of screen))  Good morning Scot- Police Scotland <i>Oh</i> how can I help? <i>Hello there good morning, I'm just letting you know that you have a deaf callerperson here online this morning</i>	((Watches screen/Int))

		<i>speaking to you <b>through a sign language interpreter.</b> My <b>name is Imelda</b>, and I'm going to be <b>interpreting the call for you both okay?</b></i>	
3	<i>Yeah, that's no problem great thanks. (5.0)</i>	((Looks towards screen/Cit)) Okay, he is happy to start, please explain the reason for your call.	
4	<i>Hi, good morning, Police Scotland, how can I help? (71.0)</i>	Good morning police Scotland how can I help? ((Nods/Cit)) Go ahead.	((Nods/Cit))

The transcription and translation convention as seen in Table 5, merge approaches used by the SHift project (2017), which itself was based on conversation analysis (Sacks et al., 1978), with some modifications to incorporate features of sign language usage (Napier et al., 2018; Pollitt et al., 2012).

Table 5: Transcription conventions

~	emphasis
Lo:ng	stretched sounds or signs
>speed-up<	increased speed of delivery
<speed-down>	decreased speed of delivery
(.)	brief pause
-2	length of the pause in approximate seconds
((cough))	gestures, social acts, sound or feature of talk not easily transcribable
((look/Cit))	Social act / directed toward the citizen (Cit), police (Pol), interpreter (Int) or other (computer/smartphone/door/window)
-	truncated utterance
BSL output	Times New Roman font (size 10) for BSL
<i>English output</i>	Times New Roman font (size 10) greyed italicised for English
<b><i>Code-blending</i></b>	Times New Roman font (size 10) greyed italicised bold for BSL-English semantically related code blending
<i>Codeblended</i>	Times New Roman font (size 10) greyed italicised bold for BSL-English non-semantically related code-blending
*	Final position hold of BSL sign – up to 5 seconds in duration
**	Final position hold of BSL sign – over 5 seconds in duration
<u>Underline</u>	Video dropout
<u>Underline</u>	Audio dropout

The intention with producing a written transcript and translation was to slow down the analytical process, to distil the fleeting events and to become more attentive to what was

said, how it was said, and how this related to the positioning moves. It was not, however, the intention of developing this content to produce a new data source on which to conduct my analysis. I share the same concerns about the overuse of transcripts, translations or codes, whereby the synthesised text output risks detracting the investigator's awareness away from actual behaviours that exist in the source (Hale & Napier, 2013; Linell, 1998; Young & Temple, 2014). Linell (1998) has cautioned against such possibilities and championed methods that pay specific attention to the live, multi-modal, context-related, co-constructed aspect of human interactions when developing theories around communication. The case made by Linell resonates well with studies involving signed language, which has traditionally been represented in written-translated or pictorial format that is considered far inferior to the original form (Young & Temple, 2014).

Four extracts presented in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 were randomly chosen and shared with a qualified NRCPD registered BSL/English interpreter. The purpose was to check the translation for inaccuracies.

### **5.9.3 *Determining what and how to annotate, transcribe and translate***

The annotation, transcription and translation process was another filtering exercise that involved inclusion and exclusion of data. The analysis was conducted in chronological order, and 101VRS#1 and CustdyVRI#1 were translated and transcribed in full. The process of transcribing and translating a VRS or VRI call in full equated to around nine days per 30-40 minute interaction. For the seven simulated calls, varying between nineteen minutes to fifty-seven minutes in length, I had estimated thirteen to fourteen weeks of transcribing/ translating work. Periods where a participant had assumed a listener position were equally attended to as when someone was actively speaking/signing (see section 5.10 on positioning categories). I annotated their behaviours such as eye gaze and head nods and other social acts, e.g. *watching screen, holding final sign position, typing on a computer, looking at a phone, or adjusting webcam*. Collectively, this demanded a dense transcription and translation process. It was not feasible to conduct the same process at the same level of density across all seven calls. Instead, I transcribed/translated the first calls from the 101VRS and CustodyVRI data set in full, and cross-referenced findings to other simulations.



#### **5.9.4 Code-blending**

Across the data there are examples of interpreters who were simultaneously signing and speaking. This linguistic phenomenon is defined as code-blending (Emmorey et al., 2008), or also known as sign-speaking (Zeshan & Panda, 2018). Code-blending was coined by Emmorey et al. (2008) to emphasise the difference observed with bimodal bilinguals and unimodal (only spoken or only signed) bilinguals who code-switch. Code-switching is the linear interchange between two languages. Another phenomena observed in bilinguals is code-mixing where features or properties from language A are re-presented in language B (Lucas & Valli, 1991; Napier, 2007a; Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1993).

The ability to transfer linguistic features across modalities or combine languages and modalities is a communicative resource used by interpreters and an under explored topic. Napier (2007a) conducted a small scale study to look at instances of code-mixing (e.g. fingerspelling and English mouthing in Auslan interpreters as part of a university lecture. The interpreters in her study were observed to code-mix as a ways of communicating specific names of people or English terms into Auslan.

Code-blending, the simultaneous use of a spoken and signed language, was described as an interactive resource for remote interpreters, who must manage two separate interactions across two types of media (Marks, 2015; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). The use of code-blending among the interpreters in Napier et al.'s (2018) study were fully formed English sentences incorporating ad-hoc sign usage. Napier et al. (2018, p. 243) explained this sociolinguistic strategy among VRS interpreters as a tool to overcome epistemic asymmetries caused by the mixed media during a VRS call. Neither the deaf participant nor hearing participant can see or hear each other. The VRS interpreter is privy to both worlds. To mitigate any sense of isolation, the interpreter supplements their English interaction with BSL, semantically related signs, to include the deaf participant.

Code-blending presented a particular conundrum in terms of transcribing and translation, which language should the investigator present first? Traditionally the transcription/translation process of code-blending output has been documented across two tiers within their transcription, e.g.

English: Hi there, my name is Rob

BSL: Hi                      name   Rob

In the example above, I have presented English in the upper tier and BSL in the lower tier. There is no fixed convention on which language should occupy the upper or lower tier; however, there is potential bias where the upper-tier receives greater prominence. In this study, I have decided to develop a bespoke annotation process, where the English output is represented in italicised greyed Times New Roman font. BSL output is presented in standard Times New Roman font. Instances of code-blending are represented through bold italicised greyed Times New Roman font. For example

BSL output: "SignVideo interpreting service."

*English output: "SignVideo interpreting service."*

*Code-blended output: "SignVideo interpreting service?"*

*Code-blended non-semantically related output: "SignVideo interpreting service."*

In my data the use of code-blending was often fragmented, hence the partial bolding of English words. The use of BSL in code-blended sentences followed the English output. I did not find evidence of code-blending occurring in the opposite direction, where English words followed signed sentences. Emmorey (2008) studied the use of code-blending among hearing native signers and found its use to be contained to semantically related sign-speech production. In this study, I find instances of non-semantic code-blending to occur. For example, one VRS interpreter was seen speaking and signing the following sentence "(Eng)*One of them is on my screen*(BSL)video-link". The final part of this sentence was simultaneously articulated as "screen" in English and "video-link" in BSL, two semantically different terms. To highlight where non-semantically related code-blending occurred, the space between the two words in the translation was eliminated. The coupling was to reinforce the co-linearity with how the two languages were co-expressed.

I am using the term code-blending with an awareness of how research in this area has progressed. The sociolinguistic phenomena occurring in these VRS/VRI calls is evidence

of translanguaging. Translanguaging is a concept that is used to describe and explain how people strategically draw from their communicative repertoire, and make use of various linguistic semiotic resources, to facilitate communication (De Meulder et al., 2019; Kusters, 2019; Kusters, Spotti, et al., 2017). Based on this definition code-switching, code-mixing and code-blending would constitute examples of translanguaging. This study does not discuss in great depth but does contain several examples of translanguaging activities across VRS/VRI interpreters and users of the interpreting service.

### **5.10 Two-step coding process**

This section explains how I approached the development of codes, the allocation of codes and how I used this process to develop an interpretation of the collaborative multi-professional framework discourse. The codes created were specifically for the analysis of VRS and VRI calls, not the participant post-simulation reflections. In undertaking a positioning framework analysis there is little guidance on how to identify, code and analyse. This concern has been echoed by others who have sought to bring clarity to conducting a positioning analysis (Kayı-Aydar, 2018). The lack of guidance has meant devising a method that can be robustly defended and can achieve what it is intended to critique. Another concern was how to account for the role of other forms of communication, such as the text on a webpage introducing the VRS service and the databases used by call-handlers and custody sergeants. In this study, I fused positioning theory with ANT to introduce two different scales of analysis.

The first stage of my coding process was to segment the VRS/VRI calls into key phases and sub-phases (see section 6.1 and 7.1). The isolation and division of phases were mapped using the ANT framework (see section 5.10.2). The ANT framework identified the different actors, the relationship between actors, the activities being created and what stood out as the prime objective for a given moment. Once this objective had been reached a new story-line emerged and the ANT framework was re-applied. The repeated use of the ANT framework was to clarify and define the interactive task for each given moment. Specific focus was given towards each actor's (human or non-human) role, competing or converging goals, and the pinpointing of given tasks that needed to be completed before the interaction could progress onto the next phase (what is also referred to as the obligatory passage point, see section 5.10.3).

The second stage was to code focused on the discourse and the interactive positioning moves. A position-oriented analysis can begin with any one aspect of the positioning triad. In this case, I have begun with establishing the storylines, followed by positions and communication acts. Throughout this process the dependent nature of each aspect was considered and reviewed. When analysing each call, this study took its inspiration in viewing the discourse created in the same sense as described by Zimmerman,

[D]iscourse [is a] shorthand for referring to talk-in-interaction, the domain of concerted social activity pursued through the use of linguistic, sequential and gestural resources. In this usage, it is primarily a behavioural rather than symbolic domain, less a 'text' to be interpreted than a texture of orderly, repetitive and reproducible activities to be described and analysed (Zimmerman, 1998, p. 87)

The tracing and characterising of behaviours were informed by the ANT analysis, where the obligatory passage point (OPP) represented the interactive objective of a given moment. Like Kayı-Aydar (2018) I developed a log of positions (see Table 6). When describing positions based on their attributes or characteristics, this process is defined as prepositioning:

Prepositioning discourse involves listing and sometimes justifying attributions of skills, character traits, biographical "facts," deemed relevant to whatever positioning is going forward. (Harré et al., 2009, p. 10)

In other words, the prepositioning codes focus on the in-situ activity and the kind of 'discourse identity' one is seeking to present. Discourse identity was used by Zimmerman (1998) to separate the identity display in the context from their pre-determined notion of role. The next stage of the analysis is to understand the relationship between the social meaning of what has been said, e.g. speech acts, and the positioning of interlocutors.

Kayı-Aydar (2018) stresses the importance of 'word choice and vocabulary' when describing positions. The terms used were mostly attribute codes (Saldaña, 2015) and were drawn either from the literature or from comments made by participants in their focus groups or interviews. Participants or consultants would use a particular categorical description to describe their own, or others', behaviour that accounted for their approach. These codes can be linked to the moral or personal capacities each participant assumed. For example, the interpreter could be seen to perform a range of positioning moves that included functioning as the linguistic mediator, commentator, co-diagnostic to standby.

Within each capacity, I noted the different interactive states, or what Wadensjö (1998, pp. 89–92) defined as ‘modes’. A participant could switch from actively producing messages (producer), to receiving messages (receiver), or waiting and watching/listening as the other interactive partner formulates a response (transition), or has assumed a waiting position (stand-by). Although the codes I used were a mix of deductive and inductive (Saldaña, 2015) the analysis did not follow a deductive path. The focus was as Kayı-Adyar recommends

‘to focus on a particular story line in one single context to identify positions and their impact on or link to the momentarily constructed identities, meanings, and social action(s). “What is going on at this current moment?” is the major guiding question in this approach. (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 106).

New codes and reflections would emerge from reviewing the interactive data. The addition of new codes was to distinguish a type of alignment between humans or non-human actors not originally conceived of before. It is accepted how different levels of moral orders can co-exist and intertwine.

*Table 6: Positioning codes*

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Positioning type</b>	<b>Description</b>
Citizen  Caller (101) or Not officially accused person (Custody)	Citizen (Conversational moral order)	The citizen mode during the interaction would demonstrate a focus towards their own needs.
		The alignment of the citizen was towards Police Scotland and mediated by the interpreter.
		The citizen was required to interact by providing information about themselves (producer) or listening to the Police Scotland representative (receiver).
	Stand-by (Conversational moral order)	Stand-by refers to periods where the citizen was explicitly instructed to wait while the interpreter/Police Scotland participant performed their respective tasks, e.g. interact with their computer.
		The citizen was temporarily not part of the interaction and was waiting to be recalled as a ratified partner.

		The citizen's alignment was typically towards the interpreter, to wait for instructions or cue to begin the next stage of the interaction.
	Co-Diagnostic (Personal order)	The co-diagnostic position is a shift in alignment from the Police Scotland participant towards the institutional task.
		The citizen no longer sees the Police Participant as the person being spoken to but as someone who facilitates and mediates personal information that needs to be recorded onto the police database.
	Co-constructor (Personal order)	The co-constructor refers to instances where the citizen supports the interpreter in formulating an interpretation — the alignment shifts from the police participant to the interpreter.
		The co-construction process can happen in either direction. To assist the interpreter to formulate an interpretation into English (BSL > English) by repeating, confirming or adding to the interpreted message. In one instance, the citizen anticipated the officer's response and contributed to the interpreter's formulation of a BSL interpretation (Eng > BSL).
	Real World (Conversational moral order)	The real-world position refers to the citizen's alignment that momentarily shifted from the interpreter or police participant to objects, people or animals in their own location.
	Instant Messaging (Conversational moral order)	The SignVideo platform has an instant chat function. When used, the citizen's alignment was towards their device.
	IT management (Conversational moral order)	The citizen when adjusting their webcam, tending to technical interference or learning how to use the platform, their alignment was towards technology
Police Scotland Official  101 Call handler (101CH)  Custody Sergeant	Public service (Institutional moral order)	The police participant, who was routinely multitasking, was aligned towards one or more actors at one time.  The public service mode represents a greater focus on the process or public service model. Here the interaction

		involves the negotiating of Citizen's need and managing the citizen's expectations.
	Diagnostic (Institutional moral order)	When in the diagnostic position, the focus was on collecting information from the citizen and documenting this accordingly on to the database. Alignment was toward both the citizen and computer.
	Processor/Editor (Institutional moral order)	The processor/editor position refers to instances where the police participant was solely engaged recording, writing or editing data on to the police intranet. The citizen and interpreter were kept waiting or placed on hold. The alignment was mostly towards the computer.
	Co-constructor (Institutional moral or personal order)	<p>The co-constructor refers to instances where the police participant supports the interpreter in formulating an interpretation. The alignment shifts from the citizen to the interpreter.</p> <p>The co-construction process can happen in either direction. To assist the interpreter formulate an interpretation into English (BSL &gt; English) or into BSL (English&gt;BSL) by repeating, confirming or adding to the interpreted message.</p>
	Stand-by (Institutional moral or personal order)	<p>The police participant would wait (stand-by) while the citizen formulates their narrative and/or the interpreter engages in a side discussion with the citizen (e.g. to clarify the citizen's utterance).</p> <p>The temporary alignment was towards the interpreter, where the police participant would wait for indications with how and when to progress.</p>
Interpreter	Language mediation (Institutional moral order)	This label marks the period where the interpreter was actively performing the interpreting task. The alignment would be split between the police participant and the citizen.
	Commentator (Institutional moral or personal order)	The commentator position refers to instances of knowledge asymmetry and where the interpreter selectively determined to provide meta-commentary or feedback, e.g. "the line is ringing" or "the person has left my

	screen”. Alignment can be towards the citizen or police participant.
Co-constructor (Personal order)	Co-constructor refers to moments where the interpreter maintained their alignments to either the police participant or the civilian but in a personal capacity. Inviting the other to help formulate an interpretation.
Call co-ordinator (Institutional moral order)	This position refers to when the interpreter moves from actively interpreting messages to managing the turn taking. There will be intended aspects to turn taking, giving one participant preference and this is a visual display of their willingness.
Call handler/management (Institutional moral order)	This category was used to indicate when the interpreter operated as the SignVideo representative. This would include a customer service component where the caller/call receiver were being directly engaged.
IT operation (Institutional moral order)	The focus was towards the technology e.g. pressing the call button, placing the call on/off hold, adjusting the webcam etc.
Co-diagnostic (Personal order)	The interpreter would sometimes add or expand on the police participant’s utterance. The motivation was often to impart their own personal knowledge to the citizen. This was done covertly. The alignment was towards the civilian.
Co-customer (Personal order)	The interpreter would sometimes add or expand on the civilian’s utterance. The motivation was often to impart their own personal knowledge to the police participant. This was done covertly. The alignment was towards the police participant.
Conversational partner (Personal order)	Engages in private, non-interpreted, discourse with the civilian or police participant.
Stand-by (Institutional moral or personal order)	On hold. Alignment was towards either citizen or police participant to wait for instructions on next step.



The allocation of attribution codes in ELAN marked where positions were assumed and their duration. The research interest in co-operation meant the focus was on moments when the interpreter, police participant or citizen shifted from their preferred position to another mode. Looking at why a participant moved away from their preferred position and the steps taken to navigate their way back to their preferred position became the area of focus. While some may prefer to see a qualitative score of these positioning moves, I agree with Kayı-Aydar's assessment and caution against this approach. A positioning move as a single token holds little meaning. The combination of positions across the human and non-human actors, in my view, works like a Rubik's cube. As one position move is actioned, the arrangement on other dimensions collectively shift. Secondly, a quantitative score is meaningless because positions follow on and lead to another. Positions are interdependent and contextual. It is the expected or unexpected shift in positions that is of interest to the investigator – the 'why and how individuals position themselves in certain ways in a story line' (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 149).

One criticism with this approach is how the interpretation of positioning moves becomes the choice of the researcher. How can the reader be confident the researcher has correctly portrayed the data? It is possible another investigator could produce a different interpretation based on the same data. In similar vein to accepting what to transcribe or translate Herbel-Eisenmann et al. explain how 'the researcher's privileged story lines affect which data become important, and the way we present positioning and story lines impacts the update of the research' (2015, p. 197). Kayı-Aydar proposes a number of measures that can be put in place to increase the trustworthiness and soundness of research, as summarised below. The researcher should:

- not undertake a deductive approach to the analysis in an effort to "prove" a line of argument. The analysis should demonstrate no preconceived goal and offer a descriptive account.
- consider other explanation when providing an interpretation concerning the position or storyline. Consider the different viewpoints and put each interpretation to the reader and then consider which interpretation to follow.

- With each interpretation explain its roots and identify the contextual clues that were used to generate this interpretation.
- Where possible, seek input from the participants, and draw on their own descriptions to inform their assessment. ‘Having a discussion of the positions identified in the analysis as well as the interpretations made regarding the consequences of positioning acts with the participants allows researchers to eliminate or minimize inaccurate interpretations’ (Kayı-Aydar, 2018, p. 151).

In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 I follow these principles and benefit not only from the participants’ contributions in the focus groups but also from input from the experts who observed the VRS and VRI calls.

#### ***5.10.1 Merging Positioning Theory with ANT***

ANT was selected as the supplementary framework because it aligned with the epistemological underpinnings of positioning theory. Positioning theory and ANT are interested in what actors dynamically become as a result of their position in a network, and how this status is maintained (‘relational ontology’). The critical difference is how non-human artefacts are treated. Non-human actors are not accounted for in positioning theory, while the ANT investigator is expected to afford equal status to both human and non-human entities (see section 2.4). The outcome of this merger produced a novel framework, one that considered how rights and duties, real or imagined, were being co-constructed in multi-modal contexts. To structure how I charted the human and non-human relations, I experimented and adapted Callon’s (1986) ‘sociology of translation framework’, which I explain in more detail in the following section.

#### ***5.10.2 Sociology of translation***

In applying the ANT principles, I constructed the analysis around Callon’s (1986) work *Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay*. Callon presented his ‘sociology of translation framework’, or template, to assemble and chart the relationships and movements within a network. The intention for Callon (1986) was to establish a process where the methods by which an

actor enrolls others are explained. The table below describes each of the tenets of Callon's approach.

*Table 7: ANT Phases – Ethnography of multi-modal communication*

Phase	Description
Translation	The translation phase asks the question concerning the identities of actors and the margins of manoeuvre that are available. The translation phase can be applied to macro, meso and micro levels of a social problem (Latour, 2005). There is no restriction on how wide to cast this net, and it is determined by the investigator's research question.
Sub-phase 1 Problematization	The investigator has determined a set of actors (human and non-human), including their identities (positions), and seeks to understand how each actor manoeuvres themselves, or others, to become the obligatory passage point (OPP) within this network of relationships.
Sub-phase 2 Interessement	Interessement (is synonymous with the word interposition) is the group of actions by which an entity attempts to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization. Different devices are used to implement this sub-phases.
Sub-phase 3 Enrolment	Enrolment does not imply, nor does it exclude pre-established roles. It designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them. Interessement achieves enrolment if it is successful. To describe enrolment is thus to describe the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the interessement and enable them to succeed.
Sub-phase 4 Mobilization	To mobilize, as the word indicates, is to render entities mobile which were not so beforehand (Callon, 1986, p. 209). Is the interaction able to progress, eventually concluding with a diagnosis and response that is appropriate to the call? This concentration has a definite physical reality which is materialized through a series of displacements (Law, 1985b).

The first point to note is that, I was not working with ethnographic field notes or interview recordings. I was in possession of data where I could review and analyse VRS/VRI calls in real time. With this capacity, I was able to re-evaluate how I identified actors, either by their actions or by their accounts, and cross-reference these actions with the participant post-simulation reflections, my scoping study (section 5.2) and desk-based research (Chapters 3 & 4). The capacity to review the data multiple times meant I was in a position to experiment with how Callon's sociology of translation framework was applied. For example, the VRS/VRI calls were segmented into stages (see section 6.1 and 7.1), I decided to apply the translation process against each stage. This produced a more thorough and repetitive exercise intended to unearth subtle changes that could inform the positioning analysis.

### ***5.10.3 Translation phase***

By segmenting the VRS/VRI calls and reapplying Callon's framework I would seek to determine what cause or goal was required to be communicated, understood or completed before the participants could move onto the next episode. I treat these focal points as the obligatory passage point (OPP). For example, the custody sergeant manages the booking in process in stages. For each stage, the custody sergeant seeks to direct the interpreter's and detainee's attention towards the police database, either to verbalise a scripted piece of text or to retrieve and record details about the NOAP. How the custody sergeant assembles the different actors to recognise this objective, and view this process as the indispensable actor, becomes part of the narrative. The OPP may not be universally understood and will require a process of negotiation, imposing, convincing and so on. The interaction cannot progress onto the next stage, or next OPP, until the actors have been mobilised, for example, once the detainee's rights have been explained and no further questions have been asked. Although I describe the OPP as goal-orientated, these goals rely upon the actor's ability to mobilize others and become understood. This experimental approach still aligned to the description given by Callon, whereby actors would endeavour to 'define their identities in such a way as to establish themselves an obligatory passage point in the network of relationships' (1986, p. 201). Before expanding the description of the subsequent sub-phases, it is important to stress that each phase is not autonomous and can overlap, describing the tensions and negotiations between actors.

### ***5.10.4 Problematization phase***

The problematization phase, as Callon explains, "describes a system of alliances, or associations, between entities, thereby defining the identity and what they 'want'" (Callon, 1986, p. 203). Problematization used in this thesis involves explaining "how did X get to Y in the interaction" and "what were the problems that prevented X from getting to Y". For example, the custody sergeant modified the reading of a detainee's rights to demonstrate their concern for the suspect, to avoid misinterpretation from the interpreter, and to avoid conflict or delaying the booking in procedure. Although the description here presents a successful interaction, in reality, much more will have to be done before an OPP is reached. Using problematization in this way means a more detailed description of the competing positions begins to surface.

#### ***5.10.5 Interessement phase***

Callon defines the interessement phase as ‘group of actions by which an entity attempts to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization’ (Callon, 1986, p. 203). I view interessement as being intrinsically linked to the self-other projection of identities, real or imagined. For example, while the call-handler appears to be concerned with asking questions about the citizen’s complaint, the actual source directing the call-handler’s approach may be her/his workstation (e.g. Storm Unity or ASPIRE). The computer programmes have been strategically placed by senior managers into the call-handler’s workspace to structure and regulate her/his actions. Interessement is therefore used to describe the power dynamics between actors, and how one’s preferred positioning arrangement is imposed, persuaded, negotiated, forced, or accepted as part of a wider endeavour to reach the OPP. This is a particularly interesting concept as the negotiation of power will at times be a mediated kind in an IME. For example, the custody sergeant functions as the animator when reading the caution, which is then re-animated by the interpreter.

#### ***5.10.6 Enrolment phase***

The interessement phase is closely linked to the subsequent phase, enrolment. Callon describes enrolment as a stage that consolidates ‘the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the interessements and enable them to succeed’. (Callon, 1986, p. 205). I interpreted enrolment as marking the moment in the interaction where each of the actors began to align and progress towards the OPP. Articulating the interessement and enrolment phases contributed significantly to how I interpreted the positioning moves displayed by the human actors, e.g. performative/accountative, moral/personal, tacit/intentional or interactive/reflexive (see section 2.3).

Although enrolment suggests the trajectory toward the OPP is secure, this is not the case. It is possible for an actor, human or non-human, to disrupt the order of things causing a revision of rights and duties to take place.

### **5.10.7 Mobilization phase**

To mobilize, as explained in Table 7, ‘is to render entities mobile which were not so beforehand’ (Callon, 1986, p. 209). Mobilization is closely linked to enrolment and marks the final trajectory towards how the OPP is reached. In an interpreter-mediated interaction, the mobilization of actors would generally be measured against the successful transfer of utterances from the citizen, via the interpreter, to the police participant or vice versa. There is no judgement made on the quality of the interpretation, but an observation of how actors collectively made communication possible.

### **5.10.8 Summary**

Adopting Callon’s framework, as presented here, was an experimental decision and intended to provide a consistent and open approach to describing and reflecting on how a network of human and non-human entities affect and shape each other’s positions. Followers of ANT will immediately see that this has been reduced to a set of practical methodological principles as opposed to theorising the relationship between human and non-human entities. Furthermore, I have modified the scale of Callon’s framework, traditionally used as part of an ethnographic long-term study, to a contained interactive event. In doing so, I have promoted the principle of symmetry to appreciate how non-human entities shape the interactive positions, which can be observed by how human actors perform their roles as animator (see section 2.1.2).

## **5.11 Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the complex and careful steps taken to develop simulated interactions that could pass as close to real-life circumstances. To achieve this standard it meant first understanding this issues with relying on simulated data and what kind of measures could reasonably be put in place to mitigate these concerns. The simulations had to challenge both frontline police services and the interpreters facilitating the VRS or VRI calls. The process in developing and staging these simulations relied on support from Police Scotland and SignVideo. The support included input in designing the simulations as well access to facilities, resources and personnel in staging the simulations.

The multi-faceted qualitative methodology was also described at length. The Positioning-ANT framework codes and coding combined with participant and consultant reflections

produced the data set for analysis and discussion. The ability to combine the investigator's codes and observations alongside participant reflections meant a more rounded account could be given in the following two chapters.

Finally, the transcription and translation process was explained. It was necessary to be open about this stage since it can influence what gets coded and what doesn't. This section was also an opportunity to introduce ideas concerning problems that have troubled investigators who work with sign language data. Now that the research design, method and methodology has been outlined in detail, it is possible to move onto the discussion of the findings. The significance of the results in relation to the literature reviewed (in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4), and the research questions posed in the present study, are explored across Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

Approximately There –

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Robert Andrew Skinner

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## **Abstract**

This study looks at how UK police forces make use of video interpreting services to complete standard police procedures. Two frontline police services were examined: video relay service (VRS) calls to a Police Scotland's force control room (FRC); and video remote interpreted calls (VRI) to a Police Scotland custody suite. Both contexts were identified as areas for potential VRS/VRI expansion by Police Scotland. The research questions focused on how co-operation was negotiated during a video-mediated interpreting interaction in a frontline policing context and how co-operation affected the delivery of the combined service.

To chart how co-operation was received or negotiated, this study combined Positioning Theory (Davies & Harré, 1990) with Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (Callon, 1986; Latour, 2005; Law, 2004). Using this hybrid framework, this study traced the capacity and willingness each participant displayed as they assumed, negotiated, or challenged the shared rights or duties (an interactive position), and considered the role non-human entities (e.g. technology, policies, artefacts) had in shaping these positioning moves.

This study found a range of positioning moves that either work towards or become a co-positioning arrangement. The establishment of co-positions means different actors have established a unified group of rights and duties that are mutually shared. The findings reaffirm the challenges of remote communication, as well as which features of communication promoted by call handlers, custody sergeant and interpreters appear to be mutually effective for frontline policing interactions. The police participant and the interpreter have a shared objective: to learn about the citizen and to construct an understanding of the issue at hand. Issues still exist regarding knowing how to adapt standard police procedures or generic responses to become meaningful to someone who is a deaf BSL user. Interpreters will sometimes become involved in these matters, advocating the deaf person's right to receive parity of service beyond the VRS/VRI call. By focusing on standard police procedures and understanding what works and why, we can identify where and when VRS/VRI services could be used to increase citizen access to other areas of police services.

## **Dedication**

For Zhujeta, Otto and Zigi

## Acknowledgements

Like the focus for this study, this thesis was one (mega) co-operative effort. It began with the Scottish Graduate School for Arts and Humanities Applied Research Collaboration Studentships (ARCS). The SGSAH scholarship intended to forge partnerships from different academic disciplines, as well between academic and non-academic organisations. This culminated in a co-operative partnership of Heriot-Watt University (the Centre for Translating and Interpreting Studies in Scotland), University of Dundee (Scottish Institute of Policing Research), SignVideo and Police Scotland. We all shared the same social concern, how could VRS and VRI be used to transform the delivery of BSL access to frontline police settings. I was without doubt in a privilege position and had access to special people who I would like to thank for their generosity, inspiration, guidance, support and even challenge. These include my two supervisors who complemented each other perfectly, Prof. Jemina Napier and Prof. Nicholas Fyfe. The staff at SignVideo, in particular John Brownlie, Hannah Robinson, Jeff McWhinney, Brigitte Francois, and Mark Hudson. From Police Scotland, Stephanie Rose, Barbra Hazelwood and John McLaughlin. I owe thanks to the SignVideo interpreters, the Police Scotland call-handlers and custody sergeants who allowed me to observe, learn and follow in their work place. I would also like to pay further thanks to the staff at SignVideo and Police Scotland who willingly participated in this study. I owe thanks to the people who ensured my studies contained the citizen's perspective, the participants who willingly took part in the simulations and to the staff at the British Deaf Association (Scotland Branch).

I spent my three years at Heriot-Watt University where I was supported by a team of critical thinkers who have devoted their academic careers to improving the quality of interpreters or making a positive difference to the lives of deaf people. To be part of this academic movement was an honour. Therefore I owe thanks to every individual in this team, especially, Prof. Graham Turner, Dr. Annelies Kusters, Andy Carmichael, Dr. Svenja Wurm, Dr. Jordan Fenlon, Gary Quinn, Dr. Stacey Webb, Dr. Maartje Meulder, Dr. Heather Mole, Dr Erin Moriarty Harrelson, Marion Fletcher and Dr. Audrey Cameron. My PhD partners in crime who stuck by me and kept me smiling include Mette Sommer Lindsay, Natalia Rodriguez Vincente, Paola Ruffo, Emmy Kauling, Christopher Tester, Danny McDougall and Yvonne Waddell.

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# DECLARATION STATEMENT

## Research Thesis Submission

Name:	ROBERT ANDREW SKINNER		
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Version: <i>(i.e. First, Resubmission, Final)</i>	FINAL	Degree Sought:	PhD

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In accordance with the appropriate regulations I hereby submit my thesis and I declare that:

9. The thesis embodies the results of my own work and has been composed by myself
10. Where appropriate, I have made acknowledgement of the work of others
11. The thesis is the correct version for submission and is the same version as any electronic versions submitted\*.
12. My thesis for the award referred to, deposited in the Heriot-Watt University Library, should be made available for loan or photocopying and be available via the Institutional Repository, subject to such conditions as the Librarian may require
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Signature of Individual Submitting:	
Date Submitted:	24.06.2020

**For Completion in the Student Service Centre (SSC)**

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## LISTS OF GLOSSARY

101VRS – 101 Non-emergency video relay service  
101CH – 101 call-handler  
ANT – Actor-Network Theory  
Auslan – Australian Sign Language  
AVIDICUS – Assessment of Videoconference Interpreting in Criminal Proceedings  
BDA – British Deaf Association  
BSL – British Sign Language  
CRM – Customer relationship management  
CSW – Communication support worker  
CustodyVRI – Custody VRI calls  
DI – Dialogue interpreting  
DWP – Department for Work and Pensions  
EU – European Union  
FCR – Force control room  
HMICS – HM Inspectorate of Constabulary in Scotland  
IME – Interpreter-mediated encounter  
NCS – National custody system  
NOAP – Not officially accused person  
OPP – Obligatory passage point  
PIROS - Police Interview – Rights of Suspects  
PLOD – Police Link Officer for the Deaf  
PP – Primary Participants  
RI – Remote Interpreting  
TRS - Telecommunication relay services  
VMI – Video-mediated interpreting  
VRS – Video relay services  
VRI – Video remote interpreting  
SCP - Situational Crime Prevention  
SHift – Shaping the Interpreters of the Future and Today project  
SOP – Standard operating procedure  
STS – Science, Technology and Society



## Chapter 6 - 101VRS data

This chapter focuses on the analysis and discussions of four 101VRS simulated calls. Section 6.1 provides a template for this analysis by expanding Zimmerman's (1984) global structure of a monolingual emergency call to include stages necessary to a call mediated by VRS. Each segment contains a type of interactive goal, e.g. introduction, identification or explanation, that requires a collective focus. The analysis and discussion throughout this chapter (sections 6.2 - 6.9) follows the chronological order of the 101VRS global structure. Examples from across the four 101VRS calls have been selectively chosen to highlight issues around co-operation. The rationale for structuring the analysis chronologically is the moral order established in the opening phases of the interaction set the relationship that can be conducive to learning and negotiating each other's rights and duties in subsequent stages of the call. Section 6.2 looks at how positions are pre-established through the fictional Police Scotland and SignVideo web-page promoting the 101VRS service. Section 6.3 analyses how the opening positions are assumed and negotiated between the citizen and interpreter. Section 6.4 continues the theme of establishing positions by analysing how the 101 call-handler (hereafter referred to as 101CH) is introduced to the triadic exchange. Section 6.5 moves on to the identification stage, where the citizen's personal details are collected. Section 6.6 concentrates on the complaint or request phase, where the citizen's story is told for the first time and the effort in piecing together the complaint or request begins. Each sub-section identifies a particular interactive initiative or problem and relates this scenario to the capacity and willingness each participant displayed. Section 6.7 looks at how the trio review aspects of the citizen's story. At this stage errors in the interpretations or record keeping become identifiable. This section reveals a highly collaborative approach where aspects of the citizen's story are corrected and documented. Section 6.8 looks at how the interpreter undertakes a supportive role to empower the 101CH to better support the citizen. Section 6.9 moves the focus away from the citizen's story to how the police intend to follow up with the citizen's call. Satisfactory follow-up requires taking into consideration the fact of the caller's deafness and linguistic needs; how the 101CHs evaluate and determine the next course of action has to be relevant to someone who is deaf. Depending on the 101CH's awareness of this, the focus of the three participants may move away from making communication work to assisting the 101CH with determining how to allocate policing resources to someone that is deaf and uses BSL.

## 6.1 Structure of analysis

In total four 101VRS calls were completed across one day. Table 1 provides a summary of each call.

Table 8: 101VRS call summary

	101VRS#1	101VRS#2	101VRS#3	101VRS#4
<b>Topic</b>	Child abuse	Missing friend	Hate crime	Breach of peace
<b>Citizen</b>	Catrina	Colin	Charles	Chloe
<b>Interpreter</b>	Imelda	Isabella	Ivan	Irving
<b>101CH</b>	Peter	Paige	Paula	Patrick
<b>Duration</b>	28:30	28:04	21:33	18:58

In section 4.8.1 Zimmerman's (1984) global structure of a monolingual emergency call was explained as mapping out the typical sequence of emergency calls. For the purpose of this study, Zimmerman's global structure (below) was amended to include the additional steps that occur when contacting an FCR via an auxiliary VRS platform<sup>17</sup>.

### (i) *Initiating the VRS call*

- Citizen interacts with designated webpage<sup>18</sup>.
- The technology transports caller to the online VRS platform.
- The platform allocates the call to the next available interpreter. The citizen is on stand-by.

### (ii) *SignVideo opening*

- The interpreter is allocated and notified of the incoming call.
- Opening and introduction of SignVideo service (optional).
- The interpreter initiates the 101 call.

<sup>17</sup> Zimmerman's (1984) original structure can be found in phase iv and v.

<sup>18</sup> This is usually a dedicated page on the police force website or on the video relay provider website. If the citizen has no prior knowledge of the service, they can either refer to an online VRS directory or search engine. Alternatively, the citizen can download the VRS app and initiate a call in this way. This process is different to the established protocol of dialling 101 on a telephone device (landline phone, mobile device or software).



- g) The call joins the 101 queuing system until it is answered by the next available 101CH.

(iii) *101 opening & introduction*

- h) The 101CH is allocated the incoming call.
- i) Opening and introduction of 101 service.
- j) Q&A sequence about the SignVideo service (optional).

(iv) *101 Assessment*

- k) Q&A sequence about the caller.
- l) Q&A about the incident.

(v) *101 Closing*

- m) Checking report.
- n) Agreeing next steps.
- o) Close.

This structure provided the basis from which to begin the ANT and positioning analysis. The ANT framework was applied to each phase and sub-phase. This was followed by the mapping of positions. The repeated use of the ANT framework was to account for the multiple OPP (section 5.10.3) that could exist within a single phase/sub-phase, and the constant movement and renegotiation of interactive goals between human and non-human actors. The sub-phases were call-specific and generally occurred within their catchment. For example, the introduction of the caller occurred either in the opening of the SignVideo service (phase ii) or 101 opening (phase iii). The introduction of the caller would not occur in the assessment (iv) or closing stages (phase v). The sequence of phases was built on the assumption of an orderly exchange. In section 6.6.1 we see this assumption falter, where the introduction took place in the assessment phase. The unusual placement of managing the introduction in another catchment was symbolic of an interactional problem and will be discussed in section 6.6.1.

## **6.2 Initiating the VRS call**

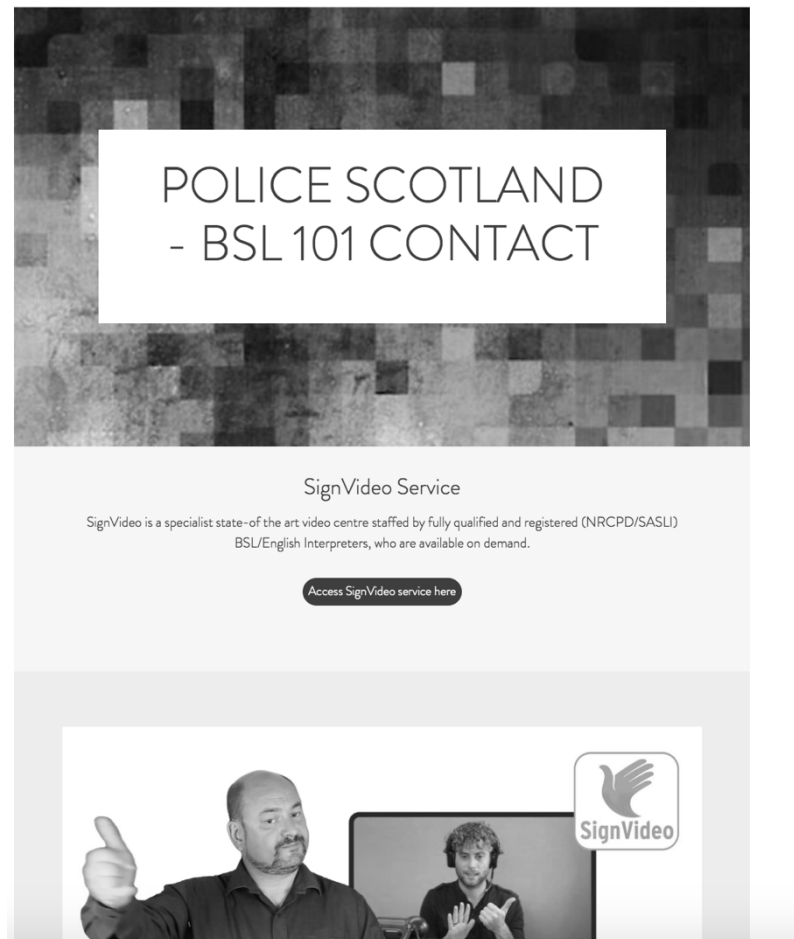
The first stage of the analysis looks at how the opening interaction between the citizens, who participated in this study, and the 101VRS web-interface (phase i). The web-

interface contains images and content that establishes expectations. It is my belief that this is the first study to consider whether the way in which an interpreting service is promoted manifests in the actual delivery of the interpreting service. It was in using the ANT framework that I became conscious of non-human actors, such as the webpage, that had agency and contributed to the IME experience. In the following section I provide a summary of the analysis which follows the ANT framework. Each ANT stage is provided in closed brackets; see sections 5.10.2 - 5.10.7 for an explanation of each ANT phase.

### ***6.2.1 The web-based concept – pre-positioning the service***

Using a laptop, the citizen accessed the 101VRS platform via a designated webpage (see Figure 1) (translation). The web page presented itself as a ‘guide’ or ‘assistant’ to the citizen (problematization). Its hidden role was ‘technical assistant’ (interessement). A single manual click on text reading ‘Access SignVideo service here’ transported the citizen to the VRS platform (OPP). The manual click permitted the platform to access the citizen’s device, e.g. their webcam and microphone, whilst also connecting them to the remote interpreting service (mobilisation).

The webpage contained visual and text-based information about the service and the steps required to make a call. The web page intentionally positioned the SignVideo interpreter and police force as a ‘partnership service’. The forced-other positioning was determined by those who commissioned and designed the service. This sets an expectation for both the interpreter and 101CH to competently assist a deaf citizen.



*Image 24: Police Scotland – SignVideo webpage*

After manually initiating the call, the caller was placed on hold (see Image 25 - Image 28). The information presented on screen reinforced the partnership arrangement between SignVideo and Police Scotland. The images reinforce the interpreter's and 101CH's forced-other position.



Image 25: SignVideo holding screen (1)

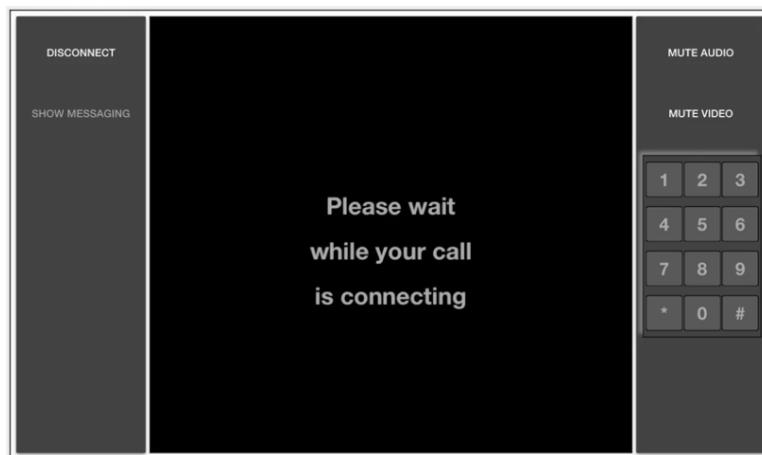


Image 26: SignVideo holding screen (2)



Image 27: SignVideo holding screen (3)

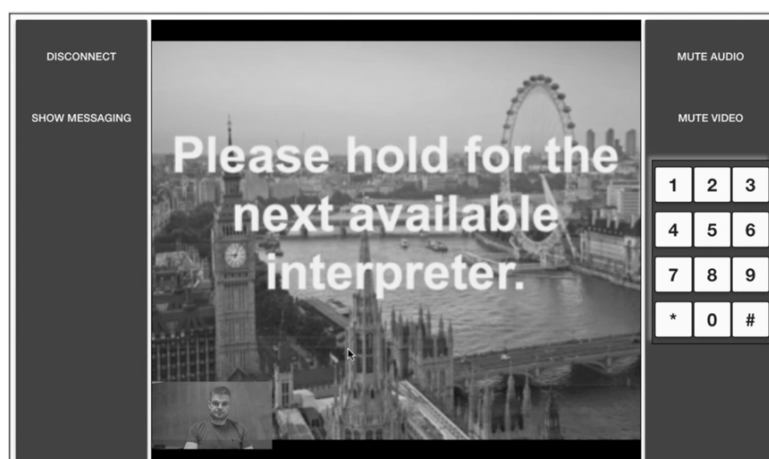


Image 28: SignVideo holding screen (4)

### 6.3 SignVideo-Citizen opening and introduction

The analysis in this section examines how the 101VRS dyadic openings were negotiated during phase ii, i.e. who had the capacity to assume certain positions, and the other person's willingness to accept or challenge such an interactive positioning move (translation). In this sub-section three out of four calls will be discussed: 101VRS#1, 101VRS#3 and 101VRS#4. Each of the extracts have been selectively chosen and highlights a specific interactive problem or strategy that impacted on how the interpreter and citizen jointly established their identities (problematization & interessement). What takes place in these opening stages will characterise subsequent stages of the call, e.g. how the call is transferred onto the 101 helpline (OPP, enrolment and mobilisation).

#### 6.3.1 101VRS#1 opening (Caterina & Imelda)

Caterina (the citizen) had some experience of VRS but had never used the service to contact the police. Imelda (the interpreter who answered the call) was an experienced VRS interpreter and had handled authentic 101 calls in the past. Extract 1 is the transcription of how Caterina's call was received by Imelda.

Note that in extract one, technical difficulties impacted on the exchange of personal details (rows 2 - 4)<sup>19</sup>. The video distortion persisted throughout the call. How Imelda managed the technical interference is discussed in 6.6.3.

<sup>19</sup> Technical interference is marked by using the 'underline' in the citizen's column.

Extract 3: – 101VRS#1 “Would you like to call Police Scotland?” (00:00:00 – 00:01:16)

	101CH – Peter	VRS Interpreter - Imelda	Citizen - Caterina
1		Hello. Good morning. ((Nods/Cit))	Hi, __ good morning. Now-
2		Would you like to call Police Scotland, okay?  ((Nods/Cit)) ((Nods/Cit)) Yep.  ((Nods/Cit)) Okay (.) right. Tha- Okay.	((quick glance away)) ((Looks at screen/Int)) Yes. Today this <u>morning</u> about 10 o'clock I was at the co-op (. ) ((Looks away and back at screen/Int)) and I saw <u>something</u> like a small physical abuse, <u>light physical abuse</u> . ((Looks away and back at screen/Int))
3		So: thank you for that brief explanation. I will now connect the call to the police, okay?  And explain this is an interpreted call okay? ((nods/cit)) So, I'll first explain to the police how this is an interpreted call and they're speaking through an interpreter, okay.	<u>A child*- ((Looks at screen/Int))</u>  <u>Okay</u> <u>Perfect.</u>  (.) <u>Okay</u>
4		((Nods/Cit)) (5.0) Could I also have your name please? ((Leans back/Cit)) ((Points/Cit))**	<u>C.A.T.E.R.I.N.A, F.I.S.H.E.R</u>
5		Please, could you repeat that? Just so you are aware your image keeps breaking up slightly.  If this keeps happening I might ask you to repeat yourself okay? ((Nods/Cit)) Go on.	((Laughs/Int)) Oh sorry  Okay**   Right
6			<u>Its C.A.T.E.R.I.N.A,</u>  <u>F.I.S.H.E.R</u>
7		((Nods/Cit)) Okay, connecting the call now ((Initiates call/Computer))	

Imelda's first order and moral positioning was 'customer service/call-handler' (row 1 & 2), "Good morning, Now... Would you like to call Police Scotland?" The call came through to Imelda's territory where she positioned herself as the person responsible, in capacity and

willingness, for guiding Caterina through the process of reaching the 101 helpline. This type of interactive positioning invited Caterina to assume ‘user of the service’ or ‘citizen’ position.



*Image 29: 101VRS#1, Caterina (left) and Imelda (right).*

Caterina interpreted Imelda’s welcome as an opportunity to explain her reasons for calling. To discuss one-to-one with a caller the purpose of their call without any distractions, e.g. without having to actively interpret or consider the 101CH’s needs, could benefit the interpreter in terms of learning more about the caller and their specific needs. Caterina demonstrated her capacity and willingness to work with Imelda in this way by assuming a co-constructor position (row 2), “Today this morning about 10 o’clock I was at the co-op and I saw something like a small physical abuse, light physical abuse.” Imelda hesitantly accepted Caterina’s co-constructor positioning move. This hesitation morphed into an intervention, a deliberate and self-positioning move, where Imelda restricted Caterina from providing further background (row 3), “So, thank you for that brief explanation. I will now connect the call to the police, okay? And explain this is an interpreted call okay?” According to Van Langenhove and Harré (1999), a deliberate self-positioning move tends to arise when the person has a specific goal in mind. Imelda’s counter positioning move was goal-orientated since it progressed the call onto the next stage, i.e. to connect the incoming video call to the 101 helpline. The counter position assumed by Imelda was a ‘social and task positioning’ move (Hirvonen, 2016). Hirvonen (2016) defines a social positioning move as establishing the social order between participants. However, to steer the group focus onto the next storyline Imelda produced a task positioning move. A task positioning move is ‘something that occurs specifically in a small-group setting as group members simultaneously position the nature and objectives of the group work itself’ (Hirvonen, 2016, p. 7). Imelda set the group focus on transferring the call onto the 101 service. It

was not clear why Imelda prematurely switched to establishing her social order and relating this to a task positioning move. In doing so, Imelda hastily escalated Caterina’s call to the 101 service instead of benefiting from Caterina’s offer to explain her call. Imelda’s behaviour suggests she was not confident of her status (capacity) as knowing too much about Caterina and intentionally avoided any opportunity to become overly familiar about the subject of the call ahead of the 101CH.

Before connecting the 101 call, Imelda retraced her steps by asking Caterina for her name (row 4). This retracing of steps suggests Imelda had agency and the capacity to directly engage with the caller when discussing specific details, like the caller’s name. Caterina maintained her co-operative approach and followed Imelda’s lead. Caterina provided her name (row 4), repeating the spelling of her name (to overcome technical problems) (row 5-6) and remained on stand-by while the call was connected to the 101 helpline (row 7). These responses demonstrated both Caterina’s capacity and willingness to work with, and be guided by, Imelda.

### 6.3.2 101VRS#3 – opening (Charles & Ivan)

Charles (the citizen) has had experience in using VRS platforms and was making his first 101VRS call. Ivan (the interpreter) was an experienced interpreter and recently joined the SignVideo service. Extract 4 consists of two rows because of the quick response to connecting the incoming video call to the 101 service.

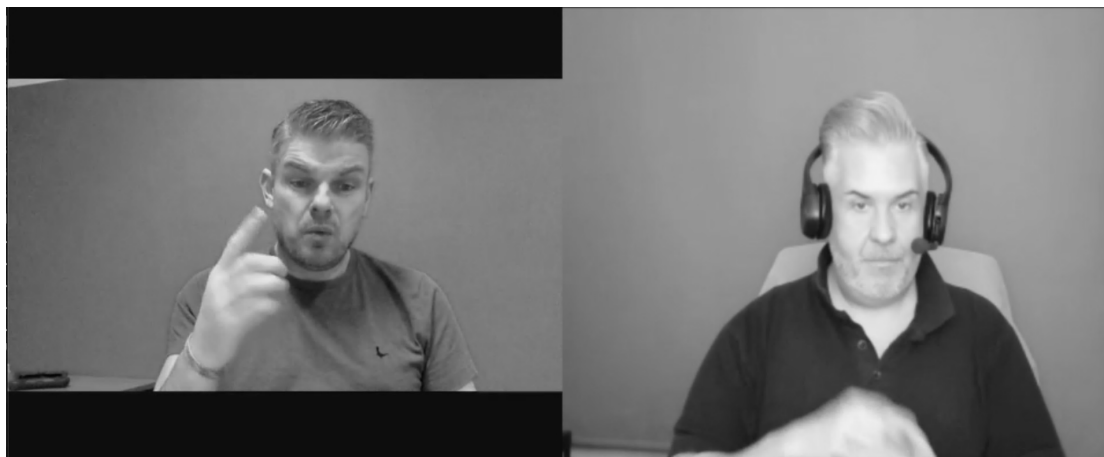
*Extract 4: 101VRS#3 “Right, can you call the police?” (00:00:35 – 00:00:45)*

	101CH - Paula	VRS Interpreter - Ivan	Citizen - Charles
1		Hello. Alright?  Sure, no problem.	Hello, okay?  Right, can you call the police?
2		101, fine, no problem.  ((Initiates call/Computer)).	Its urgent. 101, 101 please.  ((Looks away and back at screen /Int))

Charles assumed full control of his call by making his first positioning move a deliberate other-positioning move (row 1), “Hello, okay? Right can you call the police? Its urgent. 101, 101 please”. Charles’ first positioning move did not contain an explanation nor an invitation for Ivan to respond. Charles intentionally sought to control, or manipulate Ivan’s role, by



restricting Ivan’s subsequent interactive position to become a performative kind, e.g. to initiate the call (perlocutionary act) (row 2). This opening approach presents Ivan with an interactive ultimatum: to comply with or to disrupt Charles’ request.



*Image 30: 101VRS#32, Charles (left) and Ivan (right).*

Ivan does not assert his moral capacity as call-handler or call-management. Ivan appears unwilling to assume a social positioning role, where advice on how to manage the VRS call is communicated. Nor does Ivan request personal information from Charles. The absence of background information about the call or caller did create a number of problems when the call was later transferred to the 101 service (see section 6.4.2 and 6.6.1).

### **6.3.3 101VRS#4 – opening (Chloe & Irving)**

Chloe (the citizen) was an experienced user of interpreting services. It is not known if Chloe had experience in using VRS or had experience in using the 101VRS platform. Irving (the interpreter) was also an experienced interpreter and joined the SignVideo service a few years ago. Extract 5 shows how Chloe was keen to have her call transferred to the 101 service as expediently as possible.

*Extract 5: 101VRS#4 “There is a deaf person on the line, okay?” (00:01:35 – 00:01:51)*

	<b>101CH - Patrick</b>	<b>VRS Interpreter - Irving</b>	<b>Citizen – Chloe</b>
1		Hello, hello, good afternoon, okay*	Hello, okay**.
2		Yes, ((Looks away and back at screen//Cit)) that’s right, I can see you want to call Police Scotland.	Okay, I- okay I’d like to call Police Scotland the 101 number.  ((Nods/Int))

3		I'll connect the call now and explain this is an interpreted call and there is a deaf person on the line, okay? Thank you. ((Initiates call/Computer))	Yes okay, ((Nods/Int)) yes fine ((Nods/Int))
---	--	---	--

Chloe's approach resembled Charles' (section 6.3.2). Chloe asserted her first-order and intentional positioning by directing Irving to contact Police Scotland's 101 helpline (row 2), "Okay, I- okay I'd like to call Police Scotland 101". Unlike Ivan, Irving negotiated Chloe's demands to include his own need, which was time and space to prepare the 101CH for the interpreted nature of the call. This act was an accountive move, whereby the on-going talk was about the previous talk, and a forced other positioning, whereby Chloe was re-positioned as co-constructor. Irving carefully reasserted his capacity through his willingness to negotiate with Chloe on her initial approach, "Yes, that's right, I can see you want to call Police Scotland" (row 2 and row 3), "I'll connect the call now and explain this is an interpreted call and there is a deaf person on the line, okay?". This task orientated re-positioning move was subtle and restored Irving's right to control and lead with the transfer of the incoming call. Irving waits for Chloe's consent before progressing, thus securing his earlier re-positioning move. By re-assuming control, Irving was given the opportunity to frame and manage the next stage of the 101VRS call.

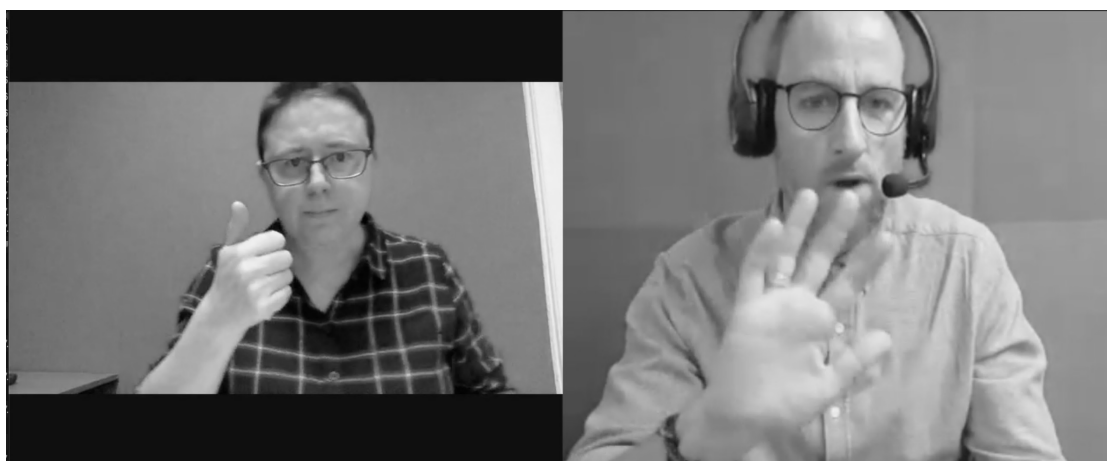


Image 31: 101VRS#24, Chloe (left) and Irving (right).

#### 6.3.4 *Summary of SignVideo-Citizen opening*

The analysis sought to explain the level of learning and establishment of identities that took place between the citizen and interpreter. If we distinguish the interpreter's capacity to create speech and social acts from their willingness to perform speech or social acts, we begin to see how the interpreters were selective regarding what types of task

positioning moves were created. The interpreter generally focused on promoting performative positioning moves, e.g. transferring the call as expediently possible, as opposed to accountive moves such as “tell me about the purpose of your call?” The focus on performative positioning, e.g. agreeing to the citizen’s request, saw greater expediency in transferring the call.

It could be argued that it was the interpreter’s moral duty to greet the incoming call and lead on transferring the call to the 101 service. Imelda (101VRS#1) and Irving (101VRS#4) demonstrated that interpreters can and do hold the capacity to engage and create some conversation, as well as to undertake call management actions. Imelda sought Caterina’s name, and also directed Caterina to repeat the spelling of her name due to technological interference. Irving showed he had the capacity and willingness to carefully manage and redirect Chloe’s opening approach to the service. Irving also secured Chloe’s consent to lead with transferring the call. Yet neither Imelda nor Irving extended their involvement to intelligence gathering. Neither asked questions about the purpose of the call. Both Imelda and Irving may have limited their involvement to emulate the telephone experience, where the preferred service is typically reached with minimal delay. This would explain why Imelda, Irving and Ivan were unwilling to solicit further detailed information from their respective callers and appeared to prefer expediency over engagement. This functional approach I define as **process driven positioning**. The rights and duties of actors is concentrated towards completing tasks. The interactive partners place greater value on being efficient and functional. Although Caterina was forthcoming with her story, she did not challenge or change Imelda’s process driven approach.

Ivan inherited Charles’ process driven approach. Charles did not seek to engage with Ivan other than to request his call be quickly transferred to the 101 helpline. Ivan, like Imelda and Irving, had the moral capacity to reframe Charles’ demands but decided against such a move. Ivan transferred Charles’ call to the 101 service within a second, leaving himself no space or time to engage with Charles. Calls to the non-emergency service have been known to be an emergency 999 calls (Skinner et al., submitted). The interpreter’s motivation to transfer the call with minimal delay could be a misplaced assumption. The issue here is that Charles’ demand led Ivan to restrict his presence to the detached translator mode. As section 6.4 and 6.6 will show, once an interpreter accepts restrictive way of being early on it can be problematic to shift their rights and

duties to a collaborative position, e.g. co-provider or provider of service. To do so requires a renegotiation of behaviours and expectations. To shift to a collaborative arrangement would require an explanation for the change which would have to be communicated in a way that obtains agreement from all, without unnecessarily disrupting or prolonging the citizen's stated need to reach the 101 service. This endeavour has further challenges when managing two interactive partners across two types of media.

The behaviours described in this section may be one of the outcomes of the VRS model. In the following VRI chapter we see custody sergeants and interpreters engage in a lengthy introduction, where the custody sergeant sought to familiarise themselves with the interpreter and invited the interpreter into the custody process. If the interpreter was unable to comply, a counter social or task positioning move was offered by the interpreter. This approach was defined as an **emergent approach**. In a multi-professional context an emergent approach places a higher value on the story-telling and perspective setting, where rights and duties become part of the interactive focus.

Another cause for difference between VRS and VRI could be the PPs drive to emulate the 'telephone experience'. The on-demand aspiration to reach another person with minimal delay appeared to be valued above forming a relationship with one other. In the current data set, including 101VRS#2 which was not presented in this sub-section, the four interpreters and two citizen callers were prioritising expedience during the opening phases of the 101VRS call.

#### **6.4 Handover to 101 - opening and introduction**

The analysis for the second round of introductions (phase iii) again examines how these initial 101VRS openings were managed, who had the capacity to assume certain positions and another person's willingness to accept or challenge such interactive positioning moves. The transfer of the call from SignVideo to the FCR presented a new dynamic. The VRS call was straddled across two types of media, creating an asymmetry of technology and asymmetry of knowledge (Warnicke & Plejert, 2016). To be more specific about this asymmetry of knowledge, I define the imbalance as **asymmetry of epistemic stance**. The term epistemic stance was used by Gerwing (2015) to explain different viewpoints and awareness between emergency services and citizen telephone interactions. Call-handlers cannot see how close the citizen is to danger and requires the

citizen to articulate their epistemic stance to assist the call-handler with their assessment. This description fits with Manning's (1988) description of calls to FCRs as information being passed between environment 1 (the real world) and environment 2 (police territory). With VRS interactions a third space is created: environment 3 is the VRS call centre. The interpreter and citizen have a partially shared visual field, while the interpreter and 101CH share an auditory connection. Not only are there competing epistemic stances, but the ways in which these differences are managed will require specific approaches.

Prior to this point, the interpreter and citizen had, either implicitly or explicitly, acknowledged the need to contact a 101 service via an interpreter. This mutual acknowledgement had yet to include the 101CH. This created two types of epistemic space: one that had been established (citizen and interpreter) and one yet to be established (citizen-interpreter-101CH). How the 101CH is invited into this arrangement, including the explanation of the VRS configuration, matters. Either the interpreter or the citizen will assume responsibility to introduce the 101CH and each will approach this description in different ways. The call may struggle to progress (mobilisation) if the 101CH has not conceptually grasped the VRS configuration (the OPP). In a real world context, it is highly possible the 101CH will have no awareness of the VRS service and/or how to interact via an interpreter or with someone who is deaf and uses BSL (Napier et al., 2017; Skinner et al., submitted). It is therefore necessary for the other participants to help the 101CH to understand these specific features as part of learning what kind of moral and personal duty should be assumed for the 101VRS call (enrolment). The 101CH's understanding is required for him/her to appreciate how to work with an interpreter, for example knowing when to speak or to wait, knowing how to frame complex questions, and appreciating that the voice heard is the interpreter's voice and therefore anything uttered is likely to be an interpreted response.

#### **6.4.1 101VRS#1 – Handover (Imelda & Peter)**

Extract 6 contains the handover from Imelda to Peter (101CH).

*Extract 6: 101VRS#1 "Line ringing." (00:01:25 – 00:01:40)*

	<b>101CH - Peter</b>	<b>VRS Interpreter - Imelda</b>	<b>Citizen - Caterina</b>
1	((Line rings))	((Presses call button/Cit))  Line is ringing ((Adjusts headset/Cit))	((Nods/Int))

		((Nods/Cit)) Line ringing.	
2	<i>Good morning Police Scotland how can I help? (3.0)</i>	((Looks towards bottom right corner of screen/Cit))  Good morning Scot- Police Scotland <i>Oh</i> how can I help? <i>hello there good morning, I'm just letting you know that you have a deaf callerperson here on line this morning speaking to you through a sign language interpreter. My name is Imelda and I'm going to be interpreting the call for you both okay?</i>	((Watches screen/Int))
3	<i>Yeah, that's no problem great thanks. (5.0)</i>	((Looks towards screen/Cit)) Okay he is happy to start, please explain the reason for your call.	
4	<i>Hi, good morning, Police Scotland how can I help? (71.0)</i>	Good morning police Scotland how can I help? ((Nods/Cit)) Go ahead.	((Nods/Int))

Imelda's capacity and willingness to assume a variety of positions increased drastically compared to her initial opening with Caterina. The first positioning move from Imelda was a brief 'IT management' (row 1), where Imelda aligned to her computer and manually instructed the platform to connect the call to the 101 helpline. The next positioning shift was towards Caterina as 'commentator' (row 1), "Line ringing". The next positioning shift (row 2) was to 'language mediator' (the main moral focus) as she conveyed Peter's introduction "Good morning Scot- Police Scotland *Oh* how can I help?". It was at this junction that Imelda then re-positioned herself as 'call-handler/management' and communicated the handover to Peter (row 2). During this transfer, Caterina was positioned as 'observer' (row 2). Caterina accepted this observer status until she received her cue to begin speaking.

Imelda handled the dual connection by using code-blending, speaking and partially signing (see section 5.9.4). The use of code-blending was strategic and meant Caterina was included in Imelda's management of the handover. Code-blending during the handover phase of a VRS call has consistently been observed in VRS studies in the US (Marks, 2015), Sweden (Warnicke, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016) and internationally (Napier et al., 2018).

Imelda's opening 'call co-ordinator/call management' social and task positioning placed Peter as the 'learner'. Imelda supplied a description of the service, which was delivered in a paced and measured style (row 2), "*hello there good morning, I'm just letting you know that you have a deaf caller person here on line this morning speaking to you through a sign language interpreter. My name is Imelda and I'm going to be interpreting the call for you both okay?*" Peter's learner position was sanctioned through his quiet listening behaviour (perlocutionary force). Peter could not directly see the VRS configuration and appeared to be aware of his need to listen and learn about the shared epistemic stance between Imelda and Caterina. Peter consented to the VRS arrangement (row 3), "*Yeah, that's no problem great thanks*" and followed with an institutional moral 'public service' positioning, knowing that it would be interpreted by Imelda (row 4), "*Hi, good morning, Police Scotland how can I help?*" Peter did not ask if it was okay to begin speaking; he somehow recognised that it was his turn to speak and moved straight into introducing the call (institutional moral position).

There were silent pauses of three to five seconds between Imelda and Peter's interactive turns, which did not appear to unsettle Peter's approach to managing the call. Peter was not able to see Imelda or Caterina actively signing to each other during these transitions. In fact, after Peter's initial introduction (row 4), he did not speak for another seventy-one seconds. Peter stepped back and let the interpreter-mediated call unfold until he was clear it was his turn to speak. This was clear example of an emergent approach. At this early stage Peter's emergent position was about learning how to place himself in the call, this was not purely a co-operative move. The benefit of this emergent style meant Imelda was not pressured to tend to Peter's needs, but free to concentrate on how to retell Caterina's story. This notion of an emergent approach to handling VRS calls is discussed further in section 6.6.2.

In the post-simulation focus group, Peter explained that he would typically stand back and allow callers to speak for lengthy periods and he would deliberately not interrupt the citizen caller. By doing this, the citizen was given space to recall details about their complaint or request. Peter was aware that it could take time for callers to explain what they needed. Another reason Peter stood back for lengthy periods was because he was becoming aware of the triadic nature of the call. This included the need for Imelda and Caterina to hold side discussions in BSL. Peter trusted Imelda to be working with him, to retrieve essential details for Caterina's call. Peter explained how his concern was to structure his questions by avoiding lengthy or conflated sentences, and to remember what

questions to ask once it was his turn to speak. This final comment relates to Herbert's (1997) normative order of competency (section 4.7), demonstrating an awareness of how to communicate with another professional and not obstruct their ability to function.

#### 6.4.2 101VRS#3 – Handover (Ivan & Paula)

Earlier it was explained that Charles assumed control of his call by instructing Ivan to call the police “Right, can you call the police?” (section 6.3.2). Charles’ instruction established a functional relationship with Ivan. Extract 7 is lengthier than the two other examples due to the confusion of Paula’s, the 101CH, and the need to clarify who was speaking and how the VRS call was to be facilitated. Extract 7 begins when Paula joined the call. Paula has handled calls from deaf people in the past, including text-relay calls (the UK service is known as Typetalk) and more recently a call from a deaf citizen who communicated via their hearing work colleague. In this recent call experience, the hearing colleague spoke on the deaf person’s behalf and communicated with his colleague via lip-reading.

Extract 7: 101VRS#3 “We’re through, it’s a lady.” (00:00:52 - 00:02:10)

	101CH - Paula	VRS Interpreter - Ivan	Citizen - Charles
1	<i>Good afternoon Police Scotland how can I help?</i>	Calling now.	Okay. ((watches screen/Int))
2	<i>Hello?</i>	We’re through, its accepted. >it’s a lady, good afternoon Police Scotland how can I help<	
3		>Hello, <i>good aft-ernoon hello good afternoon this is SignVideo</i> , we’re a <i>translation service for your deaf callers person. One of them is on my screen video-link, I shall translate the call for you</i> < (1.0) Go on.	Hel-
4	<i>Right okay, that’s fine.</i>	>Okay, so the caller is saying his name is er Charles Robinson.< ((nods/cit))	Okay, my name is C.H.A.R.L.E.S. R.son. R.O.B.I.N.S.O.N.
5	<i>Right okay and the caller is going to come on the line now?</i>	Okay* Yeah he’s on the line now, yes.	I have my own-huh?
6			What was that? What was that**?
7	<i>That’s fine. Thank you.</i>	Checking if you were on the videolink now and that I can see you, which I can. <i>Yes he’s there on my screen now.</i>	((watches screen/int))  Yes, yes, yes I am.
8	<i>Right okay, good afternoon Police Scotland how can I help?</i>	So, good afternoon* Police Scotland how can I help you?	I-**



9	<p><i>Hi there-</i></p> <p><i>Right that's absolutely fine-</i></p>	<p><i>Okay so, sorry &gt;there's a little delay in translation because I'm reading what the signer is saying.&lt; He's saying this happened with regards to his property. ((open-closed hands/cit)) His bike has been damaged. His push bike has been damaged er, his front wheel has been pushed through punched. Erm he's saying-</i></p>	<p>Okay, I've had four serious things happen to me, to my home. They were, my pedal bike was outside and has been badly damaged, the front wheel is bent, I don't know how, and the second thing hang on I can't remember ((looks away to phone)).</p> <p>Egg have been thrown at my windows-</p>
10	<p><i>Is this a text-relay call, sorry?</i></p>	<p>She is clarifying and asking if this is an SMS or signed call? She wants to know which.</p>	<p>((watches screen/int))</p>
11	<p><i>Right-</i></p>	<p><i>Okay this is <b>signed</b>, this call is signed. So I can <b>see</b> the <b>customer</b>. Erm, well the <b>client</b> on my screen so everything <b>signed</b> I'm <b>translating</b> into voice. Everything that you <b>speak</b> I'm translating in to <b>sign</b> for <b>him</b>. So I can <b>see</b>~ the <b>person</b>.</i></p>	<p>I trying to call 101, I used this ((points to screen)) to call the 101 service in BSL.</p> <p>Okay.</p>
12	<p><i>That's absolutely fine. Can you confirm the contact number for me please?</i></p>	<p>She has asked me "what's their number?"</p>	<p>Are you talking- Are you talking to me or are you talking to the police? Who you talking to?*</p>
13	<p><i>The caller's contact number yes.</i></p>	<p><i>Do you <b>mean</b> the caller's contact number?</i></p>	<p>((watches screen/Int))</p>
14		<p>She wants to know what's your~ contact number is please.</p>	

Ivan's first positioning move was 'commentator' and 'language mediator', aligning his focus towards Charles (row 1 & 2). Ivan described a female voice receiving the 101 call. The subsequent positioning move was 'call co-ordinator/management' and he utilised a similar code-blending tactic to Imelda. The quality (rapid speech) of explanation provided by Ivan to Paula (101CH) was again process driven and less about forming a mutual partnership, "Hello, *good aft-ernoon hello good afternoon this is **SignVideo**, we're a translation service for [sound breaks] deaf callers person. One of them is on my screen video-link, I shall **translate** the call for you over to you (refers to citizen).*" Ivan described his service as a "translation service" and that he can see the person on his screen. The speed of delivery and time taken to explain the service was rushed in comparison to Imelda or Irving (section 6.4.1 and 6.4.3). Ivan also assumed a partial social and task positioning move by directing the

next turn to Charles without Paula's knowledge or consent. Ivan's sanctioning of turns was disrupted by Paula's accountive positioning move (row 5) "*Right okay and the caller is going to come on the line now?*" Ivan was expecting Paula to assume a performative positioning move, as listener to Charles' story-telling. Since Paula had not consented to interactive turn, the interpreted aspect of the call, nor fully understood her shared rights and duties, she was unable to assume the type of position that allowed the call to progress onto the next episode. Paula's request for clarification remained tied to the previous episode, establishing and introducing the VRS service.

Paula's confusion further complicated the flow of the call. Paula was expecting to hear another person's voice (Charles). Paula could not understand why only Ivan's voice was heard. Paula asked if the caller was coming on the line (row 5). Paula sought a second clarification to determine the type of telecommunication relay service facilitating the call, "*is this a text-relay call? Sorry*" (row 10). Paula's confusion could have come from Ivan's "*translation service*" (row 3) description. Ivan created further confusion by misinterpreting Paula's question "*is this a text-relay call? Sorry*" (row 18) as "... this is an SMS or signed call?" (row 11). Ivan's rushed handling of the introduction contributed to a number of misunderstanding.

Looking at how Ivan tried to manage the opening, his first objective was to persuade Paula to move into her formal '101 call-handler' position by stating "*yes he is on the line*". Ivan's re-positioning move was unsuccessful, as conceptually Paula was asking for further guidance (row 5 & 10). Ivan throughout this interaction committed himself to a process driven approach, favouring expediency and the detached translator mode. Ivan appeared reluctant to assume a 'provider of service' position and directly manage Charles' demands, e.g. by explaining to Charles why his demand could not be met.

In the post-call discussion, Paula explained her initial confusion because of her recent experience in assisting a deaf person where a work colleague facilitated parts of the call. Paula explained how she interacted directly with the hearing work colleague. The deaf person participated by lip-reading the work colleague. In this context, Paula found the previous call to be more 'fluid'. Paula explained that the colleague was familiar with the deaf person and able to explain some aspects of the incident without having to relay in full her questions. Based on this recent experience, her expectations clashed with the

reality of the current simulation. Ivan and Charles were unfamiliar to each other; furthermore, Ivan did not have the moral capacity to speak on Charles' behalf.

Paula, who was unsure of the current circumstances, could also be seen to favour assuming the normative orders of competency and bureaucracy, where being fast and efficient took precedent. Paula's process driven approach meant she was less interested in Charles' story and safety. Paula did not pick up or follow through with Charles' distressed account of vandalism and destruction (row 9) "Okay, I've had four serious things happen to me, to my home. They were, my pedal bike was outside and has been badly damaged, the front wheel is bent, I don't know how, and the second thing hang on I can't remember ((looks away to phone)). Egg has been thrown at my windows-". To do so would allow the 101 interaction to emerge through the citizen's account. Instead, she asks Charles to provide his phone number (row 12) "*That's absolutely fine. Can you confirm the contact phone number for me please?*".

Ivan, upon reflection, felt the opening of the call could have been handled differently had he taken more time to explain the configuration and concept of the service, which he does manage later in the call (in section 6.6.1). Ivan recognised how the flow of the call improved once he had focused on communicating his current circumstances, his practical epistemology. Once Paula understood the environment and context in which Ivan and Charles were communicating with one another, she could conceptualise her rights and duties in the broader context. This also saw Paula modify her approach by demonstrating her ability, or competency, to work with another professional and vocalise concerns for Charles' safety (see section 6.6.1).

Charles explained that he felt a level of extra burden (or rights and duties) in managing and monitoring the interpreter's performance because he was unfamiliar with the interpreter. Charles' sought to control how Ivan operated by manipulating how Ivan facilitated his call. Charles described watching the interpreter's lips closely and monitoring what was being conveyed to the 101CH. This cautious approach to managing the interpreter was based on past experiences where matters reported to the police had been incorrectly interpreted, which led to incorrect facts being recorded.

Finally, unlike other citizen participants, Charles was confused by Ivan's code-blending strategy and questioned who Ivan was speaking to (row 12) "Are you talking- Are you talking to me or are you talking to the police? Who you talking to?" The opening of the call was

problematic at every turn and Charles' confusion with Ivan's use of code-blending may have been an outcome of poor call management as opposed to the use of code-blending. As the call progresses Charles does not take issue with Ivan's strategic use of code-blending.

### 6.4.3 101VRS#4 – Handover (Irving & Patrick)

Patrick who answered the 101VRS call had never received an interpreted call in the past. Like Peter (101VRS#1), Patrick quickly recognised his rights and duties and how to adjust his call handling approach.

Extract 8: 101VRS#4 "Would you like my address details?" (00:01:59 – 00:02:38)

	101CH - Patrick	VRS Interpreter - Irving	Citizen - Chloe
1	((Line rings))	Line is ringing ((looks away and back at screen/Cit))	((watches screen/Int))
2	<i>Good afternoon Police Scotland how can I help you?</i>  <i>Hi here</i>	<i>Hi good** afternoon my name's Irving I'm a sign language interpreter from SignVideo over to you I've got a hi, good afternoon, I've got a deaf BSL lady in front of me, a Chloe Do- ((leans forward/cit)) Dalpif. D. E. W.O.L.F. ((Nods/Cit)). Okay?</i>	This is C.H.L.O.E D.E.W.O.L.F. D~.E~.W~.O~.L~.F~.
3	<i>Yep.</i>	Over to you, <i>okay</i>  <i>And, can... Ee.... Would you like some background?</i>	Okay. Would you like me to give my address details?
4	<i>Of course yes please.</i>	Please, yes please.  <i>Could I report an incident well first of all I've got my- would you like my personal details first of all?</i>	I want to repo- I want to report- I want to report an incident but first I'd like to give you my personal details.  O:kay.
5	<i>That's fine can I take your telephone number first please.</i>		

Irving's style of introducing Patrick to the 101VRS call resembled the approach taken by Imelda<sup>20</sup>. Like Imelda, Irving used code-blending strategies to simultaneously explain the service to the 101CH, thus placing the citizen in 'stand-by/observer' position. Irving's social positioning move sought to prepare Patrick for the interpreted nature of the call by indicating the caller's deafness and language use as 'sign language' (row 2). These were

<sup>20</sup> Isabela, who was the interpreter for 101VRS#2, also used code-blending when introducing the service.

clues passed on to Patrick in the hope that he understood how this was an atypical call. Unlike Imelda, Irving did not provide space for Patrick to confirm his understanding of the VRS service. Instead, Irving sanctioned Chloe to take the next turn without consulting Patrick. Without audio or visual clues, Patrick had no knowledge that the interpreter had produced a task positioning move that requires his co-operation.

Chloe was unlike other citizen callers we have seen in this study. Chloe deliberately self-positioned, assuming a proactive and pragmatic approach towards her introduction. Chloe anticipated the call handling process by offering her personal details first before discussing the incident (row 3). Chloe also detected Irving's interpretation error when he said "*Would you like some background?*" (row 3); her Scottish sign for "ADDRESS" resembles a sign for "BACKGROUND". Instead of overtly correcting Irving's mistake, Chloe incorporated Irving's interpretation error into her next response (row 3) "I would like to report an incident but first I'd like to give you my personal details". The decision to not correct Irving's misinterpretation but to rework Irving's interpretation was another example where the citizen manipulates how the interpreter functions. Chloe was not intentionally seeking to restrict the interpreters moral field, as seen with Charles, but to discreetly modify her own rights and duties, becoming Irvings collaborator, without disrupting or alerting Irving to his error.

Chloe pre-empted the questions Patrick was likely to ask, taking a proactive stance regarding how her needs were documented; this approach can be seen throughout her call (see section 6.7.1). In the post-simulation discussion, Chloe acknowledged that she was mindful of her language use, how she articulated her signs and communicated via a 2D format. Not only was Chloe reflecting on the production of her signs may appear unclear via video-link, she also explained how she monitored Irving's understanding. Chloe saw it as necessary to work with the interpreter to enable them to render her story. Chloe's reflections is an underreported example of the ways in which the lay-person, the citizen, actively contributes to the co-venture by monitoring and assisting the interpreter.

#### **6.4.4 Summary of handover**

When receiving a 101VRS call, the 101CH finds themselves in the unusual position of learning two sets of epistemologies: the interpreter's and the citizen's. This disrupts and challenges how a 101CH assesses and moves forward to control the interaction. A

process driven approach from interpreters appears to be somewhat unreceptive to interventions from a 101CH who may ask questions about the VRS configuration or caller. An emergent approach, as seen in 101VRS#1, produced a more collaborative environment where the time taken to understand each other's perspectives benefited the on-going flow of the call. The emergent approach provided the space for social and task positioning moves to be assumed by any one of the participants.

Spinolo et al. (2018, p. 56) described these opening moments as being 'dyadic interactions', where the (spoken language) interpreter engaged with one of the participants to introduce or establish a need for the call. With telephone interpreted interactions, a foreign citizen can hear, but not necessarily understand, that another conversation is taking place between the 101CH and interpreter. Given that this is not the case in a VRS call, the interpreter may use code-blending as a way of opening the dyadic interaction with the 101CH to the citizen, i.e. as a way of signalling that another conversation was in play. The interpreter's attention was aligned to both the citizen and 101CH. This may have been a strategy to speed up the call, emulating the 'telephone experience', and/or to promote inclusion. Although the interactions may be concentrated between two participants, I would question if they were truly dyadic. The participants were mindful of the third participant and their threshold for exclusion. The third participant may not be directly involved but is sanctioning their exclusion from the side interaction. The negotiated presence of the third participant is what make the dyadic more like a triadic.

Interestingly, the opening of the call demonstrated the ambiguity around what rights or duties one should occupy. The interpreter was not fully confident of their rights and duties, nor did the interpreter know in what way the PPs will struggle in using their service, e.g. what kind of educating, or explanation, is required. The ambiguity for the PPs arises because neither really know how to position oneself until the interpreter has provided a response. Each PP relies on the interpreter's guidance on what kind of positioning to assume. The interpreters' use of social task positioning moves, e.g. explaining the VRS service and their duty to interpret the call, can feed into conceptualising what kind of positioning one should assume. Three out of four interpreters could be seen to use social and task positioning to quickly prepare the 101CH with the atypical arrangement and the interactive challenges that may come.

## 6.5 Identification “...can I take your address please?” (Irving, Patrick and Chloe 101VRS#4)

Across all four interactions the caller’s identity was requested by the 101CH (phase iv: k) and processed onto the police database (OPP). The focus on obtaining the citizen’s personal details before reviewing the purpose of their call was both a bureaucratic objective and a safety concern. In documenting the citizen’s background, both the 101CH and the interpreter worked together to ensure an accurate record was captured. The interactive process would typically involve eliciting forename, surname, contact telephone number and home address. SignVideo provides a chat facility that can be used by the citizen to pass on their personal details for the interpreter to read aloud to the 101CH. None of the citizens used the chat function, however, and nor did the interpreters prompt the citizen to use this facility. Extract 9 from 101VRS#4 illustrates how the citizen’s personal details were transferred via the interpreting service. It was rare for personal details to be transferred accurately in the first instance and it was often a collective exercise.

Extract 9: 101VRS#4 “...can I take your address please?” (00:07:46 – 00:08:22)

	101CH - Patrick	VRS Interpreter - Irving	Citizen - Chloe
1	<i>Yeah no problem, can I take your address please?</i>	I can sort that. Can I have your address please? <i>Yes it's: (.) flat three stroke two ((nods/Cit)).</i>	Yes fine, erm it's flat three stroke two. Three stroke two yes.
2	<i>Flat three stroke two.</i>	I've recorded flat three stroke two. <i>I'm just trying to think of the name of the building R. U. T. H. S. L. I. N. R.U-</i>	Thirty-nine, oh sorry ((looks away)) I'm trying to remember the name of the building. ((looks back/Int)) Rothslin
3	<i>R. U. T. H. S. L. I. N.</i>	((head tilt/Cit))	R- R. O... T. H. S. L. I. N.
4		<i>I beg your pardon it's R. O. T. H. Roth.</i>	R- R. O. T. H. S- L. I. R.O.T.H.S.L.I.N
5	<i>Roth, R. O. T. H. okay?</i>	((Nods/Cit)) R. O. T. H. and then?	Do you need that again? ((leans forward/Int))
6		<i>And then that's R. S. L. I. N.</i>	S. L. I. N.**
7	<i>Rothslin</i>	<i>Rothslin.</i> ((Nods/Cit))	((nods/Int)) Rothslin House
8	<i>And whereabouts is that?</i>	<i>House and that's Rothslin House. I think that's the name of the building Rothslin House.</i>	Rothslin House. That's the building name
9	<i>Yeah.</i>	Where, where is that?  <i>And that is: number thirty-nine by the way.</i>	Number  Thirty-nine** .

10	<i>Thirty-nine</i>  <i>Chapel street</i>	<i>And its...</i> <i>Chapel, Chapel (nods) street.</i>	Chapel, Chapel, Church, yes that's it, street. Correct.
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The recording of the citizen's personal details was highly procedural. 101CHs are as likely as the interpreter to make the mistakes (e.g. misspelling) and share a similar obligations to consult and check. The checking, confirming and repair work led by the 101CH enabled the interpreter to make corrections that benefited their own interpretation. These back-and-forth exchanges can serve as an overall indicator of the communication partnership between the interpreter and 101CH.

Irving, like other interpreters, provided visual clues (accountive and reflexive positioning) to communicate comprehension or uncertainty, including head nods, head tilts, leaning forwards and code-blending. Code-blending was a way of repeating Irving's understanding to Chloe. These prompts were highly collaborative positioning moves. For example, Irving demonstrated his uncertainty by carefully spelling the building name (row 2), "*I'm just trying to think of the name of the building R. U. T. H. S. L. I. N.*" Irving got as far as the second letter when Chloe spotted his mistake (row 3). In this brief exchange Chloe assumed a co-constructor (performative and moral) position and worked with Irving to produce his interpretation.

Chloe did not solely wait for Irving to indicate when to assist; she also monitored Irving's progress. Chloe confirmed Irving's interpretation in rows 1 and 10 with a "yes" or "that's correct" feedback. Chloe also asked Irving if he needs assistance, such as the spelling of her building again (row 5), "Do you need that again?" Finally in row 10, Chloe continued to offer support by providing two different signs for 'Chapel' and then 'Church' followed by the spelling of the street. Chloe demonstrated a higher level of collaboration than the other citizen participants.

## 6.6 Complaint/Request

The complaint/request phase (phase iv: 1) is where the citizen's story is pieced together and where lines for further inquiry become identified. The citizen would be invited to retell their version of events, guided by the 101CH questions. The 101CH would attempt to focus the citizen's story-telling on matters that were of relevance to the police; this



means reflecting on the citizen's story-telling approach and managing their telephone behaviour (translation). The 101CH may comment on turn-taking, explain the kind of information required of the citizen, and clarify their understanding of the citizen's version of events (problematization and interessement). The citizen may reflect on their own interactive approach based on the 101CH's feedback and adapt how they handle their own communication. The 101CH's objective is to extract and record details from the citizen and enter this into the police network. The call cannot progress to the remedy stage until the 101CH is able to complete their intelligence gathering (OPP, mobilisation and enrolment).

In 101VRS calls, the interpreter will be observing and reflecting on the two contrasting perspectives (the citizen's and 101CH's), finding ways to reflect both parties whilst managing turn-taking, resolving communication issues (such as comprehension of meaning and developing an interpretation), and interference from technology. At this stage of the analysis, the citizen and 101CH will have developed different levels of awareness and understanding of how to interact via the VRS platform. The interpreter may be forced to intervene and tend to the citizen's or 101CH's understanding of the VRS and ability to work within the communication arrangement. The following extracts discuss how positioning/re-positioning moves were negotiated to benefit the flow of the call and how issues around general communication were resolved.

#### **6.6.1 Process driven approach “*And he advises that his house has been broken into, is that correct?*” (Paula 101VRS#3)**

Paula's initial approach to managing the VRS call was to try and direct the call on her terms as opposed to allowing Charles' story to emerge his way. Charles approached his VRS interaction with an expectation that Ivan could render his utterances without question. Charles also expected Paula to assume an accountive and reflexive position, allowing his story to be put forward. Ivan appeared reluctant to interfere with Charles' approach, and appeared to remain fixed in his 'language mediator' position. The outcome of this conflict of objectives meant that the first seven minutes of the call contained a string of misalignments of rights and duties, creating an environment where no one seemed to be in control of the interaction.

Extract 10: 101VRS#3 "And he advises that his house has  
been broken into, is that correct?" (00:03:35 – 00:04:48)

	101CH – Paula	VRS Interpreter - Ivan	Citizen - Charles
1	<i>And he advises that his house has been broken into, is that correct?</i>	So do you mean your house has been burgled, yes or no? What did you say sorry?	((watches screen/int))
2		<i>&gt;No, no, no&lt; he didn't say his house had been broken into. He's saying erm... something- (5.0 silence)</i>	No, no, no. ((looks away and back/Int)) What has happened is vandalism. It just happened. I can tell you what they are...
3		((waves for attention/Cit)) V? What was that V? V? What did you mean? Sorry. (4.0 silence)	I took photos ((leans forward/Int)) ((leans back/Int))
4	<i>not (.) a problem</i> <i>Ri(.)ght</i> <i>right-</i> <i>right is this ongoing at present? Or when did this happen?</i>	((leans forward/Cit))  ((leans back/Cit)) <i>Sorry things outside his house has been vandalised, I beg your pardon.</i>  <i>So- so his push bike has had erm one of the wheels broken and er then he's had eggs thrown at the property, so it's all outside the property, and he's also saying somebody has been daubing graffiti erm bad words such as cock~ and drawing a picture of a cock he describes er and erm and he mentions something about black cock and so. So there's a lot (muffled speech)</i>	Vandalism. It just happened. My property and things have been damaged, like my push bike, my push bike*, bike*, the front wheel has been buckled and I've also had ((brief look away at phone/Int)) with my house (.)  someone* threw eggs at my window, there is egg all over my window, and ((glances at phone/Int)) someone has sprayed graffiti, graffiti and drawn a giant cock with sperm ejaculating from it ((looks at the phone/Int)). It says, it says, "big black cock". I've no idea what this is about.  ((looks at the phone/Int)).
5		Do you mean when this happen, was it some time ago?	Today!
6	<i>Right.</i>	<i>It happened today he's saying. Erm well &gt;actually he was in bed&lt; (.) last night and woke up and obviously saw what was outside of the property not expecting to see that when he woke up for sure.</i>	Yest- Yesterday I went to bed and woke up this morning to find this, I did not expect this.
7	<i>Mmm no understandably, can you ask him if he is at home at the moment?</i>	Mmm I understand, wow. Can I ask, where are you? Are you at home or in a different place?	

In Extract 10, Paula was focused on retrieving positive or negative answers. Once Paula had collected the answer she needed, Paula then attempted to move the interaction onto the next question, retaining her process driven approach (rows 4 & 6). Paula's efforts to move towards information gathering were unsuccessful because she had not considered the time lag needed for Ivan to complete his interpretation. Ivan sought to occupy a detached translator type position. Ivan did not sanction Paula's claim to continue asking questions and remained aligned towards Charles. Ivan did not communicate nor explain why he was unable to sanction Paula's turn to speak. Although Paula's interventions were unsuccessful, she did not push her agenda on Ivan (or Charles). Paula recognised it was not time to resume her performative questioning position and remained in the reflexive position, i.e. as someone listening and diagnosing the matter. The issue was that Paula's approach neither accommodated Ivan's time lag nor permitted Charles' story to emerge.

Part of the issue with Paula's initial approach was her incomplete and developing understanding of the VRS configuration. This meant Paula was only aware of her narrow moral position as diagnosing and assisting the caller. Paula was not aware of her broader moral position of communicating via Ivan. Surprisingly, Paula did not demonstrate any sympathy or acknowledge the emotional harm Charles may be currently feeling. As explained earlier, Ivan raced through his explanation of the VRS configuration. Ivan repeatedly used the term "*translation*" as opposed to "interpretation service", combined with descriptions like "*I'm reading what the signer's saying*" or how Charles is "*spelling out... Lapwing Oban*" (Charles actually spelled his street address as "Lapwing Oval"). Ivan's description of signing as "*spelling out...*" added to Paula's confusion, prompting her to ask further questions about the VRS; see Extract 11.

Extract 11: 101VRS#3 "So you are lipreading-" (00:06:00 – 00:06:43)

	101CH – Paula	VRS Interpreter - Ivan	Citizen - Charles
1	<i>Right okay. So that's fine. So you are lipreading- you are- the male is spelling things out to you, is that correct?</i>	Okay so~ that means- (.) ((looks away and back/Cit)) Are you* you* spelling- ((looks down and away)) <i>what do you mean by spell?</i>	((watches screen/Int))
2	<i>So (.) how is he communicating with you, you can see him?</i>	((looks at screen/Cit)) She's asked me to clarify please. She has asked if I am spelling, how we are communicating with each other. How we communicate.	((Nod:))



as process driven or akin to the detached interpreter mode. Ivan placed greater emphasis on relaying talk, communicating in a mixture of first and third person, as opposed to coordinating talk. Ivan did not encourage either Paula or Charles to step back and learn what was required of them to enable communication. Although Paula eventually understood the VRS arrangement, she still communicated at a fast pace, talked over Ivan (or Charles) and demonstrated minimal sympathy for Charles' situation. It is not clear in what way Ivan's use of third person when referring to Charles contributed to this detached behaviour. Ivan later explained in the post-call discussion that using third person to refer to Charles was an intentional strategy to position himself alongside Paula and to act as her informant. Hale (2007) has been critical of interpreters who overuse the third person as she argues that it does not allow either PP to engage in direct talk with one another. The interpreter's use of third person also risks taking over the PP's story-telling.

The majority of these bilingual workers either think that they interpret accurately or argue that the alterations are necessary to facilitate better communication, to save the doctor's time or to provide the patients with more thorough information about their condition. However, as the examples below show, communication is often hindered rather than improved by such alteration. (Hale, 2007, p. 44)

According to Hale (2007) the interpreter's use of third person does not improve accuracy but has the potential to create more confusion, as seen in the example above.

Ivan sought to be expedient but found himself challenged by conflicting understandings of rights and duties. Interestingly, Ivan's use of third person was routinely used when working into English. In the VRI data set, the same occurred with two other interpreters: CustodyVRI#2 and CustodyVRI#3. According to Angermeyer (2009), interpreters' strategic use of third person would tend to be directed towards the citizen associated with the linguistic minority. An interpreter who came from the same cultural-linguistic background might use third-person as a way to explain what was happening in the courtroom and to demonstrate their sympathy towards the citizen. Conversely, in this study, the use of third-person in the VRS context was to show alignment with the police, implicitly making the 101CH aware of the interpreter's non-relationship with the citizen.

### 6.6.2 Emergent practices – (Peter 101VRS#1)

Peter's main approach to dealing with the incoming VRS call was to allow Caterina's story to emerge. As Caterina recounted her story (rows 2 & 3), Peter actively populated the Storm Unity or Aspire database, assuming a reflexive and performative position. A reflexive and performative position is where the 101CH listens to the civilian's story as part of an effort to understand the citizen's need and records this information onto the police network. Peter would remain silent for lengthy periods waiting for the interpretation to come to a conclusion before offering a follow-up response. This stand-back emergent approach also included times when Imelda was checking or asking Caterina to repeat her story. Imelda would create task positioning moves to explain why she had to intervene. Each task positioning move included a social positioning move, an explanation to both participants of the rights and duties expected in return. Peter would wait for up to sixteen seconds in silence (row 3), effectively on hold, while Imelda and Caterina collectively rebuilt the message to be interpreted, as seen in Extract 12.

Extract 12: 101VRS#1 "(16 seconds silence)" (00:05:18 – 00:04:51)

	101CH - Peter	VRS Interpreter - Imelda	Citizen - Caterina
1	<i>Hmh.</i> ((4 seconds silence))	<i>Sorry just bear with me again, for one moment, the interpreter just needs to clarify- something see** er due to the &gt;poor picture&lt;. I couldn't clear, so later, what happened after, what did you say? ((Nods/Cit))</i>	Erm- ((leans forward/Int))
2	<i>Aha</i>  ((16 seconds silence))	<i>Later on when I got home</i>  <i>Erm ((Nod/Cit))</i>  <i>Th-((Nods/Cit))</i>	Okay, so I it's possible they went home where the mother later comforted him – <u>like hugged, hugged him.</u>  Later-
3		So it was the boy, you said, who got home and the mother comforted him, right?	I'm assuming she did. I went home but also I caught this on my phone. I have proof <u>because I filmed it on my phone</u> , so I have proof.
4		<i>((deep breath/Cit)) Um, I actually caught some of this on video as- as proof whilst I was there so I have that~.</i>	

Peter's emergent approach to the interaction saw almost no conflict with turn taking and empowered Imelda to take her time to resolve communication issues, which is discussed further in the next subsection. Peter's stand-by was a consensual and intentional decision. Peter's acceptance therefore sanctioned Imelda's request to hold a side conversation.

### 6.6.3 Communicating tasks: "I need to ask the caller to repeat that." (Imelda 101VRS#1)

101VRS#1 was the only VRS call with technical interference. In the early stages of the call Imelda would intervene by code-blending to simultaneously announce to Peter and Caterina a technical problem (row 2), "*Just bear with me for **one moment**, this is the interpreter speaking I just need to ask the cust-caller to repeat that* I didn't catch what you said, the picture went blurry. You saw, was it a child, tell me?" This was another example of an interpreter's task positioning move. For Peter, he understood this to mean wait and stand-by, while Caterina functioned as the co-constructor and assisted Imelda to formulate an interpretation.

Extract 13: 101VRS#1 "I need to ask the caller to repeat that." (00:03:21 – 00:04:11)

	101CH - Peter	VRS Interpreter - Imelda	Citizen - Caterina
1		<p><i>Okay, hello there good morning, erm, I would &lt;like to raise er&gt; something with you this morning. It- it's a case of physical abuse~.</i></p> <p><i>&lt;Erm, so:&gt;, what happened was that this morning &lt;I was in the Co-op&gt; (.) and er (.) it's in my local area where I do my shopping, &lt;and (.) I saw (1.0) something-&gt;</i></p>	<p><u>Good morning I would like to raise with you a <u>physical abuse incident</u>.</u></p> <p><u>((5.0)) ((watches screen/Int)).</u></p> <p><u>Erm, so... today this morning I was in the Co-op (.) my local branch round the corner where I do my shopping. (.) I saw a <u>little boy</u> who was just (.) like (.) joking around and his mum, his m-</u></p>
2		<p><i>Just bear with me for <b>one moment</b>, this is the interpreter speaking I just need to ask the cust-caller to repeat that. I didn't catch what you said, the picture went blurry. You saw, was it a child, tell me?</i></p>	<p>Oh oh!</p>
3		<p><i>Yes, so I saw a child, a boy. &lt; and em.. I'd say they looked about five~&gt;.</i></p>	<p>Yes, so I saw a child, a boy (1.0) ((Nods/Int)) And erm, I'd say he looked &lt;about&gt; five.</p>

By explaining (on the record) what the technical or communicative problem was, this created a self-other positioning (or social positioning) context where the other participants

were called on to assist Imelda with resolving the communication problem. Below are further examples of how Imelda conveyed her need.

00:04:29 – 00:04:38	<i>sorry again, this is Imelda the interpreter, I just need to <b>ask explain</b> the caller to <b>repeat something</b> because my <b>picture</b> went a little bit <b>blurry unfortunately</b>. Please, so you saw the boy hitting someone then what happened? Go on.</i>
00:05:18– 00:05:28	<i>Sorry just bear with me again, for one moment, the interpreter just needs to clarify something due to the poor picture. Sorry I couldn't see what you said, so later, what happened next? What did you say?</i>
00:05:58– 00:06:03	<i>... but I just need to clarify <b>one part</b> of what the caller was saying about when the boy went <b>home</b>. So the boy went home...</i>
00:06:56– 00:07:05	<i>...and if we could <b>check the number back please</b>, because there was a little bit of <b>blurring</b> at the start when the caller gave the <b>number</b>. So please can we check your number, my screen went blurry.</i>
00:08:04– 00:08:11	<i>I'm just going to go back have to ask the <b>caller</b> to repeat that again because I just has a little bit of <b>interference on my screen</b>. Could you please repeat your post code please.</i>
00:015:35– 00:15:42	<i>Right, just, <b>one second</b> (nods) this is Imelda speaking I just need to clarify the description of the bag. Please clarify the bag was grey...</i>
00:16:28 – 16:58	<i>So I'd say that the boy... had er brown hair colour and he had a jumper or a top sorry that- that was stripy and I just need to clarify the colour, <b>just</b> bear with me... I'll just get the caller's attention as well. Okay so the boy had a stripy top yes, what was the colour? What is this (green) sign? Can you repeat?</i>
00:18:40 – 00:18:49	<i>... sorry I just need to clarify the height again, I had a little bit of interference on my screen so- One, Six your height was one six...?</i>
00:23:08 – 00:23:14	<i>Okay so the area name is, I'm just gonna ask the caller to repeat the spelling. Please could you repeat the spelling?</i>
23:30 – 00:23:41	<i>Sorry the interpreter is not familiar with the area she's just gonna ask her to clarify the spelling. Could you spell that again? I had some interference. Could you spell that again near the I...?</i>
00:26:10 – 00:26	<i>Sorry I have to ask the caller to repeat that I had a little bit of interference on my screen. Sorry there was interference, you said the boy looked fine and then?</i>

When a participant explained “I need...”, “I will...” or “I want...”, this type of move was classified as an intentional self-positioning, in which a person expresses his/her identity (Harré & Van Langenhove, 1999). Imelda, when performing these repair strategies, either through the use of code-blending or consecutively communicating the technical issue, enabled each side to understand what was required of them to move the call forward. This highlights the value of making both parties aware when an interpreter expresses a social and task positioning move. When asked in the focus group about her management style, Imelda acknowledged this was her standard approach to managing technical problems. As the call progressed, Imelda's use of code-blending was replaced by a consecutive approach to explaining and communicating the issue. Imelda's change in interaction management style may have been due to fatigue, because speaking and



signing may be more cognitively consuming. Alternatively, it could have been a sign of confidence and trust, indicating that Imelda was less concerned about leaving Peter to wait in silence since he had already demonstrated a willingness and understanding to wait and co-operate with Imelda.

Interestingly, Imelda, like the other interpreters, would assume responsibility for repairing any misunderstanding. The interpreters did not devolve this responsibility to the 101CH; for example, each interpreter could have said, “*my video-link was disrupted and I missed what Caterina said about the mother, could you (the 101CH) ask her to repeat?*” Imelda was asked why she did not devolve this responsibility to Peter. Imelda at first couldn’t explain why she adopted this kind of task positioning. Later Imelda justified her decision by stating that she saw it as her role to handle these aspects of the communication. She also assumed it was Peter’s first time in using this service and that this was not a typical experience for him. On this basis Imelda decided to take on this moral co-producer role to “assist with communication”. Peter agreed with Imelda’s decision and approach because he felt that 101CH were at a disadvantage since they do not have the same experience as VRS interpreters. Peter, who had been part of the 101/999 call handling service for eight months, had never received a call like this before (“it isn’t a common thing”) and he was mindful that someone new to working at the call centre might not fully understand how to manage a VRS call. Peter found Imelda’s approach to be helpful because she was aware that this was not a normal experience for a 101/999 call-handler and that an interpreter was “there as well as to get the information for us”. Imelda added that she was not only mindful of Peter’s experience but of his different epistemic stance. Peter could not see what Imelda saw; therefore it was necessary to establish the call configuration and to include details like “*on my screen I cannot see...*” or “*my screen is blurry*”. For Imelda, who described these verbal descriptions as “meta-commentary”, were regarded as critical to the success and sustainability of the call. Caterina described the experience of interacting via Imelda as “two in one”. What this meant for Caterina was that Imelda did not come across as just “the interpreter”, but as “the call-handler” as well. This suggests Caterina found Imelda’s strategy for this call as successful.

#### 6.6.4 Co-construction – “passed straight ahead the fire station” (Isabela, Colin and Paige 101VRS#2)

Colin, the citizen, was contacting the police as a concerned friend who wanted to report someone possibly missing. When asked for his friend’s address, Colin could not recall the street name but could describe how to reach the house. Paige, the 101CH, used her computer to bring up a local map and follow Colin’s directions to locate the correct street. Isabela, the interpreter mediating the directions, code-blended to ensure that she was providing the correct directions, accompanied by nods to Colin to confirm understanding (row 1 – 3): *And if you go passed straight ahead the fire station* (nods) *Yep. You go up* (nods) *to the end of that road. And then it’s just on the corner on the left* tucked to the left. Tucked to one side”. As Isabella interpreted the directions into English, she was also mirroring Colin’s BSL directional moves.

Extract 14: 101VRS#2 “passedstraight-ahead the fire station” (00:14:25 – 00:04:51)

	101CH - Paige	VRS Interpreter - Isabela	Citizen - Colin
1	<i>Yep</i>	<i>And if you go passedstraight-ahead** the fire station.</i> ((Nods/Cit)) <i>Yep. (2.0)</i>	you take the corner, turning right, turn right, pass the- pass the fire station**, which is first on the right (2.0)
2	<i>First on the right, okay.</i>	<i>And then its first on the turn right **that’s it there**?</i>	Go right to the end of the street**
3	<i>On the corner on the left.</i>	<i>You go up</i> ((Nods/Cit)) <i>to the end** of that road</i> ((Nods/Cit)) <i>And then it’s justtucked-to-the on the corner on the left tucked-to-the-left. Tucked to one side. ((Nods/Cit))</i>	where the curve is on the cul-de-sac, the curve, he lives just at the top right corner of the close.

Due to Isabela’s code-blending, Colin was able to corroborate the details Isabela had relayed onto Paige; Isabela was actively reporting back her interpretation. Isabela later admitted she was not fully aware of when she was code-blending but acknowledged that code-blending was a strategy to vet her performance, especially as Colin was using a different BSL dialect. Colin appreciated this inclusive approach; he felt he remained part of the interaction. Isabela felt her style of interacting was relaxed because it was a 101 call, which meant that she allowed herself to consult and ask questions to ensure she was correcting mistakes as opposed to rushing through what could have been an emergency call. Colin in his post-simulation interview made a similar comment to Catrina: “I felt

Isabela the interpreter was the police staff, I didn't feel you were my interpreter because of the way you relayed my messages. I really had felt I was talking to the police." This suggests code-blending among interpreters was well-received by citizen callers.

## 6.7 Reviewing details

Once the complaint/request had been relayed, the next objective was to review the complaint/request and retrieve specific details (phase v: m). The interpreters were able to participate in this emerging narrative where questions from the 101CH focused on checking facts. Typically, the questions posed by the 101CH were designed to retrieve a descriptive response, e.g. what colour was the person's hair? The revision of the citizen's story-line served as an opportunity for the interpreter to consult with the citizen and check their earlier interpretation. In some cases the interpreters offered options as a possible reply. In formal police interview settings this would not be permitted because it could be construed as coercing the citizen to provide a particular type of answer (Mulayim et al., 2014; Nakane, 2014). In the current context it could be legitimised as assisting the interpreter to familiarise themselves with a stranger's story as well as facilitating the 101CH's goal of gathering intelligence.

*Extract 15: 101VRS#1 Re-directing caller's focus "Do you know what the female was- what the female looked like at all?" (00:13:29 – 00:13:44)*

	<b>101CH - Peter</b>	<b>VRS Interpreter - Imelda</b>	<b>Citizen - Caterina</b>
1	<i>Do you know what the female was- what the female looked like at all? If you can start at the top and work your way down?</i>	Now, what did the lady, the mother, wear? What did she look like? Her face, body and so on. Start from the head and work your way down.	

Peter's (101VRS#1) first round of follow-up questions concentrated on the suspect's physical appearance (the mother who smacked her child in the Co-op). Imelda gave more precise examples to direct Caterina's response. Interpreter elaborations like this were common throughout the data, especially during the fact checking process. Imelda's expansions could not be described as a moral interpreting positioning move, but a personal positioning move. Imelda was functioning like a co-diagnostician, seeking detailed answers to assist the police with their investigation.

	<b>101CH - Paige</b>	<b>VRS Interpreter - Isabela</b>	<b>Citizen - Colin</b>
1	<i>A:nd is Michael been suicidal at all? Has he (.) self-harmed or anything like that before?</i>	((Looks away))((watches screen/Cit)) Mich-, <do you know if Michael has tried to> hurt himself maybe try to kill himself? Have you spotted anything like that?	I'm not sure what the place is called-  ((Nods/Int))
2		<i>Mmmm ((shakes head/Cit))</i>	No: Not that I am aware of.
3		<i>Not that I'm aware of.</i>	No:*
4		So he's never tried to hurt himself?	He has, no, no.
5		<i>Not that I'm aware of.</i>	
6	<i>No problem thank you.</i>		

Isabela, like Imelda, elaborated on the 101CH's questions. Isabela did this twice in Extract 16 (row 1), “do you know if he has tried to hurt himself maybe try to kill himself? Have you spotted anything like that?” and then added the question (row 2), “So he's never tried to hurt himself?”. The elaborations were effectively supporting the police to formulate questions that assisted them with their on-going work.

Following the call, Paige recounted that, like Peter, she structured her questions to be intentionally concise but clear. For Paige, she felt the design of her questions needed to be suited to the interpreting process. Paige was also mindful not to use jargon; this is a standard practice because jargon has the potential to antagonise people. Despite this effort to create clear and concise questions, the interpreters would intentionally expand and prompt the citizen to give a particular kind of answer, thus facilitating the 101CH objective.

The additions described here compare closely with Braun's (2017) micro-analysis of experienced and trained interpreters facilitating police interviews via videoconferencing platforms. Braun (2017) investigated the volume of interpreter additions or expansions, and the anomaly for Braun (2017) was that, as interpreters gained more experience (training), there was not a decline in their level of additions or expansions, but an unexpected increase. Using conversational analysis and drawing on existing definitions of expansions and additions, Braun (2017) provided examples of repairs and efforts to clarify or build a rapport between clients. Braun (2017) explains how the interpreter demonstrated more technical confidence and professional insight regarding how and when to become more involved in the interaction, so as to mitigate the sense of their being

physically remote. Braun's (2017) argument seems to apply to Imelda and Isabella's tendency to add to the 101CH's utterance as a means to increase their involvement, or to function as the 'involved translator', in the call, sharing the 101CH's goal to retrieve a particular kind of response.

### 6.7.1 "In regard to the collision..." (Patrick, 101VRS#4)

Below, in Extract 17 - 19, we see how errors in the interpretation can take some time to reveal themselves through the 101CH fact-checking process. Extract 17 took place around five minutes into the call between Chloe, Irving and Patrick. Similar to Peter's emergent approach, Patrick remained in a listening (diagnostic) position as Chloe explained her traffic incident on a one-way street during which another driver stepped out of his car and behaved in an aggressive manner towards her and her partner (row 1 – 4). Crucially, Chloe explained how the other driver drove the wrong way up a one-way street, meeting her head-on (rows 1 – 4). Irving interpreted this incident as a collision between the two cars (row 4), "*A:nd there was a car that shot straight in front of us, coming the wrong way towards us, and hit the front of our car.*"

Extract 17: 101VRS#4 "In regard to the collision..." (Part 1) (00:05:28 – 00:06:09)

	101CH - Patrick	VRS Interpreter - Irving	Citizen - Chloe
1		<i>And it's a one way (.) system we were driving along.</i>	Lindale Drive is a one way street. It's a one way street* ((Nods/Int)).
2	((typing))	<i>A:nd its near- near some traffic lights that we came to.</i>	We were approaching some traffic lights* ((Nods/Int)).
3		<i>A:nd on the right, ther- there's a corner, &lt; I'm just trying to remember&gt; the name of the shop.</i>	On the right, on the corner is a (.) agh! What's the name of that shop? Erm ((looks away and back/Int))
4	Yes.	<i>It's Arnold Clark ((Nods/Cit)), er, selling you know they sell cars there straight on the corner.</i>  <i>Approaching the traffic lights we were &lt;turning&gt; (.) left.</i>  <i>A:nd there was a car that shot straight in front of us, coming the wrong way towards us,</i>  <i>(.)</i> <i>A:nd hit the front of our car.</i>	I remember, Arnold Clark the dealership, car dealership, on the corner.  We were just approaching the lights to make a- a l- left turn, turn left when another car raced round the corner towards us coming up the wrong way!  ((Nods/Int))  We came head on, it nearl-

Around eleven minutes into the call (Extract 18), Patrick conducted a fact checking process, assuming an active diagnostic and accountive position. Patrick's intention was to build a broader understanding of the incident. Patrick first assessed the harm caused to Chloe from the collision, in extract 16 (row 1), "*Erm, in regards to the collision were you injured at all?*". Although Irving correctly explained no harm came to Chloe, he still communicated (row 2) the idea of a collision where two cars made contact, which was inaccurate, "*No: er it was front of both vehicles*".

Extract 18: 101VRS#4 "In regard to the collision..." (Part 2) (0011:35 – 00:12:11)

	101CH - Patrick	VRS Interpreter - Irving	Citizen - Chloe
1	<i>Erm, in regards to the collision were you injured at all?</i>	Talking about the collision, were you injured? Were you- yourself injured?	((Nods/Int))
2		<i>No: er it was &lt;front of both vehicles&gt;</i>	No, nothing. The cars didn't collide although it was close, we almost hit each other.
3	<i>Front of both vehicles. And were they drivable?</i>	((Looks down and up/Cit))	
		Right* and could you after- we were not injured, my partner was very nervous of the man, as I say he was very aggressive towards us.	No one was injur-. There were no injuries but both me and my partner were intimidated by the man, he was very aggressive. ((Nods/Int))
4	<i>Okay. So it's more the man you wish to complain about? The manner towards him rather than the collision is that right?</i>	((Looks down and up/Cit)) ((Nods/Cit)) I want- ((Nods/Cit)) ((Closes eyes and opens/Cit))	He wanted, well he asked my partner to open the door or window and we refused because he was so aggressive.
5		Do you mean, you want to issue a complaint against the man? That is all? Were you still able to drive your car after this?	((Nods/Int))
			Yes.

Although the interpretation error had still gone undetected, in Extract 19 (close to eighteen minutes into the call) we see Patrick returning to Chloe's version of events by asking further questions regarding the collision. Patrick sensitively asked if insurance details were swapped. It was by Patrick's probing and exploring further that Irving's misinterpretation was uncovered (row 2), "*I didn't actually cause any erm, hit of both cars, so there's no actual damage but it came very close to hitting erm both cars*".

	<b>101CH - Patrick</b>	<b>VRS Interpreter - Irving</b>	<b>Citizen - Chloe</b>
1	<i>And I know the man was aggressive, did you swap details at the scene with him? (2.0) Regarding the collision? (6.0)</i>	((Looks down and up/Cit))  Erm. So. The man, who was aggressive and came up to your car, did you swap car details with him or not, over the collision? Did you swap details?	((Nods/Int)) ((Nods/Int))
2		<i>&lt;No.; er&gt; I only took a recording with my &lt;ph-phone of his vehicle and his&gt; aggressive behaviour. Erm (4.0)</i>  <i>It didn't &lt;actually cause any erm&gt;, hit of both cars, so there's no actual damage but it came very close to hitting erm both cars.</i>	No nothing, nothing. I only have a picture of his car and his <er** the**> dash cam of him getting aggressive towards us. That's all.  Because the two cars didn't touch. There was no contact we came close. If we had collided I would have got his details for insurance purposes but there was nothing- no damage done.
3	<i>Okay (1.0) that's absolutely fine.</i>		

The fact checking process was a routine part of a 101CH's intelligence gathering. This process benefited Irving, allowing him to review his interpretation and make corrections. Errors such as these will naturally occur, as understanding a stranger's reality or issue typically takes time to piece together. Errors being identified through the fact checking procedure demonstrates the compatibility of 101CH questioning and interpreting remotely. Interpreters working in investigative interviews have struggled to deliver their service because of incompatibility between their process and the way in which the interviews were handled or structured, especially in terms of the officer's questioning strategy (Böser, 2013; Krouglov, 1999, 1999; Mulayim et al., 2014; Nakane, 2014). Here we see interpreters benefiting from the call-handler's routine assumption that a citizen's story contains details that need to be reviewed.

## 6.8 Empowerment positioning moves

The motivation to assist an interactive partner is what marks empowerment moves as co-operative. Empowerment moves rely on a recognition that one has knowledge that another does not. Warnicke & Plejert (2016) describe knowledge asymmetries as being an instrumental factor behind an interpreter's positioning move. The interpreter would, for example, switch to 'educator' or 'call manager' to explain about technical interference and ways of interacting via the VRS platform (e.g. explaining to the hearing participant

why there may be silent periods in the call), and to provide commentary on aspects of the call that one interlocutor does not have access to (e.g. that the other person is laughing, that the line is ringing, that the caller is deaf and uses a signed language). The interpreter would intentionally pass information onto another participant with the intention of empowering the other participants to modify or improve their approach to the interpreter-mediated interaction. This section expands on this earlier work by Warnicke & Plejert by looking at examples where knowledge asymmetries caused the citizen, the interpreter or the 101CH to assume a type of position that empowered another.

### 6.8.1 “Er special assistance er do you mean communication support or something like that?” (Imelda 101VRS#1)

With each of the simulated calls it was necessary to consider how follow-up contact should be handled (translation). The challenge for the police was determining how to maintain ongoing communication with someone who was deaf and uses BSL (problematization). Peter sought to arrange a home visit (interessement, OPP), and consulted with Caterina on how best to arrange this (enrolment & mobilisation).

Extract 20: 101VRS#1 “Er special assistance er do you mean communication support or something like that?” (00:26:49 – 00:27:22)

	101CH - Peter	VRS Interpreter - Imelda	Citizen - Caterina
1	<i>Erm, (1.0) do you need any kind of special assistances at all for officers coming out?</i>	Do you want some kind of special support something like-	
2		<i>erm when</i> Expla- you mean I’m just going to clarify something- ((Looks away/off screen)) <i>Er special assistance er do</i> what you mean <i>communication support or something like that?</i>	
3	<i>Yeah, would you need anyone to sign for the officers or would you be okay, are you okay with lip-reading or- just so obviously so that obviously we can help yourself.</i>	((Looks at screen/Cit)) So when we book a home visit do you need communication support? An interpreter, translator, how can we communicate with you, do you lip-read? <u>We want to try and help you in that sort of way.</u>	
4		<i>okay so thank you for that, yes I would prefer to have an interpreter present at the visit please.</i>	Okay thank you, I would prefer an interpreter to be there.



When asking Caterina to explain her needs, Peter hesitated and seemed cautious in framing his question (row 1), “*Erm, do you need any kind of special assistances at all for officers coming out?*”. Peter attempted to retain a ‘public service’ position but did not have complete confidence in his own actions. Imelda detects this uncertainty and intervened, assuming a ‘co-provider of service’ stance. Imelda declared her intention to Caterina first (placing Caterina on hold), then covertly provided Peter with the vocabulary he needed to proceed (row 2), “*Er special assistance er dowhat you mean communication support or something like that?*”. The clarification benefited Peter, who was able to discretely modify his choice of vocabulary. Although Peter did not specifically state ‘interpreter’, Imelda was aware this was what Peter meant and substituted ‘communication assistance’ for ‘interpreter’ in her interpretation (row 3).

Imelda later recalled how she expanded this question (row 4), “*Er special assistance er do you mean communication support or something like that?*”. Imelda did not question the legitimacy of modifying Peter’s question from ‘communication support’ to ‘interpreter’. Imelda felt secure in performing this type of empowerment move, or co-provider of service. However, Imelda was less willing to question or comment on the police’s plans to notify Caterina about the home visit. Imelda was interested to know how the police were planning on contacting Caterina (e.g. by phone, SMS or letter), yet she did not permit herself to question this part of the conversation. It is possible that Imelda saw this as Caterina and Peter’s responsibility to clarify. This behaviour suggests Imelda had an empowerment threshold. Conversely, Caterina reflected after the call how Imelda could have gone beyond this threshold and queried how the police intended to confirm a date for the interview. Caterina demonstrated high regard and trust in Imelda, especially in her ability to interpret and to educate others on how to interact with a deaf citizen.

### **6.8.2 “He’s deaf.” (Isabela 101VRS#2)**

Paige was inexperienced in dealing with someone who uses a signed language, whereas for Isabela the simulation represented a regular part of her work (translation). This created an asymmetry in knowledge, such as how to communicate with someone who uses BSL (problematization). Paige described Colin’s friend as someone who is “*hearing impaired*” which Isabela sensitively corrected as “*deaf*” (row 2) (interesement, enrolment). Paige modified her vocabulary and incorporated the term “*deaf*” into her incident report (row 3) and her choice of language throughout the call (mobilisation, OPP).

	<b>101CH - Paige</b>	<b>VRS Interpreter - Isabela</b>	<b>Citizen - Colin</b>
1	<i>And has Mister Campbell got a hearing impairment as well?</i>	Is Michael Campbell deaf too?	He's- profoundly deaf yes, [not deafened but deaf(culturally), profoundly deaf.
2		Deaf <i>He's deaf, yep.</i> (nods)  <i>He's not hearing impaired, he's profoundly deaf.</i>	
3	<i>Profoundly deaf, okay.</i>	<i>Okay typing message.</i>	Okay (nods)

Paige acknowledged that she used the wrong term because she was inexperienced but was responsive to Isabela's language use. It was not only vocabulary that interpreters assisted the 101CH with, but also contextual information that could benefit someone outside of the deaf community (translation, problematization). Isabela described to Paige the popular app called Glide which is used by deaf people because of its video messaging capabilities (interessement & enrolment). Paige's improved understanding of what Glide was and its significance to Colin meant that she could properly record Colin's efforts to make direct contact with his missing friend (mobilisation & OPP).

In the extract above (row 1), Paige refers to Colin in third person, talking directly to Isabela instead. Paige's third person language use was not reflected in Isabela's BSL output. Isabela would switch between first person and third person usage when interpreting Colin's utterance into English. It is interesting to note that Paige would modify her use of specialist vocabulary (e.g. "hearing impaired" for "deaf") to match Isabela's, but not modify her first person/third person usage when referring to Colin. Paige recognised that she was not highly experienced at using an interpreter and observed that, when using remote spoken language interpreters in the past, she would talk to the person not the interpreter. Due to her inexperience and the impossibility of engaging directly with Colin over the telephone, Paige recognised that she might sometimes unintentionally slip from speaking to Colin to speaking to Isabela. Speaking directly to Colin would reinforce their primary relationship, that Paige is present to assist Colin.

### **6.8.3 *Summary complaint/request***

The success of the complaint/request phase hinged on each interlocuter's awareness of the other. The process of learning how to interact with one another differed across the four calls and was influenced by the success or failure to establish rights and duties during the opening phases. The consequences of the successful or unsuccessful establishment of rights and duties impacted on the flow of the call, either making it easy or difficult for the citizen's needs to be focused on. Successfully communicating each other's rights and duties did not necessarily lead to more accurate interpretations from the interpreter, however, as in each example the interpreter produced an interpretation that was not factually correct. However, it was the ability to identify errors in the interpretation and make corrections that benefited from the shared understanding of rights and duties. This was facilitated by the complaint/request phase, which saw the 101CH proactively fact-check and review the citizen's story. The process of reviewing the citizen's complaint/request meant that the interpreter had the opportunity to identify and correct mistakes in the interpretation provided earlier. Interpreters who showed greater flexibility in their positioning moves, inviting others to assist with developing an interpretation, produced a more collaborative environment.

A common theme that arose in the post-simulation discussion was the question of assessing the citizen's well-being. This was raised as a topic because the 101CHs had no direct interaction with the citizens and no access to ambient sounds. Peter, Paige, Paula and Patrick all noted that they could not be confident in knowing the caller's emotions. This in turn focused their attention on eliciting details about the incident and the caller to determine how to proceed, accepting that there would be less of a personal conversation with the caller. Peter commented that he felt he was still able to get the kind of details he needed as with any other call, minus the emotional aspect. Peter did not raise this missing feature as a problem, which could be due to the non-distressed nature of Caterina's call. Paige expressed a similar point, explaining how the details of the event matter most when one is unable to have a personal conversation with the caller. Whilst this was the view of the 101CHs, the citizens noted that under more serious conditions there would be ambiguity and uncertainty regarding how much the 101CH could fully understand their need because they could not directly interact with one another or independently gauge their understanding. In these circumstances, the citizens could easily see how there would be a feeling of talking to someone in the dark and not feeling confident or clear about their actual response.

In terms of a policing vulnerabilities approach, evaluating the citizen's well-being either through direct questioning or making deductions based on a speaker style, the 101CH was dependent on the interpreter's projection of the citizen's position. All of the interpreters described an awareness of and preparedness to reflect the citizen's emotional state, should the caller be distraught or aggravated. Each of the interpreters used the term 'metacommentary' when conveying what could be seen by them but not by the 101CH. Both the PPs rely on the interpreter to mediate the other's PP's position. The interpreters appear to be mindful of how an interpretation alone is inadequate at conveying the other PP's interactive position, especially the citizen who is receiving vital support. For example, if the citizen was visibly distressed or nervous, the interpreter would make this known to the 101CH in a supplementary comment. The 101CHs welcomed the interventions made by the interpreters because this benefited the information retrieval process and supported the police in determining how best to respond. Interpreters have been known to be responsive to displays of emotion, recognising the need to adapt their approach to assist, as opposed to antagonise a PPs (Angelelli, 2004; Baraldi & Gavioli, 2007; I. Mason, 2009; Merlini, 2009). Baraldi & Gavioli recognised the value within this instinctive response as feeding into the enhancing PP's involvement.

As a responder the interpreter gets an access to the emotions of the interlocutors and is thus in a position to provide her/his own understanding, support and confirmation of them. Combining the roles of responder, translator and coordinator the interpreter is in the position to promote affective expectations and communication in the interaction, enhancing the participants' involvement and mediating between them. In this way the interpreter can be viewed as a dialogic mediator. (Baraldi & Gavioli, 2007, p. 173)

Facilitation was seen through empowerment moves and occurred where the interpreter identified others' difficulties in expressing and formulating coherent sentences, and recognised that the 101CH may have overlooked a matter that they should ideally know.

## **6.9 Remedy/Closing**

The closing and remedy stage (phase v: n) throws up a number of questions with how the 101CH approaches the matter of follow-up contact with someone that is deaf and from a BSL background. Call-handlers at this stage of the call 'have an important part to play in the provision of information on the immediate processes that constabularies employ when victims report non-emergency crime' (Stafford, 2017, pp. 309–310).

All four 101CHs entered the closing stage in different ways. This was related to the citizen's willingness to be proactive in communicating their needs, thus prompting the 101CH to explore the citizen's request further. All four citizens instructed the police to make contact via SMS and/or a BSL/English interpreter for face-to-face interviews. For the 101VRS#3 simulation, Charles was potentially a victim of hate crime whereby his property had been vandalised whilst he was asleep. Paula had determined Charles' preferred method of follow-up contact, which was SMS, and offered Charles the choice to have police officers come to his home or to have an interview at a chosen police station. Charles opted to see the police at Partick police station. Charles was pro-active in explaining his needs regarding communication, e.g. an interpreter and the time it takes to locate a qualified and registered interpreter. He was cautious about proceeding without making sure his needs were explained because of past experiences where the police had not been successful in arranging an interpreter.

*Extract 22: 101VRS#3 “I do advise that he call us the nine-nine-nine number” (00:18:37–00:020:47)*

	101CH – Paula	VRS Interpreter – Ivan	Citizen – Charles
1		I will ask, ((Nods/Cit)) I will.	Did she mean the interpreter, did she mean BSL? Can you make sure it's not a foreign language interpreter.
2		The call is, we're on hold, waiting. She is sorting something out.	
(call is on hold for a further 53 seconds)			
3	<i>Hi there, thanks very much for holding, alright, so, if you can advise Charles please that if you can attend at Partick police station we will text him with the date- ideally I'm hoping it'll be tomorrow ideally that would be better, erm, and we will text and confirm the date and time he's to attend once they've sourced an interpreter that would erm- that would be able to assist him in communicating with ourselves, at that point we'll find out what's happened establish if there's been any crime committed and based on that carry forward from there alright? However, in the meantime if anything happens over the weekend I would ask him to contact one- oh-one again to update us.</i>	((Points to headset/Cit)) She's back with us. Hello, thank you for waiting, thank you. What will happen now, just so you are aware, please come to Partick police station- Partick. We will text you, hopefully, it will be tomorrow. That would be best. We'll aim for tomorrow. The time and date will be texted to you on when to come, once we have an interpreter booked. So we'll get in touch with you via text. Okay, to assist with communicating and at the same time we can find out what exactly happened, what type of crime happened, then decide what comes next. <i>Okay</i> But* Between now and then if anything happens over the weekend please call 101 and let us know. If it's an	(watches screen)    (nods) Great. (nods)  That's fine. Thank you so much! (nods)  (nods)  (nods)  (nod)

	<i>and if it is an emergency I do advise that he call us the nine-nine-nine number and come through to us alright?</i>	emergency <please call 999>, please call us. Okay?	Okay, okay.
4		<i>Okay, so, whilst we were on hold Mr Robinson was saying that he wants to reiterate make-sure it's a BSL interpreter, he does not want or require a foreign language interpreter.</i>	
5	<i>Right, it is a BSL, British Sign Language interpreter sir, is that correct?</i>	((Nods/Cit)) It's a BSL interpreter, a British Sign Language is that correct?	

Extract 22 shows how Paula brought the follow-up arrangements to a close by discussing with Charles plans for an on-site interpreter-mediated interview at Partick police station. Paula had placed the call on hold to seek advice on who would arrange an interpreter and how follow-up communication would be managed with someone who was deaf. The police are not able to return calls to deaf members of the public as the current system was only designed for incoming and not outgoing calls<sup>21</sup>. Whilst on hold, Charles took advantage of the free time to speak to Ivan and check that it was a BSL interpreter, not a foreign language interpreter, that was to be booked for the interview (row 1). After fifty-three seconds, Paula returned and explained that the police would make contact with Charles by SMS and arrange for an interpreter for the interview at Partick police station (row 2). After Paula's explanation, Ivan interjected and put Charles' specific request across (row 3), "*Okay, so, whilst we were on hold Mr Robinson was saying that he wants to reiterate make sure it's a BSL interpreter, he does not want or require a foreign language interpreter.*" This move was the same empowerment move seen with Imelda and Isabela in their interactions. Although Ivan committed an empowerment move, Ivan's subsequent detached translator position, was an example of a dis-empowerment move.

Paula's advice to dial 101 over the weekend or to call 999 is of particular interest (row 3). The 101VRS service is only available Monday to Saturday at certain times throughout the day. There is no 999 VRS service available to deaf people (Skinner et al., submitted). Ivan did not intervene here, nor did he correct the advice given from Paula. It is probable that Ivan did not detect the flaw in Paula's advice. Had Paula known how limited the 101VRS service is, it might have informed her evaluation of Charles' current

<sup>21</sup> An outgoing call is only possible if the caller has a private account with the VRS provider. In this instance, the citizen would pay from their private account for the interpreted call with the police.

predicament. Charles was potentially at risk of hate crime and had no means to make contact in BSL with the police, especially in an emergency. The outcome of Paula's assessment and allocation of police resources might have been different if she had had the correct information. The example above demonstrates the inherent risk of depending on an interpreter's willingness and capacity to empower or educate the police to assist citizens who are deaf. This latter point reinforces the need for training, whereby interpreters become more aware of how the advice given by public authorities does not match what the VRS platform offers. Secondly, the 101CH needs an internalised system that flags key logistical information about the VRS platform, such as operational hours and the inability to return calls.

## **6.10 Conclusion**

This chapter contains the first in-depth study on VRS calls to a FCR. Studies looking at how people communicate via a VRS platform have provided a general overview of the interactive issues. This study sought to focus the use of VRS in a specific context and investigate what can be brought to the interaction by the PPs. In the UK, VRS calls to a FCR is a new and emerging concept, how the police and interpreters find ways of working together to assist someone from another linguistic-cultural background is critical. Unless the two can properly operate as one, the service is rendered useless to someone that already struggles to make contact with the police. This in part explains why the research question focused on the topic of co-operation. Co-operation can be seen to play an important part in understanding the VRS configuration, understanding how each other talk and understanding how the police can best help someone who is deaf and experiences difficulties with receiving police support. A more revealing finding was the contributions made by the citizen, who can be seen to play a valuable role in assisting the interpreter with formulating their interpretation and how the police considers their needs. In Chapter 8 the analysis and discussion presented in this chapter will be reviewed. The discussion will bring together the findings from both the 101VRS and the CustodyVRI simulations.

## **Chapter 7 – Custody VRI data**

This chapter looks at the positioning moves displayed across three police custody VRI calls (hereafter referred to as CustodyVRI). The structure of this chapter follows the same structure as Chapter 6, which presented the 101VRS results and discussion. As in the previous chapter, a selection of examples from across the three CustodyVRI calls will be chosen to articulate issues around co-operation. The application of ANT framework followed the same approach as with the 101VRS analysis. Section 7.1 explains the global structure of the custody process. Each call to the interpreter was segmented according to the different stages and analysed in segments. The results and discussion are again presented in chronological order. This is because the ways in which rights and duties become established in the opening phase have the potential to forge relationships that are conducive – or not – to subsequent changes in the moral order, especially where co-operation is needed. As in the previous chapter, the analysis of the CustodyVRI calls begins with how the interpreter is invited into the interaction. Section 7.2 investigates how the custody sergeant informs SignVideo of their impromptu need for assistance. Section 7.3 moves the focus to the opening phases of the VRI call and how the rights and duties are established between the custody sergeant and interpreter. This section includes a review of the holding images displayed while the platform transfers the VRI call to the next available interpreter.

After the interpreter has been successfully reached, the booking-in process can begin. The first stage of the booking-in process takes place between the custody sergeant and arresting officers. The detainee is an observer. Section 7.4 looks at how the interpreter fits into the unusual arrangement of interpreting to the ‘talked about person’. In section 7.5, the detainee becomes the focus; the custody process will be explained (section 7.6) and a background check is performed (section 7.7). Section 7.6.1 - 7.6.2 looks at how the rights of the detainee are explained, in a context where the terminology and the complexity of the text can be problematic to translate appropriately. Section 7.8 focuses on the development of the care plan and concerns the custody sergeant’s ability to ask questions and redirect the interpreter’s actions. As we found in the previous chapter, the manner in which the interaction comes to a close seems to be of significance because the police need to be made aware of potential on-going communication issues. Section 7.8.1 - 7.8.2 investigates how participants raised these concerns and whether or not the interpreter had to assume greater responsibility for educating the police on how to assist



someone who is deaf and uses BSL. The completion of the custody process is a sensitive moment where the end of the call means complete isolation for the NOAP, how the interpreter and custody sergeant support the NOAP to reach the conclusion is discussed (section 7.9).

## 7.1 Stages/phases of the custody simulations

In total three CustodyVRI calls were completed in one day, see Table 9. The duration of the calls were as follows:

*Table 9: CustodyVRI call summary*

	CustodyVRI#1	CustodyVRI#2	CustodyVRI#3
	–	–	
<b>Topic</b>	Shop lifting	Assault on child	Domestic violence
<b>Citizen</b>	Nara	Naomi	Nicholas
<b>Interpreter</b>	Iona	Isaac	Ian
<b>101CH</b>	Phillip	Pamella	Peirce
<b>Duration</b>	42:16	57:00	31:10

The call duration does not include the pre-VRI call, where the custody sergeant made advance contact with SignVideo to discuss their VRI requirements.

The booking-in process was constructed around three types of interactional format. The first format was ‘instructions + question and answer sequence’. The custody sergeant read a scripted piece of text from the computer, followed by a Q&A with the NOAP to confirm their understanding. The second format was a Q&A sequence, e.g. to record personal details or to complete a care plan. The third format was ‘conversational’ where a more open and free exchange occurred. Each stage is determined by the custody sergeant and is an intentional act to alter the moral field, where the ability to create, challenge or negotiate positions will shift from being more open to more restricted.

The global structure presented below was developed from charting the booking-in process observed in this study:

- I. *Request for a SignVideo interpreter*
  - a. Call to SignVideo service (conversational + Q&A sequence)
  
- II. *Connecting to the VRI service (conversational)*
  - a. Introduction (conversational + Q&A sequence)
  - b. Preparation of the interpreter for the booking-in process (conversational + Q&A sequence).
  - c. Interpreter's needs explained (conversational + Q&A sequence).
  
- III. *Hand-over*
  - a. Entering police identification numbers onto the computer system (Q&A sequence).
  - b. Explaining reason for arrest (Q&A sequence).
  - c. Giving details about the arrest (Q&A sequence).
  - d. Checking if caution has been read (Q&A sequence).
  
- IV. *Confirmation of NOAP's identity & history*
  - a. Obtaining personal details (Q&A sequence).
  - b. Conducting background check – history (Q&A sequence).
  
- V. *Booking-in process*
  - a. Personal details recorded (Q&A sequence).
  - b. Legalities explained (instructions + Q&A sequence).
  - c. Disclosure about the offence (conversational).
  - d. Contacting a named person (Q&A sequence).
  - e. Contacting a solicitor (Q&A sequence).
  - f. Conducting a search, prints & DNA checks (instructions + Q&A sequence).
  - g. Conducting a health and welfare check (Q&A sequence).
  - h. Checking literacy skills (Q&A sequence).
  - i. Compliance issues? (conversational)
  - j. Conducting a body search (instructions + Q&A sequence).
  - k. Completion of check-in process. Next step explained (instructions + Q&A sequence).

## **7.2 Request for SignVideo interpreter (conversational)**

Based on the simulation protocol (section 5.6.1), the request for an interpreter (phase i) came from the custody sergeant upon learning the suspect was deaf (translation and problematization). A designated number to the SignVideo service was provided by the custody consultant (who was acting as the arresting officer) to the custody sergeant. As part of this protocol, the SignVideo co-ordinator requested details about the arrest (interessement). This exchange placed the custody sergeant as ‘co-constructor’ and relied on their capacity and willingness to pass on information about the arrest and/or detainee that could benefit the interpreter’s performance in the VRI call (enrolment and mobilisation). The SignVideo co-ordinator’s role was to seek specific information from the custody sergeant, with the goal of passing contextual information on to the interpreter (enrolment and mobilisation). The sharing of information allows SignVideo to manage the allocation of VRI calls in an informed way, ensuring that the most appropriate interpreter be consulted and selected. This approach to allocating work recognises the co-participatory status and expertise a particular interpreter can bring to a VRI interaction (Braun et al., 2018; Howes, 2019b; Skinner et al., submitted). The pre-contact phase was intended to reduce ambiguity around how the police and interpreting service should work together.

Two custody sergeants willingly accepted the position as co-constructors and supplied information about the arrest to the SignVideo co-ordinator (CustodyVRI#1 & 3). Pamela (CustodyVRI#2) claimed to not have background details when asked by the SignVideo co-ordinator. It was not clear why Pamela was unwilling to demonstrate her capacity as informer. The SignVideo co-ordinator enquired twice but did not forcefully assert their need to know this information, nor explain to Pamela why the VRI interpreter would need background information about the incident.

## **7.3 Connecting to the VRI service (conversational)**

The call to the VRI service (phase ii) was initiated by the custody sergeant. The SignVideo app opened a total communication portal<sup>22</sup>. A holding screen appeared (see Image 32). The holding image presented the VRI as a joint bespoke service between

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<sup>22</sup> A bidirectional audio, video and instant chat connection.

Police Scotland and SignVideo. The interpreter and custody sergeant were pre-positioned as collaborators.



Image 32: SignVideo Police Scotland Custody VRI holding screen

### 7.3.1 *“She is deaf and refusing to communicate” - introducing the Police Custody VRI call (conversational)*

The opening of the VRI custody calls demonstrated how rights and duties were communicated and received. The custody sergeant holds institutional power while the interpreter holds interactional power (I. Mason & Ren, 2012); how a custody sergeant retains their institutional moral and performative positioning as the official responsible for leading and co-ordinating the booking-in process, assisted by an interpreter, becomes the topic of focus. The first interactive feature to note was how police staff collectively demonstrated their institutional power by physically restraining the NOAP (Image 33). The NOAP was not permitted to interact, e.g. sign, until he/she was seated in front of the camera and their hands released. The interpreter’s remoteness from the custody suite placed them as the dependent, relying on the custody sergeant to co-ordinate the technology and people involved so as to benefit the overall audio and video communication.



*Image 33: Phillip (custody sergeant) introducing the VRI call  
to Iona (SignVideo interpreter) in CustodyVRI#1.*

The following subsections explain how opening positions were assumed and presented to each other in each simulated VRI call, and the impact technology had in forming these positions.

### **7.3.2 “... you've explained to me but obviously the lady isn't clear what's going to be happening now.” (CustodyVRI#1)**

Nara (the NOAP) was brought into police custody after being caught shoplifting at a local supermarket. Prior to the call, Phillip (the custody sergeant) contacted the SignVideo service and placed a request for a VRI interpreter to check-in a deaf lady for shoplifting. This information was passed on to Iona (the interpreter). The extract below shows how Phillip and Iona approached the opening of their interaction.

*Extract 23: “...you've explained to me but obviously the lady isn't clear  
what's going to be happening now.” (CustodyVRI#1) (00:00:01 – 00:02:07)*

	<b>CS - Phillip</b>	<b>VRI Interpreter - Iona</b>	<b>Citizen - Nara</b>
1	<i>Good morning</i> <i>((Leans towards camera/Int))</i>  <i>I'm Sergeant Phillip Pitt from Govan Police office (.) I require your-</i>  <i>Sergeant Phillip Pitt.</i>	<i>Good morning</i> <i>Good morning</i> <i>((Leans forward/Cust))</i>  <i>Sorry I didn't- didn't quiet catch your name, sorry.</i>  <i>((Leans back/Cust)) Thank you.</i>	<i>((Restrained and standing partially off-camera//Int and Cust))</i>
2	<i>I'm from Govan Police office</i>  <i>I require your assistance today as I have one female who has been arrested on suspicion of shoplifting,(.) er-</i>	<i>((Nods/Cust))</i>  <i>((Nods/Cust))</i> <i>((Nods/Cust))</i>	<i>Okay.</i>

3	<i>She- She's deaf, and she's refusing to communicate with my officers, so I require to book her into custody, to confirm her personal details and give her entitlements and rights. (3.0)</i>	<p>((Nod/Cust))</p> <p>((Nods/Cust))</p> <p>Okay.</p> <p>Okay. Uhm</p> <p>Okay, thank you.</p>	
4	<i>The system I've got is a little laborious and I ask the same questions repeatedly but unfortunately that's the format we've got so I need a little patience. Okay.</i>	<p>((Nods/Cust))</p> <p>-kay.</p> <p>Okay.</p> <p>Okay.</p>	
5	<i>Of course, that's understandable. Thank you very much.</i>	<p>Okay, and just to <b>let you know</b> from my side erm as I'm not familiar with the lady erm (.) I may have to ask for clarification myself, from both you and the lady if I'm not sure just to make sure that communication is as smooth as possible.</p> <p>Okay? Alright thank you.</p>	
6	<i>I'm just going to grab some details off my colleagues (.) &lt;and then (1.0) we'll go&gt; from there with this lady. This is the lady sitting in front of me now she can see you okay.</i>	<p>Okay</p> <p>((Leans back and lifts hands/NOAP))</p>	<p>((Moves into a seated position –arresting officers step back releasing their restraint/Int))</p> <p>((Watches screen/Int))</p>
7		<i>Okay, could you- could you just <b>briefly explain</b> what- <b>what you're planning</b> to do so <b>the lady is clear</b> I mean <b>you've explained to me</b> but obviously <b>the lady isn't clear</b> <b>what's going to be happening</b> now.</i>	
8	<p><i>So (1.0) because you've been brought here on suspicion of theft (7.0)</i></p> <p><i>I've got a legal process (.) &lt;to confirm&gt; your identity (5.0)</i></p> <p><i>and to read your rights. (9.0)</i></p> <p><i>The system I have on my computer(.) &lt; i:s a little long winded&gt; (4.0)</i></p>	<p>((Looks away and back, adjusts headset/NOAP) Bec- You are here because we suspect you of theft, that you did this** ((Clasps hands/NOAP))</p> <p>I have to interview you, to check who you are, first** <i>hmm</i></p> <p>Second, is also we have to explain your legal, legal rights, this explanation must be done. ((Leans back and forward /NOAP)) ((Looks away and back, adjust headset/NOAP))</p>	
9		<i>If you- You can go a little bit faster, it <b>helps me to translate</b>, thank you.</i>	

When the VRI call was answered by Iona, Nara could be seen standing partially off-camera and restrained by two arresting officers (Image 34). Nara was not physically in a position, nor permitted, to communicate with Iona. Phillip's first positioning move was to assert his moral capacity as the lead for the interaction, which was to introduce Iona to the current context. Iona accepted Phillip's lead by assuming a performative and reflexive position.



*Image 34: Opening of CustodyVRI#1, Nara & arresting officer (left) and Iona (right).*

The familiarity between Phillip and Iona was low. Phillip had no prior experience of using an interpreter or interacting with a deaf person. Iona had no prior experience of interpreting a Police Scotland custody checking-in process. Both Phillip and Iona's initial focus was to exchange details about their respective roles, outlining their moral capacity (rows 2- 5). The shifting pattern of social and task positioning moves between Phillip and Iona demonstrated that both were willing to establish a multi-professional relationship and were receptive to learning from each other (rows 1 – 9). During this opening exchange, Nara, who was physically in the room, was given a forced other position as the 'talked about person' and not 'talked to person'<sup>23</sup>. Not only is Nara being talked about, Nara knows she is in the presence of others who are talking about her, she is observing and experiencing exclusion. Nara was an unratified listener (Goffman, 1981) and referred to impersonally as "*one female*" (row 2). This forced other positioning demonstrated Phillip's distant and neutral relationship with Nara.

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<sup>23</sup> This was a research design flaw. With hindsight it would have been advisable to handle the introduction with the detainee outside of the room. The opportunity for a discussion in private between the custody sergeant and the interpreter on how to work together would be no different to on-site practices, where a private introduction could take place.

The switching of positioning between Phillip and Iona took place in rows 1 – 9. Phillip was not only inviting Iona to join the interaction but preparing Iona for how to assist him with his institutional obligations (rows 2, 3, 4 & 6). Iona reciprocated Phillip's positioning moves by explaining the type of co-operation she needed in return (row 5), *“Okay, and just to let you know from my side erm as I'm not familiar with the lady erm (.) I may have to ask for clarification myself, from both you and the lady if I'm not sure just to make sure that communication is as smooth as possible”*. Iona did not assimilate Phillip's terminology of “one female” into her choice of vocabulary; instead, she downgraded Phillip's formal positioning by referring to Nara as “the lady” (row 5). Iona's repositioning of Nara as “the lady” was then adopted by Phillip, who modified his language use (row 6), *“This is the lady sitting in front of me now she can see you okay”*. The change of Nara's positioning, through the shift in vocabulary choice from “female” to “lady”, shows Phillip's receptiveness to Iona's input.

Apart from Iona's initial greeting (row 1), she did not code-blend until she had directed Phillip's attention towards Nara (row 7), *“Okay, could you- could you just briefly explain what- what you're planning to do so the lady is clear I mean you've explained to me but obviously the lady isn't clear what's going to be happening now”*. This repositioning move promoted Nara's status as the ‘talked to person’. Again, Phillip was receptive (performative) to Iona's proposal. This intervention from Iona could be perceived as face threatening to Phillip's competency; however, Phillip responds positively to Iona's proposal.

Interventions made by the interpreter are recognised as contentious as they can risk blurring boundaries, compromising professional integrity, and drawing interpreters into matters that are not related to being an interpreter, for example becoming a gatekeeper (see section 7.7 and 7.8.1). In the extract above, two overt interventions were made by Iona, one concerning the custody process and the other the interaction. The first intervention touched on the institutional procedure (row 7), *“Okay, could you- could you just briefly explain what- what you're planning to do so the lady is clear I mean you've explained to me but obviously the lady isn't clear what's going to be happening now”*. The second was interactional (row 9), *“If you- You can go a little bit faster, it helps me to translate, thank you.”* In the first instance Iona code-blended her suggestion to Phillip as a way of being transparent to Nara about what she was saying. Iona's comment was not related to the quality of interpretation nor to her role as an interpreter. Instead, her request functioned as a comment on Phillip's approach to handling the booking-in process, guiding him to become mindful of the needs of someone who is deaf. Iona was intentionally sharing her awareness of Nara's isolation



to empower Phillip in his capacity as lead. The opportunity for Iona to intervene was connected to Phillip's task positioning move (row 6), "*I'm just going to grab some details off my colleagues (.) <and then (1.0) we'll go> from there with this lady.*". Iona treated Phillip's task positioning moves as an opportunity to respond and contribute to the booking-in process.

In the post-simulation discussion, Iona acknowledged that she had made a number of interventions throughout the booking-in process. Iona questioned the legitimacy of her interventions, wondering whether she had had an overbearing influence on the process and whether she should have stepped back to allow Nara to create her own interventions. Throughout this chapter we see that Iona's interventions included suggestions about Phillip's approach (e.g. his speaking style), the custody process (e.g. how to adapt a standard procedure to become inclusive to a deaf person), and linguistic differences (e.g. requesting clarification on terminology to overcome translation issues). Iona was conscious that Phillip had no experience to draw on regarding how best to interact with someone who was deaf or how to manage the interaction via an interpreter. Iona's would regularly shift from being the detached translator to involved translator, through to co-producer of the service.

Phillip stated that he found Iona's interventions had eliminated uncertainty, thus feeding into the normative orders of competency and safety. A key issue for Phillip was his awareness that even citizens who communicate in English did not always admit to their own difficulties in understanding the custody process. Phillip welcomed the opportunity to rephrase his questions and modify the process to suit someone who was deaf and did not speak English. Phillip viewed Iona as an expert at working with people who were deaf and from a linguistic minority. The dependence on the interpreter's experience of dealing with someone who was deaf and used BSL can be seen repeatedly in this chapter. When Iona became the co-producer she aligned her moral field with Phillip's focus on promoting safety and competency. Phillip's perception of the interpreter as co-diagnostic and advisor is not always shared across the legal sector, however. In courtroom interactions or police interview settings, the range of positioning moves granted to the remote interpreter is often restrictive, with the interpreter's professional experience frequently neither considered nor consulted (Braun, 2018; Braun et al., 2018; Devaux, 2016, 2017). The extended interpreter role displayed by Iona will be discussed further in the summary in sections 7.7 and 7.8.1.

### 7.3.3 “They’re letting me know, he’s explaining to me.” (CustodyVRI#3)

Nicholas (the NOAP) was brought into police custody after a neighbour contacted the police to report a violent exchange between a couple in public. Pierce (the custody sergeant) contacted the SignVideo service to request a VRI interpreter. The reasons for the arrest were passed on to Ian (the interpreter). In the following extract, Pierce firsts assumes a social and task positioning move by explaining the custody process, followed by a focus on Nicholas’ safety.

*Extract 24: “Could you ask him if he is aware of where he is and if he understands the reason for him being here.” (00:00:01 – 00:01:05)*

	CS - Pierce	VRI Interpreter - Ian	NOAP - Nicholas
1	<i>Good afternoon (3.0). This is Sergeant Pierce Tyler at Govan Police office in Glasgow here. (3.0)</i>	Good afternoon SignVideo, hello. <i>Good afternoon SignVideo, how can I help?</i> ((Clasps hands, leans forward//NOAP)) Good afternoon. ((Clasps hands/NOAP)) S.A.R.G.E.N.P.I.E.R.C.E.T. Y.L.E.R <i>hi there</i> ((Clasps hands/NOAP))	((Watches screen/Int)) Hi. Hi. ((Looks away/Sergeant))((Looks to screen/Int))  <((Nods/Int))>
2	<i>Erm (.) &lt;we have here&gt; a gentleman who has been arrested on suspicion (2.0) of carrying out a domestic assault (7.0)</i>	So* They're letting me know, he's explaining to me that you've been arrested on suspicion of DV, D.O.M.E.S.T.I.C assault, A.S.S.A.U.L.T okay ((Clasps hands/NOAP))	<((Nods/Int))>
3	<i>Okay? Erm there is a process that we have to carry out (2.0) in order to book him in (2.0) and eventually go through a process &lt;of interview perhaps&gt; (4.0)</i>	There is a process we have to go through- book in. ((Clasps hands/NOAP)) Then next we may interview you okay. <i>O:kay.</i>	((Nods/int))  <((Nods/int))> Okay
4	<i>Okay (.) Erm (.) could you ask him if he is aware of where he is and if he understands the reason for him being here.</i>	((Clasps hands/NOAP)) Do you, are you aware, do you know where you are now and do you know why you're here?	
5		((Clasps hands/NOAP)) <i>Er, no he's he's not sure (.) what's happening</i>	No I'm still not entirely sure.

Ian’s first positioning move as the interpreter was not created by a speech act but visual assessment of the people appearing on screen. Ian instantly assumed the linguistic mediator position because Nicholas was the first person he encountered (see Image 35).

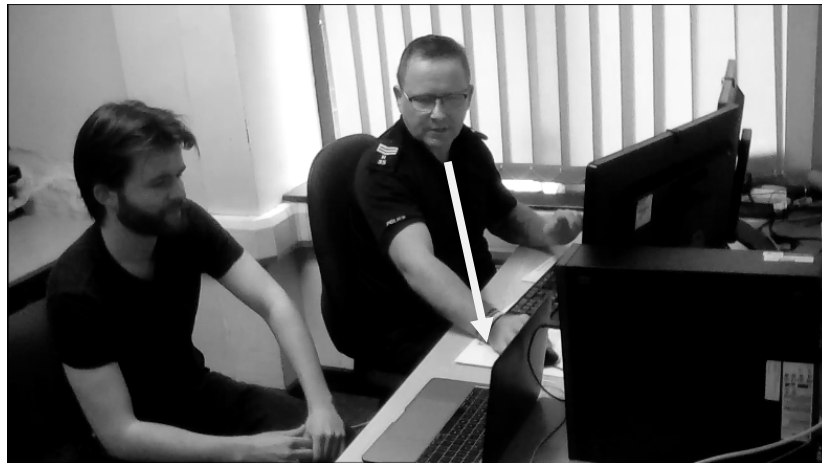
Pierce was off-camera and verbally greeted Ian. The arresting officer could be seen, waiting behind Nicholas. Pierce's focus was to introduce Ian to the call and assess Nicholas' understanding of the current situation. Following the above exchange in Extract 24 and having determined that Nicholas did not understand why he was brought into police custody, Pierce invited the arresting officer to formally explain the grounds for arrest, which was interpreted by Ian. This meant for the first three minutes of the call Ian had to assume the linguistic mediator position.



*Image 35: Opening of CustodyVRI#3, Nicholas and arresting officer (left) and Ian (right).*

The visible presence of Nicholas affected Ian's decision to assume the linguistic mediator position. In this capacity as linguistic mediator, Ian had to spontaneously manage both his own needs and Nicholas'. Ian appeared unwilling to assert a different type of capacity, such as introducing himself into the interaction or asking questions about the nature of the VRI call. Pierce and Ian did not discuss how they were to work together until after Nicholas was made aware of why he was arrested and where he currently was; this is discussed in the following section.

Pierce's style of communication, like that of Phillip (CustodyVRI#1), was paced and segmented with extended pauses between stopping and starting. Pierce's eye gaze was mostly towards the laptop where Ian could be seen interpreting on the screen (see Image 36). Pierce was monitoring Ian's progress, waiting for the signing to finish before continuing on to the next instruction. Pierce was promoting an emergent approach to the custody process, whereby he was willing to slow the interaction down to ensure good communication.



*Image 36: Pierce (custody sergeant) observing Ian (SignVideo interpreter)*

*to determine when to begin or stop speaking.*

After the simulation, Pierce claimed that he did not struggle to share his attention between the laptop and Nicholas. It was not clear whether Pierce's visual assessment of Nicholas was impaired by splitting his attention between Ian (on the laptop screen) and Nicholas (in the room). Pierce referred to Nicholas in third person and Ian in second person, thus aligning himself closer to Ian in contrast to Nicholas. Pierce acknowledged this, stating that it was in recognition of his inability to speak directly to Nicholas and was not intended to make Nicholas the 'talked about person'. Pierce's use of third person cannot be seen from Ian's interpretation. Ian's interpretation gives Nicholas the impression that Pierce was speaking directly to him. When Ian interpreted back into English, Ian conforms to Pierce's third person alignment, for example "*Er, no he's he's not sure what's happening*" (row 5).

After the simulation Pierce was asked how he would typically handle citizens in custody and how this experience differed to his usual approach. Pierce first explained how citizens brought into custody would naturally be anxious and his first priority would be to put their mind at rest, again projecting competency, law and safety. These concerns indicate how close the three normative orders are in custodial settings. In Pierce's experience, citizens brought into custody would display a range of emotions, such as tension towards the arresting officer and feelings of anger or distress (including producing tears). For Pierce, his approach was to first assess the mental state of the citizen as a way to begin managing these anxiety levels. In the current context, Pierce was conscious of how isolating the experience of arrest might be for someone who was deaf. Pierce was not only concerned for Nicholas' well-being but equally concerned and eager to build a positive working relationship with Ian, who was interpreting the call.

### 7.3.4 “For yourself sir, the interpreter.” (CustodyVRI#3)

Once Pierce was confident Nicholas knew where he was being held and why he had been arrested Pierce switched to a social and task positioning move, one that was directed at Ian, Extract 25. Pierce explained what follows next and encouraged Ian to intervene should he need to.

Extract 25: “For yourself, sir, the interpreter” (00:02:52 – 00:03:05)

	CS - Pierce	VRI Interpreter - Ian	NOAP - Nicholas
1	<i>Erm (.) there's a number of questions that I'm gonna go through &lt;(.) here (.) okay&gt;? (3.0) For yourself, sir, the interpreter if there is anything you don't understand please just interrupt me</i>	<p>((Clasps hands/NOAP))</p> <p>So, I want to go through a list of questions. ((Clasps hands/NOAP))</p> <p>((Looks off screen and signs off screen/Cust))</p> <p>Okay, clear- <i>That's abso-</i> ((Looks at screen/NOAP))</p> <p>He's letting me know, I'm allowed to interrupt to clarify. (Angles torso to left of scree/Cust &amp; NOAP)) <i>That's absolutely fine</i> let you know if I need <i>clarification</i> I will- <i>I will ask, erm and er</i> list of <i>yeah if you just read through the list as you normally read through would at your normal pace then it'd just makes it easier for me to interpret for you.</i></p>	((Watching screen))
2	<i>That's fine. If I start speeding up please tell me to slow down and shut up.</i>	<p>Okay ((Nods/NOAP))</p> <p>((Angles torso to left of scree/Cust &amp; NOAP))</p> <p><i>If speed-up it gets too quick I'll let you know straight away, thank you</i></p>	

The two Police Scotland consultants noted how Pierce would frequently signpost both Ian and Nicholas with how he was going to manage the booking in process. Social and task positioning moves like Pierce’s occurred throughout all three simulations, and was symbolic of how the custody process was a highly regulated and emergent process; for example “I’m now going to speak to the arresting officers”, “For yourself, sir, the interpreter” and “as we go through this there will be question as I have to ask the officers” and “Right as I said he has to tell me his name, date of birth etcetera. So I’m gonna ask him these questions again.” Pierce’s regular use of social and task positioning was regarded by the two expert consultants to be effective

and consistent in guiding others through the booking in process. Pierce acknowledged how it was his role to inform and guide others.

### 7.3.5 “I don’t feel comfortable using a video interpreter.” (CustodyVRI#2)

The previous examples demonstrated a collective and emergent approach to addressing the low familiarity between the interpreter, citizen and custody sergeant. This type of collaboration included several task positioning moves, shared between the custody sergeants and the interpreters, both demonstrating a high level of willingness to explain their capacity to each another. In the next example, the self-other positioning moves intended to build a co-operative environment were challenged by Naomi (the NOAP), who did not feel secure or comfortable with the VRI service. Naomi was brought into police custody after a witness reported her for smacking her child in public. Naomi was collected from her home and brought into custody and her child was placed with social services. Naomi had had no information about her arrest and had struggled to interact with the arresting officers. When the interpreter appeared on screen (Image 37: CustodyVRI#2, Naomi (left) and Isaac (right)). Naomi was agitated and insisting on being told why she had been arrested and brought into custody.



*Image 37: CustodyVRI#2, Naomi (left) and Isaac (right).*

The opening of the call was disrupted by technical difficulties<sup>24</sup> and the extract below followed on from when Isaac (the interpreter) was reintroduced to the interaction. Like Ian (CustodyVRI#3), Isaac immediately assumed the interpreter (performative) position, relaying any communication heard and code-blending any of his own communication. The extract below begins one minute into the call. Pamela (the custody sergeant)

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<sup>24</sup> The SignVideo app was disrupted by the Screenflow recording software. Screenflow was used to record the video interaction as part of the data collection. The VRI call and Screenflow recording had to be restarted for the SignVideo app to function as expected.

responded first to Naomi's demands and then tried to focus Naomi's attention onto the booking-in process.

Extract 26: "I don't feel comfortable using a video interpreter." (00:01:58 – 00:03:19)

	CS - Pamela	VRI Interpreter - Isaac	NOAP – Naomi
1		<i>Why (5.0)</i>  <i>I don't know why I'm here, I don't know (.) why we're doing this, sorry what's going on?</i>	Why, Why, huh (2.0) ((Watches screen/Int)). What's this video call for? I don't know why I'm here, what is this?*** ((Watches screen/Int))
2	<i>Explain to the lady the officers have (.) have (1.0)</i>	The woman speaking is saying, the two behind you* <i>Sorry which woman? ((Points left/Cust))* The police woman</i>	((Looks at Cust and back to screen/Cust & Int)). Which woman, this one here ((Points/Cust)) the police*? ((Looks at Custody Sergeant and back to screen/Cust & Int))
3	<i>The lady sitting in front of you, if you explain to this lady in front of you, (.) that she is suspected of striking a child (.) and officers have arrested her in order to speak with her regarding her to be questioned in relation to that.</i>	You see the woman beside you, she is speaking, I will tell you what this woman is saying, okay?* She says they suspect you of striking a child (.) okay and I can hear- hear ((Points at screen/NOAP))* <i>sorry this is the interpreter asking you to repeat, the sound quality just dipped in the middle of that question. So you said er suspected in relation to striking a child I didn't hear word spoken what came after that.</i>	((Nods/Int))  (Shakes head/Int)) ((Looks at Custody Sergeant and back to screen/Cust & Int))  ((Looks at Custody Sergeant and back to screen/Cust & Int))
4	<i>She is, she's brought here to be questioned in relation to that offence okay</i>	Sorry hold, I asked her to repeat, she said you are here to be questioned now to talk about a child being struck. It's to do with that.	I thou- ((Looks at Custody Sergeant and back to screen/Cust & Int))
5		<i>I (.) I don't know why you've arrested me. Er (.) I don't know what is going on. So they took-</i>	Hold- no- I don't know why I've been arrested, the social worker just took my child and I have no idea what is going on*. I've been restrained and brought here without knowing why**
6	<i>Can you explain to her I- I- I will get details from her, I need to process her (.) into the custody system, where we'll be asking certain details tell her to bear with us and we'll go through the process and the officers will then question her.</i>	((Waves for attention/NOAP))  She (Pamella) has interrupted, I will be asking you questions, please let us go through this procedure, first we need to clarify and complete the questions from the computer, let's do this first, please be <i>But</i> -patient	((Watches screen/Int))  I don't feel comfortable using a video interpreter. This should be done using a face-

			to-face interpreter, it's much better*.
7		<i>I should have a face-to-face interpreter here, its much better. I don't like this. I don't feel like I can ere (.)r-relate to you using this. (3.0)</i>	I feel so disconnected from the interpreter. ((Watches screen/Int))
8	<i>Okay, well we can get- we can get a face to face interpreter. (.) If there is one available?</i>	Well, <I can request a face-to-face interpreter>, I can do that.	((Looks at Custody Sergeant and back to screen/Cust & Int))
9	<i>Arresting officer: nobody is available at the moment. There will be one coming later for the interview but at the moment we'll be using the video interpreter. (10.0)</i>	The two officers are talking to each other. The other officer is advising, the other woman is saying, it's too difficult. They don't have an interpreter available now. There will be one later for the formal interview. For now they're using this service to complete the process. Okay?	((Nods/Int)) ((Looks at Custody sergeant/Cust))
10	<i>Can you ask the lady if all that was understood then, so far?</i>	((Nodding/NOAP)) ((Waves for attention/NOAP)) She is asking if you understand everything so far? Do you understand what is going on? Do you understand?	((Looks at screen/Int))
11		<Err: (.) well (.) I don't know what I am expecting to happen>, no.	Well* I don't know what to expect, what is about to happen – no. ((Looks at Custody sergeant/Cust))
12	<i>Okay what's going to happen now is I will get some details from her, I will put her through the custody system and process her and it will be clear and the questions will be asked as we go along.</i>	To explain, I will be asking you questions. There is a procedure on the computer we must follow, ask questions, record details, and as we go through this process I will explain. That is it.	((Looks at screen/Int))

Extract 26 demonstrated a complex opening negotiation, where different needs were competing for attention. Pamella first tried to introduce the call to Isaac and lead with the interaction (row 2), “*Explain to the lady the officers have (.) have (1.0)*”. Isaac was unable to assume the moral and performative position Pamella required of him, which was to focus on interpreting the booking-in process to Naomi. Instead, Isaac was caught between competing positioning and re-positioning moves between Pamella and Naomi. Isaac began his interpretation by referring to Pamella as “The woman speaking is saying, the two



behind you\*” (row 2). Naomi hastily responds (row 2), “Which woman, this one here ((Points/Cust)) the police\*?” Naomi’s erratic response prevented Isaac from finishing his explanation or completing his interpretation (row 2).

Isaac and Pamella’s moral and performative positioning were repeatedly challenged by Naomi’s intentional reflexive positioning move (Davies & Harré, 1990, p. 49). Naomi did not want to assume a forced-reflexive position but a deliberate-performative one, as someone to be taken notice of. Naomi challenged the police’s rationale for arresting her (row 5), “Hold- no- I don't know why I've been arrested, the social worker just took my child and I have no idea what is going on\*. I've been restrained and brought here without knowing why\*\*.” Naomi also challenged the decision to use the VRI service (row 6), “I don’t feel comfortable using a video interpreter. This should be done using a face-to-face interpreter, it’s much better\*.” The request for a face-to-face interpreter was sincere, as Naomi explained later in the focus group that she did not feel comfortable with using VRI. Naomi struggled to feel secure when people behind or next to her were talking. Overall Naomi was not able to understand what was expected of her, nor was she prepared to accept Pamella’s or Isaac’s forced-other positioning, which was to assume a listening status.

To persuade Naomi to comply and to de-escalate her concerns, Pamella changed from a performative to an accountive position, i.e. one that acknowledged Naomi’s demands (row 6), “*Can you explain to her I- I- I will get details from her, I need to process her (.) into the custody system, where we’ll be asking certain details tell her to bear with us and we’ll go through the process and the officers will then question her*”; and (row 8) “*Okay, well we can get- we can get a face to face interpreter. (.) If there is one available?*”. Pamella tried to answer Naomi’s questions and gently move the focus of the interaction towards the booking-in process. The difficulty was that Isaac struggled both to hear Pamella and to maintain Naomi’s rate of speech (row 5 and 6).

Isaac can be seen to assume a co-public service position, favouring Pamella’s efforts to control the interaction by requesting Naomi wait until he finishes his interpretation, and by providing a commentary on what was going on in the room:. In row 3, Isaac directs Naomi on where to look to establish who is talking, “You see the woman beside you, she is speaking, I will tell you what this woman is saying, okay?\* She says they suspect you of striking a child (.) okay”. Isaac then controls the turn in row 4, “Sorry hold, I asked her to repeat, she said you are here to be questioned now to talk about a child being struck. It’s to do with that”; Finally in row 9,

Isaac adds a commentary before interpreting the side conversation, “The two officers are talking to each other. The other officer is advising, the other woman is saying, it’s too difficult. They don’t have an interpreter available now. There will be one later for the formal interview. For now they’re using this service to complete the booking in process. Okay?”

Without full co-operation from one PP, and where familiarity was low, Isaac assumed a pragmatic and expedient approach to de-escalate the conflict and enable Pamella to build a rapport with Naomi. His taking co-provider approach could be argued as keeping the interaction on track, assisting with increasing the participants’ familiarity with each other, and thus benefiting the overall goal of the interaction.

### **7.3.6 Summary**

Studies looking at police interviews have highlighted the value and importance of discussing with the citizen the police process they are about to undertake. This lays bare the police’s expectations of the citizen and has been known to assist with building rapport (Walsh & Bull, 2012). In interpreter-mediated interviews, studies have highlighted the value of including an explanation of the interpreter’s role and how to work with an interpreter (Abbe & Brandon, 2013, 2014; Howes, 2019a). Across all three VRI simulations we see a highly emergent approach to establishing relationships, which include explanations of the custody process and a concern with safety, however, no explanation was given of the interpreter’s role or how to work with an interpreter. This absence was not noticed by the participants in the post-call discussion. As with police interviews (Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2019; Howes, 2019a, 2019b), the time taken to explain the interpreter’s role to the citizen, including how to work with an interpreter, can be a useful strategy used by custody sergeants to evaluate the success of communication and the type of rapport being developed with the citizen. Although this is the first time VRI was used in custody settings, the custody sergeants would be familiar with telephone-based services for spoken language interpreting.

Although no interpreter briefing was given, the custody sergeant were concerned with forging a partnership with both the interpreter and citizen. This was evidenced through the social and task positioning moves created by the custody sergeant. The custody sergeants sought input and confirmation of understanding from both the interpreter and suspect.

In the post-simulation discussions, each of the custody sergeants described their role as someone who needed to alleviate or manage the NOAP's anxiety levels, which could be high when first brought into custody. From custody sergeant's perspective, the language used in the booking-in process was not accessible to outsiders. They wanted to communicate in a way that enabled the interpreter to do their job, and for the NOAP to understand the process and not become antagonised by lack of understanding. All of the custody sergeants welcomed the interpreter's questioning and involvement to make the process "watertight". For the custody sergeants, they stated that they needed to be one hundred percent certain that they had assessed the NOAP's well-being and identified any risk associated with placing the person in a custody cell.

This concern with safety and promoting good communication can be seen in the custody sergeants' slow and segmented rate of talk. Although this was unhelpful to the interpreters, who preferred a more natural rate of speaking, the custody sergeants were attentive to the quality of engagement. Custody sergeants would look to the interpreter (on the laptop screen) to gauge when an interpretation had finished before moving on to the next sentence. Other examples included deliberate pauses and looking towards the NOAPs to assess their understanding. The controlled pace of the interaction and visual checks could also have been an assessment of the technology, 'e.g. checking whether they could be heard or seen', and/or monitoring the interpreter and NOAP's comfort levels.

All of the custody sergeants referred to the NOAP in third person: "*tell him*", "*ask her*", "*does he*" etc. The custody sergeants admitted to being aware of this behaviour but could not explain why they defaulted to communicating in this way. With hindsight, each of the custody sergeants recognised the value and appropriateness of talking directly to the NOAP. Pierce (CustodyVRI#3) explained that part of this was due to the interpreter being the sole source of information for the NOAP, i.e. that there was no way he could interact with the NOAP without the interpreter. For Pamella (CustodyVRI#2), she felt that she struggled to connect with Naomi (the NOAP) because her attention was split between the remote interpreter and person in the room. Pamella did not feel she was able to build the same type of rapport as she would in a monolingual interaction, which explained her consistent use of the third person. Isaac (the interpreter) could not fully explain why he did not correct or comment on Pamella's approach, which he believes he would do normally, other than stating that his focus was primarily on making communication work with Naomi. By the time he felt confident that a rapport with Naomi had been established,

he had let Pamela use third person for too long to correct it. It is possible more direct speech would be used if a pre-briefing on how to work with an interpreter was discussed. With police interviews is it explained to the citizen to direct their communication to the officer and not to the interpreter.

The interpreter's response to the introduction was often confident, assertively accepting the invitation to participate and in some cases explaining their need or capacity to the custody sergeant. This conversation did not fully consider or include the citizen. How the interpreter responded, or made themselves available to the police, was influenced by the presence or absence of the NOAP. Extract 23 (section 7.3.1), Extract 24 (section 7.3.3), and Extract 25 (section 7.3.4) demonstrate the difference between how the interaction unfolded when the NOAP was off-camera as opposed to sitting in front of camera during the opening of the call. In CustodyVR1#1, where the NOAP was physically present but mostly off camera, the interpreter was not expected to assume their moral or performative position. Conversely, in CustodyVRI#2 & 3, the NOAP was visually on-screen waiting for the interpreter; the interpreter instantly assumed their moral and performative position, as well as using code-blending in their responses to the custody sergeant. To better develop a multi-professional working relationship, the custody sergeant and interpreter would need dedicated time away from the NOAP, i.e. meeting via video-link in private. This opportunity to privately discuss the custody and interpreting processes would resemble the approach taken with an on-site interpreter. On arrival at the police station, the on-site interpreter is debriefed on the arrest and custody process; in turn, the interpreter can brief the custody sergeant on how a booking-in process should ideally be managed when assisted by an interpreter.

Naomi's originally raised objections to using VRI when she was brought into custody because she didn't like having officers behind her talking and she felt lost with who was talking in the room. Naomi found the process of being detained and watched by three officers as "horrible". Naomi felt strongly that interactions with police should be handled by an on-site interpreter. VRI in her view should be restricted to brief procedural interactions. Although finding an on-site interpreter can be challenging and can take several hours Naomi disliked VRI and felt she had lost her voice. It was difficult to know for certain how much of Naomi's sense of isolation was an outcome of the custody process, which can be scary for anyone, and how much could be attributed to the

remoteness of the interpreter. It was possible the two impact on the overall experience for Naomi and that VRI did not alleviate her sense of distress.

#### 7.4 “*I think the officer next to er this man is talking*” - Handover (conversational)

Once the interpreter had been introduced to the interaction, the next phase entailed the arresting officers providing an explanation for the arrest (phase iii). In doing so, they handed over the detained person to the custody sergeant, who was responsible for administering the booking-in process (translation & problematization). At this point the custody sergeant would ask questions of the arresting officer about the arrest in the presence of the detained person (interessement). For each simulation, the arresting officers explained that they were unable to retrieve personal details at the scene of arrest as the suspect “refused to communicate”. The protocol included the recording of the arresting officer’s PSI number and their reasons for making the arrest onto the National Custody Database (mobilisation & enrolment).

The NOAP was a ratified listener (Goffman, 1981) and placed into an observer position. The summary from the arresting officer was intended to be transparent and formally explain the reasons for arrest. The interpreter was often unable to provide meaningful access to the conversations between the police staff as the two arresting officers were away from the microphone, making audio comprehension almost impossible. The interpreter was therefore unable to interpret details such as the arresting officer’s PSI number, reasons for arrest, and description of the NOAP as “refusing to communicate”. Instead the interpreter and NOAP relied on the custody sergeant to relay what was spoken.

*Extract 27: “I think the officer next to er this man is talking but  
I’m not actually hearing what he’s saying.” (00:06:11 – 00:08:12)*

	<b>CS - Pierce</b>	<b>VRI Interpreter - Ian</b>	<b>NOAP - Nicholas</b>
1	<i>Right (.) er what’s the reason for his arrest? (.) Er, er (.) His er (.) grounds for the arrest sorry.</i>	((Looks at screen/NOAP))	((Looks at screen/Int))
2	((Typing sound/NCS)) <i>Arresting officer: Er grounds for his arrest is to: facilitate an interview. (5.0)</i> ((Typing sound/NCS))	((Leans to left/NOAP)) They’re talking about something but I’m missing it. ((Straightens up/NOAP)) I can hear typing.	((Short glances at NCS/Cust))
3	<i>So I take it he was (.) identified?</i>		((Looks at NCS/Cust))

4	<i>Arresting officer: Identified at the locus by the complainer (4.0) ((Typing sound/NCS)) as responsible for the assault.</i>	You were identified by the pers- at the place, by the person who made the complaint, the person who called, said it was you.	((Looks at screen/Int))  ((Nods/Int))
4	<i>And the complainer was his partner?</i>	((Looks at screen/NOAP))	((Looks at NCS/Cust))
5	<i>Arresting officer: His partner. His current partner (10.0) ((Typing sound/NCS))</i>		
6	<i>And he requires to be interviewed?</i>	((Adjust headset/NOAP))	((Looks at screen/Int))
7	<i>Arresting officer: He requires to be interviewed (20.0)</i>  ((Typing sound/NCS))	((Looks at screen/NOAP))	((Looks at NCS/Cust))
8	<i>Right what was the time of the arrest</i>		((Looks at screen/Int))
9	<i>Arresting officer: Eleven thirty ((Typing sound/NCS))</i>		((Looks at NCS/Cust))
10	<i>And where was he arrested?</i>		
11	<i>Arresting officer: He was arrested outside 34 Douglas place (8.0) ((Typing sound/NCS))</i>	He was arrested outside 34 D.G.L.A.S place. ((Looks at screen/NOAP))	((Looks at screen/Int)) ((Nods/Int))
12	<i>Right did he make any- *sigh* reply to caution, no.</i>		((Looks at NCS/Cust))
13	<i>Arresting officer: I couldn't communicate no.</i>		
14	<i>What time did ye get here at?</i>		((Looks at screen/Int))
15	<i>Arresting officer: At eleven forty-five ((Typing sound/NCS))</i>	((Leans forward//Cust)) There is talking	((Looks at NCS/Cust)) ((Looks at screen/Int))
16		<i>Sorry, just to let you know that erm (.) I think the officer next to er this man is talking but I'm not actually hearing what he's saying, so I might be missing erm, I'm- I'm not sure how much I'm missing or getting? Just to let you know.</i>	
16	<i>What I said there was erm I was asking the officers questions about, (.) where he was arrested, (.) what time he was arrested, (5.0) and when they arrived in the office.</i>		

Pierce's focus was on recording details onto the database, where details about the arrest were documented. Ian, like the other VRI interpreters, was unable to assume his performative positioning because of audio quality. The arresting officers were positioned away from the microphone and Pierce's typing was the dominant sound. Neither the custody sergeant, arresting officers nor the NOAP questioned why Ian (or indeed the other

interpreters) had stopped interpreting at this point. Ian eventually raised the audio issue in row 13, “Sorry, just to *let you know* that erm (.) *I think the officer next to er this man is talking but I'm not actually **hearing** what he's saying, so I **might be** missing erm, I'm- I'm **not sure** how much I'm missing or getting? Just to let you know*”. This interactive repositioning move prompted Pierce to provide a summary. Pierce, as with the other custody sergeants, provided a minimal explanation of what was previously discussed (row 14), “*What I said there was erm I was asking the officers questions about, (.) where he was arrested, (.) what time he was arrested, (5.0) and when they arrived in the office*”. This summary contains no information about the reason for the arrest or the people involved.

#### **7.4.1 Summary of Handover**

As with the 101VRS interpreters, when there was an asymmetry of knowledge caused by audio or video issues, the custody VRI interpreters would intervene to highlight communication troubles. The consistency and comprehensiveness of the interpretation relied on the interpreter’s willingness to flag such issues. If a custody sergeant provided a minimal summary, as above, this was accepted and went unchallenged. Although Pierce had agreed with Ian to make it clear when problems with comprehension occurred, Ian confessed that he did not want to interrupt the custody process. For Ian, any interruption held the potential to threaten Pierce’s authority.

#### **7.5 Confirmation of NOAP’s identity (instructions + Q&A sequence)**

This next stage (phase iv) saw a shift in the custody sergeant’s focus from the arresting officer to the NOAP. Each check-in process opened with the following scripted piece:

*“You're under no obligation to say anything other than give me your name, date of birth, address, place of birth and nationality. You have the right to a consultation with a solicitor at any time. You have not been charged with any offence in relation to the circumstances of your arrest. You can be detained up to a maximum of twelve hours. In some circumstances, it may be necessary to keep you in custody for up to twenty-four hours.”*

The objective for this stage of the booking-in process was to perform a background check. As with 101VRS calls, there was a back and forth exchange where names and address details were spelled out letter by letter by the NOAP to the interpreter (see section 6.5). The interpreters would code-blend while relaying this information to the custody

sergeant, thus interactively re-positioning the NOAP as ‘monitor’ and ‘co-constructor’ of their interpretation. The use of code-blending was effective in inviting the NOAP to assist with creating an interpretation and identifying errors in the interpretation.

### 7.5.1 “*Just from the interpreter's point of view, is there a way of adding to that...*” (CustodyVRI#1)

Earlier in this chapter, it was observed that Iona would contribute on interactional and institutional matters. Often Iona would intentionally re-position herself to advise Phillip regarding how to proceed in facilitating an interaction with someone who is deaf. The contributions were intended to fill gaps in Phillip’s awareness (empower) as opposed to speeding up the process and functioning as a gatekeeper. The extract below covers a moment where Phillip was unable to record Nara’s language background into the national custody database. This information was necessary for the police to ensure her communication needs were recorded and passed on to other officers. Failure to record Nara’s language background could mean that arrangements for an interpreter would not be made for future interactions.

*Extract 28: “Just from the interpreter's point of view, is there  
a way of adding to that...” (Phillip, Iona and Nara) (00:10:23 – 00:10:54)*

	<b>CS - Phillip</b>	<b>VRI Interpreter - Iona</b>	<b>NOAP - Nara</b>
1	<p><i>Just for the information of training staff here (.) e:rm when we put erm interpreter required, (Arresting Officer replies “yes”)</i></p> <p><i>English is the only choice I've got in 'other language' (.) there isn't a sign (.) so that needs to be rectified. (2.0)</i></p> <p><i>I'm going to look for interpreters in English because there is no sign option</i></p>	<p>((Nods/NOAP))</p> <p>Just to let everyone know because he is still being trained when he selects 'interpreter' on the computer he has the option English but cannot also select a signed language.</p> <p>BSL is not on this list of languages.</p> <p>This needs to be added.</p> <p>Because- I have to select English because I have no BSL option. ((leans forward and back/NOAP))</p>	<p>((Watches screen/Int))</p> <p>((Nods/Int))</p>
2	<p>((Types on computer/NCS)) (8.0)</p>	<p>((Watches screen/NOAP))</p>	<p>((Watches screen/Int))</p>
3	<p>((Leans into shot/Int))</p>	<p><i>Just frommy** the interpreter's point of view, is there a way of adding to that because obviously the lady's</i></p>	



		first <i>language isn't English.</i> (.)  <i>Is there a way of just adding in brackets something that, just as a post-script because if- if if someone else reads that they might assume she uses English. (1.0) Don't know &lt;if that's possible&gt;?</i>	
4	<i>The system we're on just now is the training system, it isn't the full system and so the guys from that will update that.</i>	<i>Okay, thank you.</i> I wanted to check if he put down English but this isn't what you use, it's BSL and that should be recorded. <i>Okay, thank you</i>	Yes, I see.

Phillip was unable to record Nara's BSL preference because the computers used for the simulations were accessing Police Scotland's training version, not the official NCS. When noticing this gap in the training version, Phillip decided to flag this problem to his supervisor (who was acting as the arresting officer) (row 1), "*Just for the information of training staff here (.) e:rm when we put erm interpreter required, (Arresting Officer replies "yes") English is the only choice I've got in 'other language' (.) there isn't a sign (.) so that needs to be rectified. (2.0)*". How Iona responded to Phillip's concern becomes a topic of interest. Iona, who interprets this issue, misunderstand Phillip's intention as "I shall record English as Nara's other language because BSL does not exist on our system". Iona waits for eight seconds before intervening, an indication that she sees Nara as being responsible for resolving this matter. Eventually Iona decides to step in and comment on the process (row 3), "*Just from my\*\* the interpreter's point of view, is there a way of adding to that because obviously the lady's first language isn't English. (.) Is there a way of just adding in brackets something that, just as a post-script because if- if if someone else reads that they might assume she uses English. (1.0) Don't know <if that's possible>?*" This intervention was more of a personal positioning move but presented as a moral positioning move. Iona assumed a personal performative position as 'advisor' and commented on Nara language abilities "*obviously the lady's first language isn't English.*" Iona was sensitive to a common misunderstanding regarding deaf people's knowledge of English, which can affect how deaf people are supported with their communication needs and felt obliged to offer guidance. The interactive positioning move was accepted by both Nara and Phillip, neither of whom challenged nor objected to Iona's intervention. Phillip acknowledged Iona's concerns and clarified the issue as being related to the process of updating Police Scotland's training version of the NCS to include BSL as a language option.

## 7.6 Legalities explained (instructions + Q&A sequence)

The booking-in process contains multiple instances where the legal rights of a detained person can be explained (phase v: b). Since the implementation of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2016, the custody sergeant would read aloud the scripted legal text, Police Interview – Rights of Suspects (hereafter referred to as PIROS), from their workstation. The nature and the dynamics of the interaction would shift from conversational to a rote reading of the suspect’s rights, followed by a question and answer sequence to gauge the suspect’s understanding. In the simulations, this step was an institutional requirement and therefore influenced how first positions were assumed. Extract 29 was one prototypical example of how the legalities were co-ordinated, explained and reviewed for comprehension.

### 7.6.1 “I’m going to start going through some legalities.” (CustodyVRI#3)

Phillip, who was new to the custody division, was careful to ensure the legalities were read in full before checking Nara’s understanding.

Extract 29: “I’m going to start going through some legalities” (00:10:59 – 00:13:17)

	CS – Phillip	VRI Interpreter - Iona	NOAP - Nara
1	<p><i>I’m going to start &lt;going through (.) some (.) legalities&gt;. (7.0) ((Looks at SignVideo screen/Int))</i></p> <p><i>&gt;There is good reason for keeping you in custody under Section Seven of the Criminal Justice Scotland Act twenty-sixteen&lt;. ((Looks at SignVideo screen/Int))</i></p>	<p>Now I have** to go through some legal information with you.</p> <p>There is- <i>Okay just</i>Can you hold** <i>bear with me one second. (.)</i> There is a piece of text- legislation Section 7</p>	<p>((Looks at screen/Int))</p> <p>((Nods/Int))</p> <p>((Nods/Int))</p>
2		<i>Could you repeat the Act for me please?</i>	
3	<p><i>The Criminal Justice &lt;Scotland Act twenty-sixteen&gt;. (4.0)</i></p> <p><i>Correct</i></p> <p>((Glances towards Nara/NOAP))</p>	<p>It’s the Scotland Act <i>Twenty sixteen?</i></p> <p>Twenty-sixteen. This is part of the Criminal Justice Act that we are following and the grounds for keeping you here.</p>	<p>I did not understand any of that, what’s that sign (section)?</p>

4	((Looks at SignVideo screen/Int))	<i>Sorry I don't understand any of that, what- what is that? I don't understand?</i>	((Looks at screen/Int))
5	<i>That's our power of arrest. (2.0) &lt;To: (.) hold somebody in custody&gt;. (14.0)</i>	So, when the police arrest someone we are given permission, we are (.) allowed to make arrests in accordance with the law. That's what in this section. We are allowed to make arrests by following this law. (1.0) <i>Mhm. Okay.</i>	((Nods/Int)) I see. ((Looks at screen/Int)) ((Nods/Int))
6	<i>The reason you're being kept in custody is for the crime of theft by shoplifting as you have been identified by a witness. (12.0)</i>	You have been brought here because you went to a shop and stole and somebody saw you stealing.	((Nods/Int))
7	((Looks at Nara/NOAP)) ((Looks at screen/Int)) ((Looks at Nara/NOAP)) ((Looks at screen/Int)) (7.0)	((Watches screen/NOAP))	
8	((((Looks at computer/NCS)) <i>You're under no obligation to say anything other than tell me your name, (.)date of birth, address, place of birth, nationality.</i>	You (.) must explain to me only the* <i>A little bit slower on that list, can you start again with that list a little bit slower, thank you.</i>	((Glances to Custody sergeant/Cust))
9	<i>You don't have to tell me anything (.) other than your name, (.) date of birth, (.) address, (1.0) place of birth and nationality. (7.0)</i> ((Looks at screen/Int))	So to repeat you can say nothing you just need to tell me 1. your name, 2. Your birthday, 3. Where you were born and also where you are from, your background.	((Nods/Int))
10	<i>You have the right to a private consultation with a solicitor at any time (11.0)</i> ((Looks at screen/Int))	If you want we can request a consultation with a solicitor. You can request this legal assistance at any time	((Nods/Int))
11	<i>You have not been charged with any offence in relation to the circumstances of your arrest. (8.0)</i>	We have not charge you yet. We have arrested you but you have not yet been charged	
12			Charged? What is the difference?
13		<i>What do you mean by that, I don't understand what the difference is?</i>	((Looks at screen/Int))

Phillip aligned (self-positioned) himself towards the custody booking-in system by reading from the computer the legal rights and the booking-in process. Phillip operated as the animator (Goffman, 1981), reading aloud a pre-prepared script and not rephrasing or explaining unless asked. Once the legalities had been explained in full, Phillip realigned his attention towards Nara, offering her the chance to ask questions and clarify its meaning.

Iona, in common with the other VRI interpreters, would interrupt the process for reasons including the rate of speech, the technical language, or the reliability of the audio-video link<sup>25</sup>. Iona, in these instances, assumed a task positioning move by explaining the problem and what she had understood. Iona slowed the pace of the interaction and took an editorial lead by expanding and explaining the legal significance of Phillip's instructions. Iona was seeking to empower Nara's ability to understand her current circumstances. For example, when asked to clarify what Section 7 of the Criminal Justice Scotland Act (2016) means, Phillip briefly explained to Nara (row 5) "*That's our power of arrest. (2.0) <To: (.) hold somebody in custody> (14.0)*", whereas Iona covertly edited and expanded Phillip's explanation (row 5), "So, when the police arrest someone we are given permission, we are (.) allowed to make arrests in accordance with the law. That's what's in this section. We are allowed to make arrests by following this law. (1.0)". Iona continued to expand Phillip's verbalised instructions from the custody system (row 10), "*You have the right to a private consultation with a solicitor at any time*" as "If you want we can request a consultation with a solicitor. You can request this legal assistance at any time". Iona's register was informal compared to Phillip's scripted approach. Other examples of expansion included Iona numbering (in list form) the kind of information Nara is expected to provide, and modifying Phillip's closing explanation, "*You have not been charged with any offence in relation to the circumstances of your arrest*", to "We have not charge you yet. We have arrested you but you have not yet been charged". When Iona's interventions were unsuccessful, Iona deferred back to Phillip to take the explanation further.

Although I have classified these positioning moves as 'empowerment', interpreter expansions and amendments remain a controversial subject. Health interpreters functioning as gatekeepers have been known to intervene to speed up medical appointments. Here we see the opposite: Iona's contributions appear to slow down and

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<sup>25</sup> The call was connected using 4G hotspot.

enhance the booking-in process, ensuring a more rounded understanding of complex text, but not representing the source in its original complex and technical form. Isaac (CustodyVRI#2) was another interpreter who operated in a similar style. Iona acknowledged that her involvement could have been managed by Nara, and she felt that she possibly intervened excessively. Both Phillip and Nara disagreed and welcomed Iona's editorial interventions, perceiving them as making the process meaningful and tangible to someone from a different linguistic background. The crucial feature is that, when Nara expressed confusion, Iona did not independently respond. Here we see Iona setting boundaries for herself. In these circumstances Iona directed Nara's questions on to Phillip (row 3 & 11). Iona's editorial interventions were limited to audience design (Bell, 1991) and making complex messages become accessible.

### 7.6.2 *“Right, when he comes into police custody he has certain rights.”* (CustodyVRI#3)

Based on the observable changes Peirce's made when reading the scripted text on the NCS, the two Police Scotland consultants commented on Pierce's skilful changes. For Pierce, this was the least provocative approach to booking an outsider into custody. This strategy inevitably benefited the interpreting process as Pierce took the lead in unpacking complex or ambiguous meanings. In the extract below Pierce explained to Nicholas his right to have a reasonable adult contacted. The term 'reasonable' holds specific institutional meaning but can seem vague to anyone outside of this domain. Pierce pre-empts comprehension issues by explaining more specifically (row 1): *“like a friend or family member told that he's here”*.

Extract 30: *“Right, when he comes into police custody he has certain rights”* (CustodyVRI#3) (00:14:32 – 00:15:00)

	CS - Pierce	VRI Interpreter - Ian	NOAP - Nicholas
1	<i>Right, when he comes into police custody (.) he has certain rights (4.0)</i>	So when you come into custody you have rights, you have.	((Looks at screen/Int))
2	<i>one of those rights is to have a reasonably~ named person (5.0)</i>	one is that** er a reasonably er reasonably person**	
3	<i>like a friend or family member told that he's here (8.0)</i>	a frien- maybe a friend maybe a fam- frie family member told that you are in with the police at the moment.	

4	<i>does he wish anyone to be informed?</i>	Do you want to inform anything person?	
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Ian's approach was unlike the other two VRI colleagues. As shown in Extract 30, Ian was the least willing to redirect or comment on Pierce's approach, either to seek clarification on terminology or to comment on the booking-in process. Ian sought to retain his preferred moral and performative position as the detached or involved translator. In taking this approach, Ian made Nicholas and Pierce responsible for communicating their own understanding or difficulties with understanding. For example, Ian signed "reasonably" instead of "reasonable"; he did not create a proper meaning-based interpretation in this instance. Nicholas' ability to understand the question was not at risk, however, because of the way in which Pierce expanded on the term (row 3), "*like a friend or family member told that he's here*". The issue here is how Ian didn't invite others into the interpreting process and share responsibility for creating an accurate interpretation. This issue is discussed in the next section.

Later in the custody process, Pierce handed Nicholas the Letter of Rights that explained citizen's rights whilst in custody. When doing this, Pierce made sure Nicholas understood this was a formality, "*everyone who comes into custody is given one of these*". This explanation was to avoid antagonising someone who may have difficulties with reading English. Pierce didn't want to assume any deaf person could read or write, which he believes most police officers would do. Instead, Pierce saw it as necessary to make use of an interpreter to offer reassurance. Pierce was expected by his institution to perform the act of handing the detainee their letter of rights, a step introduced through the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 2016. This Letter of Rights is available in other languages and easy read format. None of the custody sergeants offered the NOAP the easy read version. A recent HMICS (2018a) investigation found custody sergeants to be unfamiliar with the easy read version; it was also recommended that the easy read version be reviewed and improved with expert guidance, as it was not clear what marked this document as different to the standard version.

### 7.6.3 Summary

The above examples demonstrate how the custody sergeant and interpreters opened up their capacity and willingness to build a partnership with one another. Ian was the least

likely to produce editorial changes to the scripted text but was being monitored and supported by Pierce. Iona and Isaac were more likely to make interventions and open up their interpreting process to others. This difference could be related to their individual experience of working with an institutional (frozen) text and their respective confidence in making changes. Iona's editorial changes did reach a threshold: if Nara struggled to understand Iona's rendition, Iona deferred back to Phillip.

Pierce applied his own judgement in editing the custody questions. Pierce felt a lot of the NCS content was "*nonsense at the best of times*" and so his focus was on getting the message across. Phillip, who was new to custody, deviated less from the NCS, which in part explains why Iona was more likely to intervene.

### **7.7 Disclosure about the offence (conversational)**

Across all simulations there was a standard and open question put to the NOAP (row 1), "*Do you have any comments to make regarding your arrest so far?*" This presents a pause in the official booking-in process and an opportunity to discuss with the NOAP about the arrest (translation). The question itself is vague and could be interpreted in a variety of ways, e.g. "*I didn't do it*", "*the officer was rough with me and I don't want him here*", "*how long will I be kept here*" etc. There were multiple objectives in putting this question to the NOAP. On the surface it may appear to be an attempt to elicit a confession, but it was also to build a rapport with the NOAP (problematization). Custody sergeants will seek to build a rapport with the suspect as a method for promoting co-operative behaviour (Skinns et al., 2017). This reasoning was again explained to me from Police Scotland consultant during a field trip. If a suspect was unhappy and agitated by an arresting officer a replacement officer would arrange to take over and assist with the booking in process. Proactive steps would be taken to reduce tension in the hope the suspect will improve their co-operation (interessement). Management of behaviour (or dealing with a suspect's vulnerability) and safety were seen as essential to being a custody sergeant (mobilisation).

The following extract has been selected because Nara seeks clarification to help her distinguish the booking-in process from the interview process (rows 1 – 9). After this exchange Nara appears willing to disclose details about the arrest (rows 10 -12). This willingness unsettles Iona who decides to clarify Nara's intention to disclose before

committing to an interpretation. Iona appears uncomfortable while Phillip seems familiar with the type of behaviour displayed by Nara.

*Extract 31: Wh- what would you like to say regarding your arrest so far?'' (00:17:33 – 00:20:26)*

	<b>CS - Phillip</b>	<b>VRI Interpreter - Iona</b>	<b>NOAP - Nara</b>
1	Do you have any comments to make regarding your arrest so far?	Is there anything you would like to tell us about the arrest yet? Do you have anything to say, questions or comments? ((Leans forward/NOAP))	((Looks at screen/Int))
2		<i>I don't know, I don't know my rights so... don't know whether to say anything or not to say anything.</i> ((Leans back/NOAP))	I don't know my rights? What if I decide to say nothing or say something? What should I do?
3	Now, you must remember you don't have to say anything, to me other than to give me those details you just have...	Remember you must provide the answer to questions like your name, birthday and any other information you can choose to say nothing or tell us, it is up to you. (Leans forward/NOAP))	((Nods/Int))
4		<i>What- what kind of</i> ((Adjusts seating/NOAP)) <i>information do you mean? I don't know what you mean?</i> ((Leans back/NOAP)) ((Adjust headset)) ((Leans forward/NOAP))	What do you mean information? I don't get it?  ((Coughs)) ((Looks at screen/Int))
5	The information we need, place of birth, date of birth, and nationality, are the only details, she needs to give me.	((Leans back/NOAP)) I have asked you for your name, birthday, your address, you must give me those answers. Anything else, you do not have to say anything else. ((Leans forward/NOAP))	((Nods/Int))
6		<i>Oh, so... Are you going to ask me about that later?</i>	Oh, so you'll ask me about that later**?
7	What I'm going to ask, I'm now going to give her some more of her rights...	((Leans back/NOAP))  Now, I will talk with you about your rights and other information- ((Leans forward/NOAP))	I see. Okay. ((Nods/Int))
8		<i>O:kay I understand.</i>	
9	ask questions, is just to gauge if the person coming into custody wants to make any comments regarding their arrest today.	((Looks away from screen and moves ear closer to screen)) ((Nods/NOAP)) ((Leans back/NOAP)) Right, now, this is just when	((Glance away/CS))



		someone is arrested and brought to a police station sometimes a person will want to talk about their arrest, would you like to talk, or would you prefer not to talk, is there anything you'd like to tell us? ((Leans forward/NOAP))	
10		((Leans back/NOAP)) So, you do want to talk about it?	Yes.  Yes.
11		<i>Yeah, that she- I think she- just to cl- clarify she's confirming that she would like to talk about the arrest.</i>	
12	(3 second pause)  Okay, Wh- what would you like to say regarding your arrest so far?	((Leans forward/NOAP))  ((Leans back/NOAP)) What is it that you want to talk about the arrest so far? What is it you want to talk about that has happened?	   Yes.
13		((Leans forward/NOAP))  <i>Erm, I... just want to know what kind of trouble I would get into. You know, what happens?</i>	You mean will I get into trouble for what happened? Is that what you mean.
14	(14 second silence – types on to computer)  I'll explain that as we go through the process... don't worry my job here is to make sure that you're okay.	((Looks away/Off screen)) ((Looks at screen/NOAP)) ((lean back/NOAP))  <u>I can explain the process, there is no need to worry.</u>	   Hold on my picture went there.
15		((Leans forward/NOAP)) <i>Oh sorry, she just- she just saying that my picture cut out. So if you could just repeat that?</i>	
16	(3 second silence) I'll, all I'm saying is my job here isn't to investigate the crime. Its to make sure you're okay and I'll explain her rights as we go.	((Leans back/NOAP)) It's not my responsibility to investigate the arrest or crime. I'm here to look after you, I can explain your rights to you and the process. That's what I can do.	  I see, okay. ((Nods/Int))

Throughout this chapter examples of Iona performing editorial changes, comments on how to ensure Nara is included, and communicating linguistic differences to Phillip has become part of her approach to managing this custody interaction. Iona has voluntarily assumed a shared duty to guide Phillip (or the police as an institution) with handling a deaf suspect. Phillip has responded positively with Iona's contributions and showed signs of learning and adapting his approach. Iona has also set limits on where and when she functions in this shared role. It could be argued Iona has digressed from her code of ethics

but with unsaid agreement from those involved. Iona does not assume responsibility to explain terms or processes, this she understands as Phillip's moral position.

The types of contributions Iona performs were not the same for Nara, who she treats slightly differently. This could be explained as in accordance with Nara's status as civilian and the non-official person. Iona does not comment on Nara's approach, for example Iona does not invite, or empower, Nara to ask why Phillip he was unable to record BSL as her language (section 7.5.1). Nor does Iona respond directly to questions around the meaning of terms or process (7.6.1). Instead, Iona regards this as Phillip's responsibility (moral position). These boundaries remain the same in the extract above, Nara's requests for clarification were transferred to Phillip to manage (rows 1 – 9).

The area of interest was where Nara appears willing to disclosing something about the arrest (row 10). This particular moment represents a well-documented example across interpreting studies where the interpreter questions an interactive decision made by a non-official person. Iona sought assurances from Nara before committing to an interpretation (row 10) "So, you do want to talk about it?" The concern for Iona is how a possible mistake is reflected upon Nara. The risk is how a request for assurance could provoke a retraction, Nara's reply "Yes" was rendered by Iona with multiple hedges "I think", "just to" and in third person (row 11), "*Yeah, that she- I think she- just to cl- clarify she's confirming that she would like to talk about the arrest.*" Switching to third person is a common strategy for interpreters who attempt to distance themselves from a client's statement. Here Iona has reduced her commitment behind the potential disclosure.

## **7.8 Health and welfare check (Q&A sequence)**

The objective of the booking-in process was to perform a risk assessment and to prepare a care plan (phase v: g). The booking-in process consisted of question and answer sequences. In some cases the custody sergeant would deviate from the booking-in script to elicit further information about the NOAPs background, creating a brief conversational sequence before returning to the question and answer format.

The custody sergeants' positioning moves would rotate from reading scripted questions from the computer, monitoring the behaviour of the NOAP, monitoring the progress of the interpreter, and returning to the computer to record the answers provided. Earlier it

was discussed how custody sergeants would assume social and task positioning moves to explain the custody process and manage others' expectations. In this current section we look at differences in how social and task positioning moves were communicated and managed by the interpreters.

Ian would avoid assuming task positioning moves such as calling on Pierce to clarify terms, e.g. "reasonable adult", "legal highs" "biometric samples" etc. In doing so, Ian relied on Nicholas to confirm or reject his understanding. Ian's strategy relied on Nicholas' knowledge of English. In each instance, Nicholas provided an accurate reply. Neither Nicholas nor Pierce saw a need to comment or question Ian's approach. As Ian's was not challenged, it is not known how Ian would modify his strategy had Nicholas or Pierce not understood his interpretation.

Iona and Isaac were more likely to perform social and task positioning moves. Iona and Isaac would invite the custody sergeant to clarify the terms mentioned above or announce their intention to explain these terms. Another reason Iona or Isaac would switch to a social and task positioning move would be to involve the custody sergeant on why a question needed to be rephrased or restructured. Iona and Isaac prioritised accuracy and clarity, which added further time to the custody process. The crucial difference between the approach taken by Iona and Isaac and that of Ian was that the former owned the responsibility for others' understanding and invited others into the communication process (I. Mason, 2009; Turner, 2007).

### ***7.8.1 Erm as the interpreter I am not sure what they are, so its tricky to interpret that, do you have examples (CustodyVRI#1)***

Iona's approach, as demonstrated in previous sections, was highly interventionist, with a mixture of covert and explicit moves. Comparing Iona's positioning moves to Ian's, Iona was more likely to re-position herself in ways that invited the custody sergeant with reformulating the standard question to overcome linguistic differences. In the example below Iona confesses to not knowing the term legal high thus inviting Phillip to assist with how this question was subsequently explained (row 3). Although Phillip's expansion (row 4) '*street drug*' was still inadequate Iona decides to proceed with the interpretation, one that was still incomplete. The term legal highs in English and BSL is both broad and vague. Iona first attempts to draw Phillip into the interpreting process

before experimenting with her interpretation on Nara. This experimental move places Nara as responsible to determine whether or not the question makes sense to her.

*Extract 32: “Erm as the interpreter I am not sure what they are, so its tricky to interpret that, do you have examples?” (00:31:03 – 00:31:19)*

	<b>CS - Phillip</b>	<b>VRI Interpreter - Iona</b>	<b>NOAP - Nara</b>
1	<i>Are you dependent on drugs or other substances?</i>	((Leans forward/angles ear towards CS)) ((Nods/NOAP)) ((Leans back/NOAP)) Before there was a question about alcohol addiction, now the question is about drug use, do you have a drug addiction like taking pills, inject, or inhale or by other means?	((Looks at screen/Int))  ((Nods/Int))
2		No	No ((Shakes head/Int)) nothing
3	<i>(4 second silence– typing)</i>  <i>Have you used any drugs or other substances like legal highs in the last twenty-four hours.</i>	((adjusts headset/Off screen)) <i>Erm as the interpreter I am not sure what they are, so its tricky to interpret that, do you have examples?</i>	((Looks at screen/Int))
4	<i>Have you used any street drugs, or legal highs, in the last twenty-four hours?</i>	Have you, its called "street drugs" taken a pill, injected or inhaled a line, in the last twenty-four hours? Or used, what's called “legal highs”, H.I.G.H., have you used any in the last twenty-four hours?	((Looks aaway/CS)) ((Looks at screen/Int))
5		<i>No</i>	No, no ((shakes head/Int)) I haven't

### 7.8.2 “Can I actually expand on that...” (CustodyVRI#2).

In the extract below, Pamela asks if Naomi’s child is on medication. Pamella would often read aloud multiple questions. In each case, Isaac assumed a task positioning move to explain how the questions would be delivered in parts or rephrased.

*Extract 33: “Can I actually expand on that...” (00:28:31– 00:29:08)*

	<b>CS – Pamella</b>	<b>VRI Interpreter - Isaac</b>	<b>NOAP - Naomi</b>
1	<i>Can you ask her if her child is allergic to anything or on medication?</i>	Is your**, again I'll ask that in two parts. Is your child taking medication?	

2		No, prescription, prescription.	You mean I buy myself?***
3		<i>Errr, yes she is. She takes something every day. So that's the <b>first part</b> of the question and can you <b>remind me of the second part</b> of the question?</i>	Yes, she has something every day, every day  ((Glances to Custody Sergeant/Cust & Int))
4	<i>Can I actually expand on that and just tell me what? What is it?</i>	Okay.	
5		<i>Okay could you tell me more about the medication, what is the child taking?</i>	

In the extract above Isaac took on greater responsibility by reformulating the two questions, incidentally reversing the order of the questions, and responding to Naomi's confusion. Isaac was transparent about his decision to restructure Pamela's question (row 1), "*again I'll ask that in two parts*". Pamela did not challenge or question Isaac's decision to break the question into two parts. Therefore, Pamela sanctioned Isaac's professional judgement. Neither did Pamela question the side discussion where Isaac clarified the term "prescription" (row 2). Isaac's co-diagnostic interventions were intended to benefit the objective of the interview, which was to confirm Naomi's child's safety.

Pamela did intervene when Isaac sought to move the interview on to the next question (row 4), "*Can I actually expand on that and just tell me what? What is the medication she is on?*" Naomi had disclosed details that were of value to Pamela and this prompted her to stop Isaac and clarify the type of medication Naomi's child was taking. Looking at how non-interpreters direct, or redirect, interpreters' decision-making is an understudied topic (I. Mason, 2009). In one extract we see that Pamela sanctioned Isaac's decision to restructure a question and a few moments later stopped Isaac from progressing onto the next question. Pamela was monitoring and responsive to Isaac's task positioning moves, either sanctioning or redirecting Isaac's contributions. We also see that Pamela did not question or challenge Isaac's brief side discussion with Naomi<sup>26</sup>. This suggests that Pamela had a threshold whereby she was willing to permit Isaac a degree of freedom to engage with the NOAP directly. There is no evidence in this study to determine how

<sup>26</sup> Across the VRI custody data there were only three instances where an interpreter held a side discussion with the NOAP. In each case it was a single sentence to confirm the meaning of a term.

great this threshold may be and how context might cause Pamela's threshold to become reduced or increased.

## 7.9 Completion of check in process (instructions + Q&A sequence)

The final part of the booking-in process (phase v: j) involved explaining to the NOAP the process of collecting biometric samples, the nature of the custody cell, and what to expect once the NOAP leaves the charge bar (e.g. that a solicitor and an on-site interpreter had been requested and the NOAP would be held in a cell until they arrived). In the simulation, the actual body search or taking of biometric samples was not performed in full, only explained to the NOAP. The range of positioning moves, and causes for these moves, resemble many of the experiences covered already in this chapter. What was specific to this phase was the consideration of how communication was to be sustained once the VRI call had concluded. Once the call ended, the NOAP would become isolated and unable to communicate, for example to seek clarification, ask questions or challenge aspects of their detention. All of the NOAPs hesitated at this point and sought reassurances that an interpreter would be booked and brought on-site.

*Extract 34: Do you mean you will bring an interpreter on-site,*

*will there be one here when the solicitor comes or...? (CustodyVRI#1) (00:40:25 – 00:42:02)*

	<b>CS - Phillip</b>	<b>VRI Interpreter - Iona</b>	<b>NOAP - Nara</b>
1	<i>Okay (.) so (.) that's our search now complete (.)</i>	<i>Okay</i> ((Nods/NOAP))	((watches screen/Int))
2	<i>Whats going to happen now i:s (.) Nara is going to be (.) taken to her cell.</i>	So, the body search is complete. You N.A.R.A, you will be taken to your C.E.L.L ((nods/NOAP)) cell ((nods/NOAP)).	
3	(6.0) <i>My colleagues gonna take [muffled sound] show her how the buzzer works,</i>	<i>Uhmm</i>  ((Leans forward/Cust)) ((Leans back/NOAP)) They will show you how to use the buzzer, how to use the buzzer,	((Nods/Int))
4	(5.0) <i>er that's to call for any assistance she requires.</i>	they will show you. This means you use the buzzer to call for help. They will show you how to use the buzzer. ((Leans forward/NOAP)) <i>Uhmm</i> ((Nods/NOAP))	
5	(7.0) <i>We'll show her how the toilet works.</i>		

		((Leans back/NOAP)) They will show how the toilet works, how it works.	
6	(6.0) <i>And she will be placed there untill I contact her solicitor.</i>	You will stay there until I contact your solicitor*.  <i>Ummm</i>	((Nods/Int))
7	(6.0) <i>And my colleague come back to either interview her (.) or for her to be cautioned and charged formally</i>	((Nods/NOAP))  Then, you will either be interviewed or formally cautioned and charged. Either one. ((Leans forward/NOAP))	((Nods/Int))
8	(5.0) <i>Does she have any questions (.) for me just now?</i>	((Leans back/NOAP)) Do you have any questions now?	
9		((Lean sforward/NOAP))  <i>Just when the solicitor comes, will there definitely be an interpreter with them?</i>	Do you mean you will bring an interpreter on-site, will there be one here when the solicitor comes or...?
10	(2.0) <i>Yes we would have to arrange that, otherwise it would be pointless.</i>	((Leans forward/Cust)) ((Leans back/NOAP)) Yes ((nods/NOAP)) we will, we will arrange. If we didn't have one, it would be a waste of time, a waste. ((Leans forward/Cust)) <i>Ummm</i>	((watches screen/Int))  ((Nods/Int))
11	(8.0) <i>And that's all just now. Thank you very much for your assistance</i>	((Lean back/NOAP)) That's it. Thank you very much.	

Phillip resumed his institutional moral position by ensuring he communicated clearly, calmly and monitored Iona and Nara's behaviour. This is evidence by Phillip's pace of speech, which was parsed with long pauses (row 1 – 11). Each pause afforded Iona time to expand and repeat her interpretation, assuming a co-public service approach. Both Phillip and Iona were focused on clarity and careful with how the following steps were explained.

Each of the custody sergeants did not raise how communication would be sustained beyond the VRI call. However, each of the NOAPs did raise their concern like Nara (row 9). When asked, each of the custody sergeant confirmed an interpreter would be arranged. It was not made clear by the custody sergeants whether the VRI service could be called

upon again following the completion of the booking-in process, e.g. if the NOAP felt unwell, required food, wanted to call a reasonable adult or a solicitor themselves, or wished to have their legal rights translated in full.

With an on-site interpreter for the booking-in process, the interpreter can be used in other areas of the police station, e.g. during the taking of biometric samples or escorting the NOAP to the custody cell. The VRI service was only usable where the technology had been placed within the station, in this instance the charge bar. The NOAP had to take responsibility for raising their linguistic needs, including to confirm if an on-site interpreter will be arranged.

### **7.10 Conclusion**

This study investigated the first example of VRI used in a UK custody setting. Unlike the previous chapter the challenges observed in how people communicate was not disrupted by the technology used but familiarity with the formality and language used in the custody process. The interpreters who participated in these VRI calls took a cautious approach to explaining the process and terminology. The custody sergeants were willing to work with the interpreters and explain the terminology or process. It is possible for many of these issues to shift as the interpreters become more familiar and comfortable with the booking-in process. The risk here is how the interpreter will take responsibility for enabling understanding rather than deferring to the custody sergeant, as seen here.

The citizen participant showed more restraint, in contrast to the citizen participant in the 101VRS context. This is understandable, as greater care is given with what information to disclose and how much to share. There were some problems with the process adopted in this study which I would like to briefly explain. Firstly, the study may have revealed a different outcome if the VRI interpreter and custody sergeant were afforded time to discuss the call in private before introducing the citizen. To do so would be similar to an on-site interpreter being able to meet with the custody sergeant before participating in the booking-in process. Secondly, the SignVideo co-ordinator did not sign post the custody sergeant to Police Scotland's policy and guidance with how to communicate via an interpreter or with a deaf citizen. This guide is available internally and observing how the custody sergeant uses this information may have created a different type of co-operative environment. As argued with police interviews (Abbe & Brandon, 2013, 2014;



Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2019; Howes, 2019a), providing the citizen with an explanation of the interpreter's role and how to work with an interpreter can promote best practice and facilitate the rapport building process. The following, and final, chapter will review the findings from Chapter 7 and Chapter 8.

## Chapter 8 – Discussion and Conclusion

This interdisciplinary study offers originality in terms of both methodology and research design, and touches on the unexplored research subject of frontline VRS/VRI police-citizen interactions. In section 4.2 - 4.5 it was explained how little was known about the experiences of deaf people within the context of frontline policing. Accessing real-world interactions has been a challenge due to the randomness of where and when deaf people come into contact with the police. Planning for, and accessing, authentic police-deaf citizen interactions was further complicated by the infrequent use of video recording to document these interactions, and by data protection laws restricting access to such content. These practical and legal barriers resulted in a significant gap in our understanding of whether gateways into the police and wider justice system deliver parity of service to citizens who are deaf BSL users.

In partnership with SignVideo and Police Scotland, I was able to design and conduct near authentic VRS and VRI simulations. The analysis centred on audio-video data and post-simulation reflections, and concerned the ways in which different actors came together via technology for an unplanned interpreter-mediated event. For this study I framed the research questions in the following way:

- 1) *how is co-operation negotiated during a video-mediated interpreting interaction in a frontline policing context?*
- 2) *how does co-operation affect the delivery of interpreting and frontline policing service?*

Co-operation between the participants was selected as the focal point because it has been repeatedly argued that interpreted-mediated communication is a joint venture, as discussed in Chapter 3. This theoretical premise formed the basis of the dialogue interpreting paradigm. This study sought to isolate and look deeper at what this joint venture entailed by considering each of the participant viewpoints, or positions, within the context of storylines and communicative acts, as outlined in section 2.2. As an interdisciplinary study, equal consideration was given to the ways in which the 101CHs and custody sergeants navigated their way through a standard frontline policing procedure. This expanded the research focus to include current issues in policing, such as procedural justice and policing vulnerabilities. Each of these theoretical concepts from

policing and interpreting studies are revisited in this chapter and their practical relevance explained.

In section 8.2 I summarise the key themes introduced early on in the literature review and how these known issues led me to formulate a set of research aims. The findings presented in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 are summarised in section 8.2, including their theoretical and practical contributions to the dialogue interpreting paradigm, policing diverse communities, procedural justice and policing vulnerabilities. The experimental hybrid positioning-ANT framework applied in this study is also reviewed. In section 8.3 I consider the limitations of this study. To bring this body of work to a close, I present my recommendations to this PhD's two non-academic partners, Police Scotland and SignVideo, and make some closing comments (sections 8.4 and **Error! Reference source not found.**).

### **8.1 Summary of the thesis and research aims**

A critical ontological and epistemological feature of this study was the rhetorical and reciprocal nature of rights and duties that exist within all interactions (see Chapter 2). Harré (2012, p. 197) summarises rights and duties as:

Rights: My rights are what you (or they) must do for me.

Duties: My duties are what I must do for you (or them).

When viewing interactions in this way, a positioning analysis offered real potential to look at how the negotiation of rights and duties, embedded within a VRS/VRI frontline policing storyline, led to certain outcomes.

In reviewing the literature it became strikingly clear how co-operation in a policing context has not always been possible because suspicion and mistrust towards the citizen, or interpreters, interfered with the overall police objective, i.e. to gather intelligence. The police have been accused of failing to recognise and appreciate how a citizen's background characterises their encounter with the police. Call-handlers were once criticised for adopting a process-driven approach to their service and not doing enough to create an open space for people to describe their troubles (Tracy, 1997; Zimmerman, 1984). Custody sergeants have not always been willing to accommodate issues around

citizen diversity or to make changes that could be perceived as favouring one group of people above another (Britton, 2000). Studies looking at the experiences of deaf people in dealing with the police, although limited in terms of research output, resonates with these policing diversity themes.

This study took place at a point in time where there was changing emphasis across policing towards becoming better at engaging with the public (see Chapter 4) and forming better professional partnerships with the interpreting profession (Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2019; Napier et al., n.d.). Based on more recent studies and reviews, there appeared to be an improvement in how call-handlers and custody sergeants approached and handled their monolingual interactions with the public (HMICS, 2015, 2017, 2018a, 2019; Skinns et al., 2017; Stafford, 2016, 2017; Wooff & Skinns, 2017). Procedural justice and dealing with people's vulnerabilities were seen as being powerful concepts that moved frontline services away from stereotyping citizens and promoting sympathetic communication styles, which has the capacity to improve trust, voice and co-operation (Bartkowiak-Théron & Asquith, 2012, 2015).

This shift in direction in policing added a relevant and interesting angle to analysing the performance of call-handlers and custody sergeants with regards to their shared responsibility for making interpreter-mediated communication possible. How procedural justice changed the dynamics of interpreter-mediated police-citizen interactions was not known. The recent introduction of 101VRS in the UK presented a practical incentive to begin exploring the subject. It was anticipated that those who adopt an awareness of how they are dealing with a person's vulnerability, and extend the principles of procedural justice to include both the interpreter and citizen, may create better co-operative conditions for communication (Goodman-Delahunty & Howes, 2019; Howes, 2019b).

To approach these issues around assisting and communicating in either a frontline policing context or a VRS/VRI context, I combined positioning theory with ANT and conducted the analysis on two mutually instructive levels. The first level was to chart the positioning moves between the people in the VRS/VRI calls. When charting the positioning moves, I focused on:

- a) the capacity that the police participant, interpreter and citizen have in positioning themselves and others;
- b) the willingness of the police participant, interpreter and citizen to accept the positioning of themselves and others;

The second level of analysis introduced the ANT framework and considered:

- a) the impact non-human entities have on how these positioning moves are realised.

Capacity referred to one's ability to move between positions. It was explained that the difference in power and moral orders meant access to resources and the ability to establish topics would be unequal. For interpreters and frontline services, the positioning moves occupied would primarily be of an institutional moral kind, with the occasional switching to personal positioning. The citizen, who is the receiver of the police service, will mainly fluctuate between a conversational moral order and a personal order, for example when they share the co-constructor order or co-diagnostic/co-public service order. The willingness to position, or be positioned, focuses the analysis on the distance one goes with a type of co-operative position. When looking at individuals' willingness, I was guided by the question: how far did a participant go to align their actions with another's?

The inclusion of technology could not be overlooked. This was because the VRS/VRI and police institutions had distributed resources in such a way as to regulate the behaviours of citizens, interpreters and frontline services. This was especially true for frontline police services, who had a duty to follow protocols and record the citizen's account. With awareness of this, I sought to combine positioning theory with a complementary framework that was invested in recognising how the status of actors symbiotically impacted on another. ANT met this criterion. The following two sections will revisit the findings of this study and relate them back to existing ideas on positioning theory, interpreting studies and policing studies.

## 8.2 Summary of 101VRS and Custody VRI

This section summarises the key findings from Chapter 6 and Chapter 7. The interactions that took place were not conversational but semi-structured. There are known issues with communicating via a VRS service, as described in section 3.5, and these were found to remain unchanged in 101VRS context. The impossibility of the citizen and 101CH to directly engage with one another did result in overlapping talk, conflict regarding turn-taking and increased dependence on the interpreter. The citizens and 101CHs were dependent on the interpreter with regards to how they were represented. Conversely, the VRI arrangement restored many of the norms of on-site interpreting. This was because the citizen and custody sergeant could independently access and monitor each other's physical demeanour, supplemented by the interpreter's input. Furthermore, the VRI interpreter does not need to announce their presence nor explain the VRI configuration. This is because both the deaf and hearing participant are co-located and have mutually consented to calling the VRI interpreter. Despite these mitigations, the VRI interpreter, like the VRS interpreter, still has to contend with the unplanned nature of the call, the specific terminology used by the people participating in the call, and make sense of another person's story in situ.

In this study, specific attention was afforded to the 101CHs and the contributions they made to the IME through their expertise in handling calls from the public. The 101CHs were well versed in dealing with a variety of calls from unknown callers. They had developed strategies to cope with not being able to see the citizen's immediate reality, differences in epistemic stance, and responding to the citizen's idiosyncratic style of communication, which may be emotional, confused, erratic, or confrontational. These were transferable skills that benefited the interpreter working remotely and facilitated communication for unplanned events. The 101CHs who promoted emergent practice in their day-to-day work were better prepared for establishing how to work with the interpreter. The interpreter was afforded time and discretion to learn the citizen's reality, tend to technical issues and call on others to assist with formulating an interpretation.

Affording the interpreter time and space to make communication possible was also observed in the custody context. Like call-handlers, the custody sergeants were versed in dealing with people's vulnerabilities and mindful of how the custody process may antagonise or confuse others. In response to these concerns, the custody sergeants were proactive in creating an inclusive context. The attention given to communication not only

benefited the NOAP but the interpreter as well, who was the only person based remotely. The custody process contained more scripted talk and formal language use. For the unversed interpreter, determining how to explain the legal terms or explain the custody process required flagging the troubled area and calling upon the custody sergeant's assistance to unpack and explain the technical meaning. On each occasion the custody sergeant demonstrated their capacity and willingness to work with the interpreter to ensure inclusion and completion of the task.

All of these co-positioning acts required an implicit understanding of another interactive partner's rights and duties and finding ways to merge with these positions. The co-positioning acts would change the dynamics of the group interaction whereby the interpreter stepped into the same moral field as the primary participant (PP), or vice versa. The concept of co-positioning was first introduced by Mason (2009) and extended further by other scholars (Anderson, 2009; Davitti, 2012; Merlini, 2009; Warnicke, 2018). The co-positioning moves discussed in these earlier studies generally focused on the positions created by, or given to, the interpreter. This study extends the discussion of co-positions by tracing the multi-self-other positioning created by all of the participants and how this implicated others to become involved in making communication possible.

The emergence of co-positions consisted of a performative kind (self-generated) and accountive kind (responsive). Participants would voluntarily identify a need to occupy a co-position or respond to a co-positioning request. The movement into co-positioning could either be performed covertly or publicly. I did not detect an instance where a single group position had been established. This may be due to the definitions used for this study or because of the nature of these encounters, i.e. that there was a clear difference in the moral order between the police and citizen. The interpreter, as the mediator, was permitted to share or step into either participant's moral field. The ability to move into or out of the interpreter's moral field was reciprocal, as displayed by the PPs co-constructor order. One possible reason to explain why all three did not form a cohesive moral order could be the low familiarity between participants, and because the purpose of the interaction was to learn about the citizen or to learn in what way the police deal with certain matters. The examples of co-positioning observed will be summarised in the following sub-sections.

### **8.2.1 *Citizen co-positioning moves***

This study opened up the discussion around co-operation by considering the broader role played by the citizen in the IME. Since the introduction of the dialogue interpreter paradigm, it has been repeatedly argued that interpreters cannot solely function as a detached translator and that a dialogue interpreter and PPs must be prepared for a variety of interpreter positions to be occupied (see section 3.3.1). It is well documented that the interpreter can be seen to be positioned and repositioned not by only her own will and capacity but by the capacity or willingness expressed by others as well. The interpreter is ‘a ratified hearer, a repairer of troubles, guarantor of comprehension, provider of lexical solutions’ (Monteoliva-Garcia, 2017, p. 282). In a VRS context further positions include call-handler/manager (Marks, 2015; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2016).

This leads me to the first theoretical contribution to the dialogue interpreter paradigm. Like the interpreter, the PPs can and do occupy co-positions that concern and benefit the interpreting process. Each of the PPs also function as a ratified hearer of the interpreter’s self-generated utterances, a repairer of translation troubles, guarantor of interpreter comprehension, provider of lexical solutions and monitor of translation output. The PP’s role as partner in the interpreting process was captured in detail by Napier (2007b) in her six maxims of co-operative principles of interpretation. Napier (2007b) demonstrated the levels of awareness and reflection between a deaf presenter and two interpreters as they prepared for and worked together in delivering a presentation to a non-signing audience. Napier (2007b) acknowledged that her study focused on participants who were familiar with each other and had benefited from the ability to plan and prepare. This study extended Napier’s (2007b) approach by investigating a dialogue interpreting setting, where familiarity between participants was far lower and the opportunities to prepare were highly constrained. Like Napier (2007b), I sought to critically describe the behaviour of the citizen with the belief that this learning can be transferred to educate users on how to approach their IME. Traditionally this objective has concentrated on how to convert research findings to inform the training of professionals, best practice guidelines and policies, etc.

Although familiarity between participants was low, the citizens in this study were not naive users of an interpreting service and had a general understanding of what the police can or cannot do. In terms of their status as users of interpreting services, the citizen



participants were recognised as being more experienced (Napier, Oram, et al., 2019; Napier & Leeson, 2016). The citizen participants' experience of using interpreters was naturally utilised during the simulations, either to work with or to control the interpreter's approach to the VRS/VRI call. The post-simulation discussions also revealed the level of awareness and experience of each of the citizen participants with regards to using or working with an interpreter. Reflecting on these approaches was valuable since they give insights into the expectations of deaf people towards IMEs, their own broader role in the IME and how to work with interpreters. The descriptions provided here reconfirm Kauling's (Forthcoming) argument that interpreters can either be viewed as 'partners' or as a 'tools' for communication. In the data and discussion chapters there were examples where citizens who viewed the VRS or VRI interpreters as a 'tool' for communication expected the interpreter to occupy a detached translator order, while those who subscribed to the partnership approach viewed the interpreter as occupying a broader moral order. Perceptions of the interpreter only partly account for the observed behaviours. The context of the interaction determined the kind of identities that were permissible. The NOAPs performed similar co-positioning moves to citizens in the 101VRS calls but with far greater restraint and caution. The citizens in the custody context would perform co-positioning moves that were an accountive kind, responding to the positioning moves created by the interpreter or custody sergeant. In the 101 context, the citizens would perform both a performative kind and accountive kind of positioning moves. Adding to this restrained presence was the restrained behaviour presented by the custody sergeant and interpreter, both of whom were careful in the manner in which they disturbed the citizen's moral order. The distribution of moral orders was uneven, thus limiting participants' orientation to what they considered to be allowable contributions to the interaction.

Opening up the citizen's perspective meant this study could critically investigate how the interpreter responded to the self-other positioning arrangement proposed by the citizen. If a citizen viewed the interpreter as a detached translator and asserted this self-other positioning, this presented the interpreter with a type of ultimatum. The interpreter had to make a professional judgement on whether to maintain or renegotiate this other positioning. The consequences of acceptance or negotiation were discussed in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

In a VRS context, the detached translator order has been argued to be problematic for interpreters to maintain and prone to failure (Alley, 2016; Napier et al., 2017, 2018). The epistemic, technical and knowledge differences have repeatedly been identified as challenges to the interpreter's ability to sustain the detached translator moral field (Marks, 2015; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke, 2018, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2016). The VRS calls observed in this study lend further support to this argument. As observed in one VRS call, the detached translator order during the opening restricted the interpreter's ability to prepare the 101CH for the interpreted nature of the call and the role played by the VRS interpreter.

As shown in both Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, interpreters can and do attend to other positioning created by the citizen. When a clear and counter rationale has been explained, the citizen can be seen to modify their self-other projected identity to one that could be deemed as a more collaborative alignment, temporarily viewing the interpreter as co-provider or provider of the service. This negotiation of rights and duties only became possible if the interpreter permitted themselves the right or duty to occupy a call-handler or call-management position, which is discussed further in section 8.2.6.

Further examples of the citizen's co-positions can be seen in the task of formulating an interpretation and co-ordinating the interaction. In these co-positioning moments, which I categorised as co-constructor moments, the citizen can be described as fulfilling one of two types of objective: assisting the interpreter with the formulation of an interpretation or assisting the interpreter to complete a communicative or co-ordination task. The citizen would either independently correct an interpretation (either covertly or publicly), respond to an invitation to correct an interpretation, monitor the progress of an interpretation, offer assurances to the interpreter, consider their choice of vocabulary (to avoid misunderstanding), or wait for the interpreter to finish their interpretation before completing their utterance. Not only were these actions observed in the VRS/VRI simulations, these actions were accounted for in the post-simulation reflections. Experience and awareness certainly played a part in the kinds of interactive positions a citizen would assume. Here we see the potential for practical contributions to interpreter training and the training of users (e.g. deaf people). The first relates to ways of preparing interpreters for working with users who come into their IME with pre-existing ideas about how an IME should unfold. For the user, there is scope and value in discussing further how one can monitor and manipulate the interpreter's behaviour to enable communication

to successfully unfold, and how the interpreter can more accurately represent the user's "voice".

### **8.2.2 101CH & custody sergeant's co-positioning moves**

This section extends the previous focus by critically analysing the co-positioning moves performed by 101CH and custody sergeants. This study revealed a marked improvement in how the police work with interpreters, suggesting that reforms around procedural justice and policing vulnerabilities benefit interpreter-mediated interactions. A shared responsibility for communication was regularly seen to occur. Again, the collaborative positions were self-initiated (performative kind) or responsive (accountive kind).

The shared moral order could be seen to occur incidentally because of how interpreters and frontline police services were focused on the same objectives. The frontline services, like interpreters, had a duty to mediate and retell the citizen's story so as to record it on the police database. As with interpreting, this process of retelling another person's story is unreliable, prone to loss of detail, and requires a judgement as to how a story is to be retold. In a frontline policing context, communicating via the telephone and dealing with a citizen's emotional state can add further interactive challenges. To cope with the process of documenting a citizen's story, the frontline services will employ communication strategies that may reduce tension, such as politeness, explaining the process, checking understanding or inviting the citizen to contribute. These are discussed further in section 8.2.6. The VRS or VRI interpreters can be seen to benefit from this shared concern, either intentionally or unintentionally. For example, in all VRS calls, I observed misinterpretations occur or some aspects of the citizen's story going untold. The intelligence gathering and reviewing process promoted by 101CH meant that the interpreter was incidentally provided with a second opportunity to repair their interpretation or uncover details about the complaint/request not previously conveyed. This could range from the spelling of names through to factual content about a real-world event (e.g. a car's collision). The 101CHs were entering their interactions from the same position as the interpreter: both had no history with or knowledge of the citizen, both had a duty to learn about the citizen, and both had a duty to mediate the citizen's story forwards. Reviewing the citizen's story was a routine task. The shared experience of the 101CH and interpreter meant both were participating in the unintended co-positioning

move. This incidental benefit raises one practical finding that helps inform where and when on-demand VRS can be effectively used.

The police participant's willingness and capacity to work with the interpreter undoubtedly benefited from the briefing received from the interpreter; see section 8.2.6 for social and task positioning moves. The briefing opened up discourse on roles and the process of interpreter-mediated communication. In a VRS context, the duty for raising the interpreted component of the call belonged to the interpreter or citizen. This was because of the call-handler's epistemic disadvantage: unable to know in advance the nature of the call, call-handlers need to be told of the triadic arrangement. Without this awareness, confusion around turn-taking during a VRS call can and does arise. The hearing participant, who is usually the least informed, has been known to misread periods of extended silence as a cue that it is their turn to keep speaking, or interpret it as call failure (Napier et al., 2017, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). Unlike the deaf participant, the hearing participant has no visual clues to understand if an interpreter is still present and open or closed to input. The same issue described in previous studies reoccurred here. Although these interactive troubles appear to be an inherent part of VRS communication, the level of disruption was muted by the call-handler's experience at handling remote communication, and by adopting a broad procedural justice approach to communication, i.e. one that included the interpreter and citizen. The 101CHs did not rush their interaction and comfortably waited in silence for an interpretation to begin or conclude.

Another valuable and incidental benefit between dialogue interpreting and procedural justice was how custody sergeants recognised the value of communicating their own role and managing the expectations of others before commencing the assessment and record taking. The custody sergeant would communicate to the group the social order (establishing self-other positions) along with a task positioning move, e.g. explaining what action was required next. The task positioning moves were both closed and open ended, whereby the citizen or interpreter could choose to produce a performative (e.g. respond as required) or accountive (e.g. ask questions) response. Unlike in police interviews, the custody sergeants did not have access to resources that explained how to introduce or include the interpreter in the interaction. This created a context where it was incumbent on the interpreter to fill this gap. As evidenced in this study, not all interpreters permitted themselves this right or duty. Those who were reluctant to assume this role

demonstrated a preference for the detached translator order as opposed to a co-provider of the service. This approach to communication is discussed further in the following section.

### **8.2.3 *Interpreter co-positioning moves (mediating positions)***

The type of positions I would like to concentrate in this sub-section are the co-positions produced by the interpreter, e.g. co-diagnostic, co-public service and co-citizen. These co-positions are what Merlini (2009) would define as ‘involved translator’ or ‘co-provider of the service’. The co-positioning observed generally referred to situations where the interpreter sought to usher or guide another PPs into a type of preferred other-position. The co-diagnostic, co-public service and co-citizen positions revealed themselves through the interpreter’s expansions or repetitions of a PP’s utterance. The expansions or repetitions made by the interpreter appear similar to the findings produced by Braun’s (2017) micro-analysis of spoken language interpreters working under VRI conditions for suspect interviews. Braun found (2017) that experienced interpreters demonstrated greater awareness of their errors and confidence to initiate a repair of the interpretation or to contribute to the rapport building between an interviewing officer and suspect. This was an unexpected finding because self-generated content has often been viewed as an unwanted outcome. As Braun (2017) explains, the intention for these additions was to build rapport and not disrupt rapport.

In my view, what Braun (2017) describes is akin to Merlini’s (2009) description of an ‘involved translator’. An involved translator is an interpreter who is conscious and empathising with others, monitoring the PP’s current positioning and identifying any misalignment caused by their involvement. The findings in this study reinforce the theoretical premise of the interpreter functioning as a co-participant. The interpreters were playing an active role in determining and shaping how another person’s self-other positioning was understood or maintained.

### **8.2.4 *Mediated positions***

The following four sub-sections move away from the co-positions of co-diagnostic, co-citizen, co-creator etc., where shared rights and duties were momentarily established between two participants. Other forms of co-operative positioning moves occurred, such

as mediated positions, epistemic positioning, social and task positioning, and empowerment positioning. These positioning moves describe a type of right or duty that demanded a co-operative response. The three categories revisit and build upon Warnicke & Plejert's (2016) positioning analysis of Swedish VRS interpreters (see section 3.5). Unlike Warnicke & Plejert's (2016) descriptive work focusing on the VRS interpreter's actions, I offer consideration of each of the participants: the citizen and frontline service were viewed as involved actors and bear a shared responsibility for making communication work.

In section 2.5 it was recognised how the charting of positions in an interpreter-mediated interaction became especially interesting not only because these rights and duties were negotiated via an interpreter, but also expressed via an interpreter as *mediated positions*. PPs were developing self-other positions based on the interpreter's output. The dependence on the interpreter to mediate, or explain, another PP's projected self-other position was greater in the VRS context. The citizen and 101CH demanded this from the interpreter, because without this input their understanding of self-other positioning was unguided. Each PP had to work with the interpreter's projection to decipher what was expected of them (other-positioning) and how, or if, to meet this expectation (first or second-order self-positioning). The VRS interpreters in their post-simulation reflections were mindful of this responsibility to represent the other PP. The interpreter's awareness was displayed by their metacommentary, e.g. explaining to the 101CH what else could be seen on their screen but was missing from the citizen's verbalised communication. The use of code-blending was another example that demonstrated their awareness.

I have reviewed the literature to find evidence of studies describing how positions are understood via a mediator and have not come across the same concerns raised here. How positions have been relayed or passed on to another have been looked at in positioning studies. For example, third-order positioning refers to contexts where discussions about past events are re-introduced. Third-order events do not have to be in the presence of the same interlocutors. For example, when officers visit a deaf citizen in their home, the citizen may reflect on their call to the 101VRS service. The citizen who retells this story may be in a different location and is talking to different people. For the police officers and citizen, this interactive move represents the first-order positioning. For the citizen and 101VRS service (who is not present), this stage represents the third-order positioning

– the citizen’s current position is shaped by this experience. The retelling could be argued as a “mediated-kind”; however, this is not the same as what we see in VRS settings.

The concept of mediated positions is a new contribution to positioning theory and the definition I am proposing only applies when an interlocutor’s interactive resource is a mediator’s account. The VRS interpreter is mediating first and second-order positions between people in-situ. In a VRS context, the PPs are essentially “in the dark” and are guided by the interpreter’s judgement to find the most appropriate interactive position. Other examples could include when a citizen is mediating the situation to a call-handler, e.g. “*my colleague is on the floor and mumbling, what do you want me ask him?*” The concept of mediating positions is closely linked to epistemic positioning, which is another type of positioning category looked at in this study.

### **8.2.5 Epistemic positioning**

Epistemic positioning was described by Harré as ‘the way rights and duties are implicated in what we can know or believe [and] how we deal with ignorance’ (2012, p. 203). Epistemic positioning can be seen to occur during the opening stages of a VRS or VRI call. This is an inevitable outcome of policing and interpreting in police settings, where both services become available on-demand for unplanned events. There is a process of learning about the citizen and their story, and learning how the interpreting service works, how to interact with one another, what is involved in the frontline procedure and what to expect from the police. Where there is an imbalance in knowledge, an actor has to assume responsibility for initiating a type of repair. Such an act can impact the order of things, such as power and control. For example, with spoken language telephone interpreting services, call-handlers or custody sergeants will instigate the conference call and request remote assistance. The responsibility for introducing the interpreter to the conference call belongs to the frontline service. The frontline service retains control. The pathway to establishing a CustodyVRI call is comparable to calling a telephone interpreting service. The custody sergeant assumed control in welcoming the interpreter and explaining to the interpreter and NOAP the custody process. Following this, the interpreter explained to the custody sergeant how to interact via an interpreter. This briefing was passed onto the NOAP.

The VRS calls to an FCR followed a different pathway to existing telephone interpreting services. Unusually, the interpreter functioned as the auxiliary service, welcoming the citizen to the 101 service. The interpreter's immediate duty was to receive the citizen and relay the call to the FCR. How the 101CH was introduced to the triadic set-up was reliant on both the citizen's and interpreter's willingness and capacity to explain. This created a context where the 101CH was being cold-called by their own VRS service<sup>27</sup>. When inviting the 101CH into the conference call, the interpreter and citizen had already established and agreed (implicitly or explicitly) how the call was to include an interpreter. This agreement, or consent, had yet to include the 101CH. This scenario created two types of epistemic positions. From the 101CH's perspective, receiving a VRS call was not a routine part of their work. The 101CHs were likely to be ignorant of the triadic set-up and linguistic arrangement. This ignorance placed them at a disadvantage. How this imbalance was attended to became a focal point for this study. Establishing co-operation between the interpreter and 101CH was essential to the long-term success of the call.

I believe the 101CH's rights were not fully or properly acknowledged by the VRS interpreters in this study. All four interpreters were cautious of being too present as call handler/manager. This was regardless of whether the citizen viewed the interpreter as a detached translator or a co-producer of the service. The interpreters were less willing to delay the call by recognising their own capacity to engage in opening talk with either the citizen or 101CH. Here we saw interpreters intentionally restricting their capacity, therefore minimal co-operation was established with the citizen and 101CH. This finding was especially revealing as interpreters have been critical of how the legal system takes on board their needs, especially in police interview settings (Brennan & Brown, 1997; Devaux, 2016; Howes, 2019b). In this study I observed one call flounder and there was a struggle to establish common ground. The interpreter did not afford sufficient time to explain their capacity or how the 101CH needed to modify their approach. Critiquing how interpreters introduce and explain their service is an under-explored subject. It is recommended that future scrutiny of police-citizen interpreter-mediated interactions looks at how the interpreter communicates their needs prior to the actual interaction happening. It is also recommended that VRS interpreters review how introductions

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<sup>27</sup> This description is based on the UK VRS model, where public services and private organisations commission a VRS provider; see Chapter 1



between participants can be handled through the use of social and task positioning moves, as explained in section 8.2.6.

Although the opening of each call contained problems regarding how the interpreters communicated the collective rights and duties, three out of the four 101CHs were not troubled by this unexpected VRS arrangement. This was evidenced by how the 101CH instantly knew it was their turn to welcome the citizen and speak directly to the caller (not to the interpreter). Dealing with and coping with epistemic differences was a routine part of their job. The 101CHs were used to not knowing details about the citizen and piecing together another person's story. Part of this endeavour involves making judgements about the citizen's communication style and competency (e.g. are they emotional, confused, aggressive or confrontational). Awareness of this is needed among 101CHs to gauge how best to regulate the citizen's story-telling on the 101CH's data gathering terms. All of these inherent skills appeared to benefit the VRS interpreters, who were working between two types of media and would normally be impacted by these knowledge asymmetries (Marks, 2015; Napier et al., 2018; Warnicke, 2018; Warnicke & Plejert, 2012, 2016). This would also explain why 101CHs were not perturbed by waiting for elongated periods of silence. The comparable struggles VRS interpreters and 101CHs share in dealing with epistemic positions was an unexpected observation. This discovery holds practical value in determining where VRS or VRI can be deployed. Interpreting is an imperfect exercise; by becoming involved in the process of re-telling other people's stories as part of an institutional procedure, the task of translating is challenged further. The addition of technology adds an additional variable for the interpreter to contend with. Recognising which contexts are conducive to VRS or VRI communication can help raise awareness of where and when on-site versus remote interpreting should be deployed.

Another example of epistemic positioning observed in both VRS and VRI calls was when the interpreter switched to code-blending. I have decided to categorise the use of code-blending as a type of epistemic-positioning because of its inclusive function, which I will now explain. Code-blending would arise from two causes: i) when the interpreter was engaged in a side conversation with the frontline police service, or ii) when the interpreter was still working their way through an interpretation. When engaged in a side conversation with the frontline police service, the interpreter is bringing a self-generated utterance to the interaction. These contributions would be made partially accessible to the citizen by combining speaking and signing. English and BSL are two different

languages, which makes it a challenge for the interpreter to code-blend their self-generated utterances in full. When an interpreter code-blended, the intention was to include the citizen in the basics of what was being discussed and to symbolically demonstrate the interpreter's unavailability. This would occur in custody settings when an interpreter was asking for an explanation, permission to rephrase a question or commenting on the custody process (see section 7.5.1 and 7.8.2). Another reason for code-blending was to demonstrate how an interpretation was still being delivered and the citizen's interactive turn has not quite arrived. The code-blending would incidentally include the citizen in the vetting of an interpretation (see section 6.5 and 6.6.4). The citizen could use the interpreter's code-blending to monitor and put forward any repairs. The use of code-blending demonstrated the interpreter's high level of empathy for the citizen's perspective and opened up their interpreting process to in-situ feedback.

#### **8.2.6 Social and task positioning moves**

In this study I made extensive use of Hirvonen's (2016) social and task positioning moves. Hirvonen (2016) developed the concept of social and task positioning moves when looking at how team meetings were managed and how actors would direct others to promote a group position and concentrate the group's focus. Social and task positioning moves would include a description of the social order, e.g. *"I will ask you questions"*, *"I need you to explain"*, and an indication of what is required of others in order to reach the collective rights and duties.

The use of social and task positioning by frontline services was not intended to produce a collective group position but to maintain control, explain the goals of the task and build trust, all of which promote the information gathering process. The outcome for the citizen or interpreter was their promotion from being learners to knowers about the frontline process, or from observers to commentators on the general flow of communication. In my view, the social and task positioning moves produced by the police participants fit the criteria and quality of procedural justice or policing vulnerabilities. The frontline services were demonstrating competency, transparency, respect towards the citizen and interpreter, and expressing an involved interest in the progress of interpreter-mediated communication.

The latter points hold greater significance for someone who is deaf. In Chapter 4 the general experience of deaf people seeking to access policing services was discussed. Systemic issues combined with poor understanding of how to treat or assist deaf citizens, has resulted in deaf people receiving a poorer standard of treatment. Failure to accommodate the presence and assistance of an interpreter within police settings compounds these issues further. It has been argued that for interpreter-mediated police interviews, procedural justice and rapport building should be extended to include the interpreter (Abbe & Brandon, 2014; Howes, 2019a). The two frontline services looked at in this study were not as rigid as police interviews. As gateways to the police, how relationships are forged in these early stages arguably benefits subsequent interactions (Skinns, 2011; Skinns et al., 2017). This argument presents a valuable case for expanding research on procedural justice in frontline interpreter-mediated police-citizen interactions and its potential to benefit subsequent interpreter-mediated police-citizen interactions.

The outcome of these social and task positioning moves led to the citizen's positive responses, whereby they described the VRS interpreter and 101CH as functioning like one entity. For custody settings, the sense of equal treatment from the citizen's viewpoint was harder to judge because of the simulated nature of detainment. The NOAPs all expressed a sense of discomfort and fear, but none described the process as being unfair – with the exception of a deaf suspect who was described as 'refusing to communicate' as oppose to 'unable to communicate' (see section 7.3.1). One area for improvement noted by the expert consultants was that these social and task positioning moves were often directed towards the interpreter, whereas the citizen was referred to in third person: e.g. "tell him/her..." or "is he/she..." For custody settings, this can be remedied by undertaking a pre-briefing on how to use an interpreter. In VRS contexts, for reasons of expediency, it is hard to envisage a more practical approach than what can be offered by the interpreter in their introduction. This final point links to the importance of social and task positioning moves created by the interpreter.

The interpreting chapter (Chapter 3) highlighted the importance of training interpreters in becoming better at communicating the interpreting process and including others in making the communication possible. The social and task positioning moves produced by the interpreter were generally reactive (deliberate or forced self-other positioning) to a translation or co-ordination issue. This meant finding ways to expediently phrase and focus the PPs attention on the issue at hand. Interestingly, the VRS interpreters appeared

less willing to create social and task positioning moves during the opening phases. Similar to interpreters facilitating communication in police interviews (Howes, 2019b), the VRS interpreters did not permit themselves equal professional status to communicate their needs. The VRS interpreters were initially reserved and appeared mindful of the need for expediency. Once the 101CH had consented to participating in the call, the interpreters can be seen to become more confident in communicating social and task positioning moves. It was at this juncture where we begin to see exemplar attempts to include others in a VRS or VRI interaction. This suggests that VRS interpreters were poor at rapport building but better at rapport maintenance.

The interventions created by the interpreters slowed the interaction down, as has also been seen with interpreters in medical appointments (Major & Napier, 2012). This was unlike remote interpreters involved in the SHift project. Remote interpreters fielding emergency calls saw expediency as the primary motivation to independently design and respond to questions from the caller. It could be argued that expediency matters more in emergency calls than in non-emergency matters. When used effectively, the VRS interpreters' social and task positioning moves feed into building a co-operative environment, as anticipated by Turner (2007).

There were differences between the interpreters in terms of how social and task positioning moves were communicated. The interpreters who retained a detached-translator order were least likely to review the social order, communicate their own needs or make judgements on what the citizen needed. A fear of undermining the custody sergeant's authority was expressed. This apparent fear was unfounded, as seen by two other interpreters who embraced a moral order of broader involvement. These interpreters would intentionally slow the interaction down and assume greater responsibility for co-ordinating communication and another person's understanding. The interpreters were offering a linguistic and cultural gatekeeping service that empowered the institution, e.g. custody sergeants, to achieve a rounded well-being assessment and to become mindful of how to assist someone who is deaf and from a linguistic minority. It is possible the interpreters would have shown more consistent types of involved behaviours had the custody sergeant included a briefing on how to interact and work with an interpreter early on in the VRI call. Pre-briefings bring transparency on what is legitimate interpreter involvement (Goodman-Delahunt & Howes, 2019; Howes, 2019b).

### **8.2.7 *Empowerment positioning***

In the current study, interpreters were seen to create empowerment positions to guide and enable frontline services to become better at assisting someone who is deaf and uses BSL. Many of these empowerment moves have already been covered, such as metacommentary to resolve epistemic differences, proposing appropriate vocabulary choice, and social and task positioning moves that highlight why an intervention is needed. My reasoning for including empowerment positioning as a distinct subsection is linked to the observation that frontline services do not fully understand what it means to be deaf and to belong to a sign linguistic minority. Not all frontline services will have a well-informed understanding of how the police are still largely inaccessible to deaf citizens, or that communicating via a qualified interpreter does not always guarantee a successful outcome.

In the simulations, 101CHs and custody sergeants were seen to routinely invite the citizen to explain how the police can make follow up contact (e.g. via SMS, not telephone) or how the police need to arrange an on-site interpreter for on-going interaction. These empowerment positioning moves were intended for the citizen and created by the police participant. Inviting the citizen to explain their needs was not always carried out with confidence, as knowing how to sensitively approach this subject was a concern. As an auxiliary service, the interpreters recognised the importance of imparting their knowledge by either correcting the police participant's vocabulary choice, or checking whether the frontline service had understood the type of adjustment needed to ensure on-going linguistic access to police services. However, in one call we saw a victim of a potential hate crime receive the instruction to call 101 if anything further happened or to dial 999 if it was an emergency. There is no 999 VRS platform, and at the time of the study 101VRS was only available for part of the day. The 101CH's advice went unchallenged. Advice like this relies on an involved translator, or co-provider, to intervene and correct. An interpreter who retains the detached translator moral order, one that makes others responsible for their own utterances, risks undermining the collaborative partnership promoted on the SignVideo-Police Scotland 101VRS webpage. Undertaking empowerment moves, in the guise of social or task positioning moves, therefore becomes a necessary skill which interpreters need to prepare for.

This finding highlights a practical consideration for the training of interpreters, either working on-site or remotely. The issue here is that interpreters have previously received

criticism for assuming the position of co-provider or provider of the service, as their involvement impacts on the building of relationships between a service and user, e.g. doctor-patient, immigration officer-applicant, and so on. As evidenced in this study, being too aligned with the detached translator moral order holds harmful consequences, especially in the context of assessing someone's vulnerability. The view taken here is that, when an interpreter produces an empowerment move like the ones described in this study, the interpreter is not intending to hijack another's moral status but to fix it. Unlike in police interview settings, an interpreter's active involvement does not jeopardise the police participant's authority. Measuring the impact one has on another's moral order could help inform how we review and discuss legitimate behaviours from the interpreter.

#### **8.2.8 *Multi-modal positioning***

Both ANT and positioning theory were relational ontological frameworks, concerned with ways of being. In merging positioning theory with the principles of ANT, the presence of non-human actors was constantly accounted for. When initially undertaking this study, I found it difficult to chart the development of positions because of the presence of technology, for example the use of ASPIRE, Swift or the National Custody System in gathering and formulating a citizen profile. The more I looked, the more I realised how technology was present all the way through. When reviewing the data with the ANT framework I uncovered further examples, such as the 101VRS webpage and the holding images, that appeared to influence how positions were mobilised and negotiated. Although these entities did not independently produce rights and duties that could be negotiated, they were resources designed by senior ranking staff or commissioners to shape the behaviours of others.

In the current dataset there was evidence to show how police databases functioned as a resource for communication. This created a type of mixed animator-principal, where the police participant would use the database as a script combined with their own additions or expansions. The 101CH and custody sergeant would switch from the role of explainer and interviewer to a conversational partner, based on the progression of the frontline procedure. At each point the police participant was not only listening to the citizen's responses but considering how to document the intelligence gathered.

This close relationship with the database was because the frontline police services were intended to usher the citizen into a preferred other position, whereby they could populate the database with the relevant information. The police participants were not seeking information for themselves, but to perform a bimodal interlingual mediation service. The need to document police communication with the public serves multiple functions: i) to collect information that can be passed on and used by relevant policing staff as part of on-going work; ii) to track and measure police performance; iii) accountability should a complaint be issued against the police.

This is where I see the ANT framework as being beneficial, because it focuses the investigator's mind on the relationship between humans and non-humans, an aspect that was often missing in positioning-orientated studies. How non-human actors are accounted for had been missing from the literature (Kayı-Aydar, 2018). My endeavour to account for technology introduced both theoretical and methodological contributions to positioning theory. In combining positioning theory with the methodological aspects of ANT, I created a hybrid framework that continuously recognised the physical and psychological presence of non-human entities (e.g. technology, policies, artefacts). Although the artefacts do not independently modify their moral order, a projected and imaginary moral field is constructed between person and artefact. Recognising the relationship between human and non-human entities was seen as important because it recognises the split attention of the police participant or recognises that other non-human sources exist and have the ability to influence how a participant forms their self-other positioning arrangement. This awareness encourages researchers and practitioners to pay attention to some of the most basic things, like the positioning arrangement promoted within the SignVideo-Police Scotland webpage, or how databases compel the frontline service to behave in certain ways.

### **8.3 Limitations**

Many of the limitations identified in this study have been communicated in the previous chapters, especially in Chapter 5 concerning the research design, method and analytical approach. The simulated aspects of this study are a noticeable limitation. In section 5.4.1, my concerns with relying on simulated data versus authentic data were explained. Many of these concerns were fenced off through the support of the partnership of Police Scotland and SignVideo. Both partners provided me with privileged access to facilities,

resources and personnel. I was able to construct lab-like trials in real-world contexts. Across the calls, I witnessed collective efforts to establish rights and duties, review rights and duties, and negotiate rights and duties. The interpreters and frontline police services were challenged and forced to demonstrate the kinds of steps followed in real-world contexts. The calls did not approach issues of intoxication, emotional distress or other serious well-being matters. The calls were intentionally designed to focus on straightforward procedural matters. By focusing on the less complex reasons for contacting the police, this study has highlighted the strengths and weakness of the joint service. The next step would be to incorporate the qualities that have been identified through this study as preferable and conducive to VRS or VRI calls, and to increase the difficulty of these calls. By starting from this position, private companies who market VRS or VRI services will be able to explain to public services where and why their service can or cannot work or where further research is needed. Determining appropriate use of interpreting services and recognising their limits is an under studied topic.

The actual rollout of 101VRS is still relatively new and emerging. CustodyVRI has yet to be trialled in real-world contexts. Much was new and unknown for both interpreters and frontline police services. How the two negotiated each other's needs to enable communication inevitably meant a greater level of uncertainty, learning and moderating. Through regular exposure, the increased familiarity between remote interpreting services and frontline police service will render the services susceptible to change. Familiarity with how each other operates may mean increased confidence and sometimes a greater blurring of roles. Interpreters may not ask custody sergeants to explain legal terms or custody processes, but instinctively include them in their interpretation. Call-handlers may need less guidance and education regarding how to join a VRS call. Call-handlers and custody sergeants could rely less on interpreters to explain general issues around linguistic access and appropriate vocabulary choice. Many of the issues described in this thesis may be related to low levels of familiarity and experience.

The study was based on SignVideo's approach to managing and delivering VRS and VRI calls. SignVideo employs interpreters who have completed a skills test and holds regular training events. The company endorses the active involvement of interpreters as co-participants. In many ways SignVideo treats technology as a way of extending the interpreter's on-site practice. This is not always the case with the development of VRS



or VRI services in other parts of the world. Looking at different models will therefore yield different outcomes.

The sample of this study is small and does not touch on emotionally driven calls, emergency calls or calls concerning an actual crime. Access to a larger data set of authentic calls would be helpful for more fully understanding potential issues when rolling out VMI services. VMI should always be reviewed against other options, such as employing deaf or hearing people who are fluent in BSL. These alternatives not only offer more direct forms of contact but create opportunities for deaf people to occupy a role within the police force.

In conducting this study I have intentionally sought to recognise each participant's perspective and contribution to the interaction. Across seven interactions, this has meant reviewing the calls from the custody perspective, the call-handling perspective, the VRS interpreter perspective, the VRI interpreter perspective, the detainee perspective, and the citizen caller perspective. In telling this story, we see how the responsibility for making communication possible is a collective process. Summarising these perspectives as one coherent collective story does mean not being able to retell a single viewpoint, as with Herbet's normative orders (section 4.7) or Merlini's (2009) cultural mediator model (section 3.3.1) and Warnicke & Pljert's VRS asymmetries (sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2).

#### **8.4 Recommendations for VMI**

The findings reported in this study are relevant and current because Police Scotland are reviewing their national plan and seeking to put forward proposals on how to better serve Scottish deaf citizens who use British Sign Language (BSL), as outlined in the BSL (Scotland) Act (2015). Little was known about how effective or successful the ContactScotland 101VRS concept was or where else VMI platforms could be deployed in policing. This need for greater knowledge led to the involvement of two non-academic partners with this PhD research project: Police Scotland and SignVideo. I would like to put forward some practical recommendations to assist both non-academic partners with their on-going work. This sub-section will finish with my own recommendations for further research looking at VMI, deaf people's experience of the police or testing of the ANT-positioning hybrid framework.

#### ***8.4.1 Recommendations for Police Scotland (commissioners, policy writers, trainers and practitioners)***

A.I. When calls are received by call-handlers, it is possible for information about the caller to appear on their desktop, such as telephone number and location. With VRS calls this remains unchanged. It is recommended that Police Scotland look into creating an automatic notification to appear on the call-handler's desk-top that contains additional information. This pop-up notification should contain minimal information that prepares the 101CH for the interpreted nature of the call.

Further briefing guidance on how to handle VRS calls and ways of working effectively with VRS interpreters, e.g. keeping sentences and questions short, should also be available via the intranet. Additional advice could include highlighting the issue of returning video calls to citizens, which is not possible on the current platform.

A.II. Until 101VRS matches the availability of national 101 telephone helplines, call-handlers should be alerted to the limited operational hours and patchwork of 101VRS provision. This includes offering appropriate advice should the citizen find themselves in an emergency situation, e.g. send an SMS to the 999 helpline or go to your nearest station.

A.III. Police Scotland and its approved VMI provider should establish agreed protocols on where and when an interpreter can assume the role of 'provider of service'. For example, should a call-handler advise the citizen to call back via 999 or make plans to call the citizen back via the VRS platform, the interpreter should have authority to intervene and explain the limits of the VRS platform.

A.IV. Training should be offered to call-handlers and custody sergeants on how to work with interpreters. The training should include the broader benefits of procedural justice and policing vulnerabilities.

A.V. Police Scotland should prepare standard operational procedures for custody sergeants who seek to use the VRI service. This guidance should include how to book a VRI interpreter, how to brief the VRI interpreter co-ordinator, how to use

the VRI technology, how to brief the VRI interpreter, how to introduce the VRI platform to the NOAP, and how evaluate the appropriateness of the VRI platform. Specific guidance should also consider ways of assessing the NOAPs ability to participate in a VRI call, e.g. is the detainee intoxicated, highly vulnerable or not a BSL user (it should not be assumed that a NOAP who is deaf is necessarily a fluent BSL user).

- A.VI. In line with Skinner et al.'s (submitted) national review of VRS/VRI provisions in frontline policing contexts, it is important to recognise that the VMI solution does not remove barriers. Therefore, it is right that the police consider other options that may offer a superior solution that permanently resolves issues around access, as opposed to relying on a third-party interpreting service. Suggestions include employing deaf people to field 101 or 999 calls and increasing number of PLOD officers.

#### ***8.4.2 Recommendations for VMI (trainers, interpreters & providers)***

- B.I. Review current practices and train interpreters on how to manage the opening of their calls, explain their role and approach the transfer of calls onto public services.
- B.II. Review current practices and train interpreters to make better use of social and task positioning moves that open up their interpreting process to form co-operative partnerships with PPs.
- B.III. Train interpreters on how to guide and assist public service where misinformation or misdirection is given to deaf BSL users. The advice provided by the interpreter should align to the same guidance provided by the police (see recommendation A.V).
- B.IV. Establish a procedure for introducing the VRI platform and VRI interpreter to custody settings (see recommendation III and VI). This procedure should include the passing on information about the arrest, briefing the custody sergeant on how to use the VRI platform, and the selection of appropriate VRI interpreter to field the call.

- B.V. Develop an educational campaign targeting deaf BSL users on issues around VRS and VRI communication, with a focus on how to work with VRS/VRI interpreters.

#### ***8.4.3 Recommendations for future research***

The previous set of recommendations describe a combination of training, policy changes and technical modifications to support the wider development of VRS/VRI platforms in frontline police settings. Each of these recommendations will benefit from ongoing scrutiny to confirm if these suggested changes do improve how interpreters and frontline services work together and how deaf people experience these services. In this section, I list further recommendations for research that build upon the findings presented in this thesis and experience of experimenting with a hybrid Actor-Network Positioning Theory framework.

- C.I. It is recommended that further research be carried out to better understand what deaf people want from the police. This area of policing diverse communities is an understudied topic (see sections 4.2 - 4.5). Further research should consider what procedural justice and police legitimacy mean to deaf people.
- C.II. This study approached the way we evaluate the deployment of VMI services by identifying and explaining the compatible and transferable approaches to managing interactions observed in public services with the inclusion of a remote interpreter. It is recommended further research adopt a similar focus, since this can help inform where, when and why VMI may be of benefit. Investigating what works and why in other domains can illustrate common themes that help delineate areas as being VRS- or VRI-compatible in public and private contexts, such as telephone banking, government helplines, health settings etc.
- C.III. In section 2.4, I explain that I have yet to come across a positioning analysis which concentrates on police-citizen interaction (either monolingual or interpreter-mediated). It is recommended that future research on police-citizen interactions should include a positioning analysis, since it can be used to evaluate how power is distributed and the expression of rights and duties are negotiated. This kind of focus is topical and valuable where special legal powers have been handed by the public to a select few.

- C.IV. In section 0, I described the fusion of positioning theory and ANT as producing an ‘ethnography of multi-modal communication’ framework. The fusion of positioning theory and ANT in my view offers a real opportunity to critically analyse how actors (human or non-human) perform in a wide range of interpreted or non-interpreted contexts. Building upon the recommendation in C.III, police forces are places of hybrid (human and non-human) networks that must be capable of relating to the uncharted number of hybrid networks that exist in the public domain. A combined Actor-Network Positioning Theory framework can inform how technologies, procedures, policies, or facts about the world impact on how police services are operationalised.
- C.V. While the findings of this study suggest that there are potential benefits to using VRS/VRI in frontline policing settings to enable communication in unplanned encounters, I still recommend caution and care regarding the use of VRS or VRI. There is research tracking the broader development of VMI services which has cautioned against the high expectations that people place in the technology (Braun, 2018; Braun et al., 2018; Skinner et al., submitted). These same studies recommend engagement with the people who are expected to work with the technology to understand the depth of its potential and limitations. I support these arguments and recommend that future research not only focus on the capabilities of the video-conferencing technologies, but the joint capabilities that emerge between the interpreter and public service to serve and work with citizens.

## **8.5 Closing comments**

This study explored new territory by looking at how frontline police services work with remote interpreters to promote parity of service for citizens who are deaf and use BSL. While there are inevitably limitations, this study has contributed to our understanding of where, when and why VMI may be used by the police and other public services. Based on my findings, I believe the real potential of VRS and VRI is not about the capabilities the technology, or enabling interpreters to interpret from remote call centres, but the joint capabilities that emerge between the interpreter and public service to serve and work with citizens. This argument is critical as VRS and VRI platforms are currently being used as auxiliary services to facilitate access to banks, utility companies, health services and government departments. The success of these VRS/VRI platforms, as a type of

accessibility ‘plug-in’, will vary depending on how prepared call-handlers are to deal with unusual call arrangements, for example, the presence of an interpreter; and their official capacity to problem solve wider accessibility issues, for example how to return a VRS call to a deaf person. Investigating what works and why in other domains can illustrate common themes that help to determine which areas are VRS or VRI compatible.

The focus on co-operation explores how participants responsively adapt their moral field according to a given task or need. These co-operative acts could be traced by identifying examples of deliberate self-other or accountative positioning moves, social and task positioning moves, or the switching between process driven and emergent practices. The inspiration for these co-operative actions came from training and experience with how to handle particular people under certain conditions. Documenting these achievements is necessary to guide those who occupy a formal role, e.g. the police participant or interpreter, with how to create co-operative contexts. Another valuable consideration is how several of the police participants had already developed these co-operative strategies based on pre-existing training and policies, which appear to be mapped to policing vulnerabilities or procedural justice framework. These communication management techniques provide examples of what can be transferred to benefit interpreter-mediated interactions (remote or on-site). Recognising what approaches to non-interpreted communication can be transferred to interpreted interactions is necessary since all public services in the UK have a duty to offer consistent and equal treatment, regardless of the citizen’s linguistic background.

The discursive abilities described here hold wider value for other interpreted and non-interpreted encounters. These encounters may be face-to-face or remote. They may be spoken, signed or combine both modalities. Consider for example health settings, social care, classroom settings, customer helplines, or workplace settings (e.g. team meetings and organisational management), where there is always a need to observe, to listen, to persuade, to convince or to direct others to engage in a co-operative task. Furthermore, we are witnessing drastic changes with how we engage with another as Covid-19 forces us to switch to remote forms of communication or to blend remote and face-to-face interaction. Across these examples, we need to consider how we, as providers or users, share responsibility for communication. This will mean shifting between emergent and process-driven approaches. The shifting between these statuses is not only to

accommodate technical challenges but the individual abilities people have to make themselves understood.

Finally, the Actor-Network Positioning Theory framework promoted in this study reinforces the need for investigators to look beyond the joint contributions that emerge between humans. We exist in a more complex hybrid reality, where non-human agents have the ability to affect, inspire, or support the projection of our own identities. Recognising this broader definition of how we co-exist helps us to understand what it means to be part of interactions. This broader premise also refines our discussions around what discursive expertise can look like and the training needed to support the delivery of public or private services.

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## Appendix A – 101VRS Consent Form (Citizen)



Information and Consent Form: 101 VRS (Citizen)

### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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My name is Robert Skinner and I am PhD student from Heriot-Watt University, supervised by Prof Jemina Napier (Heriot-Watt University) and Prof Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee), in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Funding for the PhD has been granted by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities (SGSAH).

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users. Using the Internet and video-enabled devices (e.g. a smartphone, tablet, laptop or computer) a deaf citizen can interact with police officers via a remote sign language interpreter (RI) stationed in a specialist contact centre. Following the simulation you will be asked to participate in a focus group and describe your experience of the simulation and discuss the following subjects:

- General experience of the call/service
- Flow of communication
- The quality of the technology
- Future considerations
- Comments about the simulation

The discussion will follow a focus group format with the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. You should be provided with a **Topic Guide** which explains the simulation task and types of focus group questions.

The objectives of the project is to produce recommendations for Police Scotland policy relating to when and how to make use of VMI services with deaf BSL users; the technological set-up required to meet the needs of Police Scotland to ensure that deaf BSL users have appropriate access; sign language interpreter training aimed at working in legal settings and video interpreting contexts.

The simulation, including set up time, should have lasted around 30minutes and the focus group will take another 30minutes. Both the simulation and focus group will be video recorded for later analysis.

The researcher will:



- keep all personal details confidential
- not allow other people outside of our team see/hear your recordings
- possibly publish some quotes or transcribed examples of comments (no sensitive information will be used)

Dissemination of the research findings will occur through professional development workshops, conference presentations and publications. All focus group participants will receive a report detailing a summary of the results of the research. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

Please complete the following questions:

I agree to participate in the research project	Yes / No
I give permission to record and analyse the focus group	Yes / No
I give permission for my contribution to be used in your research	Yes / No

Use of images/video recordings

I agree to the sharing of video recordings and images for internal use	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images in publications	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes / No
I agree to the use of video for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes/No

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date:

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*



## Appendix B – 101VRS Topic Guide (Citizen)



### 101 VRS Topic Guide

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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BSL Translation here: <https://vimeo.com/258818622>

Password: police

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study investigating the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users in Scotland.

There will be two parts to this study. The first part is the simulation of 101 non-emergency call to the police and the second part is a follow up focus group.

#### Part 1: Simulation

You will be shown a video of an incident, this was an incident you caught on your smartphone. The video contains a matter that should be reported to the police.

- Step 1: Watch a video clip/photos of an incident. You can watch this video or look at the photos as many times as you need until you are ready to make the call.
  - Step 2: In your own time, report this to the 101 police helpline via the Police Scotland SignVideo (fictional) website.
  - Step 3: Provide details about the video clip/photos, relate all information to your actual personal circumstances. Use your own name, address, what smartphone you own, where you typically drive/walk, your background etc. You will not need to make up information.
- Try to relate what happens in the video to your real-life circumstances. Provide actual details about where you live, personal details, local sites etc.

#### Part 2: Focus group

After the simulation we would like to ask you some questions about the experience of making an interpreted 101 non-emergency call. The focus group will include the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. Below are the main topics that we may discuss, however, if there is anything else you really want to tell us that is related to this experience, please feel free to contribute. You



do not have to answer or comment on any of the questions. The focus group will last about 30mins with a break and refreshments if need.

1. Describe your general feelings about the interaction
  - a. Did you think the concept was successful? If yes/no, please explain why?
  - b. Were there any moments in the interaction you remember vividly and why?
2. Did you feel others understood the concern/needs you were trying to raise?
  - a. Did you feel you had to communicate differently, e.g. help another person understand? If yes, who and why?
  - b. Did you feel the process of communication needed to be adapted, either because of the extra person or because of the technology? If yes/no, explain?
  - c. How do you feel the turn-taking went?
  - d. Did you feel clear when someone misunderstood? Was the misunderstanding repaired? If yes/no, please explain why?
  - e. If you have not already, describe what you believe the interpreter should do versus actually do/provide.
  - f. If you have not already, describe what you believe the police representative should do versus actually do/provide.
3. Where would you describe the limits of the service?
  - a. Was the technology accessible?
  - b. Your impressions of the technology?
  - c. How do you feel about technology being used in this way?
  - d. Do you support this concept?
  - e. What are the limitations with the technology?
4. What changes to policies and procedures do think are needed to make this service more viable (for the deaf participant please answer these questions from the perspective of an outsider who is a user of this service)?
  - a. Did you find there was a conflict between standard approaches and local needs?
  - b. Did you deviate from best practice?
  - c. Did you avoid or decline opportunities to deviate from best practice?
5. What do you think the opportunities are with this technology?
  - a. What further developments do you expect to see?
  - b. How would you like to see the service develop/changed?
  - c. How far in to the process is the serviced used for?
6. Do you have any comments about the simulations?
  - a. Did you find anything unrealistic about the simulations?
  - b. Did you find the simulations to be an effective concept for testing the service?

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date:

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*

## Appendix C – 101VRS Consent Form (Part 1: Interpreters)



### Topic Guide (PART 1) - INTERPRETERS

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study investigating the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users in Scotland. Please read this document and complete consent form (PART 1).

There will be two parts to this study. The first part is the simulation of a police-civilian interaction and the second part is a follow up focus group.

#### Part 1: Simulation

You will shortly receive a call via a fictional Police Scotland SignVideo service. The area of policing (e.g. front desk, custody, interview suite, 101 etc), caller and content of the call cannot be explained in advance. This is to re-create “close to real-life on-demand” working conditions of a remote interpreter. The details of this service will appear on-screen in the usual way, e.g. ‘HSBC Bank’ or ‘Joe Bloggs AtW’.

Respond to the incoming SignVideo call as you would normally do. Do not perform any task you would not normally do. If you feel the service has reached its limit and you are being asked to provide a service that goes beyond its scope, manage the interaction according to real-life circumstances.

The police representative is a real representative of Police Scotland who has agreed to volunteer in this research project. The deaf person is a volunteer, who has agreed to participate in this project. The deaf person has been given information and materials on what to raise. The police representative has no prior knowledge of what to expect.

#### Part 2: Focus group

After the simulation we would like to ask you some questions about the experience of making an interpreted police-civilian call. The focus group will include the caller, police representative and remote interpreter. Below are the main topics that we may discuss, however, if there is anything else you really want to tell us that is related to this experience, please feel free to contribute. You do not have to answer or comment on any of the questions. The focus group will last about 30mins. Question will touch on:



1. General feelings about the call
2. Communication
3. Speed of communication
4. Determining how best to respond
5. Allocating police resources
6. Future developments
7. Comments about the simulation

Before progressing onto the post-simulation interview you will have the opportunity to review your participation in this study, **see Topic Guide PART 2**, and complete a second **consent form PART 2**.

## Appendix D – Topic Guide (Part 1: Interpreters)



### Topic Guide (PART 1) - INTERPRETERS

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study investigating the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users in Scotland. Please read this document and complete consent form (PART 1).

There will be two parts to this study. The first part is the simulation of a police-civilian interaction and the second part is a follow up focus group.

#### Part 1: Simulation

You will shortly receive a call via a fictional Police Scotland SignVideo service. The area of policing (e.g. front desk, custody, interview suite, 101 etc), caller and content of the call cannot be explained in advance. This is to re-create “close to real-life on-demand” working conditions of a remote interpreter. The details of this service will appear on-screen in the usual way, e.g. ‘HSBC Bank’ or ‘Joe Bloggs AtW’.

Respond to the incoming SignVideo call as you would normally do. Do not perform any task you would not normally do. If you feel the service has reached its limit and you are being asked to provide a service that goes beyond its scope, manage the interaction according to real-life circumstances.

The police representative is a real representative of Police Scotland who has agreed to volunteer in this research project. The deaf person is a volunteer, who has agreed to participate in this project. The deaf person has been given information and materials on what to raise. The police representative has no prior knowledge of what to expect.

#### Pat 2: Focus group

After the simulation we would like to ask you some questions about the experience of making an interpreted police-civilian call. The focus group will include the caller, police representative and remote interpreter. Below are the main topics that we may discuss, however, if there is anything else you really want to tell us that is related to this experience, please feel free to contribute. You do not have to answer or comment on any of the questions. The focus group will last about 30mins. Question will touch on:



1. General feelings about the call
2. Communication
3. Speed of communication
4. Determining how best to respond
5. Allocating police resources
6. Future developments
7. Comments about the simulation

Before progressing onto the post-simulation interview you will have the opportunity to review your participation in this study, **see Topic Guide PART 2**, and complete a second **consent form PART 2**.

## Appendix E – 101VRS Consent Form (Part 1: Police)



### Information and Consent Form (PART 1): POLICE

#### Proximity in Police Settings

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My name is Robert Skinner and I am PhD student from Heriot-Watt University, supervised by Prof Jemina Napier (Heriot-Watt University) and Prof Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee), in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Funding for the PhD has been granted by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities (SGSAH).

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way 101 call handlers respond to, and provide a service to, a particular community in Scotland. You have been invited to participate in a simulation of a 101-non emergency call. Your line manager Barbra Hazelwood has been briefed to confirm or raise any safe guarding issues with this experiment. Following the simulation you will be asked to participate in a focus group and describe your experience. Questions will touch on:

- General experience of the call/service
- Flow of communication
- The quality of the technology
- Future considerations

The discussion will follow a focus group format with the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. You should be provided with a **Topic Guide (Part 1)** which explains the simulation task (in brief) and the focus group. The objectives of the project is to produce recommendations for Police Scotland policy relating to the needs of a particular community in Scotland. **Full information about the research project will be revealed post-simulation (Topic Guide (Part 2)), where you can reconfirm your involvement in this study (PART 2 consent form).**

The simulation (including set up time) should last around 30minutes and the focus group will take another 30minutes. Both the simulation and focus group will be video recorded for later analysis.

The researcher will:

- keep all personal details confidential
- only be seen by the research team
- not allow other people outside of our team see/hear your recordings
- possibly publish some quotes or transcribed examples of comments (no sensitive information will be used)





Dissemination of the research findings will occur through professional development workshops, conference presentations and publications. All focus group participants will receive a report detailing a summary of the results of the research. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

Please complete the following questions:

I acknowledge the full research goal can only be explained after the simulation	Yes / No
I understand that information about the simulation must remain concealed to recreate close to real-life conditions.	Yes / No
I agree to participate in the research project	Yes / No
I give permission to record and analyse both the call and focus group	Yes / No
I give permission for my contribution to be used in your research	Yes / No

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*

## Appendix F – 101VRS Topic Guide (Part 1: Police)



### Topic Guide – POLICE (Part 1)

#### Proximity in Police Settings

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Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study investigating the way Police Scotland responds and deals with a particular community living in Scotland. There will be two parts to this study. The first part is the simulation of a police-civilian interaction and the second part is a follow up focus group. Please read this document and complete **consent form (PART 1)**.

#### Part 1: Simulation

You will shortly receive a call from a member of the public. The caller and content of the call cannot be explained in advance. This is to re-create close to real-life “on-demand” working conditions of a 101 non-emergency response. The details of the call will appear in the usual way.

Respond to the incoming call as you would normally do. Do not perform any task you would not normally do. If you feel the service has reached its limit and you are being asked to provide a service that goes beyond its scope, manage the interaction according to real-life circumstances.

The civilian caller has been provided with materials and resources to recreate a specific issue and has been asked to supply information based on real-world information.

#### Part 2: Focus group

After the simulation we would like to ask you some questions about the experience of responding to the simulated call. The focus group will include the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. The research questions will be revealed in a post-simulation **Topic Guide (Part 2)**.

Questions will touch on:

1. General feelings about the call
2. Communication
3. Speed of communication
4. Determining how best to respond
5. Allocating police resources
6. Future developments
7. Comments about the simulation

Before progressing onto the post-simulation focus group you will have the opportunity to review your participation in this study and complete a second **consent form (PART 2)**.



## Appendix G – 101VRS Consent Form (Part 2: Interpreters & Police)



Information and Consent Form: 101 VRS (INTERPRETER + POLICE)

British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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My name is Robert Skinner and I am PhD student from Heriot-Watt University, supervised by Prof Jemina Napier (Heriot-Watt University) and Prof Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee), in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Funding for the PhD has been granted by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities (SGSAH).

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users. Using the Internet and video-enabled devices (e.g. a smartphone, tablet, laptop or computer) a deaf citizen can interact with police officers via a remote sign language interpreter (RI) stationed in a specialist contact centre. Following the simulation you will be asked to participate in a focus group and describe your experience of the simulation and discuss the following subjects:

- General experience of the call/service
- Flow of communication
- The quality of the technology
- Future considerations
- Comments about the simulation

The discussion will follow a focus group format with the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. You should be provided with a **Topic Guide** which explains the simulation task and types of focus group questions.

The objectives of the project is to produce recommendations for Police Scotland policy relating to when and how to make use of VMI services with deaf BSL users; the technological set-up required to meet the needs of Police Scotland to ensure that deaf BSL users have appropriate access; sign language interpreter training aimed at working in legal settings and video interpreting contexts.

The simulation, including set up time, should have lasted around 30minutes and the focus group will take another 30minutes. Both the simulation and focus group will be video recorded for later analysis.

The researcher will:



- keep all personal details confidential
- not allow other people outside of our team see/hear your recordings
- possibly publish some quotes or transcribed examples of comments (no sensitive information will be used)

Dissemination of the research findings will occur through professional development workshops, conference presentations and publications. All focus group participants will receive a report detailing a summary of the results of the research. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

Please complete the following questions:

I agree to participate in the research project	Yes / No
I give permission to record and analyse the focus group	Yes / No
I give permission for my contribution to be used in your research	Yes / No

Use of images/video recordings

I agree to the sharing of video recordings and images for internal use	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images in publications	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes / No
I agree to the use of video for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes/No

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date:

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*

## Appendix H – Topic Guide (Part 2: Interpreters & Police)



### 101 VRS Topic Guide (PART 2): INTERPRETERS + POLICE

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study investigating the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users in Scotland. This Topic Guide (Part 2) is intended to outline the purpose of the research, the design of the study and focus group questions. **Please read the information below and complete *Consent form (PART 2)*.**

#### Research question

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users in Scotland. Using the Internet and video-enabled devices (e.g. a smartphone, tablet, laptop or computer) a deaf citizen can interact with police officers via a remote sign language interpreter (RI) stationed in a specialist contact centre. The question being explored is, *'how knowledge is co-created during a video interpreter-mediated police-civilian interaction?'*

This over-arching question will touch on further issues such as how do professionals (police call handler and interpreter) form a spontaneous partnership to deliver a policing service? Why are interventions (from officers, interpreters or civilians) needed during police-civilian interactions? How are competing needs managed? What do these interactions tell us about the future direction of interpreting remotely and its place in a policing context?

As you know there are two parts to this study. The first part was the simulation of an interpreted 101 non-emergency call to the police (elaborated below) and the second part is a follow up focus group.

#### Part 1: Simulation

For the simulation a deaf civilian (volunteer) was supplied with materials and details of a non-emergency incident, e.g. video clip of a public incident or photos of vandalism. The civilian was advised to report the matter via the remote interpreting service. This was done by accessing a fictional Police Scotland SignVideo webpage. The civilian was instructed to link as much real-world details as possible to the incident, such as his/her real name, place of residence, people they know, and landmarks they know of.

The interpreter, based at the SignVideo contact centre in London, was briefed for a call to be made to Police Scotland but not provided with any details about the caller or incident. The interpreter had no prior knowledge if the call was concerning an on-street encounter, a citizen at the front desk of a police station or a 101/999 call.

The Police Scotland call handler, based at a Police Scotland 101/999 training centre, was only informed that 101 non-emergency call would be simulated. The call handler had no prior knowledge of the interpreted nature of the call or that it was to be made by a deaf person.

The objective was to recreate a close to real-life the call experience.

### **Pat 2: Focus group**

Now that the simulations have been completed we would like to ask you some questions about the experience of making an interpreted 101 non-emergency call. The focus group will include the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. Below are the main topics that we may discuss, however, if there is anything else you really want to tell us that is related to this experience, please feel free to contribute. You do not have to answer or comment on any of the questions. The focus group will last about 30mins with a break and refreshments if need.

1. Describe your general feelings about the interaction
  - a. Did you think the concept was successful? If yes/no, please explain why?
  - b. Were there any moments in the interaction you remember vividly and why?
2. Did you feel others understood the concern/needs you were trying to raise?
  - a. Did you feel you had to communicate differently, e.g. help another person understand? If yes, who and why?
  - b. Did you feel the process of communication needed to be adapted, either because of the extra person or because of the technology? If yes/no, explain?
  - c. How do you feel the turn-taking went?
  - d. Did you feel clear when someone misunderstood? Was the misunderstanding repaired? If yes/no, please explain why?
  - e. If you have not already, describe what you believe the interpreter should do versus actually do/provide.
  - f. If you have not already, describe what you believe the police representative should do versus actually do/provide.
3. Where would you describe the limits of the service?
  - a. Was the technology accessible?
  - b. Your impressions of the technology?
  - c. How do you feel about technology being used in this way?
  - d. Do you support this concept?
  - e. What are the limitations with the technology?

4. What changes to policies and procedures do think are needed to make this service more viable (for the deaf participant please answer these questions from the perspective of an outsider who is a user of this service)?
  - a. Did you find there was a conflict between standard approaches and local needs?
  - b. Did you deviate from best practice?
  - c. Did you avoid or decline opportunities to deviate from best practice?
5. What do you think the opportunities are with this technology?
  - a. What further developments do you expect to see?
  - b. How would you like to see the service develop/changed?
  - c. How far in to the process is the serviced used for?
6. Do you have any comments about the simulations?
  - a. Did you find anything unrealistic about the simulations?
  - b. Did you find the simulations to be an effective concept for testing the service?



## Appendix I – Consent Form (Actor)



### Information and Consent Form: Custody (Actor)

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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My name is Robert Skinner and I am PhD student from Heriot-Watt University, supervised by Prof Jemina Napier (Heriot-Watt University) and Prof Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee), in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Funding for the PhD has been granted by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities (SGSAH).

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users. You have been invited to participate in a simulation of police-civilian interaction at a Police Scotland custody suite on the 13<sup>th</sup> of June 2018. Following the simulation each of the participants will be asked to describe your experience of the simulation and discuss the following topics:

- General experience of the call/service
- Flow of communication
- The quality of the technology
- Future considerations
- Comments about the simulation

The discussion will follow a focus group format with the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. You should be provided with a **Topic Guide** which explains the simulation task, the reason your character has been detained and focus group questions.

As an actor you will be reimbursed £ \_30per hour\_\_ for you time and contribution to this study.

The objectives of the project is to produce recommendations for Police Scotland policy relating to when and how to make use of VMI services with deaf BSL users; the technological set-up required to meet the needs of Police Scotland to ensure that deaf BSL users have appropriate access; sign language interpreter training aimed at working in legal settings and video interpreting contexts.

The simulation, including set up time, should last around 30minutes and the focus group will take another 30minutes. Both the simulation and focus group will be video recorded for later analysis.

The researcher will:

SCOTTISH  
GRADUATE  
SCHOOL FOR  
ARTS &  
HUMANITIES

- keep all personal details confidential
- only be seen by the research team
- possibly publish some quotes or transcribed examples of comments (no sensitive information will be used)

Dissemination of the research findings will occur through professional development workshops, conference presentations and publications. All interview participants will receive a report detailing a summary of the results of the research. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

Please complete the following questions:

I agree to participate in the research project	Yes / No
I give permission to record and analyse the focus group discussion	Yes / No
I give permission for my contribution to be used in your research	Yes / No
I have received payment for my time	Yes/No

Use of images/video recordings

I agree to the sharing of video recordings and images for internal use	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images in publications	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes / No
I agree to the use of video for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes/No

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

£ \_\_\_\_\_ Payment received \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date:

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*

**\*\* Should you wish to speak to either the supervisor Prof Jemina Napier or Caroline Murray about an issue to do with this research in BSL this can be done in two ways:**

- 1. Email or send a video message to Prof Napier at [j.napier@hw.ac.uk](mailto:j.napier@hw.ac.uk) to arrange a video conferencing call or onsite meeting**
- 2. Email Caroline Murray at [c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk) who can arrange a video conference call or onsite meeting with an interpreter present.**

## Appendix J – Consent Form (Custody Sergeant)



### Information and Consent Form: Custody (Officer)

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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My name is Robert Skinner and I am PhD student from Heriot-Watt University, supervised by Prof Jemina Napier (Heriot-Watt University) and Prof Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee), in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Funding for the PhD has been granted by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities (SGSAH).

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users. You have been invited to participate in a simulation of police-civilian interaction, completing a custody process assisted by a remote interpreter. Following the simulation you will be asked to participate in a focus group and describe your experience of the simulation and discuss the following subjects:

- General experience of the service
- Flow of communication
- The quality of the technology
- Future considerations
- Comments about the simulation

The discussion will follow a focus group format with the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. You should be provided with a **Topic Guide** which explains the simulation task, the reason your character has been detained and types of focus group questions.

The objectives of the project is to produce recommendations for Police Scotland policy relating to when and how to make use of VMI services with deaf BSL users; the technological set-up required to meet the needs of Police Scotland to ensure that deaf BSL users have appropriate access; sign language interpreter training aimed at working in legal settings and video interpreting contexts.

The simulation, including set up time, should last around 30minutes and the focus group will take another 30minutes. Both the simulation and focus group will be video recorded for later analysis.

The researcher will:

- keep all personal details confidential
- only be seen by the research team

SCOTTISH  
GRADUATE  
SCHOOL FOR  
ARTS &  
HUMANITIES

- possibly publish some quotes or transcribed examples of comments (no sensitive information will be used)

Dissemination of the research findings will occur through professional development workshops, conference presentations and publications. All focus group participants will receive a report detailing a summary of the results of the research. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

Please complete the following questions:

I agree to participate in the research project	Yes / No
I give permission to record and analyse the focus group	Yes / No
I give permission for my contribution to be used in your research	Yes / No

Use of images/video recordings

I agree to the sharing of video recordings and images for internal use	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images in publications	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes / No
I agree to the use of video for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes/No

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*

**\*\* Should you wish to speak to either the supervisor Prof Jemina Napier or Caroline Murray about an issue to do with this research in BSL this can be done in two ways:**

- 3. Email or send a video message to Prof Napier at [j.napier@hw.ac.uk](mailto:j.napier@hw.ac.uk) to arrange a video conferencing call or onsite meeting**
- 4. Email Caroline Murray at [c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk) who can arrange a video conference call or onsite meeting with an interpreter present.**

## Appendix K – Consent Form (Interpreter)



### Information and Consent Form: Custody (INTERPRETER)

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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My name is Robert Skinner and I am PhD student from Heriot-Watt University, supervised by Prof Jemina Napier (Heriot-Watt University) and Prof Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee), in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Funding for the PhD has been granted by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities (SGSAH).

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users. You have been invited to participate in a simulation of a frontline police-civilian interaction. Following the simulation you will be asked to participate in a focus group and describe your experience of the simulation and discuss the following subjects:

- General experience of the service
- Flow of communication
- The quality of the technology
- Future considerations
- Comments about the simulation

The discussion will follow a focus group format with the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. You should be provided with a **Topic Guide** which explains the simulation task, the reason your character has been detained and types of focus group questions.

The objectives of the project is to produce recommendations for Police Scotland policy relating to when and how to make use of VMI services with deaf BSL users; the technological set-up required to meet the needs of Police Scotland to ensure that deaf BSL users have appropriate access; sign language interpreter training aimed at working in legal settings and video interpreting contexts.

The simulation, including set up time, should last around 30minutes and the focus group will take another 30minutes. Both the simulation and focus group will be video recorded for later analysis.

The researcher will:

- keep all personal details confidential
- only be seen by the research team

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- possibly publish some quotes or transcribed examples of comments (no sensitive information will be used)

Dissemination of the research findings will occur through professional development workshops, conference presentations and publications. All focus group participants will receive a report detailing a summary of the results of the research. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

Please complete the following questions:

I agree to participate in the research project	Yes / No
I give permission to record and analyse the focus group	Yes / No
I give permission for my contribution to be used in your research	Yes / No

Use of images/video recordings

I agree to the sharing of video recordings and images for internal use	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images in publications	Yes / No
I agree to the use of images for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes / No
I agree to the use of video for external communication and presentations (e.g. conferences and workshops)	Yes/No

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_



*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*

**\*\* Should you wish to speak to either the supervisor Prof Jemina Napier or Caroline Murray about an issue to do with this research in BSL this can be done in two ways:**

5. Email or send a video message to Prof Napier at [j.napier@hw.ac.uk](mailto:j.napier@hw.ac.uk) to arrange a video conferencing call or onsite meeting
6. Email Caroline Murray at [c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk) who can arrange a video conference call or onsite meeting with an interpreter present.

## Appendix L – Topic Guide (Custody Sergeant)



### Topic Guide - Custody suite

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study investigating the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) users in Scotland.

There will be two parts to this study. The first part is the simulation of a deaf person brought into custody and the second part is a follow up focus group.

##### Part 1: Simulation

A deaf civilian (played by an actor) is brought in to a Police Scotland custody centre. Both the interpreter and custody officers are not actors and have volunteered to assist with this study. Scripts have been prepared for the deaf actor and the arresting police officers on why the civilian has been detained and brought into custody. The interpreter has no background information about the incident.

For the simulation the detainee is brought to the charge bar, where the next procedure is to place the detainee into a holding cell. At the appropriate moment the custody officer will determine when the call to SignVideo should be initiated. \*The SignVideo interpreter requires prior notice to prepare her/him about the incoming call from Police Scotland. At this point, the interpreter is to be provided with some sample questions usually used by the police during the custody check in process. It is **recommended** both the police officer and interpreter follow best practice procedures set by their respective organisations.

##### Part 2: Focus group

After the simulation we would like to ask you some questions about the experience of the custody interaction. The focus group will include the caller, police call handler and remote interpreter. Below are the main topics that we may discuss, however, if there is anything else you really want to tell us that is related to this experience, please feel free to contribute. You do not have to answer or comment on any of the questions. The focus group will last about 30mins with a break and refreshments if need.

1. Describe your general feelings about the interaction
  - a. Did you think the concept was successful? If yes/no, please explain why?

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- b. Were there any moments in the interaction you remember vividly and why?
- 2. Did you feel others understood the concern/needs you were trying to raise?
  - a. Did you feel you had to communicate differently, e.g. help another person understand? If yes, who and why?
  - b. Did you feel the process of communication needed to be adapted, either because of the extra person or because of the technology? If yes/no, explain?
  - c. How do you feel the turn-taking went?
  - d. Did you feel clear when someone misunderstood? Was the misunderstanding repaired? If yes/no, please explain why?
  - e. If you have not already, describe what you believe the interpreter should do versus actually do/provide.
  - f. If you have not already, describe what you believe the police representative should do versus actually do/provide.
- 3. Where would you describe the limits of the service?
  - a. Was the technology accessible?
  - b. Your impressions of the technology?
  - c. How do you feel about technology being used in this way?
  - d. Do you support this concept?
  - e. What are the limitations with the technology?
- 4. What changes to policies and procedures do think are needed to make this service more viable (for the deaf participant please answer these questions from the perspective of an outsider who is a user of this service)?
  - a. Did you find there was a conflict between standard approaches and local needs?
  - b. Did you deviate from best practice?
  - c. Did you avoid or decline opportunities to deviate from best practice?
- 5. What do you think the opportunities are with this technology?
  - a. What further developments do you expect to see?
  - b. How would you like to see the service develop/changed?
  - c. How far in to the process is the serviced used for?
- 6. Do you have any comments about the simulations?
  - a. Did you find anything unrealistic about the simulations?
  - b. Did you find the simulations to be an effective concept for testing the service?

## Appendix M – Consent Form (Expert)



### Information and Consent Form: Experts

#### British Sign Language and Video Interpreting – Proximity in Police Settings

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My name is Robert Skinner and I am PhD student from Heriot-Watt University, supervised by Prof Jemina Napier (Heriot-Watt University) and Prof Nick Fyfe (University of Dundee), in collaboration with Police Scotland and SignVideo. Funding for the PhD has been granted by the Scottish Graduate School for Arts & Humanities (SGSAH).

My PhD study seeks to investigate the way video-mediated interpreting (VMI) services may be used to facilitate access to Police Scotland for deaf British Sign Language (BSL) user. As a partner organisation in the SGSAH funded PhD programme you have been invited to assist and guide the PhD researcher with administering the Police-civilian VMI interpreted simulations. As an expert in your respective field your contribution to this study will inform and shape how the data is analysed.

The objectives of the project is to produce recommendations for Police Scotland policy relating to when and how to make use of VMI services with deaf BSL users; the technological set-up required to meet the needs of Police Scotland to ensure that deaf BSL users have appropriate access; sign language interpreter training aimed at working in legal settings and video interpreting contexts.

The simulation, including set up time, should last around 30minutes and the focus group will take another 30minutes. Both the simulation and focus group will be video recorded for later analysis.

The researcher will:

- keep all personal details confidential
- only be seen by the research team
- not allow other people outside of our team see/hear your recordings
- possibly publish some quotes or transcribed examples of comments (no sensitive information will be used)

Dissemination of the research findings will occur through professional development workshops, conference presentations and publications. All interview participants will receive a report detailing a summary of the results of the research. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw from participation in the research at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.



Please complete the following questions:

I agree to participate in the research project	Yes / No
I give permission to record and analyse the focus group discussion	Yes / No
I give permission for my contribution to be used in your research	Yes / No

I, \_\_\_\_\_ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
(block letters)

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Investigator's Name: ROBERT SKINNER .

Investigator's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

*The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Heriot-Watt University School of Social Sciences. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through Caroline Murray ([C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:C.A.Murray@hw.ac.uk)).*

**\*\* Should you wish to speak to either the supervisor Prof Jemina Napier or Caroline Murray about an issue to do with this research in BSL this can be done in two ways:**

1. Email or send a video message to Prof Napier at [j.napier@hw.ac.uk](mailto:j.napier@hw.ac.uk) to arrange a video conferencing call or onsite meeting
2. Email Caroline Murray at [c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk](mailto:c.a.murray@hw.ac.uk) who can arrange a video conference call or onsite meeting with an interpreter present.