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When Value is Created but There is No Record: An Eyewitness Account of Public Value Creation in a Student Resource Officer Program

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ABSTRACT

Conceptualizing and measuring public value presents many challenges for researchers, particularly in those cases where the program being evaluated has visible expenses and hard to quantify outputs or outcomes. Program stakeholders might not even recognize the public value (PV) they are creating. PV theory lacks empirical research and faces the possibility of theoretical stagnation. Efforts at measuring PV have not yielded consensus. This study employs ethnography to investigate how an external observer sees the PV being created by the school resource officer (SRO) program. This paper reports the key findings from a case study into the value delivered by a controversial public program, a co-operative initiative between a regional police service and the region's educational system. This evaluation comprised ten ride alongs with SRO program officers over a five-month period. Forty-one stories of PV being created were observed, which were then grouped into six themes/focused codes. In addition to the program's desired outcome of building safer schools, this paper identifies five other types of PV creation. These outcomes represent important contributions to the public and allow for the potential comparison of how tax dollars are spent, informing future allocation of funds and potentially saving good programs.

KEYWORDS

Public value; ethnography; management; measurement

> This would have been a 911 call if we had not been around. Because it was us (SRO officers) … well we deal with kids all the time. We literally have dealt with this kid. We know he is on meds, we know he has a temper. To a uniform police officer, they would have just seen a kid walking down the road. We knew exactly who he was because we were just at his school. What we deal with here has the tendency to get overlooked because there will be no charges, there will be no incident reports because the kid will be apprehended under the mental health act as being a danger to himself. But since there are no charges…there will be no record
>
> – SRO officer

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First proposed by Mark H. Moore over 30 years ago (1995), public value theory relates to the value that a public organization contributes to society - the equivalent of shareholder value in the private sector. Van Gestel et al. (2023) labeled Moore's articulation of public value theory a "Big Idea" which offered a new direction forward away from the well-established public management theories of Traditional Public Administration (TPA) and New Public Management (NPM). Since Moore (1995), there has been considerable theoretical work done on the public value concept (Van Gestel et al., 2023; Parker et al., 2023). An expanding group of public value (PV) management scholars have contributed to the development of a framework that presents public value as the net production of something being of *worth* or *utility* (Alford et al., 2017). Benington (2011) captures this concept and conceptualizes PV as having two dimensions: (1) what the public values and (2) what adds value to the public sphere. In contrast, Meynhardt (2009) presented a psychologically based public value construct, rooted in evaluations about basic needs of individuals and the individual's relationship with society.

PV conceptualizations are not, however, without criticism. Moore's (1995) PV concept is considered unstable, not universally applicable across political systems and not an actual theory (Bozeman & Jørgensen, 2007; Rhodes & Wanna, 2007). Meynhardt (2009) himself is direct in stating that his conceptualization is less prescriptive and non-normative than those presented by the likes of Moore (1995; 2013) and Benington (2011) because of how it is centered on a single citizen interpretation of the public (Sterrenberg & Decosta, 2023). How scholars should define, classify, and measure PV propositions is also very much open to debate (Van Gestel et al., 2023). In their systematic review of PV measurement, Faulkner and Kaufman (2018) conclude the measurement of PV is elusive, insufficiently addressed, lacking in clarity and subject to speculation. Yang (2021) echoes this observation in referring to PV's lack of an identification of common language or empirical terrain.

The debate about the PV framework continues unabated (Cui & Osborne, 2022). While some (Rhodes & Wanna, 2007) suggest the PV construct's elasticity and ambiguity may explain why public value theory has grown in popularity, others point to the lack of empirical research and analysis of the PV concept (Van Gestel et al., 2023). Various reasons have been advanced to explain the lack of empirical work in this domain. Chohan (2019) suggests measurement is challenging because PV is an umbrella concept with a non-didactic characteristic which undermines attempts at empiricism. Alford et al. (2017) suggest the lack of empirical study is because the PV concept is limited to being a heuristic. Mulgan (2011) proposes that the definitional and measurement issues arise because PV

has never been an objective fact. Faulkner and Kaufman (2018) state that the measurement of PV issue presents the possibility of theoretical stagnation.

The inability to understand/measure the value created by public investment is unfortunate as it could result in good public programs being cut. The quote given at the beginning of this paper references an interaction wherein a School Resource Officer (SRO) saved a child suffering from a mental health crisis (an emergency the child's mother and school administrators had been incapable of resolving) from running into oncoming highway traffic. The anecdote illustrates the fundamental challenge stakeholders face when seeking to articulate the value of a public program that has visible expenses yet less visible (perhaps even invisible) quantifiable outputs.

Reflecting on the way forward, O'Flynn (2021) renews Hartley et al. (2017) call for research examining how PV is perceived and understood by breaking apart the PV concept into manageable and operationalized segments and then returning to analyze systems in their entirety. Our research builds off this by investigating how an external observer sees the sources of value provided by public investment in MAJORSERVICE's School Resource Officer (SRO) program. We employ a case study methodology and examine the PV outcomes being created by this public program through the ethnographic observations this paper's first author made throughout a series of ride alongs with SRO officers. Forty-one stories of value being created were observed. This paper presents a series of anecdotes from the ride alongs, grouped into six different themes we observed in the ethnographic data. Our decision to focus on the outcomes of the SRO program is supported by researchers such as Hartley et al. (2017) as well as Rhodes and Wanna (2007), who observed that once key stakeholders are aware of the valued outcomes of a public program, it can then be determined how best to deliver these outcomes.

Capturing the value being created by a public program has been the focus of our research for the past several years, this paper being the third in the research stream. We have explored the utility of various qualitative (interviews, focus groups) and quantitative (surveys, social return on investment) approaches to public value measurement, all of which rely upon the retrospective sensemaking of stakeholders. This paper explores the idea that an *in situ* record of the value being created through public investment might add to the conversation around public value creation and provide another technique that can be used either on its own or in combination with other quantitative or qualitative methods to measure this elusive construct. By developing a greater understanding of PV, practitioners and academics alike may be able to compare how tax dollars are

spent which in turn could inform future allocation of public funds, potentially saving good programs. Echoing Guy (2021), developing a more expansive toolkit for understanding the citizen-state encounter will benefit researchers and decision-makers as well as our understanding of the non-economic value created by these investments.

The paper begins with a description of the case before segueing into a review of the literature followed by a description of the methodology, data collection, data analysis, results section, discussion, and conclusion.

The case

MAJORSERVICE's School Resource Officer (SRO) program was a co-operative initiative between a regional police service and the region's educational system. Located in Ontario, Canada the community in which the SRO program operated has a higher proportion of immigrants (51%) than other communities in the province of Ontario. At the time of this study, the region's SRO program had been operating for 20+ years. The program involved 60 SROs (as well as police administration) working in all 62 of the region's secondary schools to deliver a program designed to provide a safe learning environment for students (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018). Of relevance to this research, the desired outcome of this program (a safe learning environment) is closely aligned with a subjective, socially constructed view of PV and both the service and the region have experienced challenges measuring the value offered by this program using more objective output metric (e.g., higher academic achievement scores, lower truancy rates).

The SRO program was an expensive line item in the region's budget. At just over $9 M Canadian dollars per year (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018), it was an easy target for criticism. Opponents of the program as well as fiscally concerned citizens were quick to attack the program's costs and its purported mandate, so much so that region eliminated the decades-old program altogether in 2020 with the parting words: "it was evident (after community consultation) that the current SRO program caused a negative impact on segments of our student population" (MAJORSERVICE internal document).

A representative sample of 5 of the 62 schools in the region participated in our research exploring how best to measure PV (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018). Each school was assigned an SRO and each SRO was assigned to two schools. Since the officers typically worked in pairs, whenever an officer showed up at a school, they did so with their partner. Throughout the day, the pairs of officers would cycle through their assigned schools. On occasion, SROs would be called into feeder schools which included a mixture of elementary (Kindergarten to grade 8) and middle (grades 6

to 8) schools. Policing these schools was not technically part of the SRO's mandate.

The authors of this paper have a long history of working with MAJORSERVICE in a multiplicity of different contexts. Prior to this study we had used a variety of quantitative (surveys, SROI) and qualitative (focus groups, interviews) research methodologies to identify the PV produced by the SRO program. Police and community leaders were, therefore, happy to support the proposed study.

Literature review

This section provides the reader with information on the key sensitizing constructs of relevance to this research study: PV, ethnography, as well as how these two constructs intersect.

Public value

The New Oxford American dictionary defines value as something "held to be of material worth". The key term in this definition is the use of the word "held" as it links presupposes "value is in the eye of the beholder." The relative nature of the concept explains why value is both a universal and an undefined construct (Suddaby & Foster, 2017) whose conceptualization has, over the course of time, fluctuated between an objective/deterministic view to one that is largely subjective and malleable (Suddaby, 2016).

Conceptualizing PV is equally challenging and remains contested (Meynhardt & Jasinenko, 2021; Hartley et al., 2017). Bryson et al. (2014) divide the PV literature into three streams. Stream one was initiated by Moore (1995), who proposed that PV was created by the activities of public managers/public organizations, equating PV to private sector shareholder value (Hartley et al., 2017). Moore (2014) used a simple analogy to explain his conceptualization, arguing that public managers investment of public assets to create value for citizens was equivalent to private managers investing in private assets to produce value for shareholders. Moore (1995) claimed that PV was created when three conditions were satisfied: (1) the authorizing environment is sustainable and legitimate, (2) the PV outcomes are seen as valuable by the stakeholders, and (3) the public organization has the capability to deliver the outcome. He also suggested that PV could be likened to a "strategic triangle" with three focal points: (1) substance (the mission or purpose of the organization and the outcomes they work to achieve) (2) politics (the support and legitimacy for a given initiative) and organizational capacity (the ability to deliver the planned outcome). While critics argue Moore's (1995) conceptualization

is more of a heuristic than proper academic theory (Hartley et al., 2017) others cite advantages including a focus on outcomes instead of outputs (Mazzucato & Ryan-Collins, 2022). Another notable advantage is that Moore's (1995) working definition of the concept includes the idea that values, which are rooted in the desires and perceptions of individuals, are channeled through the representational system of government (Meynhardt & Metelmann, 2009).

In the intervening years since Moore (1995), there has been a great deal of theoretical work on the PV concept which has introduced variety in how the construct has been conceptualized (Van Gestel et al., 2023; Parker et al., 2023). According to Bryson et al. (2014), Benington (2011) represents a second distinct stream of PV theorizing with a focus on the public sphere and the interplay between what the public values and what adds value to the public. Benington (2011) defines public sphere as "the web of values, places, organizations, rules, knowledge, and other cultural resources held in common by people through their everyday commitments and behaviors and held in trust by government and public institutions" (Benington, 2015, p. 40). Hartley et al. (2017) point out that the dimensions included in Benington's model can be in tension with each other which implies that this version of the PV construct is neither stable nor settled but rather an artifact of a contested democratic process which may vary depending on which stakeholders' views are given priority or included/excluded (Hartley et al., 2017). Alford et al. (2017) argue that Bennington's conceptualization of PV also requires us to define what is "the public" through continuous dialogue which implies that the definition of public might be continually morphing over time. Bennington's view of value is a departure from previous thinking on the subject as it gives primacy to the concerns/needs of the public at large as opposed to either the views of a government managerial class or a model based on the idea that individuals will maximize self-interest when making choices (Benington, 2011; Benington, 2015).

Bozeman along with his colleague Jørgensen produced what is deemed to be the third major stream of PV research (Bryson et al., 2014; Alford et al., 2017). Bozeman (2007, p. 13), defined PV as those values "providing normative consensus about (a) the rights, benefits, and prerogatives to which citizens should (and should not) be entitled; (b) the obligations of citizens to society, the state, and one another; and (c) the principles on which governments and policies should be based". Bozeman and Jørgensen (2007, p. 374) describe PV as being rooted in "society and culture, in individuals and groups, and not just in government". Bozeman and Jørgensen (2007) distinguish between two types of values: (1) instrumental values (i.e., the means to an end) and (2) prime values (i.e., that which is an end to itself). Instrumental values are more readily accessible through

empirical tests as they are measurable objectives while prime values are viewed as more of a binary proposition (i.e., they are present or not). These definitions of PV require public consensus on what are the public values of society as it is these values that are viewed as informing the operational objectives of the society's governments.

Finally, in their review Bryson et al. (2014) identify a fourth, less well-known conceptualization of the PV construct put forward by Meynhardt (2009). Meynhardt (2009, p. 212) defines PV as "value for the public" which he argues is "a result of evaluations about how basic needs of individuals, groups and the society are influenced in relationships involving the public." Meynhardt's (2009) concept of PV is based on the individual and how a public investment meets the individual's basic needs but at the same time how a public investment meets the needs of what the individual conceptualizes as being *the public* – the unknowable social entity that is society which is realized: "when people perceive a position contribution to what they regard as society, societal order or those values representing it" (p. 142). Rooted in psychology, Meynhardt's conceptualization of PV represents a considerable departure from Bozeman (2007) and Benington (2011) and is less prescriptive than Moore's (1995) more normative definition of the construct.

With one exception (Meynhardt) the PV theories discussed in this review recognize the need to recast conceptualizations of PV as something that is embedded in society and focused on collective social goals rather than linking it to economic value as expressed in financial terms (Meynhardt & Jasinenko, 2021; Van Gestel et al., 2023). There is less consensus within the PV theory literature, however, with respect to the degree to which conceptualizations of PV involve social consensus versus basic psychological needs (Meynhardt & Jasinenko, 2021) or whether or not PV should be viewed as a good or service created primarily by the public sector for the public as espoused by Moore (1995) and Benington (2011), or as principles that represent societal consensus as espoused by Bozeman's (2007) (Dahl & Soss, 2014).

As this review has shown, the PV construct is hotly contested terrain. This paper adopts Benington's definition of the PV construct (2011) as it focuses on the value being created and therefore added to the public sphere. This definition is, therefore, consistent with the raison d'être the government has given for investing in the SRO program – to add value to the public in the region by producing a safer learning environment for students (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018).

***Measurement of public value*:** Our review of the PV literature indicates that measurement of this construct remains elusive, lacks clarity (Faulkner & Kaufman, 2018) and is stuck between approaches (e.g. Avoyan et al. (2024) study of Dutch flood protection) that attempt to characterize PV as an output (i.e., the activities, services, events and products that reach

the program's primary audience) versus methods that characterize PV as an outcome (the results or changes related to the program's intervention that are experienced by the primary audience) (Christensen, 2024; Mazzucato & Ryan-Collins, 2022; Norman, 2007). Mazzucato and Ryan-Collins (2022) note that outcomes and outputs have different time horizons with outputs evaluating the product of an investment whereas outcomes access a change or development that might be best observed in the longer-term (i.e., cognitive, or behavioral or emotional).

Many approaches to the measurement of PV focus on program outputs which are narrower in scope and thus more readily measured than program outcomes which are viewed as difficult to quantify due to issues associated with causality and gaps in understanding the effectiveness of policy levers. Kelly et al. (2002) argue that researchers find it challenging to objectively measure program outcomes that tend to be socially constructed and impacted by the preferences of the public and call for more research into this issue (Kelly et al., 2002).

Recently, Meynhardt and Jasinenko (2021) attempted to measure PV by employing a scorecard incorporating the psychological theory of basic needs (Bryson et al., 2014). This approach examines PV by investigating four micro-foundational dimensions: (1) utilitarian-instrumental, (2) moral-ethical, (3) political-social and (4) hedonistic-aesthetical. These authors also concluded that more research is needed to determine how to measure PV across organizations, sectors, industries, and national contexts.

Ethnography and the measurement of public value

PV research is nascent, stuck "in a back-and-forth process of contestation" (O'Flynn, 2021, p. 874) and hindered by the fact that the PV construct lacks clarity (Brown et al., 2021, Faulkner & Kaufman, 2018; Suddaby, 2016). Brown et al. (2021) proposes that the lack of construct clarity stems from PV being context-dependent (Meynhardt, 2009) and value-frame dependent (Bozeman, 2007). These observations support the use of a methodological approach such as ethnography which is context-specific, focused on outcomes rather than outputs and facilitates the observation of PV being created *in situ* to study the PV construct. This is in keeping with Gilad's (2021) observation that research method choice should be led by the epistemological challenge. Indeed, across public administration research, it is generally accepted that context matters (Li & Lou, 2024; Yang, 2021). Ethnography records "the life of a particular group and thus entails sustained participation and observation in their milieu, community or social world" (Charmaz, 2014, p. 35). This research methodology allows the researcher to observe the phenomenon of interest (in this case PV), within its social and cultural context and observe aspects of the context

not commonly verbalized (Myers, 2013). In contrast to interview or survey studies, which rely upon stakeholder recollections with respect to the phenomena of interest, ethnography documents the value being produced as it happens (i.e., without the reflective element of the stakeholder becoming the dominant bias) so that the past is "not being construed knowing the outcome" (Weick, 1995, p. 28). In other words, it presents an *in-situ* record of value being produced, documenting a history of the activity instead of stakeholders giving the history after the fact.

Methodology

This study uses ethnographic methods to describe the interactions between the SRO program stakeholders (i.e., the SRO officers, the students and school personnel at the five schools involved in the study, community members living in the school's catchment area). Ethnography's focus on context and its ability to identify outcomes associated with subjective views of PV make it ideally suited for a study of this kind (Myers, 2013). Further, ethnography offers the opportunity to identify a confluence of factors that might not otherwise be identified – reality being as it is more complicated than binary choices (Guy, 2021). The context under study (the SRO program) can be considered an extreme case, defined by Patton (1990, p. 169) as cases that are "rich in information because they are unusual or special in some way. The SRO program can be viewed as an extreme case because: (1) it has stirred up controversy over the course of its existence, (2) its expense to the municipality is highly visible while the expression of its PV is not, and (3) some members of the community question the merit of having police officers in schools (Duxbury & Bennell, 2020). The fact that this program has been heavily scrutinized by segments of the public makes it stand out when considered broadly among public program investments. The benefit of the extreme case approach is that it allows for the opportunity to learn "from highly unusual manifestations of the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 1990, p. 182).

The sample

The researcher (the first author of this paper) submitted a request to conduct ride alongs with the SRO officers working in the five schools participating in the case study. Arrangements for the ride alongs began with soliciting approval from MAJORSERVICE's senior leadership team. Following approval, the region's Deputy Police Chief sent emails to each of the staff sergeants responsible for the SRO program asking them to give the researcher the opportunity to go on as many ride alongs as the team deemed necessary. The first author of this paper subsequently

organized and engaged in a series of ten ride alongs, conducted over a five-month period. During the ten ride alongs, he enjoyed privileged access to the program and its officers, spending days at a time in their company, going out with the officers for breakfasts and on coffee breaks, accompanying them from the beginning until the end of their shifts. The researcher conducted two days of ride alongs at each of the five schools participating in the case study. In most cases (four schools) the ride alongs were done with the pair of SRO officers working in each of the schools in the study. In the final case the researcher accompanied a single SRO officer who worked alone because his partner had been away on a long-term secondment.

Data collection

During the ride alongs the first author of this paper took note of SRO policing activities cin the participating schools and surrounding areas. Field notes were written up and audio-recorded regularly (even during the ride alongs) to ensure that the researcher's memory was not strained to remember what had happened after the fact. The content of these notes is diverse, including everything from observations, impressions, feelings, hunches, questions that emerge, etc. (Myers, 2013). The descriptive component of the ethnography was guided by key questions to remind the researcher of what to look out for and to ensure that as a baseline, similar phenomena were being observed during each ride along. Found in Appendix A, these questions were directed questions that helped guide the researcher's observation of the specific activities that the SROs performed daily. These questions included: (1) How do the SROs begin working on the activity, (2) is there a process, and (3) How much time do they estimate they spent per day/week on each activity?

Data analysis

This paper employs a grounded theory (GT) ethnography data analysis technique, a widely used form of analysis in ethnography (Babchuck & Hitchcock, 2013). This approach involves analyzing data that was collected through observation (i.e., ethnographically) to generate theory. As Charmaz (2014) notes, GT ethnographies focus on how a context connects to larger themes to give emphasis to significant processes that are occurring in the setting, to what the subjects find interesting and/or problematic, to how subjects act in each scene/context, and to larger key analytic ideas. These sorts of observations provide the GT ethnographer with descriptions of processes that allow for the possibility of theoretical development. We contend that this analytical approach is particularly robust given that our

research focuses on the PV we as researchers observed being created by the SRO program (Charmaz, 2014).

In our approach to both collecting and analyzing the ethnographic data, we recognize how ethnography is a sensemaking endeavor. The data collection and its subsequent analysis is actively constructed by the ethnographer, in a manner that is consistent with Maitlis and Christianson (2014) definition of sensemaking. The ethnographer is the primary tool for data collection (Savage, 2006) and the lens through which the social world is viewed (Bacon et al., 2020). The key role of the ethnographer in the data collection and analysis process required the research team to take a variety of steps to minimize researcher biases. In the section below we summarize how we implemented the best practice recommendations for qualitative research offered by Charmaz (2014), Gioia et al. (2012) in this study.

Reflexivity describes the researcher's awareness of their role and the preconceptions they bring to the research process (Charmaz, 2014). Both members of the research team had worked with key SRO stakeholders (SROs, other police officers, school personnel) for several years prior to the start of the ethnographic research project. As such they were very familiar with the SRO program's history and the "jargon" normally used by police officers and school administrators when talking about the program. In this study memo-writing was also used to ensure researcher reflexivity. The ethnographer took care to write detailed memos during the ride- alongs to clarify their thought processes and intentions, and as a means of self-reflection and assumption testing (Charmaz, 2014). During the data analysis process these memos were shared with the ethnographer's coauthors and other stakeholders and assumptions and conclusions challenged and discussed.

Gioia et al. (2012) recommends that qualitative researchers perform insider-outsider checks to mitigate concerns with bias. These checks require the researcher (in this case the ethnographer) to reveal their thought processes to others to be challenged. Two insider-outsider checks were applied in this research. First, the ethnographer held regular meetings with both police and school partners. At these meetings the researchers outlined assumptions they had made and conclusions they had drawn when analyzing the data and asked for comments or concerns. Second, members of the research team reviewed the data separately to cross-check our thoughts and conclusions.

Finally, the four criteria for evaluating trustworthiness in qualitative studies suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985) were also followed in this research. The credibility (i.e., faith in the truthfulness of the findings) of our findings are supported by the familiarity of the research team with the SRO project. Transferability (i.e., the ability to apply study findings within other contexts) is enhanced by providing the reader with a detailed

explanation of the research process as recommended by Charmaz (2014). To increase dependability (confidence that the findings are repeatable) we took care to include the three main types of schools in which the SRO program operates in our sample. Finally, confirmability (assurance that the findings are unaffected by researcher bias) is improved by following the memo-writing process, undertaking insider-outsider checks and by recording all analytic decisions.

Results

The results section presents key findings from our analysis of the researcher's field notes and observations. We began our analyses with no set expectations of what PV was being created, other than the SRO program's stated objective of building safer schools. As noted above, we also took steps to ensure that any themes that emerged from the data were free of researcher biases. We first read and re-read the notes and observations and listened to audio recordings logged by the ethnographer during the ten ride alongs with SRO program officers. This process identified 17 incidents where the researchers perceived that value was being created by the SRO program/the SRO officer. Key details describing each of these instances (i.e., "value stories") are provided for the reader in Table 1. Analysis of these "value stories" uncovered 41 occurrences of value creation (see Table 1). These 41 outcomes were grouped into six different themes, each representing a different form of value provided by this public program. These themes were then given names which reflect our observations on how the SRO program delivered value: (1) building safer schools, (2) developing positive relationships between the police and program stakeholders, (3) building a safer community, (4) preparing future-ready students, (5) reducing the likelihood students will experience physical/mental harm, and (6) enhancing the reputation of the police within the community. These themes will be explored in greater detail in the section below.

It should be noted that in most cases each 'value story' illustrated several occurrences of value creation as shown in Table 1. The most common 'value combinations' observed in the data included: building safer schools and developing a positive relationship between police and stakeholders (n = 8), building safer schools and building safer communities (n = 8) and building safer schools and preparing future ready students (n = 4). These initial results imply that by building safer schools, the SRO program also generated other secondary sources of PV. In the section below we use specific stories to illustrate different value themes. Many of these stories could, however, be used to exemplify other sources of value (see Table 1 for examples).

Table 1. Ethnographic study of value creation.

Value creation: 17 Stories	
Story name/Sources of Value	Background
S1. The Wall Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Building safer community 3. Reducing the likelihood of students causing harm or injury to themselves	A young person had set up a drug den approx. 600 meters from high school. The school personnel were completely unaware that their students would cross a set of busy railway tracks to buy and consume drugs from this drug dealer in a makeshift drug den. The students would then return to the school under the influence of drugs, in the process crossing over the busy railway tracks. In the previous year, a student had been killed by a train while crossing those same tracks (although there was no evidence that the student was intoxicated with drugs). The SRO discovered this drug operation after having been tipped off to a seemingly unrelated case of stolen patio furniture in the surrounding neighborhood. The neighbor had found the patio furniture and subsequently took the SRO to the place where the furniture was being used (the makeshift drug den). Coincidently, the students and the drug dealer were present in the drug den, consuming drugs when the officer checked. The SRO subsequently arrested the drug dealer.
S2. Solving a crime in seven minutes or less Sources of Value: 4. Building safer community	SRO solves a crime in a few minutes based on his knowledge of school community. The SRO follows the social media accounts of young people who were known to police to be committing illegal activities in the neighborhood surrounding the school. When a call for service to attend to a robbery came over the police radio, the SRO knew not to go to the scene of the crime but instead, based on their knowledge of the community and who was likely to commit the robbery that was reported, the SRO went directly to the house where a prominent neighborhood gang member resided. As the SRO approached the house, they asked a neighbor if they had seen any young people acting strangely in the community. The neighbor reported that several young people had just run into a neighboring garage. The SRO went to the garage, opened the door, and found the gang members in possession of the stolen property from the robbery call for service
S3. Meeting with drug dealing student Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Building safer community 3. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders	SROs are called by school personnel to meet with a student suspected of stealing and drug dealing. The school personnel are unhappy with the student and convinced that the student is doing bad things when they are at the school, but they have no proof. They call the SROs to "scare the student straight". What occurs is far more than they expected. The student is caught with drugs on his person, packed in several little baggies for the purposes of distribution. The SROs are forced to arrest the student and then release the student to their parents. The parents are called and show up. They express their frustration with the student's behavior and are relieved and grateful for the SROs intervention because the parents are no longer able to communicate with the student. The victim of the initial theft (which prompted the meeting) along with their parents feel satisfied that their concerns are being addressed and that the perpetrator is being held accountable for their actions. We are later informed that this interaction with the drug dealer leads to the discovery of a larger web of drug dealing in the community as well as a crew of people perpetrating break and enters.
Story name/ Sources of Value	Background
S4. Bullied student turns assailant Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders (SRO, school, personnel, students, parents).	A bullying victim lashes out at aggressors, seriously injuring one student. Despite the context that preceded the assault, the bullying victim will need to be arrested because they caused permanent scarring to the bully. SROs appreciate the circumstances and thus coordinate with school personnel and the student's father to have the arrest take place at the student's home so that the student is spared the scene of having to be arrested in school and in front of their classmates. The SROs treat the bullying victim with compassion and escort him to the holding cell at the police division. The student's father is grateful for the kindness shown toward his child.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. Continued.

Value creation: 17 Stories	
S5. Officer recruiting at high school Sources of Value: 3. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders (SRO, school, students, parents)	SROs show up to do their daily rounds at a high school. While walking through the school's communal area, two male students engage in conversation with the SROs. The students identify as being of Punjabi descent and are keen on becoming police officers. They pepper the SROs with questions about how they might best go about becoming officers. Four more students, females of most likely African or Caribbean descent, then join in the conversation and are also enthused about the possibility of pursuing careers in policing. The SROs give many suggestions on how the students might position themselves to pursue this career. The conversation lasts several minutes and is extremely jovial.
S6. Lockdown at an elementary school Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Building safer community 3. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders	An elementary school is in lockdown and the SROs are called to resolve a crisis involving a minor attempting self-harm. SROs arrive and are pressed into action. They crawl on the floor toward the student, who is curled up in a ball near a row of lockers. The school board superintendent, the school personnel and the teachers have not interacted with the child. The child's mother does not want to come down to the school to calm her child. The SROs navigate this problematic situation and eventually coax the girl into sitting down in the school office. Eventually the mother comes to the school but then abruptly leaves without the child. The SROs are left to having to bring the child to her aunt, a listed emergency contact.
S7. Diverting problematic youth Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Preparing future ready students 3. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders	The SROS are contacted by school personnel to investigate a case of a problematic male student who frightened a female student by threatening rape. The female student's parents were outraged and demanded the school take action. The SROs went to visit the male student's family home to get more information. The mother does not speak much English and the father lives in another country. The boy motions for his mother to leave the room so that he can talk to the SROs privately. The SROs explain to the boy that he is facing arrest because of the rape threats. The boy admits to having uttered threats and recognizes that it was a mistake. He then agrees to being placed in a youth diversion program so as to avoid being arrested and taken from home in handcuffs. While the mother doesn't entirely know what her son has done, she is thankful for the SROs intervention because she indicates that she cannot control the boy.
Story name/ Sources of Value	Background
S8. A student reporting a physical assault Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders	A student with a cut across their face approaches an SRO who was doing the daily rounds at the school. The student had been assaulted in the school building by a youth wearing a ski mask. The SROs assist the school personnel in finding out more from the student. The SROs conduct an investigation and discover that a group of youths in ski masks have been assaulting students at the school for the past month. We observe that the student who approached the SROs about the assault expresses sincere gratitude for their intervention. In the aftermath of meeting with the injured student, we learn that the assailants are arrested and removed from the school.
S9. Young man hanging out in school parking lot Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Building safer community	While walking through the school, the SRO observes through a second story window, a known drug dealer in a school parking lot. His car is near a door to the school building. This prompts the SRO to approach the car and question the drug dealer. There are three young men in a car with tinted windows. The SRO gets the young men to exit the car and then conducts a search of the car. He also searches the drug dealer and his associates. As it turns out, the drug dealer's associates are students at the school, and they were skipping class and appeared to have been smoking marijuana with the drug dealer. These students were well-known potheads. The SRO is unable to find evidence of the drugs and so is unable to pursue further action. Nevertheless, the SROs vigilance startles the students and the dealer enough that there is a possibility that he will not come back to campus in the near future.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. Continued.

Value creation: 17 Stories	
S10. The bullied student staying at home Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Preparing future ready students 3. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders	School personnel ask the SROs to go to the home of a student who is staying home for fear of being bullied. The student's mother is adamant that her child will not return to school until the bullying situation is resolved by the police. She is very happy to see the SROs when they show up at her home. The SROs sit down in the family's living room with the mother and child and go through the bullying incidents. The student alleges that she has been bullied by five other students for the past two years. The mother wants the bullying to stop. When pressed, the severity of the situation is unclear. Nevertheless, the SROs say that they will escalate the situation by issuing cautions to the alleged bullies and giving them a good scare. The SROs then share some tips for dealing with bullies with the student. The mother agrees to send her child back to school. The SROs follow through and talk to the bullies, making them aware that they are exhibiting problematic behavior that could result in criminal charges being laid. It is hoped that this chat reduces the likelihood that this behavior continues in the future.
Story name/ Sources of Value	Background
S11. Student in crisis Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Preparing future-ready students 3. Building a positive reputation for the policing organization 4. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders 5. Reducing the likelihood of students causing harm or injury to themselves.	A call comes over the radio and it appears to be quite serious. The SROs jump into action. While one drives, the other SRO gets onto the police computer system and pulls up information on the student, who has a big file already with the police. The student had previously stabbed his brother severely with scissors, which subsequently involved the Children's Aid Society. We arrive at the school and there are already two other police cars parked haphazardly. The student in question had flown into a manic state after being asked to leave the school library. He was very badly behaved, disturbing several classrooms as he rampaged through the hallways. Eventually, the student calmed down and the SROs left the school. A half hour later, the SROs were summoned back to rescue the student who by then had run out of the school and toward a busy highway. It was unclear whether the student was going to run into traffic but that was the concern. The student's mother shows up and is inebriated with marijuana. She is unable to reason with her child. The SROs are also unsuccessful and eventually must restrain him physically with handcuffs. They then call an ambulance to take the student to the hospital to undergo a psych evaluation. The officers explain that given the severity of the events, the student will now be given the proper medical attention to address the mental health issue. It is clear the mother is not able to guarantee that the child takes the recommended medication. The day's escalation will stimulate a more effective response to dealing with the child's mental health concerns.
S12. Skateboarding and drug dealing Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Preparing future-ready students 3. Building safer community 4. Developing positive relationships between the police and other program stakeholders	Skateboarding student approaches school personnel with allegation of having been assaulted. The student alleges they were assaulted by an adult at a local community center. The student called 911 but the situation had not been resolved to the student's satisfaction. The student retold the story to the school VP, prompting the involvement of the SRO because the school VP was suspicious of the student's story. The SRO promised to investigate and spends the rest of their shift doing so. The SRO determines that the student had been bullying and attempting to sell drugs to some children, prompting the father of one child to intercede, leading to the physical altercation. The SRO gives the student a stern lecture on what will happen if they continue to bully and sell drugs. The SRO reports that they think the student understood the severity of their actions and the potential consequences down the road.

(*Continued*)

Table 1. Continued.

Value creation: 17 Stories	
S13. Criminal investigation in a school Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Building safer community	The Criminal Investigation Bureau (CIB) calls the SRO as he is beginning his shift. The CIB is struggling to solve a case involving a minor who has committed a criminal act. The CIB says they are calling the SRO because the perpetrator is a minor and there is no information about this person. To this point, the CIB is unable to find any information. The SRO begins looking into the matter and within minutes has identified the perpetrator's high school. We head over to the high school and with the help of the school personnel, the SRO accesses the relevant information and informs the CIB. They are then able to arrest the perpetrator.
Story name/ Sources of Value	Background
S14. Drug busts at the school Sources of Value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Building safer community	The SRO officer has been made aware that their school has a long history of drug problems. It is a big concern for the school personnel. As a result, the SRO has posed as a 15-year-old student who wants to buy marijuana and MDMA and posted an ad on Kijiji. Several drug dealers respond to the ad. The SRO agrees to meet each dealer at a different hour in the school parking lot. The SRO has arranged for a team of backup. One by one, the drug dealers show up to sell drugs to the imaginary student and are subsequently arrested.
S15. The SROs successful basketball camp Sources of Value: 1. Building positive reputation for the policing organization 2. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders	A community group had planned a basketball camp at a community center across the street from the SRO's school. There had been a muted response from the public – only six children registered for the free event. The SRO was contacted by the community group to help promote the event. Over the course of next few weeks, the SROs promoted the event to everyone they spoke with in the community. By the time the camp took place, 400 children had signed up. The camp was a big success as both the children and the community leaders were thrilled by the success and fun of the event. The community group expressed their gratitude to the SROs. The SROs were very happy that they had the opportunity to show another side of policing to the children and community members.
S16. Bad haircut investigation Sources of Value: 3. Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders	A student has shown up to school with what looks to be a big clump of hair ripped out of his scalp. They explain to the school VP that their father ripped out the hair because of the student's poor academic performance, prompting concerns of abuse. The VP was ethically and legally bound to investigate so he summoned the mother to the school along with the SRO officer. The VP is also not convinced that the student is telling the truth because he has a history of academic cheating, falsifying report cards and pulling fire alarms during exams, etc. The mother says the meeting is a farce, explaining she made a mistake cutting his hair and that her son was lying. The VP explains his concern for the student's wellbeing. The mother scoffs, saying she is concerned about her child's grades, expressing that his only road to success is through a top business school. While it is a strange story, the VP relates a great deal of concern for the student. There is a possibility that the student's initial story of being physically harmed by his father is legitimate, which prompted the VP's investigation. The mother's heightened concern for the long-term financial success of her son, coupled with the student's history of academic cheating, suggests the parents have exerted pressure on the student to be a high achiever. In that context, the potential for child abuse is a legitimate concern and the student's knowledge that the SRO program is there for the student has been demonstrated by the actions taken that day.
S17. SROs and school personnel collaborate to mount a response to an emerging drug problem in the school Sources of value: 1. Building safer schools 2. Developing positive relationships between police	SROs attend a scheduled meeting with a school's VP. The meeting is to craft a plan to address an emerging drug problem in the school. The school personnel have observed a significant amount of suspicious activity in the school parking lot, including what appears to be drug deals taking place. There are several unknown cars frequenting the school's parking lot. The school personnel have asked the SROs to investigate the owners of these cars. We observe a strong working relationship between the SROs and the school personnel.

Building safer schools

We observed many examples (n = 13) of the SRO program stakeholders (SROs and School Personnel) collaborating to build safer schools. Almost all the incidents included within this theme involve situations characterized by students threating other students, actual physical violence between one or more students, and student bullying. In each case, the SRO intervened (either on their own or in collaboration with other stakeholders) to bring about a resolution to the problem, resulting in schools that were objectively (and subjectively) safer.

One poignant case (see Table 1 story 4) involved a boy who had been bullied extensively to the point that he fought back and seriously injured his tormenter with a compressed pop can. His actions lacerated the face of the bully that subsequently required medical attention in hospital. The bully was left with permanent facial scars. The assault brought with it legal consequences. The bullying victim-turned-assailant would need to be arrested and charged and would not be eligible for the youth diversion program[1]. We spent the morning driving around the region looking for the victim-turned-assailant's home address, which had not been accurately registered by the school. From the notes:

> Someone answers the doorbell but does not know the person we are looking for but says there are four apartments in the basement of the home. We head downstairs. The officers comment that there are illegal dwellings all over the region. We knock on a door and a man answers. He summons his son. Both son and father are polite. The father then asks the SRO officers if they could not handcuff his son to take him to the police car. The SRO softly says he cannot do that and cites the policy reasons almost by way of apology. The father is unemotional. The son looks vacant. The SRO is very gentle with the boy. The ride back to the division is done in silence, interrupted only when the SRO officer gently asks the boy if he is comfortable enough sitting with his hands handcuffed behind his back. The boy says he is fine. Arriving back at the division, the boy is led into a room and is asked to give all his possessions to an officer standing behind a desk. The boy is now being processed. Having done that, the boy sits on a metal bench and awaits his fate. He is solemn. It seems to me that the SRO officer is sad and he is shaking his head, perhaps attempting to jolt himself out of his emotional reaction.

It was a very subdued spectacle. That the situation spiraled out of control, leaving the victim facing serious legal ramifications, was not lost on the SRO officer. He expressed a great deal of sadness for the boy's predicament and some level of incredulity with the school personnel that they could have let this situation escalate to the point that violence ensued. For this and other reasons, the SRO officer had coordinated with the school personnel to communicate with the father that the student would be arrested at home in the presence of the father as opposed to in the classroom during school hours. The ethnographer noted that when

accompanying the boy to the holding cell, the SROs made sure that their police colleagues were aware of the situation and invested in helping the boy navigate the system. They indicated their hope that the boy would be treated sympathetically by the courts and given a second chance. The SROs were quick to mention that if this situation had been addressed by the regular uniform patrol responding to a 911 call, the bullying victim would have been exposed to all the harshness of the legal system and less likely to receive some level of clemency.

Far from bringing the full force of the law against the boy being arrested and charged, what this vignette demonstrated was how steadfast the SRO officer was in advocating for the student. We witness how the SRO's emotional response to the situation is appreciated by both the boy and the boy's father. In this case (as with others we observed during the ride alongs), the SRO helped the police service understand the context of the situation. One could imagine how different it might have been for the boy had he been picked up by uniform patrol, perhaps even perp-walked out of the school in handcuffs before all his peers in class. We could speculate on the psychological damage of that humiliation and the potential long-term effects, but we will not other than to point out the obvious benefits of a coordinated arrest that recognizes the vulnerability of a youngster and the emotions of a concerned and loving father.

In these cases of bullying and violence on campus, the SROs are called in to swiftly put an end to these acts. In the absence of the SROs, one might assume that the school personnel would find a way to address the problem themselves. This logical assumption contrasts with the following observation from an SRO, made on a different day, that involved a different school and another instance of bullying. The SRO commented that the schools often do not do an adequate job of intervening in cases where students are being bullied. From the notes, the following observation:

> I [the ethnographer] do think the SRO program is especially valuable in cases involving bullying as it does not seem the school is managing this effectively. I voice this view to the SRO who suggests that the police interaction de-escalates the bullying very quickly. The SRO goes on to talk about how these officers have the experience, skills, and flexibility to deal with students engaged in these types of activities and can de-escalate the situation as well as dissuade a student from doing something far worse than the initial bullying. The SRO pointed out that their intervention in such situations might help the student who is being bullied avoid a mental health crisis or even a suicide attempt.

From what we observe, the SROs create PV by helping to create a safe learning environment for the students by dealing with acts of bullying and violence within the schools.

Developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders

Another theme we observed (n = 12) in the ethnographic notes was the opportunity the program provided for the development of positive relationships between police and program stakeholders. The lockdown at the elementary school (see Table 1 story 6) represents a case wherein the SROs were called to resolve a very delicate situation that affected the general safety of the school as well as that of a particular student. With skill and sensitivity, the SROs navigated a situation beset by challenges. From the ethnographic notes:

> Arriving on the scene, we are greeted by a school board superintendent. It becomes clear that the situation is tense. We are told the school is on lock-down because a Grade five student with a history of outbursts who has had "another episode". Today the student had threatened to kill themself and then ran out into the street in an attempt to get hit by the passing cars. The principal informs the SROs that the mother had been called but was unable to come.

The SRO officers spring into action, dropping to their knees to be at the child's eye level. They comfort the child, and the child begins to open up and speak through their tears. It is as tender a moment as one could ever expect to witness in a police interaction. Slowly the SROs cajole the student to emerge from their physical shell. They walk the student to school's office and call the mother. This time, the mother chooses to come to the school. Upon entering the building, the mother flies into a rage, yelling at the administrators and the SROs. The mother then yells at the child as well for having created this situation and exits the school by herself, leaving the child in the care of the SROs.

Given that the mother has neglected to take their child, the school personnel ask the SROs to bring the child to the home of their designated emergency contact. We drive for a while and eventually pull into a parking lot, empty save for the presence of a woman. The child yells excitedly "Auntie! That's my auntie!" The car comes to a stop, the child is let out and runs into the arms of the aunt. The officers then ask the aunt if she needs anything else. The aunt responds with a "no" and no further pleasantries are exchanged.

We observe that people beyond the purview of the SRO program (i.e., elementary school personnel and a school board superintendent) are unable to resolve the problems observed in this interaction and instead rely upon the SRO officers to produce a safe resolution to the problem. As we ride back to the police division, another call for service comes over the radio: a Grade 1 student at another school has been acting aggressively in the school hallways. Twenty minutes remain in the school day and the school personnel are concerned about what to do with the student once the

school lets out for the day. The SROs cannot attend this call as their shift is about to end. This means that a uniform patrol officer will have to attend this call. From the ethnographic notes:

> This is the most intensely emotional experience I have observed to date. As I get into my rental car to begin the six-hour drive home, I am in a state of shock. This episode is far beyond what I was ever told was the work of the SRO. This felt like a complete breakdown of a social order. Neither the child's mother nor those employed by society to assist in this child's development were successful in carrying out their responsibilities. It fell to the SROs as the last resort to resolve this issue.

I [the ethnographer] observed that the SROs themselves were deflated by what they had witnessed which bordered on tragedy. If there were a spark of positivity, it was in the car ride to the police division when the SRO mentioned that while they were waiting with the child in the office, the child talked about how before meeting these SROs they had been afraid of police, a statement the SRO as well as the ethnographer interpreted to mean that after the above interactions the child was now no longer afraid. This suggests to us that the child's positive experiences with the SROs provided them with a perspective that challenged whatever they had been previously taught to think about police and contributed to the realization of a variety of valued public outcomes including building safer schools and building a safer community.

On another occasion, we were walking through a school's matrix (common area) when we were approached by two male students (see Table 1 story 5). They identified themselves as being of Punjabi descent and talked of wanting to become police officers. They proceeded to pepper the SROs with questions about how they might position themselves to get hired by the region's police force. The conversation then turned to what type of education the students should take at the post-secondary level to prepare them for the profession. The group was then joined by four female students who were also keen to someday become police officers. These young women, likely of African or Caribbean descent, were full of questions as to how they might improve their chances of joining the police. They were exceptionally energetic and enthused about a future in law enforcement. The SROs engaged with the students for several minutes until the bell rang for the students to return to class. It was a friendly interaction and seemed to lift the spirits of the SROs.

At another school, we observe an injured student who has been assaulted (see Table 1 story 8). We had just walked into the school's office when the SROs were introduced to a young person who had a big cut across their face. The SROs accompany the student and school personnel into an office and close the door. Afterwards we are told that the student had been assaulted on a previous day and wanted to report the case to the SROs instead of calling 911. While we were not provided the specifics of

the case, we were informed that a group of young people wearing ski masks had physically assaulted several students in the school building. What we did observe was that after the meeting, as the student continued their conversation with the SROs in the common area of the office, the student was effusive in their gratitude to the SROs for being there and ensuring that the students could feel safe on school property. The student also appeared to be relieved to have the SROs support.

On yet another occasion at a different school, we witness a strong relationship between the school VP and the SROs (see Table 1 story 17) who were collaborating on how to best address the menacing presence of drug dealers in and around the school. The following vignette demonstrates how the VP-SRO partnership works to counter the ever-present danger created by drug dealers in schools:

> We meet the VPs at the door to the school. There is nothing to report today because classes have not yet started. Conversation turns to suspicious activity that has been going on around the school and in the school's parking lots. The VPs provide the SROs with specific information about drug dealing and drug use taking place at the school. They provide details on several cars that they have noticed frequenting the parking lots that are not owned by students or staff. The VPs think that these cars are owned by drug dealers. The SROs indicated that they would investigate this tip. The interactions that we observed reflect a very positive open relationship between the police and the school's administrators.

When witnessing this interaction we observed that the police and the VPs were motivated by their desire to create a safer school environment to exchange knowledge with program stakeholders. What, we wondered, would have happened if the school administrators did not have a policing partner to address this potentially dangerous situation? We suspect that the issue would not be addressed as efficiently as in the situation we observed and might ultimately pose a threat to the school's safe learning environment. We also speculate that the school personnel having a hunch about drug dealers in the schools would not stimulate as involved an investigation by uniform patrol responding to a 9-1-1 call. What is compelling in this example is the partnership between school personnel and the SROs to tackle the problem of drug dealers menacing the school. We observe that this relationship is beneficial to students because it allowed for a swift and seamless response to an emerging drug problem.

Building a safer community

In our coding of the ethnographic notes, we observed (n = 8) incidents in which the SRO program helped their employer (i.e., the municipal police service) enhance safety in the community at-large. In most of the incidents

included within this bucket we observed the SROs spending time in activities that were not part of the SRO program (i.e., responding to calls for service, engaging in problem-oriented policing – POP – projects). One SRO related how he enjoyed performing what he called "proactive work" when he had spare time at home:

> I do a lot of stuff from home. At night I may jump on Twitter (X) or Instagram looking to see what some of the known-to-police students are up to. I had an arrest last year that another SRO had investigated. This investigation led me to another person with a Twitter (X) account. That became a six-month POP project and the bringing of charges. Someone on the road just would not have had the time to research this stuff.

The SRO goes on to say that by monitoring students' social media, he is 100 percent successful in identifying crimes committed by students in the community adjacent to the school (especially those belonging to gangs). He also mentioned that he maintained an Instagram/Facebook account with the persona of a young female that allowed him to befriend students as well as local drug dealers and petty criminals. These Instagram/Facebook friends were often quick to brag of their illegal exploits, which kept the officer in the loop of the crimes being perpetrated in the wider community.

A second story illustrates this theme. One afternoon, during the ride along, the SRO gets a call for service over the radio regarding a robbery of jewelry (see Table 1 story 2). Instead of heading to the scene of the crime, the SRO wagered a guess that given the neighborhood and the known-to-police gang members who lived in that area, the place to go to was not the crime scene but instead the home of one of the gang members. The officer sped over to the gang members family home and parked his car. He then asked a neighbor if they had seen any youths running through the area within the last few minutes. The neighbor said yes and said that several young men had just run through his backyard minutes ago before running into a garage, pointing as he spoke toward the garage of the home of the gang member. The SRO then walked over to the garage and opened it. Inside, the SRO found the gang members with the stolen jewelry. From the time the call for service came over the police radio to the time the SRO solved the crime, seven minutes had passed. In the words of the SRO, "when you have the intel you can do some things faster and I had that intel on those young people".

At the beginning of another ride along, the SRO received a call from school personnel to come to the school to talk with a student who was alleging he had been assaulted the previous evening at a local community center. The SROs interaction with the student led to a larger investigation with several plot twists that sent the SRO and the ethnographer on an investigation throughout the community. It took an entire shift to resolve a

matter that did not occur in the school. Whereas the student had alleged they had been assaulted, it turned out that the student had been bullying children at the local community center and attempting to sell them drugs. The community center staff did not intervene, leading one child to call their parent for support. Interviews with the community center staff and several children who were on the scene determined that this child's parent had subsequently showed up at the community center to confront the student/bully/drug dealer and had shoved the bully to the ground. Armed with this knowledge, the SRO then went back to see the student/bully/dealer and gave them a "scared straight" lecture on the consequences of dealing drugs. Afterwards, the SRO felt that the student was sufficiently anxious about the potential consequences that they would not be selling drugs in the community anymore. From the notes, the following observation captures one day dedicated entirely to an incident that had occurred the previous night:

> Back in the car, SRO officer is somewhat amused by the whole situation. We have been on the case of the community center fight for most of the afternoon. This is the kind of activity that is not part of the regular duties, but it seems to come up a lot – out of the blue stuff that throws a day's schedule off. It is now the end of the day and SRO officer has paperwork to do back at the division.

What we observe in these interactions is how the working knowledge of the school and the neighborhood facilitates the SRO's ability to act in a manner that benefits not just the school but the community at large. By knowing who within the school is likely to commit a crime, the SRO can either proactively take measures to stop the crime from occurring or solve problems in the community with a facility that the uniform patrol officers who are less familiar with the context would not have. Of note, we speculate that the forms of PV delivered in this case can be considered both outputs (crimes solved) as well as outcomes (the process of reducing crime in the area).

Preparing future-ready students

From coding our ethnographic notes, we identified 4 cases in which the SRO program stakeholders collaborated to prepare future-ready students. In one extreme example, the SROs go to a school to follow-up on a call from parents to the school demanding action because their daughter had been subjected to threats of rape/sexual violence by a fellow student (see Table 1 story 7). Along with the school principal, the SROs take statements from a male student who witnessed the rape threats. Initially this student attempts to obfuscate and not provide the details of what he witnessed. Eventually he capitulates and says that he heard the offending student say to the girl that he was going to "rape her and make her his sex slave". The student's mother then comes to the school and berates

her son for hanging around with this person, telling the SROs that her "son's friend is a wild kid whose father is away in another country and whose mother is unable to control the son". The mother then leaves but not before shaking hands with the SROs and thanking them for their involvement in this situation. She goes on to mention that she has four daughters and recognizes the importance of firmly addressing sexual violence.

The SROs then head over to the perpetrator's apartment. They first speak with the perpetrator's mother who goes to wake up her sleeping son. Eventually the boy comes into the living room and sits down to talk with the SROs. He asks the mother to go to her room so that he might have privacy to speak with the SROs. At first the student refuses to admit wrongdoing. The officers then say that they have witness statements, and they will just arrest him on the spot and put him in handcuffs if he does not tell the truth. They plead with him to be honest with the promise of leniency. The student then admits having uttered the rape threats and says he had no idea of the severity of the consequences of his actions. The SROs propose that he go into the youth diversion program to avoid the legal system. The student seems satisfied that he is being given a second chance after having made a terrible mistake. The mother rejoins the conversation, but it is clear she has no idea what is going on because of the language barrier.

On a separate occasion, we observed the case of a troubled student who presented significant challenges to both the school personnel as well as the student's parent (see Table 1 story 11). On this day, the SROs were summoned twice to address a situation at a school that neither the school personnel nor the student's mother could resolve. The student was in crisis, engaging in a series of violent outbursts in school. The mother had been called in to help resolve the situation. She arrived reeking of marijuana and seemingly "stoned." It did not appear as though she would be able to resolve the matter. Fortunately, her child (the student in crisis) had calmed down sufficiently such that he could return to class. We then left the school and went for lunch at a local pizzeria. Before we could begin eating our pizza slices, we were summoned back to the school because the situation had yet again spun out of control. The young student had fled the school premises and was sitting by the side of a nearby highway. The fear had been that the student might run into the speeding traffic and hurt himself. The officers tried valiantly to reason with the child but to no avail. Eventually, because of the significant threat of self-harm, the SROs deftly secured the child and pulled him away from the traffic to then be restrained in handcuffs. From the ethnographic notes, the following:

> The kid is acting on pure emotion without any context or experience to guide them…I am watching from the side of the road with the school administrators…The child's mum gets out of her car behind us – it reeks of marijuana. Mum is asked if she had forgotten to give the kid his medication. She first says the kid has been given medication, then says she can't remember and then finally admits she had forgotten to give him his medication on three or four occasions…She says that either she forgets, or the boy forgets to remind her! Mum is not a big help. An ambulance then shows up to take the kid to the hospital. Mum admits she cannot deal with the situation. As we leave, the school principal calls to me – be our advocate! We need SRO programs in all the schools not just the secondary schools.

In this case, the SROs are responding to a situation in an elementary public school. As the program is constituted, there should only be marginal interaction between the SROs and elementary school students yet on this day there are multiple involvements between elementary school students and staff that ultimately resulted in the need to involve the health care system. We observe a troubled child in need of help. Whatever interventions are taking place in the home do not seem successful. It may be that the mother does not typically get "stoned" during the day, but her comments suggest she frequently forgets to give her child their prescribed medication, suggesting that the mother may need help in helping her child. That the SROs were summoned to the school on two occasions in the same day for the same issue would suggest that the school personnel were unable to aid the student.

On this day, the presence of the SRO allowed the student to get the medical attention they needed. Furthermore, the pointed plea from the school principal to the ethnographer suggested desperation. We can justifiably infer from the principal's blunt comments that there are other situations the schools cannot resolve. From the notes, the SRO summarized the situation with the following: "The value is that we can get this kid help right now. That we can get him to the hospital and to a doctor." We observe that the SROs intervention creates the possibility for the child to get the help they need so that they might proceed in a more positive direction.

Reducing the likelihood students will experience physical/mental harm

We observed scenarios in which the actions taken by the SROs reduced the likelihood of students experiencing harm or injury (n = 3). In one example (see Table 1 story 1), we observed how a community drug dealer had set up a drug den within six hundred meters of the school's front doors. The dealer had found an isolated place behind a building backing onto a treed area and railway tracks. Fashioning a lean-to structure, the

dealer stole a set of patio furniture from a nearby home and created a drug den for the local students.

The SRO had come to know about the drug den because of being assigned the task of finding the stolen patio furniture, which the resident had brought to the attention of the staff sergeant at the police division office. We observed the SRO going to meet with the resident and subsequently going through the neighboring treed area to look for the patio furniture. This led to both the discovery of the furniture as well as the drug den operation on a day that the drug dealer and their student clients were present. The drug dealer was arrested on the spot, and found to be in possession of drugs, $335 in small bills as well as drug paraphernalia (e.g., a scale and baggies). Two of the students were also arrested because they had existing drug conditions that prohibited them from being in possession of drugs.

Immediately upon discovering this operation, the officer made a connection with a social media trend he had seen referring to a place called *The Wall*. Students had been posting about meeting friends at *The Wall* and the SRO was quickly able to piece together what had been going on. From the notes, the SRO officer said:

> I am on Instagram and Facebook. I maintain a profile as a young female, and I am able to pick up on certain things because I monitor social media. I did some searching around and found some photos of The Wall. I was able to put together the scene pretty quickly.

The SRO relates that the students find places where they go to participate in illegal activities. It is a constant job to be looking out for these spots in the areas surrounding the schools. The SRO went on to explain that his school had a long history of drug problems including several fatal overdoses. He also observed that the students were crossing the busy railway tracks to get to the drug den (i.e., The Wall) and that they would have to traverse these same tracks when impaired to return to the school. He felt that these actions presented a serious threat to the safety of these students, pointing out that in the previous school year a student had been killed by a train crossing those same tracks. By closing the drug den, the SRO had reduced this risk considerably.

Enhancing the reputation of the police within the community

Over the course of our ride-alongs, we observed two situations in which the SROs helped community members, thereby enhancing the reputation of the police within the community. In one instance, the local community center was hosting a basketball camp for children (see Table 1 story 15). Having only been able to get six children to sign up for the camp,

community leaders approached the SROs for help to promote the event. The SROs sprang into action and were able to get 400 children signed up. The event was a huge success, and the community leaders were tremendously grateful. As one SRO related:

> By partnering with the community leaders, we were able to show that we are more than just law enforcement. We were also able to bring together many people. That act of creating community has the knock-on effect of breaking down the feeling of anonymity that makes crime so easy to commit – we are part of creating community. Once you are part of a community, I think there is a social pressure to avoid crime.

The emphasis on becoming more approachable and presenting another side of the police service to the public in general and younger people in particular is an important act that promotes community and engenders societal cohesion. In the concrete sense, helping community members with outside school events might help community members to see police in a more positive light. Whereas interactions with the regular uniform patrol might be in response to crises and as such generate conflict as well as strong negative emotions, interactions with SROs offer the opportunity for community engagement and fun. As one SRO commented, "Sports is the biggest way to see eye to eye with the people that may have problems with the police". What this basketball camp demonstrates is SROs engaging in activities that produced positive feelings about the police.

It is worth noting that during another ride along two of the SROs commented about how some students and their families are openly hostile to police. From the notes, one SRO summarizes the situation at their school: "I think it comes from the impression that the kids' families give to them about police. The police are not well-liked here at High School X. I mean these kids' families may actually hate police". If this SRO is accurate in assessing a strong animus toward police, SRO engagement such as leading the basketball camp may represent a productive way to build a positive reputation for the police in the community.

Discussion

This paper set out to examine the PV creation of the SRO program by employing ethnography. We began this study with the knowledge that the desired outcome of the investment in the SRO program was to build safer schools. This form of PV creation featured prominently in our ethnographic observations, a finding that is not surprising given the fact that there is a substantive body of empirical literature linking perceptions of school safety to valued outcomes such as academic achievement (and ultimately

employment) (Ratner et al., 2006; Ripski & Gregory, 2009; Bowen & Bowen, 1999).

Gronna and Chin-Chance (1999), for example, found a statistically significant relationship between increased student learning and higher levels of safety in schools. Flannery et al. (2004) reports that student victimization at school negatively impacts students' abilities to learn in school. Bowen and Bowen (1999) review of the literature found that one in four teenagers reported that the threat of violence at school (i.e. an unsafe school) interfered with teaching effectiveness, and hence their ability to successfully master the school curriculum.

Other research reaffirms the idea that students' perception of school safety positively relates to academic achievement (Ratner et al., 2006; Ripski & Gregory, 2009), a valued social outcome. Ratner et al. (2006) found that children reporting they felt safe at school and in their community performed better on most measures of cognitive and academic achievement irrespective of their exposure to community violence. Ratner et al. (2006) research links students' ability to focus on school is positively associated with their perceptions of safety which, in turn, can be linked to an increased likelihood that they will achieve valued outcomes such as better grades, graduate and obtain meaningful employment.

There is some support in the literature for the other themes of PV creation that we observed during the ride alongs. We note, for example, Meynhardt et al. (2019) study of the organizational PV and organizational reputation constructs showed that organizational reputation can either create or destroy PV. As such, we suggest that the reputation enhancement of the police service, generated as a result of the SRO program, is a form of PV creation. Similarly, Irfan and Sami (2021) find a positive correlation between organizational reputation and PV while Vearrier's (2019) study of harm reduction interventions concluded that these initiatives produced value for the public. The other value themes observed in this study (e.g. developing positive relationships, building a safer community, preparing future-ready students), have not received much attention in the research literature, perhaps because researchers and stakeholders were not aware of these program outputs. Future research is needed to validate these sources of value in other contexts.

In this study we explored the utility of using ethnography as a tool to identify (and perhaps measure) a more comprehensive range of social-constructed PV outcomes to include when evaluating the "worth" of a public program. In the sections below we use the results from this study to discuss ethnography as a tool for observing PV creation. We then discuss

the development of a framework which can be used to guide PV measurement efforts.

Ethnography as a tool for observing the creation of public value

Brown et al. (2021) argue that PV research is about recognizing when PV is created. This study provides support for the idea that ethnography, which emphasizes in the moment observation as opposed to recall, is ideally suited to the studying the value creation process. In-situ observation facilitates the identification of a more complete (i.e., intended, serendipitous) set of PV outcomes than perhaps would be identified using other research methodologies such as surveys which are inflexible, subject to response bias and typically quantify what the researcher sees as important or interviews which are subject to interviewer or social-desirability bias. The fact that the ethnographic approach taken in this study generated insights about PV creation that were not identified in previous research on the value of SRO programs which looked at more narrowly defined program outputs at a single point in time (i.e., when the program is being evaluated) provides support for the idea that both researchers and practitioners should consider using this methodology when evaluating public programs.

In coding the ethnographic notes for stories of PV (see Table 1), we were able to identify six ways in which the SRO program produces PV. Of note, all six sources of PV identified using this methodology can be considered processes (i.e., outcomes) made possible by the design of the SRO program (i.e., the same two officers work in the same school for a minimum of two years). As the quote at the beginning of this paper highlights, the SRO officers are quite different from the regular uniform patrol officers because they are not arriving on the scene for the first time but rather have been engaged daily with the students and school administrators to deliver the SRO program. For this reason, we categorize their work and the PV that work creates as being processes. The terms given to these sources of value (i.e., building, developing, preparing, reducing, enhancing) were selected to reflect our observation that the sources of value identified using an ethnographic approach represent on-going processes that build on each other to that "create" value over time.

We see in our vignettes that there are many examples of how being *in situ* to observe what was going on gave the researcher a more complete view of the value delivered by SRO program stakeholders. Recall the case of the student in crisis, whose mother shows up on scene and emerges from her car giving off the pungent stench of marijuana. The SRO officer tells us afterwards that there would be no record of the events of that day. Even if the officers had submitted a formal police report of this

encounter, it would not have provided as detailed a description of the intoxicated mother as that provided by the ethnographer. Returning to the ethnographic notes for the purposes of coding the data, we were able to see how the SRO program in this instance was as helpful to the student as it was to his mother.

The findings from this study also indicate that the outcomes produced by investment in a public program may provide value beyond what was intended by the program designers. In this study, the input was the investment in the SRO program, and the intended output was a safe learning environment for students (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018). Using an ethnographic approach, we were able to identify the value added to the public sphere because of the SRO program investment was much more than the initial planned output. In fact, we identified several unplanned outcomes (i.e., developing positive relationships, building safer community, preparing future-ready students, reducing likelihood students will experience physical and mental harm, enhancing reputation of police in the community) that also added value to the public sphere. It is probable that these sources of value would not be captured if the program designed evaluated their program using more traditional methodologies such as surveys.

Findings from this study suggest the PV being produced through public investment could be far greater than identified using more traditional evaluation techniques. This observation should come as no surprise. As Mazzucato and Ryan-Collins (2022) note, the study of PV creation is hampered in part because the value created from public investment tends to occur as outcomes rather than as outputs; the longer the "value chain", the more challenging it is to identify the upstream product resulting from the transformed inputs.

Public value measurement framework

Mazzucato and Ryan-Collins (2022) have argued that PV measurement gets stuck between approaches that characterize PV as an output and others characterizing PV as an outcome. Findings from this study provide several insights that may facilitate PV measurement moving forward. Using the results from this study in combination with research using various other research methodologies (Duxbury & Bennell, 2018) we develop a two-by-two PV Framework (see Exhibit 1) which provides guidance to researchers and policy makers on how to categorize and subsequently measure PV. This framework acknowledges two types of PV (the PV duality if you will): objective PV (typically measured using program outputs) and socially constructed PV (often not measured but captured in this paper as program outcomes). Our framework also recognizes that PV can be measured using quantitative and/or qualitative research methodologies. Our framework posits that PV that can be conceptualized as outputs

that can be measured quantitatively and/or outcomes can be measured qualitatively (i.e., ethnography, interviewing or focus group results) or quantitatively and provides suggestions from this research study illustrating how a study using this framework could be designed.

Exhibit 1. PV measurement framework.

Measurement	Objective PV	Socially constructed PV
Quantitative	Sources of Value: Outputs From SRO study: Safer schools, safer community, future-ready students, a positive reputation for the policing organization, healthy students Across sectors: Benefits to institution(s), benefits to community/communities, benefits to stakeholder(s) Measurement tools: Scales, surveys, incidents reports, success metrics, etc. Hypothetical example from SRO study: Researchers could have applied perceived safety scales, community satisfaction surveys, graduation rates, etc., to measure value of SRO program Hypothetical example from another sector: Researchers apply client satisfaction surveys and prevalence of a health problem to measure the value of a healthcare investment	Sources of Value: Outcomes From SRO study: Building safer schools[a], preparing future-ready students[a] Across sectors: Benefits to institution(s) Preparing future-ready stakeholder(s) Measurement tools: Interviews/focus groups with key program stakeholders Example from SRO study: SRO officer tells researcher that, while not part of his job description, after work he monitors the social media accounts of known-to-police gang members. This has produced insights leading to larger police investigations and subsequent charges being brought against perpetrators. Hypothetical example from another sector: In a hospital setting, interviews with frontline workers (e.g., nurses) generate an opportunity for improvements that hospital administrators had not previously considered
Qualitative		Sources of Value: Outcomes From SRO study: Building safer schools, developing positive relationships between police and program stakeholders, building safer community, preparing future-ready students, reducing the likelihood of students causing harm or injury to themselves, building a positive reputation for the policing organization Across sectors: Benefits to institution(s) and community(ies), benefits to stakeholder(s), a positive reputation for the organization(s) Measurement tools: Interviews/focus groups with key stakeholders, ethnography Example from SRO study: Researcher observers a student in need of medical help. In this case neither the parents or the school administrators could provide help. SROs provide guidance and assist child in crisis Hypothetical example from another sector: In a hospital setting, ethnographic researcher observes a lack of soft skills in medical/nursing staff at a hospital that may be negatively impacting patient wellbeing

[a]We included in this framework only the forms of value identified by Duxbury and Bennell (2018). We do, however, acknowledge that other forms of value could be identified with a different sample of stakeholders.

As Exhibit 1 demonstrates, the sources of value identified in this study are sufficiently generalizable such that the framework can apply to contexts beyond the SRO program or the domain of public safety. While areas of public investment in domains such as education, healthcare, infrastructure, sustainability, and national defence will each need to identify PV outputs and outcomes specific to their context as well as the program they are evaluating, the approach taken in this study along with the framework we develop provides them with suggestions on how this can best be done. Specifically, we point to the need to recognize that any public program is likely to create objective PV (e.g. reduced death rate, increased graduation rate) which can be measured quantitatively as well PV that is more subjective in nature (e.g., safe school, health care system improvements, safe community) which with require the use of quantitative or qualitative measurement tools.

Conclusion

Debates on how scholars should define, classify and measure PV continues unabated (Van Gestel et al., 2023, Cui & Osborne, 2022) and the measurement of PV remains elusive (Faulkner & Kaufman, 2018). Additionally there is the question of whether citizens are passive recipients/customers or co-creators of PV (Lee & Na, 2024). This debate rages in part because of the conundrum of discovering the value of programs with visible expenses and less visible outcomes. Broms et al. (2024) study of public and private long-term care facilities and the value of lower staff turnover in public care exemplifies a less visible outcome that may have saved lives during Covid-19. This paper suggests the field might benefit by identifying PV outcomes to supplement the more readily identifiable outputs that many program evaluators rely upon. This study also showed that an ethnographic approach could help researchers and evaluators to identify these outcomes as well as unveil elements of value creation not being communicated. To borrow Schwartz-Shea (2021) phrase, there is value for researchers in leaving the ivory tower and going beyond the computer screen. Finally, findings from this study were used to develop a framework illustrating (Exhibit 1) how PV might be measured.

The importance of identifying PV and the subsequent measurement of PV is not limited to the public sector. Indeed, this approach could be important across many contexts. Increasingly, private companies are expected to obtain a social license (SLO) to operate from stakeholders so that they may continue to conduct their business activities. As Bice and Moffat (2014) indicate, SLO establishes a company's legitimacy. A company that can capture and communicate the PV it creates may achieve a way to obtain legitimacy and an SLO. With regards to public sector management, public spending as a percentage of GDP is higher today than at any time[2] since World War

2. Public sector management may therefore be interested or even compelled to generate a more comprehensive understanding of the PV being created by any public investment. This may be particularly relevant in jurisdictions beginning austerity programs in response to the significant debt burden facing governments emerging from the Covid-19 crisis. In the private sector, there might equally be an interest in linking the PV of an organization's output to a brand's value to consumers.

Limitations and directions for future research

This paper is theoretically framed using research on PV theory. This is consistent with our conceptualization of PV as the net production of something of worth or utility. This framing implies that the ideas espoused in the public values literature (see Bozeman & Jørgensen, 2007) are outside the scope of this current study. Future research could, however, look at the feasibility of using an ethnographic approach to the study of public values, the measurement of which is considered both complex and problematic (Bozeman & Jørgensen, 2007).

As we indicated in the description of this case study, the SRO program was and is controversial. There may be nuances such as tensions and challenges in the stories presented that we do not capture in this paper. We deemed these tensions and challenges beyond the scope of this investigation into the PV being created by the SRO program investment. Nevertheless, the lack of focus on potential tensions and challenges is a limitation of this paper.

This study focuses on the SRO program as a way of investigating public investments with visible expenses and less visible (perhaps even invisible) quantifiable outputs. The approach followed in this study may, therefore, be less applicable in cases where value is more amenable to other forms of measurement. This study identifies some utility in employing ethnography to first identify and generate a comprehensive list of PV being created by investing in a specific public program which suggests that this approach might generate insights in other contexts with other public investments. We recommend that other researchers consider using this approach to uncover different types of PV creation provided by public investments in very different contexts.

In general, ethnographies have limitations that need to be acknowledged. First, we are limited by researcher reflexivity. Our presence on the scene might have influenced the actions of our informants. Second, there is the question of how we are influenced by the informants. We acknowledge that there is some risk of subjectivity with respect to what is given primacy by the researcher as being of value. From the sensemaking perspective, the ethnographer is actively authoring the PV that is being created

or, in the words of Maitlis and Christianson (2014, p. 58), the researcher who is actively "constructing the very situations they attempt to comprehend". This means that it may be challenging to produce results that are generalizable (Nixon & Odoyo, 2020), a concern that is partially alleviated by the theoretically framework for studying PV developed from our findings and the efforts we have taken to reduce researcher bias.

The litany of weaknesses of ethnographic studies do not undermine the utility of using this methodology to explore a nascent construct. As previously discussed, there is a methodological fit between ethnographic approach and the nascent nature of PV research. As O'Flynn (2021) points out, for the PV field to progress there remains a need for the development of a stable conceptualization of PV. Fukumoto and Bozeman (2019) concur and stress the need for the field to overcome the conceptual boundaries. More research is required so that PV theory might move into what Edmondson and McManus (2007) term as the intermediate and subsequent mature phases of theory construction. Future research should include the application of the ethnographic approach to identifying PV in a variety of public organizations. This would then allow for comparison and the potential refining of the PV construct.

Notes

1. Within the Canadian Criminal Justice System diversion refers to a variety of programs that seek to avoid the formal processing of a juvenile offender who takes accountability by means other than the laying of criminal charges and a trial.
2. https://ourworldindata.org/government-spending.

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Notes on contributor

Gregory Dole is a research fellow at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada. Presently, he has been awarded a MITACS research scholarship to pursue public safety research and how the public perception of public safety in Canada is influenced by Canadian media. His research focuses on public sector management as well as public value creation and its measurement. Prior to becoming an academic, Gregory worked in sports management, most recently as an HR professional scouting professional basketball leagues around the world for the National Basketball Association's Minnesota Timberwolves franchise.

Linda Duxbury has completed a major study on Balancing Work and Family in the public, private, and not for profit sectors; Management Support (What is it and Why does it Matter?); generational differences in work values; the impact of office technology such as email; employee well-being; work role overload; and workforce change. Dr. Duxbury also conducts research which evaluates the organizational and individual impacts of

email, portable offices, smartphones, telework, flexible work arrangements and change management and studying what makes a "supportive" manager. She has completed three national studies (1991, 2001, 2012) on work-life balance in which over 70,000 Canadian employees participated. She has also just completed a major study on balancing work, childcare, and eldercare (n = 5,000) and is currently working with the Conference Board of Canada on a study of how to motivate change in the development and implementation of policies and practices in support of balancing work and caregiving. In addition, a lot of Dr. Duxbury's research in recent years has been done in the police sector both in Canada and international. This research focuses on employee well-being and the sustainability of policing in Canada.

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Appendix A

An observation guide will need to be developed that will guide the participant observation. The job shadowing of the activities will be guided by the following questions:

A. Observing SROs at work

1. How do the SROs begin working on the activity? Is there a process?
2. How much time do they estimate they spent per day/per week/per month on each activity?
3. How do the SROs feel about the specific activity?
4. Do they value that activity?
5. What sort of value do they put on that activity?
6. Do they think the activity is useful?

7. How do they express their thoughts about that activity?

B. Observing SRO interactions:

8. Do the students treat them with respect or hostility or ambivalence? Trust or mistrust?
9. Do the teachers treat them with respect or hostility or ambivalence? Trust or mistrust?
10. Do the support workers in the school treat them with respect or hostility or ambivalence?

Trust or mistrust?

C. Observing SROs going about their work activities:

11. Do they appear to enjoy all activities or just specific activities? Do they appear to value any activities in particular?
12. Do the teachers/students/school support workers seem to appreciate what the SROs are doing? Do these stakeholders value what the SROs are doing?

Tables and exhibit for When value is created but there is no record.