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A Case Study Exploration of Public Responses to the Lowered Drink-Driving Limit within a Scottish Community

by

Liam Ralph

Abstract

On December 5th 2014 the legal drink-drive limit in Scotland was reduced from 35 microgrammes of alcohol in 100 ml of breath to 22 microgrammes. This policy change was rationalised during consultation in road safety terms with a lowered limit linked to preventing road accidents and fatalities brought about by alcohol. Accordingly, the overall aim of this research was to generate an understanding on how civilian drivers have responded to the reduced drink-driving limit more than six months after its introduction. In turn, this endeavoured to satisfy a key objective of this research which is to develop research on road policing in Scotland. This last point was also a prerequisite for the exploratory and descriptive basis of this study. In particular, this research adopts an adaptive theoretical approach, qualitative research strategy and case study research design. A total of ten semi-structured interviews were conducted with civilian drivers residing in a rural community in Scotland. Interviews primarily investigated three themes: decisions-making theories, ecological approaches, and public knowledge of road policing. Analysis of data produced two overarching findings. The new limit has had an inconsequential effect on police reporting and has failed to change driver's perceptions of dangerous driving with both still used in conjunction with excessively 'drunk-driving' cases amongst interviewees in this study. These ideas are discussed in this report in connection to firstly, prevalent contradicting narrative constructions of drink-driving and secondly, drink-driving prevention. Implications of these findings are discussed in accordance with promoting both community policing and collective efficacy.

Acknowledgments

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1. Introduction

1.1 Objectives of the project

Since the introduction of crime statistics, the number of annual fatalities recorded on Scottish roads continually raise concern. Indeed, in 2013 alone 173 people died as a result of road traffic accidents (Transport Scotland, 2014); while in 2013-14 60 deaths were recorded as homicides (The Scottish Government, 2014a) and 33 fatalities resulted from fires (The Scottish Government, 2014b). Altogether, in 2013 there were 1,430 "serious injury (road) accidents" and 7,397 "slightly injurious (road) accidents" (Transport Scotland, 2014, p. 12). Over time, between 1993 and 2013, there have been 6,332 recorded deaths on Scottish roads. The most recent figures show that, in 2012, 440 traffic accidents involved drink-drivers and 10 fatalities were about a result of drink-driving. Despite the limitations of official data, recognised by Police Scotland (2014) as failing to account for un-reported and un-recorded traffic accidents, the considerable volume of known accidents nonetheless suggests greater analysis of road safety and in particular drink-driving is required.

For the purposes of this study drink-driving was classified before data collection as a person who is recorded as being above the legal drink-driving limit and is in control of a vehicle. On December 5th 2014 the limit was reduced from 35 microgrammes (mcg) of alcohol in 100 ml of breath to 22mcg in Scotland (The Scottish Government, 2012a, p. 11; Road Safety Scotland, 2015). This equates to 50 milligrams (mg) in every 100 millilitres (ml) of blood from 80mg and 67mg per 100ml or urine from 107mg; although breath analysis is the most routine test carried out by law enforcement officers (The Scottish Government, 2012a). As a result, Scotland is currently aligned with the majority of European countries, with only England, Wales and Northern Ireland and Malta enforcing higher limits of 80mg in every 100ml of blood (Institute of Alcohol Studies, 2013). This change followed public consultation in 2012 which supported the idea that a reduced limit would lead to fewer road fatalities and collisions caused by drink-driving (The Scottish Government, 2013). Similarly, it was argued that preventing road accidents caused by drink-driving would generate savings within the emergency services, including the National Health Service (NHS), the fire and rescue service and the police service. However, in order to achieve this respondents acknowledged the

requirement for greater public engagement on the implications of the new limit with explicit guidance required.

The principal aim of this research is to provide an insight into how civilian drivers presently perceive the new limit more than six months after change. Unlike the public consultation and much of road policing research this study is not commissioned by the Scottish Government or policing bodies in Scotland. Consequently, this project drawing on Donnelly and Scott's (2010, p.3) distinction between official and unofficial policing research in Scotland, has the capacity to engage in a "wider critical perspective" free from conventional state "sanctioned views". Whereas other areas of policing research have witnessed a growth in academic focus in recent years, aided by the Scottish Institute for Policing Research (SIPR) (Donnelly and Scott, 2010), roads policing is yet to have been established beyond the confines of official sources.

Official state responses, in terms of controlling and preventing road-related accidents and fatalities, is predominantly assigned to police forces. In a Scottish context this has been the task of Police Scotland since the 1st April 2013 (The Scottish Government, 2014c) which nationalised previous regional constabularies. For the year end 2013/2014 Police Scotland (2014a, p.12) data shows that 51,253 road traffic collision incidents and 18,455 road traffic offences were reported. Altogether 200,355 incidents reported to Police Scotland were traffic-related. This accounts for about 10% of all reported incidents made to Police Scotland in 2013/14. Significantly, in their yearly review Police Scotland (2014a, p.12) argue that increasing levels of reported road traffic offences compared to 2012/13 was the result of "proactive roads policing". Accordingly, the effect of police-public relations in contributing to proactive roads policing styles merits further analysis. Similarly, the importance of researching this from a public perspective is shown with "Road Safety and Crime" specified as one of four priorities in Police Scotland's (2014b, p.3; 2015a) annual police plan for 2014/15 and 2015/16. From a community policing approach, policing plans both local and national aim to reflect public beliefs.

1.2 Research layout

Aside from this first section, the remainder of this paper is made up of four chapters. Chapter two will outline literature relevant to this project and will provide a synthesis of existing theory and research on policing, roads policing and drink-driving. From this the main research areas identified will be developed into sub- questions. These were considered prior to undertaking this research. These will be introduced at the end of each part within chapter two. Developing on from this, chapter three will convey how this research aimed to approach the overall aims, objectives and sub-questions of this project. This will entail explaining the adopted methodology, in terms of showing why a qualitative research strategy, case study research design, and interview methods was selected. In addition, the mechanical components for carrying out these research stages will be presented. With a justification and understanding of these, chapter four will introduce the results of this research. This will provide a discussion of these findings in connection to existing policing and drink-driving literature. The final chapter of this report will merge these findings into the concluding arguments of this research.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Overview

As aforementioned, a key objective of this research is to develop research on road policing by investigating public responses to the reduced drink-driving limit. The main premise for this regulatory change was rationalised by the Scottish Government (2012a) as a means for attaining fewer fatalities and accidents caused by drink-driving (The Scottish Government, 2012a). This reflects two perceived impacts of a lowered limit: the capacity for officers to apprehend drivers consuming alcohol at a harmful level and "a deterrent effect" with drivers encouraged to adopt a zero tolerance approach to driving and drinking (The Scottish Government, 2012a, p.21). From this perspective, decision-making theories provide a suitable theoretical framework for exploring drink-driving. Before delving into this further, the first part of this chapter will provide an overview of the major policing texts within the historical development of policing research. With an understanding of this, the second part – from a situational crime prevention and administrative criminology outlook – will introduce rational choice theory and routine activities theory in accordance with research on policing, road safety and drink-driving. The third part of this chapter will connect ecological criminological perspectives with research suggesting the significance of locality in road offending. The final part will highlight the link between public knowledge of criminal justice and road police practice within literature on local and community policing. These themes were selected on account of the interconnections and links with crime prevention literature which is developed in more detail in each part. Similarly, rather than seeing these areas as distinct, the overlap between administrative criminology, ecological criminology and public perceptions of policing will be conveyed throughout this literature section.

2.2 Pioneering policing literary works within a historical context

The evolution of policing research can be distinguished by four stages. Categorised by Reiner (2010, p.11) these include "consensus, controversy, conflict and contradiction". In a British context, the first of these emerged in the 1960s (Reiner and Newburn, 2008). This followed political and social changes in the 1950s. Subsequent

to the Second World War social science research was being established in academia with the expansion of higher education. Significantly, around this time the Cambridge Institute of Criminology was created (Knepper et al, 2009). This was reflective of the growth in positivist criminology from the 19th century onwards, treating the study of crime as a science, which advocated the use of empirical study. Aided by the formation of the Home Office Research Unit in 1957 (Reiner and Newburn, 2008), this event signified a shift in criminological discourse on account of being government led (Walters, 2003, p.45). Connecting these developments highlights Garland's (2002, p.8) historical significance of the adjoining of the "governmental project" and the "Lombrosian project" in contributing to the discipline of criminology as a contemporary field of study. Whereas the former is linked to crime control and is concerned with policy relevance in research the latter attempts to understand etiological factors in crime.

Arising from this political and social landscape, Michael Banton's (1964) '*The Policeman in the Community'* signified a "ground-breaking" study on account of being the first empirical investigation into policing in a British context (Sheptycki, 2000, p.xi). This ethnographic comparative study explored features of British policing (although predominantly in Scotland) and American equivalents. State policing, however, is recognised as representing a minute part of crime control compared to the dominance of additional formal and informal social control measures. From a Durkheimian perspective, Banton (1964) argued that intensifying urbanisation represented a threat to police-public relations. As a result, greater understanding of day-to-day policing was required. Accordingly, Banton advocates studying 'the policeman in the community' which can illuminate the level of public consent and trust in policing. Using this analogy, the multifaceted function of police forces was found to exist in both jurisdictions beyond law enforcement, with police officers predominantly engaged in peace keeping encounters. Contrary to commonly held beliefs at the time, discretion was routinely practiced by officers in order to maintain public consent, although this was determined by ecological and cultural factors as well as personal experience. While, Banton (1964) makes reference to the common use of discretion by Scottish officers in relation to traffic offences, the reliability of this finding to contemporary Scottish policing is challenged by two factors. Firstly, the considerable increase in the numbers of recorded road traffic offences, since the 1960s and secondly, the one-

dimensional application of Banton's (1964) study which exclusively portrays police-public relations from the perspective of the former.

Around the late 1960s, public and political interest in crime and disorder evolved at the same time 'New Deviance theory' challenged existing criminological frameworks (Garland, 1996). More obvious to this research, around the 1960s liberal movement in Britain "growing public questioning of authority" and criminal justice echoed rising fears over police legitimacy into the 1970/80s (Reiner and Newburn, 2008, p.346). Utilising, Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical perspective and akin to symbolic interactionism, police culture became a key focal point in policing studies as accurate representations of police work were sought in social research (Westmarland, 2011). For, Skolnick (1966) police officers' experience particular insecurities and stresses on account of their occupation which requires enforcing the law. In turn, police officers are seen to habitually seclude themselves from public life in order to circumvent risky situations. When on duty, officers are found to attach meanings during interaction with members of the public. These "identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants" with their behaviour perceived as resembling deviant qualities (Skolnick, 1966, p.45). Continuing this focus on police culture, Punch's (1979) study in a Dutch context highlighted the considerable service function (tasks of a non-criminal nature) carried out by officers. However, this finding was later attributed to police officer's attempts to conceal engagement in wrongful acts as well as their attention to portraying positive narratives. Inevitably, in his 1985 study, Punch exclusively examined police corruption, based on the disclosed Dutch scandals in the late 1970s. Significantly, around the time of writing, radical criminology provided a scathing attack on police practices. For example, Holdaway's (1983) covertly-conducted ethnographic study drew attention to institutional racism in a British context. This was subsequently explained from the orthodox 'top-down' structure of policing which indoctrinates officers into aligning crime with particular demographic groups (Holdaway 1996).

Responding to the 1970s global economic crisis, in addition to rising crime rates, policing research began to signify a realist 'what works' approach with welfare principles criticised for neglecting individual culpability (Walkalte, 2007). These ideas were reinforced by the Labour government in the late 1990s with their 'tough on crime, tough on the causes of crime' policy-orientated focus (McLaughlin et al, 2001). More

recent studies have been challenged with explaining the contradiction between rising public crime fears, despite lower rates of recorded victimisation (kappeler and Gaines, 2011). Taken together, these major developments in policing research, fail to move beyond basic conceptions of policing. From an ontological objectivist position, notwithstanding police hierarchy, these studies do not exclusively differentiate between policing units nor offence category and instead, take police officers realities as being collective. This omits particular interconnections between: the nature of criminal offence, the type of policing unit referred, and police-public relations. In connection to this research, this therefore highlights the importance of establishing a theoretical basis for road traffic policing. This is crucial to elucidating how this type of policing is experienced and mediated by both police officers and members of the public, before comparisons can be made to general policing paradigms.

2.2 Connecting 'decision-making' theories with research on drink-driving

Contemporary criminal justice policy in Scotland for traffic offences and road safety typifies both situational crime prevention and administrative criminology frameworks. Broadly, crime prevention can be distinguished by either situational crime prevention or social crime prevention. Whereas the former involves restricting criminal opportunities (Clarke, 1995) the latter from an etiological approach challenges criminal behaviour (GIlling, 1997). Similar to situational crime prevention, administrative criminology begins from the premise that offenders are "opportunistic" and commit criminal acts when these situations are interpreted as being favourable (Tierney, 2013, p.282). This general shift in policy can be seen with the removal of funding for road safety officers on the 31st March 2014. These officers provided public "road safety education" although this was specifically aimed at young road-users (Edinburgh Council, 2014, p.1). This practice existed prior to the re-structuring and nationalising of Scottish policing (on April 1st 2013) and had been provided by six out of eight regional forces from the 1970s. The ending of this service adheres to accomplishing a "common" and consistent approach across Scotland as outlined in the 'Road Safety Framework to 2020' although contravened ACPOS (Association of Chief Police Officers in Scotland) objectives to uphold education facilities which Chief Constable Kevin Smith stated would "deliver long term road safety solutions" (The Scottish Government, 2009, p.21).

Both situational crime prevention and administrative criminology approaches incorporate rational choice and routines activities theoretical frameworks. Firstly, rational choice theory, as developed by Clarke and Cornish (1985, p.163), asserts that engagement and desistance from crime arises from a person's decision-making, although this is influenced by "social, psychological and environmental factors". Akin to an interpretivist epistemological approach, this can only be analysed from an offender's perspective by gaining an understanding of their conceptions around exposure and punishment. In terms of 'initial involvement' an individual illustrates 'readiness' 'by perceiving benefits from committing an act defined as illegal (Clarke and Cornish, 1985, p.167). Similarly, in this stage, a person is adaptive to 'external situation(s)' when handpicking the environment where the offence will be undertaken (Clarke and Cornish, 1985, p.170). When 'continuance' in criminal activities occurs, an offender has extended their knowledge and expertise of their particular crime (Clarke and Cornish, 1985, p.170). Over time this can lead to commendatory representations. Secondly, Cohen and Felson's (1979, p.589) routine activities theory demonstrates that criminal engagement requires the existence of three simultaneously occurring variables: "Motivated offenders" (who evaluate criminal opportunities with a cost-benefit analysis); "suitable targets" (a potential victim or item); and "the absence of capable guardians" (a person who provides primary deterrence and desistance, with their presence acting to regulate behaviour).

The main premises of these decision-making theories have been reproduced in studies on drink-driving on an international stage. For example, research in the United States (US) by Thurman et al (1993) found the propensity for drivers to drink and drive, amongst other cost-benefit factors, was influenced by the convenience, in terms of security and finance, of alternative modes of transport. For Parker et al (1992) drivers are more likely to transgress traffic laws (including drink-driving) when travelling alone or late in the evening. Additionally, McKnight et al's (1995) study in Adelaide, Australia reveals that decisions centred on readiness to drink-drive are typically made prior to consuming alcohol. In a Scottish context, research by Collins et al (2008) indicates that drink-drivers seldom travel long distances and avoid busy routes. While, Lanza-Kaduce's (1988) exploration suggests legal penalties have no direct impact on US College student's decisions to drink-drive, previous drink-driving-related experiences

are associated with curtailing future tendencies. In correspondence with Lanza-Kaduce's (1988) earlier finding, Yu et al (2006) found alcohol addiction reduces a person's ability to make rational decisions based on deterrence. However, the overall complexities linked to specific deterrence and drink-driving is shown with Hansen's (2015, p.1601) investigation of reoffending amongst drink drivers which discovered "severe punishments reduce recidivism rates both in the short and long term". Furthermore, Grasmick et al's (2006) case study of a community in the US implies from a labelling perspective that people restrain from drink-driving when detection and attributed feelings of shame are likely. Although not focussing on drink-driving, research by Stradling (2007, p.1196) in Scotland suggests that driver's level of speed is determined by three factors: "opportunities" (ways in which journey time can be reduced) "obligations" (commitment to the Highway Code in relation to external forces, including work pressures and avoiding injury to other road users); and "inclinations" (natural tendency to speed).

Despite suggesting the significance of choice in drinking and driving, research has yet to consider the effect of reducing the legal alcohol limit on driver's dispositions to lessen or cease alcohol consumption prior or driving a vehicle. Consequently, the first sub-question identified for this study was: How do drivers make informed decisions on choosing whether to drive having consumed alcohol?

2.3 Ecological approaches to explaining drink-driving

Both rational choice and routines activities theory incorporate ecological criminological dimensions. Broadly, social ecology refers to "how human relationships are affected by a particular environment" (Vito et al, 2007, p.146). In terms of crime, particular social and environmental spaces are adjudged to inhibit criminal characteristics which facilitate crime. Ecological criminology encompasses an extensive range of perspectives. For example, the earliest writers emerging from the Chicago School of criminology in the 1920s, including Park (1925; 1936); Burgess (1925); and Shaw and Mckay's (1942), attempted to explain escalating rates of crime in Chicago as and other expanding US cities. However, these theories have been criticised for being unable to explain crimes which exist out with inner city areas as well as criminal acts which are not attributed to social disorganisation. Contemporary ecological applications in

criminological research, commonly termed socio-spatial criminology, can be discerned by three perspectives. Identified by Bottoms (2012) this comprises of studies centred on: decision-making theories, examined in the previous section; the formation of neighbourhoods and the upshots on crime; or cultural criminological perspectives which highlight how people engage and experience crime. For Bottoms (2012) socio-spatial theories must shift from past traditions which present these areas as distinct and instead provide a synthesis in order to generate a holistic understanding of crime.

The overlap between socio-spatial criminology and informal social control can be seen in connection to Sampson et al's (1997) 'collective efficacy' theory. Constituting Bottoms (2012) second socio-spatial perspective, collective efficacy postulates that neighbourhoods characterised with extensive unanimity feature lower rates of crime as community members are encouraged to disrupt deviancy. This incorporates three elements: "cohesion" (solidarity amongst neighbourhood members); "shared expectations" (inhabitants uniformly are determined to obtain a crime-free community); and "mutual engagement" (law and order is effective when citizens engage in informal social control) (Sampson, 2004, p.108). Similarly to Briathewaite's (1989) theory of 'reintegrative shaming' this requires transparency and promulgating in personal affairs as "low crime communities are those in which citizens do not mind their own business" (Bazemore and O'Brien, 2011, p.66). However, while more recent research conducted in Scotland by Collins et al (2008) highlights the extent of drink-driving between rural/urban residents, the role of collective efficacy in tackling drink-driving has yet to be explored. In connection to Bottoms (2012) argument, taking into account the part of decision-making choices and cultural representations will provide a complete ecological interpretation of public responses to drink-driving.

Additionally, collective efficacy is of significant importance to formal social control mechanisms in connection to the role of third party reporting of drink-driving to police forces. In a Scottish context, this is championed by Police Scotland with Road Policing Inspector Neil Lumsden's (Police Scotland, 2014c) declaration "I would urge the public to continue to support us by reporting a suspected drink or drug driver" reflective of contemporary police appeals evident in the 2015 summer drink-drive campaign (Police Scotland, 2015b). Present understandings of people's preparedness to report road crime is evident in Bradford et al's (2015) 'Obeying the rules of the road' study which

follows a procedural justice framework. Succinctly, procedural justice incorporates judgements on the processes and outcomes of interactions and events in terms of the apparent degree of justice and fairness (Hornle, 2009). For Bradford et al (2015) procedural justice encounters between citizens and police officers promotes both consensual policing and law abiding behaviour. Within this, members of the public are found to align their identity to attributes of police officers by mirroring perceived upright characters. In turn, people are adjudged to endorse and aid police investigations. However, this study, drawing on data collected as part of the "Scottish Community Engagement Trial", fails to move beyond basic procedural justice conceptions of 'legitimacy' and 'trust' (Bradford et al, 2015, p.7). In relation to this research exploring people's readiness to report drink-driving provides a starting point for auditing both the types of decisions formulated by third party persons and how these choices are made in response to the reduced drink-drive limit. In light of these considerations, the second sub-question examined was: How do ecological considerations shape driver's personal behaviours and attitudes on drink-driving?

2.4 Public knowledge of road policing

Termed by Donnelly and Scott (2003) as 'the moving landscape' the establishment of the Scottish Government in 1999 has had a profound impact on Scottish policing. Up to date changes include the acceleration of government-led legislation, the accountability of the chief constable, at times, to Holyrood, the introduction of "national targets" (Scott, 2011, p.12) and the endorsement of "transparency" in policing policy (Donnelly and Scott, 2008, p.188). The latter of these strategies is replicated in Police Scotland's (2015c, p.7) Communications and Engagement strategy which specifies "a commitment to open and transparent policing that is responsive to the needs of communities". This is shown to prerequisite being "accessible to, and engaged with, local communities" (Police Scotland, 2015c, p.4). Altogether, these ideas signify a community policing outlook. Summarised by Mackenzie and Henry (2009, p.4) this approach involves "community engagement" with citizens granted opportunity to shape local practices and a policing "philosophy" centred on providing a service rather than 'crime-fighting' idiosyncrasies. Akin to procedural justice, this is conveyed in the Communications and Engagement strategy as a means for developing public trust in policing with Scottish policing appraised by its consensual nature. Beyond official

sources, this second point has previously been conveyed by Donnelly and Scott (2010) and is supported by research on community policing in Scotland.

For example, research by Donnelly (2004) scrutinised community policing in a precursor force to Police Scotland - Strathclyde Police - from a public standpoint. Despite, finding generally favourable representations; this was perceived as being endangered by the overstretched consignment of duties to officers. More recently, the establishment of a single and national force with Police Scotland has raised issues in local policing in terms of the extent of local accountability (Scott, 2013a; 2013b). This has been explored further by Terpstra and Fyfe (2015), who argue that changes in policing since reform, including the divulged widespread use of stop and search by officers, the targeting of saunas in Edinburgh and the carrying of firearms by some officers have been heavily criticised in public and political spheres. Additionally, questions also arise over the extent to which ordinary members of the public are included in policing consultations, with the majority of respondents in the re-structuring reform (The Scottish Government, 2011; The Scottish Government, 2012b) and the reduced drink driving limit reform (The Scottish Government, 2012a) employed in civil service roles. This may have repercussions for public knowledge of policing.

In connection to road policing, two contemporary changes have been made in addition to the reduction in the drink-driving limit. Firstly, the introduction of average speed cameras on the A9 road in Scotland, justified in favour of curtailing drivers from speeding (Northern Safety Camera Partnership, 2014). Secondly the creation of Trunk Road Policing Groups whose purpose is to police major road networks (Police Scotland, 2013). From a 'hot-spot' policing outlook this was framed in response to the discerned urban location of serious road traffic fatalities. Together, these developments are indicative of the situational crime prevention focus of road policing strategies, identified previously in connection to the withdrawal of road safety officers. In specific relation to this research, generating an understanding of driver's perceptions of road policing in terms of policing drink-driving will contribute to an overall narrative of Scottish citizen's interpretations of police transparency. Accordingly, the third sub-question this research investigated was: What are driver's perceptions of road policing in connection to the reduced drink-driving limit?

2.5 Literature review summary

Drawing on the growth of policing research since the 1960s, the first section of this chapter conveyed the idea that major policing works for the most part have not discerned between offence types nor policing units. Accordingly, by investigating civilian driver's responses to the reduced drink driving limit this research will provide a descriptive and exploratory basis for future explanatory studies on road policing. In order to do this three themes were identified for analysis: decisions-making theories, ecological approaches, and public knowledge of road policing. Parallels between these areas were portrayed in association with research on drink-driving and crime prevention more broadly. In turn, three sub- questions were constructed prior to undertaking this research. Firstly, how do drivers make informed decisions on choosing whether to drive having consumed alcohol? Secondly, how do ecological considerations shape driver's personal behaviours and attitudes on drink-driving? And thirdly, what are driver's perceptions of road policing in connection to the reduced drink-driving limit? In connection to the overall aim of this research, this will generate an understanding on how civilian drivers have responded to the reduced drink driving limit.

3. Methodology

3.1 Overview

With an understanding of existing literature on drink-driving and road policing, this chapter will introduce the methodological underpinnings of this study. This chapter will be divided into four parts. The first part will outline this study's research design. In particular, this will provide a rationale for a descriptive and exploratory focus, adaptive theoretical approach, qualitative research strategy and case study research design. Developing on from these methodological protocols, the second part will depict and explain this study's data collection in connection to the use of semi-structured interviews, incorporated recruitment methods and associated ethical considerations. The third part focuses exclusively on participants in this study, in terms of sample size and sample frame. The final part reveals how data was analysed using an adaptive theoretical perspective.

3.2 Research design

Chapters one and two of this dissertation highlighted the limited nature of policing research in Scotland, which is either predominantly consigned to official sources or does not distinguish between type of offence (drink-driving) nor linked policing unit (roads policing). This therefore necessitates the use of a descriptive and exploratory research focus, an adaptive theoretical approach, qualitative research strategy and case study research design. Firstly, descriptive research is applicable for studies which aim to better "understand the essence of a topic" when "one knows little" with this research the first investigation on drink-driving in Scotland subsequent to legislative change (Dantzker and Hunter, 2012, p.11). Likewise, exploratory research conforms to an epistemological interpretivist position and is concerned with the types of meanings people attach to behaviours, interactions and events (Bachman & Schutt, 2015). Rather than seeing these applications as distinct, incorporating both descriptive and exploratory frameworks provides a holistic understanding of reality (Withrow, 2013). In connection to this research, this shows how people have responded to the reduced-drink driving limit by describing trends in thoughts and opinions.

Secondly, adopting an adaptive theoretical approach permits understandings of drink-driving in this research to be formed prospectively by both existing theory (for this research this primarily relates to situational crime prevention) and new concepts with "theory-generation" based on empirical data (Layder, 1998, p.136). This recognises my personal role as a researcher which is shaped by preconceived knowledge of crime, policing and drink-driving based on my own ontological constructivist experiences having conducted research on local policing in Scotland. Accordingly, deductive and inductive decisions required being responsive to the nature of data collected. Thirdly, this research adheres to principally a qualitative research strategy. Whereas quantitative strategies are commonly discerned by their positivist epistemological and objectivist ontological standpoints which limit the extent of research to capture people's unique interpretations and experiences (Shkedi, 2005), the qualitative approach developed in this research elicited an understanding of both the "contexts" and "meanings" associated with drink-driving and road policing (Noaks and Wincup, 2003, p.11). Fourthly, case study research designs are commonly used in research that aims to investigate specific "social phenomenon" (Babbie, 2013, p.309) within its "context" (Baxter and Jack, 2008, p.545). In terms of investigating how drivers have responded to the reduced drink-driving limit (social phenomenon) using a single community (context) provides a useful exploratory starting point. In particular, the community under investigation was selected on account of the linked local government council recently highlighting the need to reduce road traffic casualties and in particular drink-driving (both the community and council area have been anonymised, although this information was accessed through The Scottish Government (2014d).

3.3 Data collection

Research instrument

In light of these considerations, semi-structured interviews with civilian drivers were chosen as being the most applicable method for this research. Interviews were conducted face-to-face with civilian drivers. Aside from initial background enquiries on awareness of drink-driving reform, questions relating to the three themes identified earlier were predominantly open-ended (see appendix one). Unlike structured interviews this approach allowed interviewees the capacity to respond to interview

questions using their own epistemological interpretivist knowledge of drink-driving and road policing, free from standard definitions or classifications. In doing this, interview dialogue was adaptable to the perceptions and experiences of each interviewee with all responses therefore communicated in their own words. Likewise, this permitted follow-up questions, where relevant to this research (Qu and Dumay, 2011). Countering a common weakness in unstructured interviews, this permitted further analysis of the three themes identified from literature with opportunity to establish trends in interviewee's thoughts and opinions (Klenke, 2008). Similarly, this maintained an adaptive theoretical approach with resulting discussion centred on interviewee's apprehension of connected subject matter. This provided freedom to manoeuvre from themes when interviewees divulged additional or new ideas significant to this project.

The interview schedule was divided into four sections. Section one included contextual questions on the current drink-driving limit. These attempted to gauge an understanding of interviewees' knowledge of: the new limit; perceived practical implications; discernment to the previous limit; recognition of why the limit changed; and opinions on the fairness of the new limit. From an epistemological interpretivist standpoint this provided the basis for future discussion and contributed to an overall narrative for each interviewee by outlining personal definitions of drink-driving. Section two within the interview schedule comprised of questions on the first theme under investigation: decision-making and drink-driving. This included both personal behaviours and perceptions on how others have responded with the possibility to delve further into rational choice theory and routine activities theory when interviewees portrayed a decision-making outlook. Section three incorporated questions on the second theme: ecological factors and drink-driving. These questions advanced Bottoms' (2012) case for connecting rational choice, neighbourhood effects (both formal and informal decisions people make in relation to recognised drink-driving from other motorists) and cultural aspects in order to generate a complete ecological understanding of driver's responses to the lowered drink-driving limit. The final section encompassed the third theme under investigation: public knowledge of road policing. These questions explored issues on: responsibility for dealing with drink-driving beyond the individual; police communication on reform; and police practice.

Recruitment methods

Interviewees were recruited using two procedures. Firstly, recruitment was facilitated through the Drumblue Village Association. Having attended the monthly forum in May 2015 with the consent of the group president, a ten minute presentation was delivered to present members outlining the focus of this research. After this point, a plain language statement form was dispensed to those voluntarily interested in taking part in an interview with their email address recorded. One week subsequent to the community meeting prospective participants were emailed. If respondents consented at this stage, a date, time and suitable location for an interview was agreed. Altogether, four participants were recruited using this process. Secondly, snowball sampling was used to recruit the remaining six participants. Simply, snowball sampling encapsulates recruitment techniques in which "the sample unfolds and grows from an initial selection" (Babbie, 2013, p.188). Following interviews, participants were asked if they were able to identify a fellow driver residing in the Drumblue community who likewise would be interested in taking part in this research as an interviewee. These participants were then given an additional plain language statement form which was dispersed to the appropriate person. Included on this form was my email address, as future interviewees were required to contact myself with the process leading to the interview from this point resembling the first procedure. Overall snowball sampling contributed to a range of ages in the study sample, as discerned by interviewee stories later. This included six males and four females.

Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was accorded by the University of Glasgow Ethics board on May 12th 2015. These commitments were upheld by maintaining participant's anonymity and confidentiality, minimising harm and guaranteeing consent, amongst other factors. For anonymity, pseudonyms were used in accordance with participant names, referenced others and specific geographic locations mentioned during interview encounters. In particular, Drumblue was used a pseudonym for the community under investigation. As well as this, regional slang words were translated into plain English during transcribing. These procedures circumvent identification of both participants and the community used as a case study in this report. Similarly, all data amassed from data collection was kept confidential, with recordings, analysis documents and consent forms kept under password control. Further, participants were notified prior to

interviews, in the plain language statement form (see appendix two), that information disclosed which cannot be held in confidence would be passed onto the appropriate person. Subsequently, no information of a criminal nature was divulged during data collection. Three considerations were given to safeguard participants from possible harm. Firstly, the nature of this research was made aware to prospective interviewees during the initial consent stage (see below). Secondly, not all questions were compulsory. This was made aware to interviewees in the plain language statement form and prior to interviews. Thirdly, the contact details for Support Line were included in the plain language statement form and were intended for interviewees negatively affected by this research.

In terms of consent, this was treated as a continuing process throughout the duration of this project. This was first obtained informally by email during communication with myself prior to the interview. At this stage, prospective interviewees were provided with opportunity to ask additional questions. Secondly, before data collection begun, participants were required to sign the consent form (see appendix three) acknowledging several stipulations. This included recognising the right to withdraw from data collection if requested. No participants withdrew participation during interviews. Thirdly, as outlined in the plain language statement form, participants obtained the right to withdraw their data at any time. Up until the point of publication, no interviewee has requested their data be erased.

3.4 Participants

Sample size

As already mentioned the sample size for this research was ten. This was established in connection to both the "nature and design of the study" and the overall aim and sub-questions of this project (Edwards & Holland, p.7). In terms of the first of these considerations, the complexity of this research is evident from the qualitative research strategy and use of semi-structured interview methods. Both data collection (conducting and then transcribing interviews) and data analysis (assessing transcripts for emerging themes) require considerable time. Secondly, the design of this study is primarily exploratory and descriptive and includes one group for analysis (drivers residing in Drumblue, aged 18 or over, and having acknowledged to drinking alcohol

in the last 28 days). Thirdly, both the overall aim and incorporated sub-questions for this research, do not attempt to measure, quantify or predict how drivers have responded to the new limit. Instead, these were designed to generate a narrative of what drivers think and portray how these interpretations are made. Accordingly, a small sample size was judged to be both feasible and realistic for this research. Due to the homogenous nature of the population under investigation (judged by the small degree of disparity between gender, race and ethnicity) it is unlikely that a lager sample would have offered any further diversity. The range of responses also indicated a relatively low point of saturation (further interviews would have failed to produce new data) (Gasson, 2009).

Sample frame

This research conforms to non-probability sampling on account of the recruitment methods which included a non-random sampling approach. This is because participation relied on either personal membership in the community organisation used for recruitment or familiarity with these individuals. Accordingly, the primary sample frame for this research was the Drumblue Village Association. This was identified as giving access to people living in the community under investigation. Due to the nature of this research participation fulfilled four stipulations. Firstly, interviewees resided in the community under investigation. Secondly, interviewees were ages 18 years or older as this research relates specifically to adults. Thirdly, interviewees held a UK driving licence at the time of data recruitment and collection with this study exploring how drivers have responded to the reduced drink-driving limit. Fourthly, interviewees acknowledged to having consumed alcohol in the last twenty-eight days. This final premise was intended to ensure that data collected related to the influence of the reduced drink-driving limit on personal drinking behaviours and resulting driving patterns. Accordingly, questions asked during interviews were relevant to all participants in this research. Individuals who failed to meet these criteria were excluded from this study prior to data collection.

3.5 Data analysis

Firstly In terms of the analytical process, interview transcripts were transcribed immediately subsequent to interviews. This was possible as no more than one interview was conducted per day. Interviews were then analysed in two phases. Firstly in blocks of three. On account of having ten transcripts the final interview was analysed in connection to the previous two (interview eight and nine). Secondly, following the analysis of the first, second, third and fourth block of interviews, all transcripts were then re-analysed in chronological order. This ensured, a complete understanding of interviewees narratives relating to drink-driving both on an individual level and in connection to all other accounts obtained. Importantly, all interviews were conducted and transcribed by myself in order to accurately grasp interviewees tone and mood.

Secondly, coding analysis of interviews was engineered using NVivo. NVivo is a computer software package used for analysing qualitative data (Tracy, 2012). Akin to the adaptive theoretical philosophical underpinning of this research, data was analysed using this perspective. This entailed developing both existing theory, where relevant to driver's interpretations of drink-driving and identifying additional information. In connection to Layder's (1998) writings this ensured a symbiotic relationship between existing theory and new data. In particular this required identifying "pre-coding" (underscoring particular parts of text which on the face of it appeared noteworthy) and "provisional coding" (segments of the text which connect to a "particular concept, category, or idea") (Layder, 1998, p.53/54). Unlike grounded theory approaches which involve building from 'focused coding' (creating open groups from data) to 'axial coding' (being exclusive to data which are interconnected) Layder (1998, p.55) points out that this approach does not "cut-off" existing relevant theories, while at the same time avoids theoretical pigeonholing by being open to new codes. These codes were then connected during memowriting. At this point, common ground between codes were established. Altogether, memowriting generated a narrative on how people have responded to the reduced drink-driving limit. In addition, reflective notes were taken subsequent to each interview in a diary. These recorded early judgements on both participant's narratives and my own strengths and weaknesses when conducting interviews. In particular, subsequent to preliminary interviews my

ability to illicit a greater understanding of interviewees perceptions was notable and likely a reflection of my prior inexperience of conducting interviews.

3.6 Summary

This chapter introduced this study's methodology. The first part highlighted the rationale for having a descriptive and exploratory focus, adaptive theoretical approach, qualitative research strategy and case study research design. These were justified in light of limited existing academic research on road policing. Specifically, the second part depicted and explained this study's data collection in connection to the use of semi-structured interviews, incorporated recruitment methods and associated ethical judgements. The third part focused exclusively on participants in this study and showed why a sample size of ten interviews was selected and why the Drumblue village association was used for access. The final part illustrated data analysis procedures using an adaptive theoretical perspective. Overall, these considerations were vindicated in terms of their applicability in contributing to an understanding on how drivers have responded to the reduced drink-driving limit.

4. Findings

4.1 Overview

Analysis of data, generated two over-arching themes, each incorporating several provisional codes. Accordingly, this chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part will assess contradictions within and between interviewee's narrative constructions of drink-driving. The second part will interpret interviewee's responses to the new limit in relation to drink-driving prevention. Within each part, analysis of research data is provided before these are connected to existing studies on drink-driving and current drink-driving policy, discussed previously in the literature review chapter. In order to accurately grasp, and therefore ensure internal validity, interviewees accounts were portrayed from a storytelling narrative. This approach has been used extensively in policing research from Van Maanen's (1973; 1974) early fieldwork studies to Van Hult's (2013) more recent exploration of storytelling within a 'canteen context' (backstage communication between officers). Broadly, storytelling narratives from an ontological constructionist outlook have attempted to gauge an understanding of how police officers perceive and portray their role as enforces of law and order with conferred stories used to depict narrative interpretations and representations of 'police work' (Burnett et al, 2011). Similarly, in connection to the principal aim of this research, adopting this technique as a tool for reporting findings, offers a valuable insight into how civilian drivers use stories to make sense of the new drink-driving limit more than six months after policy change.

4.2 Part one- contradicting narrative constructions of drink-driving

'Yeah I think it's fair (the new limit) because you shouldn't drink-drive. It's as simple as that. But it's the fact that joe Bloggs (who) wants to go out for a meal with his wife and has one bottle of beer and is going to cause no trouble..errrm…would be perfectly alright to drive. It's them that gets tarred with the brush.' (Sam)

As depicted by this insert from an interview with Sam, this part of the chapter explores opposing drink-driving beliefs both within interviewee's accounts and between interviewees. 'Contradiction' was created during memowriting as an overarching concept to encapsulate this idea. Consistent with the qualitative, epistemological

interpretivist principles of this study, this will begin by elucidating interviewees' definitions of drink-driving. From this, comparisons will be made between provisional codes which highlighted favourable attitudes towards the new drink-driving limit in terms of instinctual fairness, to observed challenges with 'perceiving drink-drivers' and 'reporting drink-drivers'. In this context, instinctual fairness is used as a concept to signify interviewees' consistent natural tendency to support the new limit, despite, at times, indicative negative signs concealed within stories. Accordingly, compliance towards drink-driving laws is suggested as being symptomatic of police practices which reflect procedural justice principles, changing drink-driving cultures or present cultural representations of drink-driving characterised by fear. These concepts are illustrated across interviewees' accounts.

4.3 Interviewees definitions relating to drink-driving

The importance of using open-ended questions during data collection is shown with interviewees' idiosyncratic definitions of drink-driving reflecting their own epistemological interpretivist knowledge of related issues. Analysis showed four competing definitions for drink-driving. Firstly, a legal definition. This point was clearly expressed during an interview with Max. When asked for his interpretation of the term drink-driving, Max's response was as follows:

'Well as in how much drink do you need to be classed as drink-driving or?' (Max)

This quote from Max demonstrates his instinctive recognition of the term 'drink-driving' as connoting a legal term. Accordingly, drink-driving for Max is classified as being over an alcohol limit, prohibited in law. This definition was equally shared by Amy, Dan, Ken and Mia.

Similarly, Ken's quote (displayed below) points to the social construction of drink-driving within a legal context which is specific to time, in light of the recent lowering of the drink-driving limit.

' So drink-driving, I am aware that the limit changed recently, at the end of last year. And I think it came down from eighty milligrams to fifty. I think that's the new limit. Umm and there is obviously a legal limit there.' (Ken)

While, Mia's quote shown below is indicative of a legal definition in terms of 'being over the rate' (drink-drive limit) the first part of this quote introduces a second definition of drink-driving which is to drive having consumed any amount of alcohol.

'Eh it means not to drink at all eh..if you are driving. And if you are over the rate but it is zero tolerance, so no drink at all.' (Mia)

This second definition, was more succinctly portrayed by Ann and Fay. Both these interviewees make no reference to legal limits in their definition of drink-driving.

Throughout these interchanges, Ann and Fay both subsequently portrayed negative attitudes towards drink-driving in terms of related adverse consequences. This idea was explicitly cited by Ray in his definition of drink-driving and connotes a third definition. In addition to a legal classification, Ray's definition includes a moral component, which is guided by utilitarian principles of minimising harm to others.

'Well in law, you're obviously over the law limit and then the legal limit. And morally I suppose being incapable, in control of a vehicle.' (Ray)

Additionally, a fourth definition of drink-driving was postulated by Rob. Rob was the only interviewee to view the current limit as unfair with his storytelling narrative reflecting the perceived negative impact on his social life. Rob's stories related to his previous routine of having a 'quick pint and a chat' subsequent to 'an old man's cricket' match. Both these innocuous customs depicted by Rob conform to his belief that the new limit represented an 'imposition'. Initially Rob aligned drink-driving with being incapable of driving a car as a result of alcohol consumption, however, this definition evolved throughout the interview and can be summarised by a distinction between drink-driving and drunk-driving. Whereas, the former is taken as being modestly over the legal limit, having consumed what is perceived to be a 'small amount of alcohol', the latter is referenced as being considerably over the legal limit, having consumed an

amount of alcohol which results in significant loss of control. This fourth definition by Rob is shown with the insert:

'So most people equate that higher limit with drink-driving. Or it tends to be a lot of people who do. I don't equate it with that.' (Rob)

4.4 Contradicting narratives amongst drivers

Analysis shows Rob's insight is evident across interviews as drink-driving was commonly cited by interviewees in reference to drivers being exceedingly over the legal limit. This was highlighted during early analysis with pre-coding, before these quotes were recorded with the provisional-code 'excessively over the legal limit'. Although, the intention of this analysis is to capture the scope in interviewee's perceptions and behaviours, it is nonetheless noteworthy that this code was evident within nine out of ten interviewees' narratives. For example, despite incorporating the term 'drink-driving' within interview questions, Amy, Dan, Ken, Mia, Rob, Ray and Sam inadvertently exchanged this with 'drunk-driving' during their personal stories. This point can be seen with the following quote from Dan's interview:

'Errrm (pause) well I know a lot of accidents are caused by drink-drivers. Not having one hundred per cent focus..would you say? Not having one hundred per cent focus when driving and would be likely to cause an accident purely on the basis that they are drunk, (and) short-sighted.' (Dan)

Equally evident within this quote is the perceived damaging consequences, Dan perceived with being 'drunk' and in control of a car. This idea, was further suggested by Amy, Ken, Mia and Sam, with reckless driving similarly discussed in terms of drivers who are excessively over the legal limit. This is conveyed from Mia's quote below, which offers a concise interpretation of how the term drink-driving was widely used by these interviewees in their everyday language to imply an immoderate level.

'Because when you associate drink-driving, you associate it with somebody who is reckless and really drunk.' (Mia)

Whilst this idea has previously been highlighted in research by Collins et al (2008), this present study suggests that using drinking and driving in everyday language to

connote an exceptionally drunk driver connected to intolerable views of drink-driving altogether. Accordingly, interviewees, initially, showed strong support towards the recently lowered drink-driving limit. In particular the provisional code 'instinctual fairness' was identified across interviewee's accounts and encapsulated feelings which portrayed the new limit as justifiable. Overall, the present limit was seen as fair, on account of two reasons. Firstly, in connection to the previous limit. For Amy, Ann and Ray, the previous limit of eighty mg in every one hundred ml of blood was linked to confusion, with people's permitted level of alcohol intake influenced by several individual factors, including body size and food intake. Contrastingly, the current limit was interpreted by these interviewees as constituting a 'zero tolerance' level, and therefore 'on the face of it removed uncertainty. Thus, for Amy the old limit denoted a 'grey area' whereas the current limit is seen as 'more black and white'. Likewise, Ray's quote below highlights each of these points:

'Well it's at the right balance. Before it was too confusing, is it one glass of wine, is it a pint? What was the difference and it was based on units on an average six foot person. But you know who is an average person? I'm six feet (tall). The next person might be three (feet tall). And that's obviously not accurate. So now it's virtually nil.' (Ray)

Secondly, the current limit was viewed by Amy, Dan, Mia and Sam as endorsing safer driving. Within this idea, drivers exceeding the current limit were portrayed during early dialogue as having limited road awareness. For example, Dan's statement below, signals how the reduced limit, represents a step towards tackling drink-driving-related accidents.

'I think any precaution taken to make communities life safer is worth doing. And if that's having less tolerant…less tolerance, if that's the right word, for drinking, is for the better.' (Dan)

Despite this, interviewees in this study alluded to personal difficulties in distinguishing someone as being over the legal limit when this person is not perceived as 'drunk' (corresponding to Rob's definition this signifies having consumed a considerable amount of alcohol). This attitude was depicted by Amy, Ann, Dan, Ken, Max, Mia, Ray, Rob and Sam. Naturally, the category 'perceiving drink-drivers' emerged. In order to distinguish someone as being a drink-driver, Amy, Dan, Max and Rob identified the

requisite of visible cues. Significantly, smell, stumbling movements and slurring speech were attributes associated with someone who has consumed a considerable amount of alcohol. This is shown with a quote from Rob's interview:

'Only in more extreme cases you know (recognising someone as over the legal limit). Somebody who was obviously drunk and staggering.' (Rob)

On the other hand, people adjudged to be moderately over the current legal limit, were interpreted by these interviewees as having no visible signs of alcohol intoxication. This was understood by Rob as:

'I don't think there's any change in their ability to walk straight or hold a conversation or behave in a completely controlled manner.' (Rob)

Similarly, Dan, Ken, Max and Ray raised the idea that despite feeling, as in Dan's words 'completely sober and able to respond' this can still constitute being over the present legal limit. For Dan and Ken, this contradicts their opening argument during interviews that consuming any amount of alcohol increases likelihood of being involved in an accident by decreasing road awareness.

Further, conflicting attitudes existed in relation to interviewee's decision-making around reporting drink-drivers. As introduced earlier, interviewees frequently adopted the term 'drunk-driving' during dialogue, signifying a driver being excessively over the legal limit. In connection to the provisional code 'reporting drink-drivers', six interviewees contended that this required, first, an understanding of the amount of alcohol consumed by someone prior or subsequent to driving. For Dan, Fay, Ken, Ray, Rob, and Sam, reporting to the police necessitated an individual being exceptionally drunk. In particular, Fay then believed she could be 'very sure' that it was 'blatant' and Sam was of the opinion that seeing a person drive 'shockingly' every morning as a result of intoxication would satisfy his suspicions.

Similarly, Ken exhibited the view that a person would have to be 'staggering' while Ray revealed that he would not contact the police 'if we are talking they (driver) are just over, as in they are still in control of their car'. This view was shared by Fay and Rob, who regarded only drunk-drivers as 'a risk'. For Fay, this challenges her opening

account that 'even one glass would raise a concern. Because it can affect you in so many different ways'. While, Dan equally perceived drunk-drivers as a hazard, his reluctance in contacting the police over drivers adjudged to be marginally over the legal limit showed a new insight. As implied with Dan's quote below this was shaped by the foreseen negative social consequences attached to reporting drivers who are not considered a danger. It is noteworthy to mention that this also offers a counterstatement to Dan's previously portrayed view that the limit is fair on account of signifying 'less tolerance' for drink-driving.

'Well if people..that is how you get a name for yourself by being a tell-tale. Nobody likes a tell-tale. Whereas if they have drunk a lot I feel it is my responsibility because they might be that drunk that they are unaware of what they are doing.' (Dan)

From interconnecting the first two themes identified in the literature section, these decisions making processes depicted within interviewee's accounts for reporting drink-drivers reflect two motives. The first is influenced by the degree of certainty in distinguishing someone as being over the legal limit. Within this, reporting is exclusive to excessively drunk-drivers due to the visible cues attached to their behaviour which vividly denote intoxication. Secondly, an appreciation and concern over road safety and wellbeing, with the utmost danger aligned to drunk-drivers who are not perceived as being in control of their driving. It is noteworthy to point out that this attitude may have been reinforced amongst interviewees with drink-driving used in everyday language to connote drivers who are 'excessively over the legal limit'.

4.5 Interpreting driver's contradicting narratives

With an understanding of the way interviewees engaged in contradicting narratives relating to drink-driving, this part of the analysis will now attempt to understand how these constructions exist from an epistemological interpretivist standpoint. Accordingly, the concepts, introduced at the beginning of this chapter (procedural justice, changing drink-driving cultures and cultural representations of drink-driving) will be analysed, in turn using interviewee's stories. Unlike the previous section of this chapter, the first of these, procedural justice did not emerge directly from data as a provisional code. Instead, this theme was generated during memowriting, from

interconnecting codes which highlighted a justification or objection to the lowering of the drink-drive limit, including 'compliance' and 'police communications'. In terms of the former, five interviewees (Amy, Ann, Dan, Mia and Max) presented narratives which on the surface, appeared to support the new limit on account of its legal imposition. As a result, these drivers adjusted their drinking lifestyle accordingly. These drivers frequently used the word 'allowed' to describe the amount of alcohol they believed they were permitted to have in their body by law when driving a vehicle. This view was unchallenged by these drivers, suggesting their passive conformity to drink-driving regulations in light of previous contradictions examined. This consensus is clearly exhibited using Amy's quote below:

'But I think most folk are in the same boat as me. And most folk are like, right, ok that's the law, we'll just abide by it. We will just change our habits.' (Amy)

Aside from the legal basis of the new limit, Ann, Dan, Fay, Ken, Mia, and Max's accounts imply that the Scottish Government were warranted in lowering the limit in light of the conveyed road safety implications. Akin to the code 'instinctual fairness' this aligned a reduced limit with preventing drink-driving-related accidents. In Dan's case this was interpreted as 'Laws are there to keep people safe..and especially this specific law (reduced drink-drive limit)' with his story reflecting little empathy for those 'who have no respect for laws which everybody else goes by'. However, Ann, Fay and Ken used words such as 'presume' 'probably' 'and 'assuming' respectively in their elucidations of how the reduced limit conforms to a road safety agenda, with the lack of conviction in their accounts inferring an unawareness of ulterior motives for reducing the legal limit. Altogether, these understandings echo the Scottish Government's (2012a) publicised validation of having a reduced drink-drive limit which was argued would lead to both immediate prevention (apprehending drivers prior to a potential accident) and deterrence (discouraging drivers from drinking any amount of alcohol when in control of a vehicle).

Both of these findings signify the interconnections between rational choice and compliance. This raises the idea that degree of commitment to the latter may impact on the rational decisions people make around drinking and driving. This can be understood using Jackson et al's (2012) model of compliance. For Jackson et al (2012)

compliance is produced with the "recognition of power" (actions of state bodies and in particular the police are seen by ordinary people as consensual, with the former viewed as possessing authority) and "justification of power" (practices are rationalised in terms of their utilitarian value). In relation to drink-driving laws, this connects the two debates found from research data on compliance, discerning in Dan's words 'respect to the law' and in Ken's words 'I think it (reduced limit) was more to do with road safety'. Taken together, the majority of drivers in this study were reluctant to challenge the new limit directly during interviews, although deeper analysis suggested paradoxes in their accounts. This suggests that these interviewees endeavoured to give the impression of being supportive of the new limit, as to contradict, is to appear to champion drink-driving. As one interviewee Rob, stated "well no one is going to defend drink-driving'. In doing so, drink-driving was discussed in terms of being unacceptable, although this on the whole accounted for 'drunk' drivers. referring to prevalent contradictions.

Furthermore, the normalizing function of the new limit for these interviewees, from a procedural justice outlook was found to be a product of police communication. Nonetheless, it is significant all drivers in this study had an awareness that the limit was reduced, although exact figures were rarely quoted, most suggested that any amount of alcohol could constitute being over. This understanding, for Amy, Ann, Fay, Ken, Mia, Max and Sam reflected TV, poster, leafleted and radio campaigns around December 2014 when the limit changed. For Ann this was 'loud and clear'. Fay, implied this was 'hard-hitting' and Ken believed 'you couldn't have avoided the campaign' with systematic drink-driving awareness operations carried out by Police Scotland during the festive season. In addition to Jackson et al's (2012) model, this therefore suggests a third component to procuring compliance, which requires open and transparent engagement. Within this idea, consensus is created from extensive police coverage which is disseminated to the public and accessible to all members. In doing this, justifications discussed in terms of road safety goals are reinforced. As a result, interviewees possibly felt compelled to support the new limit when asked directly during dialogue.

While age was not identified, prior to undertaking this research as a variable for further investigation, it is noteworthy to point out that Amy, Ken, and Rob (three of the visibly

older interviewees in this study) discerned a historical shift between drink-driving lifestyles during their childhood to present day drink-driving cultures. This idea was also cited by Ray (a notably younger interviewee) in connection to perceived cultural shifts existing during his grandparent's lifetime. This finding existed within the provisional code 'drinking culture'. Summarised, using a quote from an interview with Rob below, this highlights the growing seriousness of drink-driving over time in Scottish culture and law.

'…when I was your age drink-driving was not seen as a…a really socially bad thing. The worst thing you got was an endorsement.' (Rob)

These interviewees believed this change was justly imposed on them, as Amy felt cultural meanings attached to drink-driving have changed as 'we have been made to'. Incorporating data from all interviewees in this research conveys the idea that drink-driving is presently conversed with connotations depicting fear. This was vividly shown when Sam was asked what message Police Scotland communicated to the public when the limit was reduced which was 'Errrm don't (drink-) drive and get caught pretty much'. Similarly, fear was depicted in Ray's account in terms of his anxiety towards being over the limit the next day and this was characteristic of Mia and Sam's concerns which again aligns drink-driving with being drunk:

'…ordinary people, like me, my friends and my neighbours, who would never get into a car drunk, but may be caught the next day. We seem to be the ones who are more afraid of this, than the people who do it anyway (drive immediately following drinking)'. (Ray)

Aside from Rob who was unequivocal in his condemnation of the current limit, this also highlights these interviewee's fears, compliance and contradiction. Within this fear depicted by cultural representations of drink-driving conceivably contributes to compliance. This points to wider insecurities proposed by theories of later modernity. In particular, Furedi's (2007) 'culture of fear' offers an insight into how people experience constant anxiety over seemingly 'real' external forces. Relating Fuerdi's (2007) ideas to interviewee's narratives shows how fear is created top-down, rooted in police communication, as interviewee's stories on the whole implied limited direct experience of dealing with drink-driving incidents in their community. Rationalised in

road safety terms this likely develops intolerable views towards drink-driving, as these drivers are caricatured as representing a risk to others. However, as this research suggests, substantial danger is interpreted as being drivers excessively over the legal limit.

4.6 Drivers contradicting narratives summary

This part of the analysis has attempted to convey the idea that contradictions were omnipresent within and between interviewee's accounts. Precisely, 'drink-driving' (being marginally over the legal limit) was viewed as inexcusable with 'drunk-driving' (excessively over) signifying danger. Whilst most interviewees were supportive of the new limit, with drink-driving viewed as indefensible on account of road safety implications, this was challenged by subsequent attitudes on perceiving drink-drivers and reporting drink-drivers. Deeper analysis of these themes showed how drink-driving was commonly used in their stories to account for drivers who are excessively over the legal drink-drive limit. Correspondingly only these 'drunk-drivers' were subsequently equated with being a danger to other road users and pedestrians. This attitude also represents the difficulties some interviewees have in discerning physiological differences in drivers marginally over the legal limit which as a result give the impression of likely riskless driving. Nevertheless, from a procedural justice approach, police communication and engagement with the public on policy change may have generated unquestionable support and compliance towards the new limit with the finding nine interviewees viewed both 'drink-driving' and 'drunk-driving' as unacceptable. This was reinforced for drivers in this study by changing drink-driving cultures or present cultural representations relating to drink-driving. In relation to the overall research question of this report, interviewees predominantly accepted the new limit and have adjusted their conceptions on the amount of alcohol which is now tolerable (in line with the current limit). Yet this has failed to change driver's perceptions of dangerous driving which still exclusively equates to excessive 'drunk-driving' cases.

4.7 Part two- drink-driving prevention

Developing on from some of these ideas portrayed within the first section of this analysis, this part will exclusively discuss the second overarching theme emerging from memowriting, preventing drink-driving. Created initially in accordance with thought-provoking sections of interviewee's stories these were then translated into provisional codes centred on understandings of how drink-driving is experienced and policed in their environment. This includes collective efficacy, community policing, social bonds, cultural criminology, police practice, managerialism and ecological rational choice. The main commonality existing between these codes pointed to tackling drink-driving. Accordingly, this section of the analysis will be split into two parts. The first part will examine the role of collective efficacy, and will incorporate the themes: social bonds, cultural criminology and community policing. The second part will connect driver's perceptions of police practice to managerialism and ecological rational choices.

4.8 The role of collective efficacy in preventing drink-driving

The previous section of this analysis highlighted how drink-driving was perceived by interviewees in connection to associated risks and dangers. In particular, this included a concern for victims of traffic accidents (excluding the drink-driver) and their experienced harm. This idea was depicted across the sample, and connects to Ray's definition of drink-driving by highlighting drivers' perceived moral responsibility to avoid injury to others. From a victimology perspective, a person maimed in a collision caused by a drink-driver was attributed with the 'undeserving victim' status on account of being viewed blameless. Contrary, drink-drivers were consistently seen as rational actors making a reckless decision as depicted with Ken's quote:

'It's the people who are innocent, and unfortunately it's the people who are killed are the people who are innocent victims of someone else's irresponsibility.' (Ken)

For Fay, Max, Mia and Sam the victim was subsequently portrayed as a likely 'family' member, with Amy, Ann, Ken and Rob's stories specifically relating to a 'child' as being the potential victim of drink-driving. While it was not the specific purpose of this study to advance a victimology understanding of drink-driving this does raise the point that

victims of drink-driving accidents were caricatured in this study equivalent to Christie's (1986) 'ideal victim' type. In connection to Christie's (1986) typology both 'family members' and 'children' were possibly cited by interviewees in their stories in order to evoke feelings of concern and pity with their victimisation unexpected and unprovoked. Further secondary victimisation is assumed with both these groups existing within the context of the family, therefore reinforcing their projected harmless label. In connection to the provisional code, cultural criminology, which consolidated an understanding of interviewees exhibited feelings on drink-driving this shows how two dominant emotions are experienced. Firstly, in cases involving an accident with another person, empathy for the victim and victim's family, as previously shown. Secondly, anger and disappointment towards a drunk-driver who is perceived, as shown in Dan's words, to have committed 'a very selfish' act. On the other hand, the contrast in feelings towards drivers marginally over was discussed by Ray and Rob who adjudged them to be unlucky.

Developing an appreciation of the linkages between drink-driving and the significance of the family, 'social bonds' was produced as a provisional code during analysis and extended to interviewees' peers and local community. This concept delineated how level of attachment to these groupings influenced the way interviewees in this study experienced drink-driving. From a control theoretical approach, Ann, Amy and Fay's stories, at times were portrayed from their role as a Mother. In particular, Amy's decision-making was currently mediated in accordance with her children's needs. For example, early on in the interview Amy talked at length about how her alcohol consumption has reduced since the introduction of the new limit due to her desire to drive her children to recreational activities the following day. This was considered by Amy as important as she wants 'to be a good parent'. Correspondingly, Ann and Fay both revealed that they have communicated to their children the prohibited nature of drink-driving as in the words of the former 'I've dared them within an inch of their life' and 'I've got them to such a state that they are paranoid because I am about it'. Equally, Dan an evidently younger driver, exposed how his reluctance to drive within twenty-fours subsequent to consuming alcohol, was formulated solely from 'parental advice'.

In addition to family networks, Ann, Amy, Fay, Ken, Max, Ray, Rob and Sam disclosed

similar narrations in responding to future cases whereby Drumblue community members were perceivably prepared to drive having consumed alcohol. These protocols were influenced by familiarity with a potential offender. In terms of familiar residents, these interviewees were more likely to adopt an informal approach. This involved, firstly, challenging the otherwise expected wrongdoer. Secondly, if ineffective, interviewees maintained the impression of being 'proactive' using Fay's words, obstructing the person either by phoning a close relative, removing their keys or personally driving them to their intended location. If unsuccessful, seven of these interviewees acknowledged that they would not contact the police due to their close relationship and unwillingness to cause perceived negative repercussions for the individual. This idea is shown with Ann's quote:

'Would you feel, would I feel I was letting them down? Would I feel it was letting them down? It was interfering in their life? It was making decisions over their life?' (Ann)

Ann's self-questioning here demonstrates her reluctance to provide a definite response. In connection to the reflective notes taken subsequent to Ann's interview, this is likely a result of her observed overall 'zero tolerance' attitude to drink-driving. As Ann later recognised 'That wasn't very balanced was it?'. Similarly, Dan's reasoning matched motivations formulated by Sykes and Matza's (1957, p.667) in their neutralization theory with in particular "denial of (future) injury". For Dan 'who's to say they (local friends residing in Drumblue) wouldn't get home without any accidents?'.

Significantly, this justification illustrated by Dan was not extended to unfamiliar residents within the Drumblue community. Comparably, all other interviewees previously cited would be resistant to confront unfamiliar community inhabitants. Instead, the police were viewed as being the first and only mode of contact with an expectation thereafter on officers to deal with the incident. Refusal to challenge unfamiliar residents was rationalised in terms of the unpredictability of their response which may lead to conflict. In particular Ken believed, local residents within Drumblue would 'resent' his intervention and would take the view 'I have nothing to do with you, and I know that I am safe to drive a car'.

These findings have significant implications for the potential role of collective efficacy

in tackling drink-driving. As previously identified in the literature review chapter, this is the first drink-driving study to specifically incorporate collective efficacy in accordance with understanding people's informal and formal actions. Contrary to existing policing research which conforms to a realist 'what works' paradigm by underlining individual culpability, similar to Feeley and Simon's 'New Penology' (1992), this offers a return to a welfare approach, strengthening social bonds and in doing so achieving informal social control (although this research points to the need for both formal and informal social control). In connection to Sampson et al's (1997) theorising all three components were found within this research. Firstly, shared expectations incorporating a cultural criminological approach showed how drink-driving was predominantly viewed in terms of anger towards the drunk-driver and innocence to the victim. Secondly, cohesion and solidarity existed when interviews described their familiarity with other Drumblue residents. Thirdly, this resulted in two forms of mutual engagement. In cases when potential drink-drivers were familiar, Interviewees would only adopt informal social control measures. Contrastingly, if residents were unfamiliar, interviewees would only follow formal social control procedures.

Accordingly, promoting community cohesion and in turn developing informal social control, subsequently raises the idea that people would likely experience difficulty when reporting familiar residents for drink-driving offences. However, interviewees' accounts relating to police engagement with the public suggests how both formal and informal social control mechanisms can exist in a symbiotic relationship. During coding, community policing was classified as a provisional code by integrating interviewees' understandings of police and public relations. For Amy, Dan, Fay, Ken and Mia this could entail Police Scotland raising awareness of drink-driving within the community. Specifically Ken, believed this could involve campaigns centred on the idea that 'you shouldn't feel that you are betraying someone (when reporting drink-driving to the police)'. Additionally, Amy and Ken believed an improved community profile in Drumblue would strengthen police and public relations and in doing so would contribute to proactive policing. This is depicted by Amy's quote which refers to the possibility of future community workshops being promoted by the police:

'And then the community is on their side, so the community is working for them, and not against them' (Amy)

In connection to the findings of this study, community policing offers a channel for addressing problems associated with reporting both drink-drivers (distinct from drunk-drivers, are taken as marginally over the legal limit) and familiar residents. As identified in the second part of the literature review, Police Scotland (2014c; 2015b) currently promote third party reporting of drink-driving. Although, it was not the purpose of this research to assess the merits of a lowered limit, taken above board, police communications on specifically the dangers of drink-driving then needs to be accessible to all members of the public. The requirement of engaging in community policing in order to facilitate this process is shown with the contrast between arguments depicted in Police Scotland's (2015b) 2015 drink-drive campaign and interviewee's perceptions in this study. Whereas the former depicts driving impairments and risks from consuming minimal amounts of alcohol, interviewee's accounts predominantly equated real danger to only extreme cases. Similarly, taken Ken's ideas, engagement via community policing could then be used to mediate cases involving residents who experience dilemmas when reporting familiar neighbours. The anonymous service, offered by Police Scotland, for reporting drink-driving through Crimestoppers, on the face of it would be applicable for Dan who aligned the perceived cultural shame in reporting drivers adjudged to be slightly over the legal limit as 'Nobody likes a tell-tale'.

4.9 Driver's perceptions of police practice on drink-driving

The significance in developing both informal and formal social control measures is shown in light of interviewees' understandings of policing. Both police practice and managerialism emerged as provisional codes during analysis. Whereas the former theme classified interviewees' interpretation of policing drink-driving in general the latter concept marked policing from a bureaucratic criminal justice model characterised with efficiency. In relation to the first code, nine interviewees described how the current policing level in Drumblue was somewhere between minimal to negligible. These stories included: the failure to witness police patrols or 'pull-over points', the view that there are less officers 'on the beat', having no experience of being stopped or breathalysed by the police and unawareness of fellow drivers being targeted for drink-driving. Furthermore, Amy described her interpretation of police response times,

specific to Drumblue and in light of her experience of a previous police call-out although not drink-driving. In numerical terms, this was inferred as being between forty to ninety minutes. Foreseeably, this was branded ineffective by Amy as by this stage the drunk-driver 'could be at their destination or could have had an accident, or hurt somebody'.

However, as recorded in the reflective notes subsequent to data collection, interviewees were generally less assertive when discussing police practice. Characterised with hesitation and doubt, this altogether contrasted interviewees' conviction throughout interviews. For example, when Ann was probed further on her portrayal of current pro-active policing of drink-driving in Drumblue her story shifted to expectations on how drink-driving can be policed as she then believed 'see I'm presuming these things. I don't know'. From a community policing perspective, this then raises questions on police transparency and engagement with the public over policing drink-driving. As introduced in the literature chapter, limited interviewee knowledge of road-policing within this study may be symptomatic of the exclusion of ordinary citizens from policing consultations. Specifically, interviewees' inability to recognise tangible road police practices relating to drink-driving within Drumblue challenges Police Scotland's most recent annual policing plans for 2014/15 and 2015/16 which identify road safety and crime as one of four key policing priorities. From a community policing approach, annual police plans are intended to emulate public beliefs of policing. Likewise, this counters Police Scotland's (2015c, p.7) current Communications and Engagement strategy which outlines "a commitment to open and transparent policing that is responsive to the needs of communities".

Failure to notice visible police practices for tackling drink-driving was subsequently understood by these interviewees as being reflective of the contemporary feature of managerialism in policing. Symptomatic of rural policing, this was conversed in connection to the effect of budgetary constraints as depicted by Fay, Max, Mia, Ray, Rob and Sam and prioritising police practices as shown by Ann, Amy, Ken and Ray. In connection to policing budgets, these interviewees felt resources have been reduced which has made rigorous policing of drink-driving impracticable. This idea is shown by a quote from an interview with Rob:

'I would say they probably don't have resources to hit hard on one particular area the whole year' (Rob)

Accordingly, Ken and Rob in their interviews delineated how police drink-driving campaigns were routinely targeted during December. This policy was interpreted as being in response to increased likelihood of arresting drink-drivers with greater alcohol consumption during the festive period and from a cultural criminological outlook as the tragic meanings attached to road accidents and fatalities at this time of year. The first of these points links to Feeley and Simon's (1992) 'New Penology' with hot spot road policing of drink-driving in December mirroring an actuarial justice outlook by predicting future risks. Likewise, Sam's understanding also highlights the perceived effects of monetary constraints on policing within the Drumblue community with his insight the '(Drumblue) police station is virtually shut down'. This in turn was linked to his observation that 'there's not many police cars cutting (patrolling) about' in the surrounding area.

Additionally for Ray and the other interviewees, inadequate policing of drink-driving was seen as a consequence of the extensive range of jobs and responsibilities currently assigned to officers. For example, Ann believed 'I'm sure the police have soo many jobs to do' and Ken citing a recent call for a smoking ban in cars when children are present understood the police as responding with the point they are 'too busy to enforce that law'. Similarly, Ray also believed that drink-driving takes secondary precedence in day-to-day police practice by alluding to the impression the police do not have 'the interest, there is probably bigger fish to fry'. These attitudes correspond to findings within Donnelly's (2004) study which from a public viewpoint found local police officers were unable to effectively engage in community policing on account of spending most of their time carrying out other duties. Taken together, both studies chart the development of perceived bureaucracy and neoliberalism in terms of cost effectiveness in Scottish policing. Within this idea road policing targeting drink-driving and community policing are interpreted by the public as taken second precedence in everyday police work.

From a rational choice and routine activities theoretical standpoint, unlikely perceived detection, would suggest increased willingness to engage in drink-driving. However,

all drivers in this study exhibited absolute refusal to engage in drink-driving and revealed less consumption since the introduction of the limit, with police practice insignificant in their decision-making. Instead, the main premises of these theories existed in terms of driver's anxiety over being detected for drink-driving the following day, with perceived legal, social and financial repercussions. Strikingly, interviewee's narratives further contribute to an understanding of how people engage in drink-driving discourse. Initially, interviewees commonly distanced themselves from being affected by the new limit during dialogue with a continuing unwillingness to immediately drive after consuming any amount of alcohol. In connection to the first section of this analysis, this was likely expressed by interviewees in order to reinforce a narrative that is seen to be against drunk-driving. Conversely, interviewees depicted the need to make rational decisions when determining the length of time required in-between drinking and later driving. Frequently discussed using the term 'driving the next day', interviewees decisions were characterised by uncertainty. Significantly again, driving the next day was portrayed as markedly distinct from drunk-driving (driving immediately after consuming alcohol). These ideas are displayed with Mia's quote:

'It's not changed (drinking lifestyle in light of the new limit), I've never drunk(-drive) before. And I never have now. I would say I am more 'wary' (aware) the next day. I don't drive at all the next day after drinking. Before I might have driven in the afternoon. But now I don't drive at all.' (Mia)

In relation to the first theme and sub-question identified prior to beginning data collection, this finding implies that interviewees within this study have adapted their drinking lifestyle to avoid being over the legal limit when driving. However, the re-occurring distinction between drink-driving and drunk-driving again evident within driver's accounts problematizes existing drink-driving research. As presented in the literature review section, this has so far predominantly adopted a rational choice/routine activities framework in order to elucidate factors which act as a propensity for drink-driving. In light of the findings from this research, these studies likely as a result of their quantitative-deductive approach, fail to move beyond basic conceptions of drink-driving. Within this idea, drink-driving may be used by respondents to account for cases which involve an excessive amount of alcohol and not driving the next day following alcohol consumption. The contrast in attitudes and behaviours represented by this chasm has been shown by this research.

4.10 drink-driving prevention summary

This section of the analysis endeavoured to elicit an understanding of how drink-driving and linked policing is experienced by interviewees in the Drumblue community. Both collectively efficacy and perceptions of police practice were discussed in accordance with preventing drink-driving. For collective efficacy, social bonds were presented in terms of family networks and residents within Drumblue. In connection to the latter, and overall aim of this report, the new limit has had an inconsequential effect on police reporting, which is still exclusively used in accordance with 'drunk-drivers' and unfamiliar residents. Community policing was suggested as a suitable strategy for overcoming this hurdle, with arguments depicted in Police Scotland's 2015 drink-drive campaign unrealised amongst interviewees in this study. The second part of this section outlined interviewee's perceptions of police practice within Drumblue. From this, failure to notice visible policing of drink-driving challenges police transparency and local policing with 'road safety and crime' a key priority in the most recent annual policing plan. This was understood by respondents in terms of bureaucratic policies centred on mangagerialism within Scottish policing.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Overview

The premise for this research centred on one key objective and one overarching aim. This was to establish research on road policing in academia by generating an awareness of how civilian drivers have responded to the new legal drink-drive limit more than six months after policy change in Scotland. Accordingly, this conclusion chapter will outline how the principal stages and overall findings of this study have contributed to an understanding of this. This chapter will be divided into three parts. The first part will review the methodical development of this dissertation and will provide a concise elucidation of research findings. Emerging from this, the second part will offer implications of these findings in policy. Similarly before identify limitations relating to this study the final part will put forward recommendations for future road policing research in Scotland.

5.2 Summary

The evolution of this project followed three key stages. Firstly, this required an understanding of policing and research on drink-driving. Accordingly, chapter two of this report charted the development of policing research in general before reviewing the interconnections between decision making theories, ecological criminology and public knowledge of road policing. This exposed current gaps in road policing research which altogether have yet to consider the effect of reducing the legal alcohol limit on people's decision making. As a result, chapter three highlighted the need for exploratory and descriptive research with this study specifically following an adaptive theoretical approach, qualitative research strategy and case study research design using semi-structured interviews.

Adhering to these principles during data collection, analysis of findings was presented in chapter four using a storytelling narrative. This was divided into two parts. Part one assessed contradictions within and between interviewee's narrative constructions of drink-driving with part two interpreting interviewee's responses to the new limit in relation to drink-driving prevention. Specifically, the first part showed the emerging

distinction between interviewee's meanings attached to 'drink-driving' (being marginally over the legal limit) and 'drunk-driving' (excessively over). The former (drink-driving) was viewed as intolerable and linked to general support of the new limit. This was understood in connection to procedural justice with widespread police communication when the limit changed, transforming drink-driving cultures and present-day cultural depictions of drink-driving. Contrastingly, the latter (drunk-driving) signalled danger amongst interviews and likely existed from observed common depictions of drinking and driving to connote a driver profusely intoxicated with the ability to discern their physiological changes.

Developing on from this division, the second part of analysis identified the role of collective efficacy in interviewee's accounts with police reporting exclusive to 'drunk-drivers' and unfamiliar residents. Community policing was proposed as a possible tactic for overcoming dilemmas experienced by these interviewees. In addition, road policing of drink-driving was considered non-existent in Drumblue by driver's in this study. This was viewed as an outcome of the growing feature of managerialism and bureaucracy in policing guided by efficiency principles. In terms of the overall research question, these findings suggest that the new limit has had an inconsequential effect on police reporting and has failed to change driver's perceptions of dangerous driving with both still used in conjunction with excessively 'drunk-driving' cases amongst interviewees in this study.

5.3 Policy implications

Although, the next part of this conclusion recognises the need for further explanatory research on drink-driving across Scotland, the findings of this study, nonetheless, raise considerable points. Firstly, the importance of community policing in tackling drink-driving. This approach was introduced in the second part of the research findings chapter and was offered as a possible medium for overcoming peoples perceived difficulties when reporting both drink-drivers when marginally over the legal limit and familiar residents in Drumblue. Despite suggesting a comprehensive awareness of police communication when the limit was reduced, interviewees did not align danger to drink-drivers (in this context distinct from 'drunk-drivers'). Accordingly, community policing presents an applicable strategy for raising drink-driving awareness in addition

to promoting community engagement. In turn, community policing can then be used to overcome associated problems with collective efficacy. As shown by this study, interviewee's familiarity with a neighbour can prevent their readiness to contact the police when this person is suspected of 'drink' or 'drunk-driving'. Consequently, community policing could be used to address the needs specific to each neighbourhood. In light of the procedural justice considerations of this report, this would conceivably contribute to consensual policing, when members of the public recognise fairness in both the processes and outcomes created via policing engagement on drink-driving.

This however also signifies a second policy implication of this research, with fostering collective efficacy within communities. As revealed, when social cohesion exists, interviewees portrayed the belief of being more likely to engage in informal social control practices. In doing so, strong collective efficacy can provide an additional crime prevention measure to reducing drink-driving. In light of perceived contemporary neo-liberal policies in Scottish policing, centred on efficiency, informal social control provides an immediate strategy for disrupting drink-driving (prior to the act itself). Overall, this study points to the idea that both can exist in a symbiotic relationship with formal social control (reporting to the police) required when informal social control procedures are impractical. These ideas could be met in policy with the inclusion of future research on drink-driving and road policing.

5.4 Limitations and recommendations

In light of this study's incorporated methodology, a predicted limitation exists in the external validity of findings. Although, the population of interest for this study was primarily discussed in terms of Drumblue residents, the reduced drink-driving limit operates on a national level. In particular, generalising the findings from this study to Scotland as a whole presents difficulties on account of the specifically rural concerns voiced, at times, by interviewees. Similarly, as noted in the methodology chapter, participants involved in this research belonged to a somewhat homogenous demographic (judged by the small degree of disparity between gender, race and ethnicity). Maintaining the ontological constructionist standpoint of this study, these factors likely mediate their experiences relating to 'drink cultures' and attitudes to

drinking and driving. Accordingly, future research should endeavour to understand public attitudes to drink-driving and road policing across Scotland (incorporating both rural and urban parts), while recognising the role of race and ethnicity.

Nevertheless, the underlying objective of this study was to provide an exploratory starting point for future explanatory studies on road policing. With this in mind, this research points to the requirement of road policing research to follow an interpretivist philosophical approach in order to completely understand how drivers see and interpret related concepts. In this study, interviewee's attitudes and behaviours corresponded to how they defined drink-driving and was revealed from analysing their contradicting narratives through interaction. Akin to criticisms of interpretivism, this reflects limited temporal generalizability of findings, with interviewee's stories mediated by their own changing experiences. For example, older interviewees in this study identified shifting cultural attitudes to drink-driving over time. Significantly, this largely discredits the applicability of positivist research within this subject area which fails to locate the types of decisions people make around drink-driving within their immediate environment or from their everyday experiences of road policing.

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Appendix One

Semi-structured interview schedule

Interview Name:

Interview Pseudonym:

Date of Interview:

Time of Interview:

Introduction

Thank you for responding back to my email and for showing an interest in having this interview. Before we begin I would like to give you an idea of what my research is about and what will be required of you. In addition, I can also answer any initial questions you may have relating to this research or your expected role in this.

This research aims to gain an understanding of how drivers have responded to the lowered drink-driving limit within a community. This interview aims to draw on your understandings of the new limit and the effect within your community.

I must re-state that any information disclosed during the interview which cannot be held in confidence will be passed onto an appropriate person. This person will depend on the nature of the disclosed information.

If I can now ask you to read over the plain language statement form, before signing the attached form if you consent to participate.

Interview questions

Background questions
Q1) How would you define drink-driving?
Q2) did you know the drink-driving limit was reduced on December 5th 2014?
Q3) Do you know what the new limit is? (What do you think is legal in practical terms (how much a person can drink?) (When is someone safe?)
Q4) How is this different from before in terms of what is now legal or illegal?
Q5) why do you think the limit changed? (probe-why?)
Q6) Do you think the new limit is fair? (probe- why?)

RQ1
Q7) How does your present alcohol drinking lifestyle compare to before the limit was reduced in terms of deciding whether to drive? (probe-why? How do you make these decisions?) (when are you safe?)
Q8) How do you think people in your community have responded to the new limit? (probe-why?)

Q9) What influence does the environment you live in have on your decision-making around drinking and driving? (probe-why?)

Q10) How would you tell if someone was over the limit now?

Q11) What would you do if you perceived someone in your community was over the legal limit and was preparing to drive? (probe-why?)

Q12) When would you take an informal approach to dealing with this? When would you take a formal approach, in terms of contacting the police?

Q13) How do these decisions compare to before the limit was changed?

Q14) Why do you believe people in your community might drink-drive?

Q15) How do you think you would feel if you engaged in drink-driving? (probe- How does this compare to other driving offences?)

Q16) How would you feel if there had been a road traffic collision brought about by drink-driving in your community?

Q17) How do you feel if someone in your community had been charged with drink-driving?

Q18) Who is responsible for tacking drink-driving?

Q19) How do you think Police Scotland communicated with the public when the limit was reduced? (probe- Why? How?)

Q20) What do you think Police Scotland are doing to control drink-driving in your community?

Q21) Has this changed in light of the new limit? (How?)

Closure

That concludes the end of the interview. Thank you very much for answering my questions. Would you like to ask myself any questions relating to this research now? Or are there any additional comments you have for this research that you feel may be worth mentioning?

Appendix Two

University
of Glasgow

College of Social
Sciences

Plain Language Statement

Title: A Case Study Exploration of Civilian Drivers' Responses to the Lowered Drink-Driving Limit within a Scottish Community.

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.
Thank you for reading this,

Masters student and principal investigator: Liam Ralph (2151997R@student.gla.ac.uk)

The results from this research will contribute to my Masters in Criminology research (MRes) project. The purpose of this study is to gain an understanding of how drivers have responded to the lowered drink-driving limit within a community. This study will take approximately four months to complete and will be finished by the 1st of September 2015. This study has been reviewed and approved by the School of Social Sciences ethics board at the University of Glasgow. You have been selected for the following reasons:

- You live in the community which I have selected to use to explore this topic further.
- Your community has been selected on account of its rural location which I believe will provide introductory knowledge on how people view the reduced-drink driving limit.
- You currently hold a UK driving licence.
- You are aged 18 years or older.
- You acknowledge to having consumed alcohol in the last 28 days.

Participation in this research is voluntary. If you decide to take part you will be asked questions relating to the drink-driving limit in an interview with myself. This includes your understanding of the limit, the effect the new limit will have on your community, future behaviour and lifestyle decisions and attitudes to reporting others. This will not relate to either personal or known other people's previous involvement in any driving-related offending.

I expect the interview to last no longer than one hour and thirty minutes. This research is sensitive on account of looking at crime and in particular drink-driving. Participation is not compulsory. If at any point during the interview you wish to stop participating, please let me know and we will stop immediately. You are not required to answer any questions you do not wish. Please ask for further information if you do not understand any of the interview questions

or want further clarity. Interviews will be tape recorded using my own digital voice recorder. If you do not wish to be audio-recorded then I can make handwritten notes instead.

If you require further support due to the sensitive nature of this research please contact: Support Line, call 01708 765200, email info@supportline.org.uk, or by post Support Line, PO Box 2860, Romford, Essex RM7 1JA

In terms of confidentiality, I will anonymise your name in this research by using a pseudonym (a fictitious name). This will mean you will not be identified in the final publication. You will have the opportunity to choose your pseudonym if you wish. Pseudonyms will be used for any other name (personal or place) name mentioned during the interview. The record matching your pseudonym with your name will be recorded on the interview schedule and will be stored in my safe in my house, accessible only to myself. The interview transcript which will be typed following the interview will be kept on a separate document folder on the hard drive of my personal laptop under a password lock and will accessible only to myself. Once the interview is finished you have the right to withdraw consent and your data at a later time. Your consent form will be stored in my safe in my house. Your data will be kept for 5 years after the completion of this project. On the 1st September 2020 all of your data will be erased.

If you wish to withdraw your data, you must contact either myself, my supervisor or the University of Glasgow's college ethics officer. The results may be published in a journal or presented at a conference. In addition, if you have any concerns relating to the conduct of this research project please contact the College of Social Sciences ethics officer. All contact information is provided below.

Any information disclosed during the interview which cannot be held in confidence will be passed onto an appropriate person. This person will depend on the nature of the disclosed information.

If more information is required or you wish to receive details on the findings of this research please email me on my email address stated above. Findings will be available from the 1st September 2015 onwards.

Thank you for your time,
Liam Ralph (2151997R@student.gla.ac.uk)

Supervisor: Dr Colin Atkinson (Colin.Atkinson@glasgow.ac.uk) (SCCJR, Ivy Lodge, Gibson Street)

University of Glasgow College Ethics Officer: Dr Muir Houston
(Muir.Houston@glasgow.ac.uk)

Appendix Three

![University of Glasgow logo]

College of Social Sciences

Consent Form

Title of Project: A Case Study Exploration of Civilian Drivers' Responses to the Lowered Drink-Driving Limit within a Scottish Community

Name of Researcher: Liam David Ralph

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason

3. I consent to the audio-recording of interviews or the researcher taking notes.

4. I acknowledge that copies of transcripts will be returned to me for verification.

5. I confirm that I am happy to be referred to by a pseudonym in any publication arising from the research.

6. I understand that any information disclosed during the interview which cannot be held in confidence will be passed onto an appropriate person.

7. I agree / do not agree (delete as applicable) to take part in the above study.

_____   _____   _____
Name of Participant   *Date*   *Signature*

_____   _____   _____
Researcher   *Date*   *Signature*