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# How much, Sherlock? Unravelling the price mechanism with a monetary valuation framework.

A case-study on Spanish private detectives.

MSC ECONOMY, RISK AND SOCIETY

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To my family, my classmates Holly, Umika and Michael, Lukas and my LSE professors for showing me the failure of the homo-economicus and that barter never existed.

## Abstract

The notion of prices as central to our daily social life has been partially neglected by modern economic sociologists. The aim of this paper is to bring two bodies of work into conversation with one another to stimulate collective theory building on the price-mechanism. This idea arises from observing that sociology of valuation has forgotten money due to the influence of commensuration and categorical thoughts while sociology of money has been so focused on dismantling neo-classical economics that they have forgotten about prices. By combining both subfields into what I name monetary-valuation framework I argue that money is heterogenous, part of a complex socio-valuation process and can serve as a “social undignifier”.

The empirical research focuses on a little-researched sector: private detectives in Spain. This is a unique sector which enables a deep analysis of the topic given their freedom to set prices and their service-providing role in society. Private detectives are regulated by the Spanish Ministry of Interior (Home Office) under the Law 5/2014 which controls and inspects the sector. To conduct the research, I employed a mixed-method approach involving an online-survey and 10 semi-structured interviews with Spanish detectives from a wide range of professional specialisations and academic backgrounds. I demonstrate that money is understood in different ways depending on the experience leading to a price-mechanism entangled by market positioning and social power. These findings confirm and extend current sociological research on prices. I conclude by discussing how analysing price-mechanisms under the proposed combined framework: monetary-valuation could reduce the theoretical distance between both scholar subfields. In turn, this could help economic sociology in consolidating its academic strength in a small-scale.

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*“It is a peculiar fact that the literature on sociology ... contains so little discussion of the central institution that underlies the market – price”<sup>1</sup> adapted from Douglas North (1997).*

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<sup>1</sup> North originally said, “It is a peculiar fact that the literature on economics, contains so little discussion of the central institution that underlies neoclassical economics - the market.” (1997)

# Introduction

The world has changed. In less than a year people have become scared, locked at home, anxious and trying to be the first ones to acquire the latest mask available on the market. During the last months of COVID-19 everyone is speaking about vaccines, masks, oxygen and prices. People even base the cause of the pandemic on a conspiratorial theory defending that the objective of the new world order is to erode cash payments entirely (Coulter, 2020). Prices are everywhere. In fact, there are few things as social as price.

Still, sociologists have forgotten about prices. Conversely, they are the first thing any microeconomics student learns. Students would simply resolve two simultaneous equations where supply and demand intersect and find out the equilibrium price, a unique point where both suppliers and consumers are satisfied, and which avoids any arbitrage opportunity (Fourcade, 2011a). This basic but strong idea is widely rejected by sociologists who defend that prices are outcomes of social processes not of magical pre-existing laws (White, 2002). However, this rejection was already voiced in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century, by Max Weber and Émile Durkheim, considered among the founders of sociology. They both rejected that prices are the aggregate outcome of “individual preferences and the market mechanism” (Beckert, 2011, p. 3). But sociology has not moved forward with its critique.

Only some contemporary sociologists (Swedberg, 2003; Uzzi & Lancaster, 2004; Zbaracki, 2004; Velthuis, 2005; Fourcade, 2011b) have focused on the crucial role prices play when analysing socio-economic contexts. Zbaracki for example, investigated price setting strategies in a large industrial firm. He demonstrated that the outcome of negotiations between internal groups attribute different meanings to prices and pricing strategies.



More interestingly, the index of the Handbook of Economic Sociology (Smelser & Swedberg, 2005) does not show any single entry for “price”. Those academic papers which do tackle prices, treat them as a “litmus test for its ability to demonstrate the importance of distinctively social dimensions in the most conventional economic practices” (Beckert, 2011, p. 3). This treatment has led to a lack of an over-arching theoretical framework among sociologists due to their focus on dismantling economic theories using sociological tools on specific markets and case studies. This makes sociologists’ theories complementary rather than substitutive to neo-classical analysis (Velthuis, 1999).

To avoid this recurrent train of thought, the aim of this paper is not to provide a sociological analysis of a price mechanism using economic models as a starting point. In order to keep the analysis under a sociological terrain and avoid a purely defensive mode my aim is to demonstrate how by considering sociology of valuation (SVE) and sociology of money (SOM) we can achieve a better understanding of the price mechanism. This aim arises from the observation of an important theoretical gap between both schools of thought which together I claim have the necessary tools for explaining how society shapes prices.

Further, economic sociologists tend to study incommensurable markets, such as market for modern art, academia, nature or wine and unconsciously accept this as their only terrain. Notable exceptions being securities (Baker, 1984) and producer markets (White, 1981) among others. Therefore, I considered exploring an under-researched profession which combines both worlds: private detectives. On one hand they have their own “production” costs such as buying cameras or paying for petrol. On the other hand, their secrecy, information asymmetries and mysterious activity shape their pricing in a unique way. In this way I stand between both the commensurable and incommensurable terrain in an ideal vacuum for research.

The structure of the paper goes as follows. In the next section I explore SOV. Given the lack of a concise valuation theory I focus in-depth on Marion Fourcade's argument on the valuation of nature. Following this, I introduce SOM and explore the idea of money as a social process. Then, the private Spanish detective sector is introduced followed by the methodology, results and analysis from my qualitative study consisting of 10 interviews and a survey. Further, I discuss my results and critically assess how we can improve the understanding of the price mechanism using the proposed monetary-valuation framework.

# Theoretical Framework

## The social process of valuation

### Market mechanisms of value creation

Sociologists have always shared an inherent excitement to understand how society defines, categorizes, measures, compares, values and evaluates situations around. Max Weber, for example, already studied value-relevant activities (Cefai, et al., 2015) while Durkheim claimed that prices could only be understood by analysing social institutions, networks and frameworks of meaning that structure the market and individual decisions (Beckert, 2011).

Given the rise of neoliberalism and influence of market fundamentalism (Somers & Block, 2005) questions about valuation have recently increased scholarly prominence (Lamont, 2012). This increase can be seen by the creation in 2013 of a specialised journal on Valuation Studies (Helgesson & Muniesa, 2013) presented as an “interdisciplinary approach to investigate the technical cultures, the political imaginaries, the historical processes, the methodological problems and the institutional settings”<sup>2</sup> shaping how things are valued.

SVE focuses on the (e)valuation arising from people’s experiences through dialogues, activities or thoughts (Lamont, 2012). It emphasises that the value of a product does not follow a universal law but relies on local cultures and collective behaviours in market fields (Smith, 1989; Zuckermann, 1999). Given its novelty and openness to interdisciplinary dialogue (Cefai, et al., 2015) it is not possible to introduce a unique theoretical framework. For clarity however, value construction mechanisms can be grouped into credentialing, qualification and consecration (Accominotti, 2020).

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<sup>2</sup> <https://valuationstudies.liu.se/>

Credentialing mechanisms shape value by signalling the underlying and often unnoticeable quality which is assumed to be agreed among participants (Accominotti, 2020). In this area sociologists explore ranking systems and their functioning (Carruthers & Halliday, 1998). For example, Sauder and Espeland (2006) focus on how the presence of third parties and acceptance of rankings reshape values and reconstruct the object they measure, such as in academic rankings. Credentialing devices act like “trust devices” by helping customers decide which product to choose (Karpik, 2010). From a more “networking” perspective, DiMaggio (1982) analysed the creation of value via non-subjective factors i.e. economic, organizational networks and their interrelations with symbolic resources. Importantly, uncertainty exists related to the quality, so an accepted consensus is socially constructed on its definition. Its origins can be linked to signalling theory (Spence, 1973).

Qualification devices shape the value of things by setting a criterion for what counts as quality (Accominotti, 2020). Quality differentiation is symbolically constructed (Beckert, 2010) and quality assessment together with classification schemes leads to the valuation of items such as arts, books or academic papers. Products are valued by “judgment devices” (Karpik, 2010) i.e. advertising, reviews, rankings and networks (Dekker, 2016). They are essential for the market to emerge since without them customers would paralyse (Beckert & Rössel, 2013). Competition between these devices is structured by the needs and preferences of customers and institutional and political contexts. These ideas assume that people derive subjective enjoyment and status from knowing and showing that the good they own is highly priced. Some sociologists claim that this feeling can be the main reason for some markets to exist (Velthius, 2003; Beckert, 2010; Karpik, 2010).

Judgment devices might be seen as “foreign to prescription” (Karpik, 2010, p. 44) though an expanded approach suggests that these devices are shaped and strengthened by national cultural repertoires (Lamont, 1992; Lamont & Thévenot, 2000), and comparative institutional perspectives

(Kharchenkova & Velthius, 2017). For example, Velthius (2005) introduced the idea of “pricing scripts” (p. 117) to explain pricing in art galleries. These referred to a “set of routines which function as a cognitive manual” (p. 117) for art-dealers’ pricing decisions. Dealers created their own cognitive rules with which they shaped their prices, such as pricing artists in the same gallery based on the size of their paintings rather than their quality. Velthius expanded on Bourdieu’s idea of symbolic capital (1993) by showing that not only art dealers as “experts or gatekeepers” were creating value but the mere exchange process contributed to the creation of belief in the value of art.

Consecration shapes the value of things by proclaiming the existence in a field of a hierarchy of quality when there are no stable criteria on defining quality (Accominotti, 2020). It is a field-level phenomenon: it acts upon fields and not individuals (Bourdieu, 1993). It does not express that some things are great but that we can differentiate things that are better than others. It creates faith in hierarchy by acting as an antidote to relativism - nothing is worth more than anything else. A classic example is Merton’s “forty-first chair” concept (Merton, 1968, p. 56) of the French Academy which annually chooses 40 scholars to become academically “immortal”. Every year they choose the same amount of people regardless of the overall quality. So, they do not consecrate an individual, but the Academy makes itself look as “above us” by exerting their power to idealise forty people.

Given the lack of a synthesized theory and the subtle theoretical differences among value creation typologies (Accominotti, 2020), I opted for using a specific case-study to clarify how scholars analyse value creation and its relationship to the price-mechanism.

The case is Marion Fourcade’s paper (2011b) where she compares the law suit compensation for the ecological oil spill disasters in France (Amoco Cadiz) and United States (Exon Valdez) and demonstrates that valuations emanate from several institutional conditions and cultural assumptions about the world (Beckert, 2011). This case-study explores how socio-cultural dimensions shape

valuation, performative valuation methods and money as a social commensurator. All three concepts are afterwards reflected in the detectives' case study.

## Cents and Sensibility (Fourcade, 2011b)

The socio-cultural dimensions behind valuation

Fourcade's objective is understanding why the Exxon ecological compensation was valued at 1.025 billion USD after spilling 30,000 tons while the Amoco was only valued at 61 million USD after spilling 227,000 tons.

She focuses on nature since she wants to explore goods which are usually kept out of the sphere of economic exchange because they are not tangible, or moral issues exist in relation to its exchange process (Fourcade, 2011b). These are peculiar goods such as body organs, wild animals or emotions (Berezin, 2005). They can be found in the "market for singularities" given its uncertainty about the value, incommensurability and asymmetric information (Karpik, 2010). She also focuses on understanding a specific quantity, distinguishing her from scholars like Velthuis or Karpik who tend to give an abstract analysis to prices without really tackling a specific amount.

The paper concludes that the substantial difference was possible because in general Americans are more attached to their wilderness i.e. nature and parks, and they understand it as a democratic right of everyone. While the French are more reluctant to value nature and see it more as a "settled" property which belongs to a specific local community. Further, Americans tend to be more comfortable with pricing everything while the French experts clearly stated "putting a price on something that has no price is by nature debasing" (p. 1767). Therefore, Americans ended up expressing the pricelessness of nature by attaching it an extremely high price while French understood that pricelessness means simply no capable price.

The previous is a clear example of how different social systems ascribe a “monetary value to intangible goods such as nature” (p. 1735). This research allows Fourcade to reject the two simple answers given by economists when asked how to measure things i.e. the utility gained (what someone wants to pay is the indicator of the value of something) (Samuelson, 1983) and consumer behaviour.

### Performative valuation methods

Valuation methods are not neutral in their effects. As Callon and McKenzie would say they are performative: they alter certain moral and social arrangements (Callon, 1998; MacKenzie, 2006). Performativity means that the economic-culture is set within the device and the actor performs according to it without fully commanding it (Steiner, 2013).

Fourcade shows how price sacralised nature, converting it into something that is “set apart and surrounded by prohibitions” in the Durkheimian sense (Fourcade, 2011b, p. 1766). Alternatively, insurance premiums shaped the way responsible parenthood was seen in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Zelizer, 1979) or mathematical formulas in financial markets shaped pricing (MacKenzie & Millo, 2003). Similarly, auctions prices reinforced meaning across contemporary art markets (Kharchenkova & Velthuis, 2017).

### Money as a social commensurator

Fourcade argues that people use money to value since it is a social commensurator - a yardstick for measuring worth. Where commensuration refers to the “transformation of different qualities into a common metric” (Espeland & Stevens, 1998, p. 314). By saying this she agrees with the notion of money having the “power to flatten, abstract, and homogenize qualitative different things” in a similar way as a ranking system (Espeland & Sauder, 2007). Money provides a common metric which

allows to create relations between dimensions where value is revealed in the comparison (Espeland & Stevens, 1998).

Putting a price on nature allowed people to value it relative to other things. In a similar way as Marx mentioned that the value of money of “abstract labour” (Marx, 1887, pp. 163-177) hides a range of sociohistorical conditions, Fourcade argues that the valuation process of the abstracted nature stands “for a broad variety of sociohistorical experiences with particular” natural spots (p. 1725). As she clearly states, “if money is one, monetary commensuration (economic valuation) techniques are numerous and varied” (p. 1725) which makes the valuation process extremely contingent and political.

Therefore, when Fourcade aims to understand the empirical cycle of “what goes into valuation methods, what gets constructed and what are the consequences” money goes into it as a preestablished figure. It is already understood as a numerical representation of value – a homogenous category with no social strength.

Fourcade’s focus on classification and commensuration can be linked to the influence of French sociologists like Foucault, Maus, Bourdieu and most important for this, Durkheim (SASE Newsletter, 2016). Her understanding of money as a category could be traced to Durkheim who claimed we cannot think without categories and they are a universality and necessity (Jones, 2012). Categories represent what he called *conscience collective* since they are concepts and collective representations which can only be elaborated by society (ibid.). In the same way as Durkheim presents categories as a “fundamental condition of agreement between minds” (Durkheim, 1912, pp. 627-628) commensuration is presented as a “mental feature of social life” and not a “mere technical process” (Espeland & Stevens, 1998, p. 315).



The idea of homogenous money however is strongly rejected by current SOM which defends a heterogeneous money (Zelizer, 1994; Dodd, 2016). While I only focus on a specific SVE case-study, there is a general tendency for valuation scholars to depart from the idea that money is a socially accepted yardstick and hence homogenous.

By assuming this, SVE fails to account for an important social dimension and limits the understanding of the price-mechanism as I later demonstrate. In the next section I explore the notion of money as social and heterogenous.

## The social process of money

SVE demonstrates that valuation processes are inherently social: society values tangible and intangible things following a process influenced by economic and cultural factors among other.

However, does this analysis consider the essence of money? Explaining valuation without a social money is like building a house without a floor. A crucial part is missing for understanding the price mechanism.

The social life of money notion has not always been the most popular one. In classical thought, money was widely seen as independent of culture given its role as a quantifier. During the late 90s a new academic approach started to acknowledge not only that money is influenced by culture but that culture influences money. This approach views money as heterogeneous and pushes for a theory of money's qualities instead of quantities (Dodd, 2016). This led SOM to focus on money's social effects instead of more "economic-topics" such as inflation (Ingham, 1998). Nevertheless, this research requires Zelizer and Dodd's contemporary social arguments.

Further, most economists defend a more standard notion to modern money based on four assumptions: money is a neutral asocial medium of exchange, it is a single standard backed by the state, it is fungible, and shapes social life by reducing everything to an economic calculation (Bandelj, et al., 2017). They demystify the idea of money which resumes to a common accepted form of counting.

## The corrosive money – classical thinkers

Most classical thinkers saw money as an instrumental rational tool, malevolent and corrosive item. Marx, for example, associated money with “estrangement and commodity fetishism” (Dodd, 2016, p. 273). He claimed money had a contradictory character - a universal expression of exchange versus a more particular commodity role. Money was an autonomous property alienated and external to itself, which gives him value. Just as God has value only because is an alienated man to the world. It symbolises how “things” dominate over “people”. This separated people, distorted them and drained social relations. The objectification of these relations is what made people trust money (ibid.).

In a similar deity God-Christ relationship tone, Nietzsche used money to diminish religion (ibid.). For him, money reduces everyone to its lowest “common denominator” (Dodd, 2016, p. 274). It flattens everything is in contact with and destructs society in a cultural way (Simmel, 2004). Money encourages us to be ethically lax, and it makes all “definitive satisfactions become even rarer” (Simmel, 1991, p. 23).

Similar to Marx’s conception of money as autonomous and Nietzsche’s deity idea, Simmel proposed a theory of “cultural alienation”. Money exists autonomously “and guided by its own laws” (Frisby, 2002, p. 32). Money paints the modern world into an “evenly flat and grey tone” (Zelizer, 1994, p. 2). It develops in us a growingly objective mind (Simmel, 2004) which then becomes the “tragedy” of our culture (Frisby, 2002, p. 110). It becomes an “arithmetic problem” (Zelizer, 1994, p. 6) which promotes an impersonal rational market.

In spite of this pessimistic view Simmel did not see culture as completely subjugated to money. He acknowledged that the economic develops as the “result of more profound valuations and currents of psychological or metaphysical pre-conditions” (Simmel, 2004, p. 56).

He realised there is tension expressed by money in society, but he did not claim that only money causes this tension, making it a potential bilateral relation between money and culture. Money creates distance between the “economic activity” and the “individual colouration” (Simmel, 1991, p. 21) but also works as a social bond creator. Hence, for Simmel it could be either a branch from the flower of culture (Dodd, 2016) or a heartless idea.

Polanyi already introduced the idea of different monies: special and general purpose (1957). Special was used in culturally-embedded systems with a limited choice of goods, such as kinship while the general served for everything in the market society. This idea might resemble a heterogeneous money; however, it is widely refuted by some modern sociologists such as Zelizer since it implies a frivolous money exists which complies with economic ideas. For Zelizer all money is heterogeneous and culturally embedded - all monies are shaped from the inside by social and cultural practices (Dodd, 2016).

## Social and alive money – modern thinkers

We currently encounter economic sociologists who are fighting to win against the battle of economic imperialism (Velthuis, 1999), in this case in money. Zelizer started by tearing apart the idea of fungibility (Morduch, 2017) and arguing that the notion of “money as a single, interchangeable impersonal instrument” (Zelizer, 1994, p. 1) fails to realise the many ways in which people earmark, personalise and organise their money.

She demonstrated this argument by using the notion of earmarking – a practice of monetary differentiation by which we achieve relational work. This work refers to how we create, maintain and even dissolve social-economic relations by looking for matches among different social ties categories, transactions and media of exchange (Bandelj, 2016; Zelizer, 2012). Money is not the same when used to demarcate a sexual relation than a family relation i.e. spending 50 euros in a first date is not the same as using that money for buying a present for your mum. The meaning of those euros varies considerably depending on the context and purpose (Zelizer, 2005).

Zelizer demonstrates that money touches so many life aspects that analysing the meanings we attach to our different “monies” i.e. Zelizer’s idea of heterogenous money, enables us to understand much more than just supply and demand but what is understandable, regrettable, admirable and what is a need or a luxury (Morduch, 2017). It serves as “information” on social norms and relations inside a household.

Further - just as Simmel already did not see a unique society - he acknowledged that society changes, and saw it as a process (Dodd, 2016), Zelizer separates society in several circuits of commerce (Zelizer, 2004). In this way she expands the analysis from the “marking” of money to the production of money (Dodd, 2016). Circuits are designed around shared economic activities done via economic relations between individuals (Zelizer, 2004). Each circuit incorporates and deals with its own money.

They have well-defined boundaries and connections between members are based on shared meanings (Steiner, 2013). Zelizer defends that money can enter personal relationships without corrupting them (2005). For her, money is clearly neither culturally neutral nor socially anonymous. It can corrupt values but in the same way as values can corrupt money.

These views may nevertheless be critiqued by their general tendency to vagueness and idealism. As Fine and Lapavistas said (2000), Zelizer lacks a clear definition of money and the market and she uses an inductive approach in purposely chosen exceptional cases – insurance and adoption. The inductive approach might intentionally lead her to find what she was looking for a (Morse & Mitchman, 2002) and to exaggerate the heterogeneity in money and markets. They also resent that she neglected general theories such as Marxist political economy.

However, Zelizer does define markets (2011, p. 384) and while her money definition is expansive and not concrete – that is the whole point of money. There is not a concrete money. Money is a process which changes when it is in contact with several circuits. Trying to critique these theories with the vagueness point is ironic since that is the whole idea of a process or a metaphor (Dodd, 2016). By trying to find a general theory or a definition the essence is lost.

Further, Dodd defends the idea that money is a process not a thing (Dodd, 2016). He reminds us that whatever form money takes, it keeps its social life (Bandelj, et al., 2017). By counterarguing classical and modern thinkers he provides a future oriented analysis of prospective monies and the increase of “community oriented” ones such as the Brixton pound. With a special focus on Bitcoin, he claims that money can never stop being social since even something which was expressly designed to reject any kind of social force and authority (Nakamoto, 2008) has ended up falling in the same “social” trap. This makes us think of money as a verb, as a process not as a fixed noun, cold and inhuman.

In spite of the thorough analysis of money and the clear expression of it as a social process prices are neglected. Current money scholars have been so focused on critiquing neo-classical economic conceptions of money that they have left the pricing concept intact. In fact, in *The Social Life of Money* (Dodd, 2016) price is only mentioned 56 times (a book of 394 pages). The same thing Simmel feared would happen to us because of quantification i.e. we would reduce our capacities to “appreciate qualitative aspects of value” (ibid., p.137) might have happen to some scholars in a reverse way. The excessive focus on proving qualitative aspects usually rejected by economists has made money scholars forget about the quantity behind products.

My objective is not providing a full answer to why it has been bypassed since neither the space nor the empirical data enables me to provide that answer. However, in the following case study I explore how private detectives decide the price of their investigations incorporating both valuation and social money ideas. In doing this I indicate the importance of unifying these two scholarly debates and perhaps shedding some light on the wide academic gap. As I later show, a price is a process. A process which is not only valued but is inherently social.

## Summary and research questions

I have previously explained the way in which valuation studies forget about the social life of money since it is understood as a social commensurator while current money studies focus too much on its social life and forget about the valuation process that goes along with it. This impedes our comprehensive understanding of the price-mechanism.

By proposing a monetary-valuation framework the aim of the paper is to answer:

1. How do private detectives shape their prices?
2. Can we understand valuation processes while ignoring money?
3. Can we speak of money as a social process while ignoring valuation processes?

For clarification, I have summarised SVE as follows.

SVE – based on Fourcade’s case

Why do we value?

Whether or not money is used as yardstick is influenced by many factors such as legal, quantification and religion. It is a collective representation and practice. Still money is homogeneous.

How do we value?

Valuation is a complex social process

Influenced by: politics, governments, values, culture, legal systems ...

What are the consequences?

Valuation has consequences on how we see nature afterwards such as sacrilization, consecration, raise awareness and responsibility.

Money as a homogeneous item

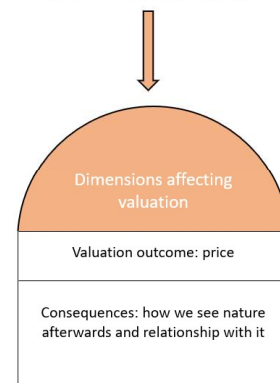


FIGURE 1: SUMMARY SVE FRAMEWORK



## Case study – Spanish private detectives

### Suitability of the case

The private detective price-mechanism has not been previously researched given the high secrecy surrounding the profession and the difficulty accessing the sector. Due to personal motives and a slightly more open attitude in the sector I had the opportunity of exploring it. This academic novelty plus their freedom to choose prices in such a socially embedded profession makes it ideal for combining SOV and SOM theoretical frameworks in a real-life setting.

By starting from a newly researched profession both frameworks can be better combined since there is no previous premise of what ought to be understood. I consider this crucial when analysing new theoretical perspectives.

### Role and current status of the profession in Spain

Spanish detectives constitute a key element of many judicial procedures since they can provide legitimate evidence in trials for extramarital affairs, money laundering and copyright infringements among others. When accepting an investigation, a detective must ensure that a legitimate and honest interest is presented by the client (Cortés, 2019). A detective should not accept a job for mere curiosity, financial reward or family need (apdpe, 2020).

The type of investigations has barely changed since the 20<sup>th</sup> century. They are legitimized to investigate private crimes (libel and defamation), semi-private crimes (family custody, aggressions etc.) and public crimes not included in the Penal Code. These should be transferred to the public police (Barrientos, 2020).

The profession is highly regulated by the Private Security Law 5/2014 (Infovest, 2015). To become a detective, aspirants must be above 18 years old and have an undergraduate degree in a related area. The government can inspect their offices whenever they require (see Appendix 1), and they must register every single case in a registry-book which should be sent to the government. Detectives who commit an infringement are publicly listed resembling a panoptic discipline; the closer we are watched the better we behave (Crimmins James, 2020).

Perhaps this strict regulatory framework explains the small size of the sector – around 5000 licenses have been granted but only 1400 are registered as active i.e. working currently as detectives (Arias, 2014). Official statistics report that 30% of detectives are female (Piñeiro, 2018).

The common *modus operandi* is via collaborations across the country. The majority work as self-entrepreneurs and there are just a few large detective companies.

Employees	Companies
0	99
1	30
2 to 5	31
6 to 10	1
11 to 13	2
31 or more	2
Total	165

FIGURE 2: DATA GATHERED FROM SURVEY

In spite of the previous state control they are free to set any price they want. Their price is decided in a one-to-one relationship between the detective and client. Nowadays, few professions have such an open pricing system, which makes the private detective field a unique system shaped by culture, reputation and experience.

# Methodology

## Research design and method

A case-study research design was utilised to conduct the investigation (Tashakkori & Teddle, 2003). This design was chosen to enable an in-depth study of the price-mechanism. The method used to conduct the research was a mixed-method approach: the core component is qualitative, and the supplemental component is quantitative. I chose this method to strengthen my conclusions, enhance the credibility and the findings utility (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). I consider this design and method highly appropriate for an in-depth exploration given their flexibility and usefulness for measuring beliefs and opinions (Lamont, et al., 2014) and the lack of previous research.

## Data collection and samples

Data was collected using semi-structured interviews (qualitative) and online survey (quantitative) between May and August 2020.

The interviews consisted on 4 sections and 33 questions (see Appendix 2). To reduce social desirability error i.e. respondents answer questions in a way which is viewed favourably by others, interviewers were not communicated the different sections (Barriball & While, 1994). Given the nature of the semi-structured interviews not all respondents were asked the same questions since they were adapted based on their experience and attitude. Still, I made sure a general approach was maintained to avoid a huge divergence between interviews.

Each interview lasted around one hour. In accordance with current COVID-19 regulations, all interviews were conducted via an online platform. They were also recorded, after receiving the acceptance of the respondent. Note-taking was avoided to make sure the respondent felt listened and to minimise any distraction (Howitt, 2019). The interview was not forced to conclude at any

specific moment – only when required by the respondent – and interviewers were always encouraged to speak as much as they wished to reduce any potential bias or uncomfortable feeling (Bryman, 2016). The questions were flexible, enabling respondents to expand where they wanted and to express their freely feelings.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen since they counteract the potential poor response rates of the survey (Austin, 1981), and they are suited for exploration of attitudes and values which was my main objective. Interviews also provide the opportunity of evaluating the validity of answers by watching non-verbal indicators (Gordon, 1975). This was important since sometimes it was difficult to understand respondents due to external factors such as noises or low-quality internet.

To reinforce my findings, I used an anonymous online-survey consisting of 40 questions. To reduce non-response error respondents were continuously made aware of the confidentiality. Several questions were used from likert, to open-end and closed-end questions to diminish method bias (Podsakoff, et al., 2012). The link to the survey was posted in social-media enabling me to efficiently collect more information from a larger number of respondents (247).

The population used was detectives registered in Spain. For the interviews I used a convenience sampling strategy. Following the recommendations from the National Centre for Research Methods (Baker & Edwards, 2012) I interviewed 10 detectives. My objective was achieving an equitable share between gender and experience (see Appendix 3). The sample for the online survey was non-probabilistic since respondents self-selected themselves.

## Data analysis

The data gathered from interviews was analysed using a thematic analysis approach. All interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated to English (see Appendix 6). Data collected from the survey was analysed using descriptive statistics.

I used an inductive approach when developing the thematic analysis. This allowed the data to determine the themes since the theoretical framework did not provide a clear idea of specific themes to search for. Instead, I developed the framework after gathering the data (Vaismoradi, et al., 2013).

To analyse both the explicit content and the assumptions underlying the data I used a mixed semantic-latent approach. I consider this appropriate since private detectives tend to be quite sceptical of giving information and try to hide some of their meanings (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

Qualitative approaches are often criticised for their low level of scientific rigour and creditability which is associated to more accepted quantitative methods (Vaismoradi, et al., 2013). This concern is quite present in my thematic analysis given that as a researcher it is complex to avoid certain bias when interpreting data. Since I could not access alternative interpretations from other researchers, I aimed to enhance my results credibility by comparing them with those gathered from the quantitative method.

## Research bias and limitations

Several errors had to be minimized. The survey was prone to selection error since participants self-selected themselves. Only those with a strong interest might have ended up answering. I tried to minimise this by increasing the time-frame of the survey. I uploaded it in May to reduce the time pressure on respondents.

Interviews might inevitably lead to acquiescence bias i.e. respondent's tendency to agree with everything. To overcome this, I developed questions which would give the impression that there was no correct answer (Podsakoff, et al., 2012). I carefully avoided leading questions and I removed order effects (giving questions in a specific order which varies between interviews). Similarly, to avoid memory bias error I diminished the recall periods mentioned in the questions (Bryman, 2016). Considering these potential errors, I developed a pilot interview which I tested with few respondents. Importantly, my results cannot be generalised. Given the high context-specificity i.e. the results present subjective data which reflects the beliefs, opinions and experiences of my ten respondents, and that my objective was not generalizing (Carminati, 2018). Further the use of a non-random sample for the online survey makes the results non-generalisable. In fact, detectives who do not use social networks are not represented. Given the lack of research on this profession I consider the chosen research design a good start which can serve to open up further exploration and debates in spite of its lack of generalisability.

### Ethical considerations

The research was completed under the London School of Economics and Political Science Ethics Review procedures (see Appendix 4). Participants were informed of the purpose and on how the data would be treated prior to the research. I ensured confidentiality in all moments and I have kept the names anonymous.

## Results and analysis

Emergent themes were identified after examining the transcripts by breaking them into small units of content and submitting them to descriptive treatment (Sparker, 2005). I discerned which themes were most prevalent in the interviews and consequently important for the respondents in relation to their professional activities. I present the results below:

Theme	Theme Count
Pricing strategies	28
Self-image	21
Generations	21
Detectives social networking	19
Attitudes towards regulatory framework	17
Passion and vocation for job	16
Professional fellowship	11
Female detective's position	8
Independence	5
Dress code and habits	3

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF THEMATIC ANALYSIS

What follows is an expansion of the themes into qualitative results inferred from the interview responses. Given the high recurrence of pricing-strategies I decided to focus the research on them. Results will be further examined in the discussion section.



## Two circuits of commerce – experts and novices

After interviewing all respondents, a clear separation emerged between the experienced - more than 20 years working [P1, P2, P4, P6, P8, P9 and P10] and the novices [P3, P5 and P7]. Experienced detectives claim to have more motivation, knowledge and attitude - *“there is an abysmal difference. An 80% or even more aren’t sufficiently prepared for this. Neither in knowledge, nor motivation nor attitude. It's something else”* [P2].

This separation is not only symbolic. It is reflected in social networks and embodied in a name. Experienced detectives call themselves ‘dinosaurs’ “because we’re powerful in the profession” and have their own WhatsApp groups [P4] resembling Simmel’s notion of insiders and outsiders (1906). Also reflected by their use of “them” and “us” or “the young ones” to clearly demarcate themselves – *“now the young ones come and charge 10 an hour!”* [P2].

Conversely, the novice generation is described as less sexist, more socially open and not as *“ghetto as before”* [P8]. They possess higher technical abilities; *“the old ones are missing a lot from the digital part and do not understand that the new people can find many things in just three steps”* [P5] but lack “traditional” capabilities such as street surveillance or role-playing.

I argue that this demarcation creates two *circuits of commerce* in the profession, which present different personalities and attitudes toward clients and life and shapes their understanding of money. The experienced circuit is elegant, knows *“how to drink a good whiskey and how to live”* [P2]. For them money is not just a medium for paying, it is a symbolic representation of their elegance and professional superiority. In a similar way as Velthius’ art dealers followed a semiotic socialization (2003, p. 184) when developing prices, experienced detectives create their own mental accounting schemes, which make them feel powerful enough to consecrate their clients. It serves as a language, a way of signaling each other and their clients about their professional status.

Conversely, novice detectives feel less powerful. Most interviewees emphasised how they started in the profession in the midst of the economic crisis and they had to work to survive. Thus, money embodies a survival tone inside their circuit.

### Pricing variations inside circuits

Regardless of their experience, 71% of respondents admitted not to follow a fixed price system - charging the same price per hour or day (see figures below). From my interviews I could infer a price range from 10 euros per hour up to 100 depending on expertise. However different motives shape their decision to vary.

Similar to Polanyi's idea, detectives shape their understanding and use of money depending on their experience and purpose (1957). I separate both *monies* as: pseudo-general and special purpose.

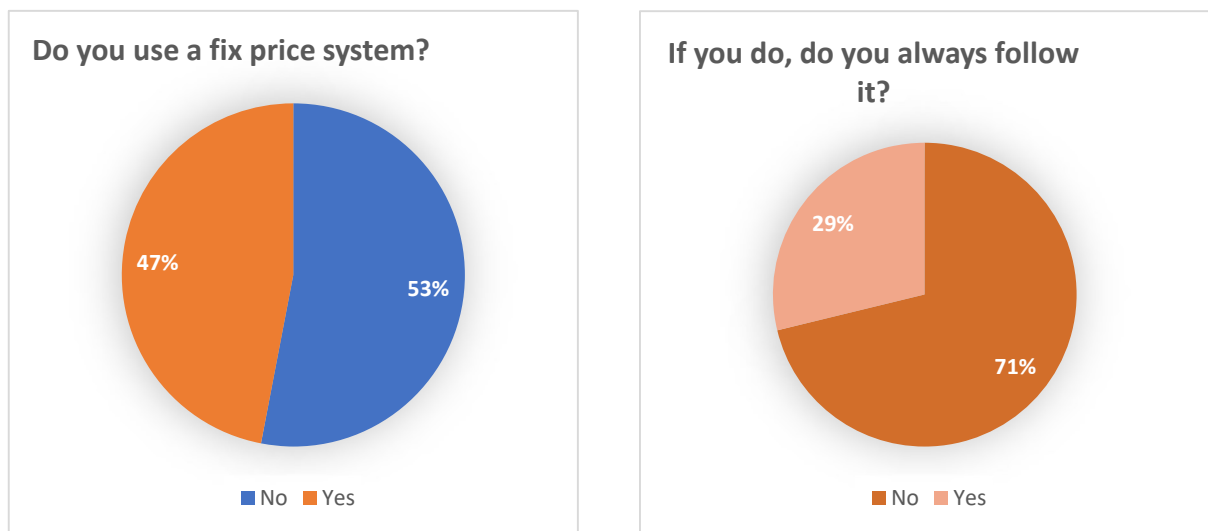


FIGURE 3-4: DATA GATHERED FROM SURVEY

## Pseudo-general purpose money – the novices

Novice detectives seem to decide their prices based on the free market – believing that magical laws influenced by competition forces will lead to an equilibrium price, *“of course every office is a different world and there are different prices. There are also some similarities, but this is free competition, after all”* [P3]. This is remarked by the experienced ones who claim prices have been reduced because the *“young people come and charge at 10 euros! By charging whatever the free market - or however they call it – states, they discredit the profession”* [P1].

Money for the novices appears to act as a corrosive item by developing in them an objective mind which encourages an impersonal market. P7 showed how she calculated prices: *“I meet with a client we set up the strategy and I come up with a price. I calculate the costs, usually around 40% or 60%. I apply a formula and it gives me a result, a mathematical operation. Everything that deviates from that will be charged separately for say x euros per day or project”*. Reflecting the arithmetic problem Zelizer warns us of and an alienation from the client and the profession, as Marx said, money is seen as an “instrumental tool” – in this case a tool for survival.

Further, novices acknowledge adapting their prices to the client, however they avoid any kind of personal reason, and emphasise that it depends on the kind of client. Perhaps their lack of social adaptation of their prices reflects how money dominates over the detectives - *“the capacity of a company is not the same as that of a normal citizen. The services you provide to a company require a way of working different to the one required by a citizen”* [P3]. Similarly, when asked whether he would adapt prices to a richer customer P5 clearly stated *“It's worth the same but instead of selling you 3 days I will try to sell you 6 [laughs], but the hour is still the same.”*

## Special money – the dinosaurs

The circuit of experienced detectives is enmeshed in a complex network of status, reputation, kinship and power. Money is understood as a strong social tool which not only serves for pricing but enables them to reflect who they are.

Experienced detectives feel powerful in the position given their long years working and their idea that they have learned the profession in the *“correct way, as a real trade”* [P2]. This higher level enables them to act as the 41 academics of Merton, they are powerful enough to decide who should pay more or less. They become a sort of “deity” or consecrating profession.

This superiority feeling enables them to freely decide who pays more or less based on their “supposed” financial situation, if a customer *“has worse economic situations I would charge them less”* [P1]. Conversely, *“there are customers of stratospheric levels and they are very demanding people. These people have to be priced according to how they are”* [P1].

Detectives do not know their client’s financial capacity but they “feel and observe” it: *“this is the first thing I analyse from the client. I notice the appearance and from there I decide. You see what you can or can't price”* [P2]. This reflects almost a dramaturgical situation, where clients and detectives are interpreting their own roles (Goffman, 1959).

Further, not only do they feel powerful to decide what a client deserves due to its appearance and image, but they feel themselves as some reformists who can decide what is fair or not. For example, a detective presented the case of an old woman who had been caring for her since childhood and now the woman’s ex-husband did not want to pay the pension. She decided to charge the client much less because of such an unfair situation and the client answered by bringing her ham every Christmas to thank her for helping “regaining life” [P8]. Similarly, some parents who were trying to

find their missing daughter were charged only 1000 and even received a refund of 200 euros once she appeared because “they had already suffered enough” [P9].

Additionally, their status in the profession enables them to use money as a way of thanking people and giving them debts back, like a gift-economy (Mauss, 2002), where you pay in favours or in this case with free jobs. Detective P9 admitted doing an investigation for free because she owed to a client: *“there was a lady who had cleaned my house my whole life and her son was involved in drugs and I made her a superb investigation for zero euros”*.

This special money shares the notion of kinship money introduced by Polanyi, such as when an interviewee admitted doing a free investigation for her cousin because she was suffering due to a divorce. Similarly, 20% of respondents agreed to adapting the price if the client was a friend or family (see Appendix 5).

Moreover, money is used as a way of reflecting their image inside the profession. As P2 stated you cannot charge a client who has helicopters and private planes just 40 euros if not they will think *“you are a bad professional”*. However, the fact that money is social does not imply that it forgets its economic nature. Detectives admit lowering the price if the client is recurrent, *“a customer who comes to me every month I give him a different treatment because even at the hairdresser's they do it”* [P8]. Approximating the economic notion of long-term suppliers receiving better conditions. Thus, money does not have to be dichotomized as “rational” or “irrational”. Instead money can be positioned in the middle, as an ambiguous entity that stands between economic activities and social bonds (Simmel, 2004).

## Enriching the price-mechanism

Two ways of valuing their investigations and understanding money are presented. By following an SVE approach it could be concluded that: experienced detectives follow a socially shaped valuation-scheme while novice detectives comply the neo-classical ideas of pricing strategies given their calculative and cold-minded strategy.

Equally, an analysis from a SOM perspective would conclude that there are two monies being used in each circuit and hence the neo-classical approach to money cannot be sustained.

However, by combining both under what I name a “monetary-valuation framework” the understanding of the detectives’ price-mechanism is enriched by arguing that: money is heterogenous, valuation processes are socially embedded, and money can act as a *social undignifier*.

In the following section I develop this framework by drawing from the initial theoretical ideas and the analysis. For clarity, the structure is based on Fourcade’s cycle of “what goes into valuation methods, what gets constructed and what are the consequences” (2011b).

## Discussion

What goes into valuation methods?

In Fourcade's study, money was presented as a collectively accepted yardstick for measuring tangible and intangible items. Both lawsuits took money for granted as the accepted medium even though the process of deciding a specific amount is enmeshed in a complex valuation scheme (2011b).

When taking a closer look at the detectives' case-study a slight difference can be observed. Money enters the cycle as a heterogeneous entity. Each circuit treats money differently according to their expertise. Reflecting the idea that there is no "single, uniform, generalised money but multiple monies" (Zelizer, 1994). The experienced interpret money as a tool for demarcating their power while the novices interpret it as a survival tool.

It could arguably be said that there is a flat and colourless money represented by the novices while only the experienced detectives have managed to escape from the commodity fetishism. This would support the existence of the neo-classical economics version of money. However, even when money is being used as a rational instrument it is not "free from social constraints but is another type of socially created currency, subject to particular networks of social relations and its own set of values and norms" (Zelizer, 1994, p. 19). The fact that they are interpreting money in such a way is not because money in itself is a "cold thing" but because their need for surviving in the sector is currently stronger than their power to demarcate their image. Therefore, their general money is also enmeshed in a circuit, but one which is more modern, technical and which prioritises necessity. Hence, it looks neutral and asocial on the surface, but it does not escape from the cultural and social practices (Dodd, 2016).

However, this interpretation cannot be understood under SVE terrain, since money is seen as an accepted medium of exchange, a social commensurator. I do not deny money serves for quantifying qualities, but that it does more than that. Thereon, money is being *interpreted* by detectives, making it a heterogeneous idea.

What gets constructed?

Thus far, the input to our valuation framework is defined as a heterogeneous money. But what happens with the valuation process i.e. the actual process of deciding the price? Spanish private detectives reflect a complex socially embedded valuation process – specially the experienced generations.

Using SVE, we can understand how different social dimensions influence a monetary outcome. Prices hide a multidimensional array of social dimensions. They are not just a numerical representation of the market needs. In the same way as, contingent valuation was culturally accepted in the United States, private detectives accept taking several socio-conditions into account for calculating their price.

Detectives use their reputation, license number and media coverage as judgement devices and subsequent valuation dimensions. For example, the lower the license number the higher the seniority and experience. They signal themselves in the market via their webpages, newspaper and media appearances. Karpik (2010) states these devices come as prescriptions however in this service it is evident that institutions such as governments and their own associations play a key role in influencing them. Only the government is authorised to give them the license number and regional associations annually award the “most honourable and experienced” detective. So, the market order is strongly supported by an underlying institutional system.



Novice detectives guide themselves by a more strategic and rational approach which does not seem to match with the ideas presented by SVE but resembles more an economics explanation of the price-mechanism. Look at the costs, expenses, necessity and willingness to pay from your customer and you will find the equilibrium price. But are they not taking any dimension into account and acting as rational homoeconomicus?

They do take other dimensions into account, but for them the economic dimension is stronger. This occurs because junior detectives associate the profession to a more technical world. Experienced detectives tend to speak more about traditional surveillance tools, such as street surveillance, postbox reading or role-playing. While new detectives associate it more to IT solutions, social media and modern GPS. Drawing from a well-known concept from Max Weber (Jenkins, 2000), perhaps novice detectives are becoming colder in the new “technical” world while expert detectives represent a more traditional view of society. This *disentanchment* of the novice does not mean they are just cold rational agents. They just weight more the economic dimensions, sort of an instrumental rationality where completing the investigation at a cost-effective way is their objective. It does not indicate they do not follow a social valuation system because they are more strategically-oriented. They are strategically-oriented because they are socially evaluating.

Valuation theories however risk being too abstract. The fact of being based on the notion of socially constructed value makes them lose some reality. Not everything in the detective’s valuation process is socially constructed. Most respondents mentioned some “objective” costs – for example petrol and cameras. These costs are considered not because of socially constructed interpretations but because they need them.

What are the consequences?

Hitherto, money has entered the framework heterogeneously, it is valued in a social mechanism and it exists as a number. This number and the process behind affects the way in which people judge the priced service and interact with it.

The valuation methods used by detectives “perform” i.e. actively shape (MacKenzie, 2006) its moral judgment. In other words, the investigation is morally accepted once it is priced and sold in the market. SVE tends to analyse performativity from a positive stand – value sacralises or “consecrates”. For example, pricing abstract art gives value to it or by paying an adoption we “value” the kid.

However, not all value performativities are positive since sometimes it can reinforce or strengthen someone’s low status position. To clarify this idea, I use Simmel’s unequal pricing notion which he developed by critiquing the idea of just-pricing. An idea mentioned in Aquinas’s argument (Aquinas, 2000) and in Thompson’s analysis of the moral economy (Veblen, 2009)

Basically, for Simmel, paying the same led to an unfair price system since the poor would pay proportionally more than the rich. Instead, people should strive for a system of unequal pricing. An unequal price takes into account “the capacity of consumers to pay and embraces relative equality” (Simmel, 2004, pp. 318-319). This idea is reflected in my case-study: detectives charge poor clients less for the same investigation. In doing this, they give value to the investigation but at the same time they “de-value” or “undignify” their customers. The price is performing in a negative way – it is exacerbating a client’s poor position.

Simmel’s notion has been critiqued for being an “ideal social formation” (Dodd, 2016, p. 328) resembling a utopian concept. Yet, I demonstrate that it can take place in reality as shown by detectives actively discriminating based on how poor they see their clients.

Further, economists could counterargue by claiming that it is just a discriminatory pricing-strategy i.e. students or elderly receiving a special price. However, it is not a group discount based on their social demographic status, but it is a personalised price based on the detective's judgment. For example, an interviewee admitted pricing a service to a client who "couldn't even afford eating" because giving it for free would be "dishonouring him" [P3]. It should be noted that this is an unconscious act, I do not claim that detectives proactively dishonour clients, rather, they unconsciously cause this by adapting their prices so much.

#### A combined framework: Monetary-valuation perspective

Several pitfalls arise if we use only either of the theoretical frameworks. By uniquely using SVE money cannot be understood as heterogenous since the analysis would have fallen in the trap of categorizing everything: either money serves as a yardstick or not. Instead the previous analysis demonstrates that money is not just a yardstick, but two forms of money arise inside the detective circuits.

Additionally, SVE enables us to understand that their price-mechanism is a socially embedded process, while SOM studies do not explore this notion. By using only SOM, the analysis would have concluded after winning the battle against economics by claiming money is heterogenous.

Therefore, the previous discussion calls for the use of both frameworks. The combined framework enables shows that money can act as a social undignifier since this money is heterogenous, and part of a social valuation-scheme.

By adopting this framework (figure 4) sociology can enrich the understanding of price-mechanisms of any market, without falling in a myopic analysis. By approaching the three questions from both sides' sociology can provide a deeper analysis in a systematic way which further facilitates comparison across markets.

This framework does not provide a definite answer, but it does help to enrich our understanding from a sociological perspective and helps sociology moving from the basic critique of prices are not an outcome of magical pre-existing laws.

Monetary-valuation – based on detectives’ case

Why do we value?

Whether or not money is used as yardstick is influenced by many factors such as legal, quantification, religion and others. It is a collective representation and practice. **However money is heterogenous and social.**

How do we value?

Valuation is a complex social process. Influenced by: politics, governments, values, culture, legal systems ...

What are the consequences?

Valuation has consequences on how we see the item/service: sacrilization, consecration, raise awareness and responsibility **and how we (un)dignify**

Money as a **heterogenous** process

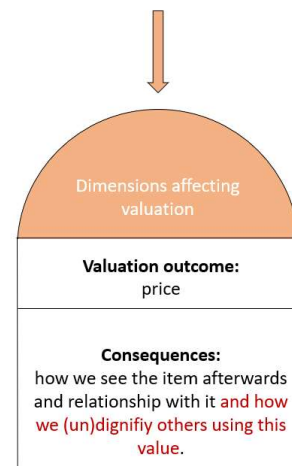


FIGURE 4: SUMMARY MONETARY-VALUATION FRAMEWORK

Is this all that matters?

Our understanding of the price-mechanism from the input to the output has been enriched. Nevertheless, several theoretical limitations should be acknowledged.

Firstly, my analysis is very restricted to two scholarly debates which naturally limits its scope. Despite its strong economic sociologist stand I have omitted potential interpretations, a crucial one being the pioneering theory of new economic sociology: embeddedness - the idea that behaviours and institutions are shaped by “ongoing social relations” (Granovetter, 1985, p. 3).

A classic example of the exploration of embeddedness is Uzzi and Lancaster’s (2004) analysis of the law market. They demonstrated that prices are lower for corporate clients with continuing ties to law firm’s *ceteris paribus*. This occurred since the relation had developed trust over time and reciprocity enabling them to reach better agreements. However, it has also been demonstrated that trust can negatively affect a transaction and can reverse the benefits of embeddedness (Uzzi 1997).

There are several occasions previously mentioned where private detectives altered their prices based on the relationship they had with their clients. Though, I considered their objective to (un)dignify them stronger than the relationship. Let alone the fact that most of the times they do not know the customer so well and when they do, they emphasise more how pity they feel for them rather than their close relationship. Personal relations shape prices up to an extent but they are no panacea for the price-mechanism.

Further, this concept used to have a strong influence at the beginning of new economic sociology but it has been so overused that Granovetter admits it has become “almost meaningless, stretched to mean almost anything, so that it therefore means nothing” (Krippner, et al., 2004, p. 113).

Hence, embeddedness should just be seen as a conceptual umbrella which can tell us the connections between economic activity and social, political, institutional and historical (ibid.).

Additionally, claiming that social structure can explain anything would just be falling in the trap of “social structural absolutism” (Zelizer, 1988, p. 629). Following a higher constructivist approach Actor Network Theory (ANT) would argue that “personal networks have no privilege nor prominence” (Latour, 1990, p. 3) since they only consider human individuals while ANT accounts “for the very essence of societies and natures” (ibid, p.2). They rebuild social theory out of networks by claiming that focusing on personal relations does not reflect our constructivist world in an accurate way. Given the strong critiques, I considered my analysis to be more sustained by other scholar fields.

In addition, a critical empirical limitation should be acknowledged. There is an intrinsic bias in my research. Most of my data is primary so I might have exerted a big influence in the interpretation of it. It is very important to consider the formation of myself as an evaluator when analysing these topics (Lamont, 2012).

To diminish this effect, I conducted my research in an inductive way – I first completed the interviews and then used the thematic analysis to decide which area was sociologically relevant and essential. I asked about identity, networks, prices and general ideas to avoid focusing on just one topic which a priori I would have myself judged as important.

Nevertheless, considering these limitations I still contemplate that my data gives a realistic image of the sector and its valuation-system. By understanding money as heterogenous and the social dimensions of valuation techniques I have expanded the understanding of the pricing-mechanism of such a peculiar sector under a monetary-valuation framework.

## Conclusion

Metaphorically speaking, money, valuation and prices are like an apple. You can separate the seeds, pulp and peel and still eat it but in doing so you miss the bigger picture.

The analysis of the previous case study reflects how the interaction of SOV and SOM enables us to have richer sociological understanding of the price-mechanism. The use of a case-study approach facilitates the replicability of the study to further understand other pricing processes from different markets.

Not only peculiar markets should be analysed, but any price-mechanism from the most socially accepted one, such as supermarket prices to less socially accepted ones such as prostitution, would benefit from being analysed from a monetary-valuation perspective. The framework is presented as an easy-tool to use and apply, either following the diagram approach or simply by considering the three questions from a combined perspective. It also encourages to consider all costs to avoid falling in an extreme constructivist version.

This research has enabled us to see that prices are not an entire social construction and are not a magical equilibrium point. They are a thoughtful process reflecting both the homo economicus and the sociological homo apertus (Callon, 1998).

The paper has followed a classical approach where an initial theoretical framework was drawn from both scholar debates and then applied to an in-depth case-study. This simple structure enables to focus the research on the importance of starting a dialogue between these two disciplines which seem to speak the same language but unfortunately in two different worlds.

I hope that the monetary-valuation framework can serve as a useful starting point for having such unique sociological perspectives speaking to each other. This requires future research which I aim to pursue in my potential future Ph.D. This could involve a deeper analysis of the detective's price mechanism such as an ethnographic study, to discern better their attitudes and thoughts when pricing.

Conversely, a similar research could be applied to a non-service profession such as factories to triangulate this framework in completely different scenes. This would strengthen it by showing its weaknesses but also improving its strengths from an empirical and theoretical perspective. In the end, the chosen market enjoys a unique free price-mechanism. Hence, the replicability of my study might be limited to similar exclusive markets. Acknowledging and testing this crucial limitation is important for the success of the monetary-valuation framework, which might have to be adapted for different markets.

In the future, other theories could be added such as sociology of regulation. This would help in pointing out the importance of regulatory institutions such as when detectives shape their image based on their granted license and awards.

Not only would it help sociology of money to strengthen its position against the imperialistic position of economics on the idea of a neutral, asocial money but it would allow sociology of valuation to partially unify their scholar debates by having one point of analysis in common.

Not many social sciences are able to explore such ideas and reject the sober dictum that "whether you like it or whether you do not, money is money and that is all there is about it," (Stein, 1936). By combining the SVE and SOM literatures, pricing – a concept that is inherently social – can be brought to the forefront of sociological research.



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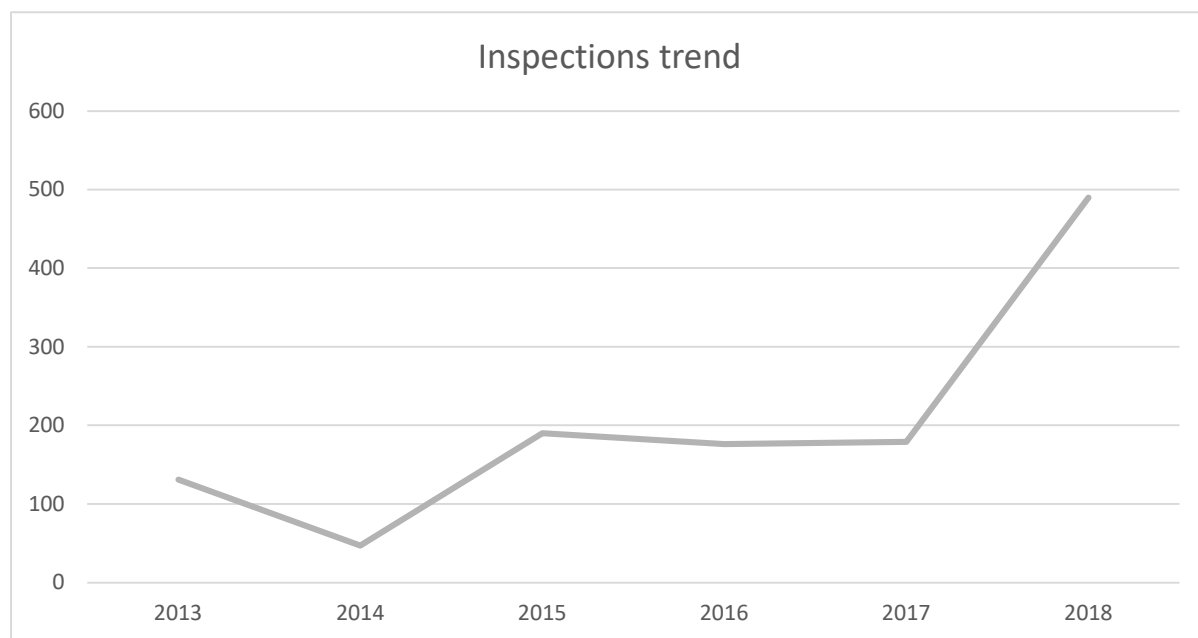
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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: INSPECTIONS CONDUCTED ON DETECTIVE OFFICES



**Source:** (Piñeiro, 2019)

## APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEWS

### Section 1: Overview

1. Gender/age?
2. Family
3. How long have you been working as a private detective?
4. Have you worked on anything else before?
5. What did you study to be a detective?
6. What college and university did you study at?
7. How come you decided to be a detective?
8. Have you ever thought about changing careers?
9. Does anyone in your family work in a related area?
10. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?

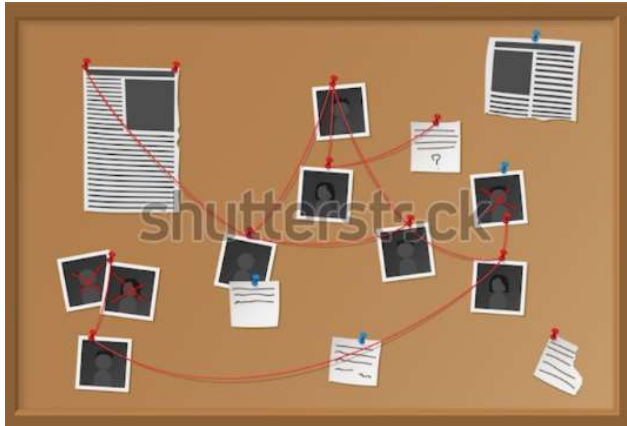
### Section 2: Identity

11. How would you describe yourself?
12. How would you describe an ideal detective?
13. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?
14. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?
15. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?
16. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?
17. What image do you think best represents your profession?

A.



B.



C.



### Section 3: Relationships

18. Is any detective your best friend?
19. Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?
20. Do you interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?
21. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?
22. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?
23. Do you attend many conferences or events together?
24. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?
25. Would you charge for these jobs differently?
26. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?



#### **Section 4: Prices and obstacles**

- 27. How do you decide the price of your research?
- 28. In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?
- 29. Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?
- 30. Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?
- 31. How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)
- 32. Do you see many differences between previous and new detectives?
- 33. Do you think there are obstacles for females the profession?

### APPENDIX 3: PARTICIPANTS

Interviewee Ps	Gender	Age	Years in profession	Professional background
1	Male	60	40	Detective all his professional life and university professor since 2009.
2	Male	63	35	Detective all his professional life and co-founded Spanish association of detectives.
3	Male	33	2	He has worked in the security sector all his life but recently became a detective.
4	Male	58	34	Detective all his professional life, usually appears in tv and participates in a weekly radio programme.
5	Female	50	3	She studied journalism and then criminology. She considers herself a "detective journalist". First person to produce reports for the guild and founder of national detective's female association.
6	Female	52	25	Detective all her professional life and co-owner of a well-known female detective office.
7	Female	44	2	She has worked all her life in investigative marketing but recently became a detective. She is pioneer in a new way of agency of detectives as "business consultants".
8	Female	58	34	Detective all his professional life and one of the most well-known detectives in Spain. She was prosecuted by the police due to some political scandals with high level politicians. Everything ended being resolved.
9	Male	55	30	Detective all his professional life. Very famous in Spain due to his media engagement (tv, radio) and owner of one of the biggest detective family detectives' company.
10	Male	50	34	Detective all his professional life. Very famous and experienced detective. Appears in many tv programmes and has international reputation.

## **APPENDIX 4: CONSENT FORM**

### **How much, Sherlock? Unravelling the price mechanism with a monetary-valuation framework**

**Name of researcher**

Department of Sociology, LSE

### **Information for participants**

Thank you for considering participating in this study which will take place from May to August. This information sheet outlines the purpose of the study and provides a description of your involvement and rights as a participant, if you agree to take part.

#### **1. What is the research about?**

Prices have not been hugely researched by sociologists, however they are a crucial part of our daily lives. In order to improve our sociological understanding of them this research aims to analyse the private detective pricing mechanism by combining sociology of valuation and sociology of money. In this research, I will use qualitative research methods by interviewing Spanish private detectives and by using an online survey.

#### **2. Do I have to take part?**

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. You do not have to take part if you do not want to. If you do decide to take part I will ask you to sign a consent form which you can sign and return in advance of the interview or sign at the meeting.

#### **3. What will my involvement be?**

You will be asked to take part in an interview about your experience in the profession. It should take approximately between 45 minutes and 1 hour.

#### **4. How do I withdraw from the study?**

You can withdraw from the study at any point without having to give a reason. If any questions during the interview make you feel uncomfortable, you do not have to answer them. Withdrawing from the study will have no effect on you. If you withdraw from the study we will not retain the information you have given thus far, unless you are happy for us to do so.

#### **5. What will my information be used for?**

I will use the collected information for a research project and master dissertation.

#### **6. Will my taking part and my data be kept confidential? Will it be anonymised?**

The records from this study will be kept as confidential as possible. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to the files and any audio tapes. Your data will be anonymised – your name will not be used in any reports or publications resulting from the study.<sup>3</sup> All digital files, transcripts and summaries will be given codes

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<sup>3</sup> There are some circumstances in which you may – with their agreement – name your participants in your research; however, caution should be exercised, and you are advised to discuss this with either your supervisor or the REC via [research.ethics@lse.ac.uk](mailto:research.ethics@lse.ac.uk)

and stored separately from any names or other direct identification of participants. Any hard copies of research information will be kept in locked files at all times.

**Limits to confidentiality:** confidentiality will be maintained as far as it is possible, unless you tell us something which implies that you or someone you mention might be in significant danger of harm and unable to act for themselves; in this case, we may have to inform the relevant agencies of this, but we would discuss this with you first.

#### **8. Who has reviewed this study?**

This study has undergone ethics review in accordance with the LSE Research Ethics Policy and Procedure.<sup>4</sup>

#### **9. Data Protection Privacy Notice**

The LSE Research Privacy Policy can be found at: <https://info.lse.ac.uk/staff/divisions/Secretarys-Division/Assets/Documents/Information-Records-Management/Privacy-Notice-for-Research-v1.1.pdf>

The legal basis used to process your personal data will be Legitimate interests. The legal basis used to process special category personal data (e.g. data that reveals racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, health, sex life or sexual orientation, genetic or biometric data) will be for scientific and historical research or statistical purposes.

To request a copy of the data held about you please contact: [glpd.info.rights@lse.ac.uk](mailto:glpd.info.rights@lse.ac.uk)

#### **10. What if I have a question or complaint?**

If you have any questions regarding this study please contact the researcher, \_\_\_\_\_, on \_\_\_\_\_.

If you have any concerns or complaints regarding the conduct of this research, please contact the LSE Research Governance Manager via [research.ethics@lse.ac.uk](mailto:research.ethics@lse.ac.uk).

If you are happy to take part in this study, please sign the consent sheet attached

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<sup>4</sup> Research ethics review must be completed and approved before you undertake any data collection. Details of the LSE Research Ethics Policy and Procedure can be found at: <https://info.lse.ac.uk/staff/divisions/research-and-innovation/research/research-ethics/research-ethics>

## CONSENT FORM

### How much Sherlock? Unravelling the price mechanism with a monetary-valuation framework.

[Name of researcher]

#### PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH STUDY IS VOLUNTARY

I have read and understood the study information dated [DD/MM/YY], or it has been read to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.	YES / NO
I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and that I can withdraw from the study at any time up until XXX, without having to give a reason.	YES / NO
I agree to the interview being audio recorded	YES / NO
I agree to maintain the confidentiality of the focus group discussions	YES/NO
I understand that the information I provide will be used for <i>my dissertation</i> and that the information will be anonymised.	YES / NO
I agree that my (anonymised) information can be quoted in research outputs.	YES / NO
I agree that my real name can be used for quotes.	YES / NO
I agree to joint copyright of the [specify the data] to [name of researcher].	YES / NO
I understand that any personal information that can identify me – such as my name, address, will be kept confidential and not shared with anyone	YES / NO
I give permission for the (anonymised) information I provide to be deposited in a data archive so that it may be used for future research.	YES / NO

Please retain a copy of this consent form.

Participant name:

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Interviewer name:

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

For information please contact: \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX 5: SURVEY ANSWER ON REASONS FOR VARYING PRICES



## APPENDIX 6: ENGLISH TRANSCRIPTS AND THEMATIC ANALYSIS CODE FORMING

### Interview 1:

Private research professor at Malaga university and private detective

#### Section 1: Overview

**34. Sex/age?**

60 years old

**35. Family**

**36. How long have you been working as a private detective?**

From the age of 23 he studied – all his life. 40 years.

**37. Have you worked on anything else before?**

Some jobs like I still have now, but not always private detective.

**38. What did you study to be a detective?**

In the complutense, the bridge course of the bachelor's degree in the complutense.

**39. What college and university did you study at?**

Schools in Malaga, schools of children of military.

**40. How come you decided to be a detective?**

I wanted to be all my life. Military father, I'm a very curious person. Concern, restless about profession. Wishing there was a way to become a detective. Once cou was finished, selectivity had no way to do it unless you had connections in the sub-delegation of the government. Then I studied law and I already saw that there was access to the profession and then I went to Madrid. I studied in Madrid. A vocation from a young age.

A restless person had two options police or studying, but I don't like policing at all, you need to follow orders and concerns. I wanted a liberal, independent profession. I don't want a boss. In my whole life I've worked for a human being.

**41. Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

No not at all. I'm totally devoted to the action.

**42. Does anyone in your family work in a related area?**

No one, every brother has something different.

**43. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?**

#### Section 2: Identity

**44. How would you describe yourself?**

This one is tough... an independent person, who has no bosses and who relies only on himself.

**45. How would you describe an ideal detective?**

An ideal detective should have no ideology. It has its autonomy and freedom, but there is too much political attachment in many detectives.... Which I don't have --- there are a lot of professionals who wanted to become police, military and with frustration came to this. There's too much ideology in this profession. By removing the ideology, the ideal detective is upright.

**46. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

I don't have many contacts with the world of the profession, I'm not associated with any organization. I don't know if there are people who look like me. I'm a teacher and I do see some students who look like me, who has done the detective master's degree and I find many points in common with me, but I don't really know anyone. I'm a different professional.

**47. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

They are subject to a hierarchy and guidelines that guide them, they work in a criminal public sphere and detectives have another scope.

**48. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

As I say to my students, you have to blend in with the environment. If you go to the beach you have to go dressed as so, if you go to an elegant place then you need to be dressed up in an elegant way. We have to go according to the circumstance.

**49. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

Not that I know of.

**50. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

(explaining photos) Not the first one because it's very much associated with office work. The second is organization and organization is vital. The third one I don't understand it very well but well the second one I like better.

### Section 3: Relationships

1. **Is any detective your best friend?**  
No....
2. **Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?**  
Not much to be honest.
3. **Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**  
Not much to be honest. I'm on some WhatsApp groups, but there's not much interaction. Sometimes some who don't have as much experience ask for help and I help. Of course I have contact with my students.... I have to talk to my students. Almost everyone since 2009 who starts working as a detective in this city has been my student. We talk, but everything on a professional tone.
4. **Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**  
No, not at all.
5. **Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**  
Not really... it may sound bad, but no I don't. I've had to look inside myself, but advice to other people I don't really need it.
6. **Do you attend many conferences or events together?**  
Not really. I attended a conference a long time ago, but I saw that it wasn't something for me. I'm very independent and I didn't feel represented with what was going on there, so I decided to stop being my enrolled in the association and I stopped going to those sites. I'm not against it, it's more I'm in favor of them socializing, but I'm not in favor personally. Everything I heard and saw... I don't know what it was exactly, but I could sense something. There is an important ideological burden, and because of any specific reason, but I don't want to be linked to any ideology.
7. **Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**  
Yes, of course a lot. I have been at work for many years and there are professionals from Madrid, Barcelona from other places and all collaborate. If I have to do something elsewhere and I can't go there, then I ask.
8. **Would you charge for these jobs differently?**  
Yes, there is a specified price for such jobs.
9. **Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**  
I have no debts to anyone. Everything must be paid off at the moment, you should not owe anything to anyone and I'm very clear about that.  
I might do favours to those who don't have so much experience and also with end clients. If there are customers who can't pay, we need to help them. But debts never, I think you have to do everything with prestige and pay it off.

### Section 4: Prices

1. **How do you decide the price of your research?**  
In the year 1987, I went to the last congress. In this congress they set up a minimum prices that were in pesetas mm 7000. This would be about 42 euros. We're talking about 1987!  
Nowadays there are many professionals who charge considerably less, they have prices below these 42 euros. In 30 years not only have they not gone up that they have gone down.  
  
I can cope with this and stay in the market... for a very obvious reason... I have been on the market for many years and I already have a client portfolio. They are not exorbitant prices, but people admit them, and I tell you I have a very broad and good client portfolio.
2. **In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?**  
Well...there are customers of stratospheric levels and they are very demanding people. These people have to be priced according to how they are. Because when you find a customer like this, these guys who even have planes and helicopters... if you tell him that you charge 40 euros, they will think you're a bad professional.  
  
It's a curious thing. You always need to make sure you do a magnificent job. If a customer has worse economic situations, I charge them less and actually these types of people are the ones who are the most worried and they want to make sure they will pay you. These clients get very overwhelmed and always tell you "look I pay you this small amount every week".  
  
In many cases these people are those who "se quitan de comer", and of course you don't want this to happen... you know they are really struggling and sacrificing... and of course you're not going to tell them that you do it for free either since it seems you are dishonoring/humiliating them. If you can do your job in a way to make them pay less but still you do a good job and your client is happy, then you need to do so.



3. **Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?**

4. **Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?**

No, not at all. I can't even say what other people charge. Sometimes my students ask me and I do tell them what I charge and advise them a little, but I don't know about other colleagues.

5. **How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)**

My life to be honest has not changed anything, at all, zero. For many people, life has been paralyzed, but not for me. In the year 87 they put minimum prices, about 42 years... It will be 30 years.... But in Malaga you still have these prices and they have not changed...

6. **Differences**

There's an abysmal difference. I am a teacher since 2009 ... and around an 80% or even more are sufficiently prepared for this. Neither in knowledge, nor motivation nor attitude. It's something else. People of my day have a different point of view and people today come with another background of knowledge.

When I was 23 years old, I was just as knowledgeable as I am now. I was a person who was worth on my own, I had no help from anyone... today many professionals do not have a vocation and are driven by an economic vocation.

They think it's going to be an easy job, and with money, but the reality is that it is not possible. I let myself get carried away by my soul. Without a vocation there is no human way to carry this profession. Without that vocation then jobs go wrong ... and there are many detectives doomed to failure.

You have to have a specific kind of mood and it can't just be the money. We are not like a taxi driver who puts the meter on and goes to work. Attitude, encouragement, passion is essential for success. Then there's the money. But if you're just guided by the money... a good job is done when inside the soul you want not because the soul guides you to have more money.

#### Observations:

Son of military, old "school" of detectives. He took the bridge course. Few customers, but a lot of money. A lone wolf inside the herd. Is it considered different – is it? He doesn't trust the new generation much.

#### Interview 2:

##### Section 1: General information

1. **Sex/age?**

63 years old

2. **Familia**

3. **How long have you been working as a private detective?**

Since '81

4. **Have you worked on anything else before?**

I sold cars – I made loads of money selling cars. Especially the second-hand ones! I've paused in between and done jobs, but always to something related.

5. **What did you study to be a detective?**

I did what had to be done, apprenticeship, learning next to a professional. Then I saw that I could do a course and I did the course and I took the second-best grade an 8.4

6. **What college and university did you study at?**

San José de Calasanz and Alcalá de Henares University

7. **How come you decided to be a detective?**

Well, the books of ... and the movies of. That mystery, that passion, that way of life. You have to be a pleasure-seeking (vividor).

8. **Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

Look, I've done interviews and I've never been asked this! No no, what would I be if I wasn't a detective? I can't do anything! I see people picking up boxes and I say uff that pain! No no, I've never thought about it.

9. **Does anyone in your family work in a related area?**

No, mother died when I was 13 and my father went blind. Some friends are guardia civiles, but nothing in the realm. Some security, but not really anyone.

**10. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?**

Of course, but I'd change a lot of things and start sooner. I'd do things differently. I'd correct some things I've done; I would change them.

**Section 2: Identity**

**11. How would you describe yourself?**

A living, free and passionate about work and who likes women. Curious, observer.

**12. How would you describe an ideal detective?**

Observer, who drinks good alcohol, a good whiskey and connoisseur. Like the character in the book (search for book).

**13. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

Some are, but few... some of them look alike, but nowadays there is nothing so similar. They don't know anything, and you can't go on like that. The profession has been lost a lot, so I don't go to many congresses anymore!

They only listen when there is interest, when there is a politician or interest behind. If they don't listen and want to shut us up like the new law, they give you which gives you a "private security" card. We're not private security, we're detectives. I used to be very proud and you were very glamorous to be a detective. You'd go to the places and everyone was talking to you, they invited you, they wanted to hear from you, be your friend, but now they're hiding!

Now sometimes I'm even ashamed to say I'm a detective! Anyone can receive this card and become a detective and earn some money. But no, no, that's not being a detective!

The university, the degrees all that is a lie, it's a fake factory of diplomas! Now you pay extra and get an extra title! What's that? The detective profession is learned as a trade, working hand by hand beside an experienced detective and spending hours and hours.

Is it like the story I had with a guardia civil who asked me: who is a criminologist? And I was like: someone who studies? Someone who is multifaceted? He told me someone who lives off criminology!

Now any university does degrees, even distance degrees! That's not being a detective!

**14. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

Absolutely everything! A lot, very much - if they go and ask for issues, they reject them according to what the law says. They tell you the penal code says blablabla and then they do nothing except when they get a tip.

Sometimes some customers come with cases because they are fed up of asking the police and most times these cases end up being ignored. Sometimes I receive kidnappings and I must do something. That's the nature of the detective. I don't wonder if I can, or I look at the codes and look for excuses. Something inside me tells me to do it!

**15. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

Yes, depending on the environment. I always dress according to the environment.

**16. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

(you don't understand question, everyone gets nervous.) Before I answer I have to clarify... picture? And it says if good book... > curious, can it be because it is linked to an ideology?

**17. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

B – a research cork.

**Section 3: Relationships**

**18. Is any detective your best friend?**

Friends yes, but not always. Some five or four, but well it also depends on the moment.

**19. Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?**

If sometimes, but not much since here in Santander there is not much. Sometimes with the people of Mallorca, but mostly I go once a year to Barcelona. For eight years. To the "calcotada" and there we do meet. It's a private event. We meet a few, talk and tell each other things about the profession. And that fills you up, sharing moments and ideas.

**20. Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**

Me if very much... we have a WhatsApp group where we talk about some things. But they kick me out of all of them! Haha just like Facebook, I have several Facebooks and they're kicking me out for what I say! But yes, we have several groups where we share many things.

**21. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**

Yes, of course, it's inevitable! Of course, of course!

**22. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**

If you always advice. That's critical, helping each other. Very fundamental.

**23. Do you attend many conferences or events together?**

Stop attending years ago because there's so much nonsense. I don't like that atmosphere much anymore and the times I've gone they get scared when they listen to me but once everything is over, they sneak into the bathroom telling me that very well said!

I tell them the profession is missing out! These new rules that with the title you can be a detective! Everything's missing! And that's not it, we have to stand up and part of the problem is us. That we have allowed this to happen, with these new laws and facilities!

**24. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**

Yes, it's very common. Depends on where you are, but you usually send jobs to each other.

**25. Would you charge for these jobs differently?**

Yes of course. They are charged differently, after all, both of you have to eat so you need to share the price.

**26. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**

Yes, I do favours, but sometimes other people do not consider them as favours and don't plan on returning the favour. If I can help, I will do so, maybe not a full job, but you help them finding things.

#### Section 4: Prices

**27. How do you decide the price of your research?**

Well we have the price report the adpde in 1987 where they specified the price at around 40 euros per hour and I sometimes use it as a reference, but it depends since now I just accept investigations which I find interesting. I can charge 600 euros a day, or 60 euros an hour. It depends on how many people work on it or the type of work.

**28. In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?**

Well, that's the first thing you notice when you talk to the client, you notice the baggage and from there you decide. You see what you can or can't price. I already say 15000 euros and 12,000 in advance and if you don't want then goodbye. You have to be firm, and I always ask in advance. Sometimes customers can cheat on you, even sometimes some colleagues have cheated.

**29. Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?**

**30. Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?**

As an example, but not a reference. If I see that they are charging 80 for a specific job then I know I can charge that or even more. But not as a reference!

**31. How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)**

Well, not much, I'm telling you, they tried to fix, the prices in the 1987. The cause was not the crisis, but rather the guild itself!

Now the young people come out and charge at 10 an hour! And so it can't be. They stay a few years and disappear. But if you can charge whatever, as they call it the "free market" then they discredit the profession.

You can't have young guys who set up their own small business, at their mother's house, with a second-hand camera and their sister's computer! They do make a webpage that freaks you out, but of course that's not a detective! A detective has elegance, drinks a good whiskey and knows how to live. You don't charge 10 euros an hour.

Like the problem of mutuas – I get examples of people working at 10 euros an hour for many mutuas! Of course, they laugh later! They even make discounts!

**32. Differences between old detectives and new ones.**

**33. Obstacles women?**

Not in our profession! None at all! You only have one disadvantage: women have more trouble pissing in the car during surveillance, but they don't... Not at all. There's a lot of female detectives! What's more, there's been a lifetime and sometimes they have more qualities than we do! There's a lot of women!

### **34. Ideology**

#### **Observations:**

Up to 600 euros a day! About 70 euros an hour

The problem has been the guild

New laws – big difference between the detectives before and those of now!

The whiksey, the women. A lifer, but lonely!

They stay with you or little and then assemble their own empresita

You have to observe, analyze, better than a psychologist

Prices – you don't have to lose your dignity. I've never haggled. Always with dignity that is the most important thing and you have to know how much you can charge, that shows.

Shall I melt the apde?

Not aware of lack of female detectives

Very critical with new generation, but after all he learned as "apprentice, auxiliary" and then made bridge course... criticizes that today all universities offer "title". The guild itself is carrying the profession – a little fanciful and fantastic and above all a lifer and sexist. Good detective.

#### **Interview 3:**

Detectives in Alicante, but works a lot in Madrid

#### **Section 1: Overview**

**1. Sex/age?**

33 Years, the age of Christ

**2. How long have you been working as a private detective?**

Not much just a year and six months

**3. Have you worked on anything else before?**

Security, private security eh operations...

**4. What did you study to be a detective?**

A non-regulated training course that is of the ministry of the interior of 180 credits which is considered a diploma. If not you can study criminology or the famous...what used to be a "cycle" within the university but well anyway a "diplomatura". There are 3 years of criminology and then the last year you can make public, or private detective or some justice.

**5. Where**

University of Miguel Hernandez through the crimina center. Crimina is the center that exploits it and which is supported by Miguel Hernandez university because it is required by the law. I went to the school called angels in Alicante and I have also been in St. John Christ peace and Llois high school.

**6. How come you decided to be a detective?**

Well my main hobby and my training activities and my field of work is after all related to the world of security. So being a private detective is related to the world of security, it is one more branch which I have obtained after some training and right now I am exploiting it.

**7. Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

No... although covid has been a turning point, but of course, although I can practice in any area of the world of security: private, teaching or operational.

Maybe related to investigation but not detective.... but I would change to other areas of security such as intelligence or operatives. This is the advantage of being so multifaceted. You can choose among several alternatives, but always inside the security world.

**8. Does anyone in your family work in a related area?**

Security? In public or private security? In public well... I have a brother who is a firefighter, but I have no connections...well I have a cousin who is a Guardia Civil, but he is a cousin... he's my cousin's husband... I don't know if it that counts. There is no reason that has made me be represented by them, because I will do myself. I think I've been more always seeking out for justice in that regard.

**9. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?**

I don't know maybe we'd have to take a second chance for other things and see what else there is in life...answering with coherence and logic... but I think I don't know. I would have tried other alternatives as well, but I think I still like the area.

**Section 2: Identity**

**10. How would you describe yourself?**

Geek [laughs] how I would describe myself? I am answering myself with the same question to keep thinking eh good... if it has to be related to this area...well I am a freak then...

I'm lucky enough that I'm still studying, I keep training myself. The 80 per cent is self-taught and the rest are non-regulated workshops and other are quasi regulated because they are associated to university departments.

We could say that being a freak and a passionate makes me stand out in the profession. Then I am stubborn, persevering, positive, assertive, problem-solver which probably comes from the realm of security.

I am a very empathetic person who also rather...I don't know if I'm talking responsibility and answering to your question or I am going to far....

**Don't worry it is a semi-structured interview so you can answer whatever you want. I'm not looking for anything specific. Everyone answers what they want.**

Well, I really like to be wrong and learn from my mistakes... I like to be told good and bad things. I have the ability to understand or position myself in the shoes of others and see the same situation with different prisms...I could tell you a lot of things, but another thing is whether it is a true or a lie.

I am also sometimes a clumsy and a mess, but within my chaos ... it's not all positive... we like to always say the positive things since the negative things are a bit ... but well within my chaos I also survive.

**11. How would you describe an ideal detective?**

uffff.... here I am gonna exaggerate a bit...for me a private detective should be super diligent and observant... just like this I'm going to answer part of myself.

I think he has to be a very qualified person but with formations that are extra, alien... that are not usually easily found such as source management, nonverbal communication-type training, typologies, detection of lies. Apart of being trained in surveillance and technical material such as cameras or knowledge of a processor all that kind of stuff... Uh... it has to be a person who knows how to interview.... well you learn that in source management... not interrogations because we don't do, but we do do interviews.

We are not psychologists and we can't say to the person being investigated "hey investigated fill in this survey to see how you are" but we have to know how to draw patterns, know how to persuade that person, get information...

I think an ideal detective has to be trained in all these kinds of cases. We are very hybrid... we work on several things while other such as the state forces have everything much more departmentalized and structure for example law enforcement.

**12. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

No... and neither I look similar to them. I mean, in the end this is like everything isn't it? Each person has his own father and his mother, but I firmly believe... I am also convinced... that the guild has mutated many years ago and the guild core components I think are far from changing and visioning the new future.

I'm going to make it easier for you, you're in London for example, there the ability of the state to provide students benefit is very important when it comes to their people studying such as with cybersecurity... Cyber... (whatever you want to name with this prefix) and the culture there or even the American.. it is very important because in the end they are bringing things towards their nations and in order to do this you need tools and culture. Spain is a long way from having a strong security culture.

I think I am referring more to the "intelligence brand" side or the "nation of a brand". In Spain the brand is still a very new concept not like in countries such as France. France has been an economic intelligence for many years because it is important that a detective knows how to deal with such tools and that the training is arduous, is supported by a state entity. We have no tools for students. and it could be very interesting and important for the empowerment of a country's brand.

When working with certain companies it is good to know what data to provide them, what kind of companies are valid...apart from these basic things you have to master what is legal and all this kind of terminologies... that you can offer these services to companies in your own nation and you don't have to hire companies from other nations or even if it's based in Spain behind there is a foreign component.

As an example, imagine a company whose job is obtaining information for companies and then you find it the people controlling this company is actually people working for the MI5 or the CIA. It is very good that these people have very well baggage but maybe it would be better if we would use our own national people.

**13. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

Legally and as a personality.... Uh... legally of course we cannot work in many areas specially the civil law as a procedural guarantee. There are some nuances because you can actually touch the criminal realm... you can investigate a crime until it is discovered as a crime... but until it is discovered that it is a crime it is not a crime, so you can investigate it.

In the criminal sphere the police have a broader scope but in the civil sphere it is us who have a larger scope. I always say that the key difference really between them and us... is that they have more compartmentalized everything...we could maybe be considered slightly similar to the investigative police or guardia civil. Although the investigative police have jurisdiction in judicial aspects such as terrorism issues, but we are hybrids in that sense... we can work on the information department or judicialization... the judicial police are going to die in a professional way of speaking We won't. Maybe yes and maybe not.

So I think it has similarities, but they have it more compartmentalized since it is more regulated and those that are dedicated to "policia jurada", well there are several of them such as surveillance and in that sense we can do everything while they are very specialized in a specific task.

The biggest difference is legislation because in the end as a state representant they represent the citizens' rights while we go as third parties so we cannot be representatives of these rights under any convention.

**14. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

I try to mimic myself...as you can see right now... but it depends on the moment and on where I go, but well I'm one of those who have clothes in the trunk. You have to change, mimic putting clothes in the trunk that is required inside the operating device.

**15. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

any symbols? Could you be a little more specific?

some drawing... Object?

Well, look at my profile picture... something maybe about Spiderman like the cartoon. It's perfect... You've made me think... and maybe that's the intuition of why I chose that profile picture. I am speaking about the movie where they all come from different eras, right? In this case I have the profile picture from the year 1900...but the action is placed in a more modern time than it is... the detective's activity in Spain is old, but we are in a modern era and we need to modernize the profession.

**16. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

I would like to understand the third picture [laughs]...are like a hierarchy mmm three prizes the first, second and third but what about the first picture? Is it a meeting?

**what your imagination sees... I can't influence.**

Well then it is clear that image b. The third seems more like competitiveness which can also be said to be true.

I like it, but as long as it refers to competitiveness. If you see it from the point of view of improving your quality to be hired, then maybe this one also. I work a lot with collaborations which is actually 98% of my jobs. I think the b is already past and the "a" I think is more kind of management. Let's leave it in c... because I think I could give it a simile for my point of view of improving quality.

### Section 3: Relationships

**10. Is any detective your best friend?**

No... they are my work colleagues...

**11. Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?**

No.. here in Madrid we organize meetups. If that's good enough for you. In Madrid we do meet, but we usually don't collaborate with each other. Sometimes, but we're not people we pull at each other. My people are different and then these people I meet are others, but they are not my best friends...I don't tell them my secrets.

**12. Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**

Laughter... Yes... I have six telegram channels. 3 of them are in intelligence, then another one is a general group and then I have created a specific group for professional detectives, beacons and sentences. Then I also have my own WhatsApp group. I'm very active in social media!

**13. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**

To a very low extent... but it's inevitable because you sometimes spend many hours together, so you share some small things. I come from the security world, so I am much more wary of my information.

**14. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**

Of course. It's enriching to see other points of view

**15. Do you attend many conferences or events together?**

many? we have few

**well, do you attend some congresses?**

Yes! I'm everywhere

**16. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**

I've already told you... 98% is collaborative

**17. Would you charge for these jobs differently?**

Yes... of course every office is a different world and there are different prices. Well there's something more or less similar, but this is free competition, after all.

**18. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**

No... uh.. I would rephrase that question. Do you do favors?

I would say yes I do favours but not "jobs". One thing is a favour and another thing a "job", a monetary exchange. A favour is like finding some small information but the moment it becomes a "contraprestacion" (monetary exchange) then no.

### Section 4: Prices

**7. How do you decide the price of your research?**

You analyse the market and in the end the experience gives you clues about how the system is working and you see how people and colleagues are working... then it will all depend on the type of work. If you require that the job goes through different canons, then this will be priced differently. It won't be paid as something ordinary.

**8. In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?**

It should be like this... the capacity of a company is not the same as that of a normal citizen... I think that's important because... the services you provide to a company requires a way of working than that required by a different citizen... it's not the same as what an individual citizen asks for... it's my opinion.

**9. Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?**

**10. Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?**

I think I would say yes... because in the end we are all human beings... no matter what you do, I don't think there are colleagues who charge 300 euros an hour... and if there was, I would have already copied them!

I think by logic you need to do so.... you observe other prices and then you somehow adapt to the market... I don't think you say look I'm going to adapt it and I'm going to put 60 euros an hour.... even if you don't do it on purpose to copy you end up in the market and you end up competing... in the end you have to look at the prices of others and compete.

**11. How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)**

I don't know... perhaps in the pandemic... maybe some colleagues have been affected but not in my case...

**12. New old difference**

Well.... I would say there is a difference... our older generations struggled more at the beginning. Nowadays we all have much more information available and in the end that is understood as power. However, after some time you face reality and come back to earth.

More than difference I see a complement... it's very good... besides, I'm reflected in the past... our parents, our grandparents lived in worse conditions that will be more complicated than those of now and perhaps that is a very good contribution.

Of course, this question is a bit complicated because it is not the same the person who comes young and gets in that those of us who have been working for a long or time and we know how the situation is. If you've been in labour world for years and you've been surviving alone for many years it is different than if you just finish university. Maybe this could be a bit similar to the previous detectives who worked really hard to survive. The ones that come out straight from university like yourself you think you are gonna "eat" the world but then you eventually face reality.

**13. Obstacles**

I don't think so... and if there is, we need to get rid of them.

**because nothing I'm done**

Well, what did you think was wrong? Not bad?

**Very well!**

a different way?

**if each person answers differently.**

Well I think it's not a guild where you should be closed minded, but you still get very surprised and you find people with a very closed mind. You have to be an open-minded person, there are some people who are more opened or other like me who live in a bubble. You live in something that you enjoy and the professional and the personal spheres come together, and I think it's important because there are people who are closed in person and open at work. For example, everything I've acquired in my professional life I've tried to apply to improve myself and exploit myself in the personal realm.

**Observations:**

Young boy, not so much passion for detective. More passion for private security and cyber intelligence. You don't seem to know much about the "ball" of the "dinosaurs." A lonely young wolf.

**Interview 4:**

**Section 1: Overview**

**1. Sex/age?**

58 Years old

**2. How long have you been working as a private detective?**

34 Years

**3. Have you worked on anything else before?**

I was assistant of a commercial reporting agency that was roughly a similar thing to private research but only in the commercial field. At that time there were either commercial or private researchers. I started in an office a year earlier, so I started studying for detective and therefore I have been 34 or 35 years a private detective



4. **What did you study to be a detective?**

I studied 3 years of criminology diploma in Valencia and a specialization course in Alicante so 4 years.

5. **Where**

In the university of Valencia. The university diploma of criminologist which was known before as the literary university. Then I did the specialization course in Alicante in the law faculty which was associated to the Complutense University of Madrid.

6. **How come you decided to be a detective?**

I was making oppositions to the civil guard, to the army but I never managed to get into. Then I realized I had lost 3 years of time of study and people told me there was another possible exit that could be similar and faster. There was a big demand for private detectives, and it was a quick way of starting to make your own money. There was a lot of surveillance in Spain and that was one of the motives that made me change my path. Apart that I was always intrigued by the investigator's world.

7. **Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

Not once I started doing this. Since then I devote my body and soul to this subject.

8. **Does anyone in your family work in a related area?**

No...not until now. There are possibilities since my eldest son has completed all private security studies, including private detective... he has studied the three years and now is waiting to receive the right to work. He has the studies so he could start tomorrow morning, but he needs to decide, and I don't know if he will do it....

9. ~~**If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?**~~

## Section 2: Identity

10. **How would you describe yourself?**

Well just like everything I've been saying so far... Restless... in the cultural case even if it seems pedantic but probably, I am one of the most and best educated detectives in Spain. There are few detectives who have my academic level...who have two high education degree...probably there is just 10 of them in Spain...who is detective and lawyer with the state exam passed probably there is six or seven...and who is a university professor around half a dozen...

In short, the cultural baggage that I have is very important. The other characteristics whoever knows me knows them... ability to work, endurance, patience, deduction. Some of these capabilities are developed and learnt with time. Some people are not born with inductive or deductive capacity, but it develops. For example, my brother didn't want to be a detective and became an engineer. He would have never coped with my kind of life. There is no week that I do not wake up every day at a different time... I don't know what an alarm clock set every day at 7 is. That is the whole thing that marks a civil worker... they have an absolutely regulated life.

The ability to spend hours and hours in a vehicle, even nights and to do your needs in a vehicle... lots of people aren't used to it... when you tell someone that you have to be in a car maybe 15 or 20 hours and you have to ...

It is also true that it is one of the professions with the highest dropout rate... in the first five years. There's a very important reason. Right now, there are more than five thousand detectives with the license however only around 1000 are active. The abandonment rate is very high. The first two years is very high.

11. **How would you describe an ideal detective?**

An ideal detective has to be a person with an important cultural base especially in the area of law, security, psychology, criminology. In basically four branches and has to be a person with a lot of curiosity a lot of spirit of sacrifice, you have to be willing to have no schedules... in other words...the antithesis of a civil servant.

You don't share days, share schedules, share sites... it's all a... absolute madness. It has to be a person with a lot of patience, skills of inductive analysis, deductive, observation, and resilience...are pretty much the skills that a private detective must have. You also need to be in a good physical form specially for coping with the long surveillance hours. It is said to be a liberal profession because logically ehh you have to maintain yourself, not depend on third parties.

12. **Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

Well there are some... I am a very critical person and very criticized by many people. You can say there's a percentage of people, maybe a 50 or 60 percent that is a detective as if he could be anything else... he has been working for say 20 or 30 years but has never stood out. He has just worked for others or has completed basic jobs.

There are a lot of detectives who can't become independent... they keep working for others as employees. This might account for 60% of detectives. I'm not one of those. There is another 40 percent of people who have their office and have achieved something in this profession, they have managed to have a name, live from this profession. Then there is say a 10

percent who have managed to give a decent life to their children, good life, good schools that have managed to make a lot of profits a then others who apart from this have a very high mediatization as Rafa Guerrero in Madrid eh... Colomar in Barcelona, Pepe Pimentel.

There may be 10 percent of those such as Alberto Rosa, Manuel Rosa that have surpassed me in experience and they have an established name in the profession. I'm included in that 10% and my colleagues include me like this...the profession is a bit divided... demographics, sociology....

Without making any distinction between men and women. However, they started 25 years ago, but now they are almost half. However, while in judiciary they reach very high levels the same doesn't happen in our profession. Specially because it is a very hard profession...it is difficult to balance it with children.

Most women I know...the toughest ones don't have any children and are married to detectives. There are a high number of divorces... similar to the police...these are profession where it is difficult to have a family.

**13. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

well we might look like maybe in some way... within the police logically it would be to the ununiformed police. The investigation departments and judicial police.

The police have to investigate everything that comes in as a complaint, but they cannot investigate all private matters. While we investigate all private matters... anything we receive and choose to do. The police have to investigate everything they receive: a theft of a watch, a robbery... whatever the population wants. Private detectives can also investigate management issues. Actually, the boundaries are very delimited.

The great conflict happens when detectives in Spain by law are prohibited crimes of public offence "delitos de oficio", i.e. all those crimes that the police or civil guard is investigating are prohibited by law. However, the reality is different. It is a rule that contains the norm or law but the reality is different.

The police or civil guard does not investigate everything, there are many crimes that are filed... and then there are many behaviors that we do not consider criminal and that we investigate and that at some point can into collision with the police. However, there are usually no collisions.

When there is a serious issue you have to let it know... in principle if everyone stays on their side there should be no conflicts. There might be confrontations when you dig into something and you don't know the police is already investigating that. Or vice versa.

For example, a detective cannot wake up one morning and decide he is gonna investigate a serial killer... because you can't... there has to be a contract...someone who wants to have it investigated. Without contract a detective can't go out and tell the first one to get off the bus that he is gonna investigate him. There has to be a reason

**14. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

Dress? Well it is another thing that characterizes detectives. Lawyers all follow the same path, during the morning they go to trials and dress up then in the afternoon they go to the office dressed in the same way. Detectives keep changing. I have even got changed 3 times a day.

I already have my two or three garments ready for tomorrow... tomorrow I'm going to go beachy... you don't draw attention. On Monday I have appointment days and then I go to the radio. At 9.30 I have an appointment with a beautiful, impressive manager... and I told her I would rather see her Monday since I will be dressed up for the radio. Then she told me, who cares! I have seen you dressed in so many ways! [laughs]. Monday, I need to buy a car, go to the radio, couple of appointments....

When I go to trial like last week then you have to go in a suit and jacket. We change clothes as many times as we need. The basic rule... mimic with the environment! You can't go to a polygon with a tie and jacket... if you go to a business area then you can't even get attention...

**15. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

Buff... It's complicated... everyone talks about the magnifying glass, but we're fed up of the magnifying glass...because the magnifying glass lately is more for criminalistic experts.

It's a more international symbol, I started using the symbology of Sherlock Homes... Sherlock's silhouette with the pipe and hat. I think it's stupid, I don't even smoke, but well...

**16. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

What do you want me to choose? The b....it's a diagram that is sometimes used for complex research... which appears in every movie.

**Section 3: Relationships**

**19. Is any detective your best friend?**

No... I have several very good friends, but best friend there is none.... I have 3 or 4 very good friends as close friends, but no...

**20. Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?**

Yes.... we tend to see ourselves in normal situations not right now the moment we are living [pandemic] ... now we're soon going to see each other again. It is a small group of 4 or 5 like-minded colleagues.

**21. Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**

Yes, we have very large groups... in fact we have groups that are already full of people... and telegram... there are more specific groups such as judgment, jurisprudence... OSIT which is an English thing... Research from open sources...

**22. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**

Yes... because we all have common problems, but with my closest circle yes. We have a WhatsApp group, we call each other the dinosaur detectives... I think there are 8 of us...I am the oldest one... there are some young people actually... dinosaur because we're powerful in the profession

~~**23. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**~~

**24. Do you attend many conferences or events together?**

Every year... now in September is the adpde, but chances are I am in Ukraine working in that moment... but I'd love to attend.

**25. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**

Yes, there are some jobs that are provided to me... not many, but there are some... other provinces... there is an exchange network. You just ask like "hey who's available in Bilbao?"

**26. Would you charge for these jobs differently?**

Well I should raise prices... I'm starting to raise them based on age, experience, risk... and I don't care about raising the price... they're going to hire me, even if I upload them... good customers... they hire me.

There is a moment when you don't need advertising. In Valencia I have a reputation for being the most expensive... in relation to the preparation and the work we do logically you can afford it.

But being the most expensive... it's neither good nor bad...you take twice as much money... but people are looking for the best lawyer and best detective... we have the luxury of setting the price we want.

**27. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**

I do jobs as favors when maybe he can't because he doesn't have means or legal incompatibility and you write it down in his account. Then when he can he will do another topic for you, for example to do sweeps.

It is not every day and with any job, and you do it with a specific group of people. Sometimes you get a job and it is done by another colleague, and then you get a commission or just say the 50%. Perhaps you don't have the exact materials needed because in the end we can't have everything. They are very expensive. In such a way however you still look good in front of the client.

Extra: you lose the tip once you retire or die then you "lose" the profession in some way.

**Section 4: Prices**

**Interview 5:**

Two websites with a lot of data and articles, more focused on investigative journalism

**Section 1: Overview**

**1. Sex/age?**

50 Years

**2. How long have you been working as a private detective?**

3 Years

**3. Family**

A son

**4. Have you worked on anything else before?**

**5. What did you study to be a detective?**

Private research expert in the 3-year course offered by uned

**6. Where**

La uned and en el sek in Madrid

**7. Studies before**

Information science and dramaturgy and interpretation by the official school which is a bachelor's degree from the drama high school. The other in the complutense of Madrid.

**8. Why be a detective?**

Seven years ago... I was already an investigative journalist. I had already done a lot of reports and I thought that being a detective I was going to have access to information and databases. I studied it and then I realized that it has nothing to do with it....

Then a personal moment of my life... I got separated so I had more free time since I didn't have to take care of my child during a week. So, I decided to do the specialization and it tapped me. I don't consider myself a detective... I consider myself more a detective journalist. I think I do a more briefing, but I registered so that I could talk with property, so I could what is a surveillance exactly and similar things. These are difficult to understand since they have nothing to do with journalism.

Everyone thinks you can do whatever you want.... but of course, it's not the same being a journalist under a law. Because when I started in the market the law was already in place ... when I came out the law 2014 was already active. But I have always liked more the communication aspect...

It was very complicated at first because it's a rare sector. Well, all sectors are weird but this one is special...they are a bit dissented [malavenido] until you don't build yourself a reputation you need to give a lot without receiving anything back. I think now after 3 whole years...anyone you ask they know who I am. It is weird even to find someone who would say I have done something wrong...that I have given wrong information... I did the Villarejo case.

Every year I organize a very cheap congress of only 20 euros. This allows professionals to gather together...it is very open minded...open to any belief, associations and this has been possible after 3 years producing everything absolutely for free. This has been the first year I have been able to earn something from my job as detective journalist. Before I had to work hard to build my own reputation and show I would not reveal any hidden camera material...because in this world everything is magnified. This last year I completed a course on data visualisation which I really enjoyed. I then started to look for data from the central unit...which weren't existing before since no one had asked for them....and you don't need to do anything special...you just need to ask for them! You don't even need to be a journalist!

Now they give me more data ... but no one is interested in someone who can post and say bad things... if they think that they won't give you the information. The Guardia civil has less data. But no one wants someone who says bad things.

This year I have asked for everything, I have a cordial relationship, but I don't take any drinks with them...we are not comrades...we are just work colleagues. All the data given to me is official. I do a formal contract and we reflect the data I am receiving. Now they give me more information than before...it was a very closed sector.

I work 3 years as detective, but "street" work or detective work I have only done for the last year. I didn't dare before but this last year is the first year that I've already started doing some things... not so many because I still don't consider myself a detective and I always ask for advice or always asking one or several detectives. It's rare that I haven't asked several colleagues to focus on how they would do it.

I think we are all pretentious when we start, even in my case I am older... I don't enter the profession with 20 years... that you go into the profession and you think you know everything. With that age you think you can deal with everything! Then you realize this job has nothing to do with journalism. You see your work partner who is able to observe many things and you are also watching but don't realize anything! Also learning how to write in a legitimate way.... if I am not sure I ask for help...I am not ashamed at all.

**9. Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

Now I've had to stop because I'm with breast cancer... I'm on pause but I keep writing, I keep making videos to all the colleagues...

It is very difficult that other colleagues speak to you for 40 minutes because we are all very lazy! If they don't see it reflected in anything really of them, they are not gonna do it altruistically. Let's be realistic. We will fill out a form 10 or 15 minutes. But well there are some videos... who talk about the profession.... (watch videos).

Probably with the new regulation the number of detectives will be reduced. As a novelty all the firms that have TIP (since 3 days, since Friday) every office "despacho" have to have a national registration number that is provided by the central unit (ministry) and which starts from 10 000 onwards.

This morning I requested it and I have a 11 159. Those who don't have an office won't be able to exert the profession since having an office is what legitimizes you to work as a detective...to receive clients, to be an entrepreneur etc. Before you just needed a TIP which was already a problem...it says you have studied and that's all but now you need to be able to have an office. These are harsh administrative requirements. The moment it becomes a regulation (reglamento) it will become harsher since you will need to even do an investment....I think the number is gonna decrease a lot...I forecast around 50% reduction of active detectives. I'm talking about offices... not from people who can work for others, but offices....

**10. Does anyone in your family work in a related area?**

No, nothing... my father is retired, and he was an entrepreneur. I have 4 brothers and one of them is a lawyer with whom I have done a job. Most lawyers are very unaware of the detective's work...it makes them suspicious...they don't have a good image about us and they don't understand the possibilities of working with a detective.

It is also true that most of them are independent professionals and in the end without being direct competence because we help them win cases, but we reduce their fees. Imagine a lawyer has a case which a detective can solve in 3 days. The hourly payment has to be split then between lawyer and client and many lawyers don't want to accept this or don't even want to admit their clients that they needed help to solve the case and that the money is gonna be split...

There are important law firms that know how ideal the detective is, but many who work as independent lawyers think of us more as an expense than an investment... this is my feeling because I've experienced it with my own brother.

**11. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?**

**12. Section 2: Identity**

**13. How would you describe yourself?**

When you ask yourself that question you want to conclude... what's the psychology? That we're all brave? I don't understand what the end of the question is....

**[00:17:41.10] Interviewer: I do understand... I'm seeing how identity is generated within the profession...how every detective describes himself, as they consider themselves in personality to see the different personalities that are generated in the profession**

I consider myself bighead. Too justice seeker... very obsessed with the truth because, although the truth can be seen from different points that is also true. For example, if a cat has climbed a tree it has climbed a tree. Then we can investigate whether he climbed alone, or he was put there but the cat is on the tree. There are basic elements in journalism...

I get a lot of adrenaline every time I discover something. I imagine that I am a very curious person and that when I have a theme eh I am obsessed with it until it doesn't come out... I should go to the psychiatrist (laughs), bighead, and very loving to seek the truth... that also makes me look quite open... which is a curious thing... I look for the truth when I have an issue but with opinions I am very open... that is, it happens to me with politics the same... if you have clear ideas and you argue to me I say you are right, but if someone else comes and argues the opposite I can also agree with them. In that sense I am not radical... and with the opinions of professionals I am the same... when I hear different opinions from different associations, I understand it... but to criticize without arguments that makes me nervous.

People who are working in the press and have had a bad experience with an association and then they have a bad opinion for a reason...this I can understand it

**14. How would you describe an ideal detective?**

the ideal detective for me would be a detective who finishes the degree with internships done for at least six months in an office... receiving the minimum salary but at least having street experience accompanying detectives who have been working

for at least five years... and at the same time a professional who had digital ability to do investigations and how to get information through social networks. I think we should study this in the same way as we study administrative or civil law.

I think it should be a degree and the last year was full of practice in offices to make... what we call a 360 professional...now as in all professions you leave university without knowing anything.

The old ones are missing a lot from the digital part and do not understand it that the new people can find many things in just three steps. On the other hand, the older ones have a different "smell" ...I'm telling you... I have lost many people during investigations while my colleague seems not to be paying attention but has everything under control. That's what training is for...

**15. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

No... I'm not

**16. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

Yes.... the police complete an official exam and receive their position and have an official mentality and they know that their salary comes to them by the month... and most of them have a very fuzzy idea of what is the detectives' responsibility. 90% doesn't know exactly what the detective function is.

Now it is said that detectives do what the police can't do because of lack of means. I think that it has nothing to do with it, I think they don't know exactly what a private detective is for

Without being disrespectful, in the end they have earned their place, but this gives them a certain superiority or relaxation, or they do not have respect for a professional who in the end is a freelancer. It is a businessman whom can be affected by everything you tell him financially for months or for their whole life.

**17. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

The most anodyne thing in the world... the most normal, the most vulgar and depends... if I have to meet someone or not. Nothing as mysterious, no cap or glasses [laughs] just normal.

**18. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

Well the first things that come to my mind are the magnifying glass and the eye... as symbols... that's what you mean pictures? Or what do you mean? because it can be a flag...

**19. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

the first sexist (laughs) one sitting and she standing

[00:28:24.01] Interviewer: question

Not the one in the center... you're doing the relationships... nodes between people... the b

**Section 3: Relationships**

**28. Is any detective your best friend?**

I don't think it's the word... yes, I have friends, but well (private detective story) it is true that there are colleagues you trust most... but I would say more the word companions... I consider friendship other things... even though I have a great time with them and talk about the same things, but I think... I have colleagues with which I have more harmony and with which I know that I can argue, and nothing happens

**29. Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?**

Not really... but instead I don't miss any congress or event or stuff like that... but there always has to be a node or a professional annex you know? I mean otherwise I don't go drinking with them... but if there is a congress if... there's been a meeting to be several

**30. Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**

Yes, we have very large groups... in fact we have groups that are already full of people... and telegram... there are more specific groups such as judgment, jurisprudence... OSIT which is an English thing... research from open sources...

**31. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**

Yes, right... with you too

[00:30:31.00] Interviewer: Comments about different cultures... they ask you what you earn right away and tell you your life in Spain very quickly

**32. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**

Yes I do...

**33. Do you attend many conferences or events together?**

Yes...

**34. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**

No... Not me. I give them in any case, or I collaborate with them with their work, with their client or if I have my own case I always ask for help. I just don't dare do them alone... it's also true that being a journalist and having journalism stuff, this is something else... I notice it differently

**35. Would you charge for these jobs differently?**

No... differently from what the market is... No

[00:32:44.13] Interviewer: if a special price

No... it's all very cheap

**36. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**

I don't really do the whole job or say surveillance. I would help someone finding information such as about open sources then I help or say if they need me to confirm someone is at home. I just go and tell them, it is here! So far I have always said yes to these kind of favours.

**Section 4: Prices**

**1. How do you decide the price of your research?**

The deal I reach with my partner is one thing, but I always tell the customer 70 an hour. I'm not going to give it below or above because I consider that if not in the end we're not giving a fair price and as I know that I won't do it alone and that I'm using a partner...I'd rather tell you what it is... I know there are colleagues who ask for more because they also have their name and experience. Then I manage the prices with my partner, but I always tell the client 70 the hour.

**2. In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?**

I think we all do that... I give you an example... a lady who lives near where I live, she is not a friend is not known but you see that she has no financial disposition that the husband is not sending her the money and you have to show her that the husband is charging and this is so that maybe what you do is postpone it... you divide it into 3 the payment... I sincerely think we all do that.

The issue is when you don't know them at all, you don't even know if you will receive any payment. If someone comes it's because of an economic issue then just let them know what is the price and then you can make tighter conditions for it... you say you hear well because 50 percent or by three parts... after the trial etc.

**3. Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?**

[00:36:46.23] Interviewer: and if it's richer

It's worth the same... but instead of selling you 3 days I will try to sell you 6 [laughs], but the hour is still the same. I wish I could do a job for 2 months! wish I could get a client like that! (like the one in the cope) you adjust as much as possible because in my case I don't have wealthy customers, but if you have wealthy customers it's not that you go up the price, but you put more capacity in them instead of detective you put 2 or more, instead of a couple of hours because morning and night...

**4. Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?**

**5. How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)**

I think that happens... Yes... and I think offices have been paralyzed, stabilized for most of the offices and of course now it is a bit of a mess since TIPS are not really controlled but let's see now with the new registration rule

Well, people who shouldn't even have been able to provide services have done it and with prices of up to 100 euros! I think what has happened is that it has been paralyzed and lowered... so I was told before detectives earned a lot more and now the price has dropped a lot...

**6. New old difference**

There is a difference. I think that each other lacks humility to recognize the deficiencies that each other have and then that makes that people don't respect each other.

There are important offices that burn people and burn means... I have seen colleagues working for 300 euros a month and have been on the street 16 hours. Those who do these are always the big offices with many offices around Spain. These are also the ones who have the most important clients. This creates a lot of anger between the older and experiences generations and the new ones....

Then the new ones also we don't have the humility sometimes to admit that we don't really know the sector. And doing something wrong in this profession means appearing in the press the next day. I think there are mistakes and differences in both sides. Neither the old ones are so good or so bad nor the ones now come out so prepared or wanting to earn so little...

I haven't experienced that heyday when they made so much money or had more opportunities... when I started there was a crisis like now. Prices had already fallen.

I have already seen how tough it is to reach a client... and how the "dinosaurs" which is how they called themselves (those who have been working for more than 20 years)...they take an advantage of the young ones...so things are being done wrong from the base. If they take advantage of you in your first months of university ok.... but once you are done with university if they make you work 16h per day for 300 euros that's not how things should be done!

## 7. Ideology

I know people from many ideologies, but the old ones are more right-wing and then people... younger people aren't that closely related... they go more on the political issue... you don't see them so much of what they are.

People who have been working for longer do exhibit their ideology and are really chilled about it but right now from the 1300 who have an office I don't know what their average years in the profession is...

That's a good question... but of course we would need the central unit to count one by one.... and they will hate us!

At least those who have been here for more than 20 years are right-wing...

## 8. Obstacles

I think there are obstacles in society for women... in the profession at the moment I arrive there is no obstacle. There is a hang-up about defending women since it is since a left-wing attitude. So people don't want to show their own opinion.

Up to now there has been 3 or 4 pioneering women and they tell you: we have had three presidents! But then I ask myself, where are they? We don't see them...in the end behind these women there was always a man who signed and used a women as an image, to say look we have women in power.

Two years ago we started a detective women association which was quickly attacked. Everyone said we were gonna separate the profession, we were gonna destroy it, it is a war...the podemitas (left-wing). We made the decision of ignoring everyone. Right now we are accepted.

I think we now understand that we need a female brand. In this society that seeks equality... in Spain we are way ahead of them so much that we have them freaked out but in the world it is not...

I honestly believe that having a brand in the profession as female detectives has to be seen normal. It is important for when clients want a female detective. And we even wrote in the statutes that men can associate...we did like the judged...in the end about sexism and football everyone speaks...

There are big offices with 14 branches around Spain in December and none of them are run by a female detective. If we think that those 14 branches are the hard core of the profession, then I think we still have work to do. The woman is super recognized within the profession... the best couple are a man and a woman to work. But if we talk about power mmm it seems like we still have to be advised and told how to do things oh... but there is a different way to command...like Norwegians and Finnish... That's what I mean!

Of course, it is done differently... because I think... women are often more dependent on offices... I was in the ine... 53 percent of the detectives who were dependent on offices were women... that is, it will have something to do not with the



profession but with society... now think that in all this pandemic who's going to stay home the most? with children who don't go to school who are going to study at home?

Because taking away those relationships in which the woman is in a good position if they have equal salaries who is going to stay at home? Then imagine the separated ones? I'm working and what do I say? Stay a week or me? who stays with the child?

Probably from the pandemic itself we will see how there is a recoil of that "mouth" equality. I do not deny at all the biology of women but they make it very difficult.... we have to study, show that we are worth it, sometimes show much more... much more than a man if... prove that we are good, not better, but equal.

[00:50:26.01] Interviewer: we'll see how the topic changes

## Interview 6:

### Section 1: Overview

**1. Sex/age?**

I just turned 52.

**2. Family**

**3. How long have you been working as a private detective?**

Well around 25 years... I started in 2001 so about 20 or 25 years.

**4. Have you worked on anything else before?**

Yes... waitressing while studying

**5. What did you study to be a detective?**

First, I started law but after one year I saw that criminology existed so then I changed to criminology. However, I saw it had no work exit so I saw private detective existed in Alicante. Then once I finished private detective studies I saw that criminology was a "licenciatura" (diploma) so you could achieve a criminology degree with the "bridge study".

**6. What college and university did you study at?**

College purity of Mary and fountain of St. Louis and I change to make cou to Luis Vives and then Valencia university.

**7. How come you decided to be a detective?**

I started law and I wanted to study something related to criminology and while studying law I saw that criminology was a three-year study and I did it but it was not a regulated degree so the labour exists were quite limited.

The I saw I could become a detective and I went there since many people who were criminologists were switching to this but I didn't think of becoming a detective at the beginning...

**8. Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

Yes

**9. What would you like to do?**

I have no idea... I don't have any profession that I want to develop specifically for me my ideal would be to do criminological studies and live off this... do field studies on everything and that.... academic research

**10. Does anyone in your family work in a related area?**

No one

**11. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?**

I have no idea... because if I were born again eh I have no idea. I don't know what I would do depends on what the circumstances of my life were going to be and the ways I took decisions because I might take the same decisions but I might not do it...

### Section 2: Identity

**12. How would you describe yourself?**

Well... open...this is a hard question...open. Curious eager to do a lot of things. Active I like to have fun and learn new things... and enjoy the free time. I like to read.

**13. How would you describe an ideal detective?**

A person with a lot of patience mmm calm, with patience and... Resolved... he has to be a very resolute, fast person, with an agile and fast and peaceful mind... that would be I think he, the ideal detective

calm, peaceful, with a lot of inner peace and socially gifted is also important as getting information quick, agile, very mentally agile

**14. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

No... I don't think so... I think we're each very different from each other... there's a lot of variety in this sector

**15. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

I think what distinguishes is the desire to be independent and not having to rely on anyone telling you what you have to do... you have your own clients and you choose how to do your jobs, independence... also the kind of work. We are more dedicated to social, civil issue and the criminal part is carried by the police more...

It is a very hard job that you have to invest a lot of time and passion for work because if you really don't like it is very hard to hold on to it and the type of work independence, not having to... about you choose customers and customers choose you... but obviously if there's something you don't see clear on more than one occasion we haven't picked up the subject...

Now with the issue of gender violence we have had to reject some jobs...every job is different, every day and from every topic that comes you learn new things. You never repeat the place, the person, the way you work, you always have to innovate and think new things, you have to be very updated, be continuously recycled.

Maybe the police as a public official receive everything more broken down...more accessible... we are totally independent in everything

**16. Rejection of gender-based violence**

It depends on what the person who wants to hire us needs....for example if the man comes, it is found that he has restraining order and he wants to find out where his ex of course we would not do it... for example if... he already knows where she lives and he needs to prove that she is sharing her house with someone else then we would do it. We probably would do it because he already knows where she lives so we don't need to look for it. With the subject of gender violence, you have to be careful, we always make sure that he doesn't have any restraining order and there is nothing unusual.

**17. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

Yes, there's quite a difference... when I work on the street or go to the office... yes there's a difference on how I get dressed... it really depends on the area where you are going to be working and whether you want to stand out or not. For example, it depends on the person you are going to follow... you have to foresee a little bit that... The person you're going to investigate. And you have to go to its level... if you are following someone who always go in tracksuit then you need to adapt to not stand out always thinking about it to go to the same level... don't look any different

If I go to the office I dress up because I like it and if a client comes also to make a good impression. Women have it easier to change their image because we can wear hair rubbers, several sunglasses, some scarf, even I carry in my bag whole pieces of clothing to get constantly changed

**18. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

It is usually linked with two symbols... the owl and with the typical detective with the magnifying glass or with fingerprints and such... perhaps out of habit it is linked to that.

Personally, I think that as these have always been identified with detectives, I inadvertently also relate it to those images or the more comic image of the detective reading the newspaper with marked eyes.

**19. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

I think... the second...

### Section 3: Relationships

**20. Is any detective your best friend?**

mm I don't have a best friend I have several and maybe I do. I do have very good friends within the profession.

**21. Do you usually go out with them? Dinner? Weekends?**

Yes...

**22. Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**

I use WhatsApp continuously, also in the meetings or if we call ourselves because we have doubts or we support and call ourselves, also dinners organized by the school... or congresses... in the end you always end up hanging out with the usual ones. You have a specific group with whom you have the most contact.

**23. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**

Yes...

**24. Do you get along better with men or women?**

Indifference

**25. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**

Yes often.... well now we have a big WhatsApp group. For example, there is a group of WhatsApp of detectives of the Valencian Community and there are many doubts and between each other is solved... we also have a partner who's been here longer than we usually ask him for almost everything.

**26. Do you attend many conferences or events together?**

We attend many... I'm at the Valencian Community detective school and at the adpde. So, the adpde every year organises congresses and this year it was supposed to be in March but now it has been postponed to September. The detective school also organizes every year an event... I go to everything... I try to go all events.

**27. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**

I do them because they need help not for money.... and it depends. I do not do it with everyone... depending on who

**28. Would you charge for these jobs differently?**

Normally between us we have an hourly rate that is different than the one you give to a customer... we have collaboration fees... you charge this partner the time at an indeterminate price which is never the customer price. It is usually half or a little less.

**29. Would you adjust this price?**

Maybe, it depends on the partner if he asks us to charge him cheaper... depends on the partner and what you ask because I have no problem lowering it

**30. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**

Yes...but they are usually not long jobs... it is usually some small tasks or for example calling someone... a guy might prefer having a girl calling or maybe he has already been detected so someone else have to be there observing whether the person being investigated leaves the house or not. I do punctual things that don't compromise a job. On-time aids... Support...

I'm also thinking that there was another partner to whom we helped with calls. We made the calls for him and then we arranged other jobs for him such as deliveries or say 3 hours surveillance.

#### Section 4: Prices

**31. How do you decide the price of your research?**

We have a fixed price, an hourly rate and depends on whether it is day or night, weekends but we never have prices closed. We have budget templates, but they always have to be modified because you always adapt it to the specific investigation and are never accurate... you don't know when you're going to finish the job.

Maybe you start a topic and you have it solved immediately but you want some extra days to confirm what you thought. Sometimes however you don't need to do it and you just adapt the prices, but we never have a closed price...almost never...

**32. In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?**

No... that's the price... I might help the customer to pay so instead of paying everything from one we tell them to pay in 2 or 3 months... or if it's very, very long, we do make a final discount percentage such as a 10% discount... or if you are a customer who calls very often .. we reach an agreement but always starting from a fixed price

**33. Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?**

**34. Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?**

At the beginning I did and sometimes we have asked but it is something very punctual (we've asked advice)

**35. How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)**

From our side we have maintained our hourly rate. We kept it fixed due to the crisis and I think only recently we decided to increase it a bit. Several euros the hour, nothing crazy. But probably we need to keep it again at that level for many more years.... In other parts of Spain, they do price much higher...much more than in Valencia, while other parts of Spain have much lower prices. We are at an average price.

**36. Differences between old detectives and new ones.**

I think it is a little inevitable because like all jobs when you have been working for long you resolve things in a second. While at the beginning everything takes much longer. It is tougher to keep up with the rhythm, it is a job where you need to keep

innovating yourself and adapting to new topics. So, the years of experience help you solve the cases in a quicker and improved way.

**37. Do the older ones feel more vocation or is there no difference?**

I think they may not have so much vocation because of the general crisis and because of everything that has been shown on TV. I think young people when they study... they have a lot of doubts about what they're going to do and if it's going to give them work. I think lots of young people end up in this profession because of what they watch on TV and then when they get in they realize it's not that easy, fast, exciting, as they say on TV... they realize it's not what they thought... I get the impression that they come more because they need a job than by vocation. I'm sure there are people who do it by vocation... I hope... I think job success depends on whether you do something you're passionate about... if you choose it because you think you're going to make money it's a terrible mistake.

**38. Obstacles women?**

No, never... nor in the treatment by the teammates.... Or... well, well we had a client that I will never forget since it was something that had never happened to us...

He was very angry with his ex, trials etc. all this before gender violence law long was enacted. Long before 2014...around 200. He came very angry because he was losing a lot in court and pissed off with the judge who said he had to pay a lot to his children and ex-wife. We said that if she couldn't develop work because she had given her life for their children, so he had to make up for it. He got angry and said if there was a man in the office. He said were not useful for him and that since we were two women, we had no idea. That was discriminatory. He was looking for a man and he was angry we understood the judge's stance.

Except that we have never felt discriminated against or with colleagues, jobs, clients... it's more sometimes they want detectives to be women because they're so much more disguised.

**39. Ideology**

**Interview 7:**

**Section 1: Overview**

**20. Sex/age?**

44 years old

**21. How long have you been working as a private detective?**

I've been doing marketing research... apart from detective I am a consultant and an analyst. I have been researching within a company from the perspective of consulting and marketing competition in Spain, Italy and Portugal. I had an experience in Naples that was unpleasant because I had to gather information from the competition and in Naples the presence of the mafia is very noticeable.... and within marketing and research there is a loophole.

Now as a detective I would feel terrible if someone in marketing did my job because I would feel they are a serious intruder, but this has been happening for many years. I've been doing market research and brand research for many years, but I have a super recent tip so as with tip I've been doing research for a year and a half.

**22. Family**

2 girls, 11 and 13 years old

**23. Have you worked on anything else before?**

I worked for business consulting, for first division football clubs as a product consult especially with the athletic of Madrid. They were setting their new stadium and they were changing their brand, their shield and well identity in general. So I had to help to avoid brand piracy and I had to help the team introduce a new brand which was gonna be very disputed among the fans. The atleti has a very strong fan club and they didn't welcome any changes.

I was also the CEO of a large events company in Madrid... I have worked seven years in a multinational in the Fiat group and alfa romeo...

The rest of my things have been entrepreneurship. I started when I was very young. When I was 18 years old, I was working in tv. I was in charge of the figuration and public they always told me: we need a guy who is 1.20 but not a midget.... and I had to look for such a character to take him the next day to the area that were the exteriors of Spanish television radio. I

worked with Marres and 13 with José Emiliano, with Emilio Aragón and Carmen Russian.... super typical of that time.. when Telecinco bought rome and was introduced in Spain because before we only had two channels.

**24. What did you study to be a detective?**

3 years of detective, then I have done courses and trainings of osit and subjects that interested me, such as testifying at trial, some courses on money laundering, submerged economy on which I have many clients and well I think the type of research that development differs to the old researchers...

I sit down with the customer and plan a strategy. I do sort of a consulting job and when I have the lens I then set the tools and very rarely I need to do follow-ups or cameras surveillance because I have direct contact with the researcher, or someone from my team... suddenly I'm an actress, or a cleaner... or you see my zoom is Marieta... one of my disguises!

**25. Where**

Udima

**26. Why be a detective?**

When I was a child, I wanted to be a detective or a war correspondent, but my mother saw me so brave that she enrolled me in stenography. But look where I ended! I have always been very entrepreneur; I have always investigated... I tell you that when they ask you for characters that don't exist.... a fat bald man who weighs 200 kilos who has no eyebrows... go and find him! I already started doing research, my profile has always been focused on research... it's totally vocational.

**27. Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

It hasn't ever crossed my mind, I'll die detective!

**28. Does anyone in your family work in a related area?**

Nobody... only me and my daughters I say to them that it would be nice if they would like to be a detective but one wants to become a cook and the other marine biologist so I doubt I will leave offspring (laughs)

**29. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?**

**Section 2: Identity**

**30. How would you describe yourself?**

A chameleon hybrid. I consider myself a multifaceted person I like... it is also very important in the detective figure to have knowledge of all. That helps you achieve your goals. Above all, I am a person who wants to learn a lot... I'm very curious. I like to dominate different areas... maybe I can't deepen my knowledge in all areas since I want to attend to everything, but I don't have time for everything, but I do think I have a great knowledge about a lot of things and that helps me. So, I define myself as a hybrid and a chameleon

**31. How would you describe an ideal detective?**

The ideal detective is me [ laughing ] with the sum of Juan de Dios (joke and laughter) because look for me is the one who can do any case, that it is not limited to follow-ups and who understands that the investigation today goes further... who knows that today there are methods to do real research. Someone who uses analytics and intelligence within his research strategy. That's my ideal detective.

I think detectives should at least complete six-month internship in an office... earning the minimum. However, in such a way student learns the "street" side of the job. They should go with someone who at least has 5 years of experience and also a professional who has a digital ability to do searches... than what it's like to get information through social networks.

**32. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

Uh... I think every detective is unique... there are detectives that I admire other detectives between you and me that I don't like at all... there's a lot of old detective I think.... it's a profession where people are pretty closed... when a person trained in other areas arrives or fields are afraid and we find ourselves with barriers and the problem is that of course we....

Pause

There all sorts of new people in the sector. People who come very prepared and then people who come very focused on doing research online because they come very prepared in osint... they have a lot of computer, tool and application know-how that are very interesting for research. Then there are other detectives which limit themselves to follow-ups and thunders...perhaps is the correct way to start ... me if I had started this profession at 20 years old because I would surely have been a dependent detective... work first for someone to set up my own office, but nowadays thanks to my career and endeavors has helped me start an office.

There are a lot of detectives who see the investigation just like that. I look for social networks, I follow this guy, I follow up, I stay in front of his house... but right now the technology, the tool and strategies allows us to lower many costs and do many cases without having to track or use beacons...

Right now, I have someone under control without putting a beacon and I know perfectly where it is... but of course I can't give more detail... for example Google.... Google satellite

**33. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

We are different in many ways.... because what we do is a social good, the police do is pursue the bad guy... we don't chase the bad guy we... we are experts of the truth

Many times the first thing I tell my client is... are you sure this thing you're telling me is like that? because there's a risk that we start the investigation and I have to close a report telling you that what you're imagining doesn't exist or that what you're trying to look for doesn't happen... we respect both sides... we respect and seek both sides

I, for example, do not do infidelities... I don't like them since they don't have a subsequent judicial process... I have a lot of people who have asked me for cases, and I tell them no... but I already tell them first look your partner is unfaithful. So, you can find another colleague who would do it.

Well... I think that above all we are also distinguished by a very demanding law, very sanctioning compared to the police, and besides that we are independent people who although we depend.... we are professionals depending... we depend on the ministry of the interior and the national police forces, but we are not officers and I think that even though there are good and bad cops and bad detectives and good detectives that makes a difference. To be a detective you need a brutal vocation. You need to earn your bread every day. We have to be detectives, observers, computer scientists, dealers, consultants, have a gift of people, portfolio of contacts okay?

**34. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

When I'm going to do a surveillance, I can be an executive director, a painter, an electrician, I go in jacket and heels, I cover my tattoos, or I can suddenly be a gardener who is growing in the orchard... I look at the case I'm going to take care of and using the necessary empathy so that my research feels comfortable... Of course, you can't go see a painter and see him in a jacket if you want to work with him and see him like this.... you'll have to go full of paint and sports!

**35. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

**36. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

From a strategic perspective for me the h... Obviously, the g you also know.... because we work a lot now eh through online media, but I keep the h

**Section 3: Relationships**

**40. Is any detective your best friend?**

No... I came by pure vocation without being influenced. Nothing else... I've been looking for detectives I like for a long time... Rafa Guerrero, Oscar Rosa... one of the detectives for my most admired Enrique Muñoz. It is clear to me that these are very emblematic detectives.

**41. Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?**

No.... I have a lot of communication via WhatsApp, but I don't usually hang out with them... and I don't want to either because I don't know at first I did introduce myself, but then it's a profession of many env. You have an idea, but since they've been doing it for a while they have other ideas.... they are not open-minded.... those who have been around the longest known... they have a simpler tour... more focused on your own....

**42. Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**

Yes... I'm not interested in my point of view being changed but you do learn every day... there is always someone who can bring you many things and of great value....

**43. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**

sometimes through networks.... such as I said I'm divorced... but not especially... I am a very transparent person except when I am working. I have nothing to hide but I do not speak of deeply personal issues at all... issues of being divorced or that you like snails, but nothing deeper.

**44. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**

Yes many.... to a Juan de Dios y otros... before I asked more people, but then there was already a moment that I decided to keep just a few

**45. Do you attend many conferences or events together?**

I have attended and I want to attend... I'm not going to go to Palm where I was going to be a speaker, but I can't... now in September... I know that in September we are confined again. I have been rapporteur in previous congresses.

I have given presentations about product licensing and brand forgery and given online courses to the detectives women group about facilitates in our work, legal issues....

You learn a lot at congresses. Apart from learning you meet some people. This is when you need to do it. I don't go out for dinner with detectives, we are all very independent with our own friends. I have dinner with my friends, but if I am in a congress, I can meet people there.

**46. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**

No, I don't... I ask for collaboration... to date I usually have direct contact with the customer, and it is me... to date it has not arisen, but I have offered it... business consulting or something in this line because of course you collaborate.

**47. Would you charge for these jobs differently?**

within our sector there is a collaborative fee but that goes very closely linked to car tracking and capturing images. I tell you that I do not do that so I don't use this rate much.

I'm not very good at it... everyone else will do better than me, I am good at consulting issues, more complex issues so I cannot work with that rate...if I discuss a collaboration I would pact... I wouldn't set an hourly price, but rather the whole project altogether.

**48. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**

Depends on the partner if.... I'm asked by Oscar Rosa or Juan de Dios...

Recently a kid texted me to see if I could tell him whom owned a specific telephone number. You can clearly see the bad faith on it because instead of asking for a collaboration they are asking for help. Life teaches you whom to trust.

**Section 4: Prices**

**9. How do you decide the price of your research?**

Through consulting... I meet with a client we set up the strategy. I see what type of method I will use and depending on the type of method I come up with a price.

I apply the margin that I think is important..... Then imagine that the costs are 40% or 60% because I apply that and it gives me a result, a mathematical operation. I then fill in a form and then everything that deviates from that will be charged separately for say x euros day or x euros project.

**10. In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?**

**11. Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?**

Of course, I'm not going to charge the same thing to a multinational as to a gentleman who has to go to trial and has no choice but to hire a detective. As a rule... we're very human.

**12. Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?**

No... I have no idea what other colleagues charge and I've never asked. I already have experience...an area I master is cost management and budgets and the business plan of any company. I'm very clear about what the price is based on the service and I haven't needed to call colleagues and ask them... the same for other things if... my doubts are more related to the legal or sanctioning part... could I be penalised by private security? it's the kind of doubt that I usually get....

**13. How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)**

**14. New old difference**

It depends on the profile because with Juan's it's a different profile but there's a lot of detectives. Some of them have for example many spelling mistakes...the way they express themselves and the wrong use of terms...they are not cultivated people...

They are very good at following up and I have no doubt, but I see them... unprepared but I, for example, I now have a young detective who wants to collaborate with me who. She is 22 years old and has recently finished her degree. She is a super complete girl; I talked to her about slack and she knows it!

We still use many whatsapp groups instead of using tools like slack that allow for a better collaboration. It allows us to communicate through channels while in whatsapp everything gets lost!

It's impossible for that kind of application to be accepted by the community. Already downloading an application, understanding it, understanding it and is that it is vital right now to investigate or that or you limit yourself to fraud, insurance and infidelities...

You have to observe, learn and be in favor of the people who come prepared like Oscar or Elisenda there are many very good detectives and many others who have become stuck there... me with my WhatsApp and from there don't get me out....

## 15. Ideology

All political ideologies are linked to the profession, but it is a facha profession... because of what we drag from the past... it's not a.... there will be everything, but I detect it in networks because it is.... a profession with an ideology for my way of seeing radical....

## 16. Obstacles

Yes, without any doubt... there are a lot of people who will tell you no but I tell you yes.

The whatsapp groups are full of real obscenities...you can find a woman being raped by 3 cocks...and with true barbarities. It is clear that they have sexist connotations.

I mean, I've never been limited by the fact that I'm a woman, but I've noticed a lot of cyberbullying such as telling you "look this new one who just came and thinks everyone is gonna believe her". I do think there is still sexism within our profession... it's a sexist profession... in fact detectiva or detectivita I don't think you'll hear it... and I want to be a detective... I don't want to be told the detectiva.

## Interview 8:

### Section 1: Overview

#### 1. Sex/age?

58 Years

#### 2. How long have you been working as a private detective?

I obtained the license in 1985. It was the first university promotion of the University of Barcelona, but during the 3 years the career lasted I was already working as a private detective in one of what was then the largest or most renowned agency in Barcelona... therefore I work in the profession since '82.

#### 3. Family

mother, brothers I have ex-husband and I have a son who is 26

#### 4. Have you worked on anything else before?

I did two years of law due to family imposition. My older sister was a lawyer and, in these surveys, that they made us complete when we were at school, they always told me that one of my innate professional projections was the judiciary so my mother told me I had to study law. Back then the detective theme was not well seen and more for a girl, they were all men and quite gipsy.

My mother would tell me how I would work in such a profession so well I decided to start law, but I already knew I didn't want to become a judge. But my mum wanted me to do as my sister who was studying and working at the same time. One day I went with her to the highest court of justice in Catalonia and I saw how I had to defend a thief who had an 18-sheet police folder. I kept asking her why do you defend him? And she said they typical answer of everyone has the right to be defended! I thought this guy should be locked in prison but then she told me sometimes police invent stories...but I honestly never understood the concept of those who pay have to be defended....

Of course, for a lawyer to decide which client to defend is tough...they have to be really good lawyers. Specially when you start, and you join a buffer. After these I was convinced, I wanted to become a detective. In the end my family told me I should do whatever I wished.

It was also very curious because at that time it was a very sexist profession, male and good to me I got two things together: woman and posh because well my family was a bourgeois middle class family, we lived in a house etc. , and well because it was frankly difficult and even in many agencies that I had gone to ask for work did not give it to me.



I'll remember very well the question they asked me at the agency that I entered... they asked me if during a surveillance I would have to kiss on the mouth to my partner if I would have any problems? I was shocked...I was a very young girl, just around 20 and that was the only thing they wanted to know! I said we could always find the way of making it look like a kiss!

**5. What did you study to be a detective?**

If you had the cou and selectivity, then you could go into university and do 3 years of private investigation. In parallel you did criminology in the university of law of Barcelona. The first year was common criminology and private research then the second year if you wanted to do both you had to choose the courses from both. I did about 20 a lot on the 2 year...

That's when you finished criminology and you did private research in the third year where it was already much more concrete all about the detective's abilities.

The other courses were more notions of basic law. That this is a right for every labor thing, criminal and above all the constitutional... to know which areas affect you... since you walk into a bar to have a coke that's already regulated and every action you take carries a risk in a legal realm. We also did specifications of the profession. Back then we had a minister order not a law, but you had very clear which risks and rights you had. The first law was in 1992.

**6. Where**

**7. Why be a detective?**

I don't remember that but I remember I was 8 years old and I already said that I should be a detective... we were six brothers I was the 5 and of course the 5 always receives because all the brothers annoy you and believe themselves with the right to command you. At that time the angels of Charlie were very famous and they kept telling me I wanted to be like farra Farell and I reached 18 and I kept saying that I wanted to be a detective....

I had a grandfather who was a spy in the civil war... maybe it comes from genetics, but in my family there was no history of private researchers. It is kind of intrinsic to my character.

I wanted to know what was behind it.... my parents were throwing parties and I went out the window to spy... I've always been wanting to know

I always asked why you don't eat? why, because why....

I guess it's intrinsic... the desire to meet and not accommodate you with an explanation of nothing. I in my personal life when I receive information I look for it 7 times.... it's already a way of working.

**8. Have you ever thought about changing careers?**

To be honest yes...because of two main occasions.

The first one might have been due to a wrong judgment or just poorly focused. I remember that I had to follow a gentleman who was the accountant of a company. He was supposed to be under a sick leave and he was about to be retired in 2 years. After work he went twice to help in a small library or store and he did the accounting for these small shop. Of course, we discover him, and I knew he was gonna get fired. I told my boss at that point in time that I felt really bad and he told me they just wanted to force his preretirement. It's the first time I saw the dark side and I thought I don't know if I'm going to feel at ease, following people.

The second time it was tougher because I was 50 years old and because they threw my professional prestige on the ground... and I was unemployed for two years because I had to close... the Camargue the matter of the...

Well basically in 2010 a recording is made at the request of the client but it was a favor, it was not an issue for geopolitical reasons the geo es Catalunya in 2013 good interest to take this information because it was a meeting of a politician with the former lover of the son of the politician punyol and the Alicia sanchez Camacho. They met in 2010 and it was done so that Alicia would get information from the Puyol and then a report was made about the Puyol. The minister of interior had to speak in congress and had to say that this report was apocryphal and that no one knew about it. So they started to say than espionage was taking place in Cataluña.

The recording comes out and they blame us for espionage and they stop us... that was ultimately left to nothing... if it had been a domestic subject... that comes out one day and forgets but it lasted years, and months in a row of being in the press on TV, on the radio... And that's it.

I couldn't work. My phones were tapped. It was police harassment to me and my family, they were watching my mother, my brothers, everyone... and I said I don't want to know anything about detectives, no cops in life

I've been thinking about doing a beach bar and becoming a hippie... to see she was depressed but the brain had not lost him... I did an economic study and thought you have to become very hippie to live from this (laughs) and thanks to the support of a lot of the professionals... I was vice president of the adpde and treasurer and I taught at the uni of Salamanca and re Juan Carlos

They kept calling me and saying seriously you want to leave? if you're a benchmark for the profession if you're worth a lot? I was so fucked up that I said another one that I cheated... and well after 2 years in unemployment, besides also divorce, my sister died... it was a lot of things that good left me and there I did have a hard time coming back.

But thanks to the insistence of the people who knew me and I thought what are you gonna do with 50! Shoemaker to your shoes and I started to a very low profile doing things that I like or I found interesting... I investigate no affairs, neither insurances... because I started like this and here I have stayed and I go with this which in the end is my thing

9. Does anyone in your family work in a related area?

10. If you were born again, would you choose this profession again?

## Section 2: Identity

11. How would you describe yourself?

well I think descriptions are something that those who know you should do because the objectivity in oneself is not very objective...

My descriptions tend to be more spiritual perhaps because of what I have explained to you. I am a happy, free and fortunate person because I work on something that I like, I do it because I want, when I want, for whom I want, it allows me to have free time, and my physical and my physical part and do sports because I have time and energy...

I've been working 16 hours a day with 18 people in my charge working all over Spain, bringing 17 topics at once while you're on the phone telling the secretary. Besides, you read an email. Now I'd go crazy, I wouldn't know how to do it, it's okay, life has its moments, right? there is a moment when you have to give everything, in which you start and then it is time to get it wrong and learn then you have learned and you give everything and then you also have your moment of relaxation, then I am now at that moment so I would tell you that I consider myself a balanced person above all, I am a respectful person, happy and free and grateful....

12. How would you describe an ideal detective?

An ideal detective has to be versatile, chameleon so it has to have a... continuous training, you have to be patient, very patient and very respectful and that is when I talk about training and education I speak in general not only technical training.

Because if you investigate in a very limited socioeconomic environment your posture, your way of speaking, your way of treating has to be assimilated to the environment. If you have never been there you will be noticed immediately.

If you have to investigate in a very high socioeconomic environment you will have to know how to be and the other is if you do not have all this. All this globality of things that you have to know because being a very good specialist in something very specific because for example I am an expert in follow-ups, I do not miss a guy, drive car, motorcycle, plane and boat... except for driving a plane I've done everything... diving, empty. There was no place that I could not go, now I have an age that at night I see little and far less so I follow so I do no longer if you are a specialist because you focus on that for example forensic computer.

I was in a company that had a department of each, but if you don't have a company that has several departments it has to be continuous and very versatile training, when I started we went with walkie talkies and with some huge video cameras... clearly the moment you left the urban area no one could hear you anymore.... it was your turn to find you a cabin, leave your a service and you had to go with this device... you were riding a motorbike and you looked like a Christmas tree with everything hanging... nowadays with a good mobile you do everything.

If there is a lot of distance a good camera is much better ... with a mobile phone you do it all... because adapting to the moment is going faster and faster because now in the confinement or you work with the computer or you tell me what you do!

There are people who have gone out on the street, but everything is much more complicated so adaptability, versatility, empathy, discretion and patience!

**13. Would you consider other detectives to be similar to you?**

Well I have a sister who is a detective and we have professionally grown up together so she may look like me but do you look like your brothers?

**Not much...**

And you are the daughter of the same father and the mother! I don't think so... but maybe those good profiles of detectives who dedicated to the same sector might be similar... for example business research sector and these follow-ups... But beyond that... it's not that anyone looks like me, I don't look like anybody. I don't think anyone looks like anyone, thank God. I don't see that these comparisons can be made.

**14. What sets you apart from the public police? Legally and perhaps personality-related?**

Absolute. It is radically opposite, i.e. public security is there to investigate public and private crimes for private facts and conduct as our legal system says. Public security such as the judicial police investigates based on what a judge requires and usually are completely controlled. In other words if I need to find you guilty im gonna take certain actions which would be different if I was searching your innocence.

However, the one who is investigation on the streets is there on first place...getting all the senses and "smells". So with that perspective you're directing your research... at the work level.....

in the public you can't make decisions you're always going to obey one superior and that superior to another, it's always like that. even in non-judicial investigations it happens the same... you're sent to a cop you see there and find out this... and the police would ask 3 questions that you either can't, or don't know, or there's no means or no longer interested and that's it...

This in the detective world never happens. Working for the public means obedience, observing very strict protocols and zero freedom. It is the opposite of a researcher who needs to have free will, because if you're not the executing hand of someone who thinks. I see it very very different therefore ... I would be unable to obey... if I'm doing an investigation and my client tell me he has run out of money I want to get to the end and I do it ... basically freedom and decision-making in the public which you don't have.

Cons? What do you give us differently? you're not a detective, are you?

There is this law regulates us so much and that has a very strong draconian sanctioning regime with impositions until the closure of the activity with obligations of control by the state unsuspected... because there is no profession in the world that is as subject to surveillance and control as our and we should actually have a balance no?

I'm obliged to have a record book, communicate a crime, lawyers don't! Doctors also not good if you now have a girl with rape symptoms yes, notaries.... in return that we have? that give us any different? I have the same sources as you, the public ones, I if I want to know that someone has a criminal record no one tells me. I must have the authorization of the investigation with which it is absurd!

For example, a much simpler thing if you want to know how many vehicles you have I have no right to check this. I can ask for a license plate like any other citizen. If I want to know how many houses you own I can go to the property register or companies I look at it for information or commercial registration but I have no extra concessions with respect to another citizen...

The only thing we have is surveillance... we have thousands of examples. The famous osint researchers all they do is get information from public sources. They Have big offices and check social networks but they cant make a report which is then used as a proof and it cant be sold to third parties.

The market is full of people who offer investigations but they don't comply with the law... they don't have an alarmed door, armored door, fill the civil registry, consultants, auditors, forensic computer scientists who are computer scientists, mistery shoppers... but research inside a computer are private investigations! They shouldn't!

The police should protect us and watch over us (irony) but all they do is crush us... I am responsible for professional intrusism of Catalonia and I have managed to close some fake investigation centers which have been selling for a year and a half. Do you know how many sanctions they received? none!

If I forget to register a case in the record book I lose my hair! We are the most battered profession in the world! The issue is there is a lot of civil guards and police active in the second labour world. They are the managers of big security companies. This happened when they created the basque and catalan forces...15000 police were gonna lose their jobs so they went into these big companies.

All Caixa's security chiefs, banks, Ibex 35 Endesa companies, telephone, are all ex policemen. Now the policemen who is a bit tired, studies a bit and in two years he becomes a detective and in the end he has contacts and special information.

It is a tough profession so if things don't change I see a black future for us. In fact It is growing very slowly. The number of licenses is at 5700 and active licenses talk about 3000 or less throughout Spain should be a profession that people should fight to hire us and why doesn't it happen? Because the jobs that we have to do are done by others. I see the current situation that way!

**15. Do you usually dress in a specific way when you go to the office? Or when he works on the street?**

The goal is to mimic... if you're going to move around Chinatown because don't go with a Loewe bag!

Look at an investigation I did was about a man who works for an entity that makes credits... he was working for one and also worked for another off the record because the conditions were better. So he kept proposing clients to each other.

He ended up believing I wanted a credit and fell in my trap. You need to inform yourself of everything, you create an imaginary project that is convincing for a professional, a card that you have made or two, you tell him and when you are convinced it is easy to give you the information but that requires a very important previous work, analysis, with whom to talk, what moment is the best moment is the best

One of the classes I taught was human sources... you have to go ask and now when is the moment. Imagine a law firm, you cant go in the morning since they are really busy at that time. You need to go during the afternoon or when he leaves the office, or find a restaurant where he usually goes etc. one of the great qualities that women have is that we are more empathetic... because with that innate quality plus a previous job because you have more opportunities to get what you're looking for.

**16. Is there a symbol with which you would link your profession?**

The magnifying glass...

**17. What image do you think best represents your profession?**

the first g.. the second is more for the police, although it also serves the third I see very competitive, the second very police these two could serve the police, but not the first... we give a service to those who need proof, so this is the consultation, a professional who advises you on what you need

**Section 3: Relationships**

**18. Is any detective your best friend?**

Good over the years I have gained friends, I have great friends, but not my best friend.

**19. Do you usually go out with them? Lunch? Dinner? Weekends?**

On weekends rarely because I dedicate myself to my non-professional friends, but it is true that we go to any event many times just because of the dinner we will all have after! We are all experts who have been working for 20 to 30 years! What are we gonna learn! [laughs] but we want a good wine!

**20. Does it interact through social networks, WhatsApp on an ongoing basis?**

I interact little to be honest. I like LinkedIn since I see it very professional or I share articles...for example a big issue is reporting channels. I do not understand that anyone can have a reporting channel I think I should be a detective... you have to assess a little if that complaint has a reality view...

If you have been working in a company for 30 years you have caught the product manager, to which it sells information, the one who buys cheaply saves costs and takes commission then before a complaint you have more prior information to know if it is a personal rematch between workers or vision of reality and the ability to offer a solution to obtain evidence that is then valid to bring them to trial well....

There are companies that are reporting channels and behind there is no professional. The lawyer has to do his program of compliance... make protocols, but not reporting channel... but it's already a very bad compliance if I am the same one who analyses the allegations. Because if a complaint carries compliance defects, I'm going to be the same person who reports it? if it can involve a failure of the compliance protocol? but well who puts the rattlesnake on the cat, who does something so that this is not so?

**21. Do you talk about personal issues with one of your detective friends?**

Sometimes through networks.... because I said I'm divorced... but not with some.... and some themes... i.e. once said that if I have friends it will already depend not so much on whether it is a professional or unprofessional friend but on the person's character

Some people are more reserved than others and other people just say everything. Even the bartender at a bar after a drink! What I would tell a friend I can also tell my detective friend!

**22. Do you talk about professional topics or often ask other colleagues for advice?**

Yes if I need it and I think there's a partner who knows more than I do, I'm not proud at all and I think it's stupid

**23. Do you attend many conferences or events together?**

**24. Do you do some work provided by other colleagues?**

Yes... Yes... Yes

**25. Would you charge for these jobs differently?**

Of course, I mean it is obvious unless you don't this colleague to call you again. If I charge the same to the final customer who winds? It's obviously an unwritten agreement. For a colleague you work at a price.

**26. Do you do jobs as favors for other colleagues? Or to pay off debts?**

Yes. Not big jobs obviously but imagine you do an economic report and you find out that a company has 87 branches....i am not gonna check them personally one by one.

Still I need to check them all since I've seen detective reports where they say that there is a real branch because it appears in google but then it isn't the case. If the lawyer finds out during the trial your report is completely invalid. The report counts as a unique proof.

What do I do? I take the car and go to Madrid? No... I ask a colleague...

Now if I have to do a surveillance I do ask for money since I don't enjoy them [laughs]. Or maybe they need me for a call then I call and I tell them they owe me a good dinner!

#### Section 4: Prices

**27. How do you decide the price of your research?**

Depending on the complication that I think they're going to provide me because there are times... whenever there is an economic background that is 85% of cases is based on the complication... other people do it based on the money that is at stake... depends on how long it is.

For example, I have been asked for a group of companies that are up to 116 but the case hasn't been accepted in the end. This job takes a couple of hours and then you blindly have to choose one and deeply investigate one.... which might be the wrong one...so I told them a high price. I don't have a crystal ball! So sometimes you just have to give a high price...

**28. In what situations would you adjust the prices of your jobs?**

**29. Would you give higher or lower prices to a customer depending on their economic circumstances?**

If it's something that has no financial background for example parents looking for their daughter... this is the last one I've ever done. She works as a translator in a hospital and he moves boxes and her 22-year-old daughter disappears... that you

ask 10,000 euros from these people? Not really... I told him give me 1000 and I start it.... and when I spent a week the girl showed up and I still gave her back 200 euros! because those people don't take any profit out of the investigation

For example, a typical woman who has spent her whole life caring for children and is 70 years old and he is now with a 45-year-old. Well I am not going to charge her 65 euros an hour... because I charge him less and tell him he'll be paying for it. Another client was paying me for 2 years! Now every Christmas she sends me a ham and she came every year and thanked me: I have regained my life thanks to you!

And sometimes even free... a lady who had cleaned in my house that the son was half involved in drugs and I made him a subject embroidered at zero euros... what are you going to charge him for? There are things that you do from your heart.

Another one, there's a cousin who's getting divorced and well my cousin sister is having a terrible time and now she's out of work because I don't charge her anything... I told him to tell me to pay my commercial registration... but we'll see if he pays for it!

and if he's very rich:

These are not parameters that should be taken into account... if you are a professional you have to charge based on what you think your job is worth. If I see a rich guy and I charge him a lot... and then I see a company that's going to give me a lot of work and I charge you little then I'm no longer valuing my work... I'm valuing the business I'm going to produce... And what have we come to?

Insurance companies now get shit... because of valuing money... you might say that they are gonna give you much but how much is your job worth? you can't be working at six euros an hour!! because there are people who are working at low cost not the following... to see what you value your work or what opportunity? because to see when I started in insurance companies we started with 600 euros a day that paid maximum 900 and I end up charging at 300...what work can you do?

This happens because a young guy who has just finished the degree and works from home and does all the work on a computer and charges you only 30 euros an hour. But if you then need a partner because you can't do everything then is when you have a problem...now the insurance jobs are not being done properly. I know people who just go from 8 to 1. I used to stay the whole day from 8 to 8 and sometimes the man would leave the house at 8...just when it is a bit fresher and you could see he is not sick! The guy who supposedly could not even walk and was out with a huge dog.

This price war has opened up... because now they were doing accident checks to see if they know each other alone through social media and are paying 20 euros! Sorry... how long does it take you to find a name and if you find another? well it's entering the name... with the program, making a contract, putting it in the record book, that is, the bureaucracy that generates an opening of the dossier takes you half an hour plus the search an hour or an hour and a half plus the writing of the report and then throw it 20 euros... which is 4 euros an hour?

If that's the case I'd rather clean! I pay my cleaner 12 euros per hour! This happens when you decided based on a monetary criterion...the criteria of a professional has to be professional but never economic. A monetary criterion can be used sometimes, for example when it is a recurrent client. A customer who comes to me every month I give him a different treatment... because even at the hairdresser's they do it to you. If you're a lifelong customer, you sneak in and you do it before...

But otherwise it speaks very badly of a profession.

**30. Do you use the prices of other colleagues as a reference point?**

Not really... when I'm told it's very expensive... I tell them to ask around that they will find more expensive and cheaper... I never say this detective is cheaper...

It is like when you're organising a trip... you doubt a bit about the very cheap ones but also you don't want to expend too much. I try to have a price criterion that satisfies me that it does not make me feel humiliated because working at 4 euros an hour or 8 because it is a humiliation and they also do not charge very high that if you do not enter you....

**31. How do you think prices have changed in recent years? (crisis, coronavirus)**

yes unfortunately every time there is a crisis prices go down. But I don't know where we're going to go now because....

**32. New old difference**

I do see... I see differences and they are also logical eh.... on the one hand the ones that come out are now more computerized and we have had to make the jump... those who are 50 and 48 ... we all go to the subject of network analysis technologies and all this is done uphill, but against everything that is classic... what it's like to go and ask, sneak into a door this I think we were better

I have met some young detectives and I have told them... hear if you see letters in the mailbox get them! but it's illegal... well you can put a flit and you see it all... because you see in the envelope that he works in a bank, that has a mortgage... we did it every day. The old-school ones... but nowadays they think you are crazy if you do that!

Behind the screens young people are very brave but then on the street there are many differences. Then also the price issue, they work inside a very low-price range because they are starting out and they think they can do everything...

Sometimes I tell them I hope nothing happens to you and you need to outsource ... if I pay 20 euros an hour to the detective who is on the street and I send two which costs me 40 plus mileage and diets then at least I have to charge 65 because if you charge him 25 because... May God keep your health.

What if something happens to you, who are you gonna hire? It is bread for today and hunger for tomorrow... and that's going to stop you from growing up completely because you don't have room to grow besides doing the profession a favor...

Maybe I have this thought because I'm 50 but they don't give a damn about working cheaply... then they are exaggeratedly observers of the law... they're as scared.... and things have to be tried... that basically that... on the other hand they are much less sexist, more socially open, they are not as ghetto as before... this is the biggest generational difference...

### 33. Ideology

### 34. Obstacles (you asked at first)

Absolutely... I think it was in a detcam conference which dealt exactly with this topic. There were some members of the state armed forces. In specific a colonel of the civil guard explained that in her profession it had changed a lot. Obviously because before women were not even allowed. I even had some discussions with Gemma Piñeiro, a very nice detective who told me that happens because no one flirts with you anymore!

I explained that when I was going to sell my services after working a few years in an agency and after working in all the departments I decided to try my luck and start my own office. When I started to sell I used to go to the industrial areas. I went there and asked for the boss. At that time there were many labor reports being made , faked casualties if it was a recurring source of business... as it happens now with insurances.

I gave my card... and the secretary gave the card to the boss and then he looked to me from top to bottom and he must have thought oh look this cute. They then received you but their objective was a different one.

I advertised myself as e Villena precisely so as not to put Elisenda and I had the office in rambla Catalunya 5, a very central point. The secretary always had to say that there was no Eduardo that the only Villena was Elisenda. Many clients were very surprised: oh a woman! I always had to tell them I had already a lot of experience with sex stories [laughs].

Before the detective was identified with the coat and the newspaper... in that sense there has been a big change. Today no one is surprised... not from the most sexist to the most reactionary... no one is surprised that the detective is a woman, with regard to the teammates no one despises you for being a woman.

Except the cases of prostitution in which it is tough to be a woman because they might think you are looking for a job...in most cases it is almost easier for women than man because in general a woman inspires less danger than a man, we have in general more empathy. I think that as historically we always had to take care of the family, we already carry it inside and tend to be much more respectful, pacifist and that for me is an ease. Then I've also given a lecture on whether it's better for the profession to be a man or a woman I start with a very Paleolithic argument that can be right:

It is demonstrated that women have a much more peripheral viewing angle than men, and it comes from the Paleolithic because men hunted and their vision is of remoteness while the female was caring the children and spent the whole day looking at the sides so if we see more..... and then the hearing acuity is also demonstrated... women develop greater hearing acuity... the father never wakes up the mother always wakes up... so if we see more and hear more... we're better detectives

