

**ERC Advanced Grant 2023
Research proposal [Part B1]**

**TURN-TAKING AND TURNING POINTS IN VIOLENT
ENCOUNTERS**

**TOWARDS AN EXPLANATORY THEORY OF HOW CONFLICTS IN URBAN PUBLIC SPACE
BEGIN, TRANSFORM AND END**

ACRONYM: TURNING VIOLENT

PI: Don Weenink
Host Institution: University of Amsterdam
Duration: 60 months

Although violent police-civilian and civilian-civilian encounters constitute a tiny sliver of the social interactions that take place each day, their consequences can be far-reaching. Images of assailants committing ‘bestial’ violence against vulnerable victims arouse public fear and indignation, while the excessive use of force by police undermines public trust, cooperation and the rule of law in democratic societies. Depicting such violence as ‘senseless’ moreover obscures the fact that violent action has meaning to the assailants. Based on the granular analysis of 126 publicly available phone camera recordings of real-life interpersonal conflicts in Paris, London and Berlin, the research program will advance an empirically grounded theory that explains how non-violent altercations between strangers in public space develop into encounters in which physical violence is the dominant mode of interacting, especially one-sided violence against vulnerable/subdued victims. The program breaks new scientific ground by: (1) showing that episodes of interpersonal conflict can be causally explained by understanding how the antagonists and their audiences (co-present peers, colleague police officers, unknown bystanders) structure their interactions in culturally meaningful ways; (2) analysing how slurs, insults, and provocations pertaining to race, ethnicity, class, gender and age as well as differences in policing practices influenced the trajectories of civilian-civilian and police-civilian conflicts; (3) developing the methods of ethnomethodological/conversation analysis to transcribe and analyse in meticulous detail how sequences of bodily actions and verbal utterances become turning points towards the beginning, transformation, and ending of violence; and (4) advancing the scientific use of now ubiquitous phone camera data.

Section a: Extended Synopsis of the Research Proposal

Main objectives

George Floyd was killed by police in Minneapolis three years ago. Video footage shows him lying cheek to the ground as one officer kneels on his neck and two others exert pressure on his torso and legs while distressed onlookers plead with them to stop. Floyd can repeatedly be heard gasping ‘I can’t breathe’. Viral videos captured by bystanders depicting the final minutes of his life sparked world-wide protests against racism and police violence. A year before Floyd’s untimely death, a phone-recorded video of a group of Dutch youths kicking and stomping a boy also went viral. Politicians were quick to condemn the ‘Moroccan head bashers’ and tie the incident to the moral delinquency of immigrant youths. Public fear and revulsion led to a fundraising campaign to support the victim as well as police guarding the assailants’ homes from vengeful citizens.

These incidents illustrate the real-world phenomena the proposed research seeks to understand. Although violent police-civilian and civilian-civilian encounters constitute a tiny sliver of the social interactions that take place each day, their consequences can be far-reaching. Images and videos of assailants committing ‘bestial’ violence against vulnerable and/or subdued victims arouse public fear and indignation and become fodder for extremist politicians who tie such incidents to images of imminent threat—often caricatures of young minority men. When police resort to excessive force, it undermines public trust in law enforcement, compliance and cooperation, and ultimately weakens the rule of law in democratic societies.

Although it is easy to understand why the media and the public depict such violence as ‘senseless’—thereby implying that this realm of human action does not lend itself to social-scientific understanding (Blok 2001)—it obscures the fact that violent action has meaning to the assailants. Based on the granular analysis of 126 publicly available phone camera recordings of **real-life interpersonal conflicts** in Paris, London and Berlin, the proposed research program will advance an **empirically grounded theory** that explains how conflicts between strangers in urban public space develop into encounters in which physical violence is the dominant mode of interacting, especially one-sided violence against vulnerable and/or subdued victims.

The proposed research program will break new scientific ground by:

- Showing that episodes of interpersonal conflict between strangers in public space can be **causally explained** by understanding how the **antagonists** and their **audiences** (co-present peers, colleague police officers, unknown bystanders) structure their **interactions** in **culturally meaningful** ways.
- Examining how turn-taking and the turning points in interpersonal conflict are related to **broader social divisions** and **policing practices** through the **comparison** of civilian-civilian and police-civilian conflicts that followed different trajectories in Paris, London and Berlin.
- Developing **multimodal ethnomethodological/conversation analysis (EMCA)** methods to transcribe and analyse in granular detail **bodily** and **verbal** modes of interacting in interpersonal conflict.
- Advancing the scientific use of now ubiquitous **phone camera recordings** by establishing quality criteria for the use of these data, including assessments of their possible biases.

State of the art: civilian violence, police violence, one-sided violence

This review of the literature focuses on interactionist studies of interpersonal violence and what we can learn from them given the research program’s aims. Please see the full proposal in Part B2 for full references.

While the separation of studies of violence committed by civilians and police follows the legal distinction between criminal and non-criminal violence, this project seeks to ground categories of violence on social-scientific rather than legal criteria. Although studies of police-civilian encounters and interactionist work on civilian violence remain sequestered research traditions, they share a fundamental premise derived from the work of the sociologist Erving Goffman. Implicitly or explicitly, both traditions view violent interactions as performances in which individuals aim to present ‘face’—a situational identity and claim on how others should value and treat them (Goffman, 1967). When antagonists perceive that the other has tried to project a negative identity onto them, for instance by insulting, humiliating, or neglecting them, they may turn to (threats of) violence to ‘save face’. The importance people attach to face may explain why conflicts are often sparked by seemingly trivial provocations, why police officers use more violence than required to maintain authority, and why civilians attempt to resist the overwhelming power of the police. People also seek face through ‘character contests’—confrontations between opponents who ‘show character’ as they try to save face at the other’s

expense in sequences of provocations and challenges that can escalate into violence (Felson, 1982; Felson and Tedeschi, 1993; Goffman, 1967). One strand of the literature on civilian violence in public space perceives ‘character contests’ as a way to defend or establish masculine identity—also interpreted as situational compensation for an otherwise threatened masculinity due to structural marginalization in society (see the overview in Taylor et al., 2013). Another variant of the contest model revolves around acquiring ‘reputation’ or ‘respect’ in unsafe, socio-economically deprived neighbourhoods where a ‘code of the street’ prescribes demeanour that displays immediate aggressive responsiveness and a willingness to use violence (Anderson, 2000; Brookman et al., 2011; Wilkinson and Fagan, 2002).

Only a handful of studies have sought to examine violent interactions between civilians up close. Among the pioneers was Luckenbill’s (1977) study outlining five interactional steps leading up to lethal violence and Athens’ (2005, 2015) elaboration of Luckenbill’s model which posits dominance as the master motive driving violent encounters. But the data available to Luckenbill and Athens—judicial reports, interviews, and (auto)ethnography—did not allow for the fine-grained analysis required to understand how the actions of antagonists emerge as responses to the actions of others, leaving us with mappings of all-too-general stages on the trajectory towards violence.

Recognition of their identity as authority figures is also crucially important for police officers who may resort to violence to establish or protect this identity. For Alpert et al. (2020), the imbalance of authority or power and the importance of police officers’ functional status relative to other types of status (age, gender, race, social class) implies investment in maintaining an ‘authoritative edge’ and citizens’ deference to it. Encounters devolve into an ‘authority maintenance ritual’ when police officers are primarily focused on (re)gaining authority rather than encouraging voluntarily compliance and cooperation, which increases the probability of police violence and citizen resistance (Alpert et al. 2020).

Most studies of police violence are based on large-scale observations in which trained observers join officers on their shifts. The advantage here is that a-priori explanations can be evaluated in multivariable regression models while large sample sizes enable making inferences about all police-civilian encounters. While this approach has allowed scholars of policing to produce a body of compelling evidence about the importance of situational ‘factors’—most notably resistance by citizens (Alpert et al., 2004: 477)—it has come at the price of glossing over the sequential building up of bodily gestures and verbal utterances by participants in a (potentially) violent encounter. Recent reviews of the research on police-civilian encounters suggest that we would be well-served by shifting our attention from situational factors to **situational processes**. Terrill (2003: 52) finds a ‘lack of understanding concerning the microprocess of police-citizen encounters’ which Todak and March (2020) trace to our inability to capture the moments at which the interaction could have taken a different course. Rojek et al. (2012) likewise conclude that we need ‘to learn more about these interactions and to find a more sophisticated way to look at them’. Alpert et al. (2020: 385-6) conclude that there is a ‘paucity of non-process variables with adequate explanatory powers’ and that ‘personal characteristics alone have not been successful in predicting police use of force’ (cf. meta-analyses in Bolger, 2015). Alpert et al. (2020: 386) go on to argue that we need data ‘that indicate the sequential order of the events, and they must be analysed to show the effects of actions at one stage of the interaction process taken during subsequent stages’. The proposed program will provide the data and develop the methodological and theoretical tools to do precisely this.

Given the premise that violence takes the form of a contest and follows on encroachments against police authority, reputation, masculinity, or honour, the research reviewed thus far tends to understand violence against vulnerable and/or subdued victims as aberrations. An early study (Reiss, 1968) framed one-sided violence directed at citizens who do not resist, who were handcuffed, made no attempt to flee or resist, or who were already subdued, as ‘unreasonable violence’. ‘Unreasonable’, however, suggests that such one-sided violence is the anomalous behaviour of individual officers outside the realm of professional policing. In contrast, I frame one-sided violence as the exceptional outcome of tasks that officers are normally expected to fulfil. Among the reasons prevailing approaches are hard pressed to explain violence against vulnerable and/or subdued victims is that their explanations focus on the conditions under which violence emerges rather than on the interactional processes at work in antagonistic and violent situations.

Collins’ (2008) micro-sociological theory of violence does not exclude one-sided violence; in fact it considers vulnerability as a possible condition for violence to emerge. If emotional dominance is suddenly established after a prolonged period of confrontational tension and fear, assailants may enter a ‘forward panic’ in which they seem unable to stop, continuing their assault even when the victim is no longer contesting the assailants’ dominance. While criticisms have been levelled against its exclusive focus on emotional dynamics and the

empirical evidence for it remains inconclusive (Weenink, 2022; Whitehead et al., 2018; Wieviorka, 2014), Collins' theory takes us closer to the violent action than many other theories. My study of youth violence, which used judicial case files to analyse the emotional state of assailants in 'frenzied attacks' (Weenink 2014), found that assailants would enter a state of encapsulation—'rage took over'—in which they continued to pummel opponents who no longer posed a threat. Situational asymmetries, such as victims hitting the ground and the numerical dominance of a supportive group increased the likelihood of violence turning into a frenzied attack. But frenzied attacks appeared in only 30 of the 159 cases I studied, which begs the question how exactly these interpersonal conflicts transformed into one-sided violence.

Advancing ethnomethodological / conversation analysis to study conflicts captured on video

Video data allow us to analyse violent interactions in real-life situations. The viewing and analysis of hundreds of clips of antagonistic and violent encounters for my recently concluded, ERC-funded GroupViolence program convinced me that repeatedly replaying the interaction at different speeds, discussing the footage with a team of researchers, and using precise transcription procedures that can capture the sequential emergence of violence is necessary to yield insightful observations. This is largely due to the complexity of video data. Even short clips contain numerous action sequences, often involving multiple actors engaged in a multitude of behaviours in rapid response to the actions of others. In a matter of seconds, opponents enter into verbal exchanges repeated in intricate variations of tone and volume as they approach and retreat from one another, accompanied by a host of bodily gestures. I also noticed that as the sequence of actions and responses develops, there are moments when the interaction could have taken a different turn. While identifying such turning points is crucial for understanding how and why verbal altercations can develop into physical violence, it was beyond the scope of my previous project as I lacked the theoretical and methodological tools to adequately and systematically analyse them. The proposed research program develops the methodological and theoretical means to do so.

Ethnomethodological/conversation analytic (EMCA) transcription procedures are ideally suited for tracing the sequential emergence of bodily actions and verbal utterances. Originally developed to analyse audio-recorded verbal exchanges, scholars working with video data have advanced methods to transcribe bodily actions as well (Heath et al., 2010; Knoblauch et al., 2014; Mondada, 2016; Streeck et al., 2011). To date, only a few studies have used EMCA to analyse interpersonal conflict. This work has either focused on verbal utterances predominantly (Whitehead et al. 2018) or considered both bodily and verbal modes of interaction to study a single (Lloyd 2016) or very limited number of violent interactions (Weenink et al. 2022). The full potential of video data to analyse participants' turn-taking in interpersonal conflict and violence has yet to be exploited. As the first systematic application of EMCA to compare different forms of violence, the proposed research advances into new territory.

My theory—which views violence as sequentially emergent with every bodily movement, gesture, gaze, and utterance forming a potentially transformative step in an interactive process—builds on two ethnomethodological propositions. First, as Garfinkel (1967: 1) famously stated, the methods used by participants in an interaction to produce action are identical to how they render them understandable or 'account-able'. This means that they jointly construct two things at the same time—action and its context of meaning—as they produce, contest, maintain, change, validate, question and define their interacting as a meaningful situational order (Heritage 1987; Maynard and Heritage 2023). Second, persons participating in the interaction take turns. This taking of turns requires participants to identify the completion of the other's turn and the commencement of their own response. Turn-taking is consequential because each next turn not only retrospectively establishes an understanding of the turn that preceded it, but prospectively shapes the understanding of the next. The methodological implication for sociologists (and participants) is that the meaning of a turn can be understood from the re-turn of the other.

Turn-taking involves both verbal utterances and bodily action. Not all turn-taking foreshadows physical confrontation; there will likely be moments of varying intensity, intermittent pauses, withdrawal, and distraction. Turn-taking sequences are defined by similarities in the mode of interacting, for instance when antagonists engage in a series of provocations and insults. Turning points mark the start and end of such sequences—a change in the mode of interacting. This happens for instance when antagonists draw closer to each other or move further apart, or when one party switches from provoking and insulting to making fighting gestures or issuing commands and ultimatums. Turning points may also appear when the form of violence changes, when antagonists move from shoving to punching or from kicking to wrestling, or when confrontational violence transforms into the continued pummelling of a subdued victim.

In our analysis of video recordings of violent encounters between civilians in the United States (Katz and Weenink, work in progress), we noticed that when violence was impending, would-be assailants often uttered expressions such as ‘Touch me’, ‘Call me pussy again’ or ‘Apologize!’ We call these **violence contingency forewarnings (VCFs)**. Antagonists issuing such forewarnings render their prospective violence as causally contingent on the actions of their opponent while constructing a retrospective justification for it: ‘I told you so’ ((see Whitehead et al., 2018 who observed similar accounting of violent actions). We also observed that antagonists often issued these forewarnings when entering into conflict, suggesting they wished to render the start, continuation and end of their violence prospectively and retrospectively understandable—to themselves, their opponent, and bystanders. If they don’t do this and simply start punching and kicking, they risk being seen as, indeed, insane.

My ethnomethodological take on violence entails two innovations. First, unlike most studies of interpersonal violence that focus on the individual, neighbourhood, or cultural factors that make violence more likely, the proposed research *does not stop where violence begins*; team members will trace the transformative steps by which violent actions become the dominant mode of interacting. Second, also contrary to prevailing work in this area, we will not ignore the obvious fact that *physical violence is bodily action*. This allows us to pose two novel questions: How does turn-taking by antagonists create a meaningful social order in trajectories of conflict and violence? How does antagonists’ turn-taking develop into turning points towards the beginning, transformation, and ending of violence?

Research team and program

The core research team will consist of myself as principal investigator and six PhD candidates, supported by research assistants. The research program consists of eleven cumulative projects. Project 1, involving the entire team, will focus on the filming and uploading process behind phone camera recordings. Each PhD candidate will be responsible for one of the six PhD projects leading to a dissertation: projects 2-4 will analyse video footage of 21 civilian-civilian incidents in Paris, London and Berlin; projects 5-7 will analyse 21 police-civilian incidents in the same cities. Building on this dataset of 63 civilian-civilian and 63 police-civilian conflicts, I will pursue the comparative analysis in projects 8-10, designed to sharpen the empirically grounded ethnomethodological theory of interpersonal violence presented in the final monograph (project 11). The research program should further generate 16 co-authored articles in leading peer-reviewed journals.

Project 1: Phone camera recordings. The program relies on phone-recorded video clips retrieved from the internet. Compared to CCTV recordings, phone-recorded footage tends to have better detail; crucially for our purposes, they also feature sound. People who record violent incidents on their phones also tend to follow the action, providing better opportunities to observe bodily positioning and movements than police body-worn cameras. Nevertheless, phone-recorded footage poses specific challenges. First, uploaded videos may be biased towards spectacular cases. Second, because recorders often begin filming when they perceive something noteworthy is happening, recordings often do not capture the confrontation’s onset. The data are thus truncated to an unknown degree. Nor do videos provide information about what happened prior to the interaction, or what the antagonists know about each other and the situation. To address these issues, the team will develop a procedure to detect possible biases. Each PhD candidate will conduct 10 online interviews with people who uploaded their recordings of violence, covering motivations to record, when recording began, whether and how the recording was modified, reasons for uploading a particular clip, and on which site.

PhD projects 2-7: Civilian-civilian and police-civilian conflicts in Paris, London and Berlin.

Understanding how interpersonal conflicts develop into one-sided violence against subdued victims requires comparing such cases with two other possible trajectories: verbal altercations that do not escalate into violence and violent interactions in which both parties actively participate. Each PhD project will analyse seven cases of each trajectory. What kinds of VCFs emerge in conflicts between civilians, and between police and civilians? How are they related to the beginning, transformation and ending of violence? How do the bodily actions and verbal utterances of peer group members, colleague police officers and unknown bystanders affect turn-taking and the turning points in violence? After having transcribed about five videos, each PhD student will discuss the bodily actions captured in this material with 10 experts in the bodily techniques of violence (police scholars and trainers, martial arts trainers) to refine their transcriptions.

Project 8: Comparing civilian-civilian and police-civilian encounters. One-sided violence against subdued/vulnerable victims appears in both police-civilian and civilian-civilian encounters. How does comparing them advance our understanding of turn-taking and the turning points of interpersonal conflict and violence? Following Alpert’s (2020) theory on authority maintenance rituals, it can be argued that officers see

violence as the most efficacious way to restore perceived infractions against their ‘authoritative edge’ and to reclaim citizens’ complete deference. Reformulated in ethnomethodological terms, this implies that police violence is oriented towards monopolizing turn-taking to maintain ultimate control. While bystanders often intervene to end interpersonal conflicts between civilians in urban public space, bystanders who get physically involved in confrontations between police and civilians risk being arrested. Ending one-sided police violence against subdued and/or vulnerable victims thus seems to require intervention by peer officers. Building on the analyses from projects 2-7, I will compare the beginnings and endings of one-sided violence in police-civilian and civilian-civilian encounters.

Project 9: National differences in imputing superiority and inferiority. The moral regulation of demeanour concerns widely accepted ideas about proper behaviour in public space. I consider these ideas as resources that antagonists draw on in their interactions to scold each other about infractions and to generate provocative slurs, insults and humiliations. Complaints most often concern people who claim too much space, too much attention, or demean others based on categorial membership, while conflicts arise when the victims of these perceived infractions against civility attempt to restore the moral order. I expect expressions of superiority and inferiority related to race and ethnicity to be more emotionally charged and therefore more consequential in interpersonal conflicts in Paris than in London and, especially, in Berlin. ‘Consequential’ here means that antagonists use these expressions as resources to render their violence prospectively and retrospectively understandable—by issuing VCFs and presenting their violence as legitimate or righteous self-defence. Hypotheses on the role of verbal expressions of superiority and inferiority in interpersonal conflicts between strangers in public space will be tested based on qualitative coding and basic statistical tests (to estimate differences between the countries) of the verbal utterances transcribed in projects 2-7.

Project 10: National differences in policing practices. Differences between how French, English and German police interact with citizens can be seen in their ‘stop and search’ practices. A comparative study of French and German policing found that French officers have a more proactive, confrontational style, resulting in tougher encounters with civilians, most notably with young minority men. Trust in the police is thus lower in France than in Germany and England. Studies of how police officers are socialized have likewise found French recruits learning to fight crime in hostile environments and English officers trained to communicate with civilians and to use force as a last resort. Hypotheses will be tested based on qualitative analyses of the verbal utterances and bodily actions transcribed in projects 5-7.

Managing potential risks

Finding quality PhD students will be crucial. I will circulate job openings widely, involving my contacts with British, French and German scholars. I can rely on my prior experience and UvA’s human resources staff to develop procedures and assignments that will enable me to select the best candidates. Supervising six PhD students will be a heavy workload. I will therefore share supervision with colleagues. The UvA Department of Sociology will cover the costs of co-supervision.

Finding video clips that meet the quality requirements may pose a risk. To ensure feasibility, I have conducted preliminary searches with five students. After a total of 30 hours, we sourced 15 video clips, covering all trajectories and conflict types in Paris, London and Berlin. As the amount of footage online is growing continuously and searching skills become more effective over time, I am confident this risk is negligible.

PhD students may encounter difficulties in finding experts in the bodily techniques of violence for the elicitation interviews. Earlier experiences indicate that police officers and other experts in violent bodily techniques are quite willing to share their knowledge and that approaching them informally through snowballing (instead of formally directing requests to managers) works best.

Watching footage of violence can be emotionally draining. I have substantial experience supervising assistants and students working with this material. It is crucial to create an environment in which researchers can vocalize their concerns and feelings. One way is to regularly initiate discussions on the matter and to be honest about my own emotions. In a previous project, we swapped cases when a research assistant and a PhD candidate found the content of video footage unbearable to watch.

Given the importance of analysing verbal utterances, notably colloquialisms and slurs, the PhD students should be native speakers of British English, French or German. However, PhD students are advised to publish at least some of their papers in English to reach a global academic audience. To reduce the risk that language sensitive analyses become shallow in English publications, the budget includes costs for quality editing.

Section b: Curriculum vitae (max. 2 pages)**Personal Information**

Family name, First name: Weenink, Don
 Researcher unique identifier: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7681-1403>
 Date of birth: 24 August 1968
 Nationality: Dutch
 URL for web site: <https://www.uva.nl/en/profile/w/e/d.weenink/d.weenink.html>

Education

2005, PhD in Sociology, Amsterdam School for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam (UvA)
 1999, MA in Sociology, Dept. of Sociology, UvA

Current Position

2016, Associate Professor ius promovendi, Dept. of Sociology, UvA

Previous Positions

2013–2016, Assistant Professor, Dept. of Sociology, UvA
 2005–2013, Assistant Professor, Rural Sociology Group, Wageningen University (WUR), Netherlands

Fellowships and Awards

2023–2024, €150,000, Dutch Policy & Science Organization Grant ‘How do European Police Organizations React to Violent Protests of Non-Institutionalized Groups?’, PI
 2022–2027, €1,250,000 UvA Research Priority Area Grant on ‘Real Emotion Research’, PI with Disa Sauter (UvA, Social Psychology) and Milica Nikolic (UvA, Developmental Psychopathology)
 2022–2023, €15,000 UvA Fair and Resilient Societies Seed Grant ‘The Role of Generalized Resentment in Public Disorder’, PI
 2022, June, One month Fellowship Maison Suger, Paris
 2022–2023, €100,000 Dutch Policy & Science Organization Grant ‘Co-operation between Police and Civilian Guardians to Prevent Public Disorder’ co-applicant with Marie Rosenkrantz-Lindgaard et al.
 2021, Five-month research Fellowship at Institute d’ études avancées, Paris
 2016–2021, €2,000,000 ERC Consolidator Grant ‘Groups and Violence. A Micro-sociological Research Programme’, PI
 2015, Elected Teacher of the Year Award, Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences, UvA
 2011, Young College Award, forum for leading researchers at WUR
 2011, €200,000 Dutch Research Council Open Competition Grant, PhD project ‘Inequality in Sentencing Types: the Importance of Institutionalized Decision-making’, PI with Peter Mascini
 2008, €10,000 education Grant WUR Education Board for excellence in teaching
 2008, €300,000 Dutch Research Council Veni Grant for excellent young scholars, ‘Youth Violence in Urban and Rural Areas’

Supervision of Graduate Students and Postdoctoral Fellows

2023, promotor Vuyo Ncube (partner violence), NSCR/Dept. of Sociology UvA/University of Witwatersrand South Africa
 2020, co-promotor Carlijn van Baak (partner violence), NSCR/Dept. of Sociology UvA
 2019, co-promotor Hans Myhre Sunde (police-civilian interactions), NSCR/Dept. of Sociology UvA
 2020–2021, supervisor postdoctoral researcher Rene Tuma (video analysis of violence)
 2017–2023, promotor Laura Keesman (police violence), PhD awarded February 2022
 2017–2023, promotor Rozalie Lekkerkerk (arranged group fights), manuscript submitted to committee
 2017–2022, promotor Phie van Rompu (security guards and violence), PhD awarded July 2022
 2017–2022, promotor PhD candidate Asif Muhammad (vigilante violence), PhD awarded February 2022
 2017, promotor Floris Mosselman (youth violence), promotor Rozalie Lekkerkerk (arranged group fights)
 2016–2018, supervisor postdoctoral researcher Raheel Dhattiwala (video analysis of violence)
 2014–2021, co-promotor PhD candidate Mert Kayhan (Turkish military), PhD awarded November 2021
 2012–2018, co-promotor Irene van Oorschot (judicial decision-making), PhD awarded February 2018

Teaching Activities

2018–present, ‘Group Violence’ and ‘Structural Violence’ in minor on Violence at UvA
 2013–present, ‘Sociological Theory 1’ and ‘Sociological Theory 2’ at UvA
 2013–2017, ‘Sociology of the Body, Emotions and Culture’ & ‘Violence and Culture’ at UvA

2005–2012, ‘Introduction to Sociology’ & ‘Advanced Social Theory’ at WUR

2012, ‘Introduction to Sociology for Life Science Students’ at WUR

2009–2012, ‘Contemporary Works in Social Theory’ at WUR

2007 – 2012, ‘Sociology of Health and the Body’ at WUR

Organisation of Scientific Meetings

2023, May 25, panel on ‘Interpretative Interactionism’, Annual Flemish/Dutch sociologists meeting

2018, August 20-24, ‘Ethnographies of violence’ workshop with Jack Katz, Sociology, UCLA

2017, April, ‘Interactional approaches to violence’ workshop, UvA

2016, April 29–May 3: Sociologist Randall Collins’s visit to the Department of Sociology, UvA

2015, October 2-3: ‘Interactional approaches to violence’ workshop, University of Copenhagen

2015, August 22: ‘Interactionist analyses of violence’, Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Symbolic Interaction, Chicago

Institutional Responsibilities

2022–present, chair of the Examinations Board of Sociology, UvA

2021–2023, PhD mentor, Department of Sociology, UvA

2016, co-director, Cultural Sociology Program Group, Department of Sociology, UvA

2016, committee member to revise the bachelor program in Sociology, UvA

2016, education committee member, Department of Sociology, UvA

2014, hiring committee member to appoint PhD students, Cultural Sociology Group, UvA

2012, committee to prepare merger of Rural Sociology & Sociology and Anthropology of Development, WUR

2010–2012, committee member on publication policy and criteria, WUR

2006–2012, education committee member, BA study programme Health and Society, WUR

2008, committee member to develop the research master course Advanced Social Theory, WUR

2008, committee member to revise the BA programme International Development Studies, WUR

2007, hiring committee member for assistant professor in methodology, Social Science WUR

Reviewing Activities

2023, career review of Brett Bowman’ work requested by South Africa’s National Research Foundation

2020, reviewer ESRC early career grant Richard Philpot

2018, career review of Anne Nassauer’s work requested by Freie Universität Berlin

2019, chair national committee to prepare research assessment Dutch Sociology

2019, chair departmental committee research assessment Dutch Sociology

2006–2012: executive editor of the Dutch refereed academic journal *Sociologie*

2006–present: reviewer for *American Journal of Sociology*; *American Sociological Review*, *British Journal of Criminology*; *Criminology*; *European Journal of Criminology*; *European Journal of Cultural Studies*; *International Sociology*; *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*; *Journal of Urban Education*; *Law and Social Change*; *Law & Social Inquiry*; *Medische Antropologie*; *Poetics*; *Social Movement Studies*; *Social & Legal Studies*; *Sociologie*; *Sociological Forum*, *Sociological Methods and Research*; *Sociology*; *Sociétés et Jeunesses en Difficulté*; *Tijdschrift voor Criminologie*

Major Collaborations (a selection)

2023, May 9, invited lecture on my book in progress ‘The Social Reality of Violence’ at Centre de recherches Sociologiques sur le Droit et les Institutions Pénales, Paris

2023, April 24-28, invited research visit to Institut für Soziologie, Technische Universität Berlin

2023, February 14-24, invited research visit to Jack Katz, professor emeritus at UCLA

2022, November 28-29, invited keynote, Goffman conference, EHESS, Paris

2022, May 25-27, invited lecture at Institut für Soziologie, Technische Universität Berlin

2022, April 26-27, invited lecture and research visit, Sociology Department, Uppsala University

2020, March 9-10, invited lecture at video analysis workshop, Kings College, London

2020, February 26-28, invited lecture at violence workshop, Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung

2019, December 11-13, invited research visit, social psychology, Keele University

2019, May 20-27, research visit to Roger D. Petersen, political science, MIT

2019, April 30, invited keynote, ‘Bystander roles in peace and conflict’ workshop, Lorentz Center Leiden

2018, May 18, invited lecture on violence, Free University Brussels

2018, May 16, invited lecture on violence and informalization, EHESS, Paris.

2017, May 29-30, invited lecture on video analysis of violence, Institute of Advanced Studies, UvA

Covid-19 Impact to Scientific Productivity

The UvA granted the PhDs in my ERC Group Violence research 7 months of financial support to compensate for health problems, care for family members, and adverse working conditions. While all but one of their theses have been approved/defended, important work I had planned to publish with them is either still under review or in the process of being written.

Appendix: All on-going grants and submitted grants applications of the PI (Funding ID)

Mandatory information (not counted towards page limits)

On-going grants:

<i>Project Title</i>	<i>Funding source</i>	<i>Amount (Euros)</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Role of the PI</i>	<i>Relation to current ERC proposal¹</i>
How do European Police Organizations React to Violent Protests of Non-Institutionalized Groups?	Dutch Policy & Science Organization	€150,000	May 2023–April 2024	Supervision of postdoctoral researcher; co-conducting analyses and co-writing articles	Project uses similar method of video-elicitation interviews and involves and extends contacts with English, French and German policing scholars and police officers
Real Emotion Research	UvA Research Priority Area Grant	€1,250,000	Jan. 2022–Jan. 2027	Supervision of postdoctoral researcher; co-ordinatorship of research programme, responsible for distribution of funding and oversight of funded projects	Project involves video analysis of emotional expressions, which can provide useful input for projects 2-7

Grant applications (Please indicate "None" when applicable):

<i>Project Title</i>	<i>Funding source</i>	<i>Amount (Euros)</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Role of the PI</i>	<i>Relation to current ERC proposal³</i>
None					

¹ Describe clearly any scientific overlap between your ERC application and the on-going grant or grant application.

Section c: Ten years track-record (max. 2 pages)

c.1 Ten publications relevant to the research programme (since 2013)

Myhre Sund H, Weenink D and Rosenkrantz-Lindegaard M (2023) Revisiting the demeanour effect: A video-observational analysis of encounters between law enforcement officers and citizens in Amsterdam. *Policing and Society* currently in press, future <https://doi.org/10.1080/10439463.2023.2216839>

Written together with my PhD student Hans Myhre Sund, our statistical analysis of 78 encounters captured on CCTV footage shows that officers are more likely to treat civilians' 'bad' but lawful behaviours with force. The research programme engages with a similar topic but takes a different methodological approach.

Muhammad, A., Weenink, D. & Mascini, P. 2023. Engineering vengeful effervescence: lynching rituals and religious-political power in Pakistan. *British Journal of Criminology*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azac106>

Co-authored with my PhD student Asif Muhammad, this paper builds on phone camera recordings of lynchings to show how political entrepreneurs arrange lynchings as emotionally charged rituals. It demonstrates the importance of the emotional mode of interacting for understanding violence.

Weenink, D., Tuma, R. & Van Bruchem, M. 2022. How to start a fight? A qualitative video analysis of the trajectories toward violence based on phone-camera recorded fights. *Human Studies* 45: 577-605, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10746-022-09634-6>

I consider this work as a preparatory piece to this proposal. It is one of the very few studies that uses EMCA procedures with drawings of video stills embedded in the transcript to show how transformations in bodily actions can be fruitfully analysed in episodes of interpersonal violence.

Keesman, L.D. & Weenink, D. 2022. Feel it coming: situational turning points in police-civilian encounters, *Historical Social Science* 47: 88-110, <https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.47.2022.04>

Written with my PhD student, this interactional analysis of how police officers try to gain control of civilians by envisioning and projecting lines of action shows the importance of bodily forms of teamwork among officers and of studying the bodily mode of interaction in episodes of interpersonal conflict.

Weenink, D., Dhattiwala, R. & Van der Duin, D. 2021. Circles of peace: a video analysis of situational group formation and third party de-escalatory action in violent incidents. *British Journal of Criminology* 62: 18-36, <https://doi.org/10.1093/bjc/azab042>

Written with my postdoctoral researcher and research assistant, this article points to the importance of third parties as participants in episodes of conflict in public urban space. We provide qualitative analyses of group formation among strangers and use Poisson regression analysis to show that group formation facilitates collective de-escalatory action.

Keesman, L. & Weenink, D. 2020. Bodies and emotions in tense and threatening situations. *Journal of Social Work* 20: 173-92, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1468017318795726>

Written with my PhD candidate, this work offers a novel phenomenological way to understand social workers' experiences with aggression and violence. Our analysis of how people react to tense and threatening situations provides insights into bodily behaviour and emotional expressions that can be used in the multimodal video analyses of the research program.

Mosselman, F., Weenink, D. & Lindegaard, M. 2018. Weapons, body postures, and the quest for dominance in robberies: a qualitative analysis of video footage. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 55: 3-26, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427817706525>

Among the first studies to employ CCTV footage in criminology, this article shows the dramaturgical strategies robbers use to impose their definition of the situation as a robbery. Lacking the transcription tools outlined in this proposal, we struggled to make sense of the video material—challenges that proved fruitful for the proposed research. This work is co-authored with my PhD candidate Floris Mosselman.

Weenink, D. 2015. Contesting dominance and performing badness: a microsociological analysis of the forms, situational asymmetry, and severity of street violence. *Sociological Forum* 30: 83-102, <https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12146>

While this study does not show the sequential pathways towards violence, it provides theoretical grounding for the proposed research as it bridges the gap between a phenomenological approach to violence focused

on perpetrators' understandings and an interactionist approach focused on situational asymmetries. The paper identified two ideal types of violence that appeared differently related to situational asymmetries.

Spaargaren, G., Weenink, D. & Lamers, M. 2016. *Practice Theory and Research: Exploring the Dynamics of Social Life*. Abingdon: Routledge.

This book, which gathers a range of empirical and theoretical contributions, aims to inspire students of social practices. As engaging with aggression and violence is part of the practice and training of police officers, the book will provide useful theoretical insights for projects 3-6 in particular. With increasing citations, it is becoming part of the canon of the practice theories literature.

Weenink, D. 2014. Frenzied attacks. A microsociological analysis of the emotional dynamics of extreme youth violence. *British Journal of Sociology* 65: 411-33, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12088>

This paper provides a theoretical lead for the proposed project with its conceptualization of the emotional state of assailants who engage in frenzied attacks against vulnerable victims. Based on qualitative and statistical analyses of 159 violent incidents from judicial case files, it shows that situational asymmetries (e.g. victims falling down) lead to more brutal outcomes. The proposed research seeks to identify in much more detail how one-sided violence emerges out of interaction sequences. This paper was among the five most prominent publications of the UvA Dept. of Sociology in the period 2013-18.

c.2 Academic Profile (since 2013)

Advancing our understanding of violent interactions is my scientific mission. Most social scientific research fails to see that violence—the noun is misleading—is meaningful, embodied and emotionally charged social interaction. Taking this statement seriously requires new theories and methods. The potential yield—novel insights into how episodes of interpersonal conflict emerge, escalate, defuse and can be prevented—is far-reaching in its significance for both our understanding of human behaviour and for society at large.

My agenda-setting line of research is internationally recognized. I am frequently invited to present my work and to collaborate with renowned scholars. I am also routinely asked to review the work of others by leading journals in the field (see CV).

I have acquired a series of competitive grants that have allowed me to advance scientific understanding in my field. My acquisition of an ERC Consolidator Grant in 2016 to pursue my Group Violence research program gave me the opportunity to supervise a team of PhD students conducting ethnographic studies of how inter-group and intra-group dynamics among police teams, football hooligans, groups of delinquent youth, night-time security staff and vigilantes affect the course and outcome of antagonistic situations. In 2019 I was awarded a research stipend at the *Institute d'études avancées de Paris* to synthesize my research on violence thus far; I am now integrating my findings into a book entitled *The Social Reality of Violence*. My collaboration with UvA psychologists led to a UvA Research Priority Area grant of €1.25 million to foster interdisciplinary research on emotions. Part of the grant will be used to study collective emotions and violent protest. At the beginning of this year, I was awarded a €150,000 grant by the Dutch Police & Science Organization to study how European police forces cope with public disorder arising from anti-government movements.

In 2015, I was elected teacher of the year at the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences at UvA. I was also a member of the departmental education committee and the committee in charge of redesigning the bachelor program in sociology. During this time, I also co-developed a now successful interdisciplinary minor on violence at UvA. Finally, I served as co-director of the Cultural Sociology programme group in 2016 and chaired both the national and departmental committees to prepare for the 2020 national research assessment of Dutch sociology. I am also a board member of the Dutch Sociological Association.

At UvA, I seek to support colleagues in their efforts to deliver high quality teaching and supervision, as seen in my former membership of the departmental education committee and my role as PhD mentor in the Department of Sociology. I enjoy working with and learning from young scholars and have proven experience in supervising research teams. I have supervised over 20 successfully completed master and bachelor theses and 6 doctoral theses. My Group Violence research program comprised a team of five PhD students and two postdoctoral researchers. Despite adverse working conditions during the Covid-19 pandemic, four PhD students have completed or submitted their theses; another will do so in June 2023. In addition, I am supervising three PhD students conducting predominantly quantitative analyses of police-citizen interactions and (the role of bystanders in) gender-based violence.

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