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NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* CLIFFORD D SHEARING

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NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* LEO ZAKUTA

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REAL MEN, GOOD MEN, WISE MEN AND CAUTIOUS MEN:

A Study of Culture, Role Models and Interaction within a Police Communications Centre

by

Clifford D. Shearing

A Thesis submitted in conformity with the
requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the University of Toronto.

Clifford D. Shearing, 1977

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ABSTRACT

Research on the police has proceeded apace over the past two decades. Nevertheless, there continues to be important theoretical and empirical gaps in our understanding of police work. This study identifies and considers some of these gaps. In doing so it examines, within the context of one empirical setting, a subject of general sociological significance: the relation between the "self" and "others".

Sociological research on the police has, recently, been influenced by two major movements, one theoretical and one political, namely, labelling theory and the "liberal" concern for "equal justice" and "equal opportunity". One consequence of these two influences is that research on the police has concentrated on discovering whether the police apply the law equally to all citizens. This emphasis has resulted in a search for correlations between police action and the characteristics of complainants, suspects and victims. This search, in turn, has had three significant consequences for the sociology of the police. First, research has concentrated primarily on the activities of patrolmen (and to a lesser extent detectives). Secondly, the focus of attention has been police-citizen encounters and the law enforcement decisions made in these situations. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, sociologists have implicitly assumed that policemen can be treated

as a homogenous group who will respond similarly to similar situations.

These developments have shaped our understanding of police work. Today while we know a considerable amount about the situational factors associated with the law enforcement outcomes of police-citizen encounters we know little about the activities of policemen other than patrolmen and detectives, the interaction that takes place in police-police encounters or the differences that exist between policemen in their responses to situations.

This study responds to these limitations in our knowledge by identifying various styles of police work in both police-police and police-citizen encounters within a police communications centre.

In seeking to identify different styles of police work the study takes Westley's work on the police culture, and its relation to police action, and Niederhoffer's more recent attempt to define a typology of police role models, as its points of departure. The argument advanced is that in responding to the demands of the public, colleagues and superiors, policemen orient to two ideal conceptions of police work: the ideal policeman embodied in the police culture and the conception of police work advocated by "the brass". In responding to these ideals, policemen, it is argued, identify four strategies or role models that they take into account in dealing with the public, and other policemen. These role models are used by policemen to identify and categorize each other. The study examines the activities of people within each of these categories in order to describe the styles of police work associated with each role model. It then goes on to examine how policemen select and shift between role models.

This study adds to our present knowledge of the police by moving away from a monolithic conception of policemen and police work. It points out that while policemen recognize a police culture and departmental policy they are not all equally committed to these values and expectations. In order to understand police action one must, it is argued, do more than examine the values and situations that policemen respond to; one must examine, in addition, the differences in the way policemen interpret these values and expectations.

The situation that policemen within the communications centre find themselves in has parallels in other police, occupational, and interactional settings. Consequently, what this study has discovered about the relationship between "self" and "others" in one empirical setting has implications for other people living and working within other settings.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

NAME: Clifford D. Shearing

DATE OF BIRTH: February 2, 1942

PLACE OF BIRTH: Durban, South Africa

DEGREES:

From - To	Institute	Discipline	Degree	Year
1961-64	University of Natal	Sociology	B. Soc. Sci.	1965
1966-67	University of Natal	Sociology	B. Soc. Sci. (Hons.)	1967
1967-68	University of Toronto	Sociology	M.A.	1968

GRADUATE STUDIES:

1968-69 Graduate Faculty, New School of Social Research

Major: Sociology

Sociology of Religion - Professor Berger
Role Theory and Behaviour - Professor Drietzel
Max Weber - Professor Meyer
Theories of Social Change - Professor Meyer

Minor: Philosophy

General Theory of Intentionality - Professor Gurwitsch
Philosophical Foundations of Modern Psychology - Professor Gurwitsch
Philosophy of Science - Professor Goe

PUBLICATIONS:

1966 Blood Donations: The Attitudes and Motivation of Urban Bantu in Durban, with H.L. Watts, Institute for Social Research, University of Natal.

1973 "How to Make Theories Untestable: A Guide to Theorists", The American Sociologist, Vol. 8, No. 1, February.

1973	"Towards a Phenomenological Sociology or Towards a Solution to the Parsonian Puzzle", Catalyst, No. 7.
1974	"Dial-A-Cop: A Study of Police Mobilization", in Crime Prevention and Social Defense, ed. R.L. Akers and E. Sagarin, Praeger: New York.
1974	Private Policing and Security in Canada: A Workshop, edited jointly with S. Arthurs, F. Jeffries and P.C. Stenning, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.
1974	A review of Taylor, I., The New Criminology, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973 in The University of Toronto Law Journal, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, Winter.
1974	A review of Letkemann, Peter, Crime as Work, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973 in Sociology: Reviews of New Books, Vol. 1, No. 6, April.
1975	A review of Curtis, Lynn A., Violence, Race and Culture, Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath and Company (Lexington Books), 1975 in Sociology: Reviews of New Books, Vol. 3, No. 3, January.
1976	A review of Curtis, Lynn A., Violence, Race and Culture, Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath and Company (Lexington Books), 1975 in Crime Punishment and Correction, Vol. 5, No. 1, February.
1977	Private Security: An Examination of Canadian Statistics 1961 - 1971, with Margaret B. Farnell, Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.
In Press	Policing in Canada: A Bibliography, with J.F. Lynch, Ottawa: Government of Canada.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Research on the police has proceeded apace over the past two decades. However, the theoretical and political questions that have guided this research have led sociologists to hold fast to certain paths while avoiding others. The result is that today despite the burgeoning literature on the police there are important theoretical and empirical gaps in our understanding of police work.

This study identifies and considers some of these gaps. Its empirical topic is the police response to citizen calls for assistance; an important area of police work that has received little sociological attention. Its theoretical topic is the relationship between "self" and "other" in police-citizen and police-police interaction. We will examine how policemen's self-definition and their perceptions of various "significant others" (the public, superiors, colleagues and their image of the "ideal policeman") influence their response to citizen's reports of trouble and their interaction with other policemen.

The implications of this study go far beyond the police to a theme universal in social life, that is well-stated in Park's remark that "most social behavior stems from the fact that we keep an eye on others and their actual and probable reactions to what we do" (Hughes, 1971: 349). This notion, although central to Symbolic Interactionism has not been well developed. Park's simple statement belies its complexity. Cooley and Mead's insightful discussions of the complex inter-relationship between the self and others, and Hughes' (1971) discussion of the question "What others?" have not been extended in recent years. The development of labelling theory, along lines dictated by political concerns for "equal justice", has indeed, directed attention away from these issues.

In the police area, the initial contribution made by Westley (1970) in discussing the relation between the "self" and "others" has not been advanced. Yet the importance of this contribution is apparent in the very heavy reliance sociologists continue to place on Westley's findings and the central position they have accorded his work in the sociology of the police.

Our objective in this study is to take up the cudgels where Westley left them.

Responding to Trouble

Before we consider the theoretical thrust of this study we must describe its empirical topics.

Although sociological research on the police has focused primarily on the consequences of police decisions for the definition of deviance it has neglected an area of police decision-making that has important implications for this, namely, the police response to citizens' appeals for assistance.[1]

Sociologists have studied citizens' decisions to call the police (see, for example, Ennis, 1967), and the decisions made by the latter "at the scene of the crime" (see, for instance, Pilliavin and Briar, 1965; Black, 1968), but have tended to ignore the process linking these two sets of decisions. It is these "linking decisions" and the work activities associated with them that are the empirical subjects of this study.

In North America the public usually telephones for police assistance (Reiss, 1971; Leonard, 1970). These calls are normally received by a section of the police department known as the communications centre (Grosman, 1975), whose staff decides whether the police should respond and, if so, dispatches a policeman to investigate.

The organization of communication centres varies with the size of the police department. In the smaller departments, one man often handles all the receiving and dispatching. In the larger ones, the work becomes specialized. The department in which this study was done divided the work into three jobs: switchboard, complaints and dispatching. The switchboard, which received telephone calls to the police department, was staffed by civilian operators. Where a caller requested police assistance, the switchboard operators transferred the call to the complaint desk, manned by policemen who listened to the caller's request, recorded details and decided whether the police should respond. If the decision was to respond, details of the request were passed to a police dispatcher.

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[1] Sociologists have in a number of well-cited publications (see, for example, Cumming, 1964; Reis, 1971), noted the importance of this area of police work but have done little to investigate it. It is not, however an issue that has been ignored by operational researchers seeking to "improve" the operation of the police (see, for example, Task Force Report, 1967; Bereal, 1969; Chance, 1970, Larson, 1972). This research, however, does not consider how these decisions are made but focuses on formulating instructions for making better decisions.

This study considers the complaints job, where initial contact between the police and the public often takes place and where police decisions to intervene are made. Thus, the study concentrates on an important, but neglected, aspect of police work -- namely, the control policemen seek to exercise over who will receive their services and what services they should provide.[2]

The Development of Sociological Research on the Police

The sociology of the police received its first major impetus from a study of police work undertaken by William Westley (1951, 1953, 1956)[3] He set out to study the police as an occupation and adopted as his orienting premise Hughes' notion that service occupations "will have their chronic fights for status, for personal dignity"

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[2] Hughes, (1971: 346) has argued that the control workers seek to exercise over the demands clients place over them is a common and important problem within the sociology of occupations.

[3] Westley's thesis submitted in 1951 has since been published as a book, with minor modifications, under the title "Violence and the Police: A Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality", (1970).

(Hughes, 1971: 345) with the consumers of their services. In identifying these conflicts and the police response to them Westley focused on the police morality and culture.

He discovered that the police viewed the public as generally hostile and disrespectful. He also found that the police identified different types of citizens and believed that different categories of citizens would respond better to different sorts of actions. For instance, they felt that in dealing with the disrespect of "the better class of people" it was better to be polite but that "people in the slums" only understood "the fist".

In examining the actions of policemen Westley found that policemen used the police culture to justify and legitimate their response to the public.

By focusing on the police culture in explaining police action Westley, in effect, treated the police as a homogeneous group of men all equally committed to the values and directions of the police morality.[4] As a result, in spite of his concern for meaning, and dispite his commitment to the theoretical orientation of men such as Cooley, Mead, Blumer and Hughes, Westley engaged in a form of analysis that Blumer (1969) has termed "variable analysis". In explaining police action

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[4] This limited focus appears to have been motivated by practical rather than theoretical reasons. In any research project one cannot study everything. Nonetheless, as we will see this focus has had profound consequences for the sociology of the police.

Westley moved, from the police morality, directly to police action and ignored the interpretative process in which policemen confront and handle the meanings of the police culture as they act in response to specific situations. He effectively treated interaction as a forum through which cultural determinants moved to bring about particular forms of behaviour (Blumer, 1969: 7). Policemen as a consequence were relegated to the status of "cultural dopes" (Garfinkel, 1967) and they have been accorded this status by sociologists ever since.

Since Westley, sociological research on the police has, until very recently,[5] been influenced by two major movements one theoretical and one political, namely, labelling theory and the "liberal" concern for "equal justice" and "equal opportunity".[6] Sociologists studying the police have responded to both these influences. Both movements brought the police to center stage within the sociology of deviance.[7] The police were recognized as playing a strategic role in the labelling of deviance and as being in a critical position to influence the quality of "justice" citizens received.[8]

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[5] The most recent theoretical movement to influence research on the police is the neo-Marxist or critical school within sociology and criminology. See for example, Taylor, et. al. (1973) and Platt (1974).

[6] The relationship between labelling theory and the concern for the "underdog" is discussed by Becker (1964).

[7] Niederhoffer, (1967: 4-5) has pointed out that "in the twenty-five year period from 1940 to 1965 only six articles remotely concerned with the police were published in the American Journal of Sociology and the American Sociological Review". Since 1966, however, the police have become a major topic of interest within sociology although access to the police by researchers continues to be difficult especially if the researcher is not involved in applied research. In Canada, where

In studying the police the questions sociologists since Westley have asked most often are: Are the police biased in their treatment of the public? Do they discriminate? Are they fair?[9] (Skolnick, 1966; Berkley, 1969; Bailey and Mendelsohn, 1969; Chevigny, 1969; Lambert, 1970; Banton, 1973; Rossett and Cressey, 1976). In answering these questions sociologists embarked on a search for correlations between police action and the characteristics of complainants, suspects and victims. In seeking hypotheses these researchers turned to Westley for suggestions and found that both demeanor and socio-economic status were likely to be important. They, however, moved beyond these ideas to examine any characteristics that they thought they could measure and studied such factors as age, sex, race, socio-economic status, demeanour,

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this study was undertaken, until recently, very little research on the police has been undertaken. One of the first sociological studies on the police in Canada was by Gandy (1967).

[8] Two of the earliest and most influential articles pointing to the sociological and political importance of the police were by two legal scholars Joseph and Herman Goldstein (Goldstein, 1960 and Goldstein, 1963).

[9] It should be noted that although these questions only became a major concern of sociologists from about the middle 1960's Westley was by no means unaware of the strategic position of the police or the political implications of their response to the public: "The significance in studying the police with respect to the relationship between law, custom, and morality, lies in the analysis of the impact of the customs they develop and the occupational morality of the men, on the way in which they enforce the law (1970: 11). Indeed sociological interest in the role of the police in defining deviance predates Westley. See Goldman (1950) and Whyte, (1943).

complainants preference and previous record (see, for instance, Piliavin and Briar, 1965; Reiss and Bordua, 1967; Black, 1968, 1970a, 1970b; Sullivan and Segal, 1972; Sykes and Clark, 1975).

As a result of the research that has taken place on the police since Westley we know a considerable amount about the factors associated with the outcomes of police-citizen encounters. However, with respect to the police culture, we know little more than Westley. Furthermore, we know practically nothing about the interpretative process whereby policemen handle the meanings of the police culture or consequences of this process for police action.[10] Finally, we know very little about the different categories of policemen that police officers identify, the conflicts that take place between them or the fights for status and personal dignity that take place within police departments. These internal fights and conflicts are likely to be as consequential for police behaviour as conflicts with citizens. In police-citizen encounters, policemen take into account the expectations and sentiments of colleagues and supervisors in the same way that they do those of citizens.[11] Indeed, as an occupational group that regards itself as a profession, one would expect that policemen would place considerably greater weight on the judgements and preferences of other professionals than those of laymen (Hughes, 1971).

---

[10] Sudnow (1965) and Bittner (1967a, 1967b) have considered the interpretation of the law and legal categories by policemen as they go about their work. This research has added significantly to our understanding of the process of police decision making. However, it does not focus on the specific gaps in our understanding of police work that we have identified, namely, the police interpretation of and response to the police culture and significant others.

[11] Wilson (1968: 84) has pointed to the importance of policemen's

This study is concerned with these neglected theoretical issues.

Role Models and Categories of Policemen

In order to consider the issues we have identified it is necessary to move beyond a monolithic conception of policemen. Policemen are not all the same. They do not all respond to others, or the police culture in the same way, and what is more, they distinguish between themselves in terms of the way in which they define situations and interpret meanings (Niederhoffer, 1967).

Policemen, like other human beings, respond to their world via a process of self-interaction in which they note aspects of their world and define and interpret its meanings (Blumer, 1969: 7). In this process of interpretation policemen take the role of "others" in

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concerns for the judgements of colleagues and superiors. He studies this process by comparing the consequences for police work of different encouragement styles across police departments. He does not, however, as this study does, consider the differences between policemen within a police department with respect to their interpretation of the expectations of other policemen. Thus, while he recognizes differences between police departments, and within police departments differences between officers and men he does not identify categories of policemen within this later group in terms of the way in which policemen interpret the meanings of their world.

This difficulty applies to other research that has distinguished between groups of policemen within the police department in terms of the police rank structure. See, for example, Banton, 1964 and Cain, 1973.

viewing what they and others have done and in deciding on a course of action (Mead, 1962). In doing so they give different weights to the expectations and judgements of others. These differences determine in large measure the character of the interpretative process policemen engage in and the conclusions they reach (Hughes, 1971, see especially, 348-354). Which others they take into account, and the importance they attach to each of them, is crucial to an understanding of police interaction not only with citizens but with other policemen. In this policemen are no different from other men.

In discussing the medical profession Hughes notes that:

> "Every man finds his "significant others", with whom he identifies himself so that he listens to their voices rather than to others. Since there are a number of crucial reference groups in modern medicine, it becomes part of the problem of the student to find some balance between his sensitivity to them, his own configuration of significant others."
>
> (Hughes, 1971: 404)

In developing a configuration of others they find congenial, medical students, Hughes (1971) argues, have available to them a series of role models which are realized in practise, to some degree, by practising physicians. Each of these models embodies a different strategy that can be adopted in coming to terms with the "significant others" of the medical world. Each student takes these models into account in developing his own balance of "significant others" and most students move towards one or other of these role models. Medical students use the role models to decide the kind of physicians they want to be, and once they have come to some conclusion about this, albeit tentative, they use these models to guide them in their relationships.[12]

In the police world we find that policemen also identify a number of stances towards others -- role models -- that they can adopt, and they use these stances not only to guide their actions, but to identify themselves and others as particular types of policemen. Each role model implies a conception of "self" and "others". Accordingly the role model a policeman chooses as a guide to action has important implications for the way he views himself, interprets the meanings of the police culture, defines his situation, and for the relationship and conflicts he has with others both inside and outside the police department.

If we are not to treat policemen as "cultural dopes" determined by cultural and situational factors we must examine the way in which they interpret their world. One way of doing this is to identify the role model that policemen use as guides and then examine the interpretative processes and associated behaviours of categories of policemen, that policemen themselves identify, on the basis of these models. This is what we will do in this study.

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[12] Hughes, concept of role models as a way of considering actors orientation towards others, it should be noted, is different from a number of other attempts to consider differences in actors orientations to others. For example, while Riesman's (1950) tradition directed, inner directed and outer directed men, and Thomas' (Volkart, 1951) bohemians, philistines and creative men appear to involve the concept of role models one sees, on closer inspection, that what Reisman and Thomas have in mind is much more a personality type. This approach leads one directly back into "variable analysis" and ignores the interpretative process in which stances towards others are established, maintained and changed.

A similar difficulty arises with Merton's (1957) concept of "structural determinants" as factors that cause actors to select different reference groups.

Specifically, the objectives of this study are to:

(a) identify and analyse the culture within a police communications centre;

(b) identify and analyze the role models that policemen working in the communications center recognize and use;

(c) identify categories of policemen in terms of the choice of role models they and other policemen claim they have made;

(d) analyze the behaviour consequences of the interpretative processes associated with the categories of policemen and role models we have identified;

(e) identify and describe the shifts in allegiance that take place between different role models during the course of police careers; and finally

(f) consider the implications of our findings for other policemen and for other people living and working within other settings.

The final objective will allow us to move from the specific to the general. Shibutani (1973), has argued that in studying the relationship between the "self" and "others" it is useful to examine settings in which actors must handle the expectations of several groups of others. It is in the weighting of and the balancing of expectations that men define a "self" and "others" in relation to it. The study of police role models provides an excellent opportunity to study this fundamental social process. With the emphasis on the political consequences of police decisions that has been so central to sociological research on the police this opportunity has not as yet, been exploited.

Organization of the Study

The following chapter begins with a more detailed description of the setting in which the study was undertaken. It then considers the methods used, the problems encountered during the course of the field-work and the steps taken to resolve them.

The third chapter describes the police culture as it was expressed in the communications centre. This culture is compared with the culture identified by Westley over twenty-five years ago in a study undertaken in a different country and in a different setting within a police department.

Chapter four identifies several role models and the categories of policemen associated with them. This is followed by an analysis of the actions of each of these categories of policemen in response to citizens and to other policemen outside the communications centre.

The fifth chapter analyses the responses of different categories policemen within the communications center to each other and identifies the "pressures" to shift role models that arise during a policeman's career.

Finally, in the last chapter we review the findings of the study, consider their implications for other areas of police work and for other areas of social life, and suggest directions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

SETTING AND METHOD

In chapter one we defined both the theoretical and empirical concerns of this study. This chapter will describe in more detail the setting in which these concerns were studied and the method used.

Setting: The Communications Centre

The police department studied employed about 4,500 policemen and was responsible for policing a Canadian city with a population of approximately two million. The boundaries of the city enclosed an area of 241 square miles.

At the time the field work was done, the police department estimated that the police switchboard received approximately two and a half million calls a year. As the switchboard served the public ambulance service and the city's fire departments, many of the calls received were transferred to these other services. Of the total number of calls received by the police switchboard we estimate that approximately three quarters of a million calls were from members of the public requesting police assistance. Of these, about two thirds to three quarters were transferred directly to the complaint desk within the communications centre. These were called "citizen calls", or "red line calls". The remaining calls were transferred to a police station because the caller requested a particular field division. If a decision was made within the station to grant the citizen's request for police assistance, the station telephoned the request through to the complaint desk. These were called "police" or "green line calls".

The communications centre policemen (C.C. officers) working at the complaint desk also received all telephoned messages from within the police department for the dispatchers; for example, a message that a patrolman working in a particular area had gone to lunch. Although all motorized patrolmen could make radio contact with the dispatcher they were encouraged to use the telephone to relay "administrative messages" in order to "save air time".

The communications centre was located administratively within the staff operations section of the police department (see organization chart on page 17). It was headed by a staff superintendent who was responsible for the three sub-sections: staff operations, special equipment and technical maintenance. The switchboard, complaint, and dispatch jobs made up the staff operations sub-section and were under the supervision of an inspector. This section, as the operations arm of the centre, was the section most visible to members of the police department and was often identified as being the communications centre, although strictly speaking it was only one part of it.

The switchboard was staffed by civilian operators and was

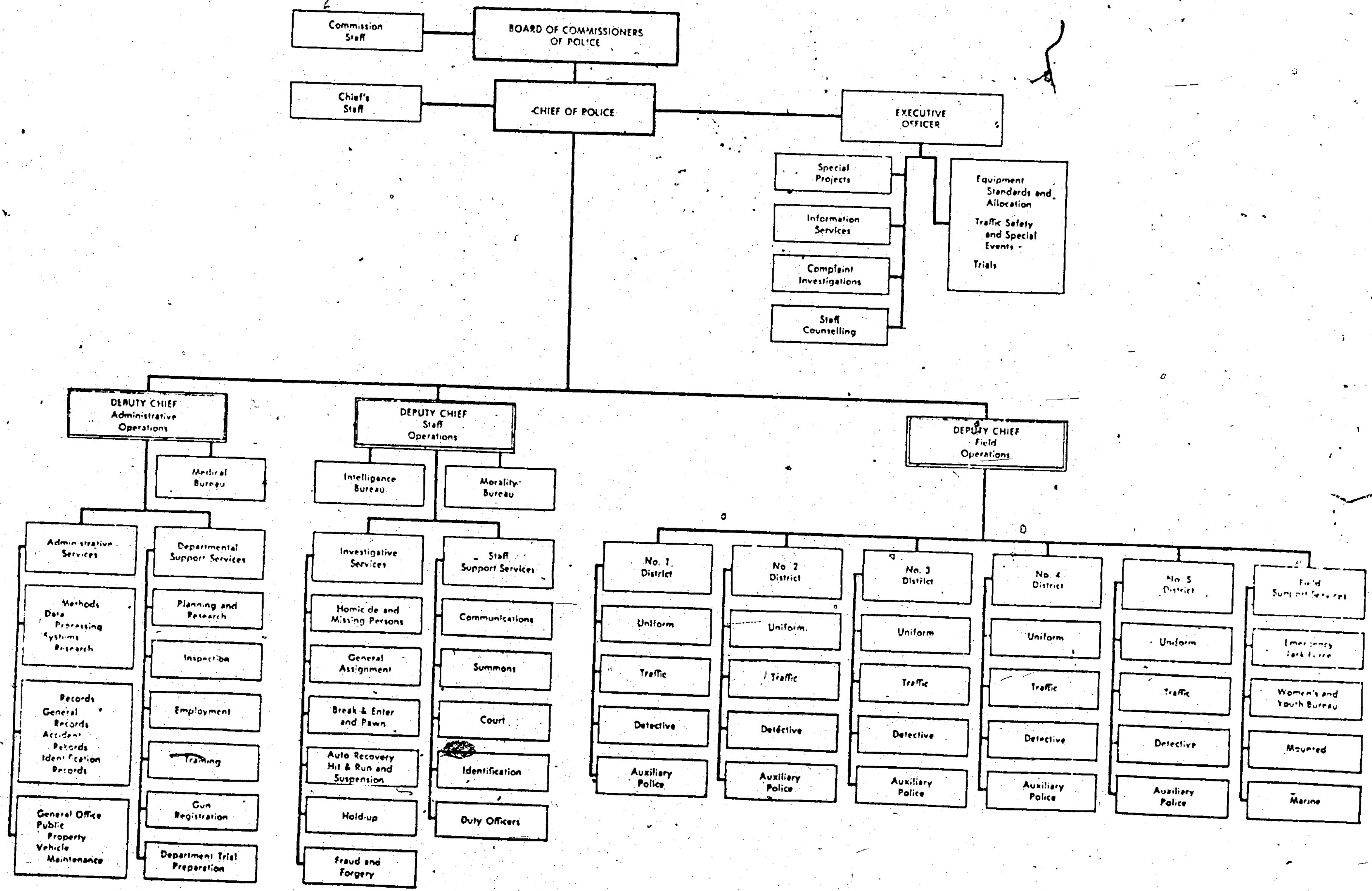
Commission Staff
BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE
Chief's Staff
CHIEF OF POLICE
EXECUTIVE OFFICER
Special Projects
Information Services
Complaint Investigations
Staff Counselling
Equipment Standards and Allocation
Traffic Safety and Special Events -
Trials
DEPUTY CHIEF Administrative Operations
Medical Bureau
Administrative Services
Methods Data Processing Systems Research
Records General Records Accident Records Identification Records
General Office Public Property Vehicle Maintenance
Departmental Support Services
Planning and Research
Inspection
Employment
Training
Gun Registration
Department Trial Preparation
DEPUTY CHIEF Staff Operations
Intelligence Bureau
Morality Bureau
Investigative Services
Homicide and Missing Persons
General Assignment
Break & Enter and Pawn
Auto Recovery Hit & Run and Suspension
Hold-up
Fraud and Forgery
Staff Support Services
Communications
Summons
Court
Identification
Duty Officers
DEPUTY CHIEF Field Operations
No. 1 District
Uniform
Traffic
Detective
Auxiliary Police
No. 2 District
Uniform
Traffic
Detective
Auxiliary Police
No. 3 District
Uniform
Traffic
Detective
Auxiliary Police
No. 4 District
Uniform
Traffic
Detective
Auxiliary Police
No. 5 District
Uniform
Traffic
Detective
Auxiliary Police
Field Support Services
Emergency Task Force
Women's and Youth Bureau
Mounted
Marine

Diagram 1

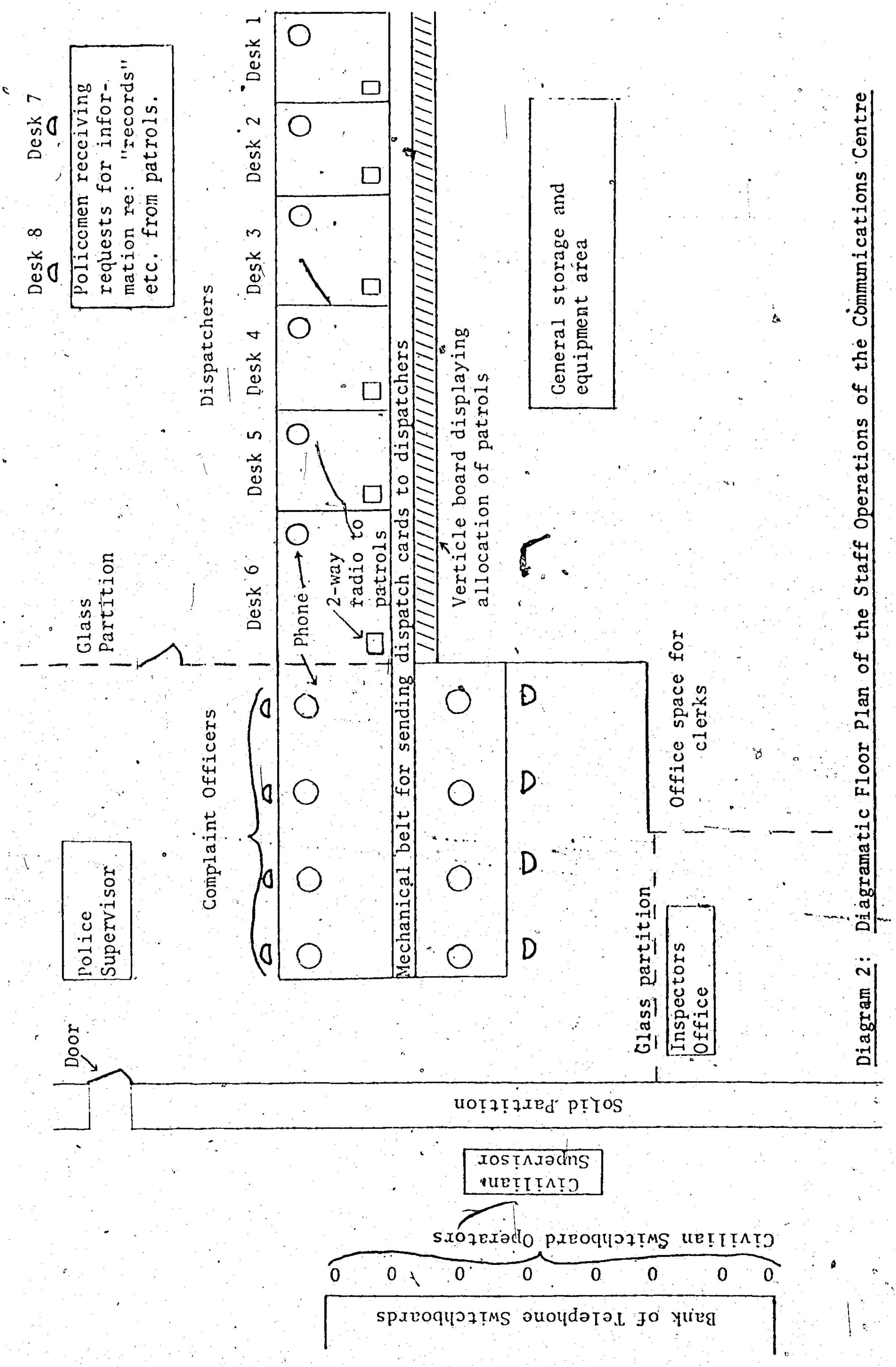
Desk 8
Desk 7
Policemen receiving requests for information re: "records" etc. from patrols.
Desk 1
Desk 2
Desk 3
Desk 4
Desk 5
Desk 6
Dispatchers
General storage and equipment area
Glass Partition
Phone
2-way radio to patrols
Mechanical belt for sending dispatch cards to dispatchers
Verticle board displaying allocation of patrols
Police Supervisor
Complaint Officers
Office space for clerks
Glass partition
Inspectors Office
Door
Solid Partition
Civilian Supervisor
Civilian Switchboard Operators
0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
Bank of Telephone Switchboards

Diagram 2: Diagramatic Floor Plan of the Staff Operations of the Communications Centre physically isolated from the "radio room" in which the complaint and dispatch rooms were located. These two rooms were divided by a glass partition (see diagram on page 18).

The desks in the dispatch room were connected with those in the complaint room via a conveyor belt which C.C. officers working at the complaint desk used to send messages requesting the dispatch of a patrolman to the dispatchers. These messages were written on specially printed cards, called "complaint tickets", the size and shape of computer cards.

There were eight positions or "desks" in the dispatch room. Six of these were small partially enclosed cubicles. Each of these positions provided the dispatcher access to the police radio system, a telephone, and the complaint tickets sent to them by the C.C. officers at the complaint desk. These dispatchers were responsible for dispatching and keeping track of the whereabouts of patrol units under their control.

The two remaining dispatch room positions were behind the others on a raised platform. The dispatchers working in these positions kept track of the movements of special police vehicles such as "paddy wagons" and "special squads".

The complaint room was centered around a long desk with eight complaint positions. Each complaint position included a telephone console, a card street address file and allowed access to the conveyor belt.

The desk used by the sergeants and staff sergeants, who supervised the work of the C.C. officers, was located in the complaint room. From within the complaint room they could, if standing, see into the dispatch room and vice versa.

Typically, C.C. officers working in the radio room would spend one shift at a dispatch desk and the next at the complaint desk. These desks were staffed twenty-four hours a day. If all the dispatch and complaint positions were filled, which was usually the case only during the busiest shifts, there would be sixteen police constables on duty and two sergeants. The total staff of the radio room included eighty-five police constables and twelve sergeants.

The Method

Each of the issues focused on in this study concerns the definition and interpretation of meanings in a natural setting. These issues required the researcher to acquire a first hand knowledge of the thoughts, feelings and actions of the policemen he was studying. He had to become thoroughly familiar with their social world. To do this he participated in their life so that he could observe it. He became a participant observer. As a participant the author became involved in the social world of the policemen he was studying in order to appreciate it.[1] As an observer, he detached himself from it in order to analyze it.[2]

Participant observation involves a progressive process of familiarization in which the observer participates so that he can observe and then uses his observations to redirect his participation. The participant observer looks to the empirical world for direction in defining his problem, selecting his techniques and interpreting his techniques and interpreting his observations. This involves a continual process of exploration in which the observer uses his growing familiarity with the sphere of life he is studying to guide his observation and analysis.

---

[1] It is participation in this sense that Mead appears to be concerned with when he considers human beings' ability to think and communicate. It is participation that allows a person to "put himself in the place of another" so that, "he has the meaning of the other person's act in his own experience" (Mead, 1962: 73). By participating in the life of his subjects, the observer is able to appreciate the "meaning of the other person's act".

In this regard see the discussion by Giddens (1976: 55-56) of the argument that appreciation of meaning, although facilitated by "reliving" the experiences of others, as Dilthey advocated, does not require it, and that it is sufficient simply to grasp the "form of life" involved.

[2] This interaction of involvement and detachment has been identified by many authors as central to participant observation. See, for example, Powdermaker (1966: 9), and Hughes (1971: 435).

> "The purpose of exploratory investigation is to move towards a clearer understanding of how one's problem is to be posed, to learn what are the appropriate data, to develop ideas of what are significant lines of relation and to evolve one's conceptual tools in the light of what one is learning about the area of life."
>
> (Blumer, 1969: 40)

In field work exploration involves a continual role negotiation[3] in which the observer is constantly identifying and responding to opportunities for participation and hence for observation and analysis. The roles he negotiates set limits to the extent and nature of his participation. They determine who he will be able to observe, what he will be able to observe, how much he will be able observe and how he will observe.

This process of exploration starts the moment the observer begins to participate in the life of the people he is studying and continues for the duration of the field work. With each role he plays the observer is able to fill out part of the picture he is attempting to draw. As he moves from role to role he gradually begins to complete the picture and learns to feel at home with the group he is studying.

> "The picture provides the scholar with a secure bearing so that he knows that the questions he asks of the empirical area are

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[3] This process of role negotiation is discussed by Vidich. He points out that an essential feature of this is that the observer is limited to roles that are meaningful to the group being studied.

> "In every case the field worker is fitted into a plausible role by the population he is studying and within a context meaningful to them" (Vidich, 1970: 166).

> meaningful and relevant to it, that the problem he poses is not artificial, that the kinds of data he seeks are significant in terms of the empirical world and that the leads he follows are faithful to its nature."
> (Blumer, 1969: 42)

In what follows we will first trace the history of the field work process by examining the role negotiation that the researcher engaged in and the corresponding process of exploration that this involved. We will then describe the major decisions, with respect to the systematic observation of life within the radio room, made during the course of the field work. Finally, we will summarize and review the field work process by considering a second aspect of field observation and analysis identified by Blumer, namely inspection.

Exploration and Role Negotiation

The first problem tackled in this study was "getting in". Police departments are not known for their affection for researchers[4] and the department studied was no exception. There appeared to be only one way to get access to the communications centre in this department, and that was by obtaining the approval and support of the Chief of Police. Fortunately, the author had the support of a senior faculty member of his University, who was on good terms with the Chief. With his assistance, the Chief of Police was persuaded of the merits of the study and permission to undertake it was granted.

---

[4] See Manning's (1972) discussion of the history and problems associated with sociological research on the police in the United States. Several of the major studies of policing in the United States have involved either a researcher joining a police department as a member (see Buckner, 1968; Rubinstein, 1973) or have been undertaken by policemen who have become sociologists (see Niederhoffer, 1967). The current interest in police work in fiction and drama also involves the activities of ex-policemen. Perhaps the best known of these police authors is Joseph Wambaugh whose books have formed the basis for several films and television dramas (see his "The Blue Knight", 1972, "The New Centurions", 1971, "The Choir Boys", 1975, and "The Onion Field", 1973).

This mode of access had profound consequences for the research. The observer entered the field as a "known observer" (Lofland, 1971), and was destined from the beginning to occupy a position, that Gold (1969) terms, "participant-as-observer". The known observer never, unless he "goes native", becomes a participant in the sense that other group members are. He may, however, become a "courtesy insider" (Matza's, 1969).

As a courtesy insider, the author was given the privilege of participating in many of the activities of the group even though his status of an observer was known[5]. With time the author, was accepted as a part of the group of people who worked within the radio room. While not doing their job, he was viewed as doing a job that was closely related to theirs. He became very much part of the team. He shared with them the excitement of a hold-up, the tragedy of being too late to offer help in a crisis, the relief and joy of finding that the rush to get help to someone was worth it, and the dreariness of midnight shifts. He participated directly in many activities: the laughter, the conversations, the football and hockey games watched on T.V. and most memorably, those feasts that became the centre of radio room life over weekend shifts and at other times when "the brass" and the "mean" sergeants were out of the way. These feasts might involve the author in participating in the preparation of a menu that required the dispatch of patrol cars to different parts of the city or participating in the frequent trips to the lunch room to stir and savour the aroma of one of "Pa Cartwright's" meals.[6]

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[5] There are many examples of this in the sociological literature. One of the best known is Whyte's (1955) study of Street Corner Society. While his status of an observer was well known, and indeed insisted upon, he was nonetheless able to participate to a remarkable extent in the life of a "corner boy".

The role of a courtesy insider is a marginal status in which the observer is neither quite an insider nor an outsider. This status is eloquently described by Lofland.

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[6] The extent to which the policemen in the radio room allowed the author to participate in their life as an insider was something that constantly surprised him. This experience of wonder at the degree to which they have been permitted to become insiders is something that fieldworkers frequently remark on. One example of this is found in Liebow's reflections on his fieldwork experiences in "Tally's Corner".

> "On several different counts, I was an outsider, but I was also a participant in the full sense of the word. The people I was observing knew that I was observing them, yet they allowed me to participate in their activities and take part in their lives to a degree that continues to surprise me."
>
> (Liebow, 1970: 272)

> "Being a known observer allows one to get close to some people's world. It can then become quite evident to the observer that although he is in that world he is not truly of it. He is so close that he can deeply empathize with local pains, joys and boredoms, but these are not truly his own pains, joys and boredoms, for he is ultimately only an observer. And here, the rub. He is close enough to be one of them, but he can't. His job is to write about their life, not live it. He cannot completely give himself over to participation, because he has to be considering and remembering all that occurs in order to record it. And what is most important, the participants to whom he is close know all these things about him. There is, then, a subtle separation between the observer and the members that can be painful and poignant. 'You are here and you know, yet you are not really one of us'."
>
> (Lofland, 1971: 97)

Lofland here captures precisely the elements of the status of a known observer as they were experienced in the radio room. As an insider, the researcher gained an insight into the life of the radio room; as an outsider he had a freedom of movement that insiders are seldom permitted, as well as a degree of detachment that enabled him to undertake an analysis that full participation would have made difficult.[7]

In this study, the move from outsider to courtesy insider, while relatively quick, was by no means uneventful and involved many problems. Each of these entailed a negotiation of roles and each new role brought with it opportunities and obstacles.

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[7] One of the most sensitive and insightful discussions of the problems that full participation in the life of a group can bring is found in Bowen's (1964) discussion of her field experiences.

The blessing the Chief of Police gave this study carried with it enormous advantages. It ensured access to the communications centre quickly and with a minimum of fuss. It also provided access to senior members of the police department. Most importantly, perhaps, it allowed the author to experience police authority and something of what "rank" means to policemen in a direct and immediate way. Partly, this involved seeing just how effective the "Chief's blessing" was in getting access to people and documents. But there was much more to it than this.

The meeting in which the decision to grant the author permission to do the study was made, was held in the Chief's office. This was a large office dominated by a massive dark wooden desk which seemed to stretch right across the room. Behind the desk sat the Chief of Police. On the other side of the desk, in a semi-circle, sat the researcher, his sponsor and several senior police officers. Behind them along the sides of the office sat several middle-ranking officers. The Chief of Police orchestrated the entire meeting; he opened it, interrupted it, invited people to talk, indicated when they had said enough and closed the meeting. During interruptions, when he talked to his secretary or answered phone calls, a hushed silence fell on the room. It was as if, while remaining physically in place, we all wished to withdraw well into our side of the room. At these times the Chief often appeared to have forgotten our presence.

The conversation between the researcher's sponsor and the Chief was easy and open. He was the only person the Chief appeared to regard as an equal. The deputy Chiefs were exceedingly differential throughout the meeting, addressing the Cheif of Police as both "Chief" and "Sir". At no point did they offer a contrary opinion nor hint at any disagreement with the Chief. The middle-ranking policemen were for the most part ignored, but might be called upon to provide a detail or two. This was done briefly and very politely.

During the meeting one could sense the awesome authority of the Chief to the men under his command, even those at the highest echelons. This was reflected in every gesture of the Chief and his staff, from his imposing posture and steady firm gaze to their downcast eyes and furtive gestures.

The roles of observer and participant are never divorced from one another and while the author was observing the reactions of others to the Chief he was also, like them, experiencing directly the intimidating effects of the arrangement of the Chief's office and his manner. These experiences, both as an observer and as a participant, placed the author in a much better position to understand subsequent references to "the Chief" and his policy by policemen within the radio room.[8]

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[8] The opportunity to directly experience aspects of the life of the people being studied is an important feature of participant observation and one that researchers have frequently commented on.

Further, evidence of the authority of the Chief and other policemen's perception of him followed the meeting just mentioned. In subsequent discussions with some of the officers present at the meeting with the Chief, it was revealed that there was far from total agreement with the Chief's views, but that even senior officers in daily contact with the Chief were wary about expressing their opinions to him even in private. At the middle-rank levels, the author learned of the intense frustration these officers felt. They held strong views about

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Consider the following comments by Whyte on a bowling experience he had in which he experienced personally the consequences of the "social structure".

> "I did not stop to reason then that, as a close friend of Doc, Donny and Mike, I held a position close to the top of the group and therefore should be expected to excel on this great occasion. I felt myself buoyed up by the situation. I felt my friends were for me, and had confidence in me, wanted me to bowl well. As my turn came and I stepped up to bowl, I felt supremely confident that I was going to hit the pins that I was aiming at. I have never felt quite that way before or since. Here at the bowling alley I was experiencing subjectively the impact of the bowling group structure on the individual. It was a strange feeling, as if something larger than myself was controlling the ball as I went through my swing and released it towards the pins."
>
> (Whyte, 1955: 318 - 319)

Another fascinating example of this is provided by Bowen in her discussion of the meaning and consequences of witchcraft in the society she studied. As she began associating with an old man known to be a witch, she soon found herself being treated as a witch. This allowed her to experience witchcraft in a way that would have not otherwise been possible.

> "Before my eyes I saw their proof of witchcraft. Yago had been accused, because he was feared. Now he embraced that accusation that he might still be more feared."
>
> (Bowen, 1964: 204)

how "communications" should be run, but felt very little hope of even having their views conveyed to the Chief, let alone of influencing his opinions.[9]

If the identity "approved by the Chief" had advantages in terms of the observations it made possible, it also had disadvantages. These were felt most acutely within the radio room itself.

Vidich (1970: 167) has argued that "eventually, no matter the size of the group he is studying, the observer is forced to face the problem of divided interests. He is asked to answer the question, 'Who do you speak for?' and it is an answer to this question which in the interest of research he avoids. . .". This is a question that the C.C. officers asked with their eyes and gestures the moment the researcher began work in the radio room and it was a question he could not avoid. Although his "connections" had allowed the author to gain access to the radio room, once this access had been gained they promised to be one of the greatest obstacles to participation and, therefore, for observation. The C.C. officers wanted to know who he was and it s[illegible]d clear to the researcher that he would remain very much an outsider so long as there was any suspicion that he was the Chief's spy.

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[9] In subsequent contact with other police departments the author has discovered that while Chiefs of Police always are treated with considerable deference, there is much variation with respect to the willingness of members of police departments to express themselves in the presence of the Chief. The police department studied fell very close to the "authoritarian" -- a term policemen themselves use -- pole of the continuum of police management styles (Commission of Inquiry, 1976).

Very soon after the field work in the radio room had begun, the author was asked; "Whose side are you on?" very directly and bluntly.[10] In answering this question, he began a process in which he presented himself as a neutral observer who could safely, and without fear, be granted the status of a courtesy insider. In doing so, the author found to his delight and amazement that his identity as an outsider from the University, far from being a major handicap as he had expected, proved to be an asset as it allowed him to declare his independence from "the brass". Indeed, his status as a "University person" appeared to imply that he might even be somewhat antagonistic to "the brass". This implication, while it was never confirmed by the author, was something that he found he was able, on occasion, to use to his advantage in dealing with the problems created by "the Chief's blessing".[11]

In negotiating a rôle as a trusted outsider, and therefore someone who could be safely granted access to the world of insiders, the author felt he should, in view of the interpretations that might be made of his loyalties, be careful with his contacts with "the brass". Accordingly, he took into account the way C.C. officers were likely to interpret his contacts with "the brass" and tried to project an image of neutrality. This meant not appearing to be "overly friendly" with "the brass" in front of the C.C. officers, and not engaging in conversations with "the brass" that might suggest collusion.

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[10] This incident is described in detail in the next chapter.

[11] Liebow, in his reflections on his fieldwork, provides a similar illustration of how a characteristic that he feared might be a great handicap proved to be somewhat of an asset.

> "The disadvantage of being white was offset in part by the fact that as an outsider, I was not a competitor. Thus, in the matter of skin color, I saw myself nowhere in the spectrum of black - to light - skinned (or 'bright'); I was completely out of it, with no vested interest. It could be that this made it possible for some people to speak freely to me about skin color".
>
> (Liebow, 1970: 271)

The conflict between "the brass" and the men was also something that the author took into account in learning about the C.C. officers. Relatively early in the research the author found that the C.C. officers appeared uncomfortable when he adopted a formal interviewing style and asked direct questions about their attitudes and decisions. This uneasiness he suspected was related to their suspicions about his relationship with the brass. This analysis was soon confirmed by one of the men with whom the author had developed an easy relationship and who had shown an interest in the research. He was familiar with sociological research and accepted without question the author's claims to independence. On the way home one evening as he and the author were discussing the research, he mentioned that he thought the author was asking too many questions and that this was likely to get people "up tight". He offered the following advice:

> 'Try to be more informal. Stroll around the radio room and just let yourself bump into people and stop off to chat. Get outside the radio room into the lunch room, do a bit

> of gambling. Just listen. Join in when stories are being told. You'll hear all you need to if you just listen. Join the coffee fund. That would be a good move. This would go a long way towards letting you become one of the boys rather than one of the brass. Also, they might resent it if you're drinking their coffee."

Not surprisingly, this proved to be sound sociological advice. The author still asked questions, lots of them, but he did so as part of natural conversations. He also listened a lot more and found that much could be learned simply be being patient and waiting. What his "advisor" knew, but he had to learn, was that an interview is after all a conversation and, like all conversations, must be suited to the people and situation -- there is not one way of interviewing.[12]

The friction that existed between the brass and the men was not the only conflict that the author found he had to contend with in maintaining the identity of a trusted outsider; there were also internal conflicts within the radio room.

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[12] Hughes makes this point when he writes:
"The subject matter of sociology is interaction. Conversation of verbal and other gestures is an almost constant activity of human beings. The main business of sociology is to gain systematic knowledge of social rhetoric; to gain the knowledge we must become skilled in the rhetoric itself.... Every member of any society knows from early childhood a number of such model situations and the appropriate modes of rhetoric. He knows them so well, in fact, that he can improvise new ones and play at the game of keeping others guessing just what rhetoric he is using. We mention these subtleties of social rhetoric and social interaction, not to spin out analysis of them, but to sharpen the point that the interview, as itself a form of social rhetoric, is not merely a tool of sociology, but a part of its very subject matter."

(Hughes, 1971: 508)

The C.C. officer just mentioned was someone who could have participated in the research as an informant and "co-investigator", closely identified with the research and the author, as "Doc", for example, did in Whyte's (1955) study. He got on well with the author, he was interested in the research and he was intelligent. On these grounds he would have made an excellent co-researcher. This prospect was very attractive. Informants have been used extensively in field studies[13] and an informant who participated as a co-researcher in the research would have made an important contribution to this study.

The author, however, was wary about entering into such a relationship. At the time the opportunity arose, he was just becoming aware of the relationships that existed within the radio room, and the fact that the C.C. officers seemed to recognize several categories of policemen. However, he had little understanding of these relationships at the time. What he did know was that his potential informant was not "one of the boys". He saw himself as "getting ahead", and viewed himself as a "cut above" the others.

In view of these difficulties and uncertainties, the author avoided developing an informant relationship of the "co-investigator" sort that would have firmly identified him with one or another faction. Instead, he attempted to maintain a balance in which he was trusted by policemen in each faction but was not identified with any group. This status allowed him to enter into informal relationships with a variety of very different policemen. This would not have been possible had he been identified as committed to one or another of the factions within the radio room.[14]

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[13] The value of informants is often mentioned in discussions of field work. Blumer, for example writes that:

> "One should sedulously seek participants in the sphere of life who are acute observers and who are well informed. One such person is worth a hundred others who are merely unobservant participants."
> (Blumer, 1969: 41)

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[14] The struggle to obtain a status of trusted outsider, who like the proverbial "fly on the wall" is privy to all is graphically described by Bowen as she recounts her experiences as a participant observer. For instance, the consequences, both negative and positive, of being closely associated with a sub-group are illustrated by Bowen in her description of her attempts to observe a wedding ceremony.

> "The women scrambled into the hut after them (the bride and the mother-in-law). I tried to follow. Udama (the mother-in-law) herself stopped me. 'You must make up your mind,' she announced loudly, so all could hear, 'whether you want to be an important guest or one of the senior women of the homestead. If you are an important guest we will again lead out the bride, so you may see her. If you are one of us you may come inside, but then you must dance with us.'
>
> I had longed to be accepted, but I had meant something rather different by it: the privilege of going my own way with their full confidence. Udama now pointed out that I could not at the same time claim the guest's privilege of doing more or less as I wished and the family privilege of going behind the scenes."
>
> (Bowen, 1964: 123)

Sociologists in doing field work often are able to negotiate roles not always available to the anthropologist that allow them to avoid, to some extent, the obstacles Bowen faced. Anthropologists frequently find that they do not have available to them the role of "neutral observer" as it often has no place in the context of meanings familiar to the people being studied. However, anthropologists in their turn have available experiences made possible by full participation that neutral, and even trusted outsiders, can seldom

One of the problems encountered during the field work was the Chief's concern that we disrupt "operations" as little as possible. This issue was resolved with the Chief by agreeing to have two people doing the field work in order to "speed it up". This added an important dimension to the research. First, as a woman, the second observer saw a somewhat different aspect of life in the radio room to the author. Secondly, the addition of a second observer provided a useful check on systematic bias. Finally, the comparison of field observations that a second observer allowed, proved tremendously useful in focusing the research. The observers discussed their experiences and field notes

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match in intensity. Consider, for example, the following passage from Bowen chosen at random from among many similar illustrations.

> "I screamed as they rushed upon him, then sobbed as I saw the tumultous crowd jostle and drag the two old men out of the homestead and down the path toward the ordeal master.
>
> My knees were shaking, I was afraid to go with them. I forced myself out on the path to follow them. Amara's husband was coming back. He saw me. 'Let my age mates take care of it. You come back with me and keep watch by my wife. She will die. Help me guard her body. He will kill her. I cannot prevent it. But he will have killed her in vain. He shall not eat her body.'
>
> It was dark inside the reception hut, and very quiet. The women still kept watch over Amara. Her co-wife still sat with her.
>
> The man stood looking down upon his dying wife. A man must never call his wife by her name. He may never touch her in public. This man knelt beside his wife. "Child of Lam".
>
> She did not stir.
>
> Tentatively, he laid his hand on her forehead. 'Amara, Amara.' Perhaps he thought she heard, for he added bravely, 'Nothing at all will happen to you, Amara, my wife.' He clasped her hand in his.
>
> We sat on, waiting in silence for Amara to die."
>
> (Bowen, 1966: 195)

at length and these discussions became a forum in which patterns and themes were identified and followed.[15]

We have emphasized in the discussion so far one aspect of the integration of the researchers into the life of the radio room, namely, the response of the C.C. officers to them. There is, however, another side to this coin which Liebow has noted.

> "In retrospect, it seems as if the degree to which one becomes a participant is as much a matter of perceiving oneself as a participant as it is of being accepted as a participant by others."
>
> (Liebow, 1970: 273)

Field work was a process of mutual accommodation and learning. The uneasiness the C.C. officers initially felt in the presence of the observers was mirrored in the feelings of the researchers. The observers began their field work nervous and shy. They were entering a world that they knew little about and they were apprehensive. As the field work progressed, not only did the C.C. officers relax with the observers, but the observers began to feel increasingly at ease within the radio room. During this period of mutual accommodation, the observers kept notes on their feelings and thoughts as participant observers.

They noted their attempts to sympathize; their desire to be liked, the distance they sometimes felt, their shyness and embarrassment, and their indignation at some of the things they witnessed. This record proved to be very valuable in analyzing the data as it allowed the author to assess the influence of the observers' experiences on their observations.

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[15] The second observer began field work a little later than the author and was viewed in the radio room as the author's assistant. These two circumstances allowed this observer to slip into the role the author had cultivated so that she too was soon accepted as a marginal person with the neutrality of an outsider but with access to much that only insiders normally know.

At the conclusion of the field work period both groups appeared relaxed and quite at ease with each other. This mutual accommodation and the extent to which the observers believed that they had been granted the privilege of an insider's view of life within the radio room is reflected in the comments of both observers at the termination of field work within the radio room.

> "Looking back I must say that now there is no doubt that I am well accepted by the men. While this all seems very natural, it is, when you think about it, quite surprising, given the general suspiciousness of policemen to outsiders and my early connections to the upper echelons. Further, I must say I'm pretty well liked.
>
> One indication of this is the food. When spaghetti was being ordered again, I was immediately involved. There was no awkwardness as there had been in the beginning. Also the collection of money is now done very easily.
>
> Another indication is that I get a lot of nice things done for me, like getting me a cup of coffee so that I don't have to miss what's happening in the radio room. This is no longer just done by some of the men and is no longer seen as "arse creeping". My feeling is that these are now quite simply friendly gestures. When you think of it this is all quite remarkable. Now, when I say I'm accepted, I don't mean I'm just one of them. I'm not a policeman and I'm seen as something different -- but a "good guy", nonetheless.
>
> I thought, and others have suggested, that the men would restrain themselves in our presence. But this

> does not seem to be the case. Surprising, but there it is. Or rather, all I can say is if the behaviour I see is restrained -- Wow!"
>
> "I've become a part of the staff -- almost. Now the men don't try to hide comments from me about calls. Nor do they tell me as much about their work. During the first part of field work, they usually went into great detail, giving me their reasons for doing something. Now, they simply don't bother, either because they think I must, by now, know the reasoning behind their actions or because they have become so familiar with my presence that they just go ahead and do their work without explanations."

The intimacy that developed between the observers and the C.C. officers introduced subtle ethical problems. In allowing the researchers into their lives, the policemen in the radio room trusted them. They treated them as confidants and friends who were allowed to observe what few outsiders to the police world and many of its insiders seldom see. The observers always tried to define themselves as clearly as possible as observers who would be using what they observed to write a report in which the identity of the C.C. officers would be safeguarded. For the most part the C.C. officers believed the observers promise of confidentiality. They revealed much about their lives to the observers in confidence in the knowledge that they would not use this information either within the radio room or elsewhere to hurt or embarrass them.

At times the C.C. officers even forgot that the researchers were observers. They treated them simply as part of the woodwork and perhaps revealed facets of their lives that they might not have, had they "stopped to think".

The researcher who has been privileged to be defined as a trusted outsider to whom much is revealed finds himself in a position where he must balance the obligations he has accepted as a participant in the sphere of life he is studying with the obligations he owes as an observer to the scientific community of which he is a part. This delicate and difficult balance is noted by Hughes.

> "The sociological investigator cracks the secrecy, but buries the secrets, one by one, in a tomb of silence -- as do all the professions which deal with the problems of people. This means, of course, that the student of human groups must remain willingly and firmly a marginal man in relation to those he studies; one who will keep, cost what it will, the delicate balance between loyalty to those who have admitted to him the role of confidant and to his colleagues who expect him to contribute freely to the accumulating knowledge about human society and the methods of studying [illegible]."
>
> (Hughes, 1971: 463)

We have tried to achi[illegible] balance, and remain true to our trust.

Systematic Observation

In deciding what observations to make one of the first questions that had to be considered was where the researchers should spend most of their time within the radio room. Initially some time was spent in both the dispatch and complaint rooms. The dispatch room tended to be generally quite busy. Each dispatcher worked with the cars in his area. He kept track of their status and selected units to respond to calls for assistance. The work was not complicated but it tended to be very harassing as the dispatcher always had several "things going" at once. He would be thinking of the status and whereabouts of units, keeping track of the complaint tickets and perhaps engaging in several different conversations with patrolmen more or less simultaneously. While the decisions being made were individually all relatively straight forward, together they created a job that led the C.C. officers to call the dispatch room "ulcer alley" and the dispatch desks "hot seats".

The dispatch room was no place for conversation and it was a very difficult place to do field work. It was hard to keep track of what was happening, as the dispatchers sat in their cubicles glancing at complaint tickets and talking to "their cars". It was difficult to keep any record of what was being done, and by the time one got an opportunity to talk to a dispatcher about some incident, it was difficult even to identify it.

This situation contrasted sharply with that in the complaint room. Here conversation between C.C. officers was a major feature. An observer could keep track of what any particular officer was doing with ease. He could listen in on telephone conversations, see what was written on the complaint ticket and discuss calls and the actions taken with the policemen. Furthermore, here one could watch the sergeants at work.

The complaint room tended to be the hub of social activity.

within the radio room. The men coming on duty would wander through and chat, coffee was served here; and dispatchers would stroll through to have a break and chat. It was, in fact, more of a social centre than the lunch room.

The complaint room was a vantage point from which one could keep track, in a general way, of what was going on at the dispatch desk. Indeed, one often learned more about what was happening in the dispatch room at the complaint desk because it was here that these activities were discussed.[16]

The complaint room provided an ideal location for research and it was here that the observers "set up camp". This did not mean that they did not spend time in other parts of the radio room, but that the complaint room became the focal point of the research.

The typical procedure adopted was as follows: The researcher would sit with the C.C. officers at the complaint desk. He would set up his tape recorder and record the calls of the officer along side him. He would also, through a head set similar to those used by the C.C. officers, listen to these calls. From this vantage point he was able to observe and participate in various ways in the life of the radio room.

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[16] The complaint room had features similar in many ways to those anthropologists find in small villages in which it is easy for the field worker to keep track of practically everything that takes place publically. The description Powdermaker gives of one such village applies with equal force to the complaint room.

> "Lesu was ideal in terms of physical proximity. Living in the centre of a small tropical village in which all social life was out doors, I could see and hear most everything that went on publically."
>
> (Powdermaker, 1966: 287)

Within the complaint room and in wandering through the centre the researchers were able to collect four types of data. First, records were kept of conversations between policemen and the researchers. These conversations covered a wide variety of areas. Sometimes they were initiated by specific questions, but often they were in response to some incident and were initiated by policemen. While very informal, they produced data equivalent to that of a focused interview.

Second, via the tape recording of calls and the researchers' notes, the work activities and behaviour of the C.C. officers and their supervisors were recorded.

Third, C.C. officers often discussed their behaviour with the researchers and commented on the actions of others, including citizens. These remarks constituted a commentary on what was happening.[17]

Finally, the observers made notes on the interaction that took place between the C.C. officers themselves and with their superiors.

These four categories of data provide the basis for the analysis that follows. It is supplemented by the record of meetings with senior officers and with the continuing contact the author has maintained with the police community.

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[17] See Scott and Lyman's (1968) discussion of "accounts".

The focus of the researchers' attention in the complaint room, for the very practical reasons noted above, coincided perfectly with the empirical concerns the author brought to the study, namely, the police response to citizen requests for assistance, and particularly, the decision to grant or deny these requests.

With respect to the theoretical questions raised in the first chapter, the complaint room provided an ideal setting. In order to study the relationships between the "self" and "others", observations on self-definitions, definitions of others and responses to others are essential. The four types of data noted above included observations on each of these matters.

Besides the question of where to "set up camp", there were other sampling questions to be considered: when were observations to be made; who was to be observed; and when should the field work be terminated?

Our approach to these questions was governed by the fact that the setting of the research was physically limited and activity within this setting proceeded twenty-four hours a day. In sampling, our objective was to become aware of the full cycle of activities that took place within the complaint room and more generally the radio room. In this matter we took our cue from the policemen involved. They indicated that two things were important; when the shift took place, and who was on duty. "Time" was important for two reasons. First, at different times of the day, week and month, in different weather conditions and, the C.C. officers believed, for different phases of the moon, the calls received were different and, therefore, so was the work. Secondly, when the inspector and staff superintendent were not around the C.C. officers defined the situation differently.

The issue of personnel involved both the men and the sergeants. Different sergeants had different styles of supervision and different groupings of policemen created different "shift atmospheres".

The easiest way, we felt, of coping with this variation was to select shifts at random. After preliminary observation had shown that the greatest variation in calls occured during the Thursday to Monday period, we decided to sample two of each of these shifts and one shift for the remaining period. If calls were tape recorded at one complaint position during each of these shifts, we calculated that this sampling scheme would provide a sample of approximately 4,500 calls. The sampling schedule drawn up on this basis is given in Table 1. (See Appendix.)

By the time we began using this sampling schedule, the author had been involved in field work for well over a month. On the basis of this experience he expected that it would probably not be necessary to continue field observations beyond what was required by the sampling schedule. However, it was recognized that if this proved not to be the case, observation on a selective basis would continue.

Due to a variety of practical problems it was not possible to follow the schedule exactly as planned. When a scheduled field work session was missed and when it was not possible to record calls during a session, the shift was "replaced" with a similar one; for example, if a 4 to 12 shift on a Monday was missed it was replaced by another 4 to 12 shift on another Monday. The actual schedule of shifts during which calls were tape recorded is shown in Table 2. (See Appendix.)

At the completion of this schedule it was felt that the saturation point within the radio room had been reached. Saturation had two aspects. The first was that the observers felt totally familiar with the activity in the centre and at ease with the C.C. officers. The second was that the C.C. officers felt at ease with the researchers and more importantly treated them as totally "in the know". There were, during this phase, relatively few explanations of routine actively offered by the C.C. officers and the observers found that to have asked questions about what was being done would have resulted in their appearing "stupid", because there was very little that the observers were not expected to know already.

However, while we believed that there had been sufficient exposure to the activities of the radio room, we had had little contact since the study had begun with the staff superintendent responsible for the communications centre or his supervisors. After the completion of the field work within the radio room, the author met once more, in a lengthy meeting, with the Chief of Police and his staff. At this meeting some preliminary findings were presented. This was followed by about a dozen lengthy meetings with the staff superintendent in which the history, future, policy relating to, and operation of the communications centre were discussed in considerable detail.

Since then, through occasional meetings with the staff superintendent and inspector-in-charge, the author has kept himself informed of developments and changes within the centre.

The field work for the study took place over a period of about two years from August, 1971 to November, 1973[18] with the field period within the radio room itself stretching over a period of about six months.

There is another aspect of the sampling of observations within the radio room that should be considered, namely, the choice of the C.C. officer whose calls were tape recorded. Once again, two considerations were taken into account. The first was our suspicion that C.C. officers would be wary of any system for selecting officers that appeared to involve a hidden pattern of selection. Second, it became obvious that, given a choice, the sergeants would attempt to steer the "better" policemen forward. A method of selection that would be seen as fair by both the brass and the men was needed. Once again, random selection seemed most appropriate. This was done as openly as possible so all could see how a random selection was made using a table of random numbers. Everyone appeared satisfied with the selection process.

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[18] Not all of this period involved field work as this included time out of the field for analysis.

The sampling procedures we have described ensured that over half the C.C. officers had their telephone conversations tape recorded. During the field work period, while only some of the C.C. officers had their calls tape recorded, practically all the policemen assigned to the radio room were observed in some capacity.

A further facet of the issue of sampling concerned problems relating to the expression of sentiments by the C.C. officers about colleagues, the brass and the public. The difficulty here was that there was within the radio room a sub-cultural view of "proper" attitudes. These attitudes were viewed as "legitimate" by the men and they had no qualms about expressing such sentiments publically. Indeed, such attitudes were often expressed in a voice that was intentionally loud enough so that others could hear what was said. However, with time, it became clear that some policemen, if given an opportunity, would express other views privately. The researchers learned that such views, when expressed, were intended for their ears only, and they tried to respect this confidence. But this did not entirely resolve the problem. Because the radio room was so small and the physical proximity of the C.C. officers to each other was so close, many officers appeared reluctant to express views contrary to the sub-culture in any circumstances.

This presented serious problems for the research: how was one to interpret a failure to express contrary views; did this reflect a whole-hearted commitment to the sub-culture or simply an unwillingness to appear uncommitted? Further, how was one to interpret publically expressed and privately expressed sentiments? Should one set of views, for example, those expressed in private, be considered "real" or "true"?

This is a problem that Howard Becker faced in his study of medical students and his discussion of it is instructive. With respect to the "reality" of attitudes, Becker suggests that both classes of attitudes should be regarded as real but interpreted within the context in which they are expressed.

> "... students in their clinical years may express very idealistic sentiments about medicine when alone with the observer, but behave and talk in a very 'cynical' way when surrounded by fellow students. An alternative to judgeing one or the other of these situations more reliable is to view each datum as valuable in itself, but with respect to different conclusions. In the example above, we might conclude that students have idealistic sentiments but that group norms would not sanction their expression."
> (Becker, 1970a: 193)

This is the approach we adopted. In doing so we tried to remain sensitive to the context within which sentiments were expressed. We took into account the C.C. officers' definition of our role, of themselves and of others. We also took into account the audience they were addressing by being sensitive to whether a C.C. officer was addressing an observer privately or was addressing his remarks to other C.C. officers as well.

Inspection

In addition to exploration, Blumer has identified a second facet of field work: inspection.

> ". . .inspection consists of examining [an] analytic element by approaching it from different angles, asking many different questions of it, and returning to its scrutiny from the standpoint of such questions."
> (Blumer, 1969: 44)

While anaytically distinct, exploration and inspection take place together.

Much of what we have talked about so far falls within the category exploration, but does not exhaust it. We have said practically nothing of inspection. As these two processes encompass the entire research period from the moment one begins thinking about it to the moment one completes the final analysis, an exhaustive description of them is not possible. What is possible, however, is an illustration. The study was spread over many years. The analysis stopped and started, and proceeded at different times in different directions. Yet, in retrospect, as one examines the history of the analysis presented in this report, a continuous analytic thread is discernable.

In the ramainder of this chapter we will pick one strand from this thread to illustrate the way in which participant observation allowed for the continuous interplay between observation and concept that constitutes inspection. This will also serve to intorduce the reader to the analysis to follow.

One of the first things we noticed during field work was that some of the policemen working in the radio room occupied an isolated position within the group. This lead to the obvious question, why? This focused observation. We started examining the "isolates" and comparing them with each other, and with the C.C. officers who appeared to be part of some sort of "in group". What did "in group" mean in this context? What was it that bound these people together? These questions lead to a consideration of other research. The study that came immediately to mind was Wilson's (1968) research in which he identified policing styles. We considered whether the varieties of behaviour he considered were comparable. His study directed our attention to the idea of policing styles. Did the "in group" and "out group" do things differently?

Indeed, there did appear to be different styles of policing. These styles, it seemed, differentiated the insider and outsider groups and differentiated between policemen within these groups. One could identify categories of policemen in terms of the styles they used. Further, these styles seemed to cut across several types of activities. They were reflected in citizen calls, police calls and interaction within the radio room.

What were the status of these styles? Did the policemen make these distinctions themselves? Conversations revealed they did. They talked about the "clowns", the "real policemen", the "old men", the "good policemen", the "experienced policemen" and the "arse creepers". Clearly groupings were recognized _and_ evaluated, but what were they based on? Were we talking about personality types? This seemed possible, but it did not fit well with the fact that shifts in style during a man's career were recognized and expected.

All conversations about categories of policemen and styles of policing seemed to point to one thing, the policy defining procedures within the radio room. One reaction to these procedures was continually found; they did not give the man at the complaint desk enough discretion. This, C.C. officers felt, was unreasonable as they were all experienced policemen. This view of policy seemed to be clearly related to policing styles, but how? While the policy was, by and large, disliked and condemned, people seemed to respond differently to it. But why? What was it that led to these differences? Why did styles change during the course of a policeman's career?

These questions all pointed to the C.C. officers definitions of their role. In exploring this question, however, the literature on the police appeared to provide little help. So back we went to what different policemen said about each other, about their work, about their superiors and about themselves. Gradually, very gradually, several categories of definitions and responses appeared to emerge. But there were still inconsistencies and puzzles that kept arising. Further, it was not even clear what these categories were or what distinguished them.

Little progress was made beyond this point until an obvious fact, one that had been there all along and had been overlooked many many times, became clear. The C.C. officers defined "others" differently. While they all recognized a police sub-culture as Westley has pointed out, they were not all equally committed to it; their orientations were different. This provided the needed key. The results of its use are described in the following chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

THE POLICE CULTURE WITHIN THE RADIO ROOM

In this chapter we will describe the C.C. officers' view of their "significant others". Before we embark on this description it is necessary to clarify what we mean by the term "culture". Culture will be used here in much the same way as Mead used the term "generalized other", to refer to those meanings that are recognized by group members as common. Thus, culture refers to the meanings that group members take into account as they anticipate and assess the experiences and responses of others. This conception of culture, and its relation to Mead's "generalized other" is outlined by Shibutani:

> "In his discussion of endopsychic social control Mead spoke of men 'taking the role of the generalized other', meaning by that that each person approaches his world from the standpoint of the culture of his group. Each perceives, thinks, forms judgements, and controls himself accordingly to the frame of reference of the group in which he is participating. Since he defines objects, other people, the world, and himself, from the perspective that he shares with others, he can visualize his proposed line of action from this generalized standpoint, anticipate the reactions of others, inhibit undesirable impulses, and thus guide his conduct. The socialized person is a society in miniature; he sets the same standards of conduct for himself as he sets for others, and judges himself in the same terms. He can define situations properly

> and meet his obligations, even in the absence of other people, because...his perspective always takes into account the expectations of others."
>
> (Shibutani, 1970: 162-3, our emphasis)

In terms of this conception, a distinction must be made between the recognition that a set of meanings are shared and the commitment of group members to these meanings. This distinction is seen clearly in Goffman's work. For example, in his discussion of role distance (1962) he points out that a person can play a role, thereby recognizing the meanings associated with it, while retaining a certain distance from the values, and corresponding self-definition, embodied in the role. In more general terms, this means that a person might recognize a culture as the culture of his group, for example, a "student culture" (Hughes, 1971), without personally embracing the meanings of this culture. Nonetheless, he will use the culture as a "generalized other" whose role he can take in anticipating the responses of others. As he does so he recognizes that just as he holds at a distance some of the values of the group, so do other group members. These differences between group members will be used to modify the conclusions he would have reached had he considered the cultural meanings alone.

These considerations, however, lead us into matters we will examine in the next chapter. For the moment, we must content ourselves with describing the meanings that C.C. officers recognized as common group meanings:[1] the police culture within the radio room.

In talking about their work the C.C. officers identified three groups of others whom they regarded as relevant: the public who they "served"; their colleagues with whom they worked, and who shared their experiences as policemen; and their superiors, who determined the procedures they were to follow, their place within the police department, and their working conditions. In speaking about these others, C.C. officers not only defined them, but they defined themselves in relation to them. They saw themselves as part of the colleague group and at odds with the public and their superiors. Both the public and superiors were outsiders who did not understand police work and both were regarded as making unreasonable demeaning demands on C.C. officers.

The police culture in identifying these demands, also evaluated them and by implication proposed a way of dealing with them.[2] It was thus not merely a way of looking at the world, but also proposed a way of dealing with it.

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[1] The distinction between recognition and commitment raises the question as to how the researcher will recognize common meanings. In response to this, as the reader will see shortly, we took our cue from the C.C. officers themselves. When meanings were frequently talked about openly and publically and when they were not openly disputed, we took these to be group meanings; that is, as portraying the "police view".

[2] This link between meaning and action in the definition of social objects is noted by Blumer. See also Klapp, 1962, 16-17, who notes that "social types" involve evaluations and evaluations imply actions. We treat heroes, villains and fools differently.

The Public

Above all, the policemen in the radio room viewed the public as disrespectful of their status as policemen because they refused to grant them the respect and authority they believed they deserved. This theme in the C.C. officers' view of the public was, however, coloured by the other meanings they assigned to them. These other meanings provide the connotations that surrounded the C.C. officers' view of the public's disrespect. These connotations prove to be of major importance because they influence the police response to a disrespectful public.

In the following sections, we will consider the C.C. officers' definition of the public's disrespect for the police in the context of other meanings central to their view of the public.

The Public as Victims, Complainants and Trouble-makers

To understand the police, we must understand that like other service occupations, they work with other people's problems. They see the world as a setting in which problems occur, and they see people in terms of their relationship to these problems; as people in trouble, causing trouble, reporting trouble, or witnessing trouble.[3] Policemen see the world in terms of the social organization of trouble. Within the radio room, the C.C. officers spent more time talking about this than any other single topic.

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[3] See Emerson and Messinger (1972) for a discussion of the roles that trouble gives rise to.

> "Lots of old people living by themselves die and no one even notices for some time and then they phone the police and when the police check, the old person's been dead for several days."
>
> "There's a full moon; we'll be getting some wierdos tonight."
>
> "Summer means noise, drunks, domestics; winter, it's fires because of the indoor heating; in the fall it's P.I.'s [personal injury auto accidents] involving children who are playing outside. It gets dark earlier, and they're not so easily seen. But for some people in the city it doesn't matter, they lead the same kind of life anytime."
>
> "On special days -- pay days, holidays, welfare cheque days -- there are more calls than usual. On welfare days if you go down ------ or ------- Streets, you'll see welfare recipients -- some of them -- taking taxis back and forth to the booze store."
>
> "Friday nights can be bad, especially when it's hot and it's pay day. Also, on hot nights the kooks come out. You have a hot night, people get together and start drinking and before you know it, they're fighting all over the place."
>
> "If it's a hot night, often this place doesn't quiet down until 6 o'clock in the morning."
>
> "It's too cold outside for beer parties so maybe there won't be as many drunk calls as when it's warm enough to sit outside on the porch and drink. But you can't predict the type of calls you get in the radio room. It's impossible to tell ahead of time who might call about what."
>
> Caller: "They sound like a bunch of Wild Indians."
> C.C. Officer: "Oh no. They would be Nova Scotians in that area."

Exchange between a switchboard operator and complaint officer discussing the probable reason for a request for an ambulance to go to a school:
C.C. Officer: "Usually [ambulances are required] because people have been hit by cars."
Operator: "People have heart attacks, collapses, you know."
C.C. Officer: "Not in a school yard. Someone walked in front of a car there."

In response to a call to a hamburger chain about an auto accident, the complaint officer remarked to the observer:
"I'm so used to having disorderlies there, I didn't even think when he said an accident."

"If there's an accident on Sunday night in the Borden Block, the whole board [complaint desk telephone console] lights up."

"Lots of calls this time of the morning about heart attacks [early morning before sunrise]. It seems like they make it half-way through the night and then die, especially in hot weather. Lots of babies die during the night, too, from choking, suffocating, etc., and parents don't even check until morning. In the case of babies' deaths, it isn't easy to tell the cause of death."

C.C. Officer to colleague about a call he had just taken:
"Why are people phoning at this time of the morning? [5:02 a.m.]."
C.C. Officer who took call: "The couple worked nights and had just returned home to find a few things missing -- like their stereo and T.V."

C.C. Officer to colleague about a call:
"Some young punks had driven into his parking area and were mouthing off at him when he asked them to quiet down their engines."
Colleague: "That's unusual. Going into private parking and then giving the guy a hard time -- especially at this time. [9:00 a.m.]"

> "We get a lot of those [noisy children] in the summer with kids outside playing."
>
> "Things are slow now [6:15 p.m.], but they'll pick up later. We'll get about three to four hundred calls between seven and two."
>
> "After seven we'll get totally different types of calls. More domestics and fewer accidents, because by then people will be home."
>
> "You should tape on the weekends because they are the busiest. It starts on Friday night about eight and doesn't stop until four Saturday morning."
>
> "That's a strange one; I imagine they get collapses in there [a hospital] all the time, I wonder why they want the police."

The knowledge C.C. officers felt they had of trouble and its ramifications was central to their identity as policemen. They felt they knew more about the troubles policemen deal with[4] than most people. Most people, they believed, saw the rosy side of life, but they saw its underside, its tragedy, and its brutality. It was they who saw its drunks, the screaming victim of a traffic accident, the battered child, the shoplifter, the destructive "young punks", the burglar, and the distraught parents who had lost a child. They knew more about this aspect of life than the public. As one C.C. Officer said to the researcher after some months of fieldwork: "I guess you've learned something about life since you've been here."

---

[4] The problems policemen deal with depend on the problems people bring to their attention. The police, as Reiss and Bordua (1967) have pointed out, are predominantly a reactive organization -- a characteristic, incidentally, that they share with most other service occupations. Precisely, what defines the set of problems the public brings to the attention of the police, is difficult to say. Bittner (1970), has argued that the central characteristic of problems the public bring to the attention of the police is that they require the use of non-negotiable physical force. Other authors (e.g., Cumming, 1964), however, have argued that other issues such as the availability of the police must also be considered.

The C.C. officers, as policemen, not only felt that they knew more about the problems of life, but also that they knew more about how to deal with these problems, especially what the police could and should do about them. It was this knowledge of life and their corresponding expert status that bound them together as policemen and set them apart from the public.

In this the police are no different from other service occupations: ambulance-men, firemen, janitors, lawyers, doctors. All know more about people's problems than "the public", and it is this knowledge that binds each of them together as an occupational group.

In dealing with problems, people in service occupations, Hughes has pointed out, not only do things for people but they also do things to people.

> "To understand them one must understand the system, including the clients and their wants. People and organizations have problems; they want things done for them -- for their bodies and souls, for their social and financial relations, for their cars, houses, bridges, sewage systems; and they want things done to the people they consider their competitors or their enemies."
>
> (Hughes, 1971: 422)

The police are no exception. The C.C. officers view the public as made up of people [illegible]o want them to do things for them (victims and complainants) as well as the people that they are asked to deal with (trouble-makers). In the radio room, the C.C. officers had little direct contact with trouble-makers. However, they were never very far from their minds. Many of the requests they received were about problems that trouble-makers had caused. In the call from the sobbing child who wants help because his father "is beating me", although the C.C. officer only meets the child, the father is as important and as real to him as the child. Most C.C. officers had worked as patrolmen where they had had contact with many types of trouble-makers and had little difficulty, as the remarks cited above indicate, imagining what kind of people they were or how they lived.

The Public are Demanding

Although, as we have pointed out, trouble-makers were seldom far from the C.C. officers' thoughts, it was the people requesting police assistance that they had to deal with. These people were, they felt, frequently disrespectful. They demanded police assistance when the C.C. officers' believed they should have requested it. This demanding attitude annoyed the C.C. officers considerably as it demonstrated a lack of respect for them by the public.

> C.C. Officer to colleagues:
> "Send out a car immediately. It really bugs me when they say that."

This lack of respect was regarded with even more resentment when people who were "barely citizens" felt that they had a right to demand police service.

> "The thing that bugs me is getting a call from a person who can barely speak English but demands a car 'right away'. The two things they know are 'dollar' and 'send police right away', and they don't even speak the language. The woman had only called ten minutes ago [he was commenting on a second call], so I said, 'There are two million people in the city and you are only one of them.'."

The C.C. officers felt that as experts, with help to offer, they deserved to be treated as professionals. They may be there to "serve" the public, but they resented being treated as servants. In their view the public, especially "second class citizens", had no right to give them orders. This did not mean that the C.C. officers lacked understanding as to why people would be demanding. Indeed, they were sometimes even sympathetic to the tension callers were seen as facing.

> "People want instant police but they're willing to wait for other things because they know they have to. I can't stand people who say 'immediately' when they want a car. But you can understand it in some cases because when you're watching someone bleeding from an accident or listening to someone yelling for help, then five minutes must seem like an hour."

This understanding, however, did not alter the general point that the C.C. officers felt the public was unnecessarily demanding. They resented the suggestion of superiority and the lack of respect for the police that this implied. If people were prepared to wait for some services patiently, for example, medical help in a busy hospital, then they should, C.C. officers believed, adopt the same attitude when they wanted police help. If the public wanted help, the least they could do was adopt a respectful attitude. If the C.C. officers had their way, people who demanded help would get none.

Not only were the public expected to request, rather than demand service, but they were expected to leave the question of how the request was responded to policemen. Similarly, the caller was expected to answer questions and generally allow the C.C. officer to direct matters. He was, after all, the expert and he knew how problems were to be dealt with. He certainly did not need the caller's advice on what to do.

> "Old bag. They want a car sent out so fast. They want you to do things for them but don't want to even give their phone numbers. She's lucky I'm being taped or I'd really let her have it."
>
> "Listen, you just tell me your problem. Don't tell me what to do. I'll decide whether you are going to get a car or not. Now you either tell me your problem or you don't get a car."

This issue of demanding or requesting services is, as we have seen, closely bound to the question of status. As Zakuta (1970) has argued, high status people demand and order; low status people request and "humbly submit". For example, one requests a doctor's help and thanks him for his services whereas one orders an item from a store. This relationship between "services" and status is seen clearly in the home. Parents demand; children say "please" and "thank you". Indeed, in a time not long gone, a parent might demand that a child thank him for a thrashing he had administered.

The C.C. officers resented the demands of the public because it demeaned them as policemen, by denying them the high status of a professional that they believe they deserve.

The Public are Stupid and Naive

While it was the public's disrespect for the policeman's status as a professional that annoyed the C.C. officers most, it was their utter stupidity that impressed them most. As one of the C.C. officers remarked, "some of them don't have enough brains to pound sand". The "some" referred to here includes some complainants, some victims and even some trouble-makers. The only clear exception are the professional criminals who are often seen as "shrewd operators". As John Steinbeck writes, "Cleverness, even wisdom, is the property of the villian in all myths" (1976: 343).

The public's stupidity is seen by the C.C. officers in almost all their activities associated with the problems they report to the police. In the first place they believe that the public get themselves into a lot of unnecessary trouble that could be avoided if they had an "ounce of brains".

> "Most thefts from cars wouldn't occur if people would just lock their cars."
>
> "Why people carry so much money on them I'll never know."
>
> "Rain or snow, it doesn't matter, they never slow up. No wonder they have accidents." [5]

People who "brought trouble on themselves" the C.C. officers believed did not deserve police help. Police resources were too valuable to be squandered on people, whether private citizens or public officials, who caused unnecessary trouble and they disliked "having to" send help. This attitude was illustrated in a conversation that took place between a sergeant and the C.C. officers at the complaint desk. The sergeant came over to the desk and remarked that, "The Governor-General is coming on Tuesday morning and Kosygin doesn't leave until 10 o'clock on Tuesday. Why don't they plan these things better and why do they have to come at the same time?" In replying, one of the officers commented that they do it "just to make our lives miserable, I guess."

What people who got themselves into trouble needed was to be left to "stew in it", then next time, perhaps they would be more careful.

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[5] While the concept is still relatively new within criminology, the idea of "victim precipitated crime" is well known to the police.

The public's stupidity was also revealed, C.C. officers believed, in the trivial problems that they sought help for. Many of the problems that the public reported to the police were problems, they felt, any reasonably competent human being with a modicum of initiative could have handled themselves. But no, they insisted on relying on the police.

> "It makes you sick, all you get on weekends are noisy parties. Why don't they go and bang on doors themselves?"
>
> After a caller had called twice about a noisy party:
> "Can you imagine making a second call about a noisy party?"
>
> After a conversation between a complaint officer and switchboard operator about someone who wanted assistance getting to hospital because they had the flu, the complaint officer remarked:
> "For Christ's sake -- the flu!"
> This remark got the complaint officers talking about 'some of the things they call about'.
>
> "Those barking dog and noisy party calls are a pain. Why can't they deal with them themselves?"
>
> C.C. Officer after a call:
> "So why did he have to call us? The guy's a neighbour. Why doesn't he go and ask him to shut up his bloody dog himself?"

Not only did the public report problems to the police that they should have been able to solve themselves, but, C.C. officers felt, they couldn't even report their problems to the police properly.

> "You have to be another Larry Solway sometimes. You have to put words in their mouths just to find out where they live or their phone numbers."

Some people were seen as more stupid and helpless than others in this respect. The group of people that the C.C. officers most often referred to as being particularly helpless were Italians, who the C.C. officers believed brought everything to the police and did nothing for themselves. This feeling was illustrated by one C.C. officer who turned to the observer -- after a call in which an "Italian" woman had asked the police to go and see if her husband was at home because he had gone home to fetch his camera but had not returned -- and remarked: "It sounded as if she was at a wedding or something. They don't think of doing anything for themselves."

One of the men discussed the "Italian problem" with the author in general terms indicating that, while he understood why "these people" brought so many trivial problems to the police, other policemen were not nearly as understanding.

> "When I worked in X division, we would have these fathers bringing in their kids by the ear and telling the sergeant that they had been hanging around with the wrong crowd or staying out too late at night. Then they would expect the sergeant to give the kids a talking to. In Italy they probably had the head of the family to go to. But here they don't so they come to us. I've tried to explain this to others, but they feel they're just stupid."

While some of the stupidity of the public was believed to arise out of their inability to prevent and deal with minor problems on their own, in part it was seen as arising from their almost complete naivety about the world of the police. This naivety was viewed as understandable as most citizens have little exposure to the police world except through the graphic, but often very misleading, portrayal of police work on television. It was nonetheless frustrating.

The public's naivety, C.C. officers believed, was seen most often in the "false expectations" the public had of what they could expect from the police. One area in which these false expectations were apparent, according to C.C. officers, was thefts.

> After a call about a stolen camera, the C.C. Officer remarked:
> "He probably didn't have it insured. There's not much we can do about that one. Just take a theft report."

The problems about which citizens' expectations were regarded as most often "out of line" were disputes, particularly "domestic disputes".

> "Some people think a policeman's uniform will make everything all right. But it only quietens things down for a little while. It really doesn't accomplish anything."
>
> "It's futile sending an officer out anyway. There's nothing he can do even if he finds her."
>
> "Another domestic, probably can't do much about it."
>
> After a call about 'disorderlies':
> "We send out a car and they get the kids to disperse. But they probably come right back again as soon as the car's gone."

What makes this naivety not only frustrating but, at times, downright maddening, is that the public sometimes insists that they "know better" than the police despite their "obvious ignorance. This misguided arrogance, in the C.C. officers opinion, seen most blatantly in the "do gooders" and "civil rights nuts" who insist on meddling in the business of policemen, thereby displaying their disrespect for their status as professionals who can govern and control themselves. A particularly troublesome group of "civil righters" who meddle in, and misrepresent police matters, are, according to the C.C. officers, the newspapers. The daily newspapers, they believe, revel in being able to "take shots" at the police and, inevitably in doing so, show their bias against the police in the unfair, distorted and sometimes absurd picture they paint.

In one incident a sergeant brought to the attention of the men in the complaint room "another one of those articles" about police brutality. The article, he said, had reported that policemen with "big night sticks" had surrounded a woman who had collapsed. He remarked:

> "What else can you do with them? You can't stick them in your pocket, for God's sake. The woman apparently had had an asthma attack and the police went to see if they could help."

On another occasion the author was talking to one of the C.C. officers about his career in the police force. This officer indicated that he was happy in the radio room because things were not what they used to be and people no longer showed the police the respect they deserved, especially the "civil righters", who didn't understand police work and who had no understanding of the sort of people the police had to deal with.

> "I've been in the radio room for some time now. Some of the others don't, but I prefer being here than on the street. When I first joined the force, the police and

citizens knew where they stood. People knew what was right and wrong. Then it was possible to uphold the law. Now we're in an era of civil rights legislation. The policeman's task has become very, very frustrating. It's very difficult now to maintain law and order. In the old days, if you saw a bunch of disorderlies, say, outside a pool room, you'd go over and politely ask them to move on. If they didn't move and move quickly, you'd tell them to 'fuck off', otherwise you'd kick their arses for them, and if they still didn't move, you'd go right ahead and do just that. Now, there's just too much of this civil rights business; they've made our job much more difficult. Some civil rights is necessary, but things have gone too far. For example, when Kosygen was staying at the Holiday Inn, we'd set up a line to keep the demonstrators away from the hotel. They didn't do it for fun. They set it up and expected them to respect it. We're not opposed to demonstrators demonstrating. But they must do it within the law. If they decide to break through the police line, they must expect prompt and severe action in return. What they've been saying in the papers is unfair. There's this report of a mounted policeman riding into a crowd and using his long leather crop to beat up women and children. That's just ridiculous. They just wouldn't do that. I've never heard of policemen using their crops to beat up women and children! They had a picutre with a man with a bloody nose being held by two policemen. That picture's typical of the sort of news reporting the police have to put up with. You have a picture that's taken out of context that carries with it a very clear message that's unfavourable to the police.

In downtown you have to deal with people who've been brought up in very rough areas. To handle these people you have to understand that they've got a very rough psychology. You've got to handle them rough. They've been brought up to understand punishment. So the only thing they respond to is this. You've got to be tough. If you deal with them civilly, like you would people of different backgrounds, they just laugh at you -- they think you're weak. The ultimate effect of this civil rights legislation on the police is that today the criminals and the rough elements of society laugh at the police. So that's why I like it better here in the radio room."

Even in the radio room, however, while C.C. officers were relatively free of interference from "civil rights types", they still had to deal with the naivity of the public. The area in which this naivity was, in the C.C. officers' opinions, most obvious was in the public's definition of emergencies: the public simply did not know what an emergency was and constantly exaggerated trivial incidents by calling them emergencies.

> C.C. Officer to observer after a call in which caller had reported a "small accident":
> "If a citizen says it's small, it must be pretty small."
>
> C.C. Officer commenting on call in which caller had reported a noisy party saying that it was a "real emergency":
> "Emergency -- they're having a noisy party. Ooh!"
>
> C.C. Officer after a call from one of the police divisions about a call received earlier about a domestic dispute:
> "This call just shows how 'really' serious the original call was, despite the screaming and what not. The first call was a half hour ago, and if it had been as serious as it sounded, someone should be dead by now."
>
> C.C. Officer after call from citizen inquiring why the police were taking so long to attend to a property damage traffic accident:
> "This guy's going frantic waiting for 20 minutes for the police. Christ."
>
> C.C. Officer chatting to researcher:
> "Sunday nights we get a lot of lost kids calls. The kids don't show up for supper and mama gets worried. They're usually out playing in the park and have forgotten the time."

In recognizing the public's inability to define an emergency "properly", the C.C. officers once again showed themselves to be no different from other occupational groups who find that they too come into conflict with their "clients" over the definition of events as emergencies. Hughes, in considering research on a variety of service occupations, has noted that conflict over the definition of emergencies is endemic to these occupations.

> "In many occupations the workers or practitioners (to use both a lower and a higher status term) deal routinely with what are emergencies to the people who receive the services. This is a source of chronic tension between the two. For the person with the crisis feels that the other is trying to belittle his trouble; he does not take it seriously enough. His very competence comes from having dealt with a thousand cases of what I like to consider my unique trouble. The worker thinks he knows from long experience that people exaggerate their troubles. He therefore builds up devices to protect himself to stall people off... Involved in this is...the struggle to maintain control over one's decisions of what work to do, and over the disposition of one's time and of one's routine of life."
>
> (Hughes, 1971: 346)

The struggle for control of how trouble should be defined, whether it requires police help and whether it is an emergency or not, was an important one for the C.C. officers, for as Hughes suggests, it bore upon their identity as experts. However, while the public's naivity in these matters was frequently frustrating, they did not always blame the public for their lack of knowledge, for "they" often did not "know any better". However, they did blame those who, when informed of their error, argued with the police. For whatever justification there might be for "not knowing", this did not excuse their failure to accept the authority of the police. This lack of recognition of police authority and the disrespect this implied should not, it was felt, be tolerated.

There were some people, however, for whom the excuse of naivity was never given any credence. Some people should know better and if they didn't their ignorance was no excuse. Worse still, others probably did know better, but feigned ignorance because it suited them. In this latter category the C.C. officers placed "big business". Business men, they believed, frequently showed themselves to be insensitive to the tribulations of police work, to say nothing of the dedication of policemen.

> "Some large companies won't prosecute shoplifters because of the publicity. One detective worked on a case for months, trying to catch some guy who'd been stealing from phone booths. When they di[illegible] they wouldn't prosecute. He'd got ten th[illegible] If you don't have a sense of humour on th[illegible] you'll never survive."

Once again, we see t[illegible]lying the public's view of the police, the police percieve [illegible] respect for their occupation and their claim to professional status. From the police point of view, if the public refuses to acknowledge their status as experts in their own field, then they don't deserve the help this expertise allows them to provide.

The Public are Exploiters

While people who brought trivial problems to the police were often regarded as simply incredibly helpless and stupid -- like the fellow who called because his girl friend was molesting him ("Being molested by a girl, that's something"), or the husband who called because his wife was threatening to beat him up (this call sent the C.C. officers into fits of laughter) -- some callers are seen as not only helpless but as lazy and exploitative. These callers were regarded as "using" the police and as not really as helpless as they would have one believe. Sometimes this is seen as basically laziness, or perhaps a fear of doing things for oneself.

> "Very often people call about barking dogs because they do not want to get involved themselves. They want to leave it to the police to do something. Complaints about barking dogs just misuse the police. In the vast majority of cases it is probably quite unnecessary to involve the police, except as a last resort. The thing to do would be to go directly to the dog's owner and ask him to take the dog inside or quiet it down some other way."

At other times, however, the C.C. officers felt that the public was deliberately trying to "use" the police.

> C.C. Officer to researcher after a call in which a police car was requested to transport the caller to a hospital:
> "We're not running a taxi service for them. That's not an emergency. They don't have money for the subway but they have money for other things. As soon as you mention ambulance to them, they go off because they think they might have to pay for it."

> C.C. Officer's remark to caller to terminate call from landlord who complained a tenant wouldn't pay his rent:
> "We don't collect rent."

> C.C. Officer to caller who wanted police to get a key from a tenant who had said she would return it the following day:
> "Get it yourself or wait until tomorrow. It's not a police problem."

These callers really annoyed the C.C. officers as they felt, that they were "taking them for fools" and "trying to put one over" on them. Such callers, by treating them as "fools", showed them even greater disrespect than those who demanded service. Of all callers, these were the ones that they felt deserved police help least, because they had no respect for the institution of policing.

Besides individuals who used the police, the C.C. officers felt that certain businesses used the police to make money for them. For example, the insurance companies, they believed, used the police to do their investigating for them; investigating that they should have done themselves and that they were being paid to do by their clients. The worst offenders in this regard, the C.C. officers felt, were the alarm companies who were encroaching on the police domain and then "had the nerve" to get the police to do their work for them -- work which once again their clients were paying them to do -- by responding to their alarms.

> C.C. Officer during conversation with researcher: "Alarm companies, they use the police. They get us to do their work for them."

> C.C. Officer after a call from an alarm company: "God damn phony outfits. They call the owner and he says not to tell the police anything, so our car sits there at the scene waiting and waiting for someone to show."

The C.C. officers, while they disliked being "exploited" by these companies, responded to this exploitation more philosophically than they did to the exploitation of individual citizens, because they felt that there was nothing one could do about it; it was all part of "the system".

This was not the only exploitation they could do little about, for they believed they were also exploited by legislators who used the police to handle trivial problems that did not really belong within the police role. This situation, they felt, had improved somewhat, as the police were now relieved of much work that was not really police work.

> "We used to make up small cards with phone numbers on them of the police, ambulance, fire department and things like that, and go around to all the houses and drop them in. Imagine a policeman doing that."

Nonetheless, they felt that there was room for much improvement.[6] The area in which this was seen most clearly was in traffic accidents where police time, that could have been spent doing "real police work" was tied up dealing with "trivial matters" that, the C.C. officers felt, did not require police expertise.

> "There are lots of things the police get involved in where they are not really needed; like car accidents. If the government paid for insurance, then there would be no need to investigate anything other than P.I.'s [personal injury accidents], since no real blame would need to be attached to either driver. The costs of this involvement to the police in court appearances, time

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[6] The definition of tasks proper to one's occupation is a matter that all workers are concerned with. This question of definition is of great importance to occupations that are endeavouring to define themselves as a profession. "The process of turning an art and an occupation into a profession," wrote Hughes (1971: 314) "often includes the attempt to drop certain tasks to some other kind of worker." Hughes' (1971: 311-315) discussion of nursing provides a useful comparison with the police as both are occupations who are seeking to enhance the status of their occupation by defining them as professions.

spent investigating, etc., is too high."

What made matters worse was that even though the law provided that the police were not required to report on accidents involving damage estimated to be $200 or less, the public insisted on calling in about the most "trivial" accidents.

"He's got a chip on his bumper. Oh, for Christ's sake."

The trivial nature of the problems the public expected the police to deal with was a constant source of humour within the radio room and in telephone conversations with other policemen.

C.C. Officer: "Police radio Smith."
Policeman: "Yeah, John."
C.C. Officer: "Hm."
Policeman: "It's Jim Jones, 64."
C.C. Officer: "Ay."
Policeman: "How are you, John?"
C.C. Officer: "I'm not too bad, how are you?"
Policeman: "Oh, very good."
C.C. Officer: "Hmmm."
Policeman: "We've got a real big one here in 64."
C.C. Officer: "I can imagine."
Policeman: "We've got a drive obstructed."
C.C. Officer: "You're kidding."
Policeman: "You'd better send 10 cars on this."
C.C. Officer: "Yeah."
Policeman: (Laughter) "64 12 area."

Underlying this humour, however, was a deep-seated resentment. The C.C. officers' status as policemen was daily and constantly being demeaned by people who expected help with problems that a layman could successfully handle. Policemen were professionals, C.C. officers believed, and should be treated as such. The C.C. officers believed that they should only have to respond to police problems, that is, to problems that required the skills and expertise of professional and highly trained policemen.

> "Why don't people call their superintendents. If the guy on the floor above is making a noise, he should tell his superintendent, not us."

> "Get the super out of bed a few times, and he'll stop the noisy parties. Or get the owner of the building, if he doesn't live there, over. Our cars shouldn't have to do those things; they should be out on other things."

In this concern for their status as an occupation, the C.C. officers were no different from workers in other areas. Hughes, as we noted in the first chapter, has pointed out that "It is probable that people in the occupation will have their chronic fights for status, for personal dignity with...[the] consumers of their services." (1971: 345). The fight that C.C. officers had with the public was a fight they shared with many others, janitors, mus[illegible]eachers, nurses, and even those most prestigious of professionals, lawyers and doctors (Hughes, 1971). The difference, from the police point of view, was that they were not doing as well in this fight for independence as some of those occupations and so they looked with envy and hope at those who they felt had won this battle, the medical and legal professions, and talked of becoming a profession (Niederhoffer, 1967).

Third and Fourth Class Citizens

In the above discussion we have distinguished several themes that C.C. officers used to describe members of the public and to characterize "the public". When these meanings were tied to particular groups of people, it was done by way of illustration. Thus they would say, in effect "now this meaning (for example, exploitation) is seen clearly in the actions of this group (for example, "big business")". In this example, "big business" is seen as epitomizing in some of its actions the way in which the public exploits the police. "Big business", thus, was seen as highlighting a meaning applicable, to some degree, to the public generally.

In contrast to this, the C.C. officers clearly distinguished one group of people as being different from the public -- there were other similar groups, for example, criminals, but they were not talked about as much by the C.C. officers because, while they were recognized as important to police work, they were not directly relevant to *their* job -- namely, "third and fourth class citizens", "the people from slum areas", "the scum".

> "That is in a pretty run down area, as you could hear from old gravel voice [a nickname they had given to the woman caller who had phoned several times that evening]. They're at the very bottom of the ladder -- third and fourth class citizens. When you've worked in the area you learn that they haven't seen soap for weeks. They and their houses are filthy, dirty. In ---, if you get involved in something, you never know whether you'll get out O.K."

> Policeman calling communications centre:
> "Pick up one garbage can at X. Imagine getting a station detail to X -- you'd be surprised to get out alive."

> Telephone conversation between C.C. officer and a policeman calling in:
> C.C. Officer: "There was a murder at X yesterday, you know."
> Policeman: "That's not a murder, that's a 'local improvement', but if you called it that you'd have to pay taxes on it."
>
> "That's the first clown of the night. I'd like to go down and arrest the bum myself. I can't stand those pigs."

The C.C. officers did not view "the scum" as part of the public. "The scum" deserved no help from the police, and they should get none. "The scum", they felt, should not be included as part of the public they were to "serve and protect".

> C.C. Officer: "They should close down the division and put a fence around it. Everyone there deserves each other."
> Another C.C. Officer: "Yeah, you better believe it."
> A third C.C. Officer: "You could say the same for division X. They're the same sort."
>
> "In division X, there are two public housing projects. The rest of the division is fairly nice middle class. Rich people. The others can be objectionable sometimes. You have to know how to handle them."

The "third and fourth-class citizens" were not simply seen as trouble-makers that the police had to protect the public and themselves from -- although they certainly were that -- but they were, in addition, regarded as a morally corrupt group that deserved no help with the problems that their wickedness brought upon them. Their depravity was seen as arising in large measure, or at least as associated with, their addiction to alcohol.

C.C. Officer 1: "When you're on the complaint desk you soon learn how much drinking people do."
C.C. Officer 2: "Yes, and they're probably on welfare, too. It's really been a quiet Friday night."

Caller from transit company:
"We must have all the drinkers in the city out this evening."
C.C. Officer: "Yeah, it must be welfare day."

C.C. Officer after call from woman from a "slum area" to report that she has had some money stolen:
"Her common-law husband probably spent the money on booze. When you're a policeman you get a low opinion of people, especially if you've worked the downtown areas. That's why I got a transfer out of there. I found I was beginning to treat everybody as some kind of slut."

The "scum" in the C.C. officers' opinions contributed nothing to society but took from it everything they could get. They not only exploited the police whenever they could, but they "ripped off" everyone they came into contact with. The "third class citizens" lived off the public. They were the enemies of "the public". As such they were also the enemies of the police. "The scum" deserved no help, and if the C.C. officers had their way, they would get none from the police. There was no group of people that they disliked dispatching patrolmen to more than "the scum". "The scum" were not only undeserving, but they were dangerous.

Summary

The public, to the C.C. officers, were more fools than villains.[7] If they were disrespectful to the police this was as much a consequence of their stupidity, helplessness and lack of understanding as any evil intent. There were elements of villainry seen, for example, in the tendency of some people to exploit the police in their own self-interest, but it was the public's stupidity that was paramount. It was the C.C. officers' lot to serve a public who were distinguished by their foolishness.

In response to this foolishness, the C.C. officers became annoyed and frustrated. Their occupational problem was trying to help people who were too stupid to help themselves and whose stupidity hampered their efforts to help them. The public was most definitely not threatening. It was not something to be afraid of. One may have to treat a fool harshly, and one may find his foolishness frustrating, even laughable, but one seldom feared him.

The public, however, stood in sharp contrast to the "third class citizens" who were immoral villains. They were the enemy both of the public and the police and as the enemy they were to be feared. They not only deliberately and systematically exploited the police, but they threatened the police as individuals, and as an institution, in the same way that they threatened society, and the values the police symbolized and stood for. "The scum" gave no quarter and deserved none.

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[7] See Klapp's (1962) discussion of the heroes, villains and fools; three social types that he regards as fundamental to Western civilization.

The disrespect "the scum" showed the police was the disrespect of an enemy, while that shown by the public was that of a simpleton.

This view of the public is not identical with the view of the public that Westley has painted. In both pictures, the public are viewed as disrespectful. The essential difference is that for Westley, the central fact about the police view is that the public are the enemy; the public are "the scum".

This identity of the public as "the scum" overrides the differences between different types of publics that Westley notes. The public as enemy is, for Westley, the meaning that unifies the public and underlies any differences. Thus Westley entitles his chapter on the police view of the public "The Public as Enemy", and begins his book with the words:

> "The policeman's world is spawned of degradation, corruption and insecurity. He sees man as ill-willed, exploitative, mean and dirty; himself a victim of injustice, misunderstood and defiled."
>
> (Westley, 1970: v)

Given the distances of time and space that separate Westely's study from ours, the fact that, in both cases, the central theme in the police view of the public is the public's disrespect, is of fundamental significance. However, this should not blind us to the differences. There is a pervasive paternalism which is evident in the C.C. officers' view of the public (as opposed to "the scum"), which is absent from Westley's policemen's view of the public as enemy.

Why the difference? One of the most obvious reasons, and undoubtedly one that is important, is that Westley was describing the views of patrolmen and detectives, and their world, which is likely to be different from the world of the radio room because their job is different. They meet different people. It is patrolmen and detectives who have to face the troubles that the public want help with and who must deal with the trouble-makers and "the scum". Against this difference, however, must be weighed the fact that both detectives and patrolmen meet a good many people who are neither trouble-makers nor "fourth class citizens".

Recently, in a discussion about who policemen meet in their daily rounds, a detective noted that it would be wrong to assume that detectives meet criminals most of the time.

> "In fact, we spend more time interviewing witnesses and dealing with defense lawyers and crowns than we do with suspects."

In evaluating the contrasts between Westley's findings and ours, the differences between C.C. officers and patrolmen and detectives, must also be balanced against the differences between the United States of the late 1940's and early 1950's, and Canada in the 1970's.

On the basis of the present study alone, it is not possible to assess the extent to which the cultural view of the public we have described extends beyond the radio room. This is a question for further research. Our hypothesis, however, formed on the basis of many discussions with many different policemen working in many different capacities for several different police departments, is that in Canada, the image of the public we have identified is general coinage within police departments and that although emphasis changes from position to position, the meanings we have described are part of a police culture.

The Brass

The C.C. officers distinguished between 2 groups of policemen: the men and the "brass". The importance of this distinction was brought to the author's attention early in the research. Shortly after the research began, as he and the C.C. officers were working together in the complaint room, one of them asked a question: "Whose side are you on?" The author was startled. He had not expected such a direct and straight forward query about his identity. The room became silent, and all eyes seemed to turn to the author as officers awaited his response.

To the author the question meant: are you for the police or for the public; are you pro- or anti-police? This interpretation seemed appropriate in view of the published reports that the police viewed the public as a hostile and disrespectful enemy.[8] He replied that the purpose of his research was to describe and understand the requests the public made for police assistance, and the police response from the police point of view. He emphasized that his objective was to describe and not to evaluate or criticize.

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[8] In retrospect, as the discussion of this matter in the previous

This really raised eyebrows. The policemen appeared confused and did not seem to understand the answer. The questioner responded by saying: "You wear a white shirt and tie." Once again the room grew silent. Smiles appeared on the faces of the other C.C. officers. It was the author's turn to look puzzled. In response, the policeman continued: "You don't wear a blue collar like us." The smiles on the other officers' faces grew broader and the author began to understand the question. Before he could reply, however, his questioner went on to make his meaning even more explicit: "Whose side are you on? Theirs (and his eyes turned to the inspectors' office), or ours (and his eyes returned to the room)?"

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chapter indicates, the author had ample evidence at this point to recognize that this was probably not the most reasonable interpretation. However, at the time, this evidence was ignored at the moment the question was asked. This was partly because this interpretation was consistant with his reading of the literature. However, in addition, his interpretation reflected his own nervourness as a field worker hoping for acceptance within a world that felt very strange to him.

The Brass as Police

At the most general level, the brass were considered to be police. They had shared many of the experiences familiar to the C.C. officers -- "they had been there". They had at one time all been "front line" policemen. Even now a major concern of the brass was to protect and enhance the image of the police. Attacks on the police, for example, in the press, served to break down the distinction between the brass and working policemen. When newspapers reporters, for example, criticized the brass, the C.C. officers would spring vigourously to their defence.

> "There's always some nut who wants to get the police into trouble and there's always some reporter who will listen to him."

Yet, for the C.C. officers, the brass, who had been working policemen, were now "something quite different".

The Brass as Politicians

The concerns of the brass, C.C. officers argued, were not only different but often competing. When the "chips were down", the brass would sacrifice the individual policeman in the name of "the interests of the force". The C.C. officers were not reluctant to point out that the "interests of the force" overlapped, and might be confused with the "interests of the brass".

In addition, the C.C. officers suggested that as the brass developed new concerns, they became less concerned about the problems faced by ordinary policemen. What the brass "should" know, and perhaps did know, about the complexity of police work was conveniently forgotten when trouble arose.

The brass' concern was not "doing the job" but rather ensuring that the job was done smoothly and that nothing happened to taint the image of the police department in the eyes of the public: a public comprised not of people who needed help, but of boards of police commissioners, politicians, reporters and newspaper editors.

> "When they put in new systems the brass should talk to the people who know the job before they do anything; us. The people who are actually doing the job. If they just talked to us they could iron out a lot of the bugs before they put things into practise."
>
> "They don't understand, and they don't care any more. They've been out of it for too long. Most of them have not done real police work for years. They don't know what police work is any more. They spend their time in their offices. You wonder sometimes. That's why they make all these procedures."
>
> After a call from a sergeant for all cars in the division to go in for "car washes", the C.C. officer remarked: "We sure have a clean police department. Not an efficient one, but a clean one."
>
> "When they get that commission something happens. They don't know you any more. They make new friends when they become officers."
>
> "I used to know X when we both worked in ----. We used to go out a lot together."

If the public were seen by the C.C. officers as ignorant and helpless, the brass were seen as "ignorant" and self-interested.

The Brass as Bosses

The C.C. officers pointed out that it was precisely the brass, disengaged from the everyday world of police work, who defined the job of the ordinary policeman.

In the communications centre, the C.C. officers felt that they had been particularly badly treated at the hands of the brass because they had defined the C.C. officer working at the complaint desk as no more than a "message passer". They were supposed, as they understood it, to do no more than pass on requests for police assistance from the public to the dispatcher who was then to dispatch a car. This procedure, the C.C. officers felt, was insulting and demeaning as it put them essentially in the position of non-experts who were lower in status than the civilian callers, whose instructions they "must" accept. This procedure and its injustice was a frequent subject of comments within the radio room. The C.C. officers pointed out how as a result of this policy, the radio room had become the "arse hole" of the force. A place of punishment where discredited policemen were sent, and a place where the "lame ducks" were retired. They resented the implications of this definition vigorously.

> "The radio room has quite a reputation for being a hole where they throw all the duds. So at the dispatch desk you can have quite a problem maintaining your control with scout cars even though they have written instructions telling them it's the dispatcher who controls the patrol cars. The problem is that policemen on the street do not have very much respect for the radio room and so they don't have very much respect for the dispatchers. But we have authority over them in the cars. The policeman on the street resents this and that makes dispatching difficult. My joking on the phone kind of breaks this down. It's also a sort of 'morale booster' for the guys here." 9
>
> "Some of us have been sent here because we've had some kind of injury or something, but we're still policemen."
>
> "Most of us are old experienced policemen. Why have experienced officers in the radio room if you're going to send a car to every call? You might as well just have a bunch of civilians here."
>
> "You can't just send cars to who ever asks."

This implication that they were not good enough to do what any other policeman was allowed to do, namely, make judgements about what should be done about people's problems, clearly hurt. In denying them this right, the brass were seen as denying them the right to be what they were trained to be and what most of them had been for years, policemen.

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[9] This perception of the opinion others have of the radio room, while widely shared within the communications centre, is not as widely shared by other patrolmen as the C.C. officers appear to think. In fact, the author's experience has been that patrolmen treat the radio room with a good deal of awe. Recently, for example, when the author mentioned to a patrolman in the police department studied that he had undertaken research within the communications centre, he replied: "Good God. How did you get in there -- that's quite a sacred cow, you know."

During the course of the field work the brass introduced a priority system whereby the C.C. officers at the complaint desk were required to give each call a priority by assigning it a priority code number. Some of the C.C. officers interpreted this as a further attempt to reduce the discretion available to the C.C. officers.

> "It's ridiculous. For years I've been on the dispatch desk making decisions about what cars should be sent where in a couple of seconds. Deciding whether to send a car from way up to way down or deciding it's not that important and leaving it for a while hoping another car will show up."

This concern about the injustice of being treated as civilian was a source of grievance at all levels within the communications centre. The sergeants felt that this was unfair and so did the inspector. This was one of the very first issues that the inspector raised with the author.

> "I hope this study produces some results. I just don't seem to be able to convince the Deputy and Superintendent. You heard them the other day. The issue is whether the complaint function should be simply a routine function where all he does is take down information like the caller's name and address or whether the officer should be treated as an experienced policeman with the ability to first decide whether or not the call warrants a dispatch. He should be able to handle the call himself if this is appropriate. There's some difference of opinion about this within the department on this matter. I think we should have experienced policemen on the desk and most of them are. This used to be where they sent all the policemen who could not work anywhere else. I've tried to change all that, but it's an up-hill battle. If this is just a routine operation as they say it is, then they might as well just hire civilian clerks. But it's not. They have to exercise considerable discretion and should be given more. These are experienced policemen."

The Brass as Judges

Meetings with the brass were feared because, as the C.C. officers said, "brass spells trouble". When a C.C. officer was told that his inspector wanted to see him, the question he almost always asked himself was, "What have I done now?".

After each shift the sergeant would collect the complaint tickets for all calls where the actions of C.C. officers had been or were likely to be queried. They were then left for the inspector. The C.C. officers were always a little apprehensive about having one of their cards in this "little pile" and were relieved when they heard nothing further.

Queries about the way calls had been handled were initially investigated by the sergeants. When the investigation proved that appropriate procedures had been followed and that everyone was "covered", the C.C. officers involved breathed a sigh of relief.

In one case a division sergeant had complained that the dispatcher had sent a car to the wrong address. The sergeant initiated a review. He found that the dispatcher had sent the car to the address given him by the officer at the complaint desk. This C.C. officer's calls were being recorded as part of the research, and the tape recording revealed that the caller had made the mistake. This call was used by the C.C. officers to illustrate to the author how difficult it is to know when trouble, even undeserved, will strike.

One way in which the omnipresence of the brass was illustrated by the C.C. officers was through role playing. This was something older officers did with each other, but especially with young cadets.

> C.C. Officer to cadet: "It's been brought to my attention that this is the third mistake you've made tonight."

The perception of the brass as omnipresent as well as the notion that one never knows when trouble will strike is also illustrated in the following call in which the complaint officer informs a fellow policeman that he is "on tape". Since the main field work for this study was completed, the author has heard the suggestion made by policemen in the department that the internal affairs bureau "taps" their phones. This is also something the author has had suggested to him in other police departments. This possibility perhaps adds a further dimension to this transcript:

> C.C. Officer: "Radio Smith."
> Policeman: "It's two four six in area one oh one. I'm at the car wash for a few minutes.
> C.C. Officer: "You're having a wash, are you?"
> Policeman: "Yeah."
> C.C. Officer: "O.K."
> Policeman: "And a shave, too."
> C.C. Officer: "Eh?"
> Policeman: "And a shave, too."
> C.C. Officer: "Shave, too. You got your electric razor with you?"
> Policeman: "Yeah." (Laughter)
> C.C. Officer: "What a sneaky manouver that is." (Laughter) "Wash and shave."
> Policeman: "And a coffee, too, but you're not supposed to know, you know."
> C.C. Officer: "And a coffee, too. But I'm not supposed to know that."
> Policeman: "That's right."

?

C.C. Officer: "Going to have a little bump game, too?"
(Laughter)
Policeman: "Yeah, but, um."
C.C. Officer: "Oh, I forgot to tell you, you're on tape."
(Laughter) "No kidding; I kid you not. Bye-bye."
Policeman: "Right." (Laughter)

During the initial weeks of the field work, C.C. officers on several occasions referred jokingly to the observers about the dangers of being "taped".

> "I hope you can erase some of what you may hear on these calls. Some of these guys calling are my friends, you know, and some of the things they say shouldn't be put on your tape."

> C.C. Officer to C.C. Officer being taped as observer disconnected tape during early "trial recording session": "You can go back to swearing at the callers now that the tape's off."

> To dispatcher during call: "Watch it, Tom, you're on tape."

The expectations of the brass as the C.C. officers understood them were that the policemen should do their job in a manner that would avoid criticism from the public and would maintain a good "police image". To this end they issued policy instructions. These policy instructions were viewed by the C.C. officers as placing them in a "no win" situation. It was difficult to do a good job and follow the letter of "the book", but if one used one's initiative and things went wrong, one was likely to get "creamed".

> "To get the job done you can't go by the book. You can snowball any place if you want to rule. But then you're taking a chance."

This "double bind" situation is discussed with reference to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in the Marin Report.

> "These examples illustrate the kind of dilemma in which a member frequently finds himself. Although it may often be more practical and expedient for him to rely on his his own initiative in determining the course of action to pursue, to do so is to risk censure or worse. The alternative, however, is to strictly abide by the written instructions and accept the possibility that the effectiveness of his performance as a police officer may be inhibited."
> (Commission of Inquiry, 1976: 119)

The status of the police instructions was, at best, ambiguous. Officers felt that the brass discouraged rigid conformity where "good police sense" would dictate otherwise and would turn a blind eye to the many "irregularities" that they "knew" occurred. However, once anything occurred which embarrassed the brass, such as a public complaint about an action that they would have difficulty defending publically, departmental policy would be used to "solve" the problem by blaming some policeman for wrong-doing. This was also something that the members of the Marin Commission found.

> ". . . in the normal course of his operational duties, a member is routinely in a position of at least tacit disregard of some administrative regulations. . . .
> Often the member's supervisors are tacitly aware of situations like this and are sympathetic to the member when he takes these risks. Generally, however, they find it to everyone's advantage to look the other way, for they are bound by the same regulations as their subordinates. To be formally aware that a subordinate is in breach of a regulation and fail to take action is to implicate oneself in the offence. Providing that the breach of regulations never comes officially to the attention of a member's supervisors, it is unlikely that he will be chastised. Indeed, he may even be praised for his operational success. If, however, such actions

> are brought officially to the attention of his supervisors, those in charge have no choice but to enforce the regulations and impose the sanctions called for. Since superiors may not, without inviting discipline upon themselves, admit prior knowledge of the breach, the member finds himself very much alone as the discipline procedures are brought to bear. The operational conditions which gave rise to the offence will not be considered mitigating, for within current provisions the issue is simply one of guilt or innocence of a breach of regulations."
>
> (Commission of Inquiry, 1976: 117-118)

The C.C. officers felt, like members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, that they were judged not by their performance, but by the consequences of their performance. Policy instructions were important only when their performance resulted in "negative consequences". The C.C. officers frequently expressed concern that something might go wrong which would get them into trouble with the brass and that they would be accused of violating some procedure.

> "If you get the wrong address, you're dead."
>
> After a call about a leaky gas pipe, the C.O. wondered afterwards about whether he should have informed the fire department:
> "I hope it doesn't blow up before they get there. Then they'll say 'Why didn't you call them?'"
>
> Conversation between two C.C. officers:
> C.C. Officer 1: "You should just tell them [callers] that anything you say will be used against you."
> C.C. Officer 2: "Maybe I should say anything you say will be used against me."
> (Laughter)

When the public complained about the operation of the police department, if the brass accepted the complaint, they would, it was felt, deflect criticism away from themselves and the "force" by blaming, and then punishing, a working policeman for his "mistake".[10] When the brass felt threatened, either because they discovered something that they felt could not go unchecked or because the public had criticized the police department, the relationship between the brass and the men, it was felt, easily turned from one of "fellow policemen" to adversaries.

> "Some guys complain about cars blocking driveways and you go out there and the cars are ten feet away. One time an alderman wanted a lane cleared of parked cars because he said he couldn't get his car through. I told him there was plenty of room and wouldn't tag the cars. The guy got really angry and checked all the by-laws for something to use and told me he'd have me fired. The sarg. got all upset over it and ordered me to get the cars away, but I wouldn't. So the sarg. went out himself and found out I was right. But they never will take your word for it. Even in courts, the judges will take the word of the worst criminal over the policeman's word now. Why would a policeman arrest a guy if he wasn't doing something wrong?"

This adversary relationship and its consequences for them was well illustrated by the C.C. officers' concerns with "covering themselves".[11] This concern focused on two things; the anticipated credibility of witnesses and the "evidence" that would be available in reconstructing what had happened in response to a call. The complaint tickets were used as the principal source of evidence in reconstructing a course of events in the case of a review of their action and it was here that the C.C. officers concentrated much of their effort in "covering themselves".

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[10] While this point was not made explicitly by the Commissioners of the Commission of Inquiry into the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in their final report, it was made frequently by members of the Force to Commissioners and their research staff during the course of the Inquiry.

[11] This was, incidently, a matter that proved, in the research undertaken by the Commission of Inquiry into the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, to be of paramount concern to members of the Force. The one thing every R.C.M.P. member, it was felt, should learn and learn quickly was how to "cover his arse".

> "Tickets [complaint cards] are our memo books. Like the books you carry as a patrolman. You put down everything you think is important. This is as important at the dispatch desk as it is here. You've got to do it to protect yourself. You don't know what's going to happen. But things are always going wrong. Then you'll have to explain what you've done. After you've handled three or four hundred calls on a Saturday or Friday night, you can hardly remember what your name is let alone what happened on some call. It's hard when you're asked to describe what happened in a call to describe what happened and why you did it. There are always going to be mistakes. Mistakes are inevitable. I'm just surprised that there aren't more."
>
> Observer asked a C.C. officer where the sergeant and another C.C. officer were going. They had a bundle of complaint tickets with them:
> "Well, it could be to do with a disobedience charge or may be a charge resulting from a call and there has to be a court case. When the sarg. goes along, he takes all the cards having to do with the call to court."

In preparing complaint tickets, C.C. officers were concerned about "looking good" in a review. To this end, for example, they would reduce the time between "call received" and "car dispatched" as much as possible (at times this resulted in the embarrassing situation where according to the complaint tickets the car appeared to have been dispatched before the call had been received).

Often, the C.C. officers felt, it would be preferable (even though they are required to complete a complaint ticket for every call), if there was no record of them having received a call. This was often the case when they decided not to dispatch a car. This was quite simply achieved by not making out a complaint ticket. On the other hand, there were times when the C.C. officers were very careful about making out a card "properly", when they felt it might be useful as evidence.

> After a call about a property damage traffic accident with damage estimated by the caller at less than $200: "I'm not going to make a card out on this. There's no need unless the guy wants your name and number. Then I'd make out a card in case there was any feedback on the call, so there'd be a record of it."

Policeman are not always successful in "covering themselves" and it is then that they may get into trouble with the brass.

> "Every time there is a mistake the sergeants make me write a report to the inspector. It's always your fault. They don't worry about how much pressure you're under or that you're busy and there are no bloody cars. Or that sometimes they give you a wrong address. My file is full of reports. This is not going to help me get promoted."

> "On the way home the other night I got stopped by this woman who wanted me to go and quiet down a noisy party next door. I told her I was off duty and that she should call the radio room. So when I get in I get shit and they tell me I have to go and apologize. I wouldn't go, but I've learned my lesson. Don't go anywhere in uniform."

The importance of "covering oneself" and the consequences of not doing so were seen in the perception of the radio room as a punishment area; as a place where policemen who get into trouble on the street are sent to get them out of the way.

> "Well, I shoot my mouth off too much. That's why I'm here."

> "Before I came here my wife was sick and I was getting very little sleep. I used to fall asleep on the job and when I was caught the inspector gave me a break and sent me here."

The Sergeants

The relationship of the sergeants to the C.C. officers was an ambiguous one. Like foremen in other settings, they occupied a position between the brass and the men. They were neither one nor the other. Their sympathies were seen as often lying with the men because they were so closely involved with their work. They were, however, viewed as being responsible to the brass. Their loyalties were divided.

Each sergeant was assessed by the men on the basis of their perception of his loyalties. Some of them were seen as leaning towards the brass and were not to be trusted. Others were seen as sympathetic to the position of the men and as people who would do their best to protect their men from criticism. The C.C. officers sometimes commented on the character of the sergeants, for example: "X is a real gentleman. He always tries to give you a break." Or, "That X is a real bastard; he creeps around. He's always spying on us."

The sergeants who were seen as loyal to the brass tended to be given derogatory nicknames, such as "Col. Clink" and "Old Pussy

Foot". Other sergeants were described in somewhat more flattering terms:

> "He's easy-going and doesn't pressure you. He doesn't order you around, so when he says do something you do it without asking why. X is harder, more authoritarian and when he says do something, you're more likely to argue."

The atmosphere in the radio room differed noticeably depending on which sergeant was on duty. When the sergeants were felt to be one of them, the atmosphere in the centre relaxed visibly, and the C.C. officers would engage in lively discussions about their work and social life. Over the weekends and in the evenings when these sergeants were on duty, the C.C. officers would frequently order in food and have a "party". When "Col. Clink" and "Old Pussy Foot" were on duty, however, the C.C. officers tended to focus their attention on getting the job done.

The sergeants share with the public an important characteristic. They both are seen as providing the brass information on C.C. officers' "mistakes".

The brass and sergeants were seen with some ambivalence. On the one hand they are insiders, policemen. On the other hand they are outsiders, no longer involved in "real" police work. Similarly, on the one hand, they are seen as sharing a concern with promoting a good police image. On the other hand, they are seen as concerned with protecting themselves even at the expense of their subordinates.

Summary

For the C.C. officers the brass were, like the public, seen as disrespectful because the brass did not acknowledge their professional status as policemen. What differentiated the brass from the public was the very direct and immediate control the brass exercised over their lives and the unpleasant consequences that could follow from "crossing" the brass. This control and its consequences were very obvious within the radio room. Several C.C. officers felt that they had been transferred to the radio room as a punishment and most of the C.C. officers regarded the radio room as a punishment area. Further, and even more blatantly, the C.C. officers found themselves labouring under a job definition that not only they, but their inspector -- a relatively high position within the police organization -- felt powerless to change. This was a job description that they felt they disregarded at their peril because if anything went wrong, the brass, including those who worked within the radio room, would feel "forced" to interpret and apply the procedures governing their performance literally.

The disrespect the brass showed them by denying them the status of experienced policemen was far more painful than the disrespect shown them by the public. To be denied the respect one deserved by an ignorant public was one thing; to be denied it by a brother, and a brother who had the power to make his demeaning definition stick, was "the most unkindest cut of all".

Colleagues

The C.C. officers viewed themselves as members of a team of policemen who shared common experiences and a common world view. Similarly, they saw themselves as being members of a special team, the team of policemen within the radio room. With these team members they shared particular experiences and a particular view of the world, a view we have articulated with reference to the brass and the public. As team members and colleagues, the C.C. officers shared a special intimacy founded upon their common identity as policemen and as C.C. officers.

As members of the police team, the C.C. officers saw themselves as working with other policemen, particularly patrolmen, in providing the public with help and dealing with trouble-makers. They felt an obligation to take heed of the work of other team members. In practise, when the C.C. officers worked at the complaint desk, this meant easing the load of dispatchers and patrolmen if they were busy; it meant ensuring that patrolmen were given a "good address" -- a findable address -- if this was possible; and above all it meant that patrolmen were not sent into situations "blind". This latter obligation involved ensuring that, so far as possible, a patrolman "knew what he was getting into" and that he was forewarned of any danger he might face. Understandably this latter obligation was regarded very seriously because it could involve a policeman's life.

As the C.C. officers strolled between the dispatch and the complaint rooms they would inform the men at the complaint desk of the work load of the dispatchers: "six desk is up to his arse in tickets" or "number four is still busy with that hold-up". Similarly, they would comment that with the bad weather conditions the patrolmen would be very busy with traffic accidents.

The C.C. officers frequently reminded each other of the obligation to get a "good address". Dispatchers would come through to complain if they had been given the wrong patrol area or if a patrolman had been given an inadequate address. They would also complain when a C.C. officer did not write the address clearly, thereby making the dispatchers' work harder. It is significant, in this regard, that the only C.C. officer who appeared to be universally disliked was a person who was seen as too lazy to write properly or to get a good address.

The obligation that C.C. officers believed they owed to patrolmen to let them know what they were getting themselves into was mentioned most frequently in calls where the caller, for some reason, was reluctant to specify the problem, in which case they might comment, either to the observer or to the caller, that they were not going to dispatch a car unless they could tell the patrolmen what the problem was.

Police work was regarded as dangerous and the patrolman was seen as needing all the help he could get from his team-mates in the radio room.

> "Police work can be pretty dangerous. A policeman never knows what he's walking into. This is one job in which you really have to keep your eyes open and stay on your toes. In domestics the woman's likely to turn on you if you say anything to her husband. Or you may get a call coming to your car, say, that there's a disturbance at some address and you turn up there to find a whole household of people yelling and screaming and you've only got two guys when you need four."

As Westley (1971) has noted, the police colleague relationship is seen clearest in the willingness of policemen to stick together and support each other in the face of trouble. In the radio room, one area in which this solidarity was manifest was in the face of public complaints against members of the police department. Although the C.C. officers said that they were required to refer public complaints to the "Internal Affairs Bureau", they transferred these calls to the divisions concerned, thereby informing the division of the complaint and perhaps allowing them to deal with it themselves. Sometimes the complaint would not be taken at all. For example, during one call, the caller complained that "a black policeman had thrown her to the floor". ~~At~~ this point the C.C. officer turned to the observer and whispered, "She's nuts.". He let her go on talking until she was finished and then terminated the call. The C.C. officer remarked after the call that she was crazy and that "you can't be mean to these people".

The support that policemen could expect from each other even in the face of a formal investigation is revealed in the following remark by a C.C. officer after he had transferred a call by a woman who had complained that two detectives had mistreated her, to the division concerned.

> "It's not worth worrying about. It doesn't matter though, because she's obviously irate and besides the word of two policemen will be taken over hers."

Conclusion

The police culture constitutes an important set of established meanings that C.C. officers encountered. How they acted towards these meanings -- how they acted towards the public, the brass and colleagues -- depended on how they interpreted them. That is, how these "meanings [were] used and revised as instruments for the guidance and formation of action" (Blumer, 1969: 5). To ignore this interpretive process and attempt to move directly from the cultural meanings to action, as Westley and many other sociologists studying the police have been inclined to do, is to "jump from such causative factors to the behaviour they are supposed to produce" (Blumer, 1969: 7), thereby ignoring the process of self-interaction in which people select, check, suspend, regroup and transform meanings (Blumer, 1969: 5).

This process of interpretation is an on-going and flexible process. However, it is possible to distinguish different patterns of interpretation; different modes of handling meanings. In the context of our concern for the relationship between the "self" and "others", we have suggested that these modes of handling meaning can be conceptualized in terms of different stances or orientations towards others. For example, C.C. officers can, and do, imagine the way in which the brass, the public, or colleagues would respond to the meanings of the police culture and then guide their own actions in the light of this knowledge and their orientation to these others.

All the C.C. officers come face-to-face with the police culture; how they respond to it is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

RESPONDING TO OTHERS:
ORIENTATIONS TO POLICE WORK

In considering the shared meanings of the police culture, we identified two sets of directions for police work. The directions of the colleague group embedded in the police culture itself, and those of the brass. Their directions for action were not always perceived by the C.C. officers to be consistent. This conflict was clearest with respect to the policy regarding the response to citizen requests for police service. In terms of the shared meanings of the police culture, the brass' policy that "the customer is always right" was viewed by the C.C. officers as demeaning and insulting because it was seen as denying them the status of "professional policemen".

In this chapter we will argue that the C.C. officers' response to this conflict depended on their sensitivity to the expectations of two groups of "others": colleagues and the brass. Those C.C. officers who were more responsive to the expectations of colleagues showed a greater concern for the values of the police culture while those officers who were more sensitive to the expectations of the brass showed a greater concern for departmental policy.

We will identify several stances that C.C. officers recognized as possible orientations that one could take towards the brass and colleagues, as well as the categories of policemen that they identified in connection with these stances. We will then show how these different orientations were reflected in the C.C. officers' responses to citizen calls for police assistance and their response to police calls.

Defining Others

The Real Policeman

> "The trouble with policemen today, I mean the new ones, is they're not policemen. Sure they know something, but they're scared. They pay us to do a job, and it's up to us, nobody else, to get it done."

During the course of field work there were three or four C.C. officers who talked about themselves as real policemen, as "professionals". They presented themselves as not only mouthing the values of the police culture, but as being committed to them. They saw themselves as "hard-nosed" policemen who had learned about policing from personal experience. They were tough. In their view only their colleagues and indeed only those colleagues who were "real policemen", were competent judges of their behaviour. They dismissed both the public and the brass as judges of police work believing that only the experienced policemen who had worked and who continued to work as front-line policemen, really understood police work. They talked about how easily one "lost touch" with police work: "Once you get promoted you soon loose touch, you've got to be doing it to know."

The "real policemen" presented themselves as professionals who made their own judgements about what should or should not be done and who went ahead and did what was right without reference to either the public or the brass. The real policemen presented themselves as confident in their own abilities and unintimidated by either the brass or the public.

Significantly, however, most of the C.C. officers who "came on tough" did not have their status of real policemen endorsed by the other C.C. officers who would, in asides to the observers, point out that their talk should not be taken too seriously.

> "You may not believe this, listening to him, but he's actually quite a softy."

These C.C. officers were regarded as "all front" and as in fact no different to the rest of the C.C. officers who, while they would have liked to follow the directions of the police culture, felt that this was unrealistic.

There was only one C.C. officer who was universally regarded as a "real policeman". This policeman was treated with a great deal of awe by the other C.C. officers and the sergeants. No one was on familiar terms with him, but everyone was anxious to greet him when he arrived. When he was on duty, his calls often became the center of attention, although he seldom acknowledged that he was even aware of this and simply got on with his job. When he was "on tape", this caused considerable comment:

> "Now you'll hear a real policeman."
>
> "Have fun."
>
> "Wow, now you'll hear something."
>
> "You'll have that ----- drawl to put up with, among other things."

During a shift when this C.C. officer was being "taped", the other officers would frequently try and catch the observer's eye and otherwise engage in a gestural exchange about the way he was handling calls. To all this, the C.C. officer appeared to pay no attention. When he commented on a call he had taken, he would do so "to himself". However, these comments were eagerly awaited by the other C.C. officers, who were listening for them.

The category of "real policeman" was thus regarded by the C.C. officers as consisting of one person only. That is, only one person was viewed as in fact living up to the values of the police culture, despite the fact that the police culture was viewed as the culture of the colleague group. He was the only person who was regarded as doing much more than giving "lip service" to the police culture. This was the only real policeman.

This C.C. officer symbolized the police culture for the other officers; he epitomized its values and in this sense he was the police culture. He was the ideal policeman of the police culture. His sensitivity was not to real flesh and blood colleagues, but to the ideal colleague. It was the judgements of this ideal internalized colleague that he was concerned about, not the judgements of real colleagues.

The "real policeman" is the kind of man Reisman (1961: 16) appears to have had in mind when he talked of an "inner-directed man" sensitive to an inner "psychological gyroscope" which keeps him "on course".

The Good Policeman

"Well, I'm responsible for this and I want to do it right."

"Sure, I take this seriously; if she dies it's my responsibility."

The good policemen recognized the police culture but did not identify with it. Their commitment was to the expectations of the brass. They viewed the police culture as representing a very cynical approach to police work and the hostility to the brass that it generated as non-productive and unnecessary. The brass, for them, were in the final analysis responsible for the police department. The brass, in their opinion, saw the activities of the police department as a whole and were in the best position to make judgements about what should be done. Each policeman was, they believed, responsible to the brass to carry out his part of the police operation properly. The good policemen saw themselves as different from many of the other C.C. officers in that they were not trying to undermine departmental policy. They tried to follow it so that they could do a good job.

These policemen saw themselves as "getting ahead" within the police department and felt that their efforts to do a "good job" were recognized by the brass. They saw the radio room as a step within their careers. They were, for example, proud of the fact that the researchers had initially been referred to them and that they were asked to do special assignments such as escorting citizens on tours of the radio room. For them the radio room was a training ground or a useful assignment while they completed a degree that would get them ahead in the force. They expected to move from the radio room to better things.

> "I quit school in Grade 13, two weeks before the final exams. I don't know, I had a neurotic fear of failing and then just bummed around for a while. After that I spent some time working in factories and things like that. Then I decided to become a policeman. I worked on the beat for a while. At nights I took courses at a Community College. Then I decided that if I was going to get ahead, I'd better get a degree, so I got into University and that's where I am now."

There were five policemen within the radio room who presented themselves as "good policemen" and this definition was acknowledged both by the brass and their colleagues. However, while the brass saw them as good policemen, their colleagues were often less flattering. The most flattering comments about their status they were likely to receive from other C.C. officers was a sarcastic "Mr. Perfect". To the observer these good policemen were frequently defined as "arse creepers", who only had one concern -- "getting ahead".

It is the "good policemen" that Niederhoffer defines as the "professionals" and it with them that he places his hopes for police "professionalism" as the only constructive alternative to the cynicism that most policemen succumb to.

> "...professionals advocate higher education for policemen, to whom school represents at least a waste of time. Professionals support respect for the civil rights of

> minority groups, which the average policeman considers a concession to 'the other side'. Professionals want policemen to be active and involved in their duties, whereas many patrolmen are content to drift along doing as little as possible. These members of the force feel threatened by the proposed changes. In self-defence they join the opposition to professionalism and become part of the subculture of cynicism."
>
> (Niederhoffer, 1967: 27)

The Wise Policeman

> C.C. officer persuades caller phoning about a landlord and tenant dispute to report their problem to the Landlord and Tenant Advisory Bureau on Monday morning:
> "Another buck successfully passed. Did you see that? Now here you have a glaring example of what can be done. You don't send a car, but you haven't done anything wrong now, have you?"

The wise policeman is the man with divided loyalties. He believes that as a policeman you must come to terms with both the brass and your colleagues. For them the reality of the situation was that one faced two audiences with two sets of expectations. The wise policeman learned to accommodate both.

With respect to the police culture, he did not see himself as living up to the values of the police culture, although as an experienced policeman he was sympathetic to them and did what he could to live up to its values. With respect to the brass, he did what he had to while at the same time granting that there was perhaps something to say for some procedures. The wise policeman used his "police sense" as an experienced policeman, but recognized that the "reality" of police work was that one had superiors and their expectations had to be considered. Police work for them was a matter of balancing the expectations of brass and colleagues.

> "We're supposed to take calls at face value, but there's always that grey area."
>
> "You simply have to use your discretion, your common sense. ...there's no simple rule. Especially on Friday and Saturday nights when the dispatcher has more than he can handle anyway."

The wise policemen constituted the largest group within the radio room. This was the "in group". To be "one of the boys" was to be a wise policeman. All other categories of policemen viewed themselves and were viewed by the wise policemen as, in some degree, outsiders.

The wise policemen evaluated each other in terms of the skill they showed in meeting both the expectations of the police culture and those of the brass. Those wise policemen regarded as being especially skilled at this became a focus of attention in much the same way as the real policeman did. However, while the real policeman appeared to be unconcerned with this attention, these wise policemen revelled in the attention they received and "played" to their audience.

The wise policemen who were regarded as most skilled at meeting both the expectations of the brass and colleagues simultaneously talked about themselves as acting as "morale boosters" for the men.

It should be noted that those wise policemen who were skilled at balancing the expectations of colleagues and the brass, while they admired the real policeman for his courage, did not see themselves as second best. The stance of being wise was not something one did simply because one could not be a real policeman, but was a stance one adopted because it displayed both wisdom and skill.

It was, perhaps, a man, such as the wise policemen, that Hughes had in mind when he wrote:

> "One of the great glories of an urban civilization is the complex man, finely tuned to many of the "others" in his life-orbit, consciously selecting the impulses to which he will respond and not being deterred from responding because one of his 'others' -- and the offender is often the colleague 'other' -- claims his whole allegiance and demands that he accept and defend its current doctrines and techniques in toto."
> (Hughes, 1971: 353)

The Cautious Policeman

> "This job's really boring, but some of us don't have much choice. It's either the radio room or out. It's going to be just what you make of it, and it can be fun because most of the men are nice guys to work with. It's just a job. All I do is get a name and address and send a car off. I don't argue with people, it doesn't make sense. There are a lot of guys here that argue over every car they send out. I can't be bothered."

For the cautious policeman police work has ceased to be a vocation. Each shift was something they wanted to get through with the minimum of trouble. They did not want to be "hassled" by either their colleagues or the brass. They took account of both of these groups but they were committed to the values of neither. Nor did they wish to secure the approval of either. They wanted simply to avoid their disapproval. Above all, they wanted to avoid trouble. They had "dropped out". They continued to be in the world of the police but were no longer of it.

There were two kinds of policemen who defined themselves, and were defined by others, as cautious. There were those policemen who believed that they had been sent to the radio room as a punishment. They had tasted the wrath of the brass, and whatever their reaction to this might have been once, they were no longer fighting. Their attitude was "Fuck it, I'm not going to stick my neck out, why should I?" They wanted to see their time out as quietly as possible. They saw no possibility of promotion.

If avoiding trouble meant not even making an attempt to live up to the expectations of the police culture and showing no initiative so be it; they had tried, and all it had ever got them was a "crock of shit".

The other kind of policeman was simply the man who was nearing retirement. He had lost interest in police work and he was not going to take any more chances. He did not want to be on the street where one faced the dangers of the patrolman. The radio room was a quiet spot where he could wait for his retirement. He had not been promoted and he wouldn't be now. His attention was turned away from the police department. He did not talk about the job or "old times". His conversations were about his family, his home, his recreational activities, his friends outside the police department and above all, his second career -- what he was going to do when he was finished with police work.

> "It's safer in the radio room, and that's why, I like it. It's no longer safe on the street. Security is wide open. There's too many of these demonstrations. There're hot heads in the crowds who can work people up too much and people can get hurt.
>
> The police seem to think there's no such thing as a peaceful demonstration. When they hear about possible demonstrations taking place today or tomorrow, they're annoyed because it means extra work for them to control the crowd."

Everyone recognized the cautious policemen. They were isolated from the life of the radio room, but were not rejected. Both colleagues and the brass looked at them with sympathy and understanding as men who had been "through the mill". They were seen as men who to some degree had been broken either by "the system" or by police work itself. For other C.C. officers, they represented a position that they might some day fill. They had seen it all, they had felt the pain and had withdrawn.

The attitude of the sergeants to these men was well illustrated in a comment made to the observer about a cautious policeman whose calls were being taped.

> "He's really suspicious. Some of these older fellows think that any new thing that happens is likely to get them screwed.. This evening, not only has he been on his own [for a while he was the only officer at the complaint desk], but he's being taped as well, and that's just too much for him."

Not surprisingly, the cautious policemen constituted a relatively large group within the radio room, for as we have seen, it was reputed to be "quite a hole"; a place where "they" sent "duds" and a "punishment area". On any shift one was likely to have one or two "cautious policemen" on duty at the complaint desk.

It appears to be the cautious policeman that Niederhoffer had in mind when he wrote:

> "In the last few years of the police career, resigned cynicism replaces the former, more blatant type. This detachment may be passive and apathetic or express itself as a form of mellow if mild good will. It accepts and comes to terms with the flaws of the system."
> (Niederhoffer, 1967: 104)

We have identified four categories of policemen associated with four role models, recognized by the C.C. officers themselves, based on their view of these policemen's responses to the values, expectations and judgements of "others". Each of these categories of policemen represent a different way of interpreting and handling meanings. Each group of policemen share a common definition of the situation which differs from the definitions of other groups. Different definitions lead to different responses and we would expect to find that different categories of policemen would respond differently to the situation C.C. officers face at the complaint desk. The remainder of this chapter examines these differences.

Responding to Others

In the foregoing section we noted the role models that C.C. officers recognized and the categories of policemen they identified on the basis of these models. In doing so we have shown that C.C. officers recognized that different policemen respond to the meanings of the police culture and the expectations of the brass differently. We turn now to consider the behavioural consequences that C.C. officers associate with these different modes of handling meanings. How did C.C. officers translate the orientations they identified into action? What actions did they regard as consistent with each role model?

In this section we will examine how C.C. officers translated the stances towards others they recognized into action. We will ask what it means, in behavioural terms, to be a real or a good policeman; a wise or a cautious one. To answer this question, we will turn once more to the C.C. officers' definitions by considering activities that they regarded as expressing the stances of each of the role models. This involves paying particularly close attention to the actions of those policemen whom the C.C. officers believed epitomized, or fell particularly close to, the ideal implicit in each of the role models.

By considering the actions of the real policeman we will be examining what C.C. officers believed to be the proper expression of the police culture within the radio room. Similarly, in examining the actions of the good policemen we will be examining activities that

C.C. officers believed were consistent with the expectations of the brass. From the wise policemen's actions we will learn what it means to "be wise". Finally, from the actions of the cautious policeman we will learn what C.C. officers meant in practical terms when they talked of "playing it safe".

In examining the way in which C.C. officers played roles we are not able to consider all aspects of their behaviour. Instead, we have selected for consideration five areas of activity within the radio room that C.C. officers regarded as significant in differentiating between different categories of policemen: their selection of calls, their analysis of citizens' problems, their response to citizen requests for police intervention, their manner in dealing with citizens, and finally, their manner in police-police telephone conversations.

The Real Policeman

The real policeman was the person that C.C. officers defined (and this was true no matter what their own committments and orientations), both on the basis of his words and his deeds, as coming much closer than anyone else in the radio room to realizing the values of the police culture. The real policeman symbolized the police culture in action. The actions of the real policeman represent the C.C. officers definition of what the police culture meant in practise, that is, what it was to be a real policeman.

I Selection of Calls

When there were unanswered calls "ringing", from internal police callers (green lines) and external callers (red lines), the C.C. officers had a choice as to which type of call they should answer. Red line calls were most likely to be citizen calls for police assistance and were regarded as the most difficult calls to deal with. Thus, for example, police cadets, when they first came to the radio room, were not permitted to handle red lines, and when they did graduate to these lines, they were expected to pass difficult calls over to the more experienced policemen.

With respect to the selection of calls, the expectations of the brass and colleagues were similar: one should select red line calls in preference to green line calls as one's first duty was to respond to citizen calls. The real policeman always, and without exception, gave priority to red line calls.

Although the real policeman's actions were consistent with the brass' policy no one would have suggested for a moment that he was giving priority to red lines because this was the brass' policy. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that the real policeman was doing what he did because this is what a real policeman, committed to the values of the police culture, would do.

II Dealing with the Public

The Problem

The real policeman rejected out of hand that as a C.C. officer, he was a mere message-passer. He was, in his eyes, first and foremost a professional policeman. As a policeman he was an expert at identifying and dealing with police problems. He realized that he was not in the same position as a patrolman, but did not accept that he was not able to act in any way as an expert problem-solver. First, he believed that he could identify what was and was not a police problem and second he believed that he could at times deal with the problem himself without the dispatch of a patrolman by giving the caller advice. This position, which he believed was the appropriate one for an expert policeman to take (a belief that others apparantly supported because he was universally identified as a real policeman), was reflected in his analysis of citizens' problems. He insisted that the caller state his problem in sufficient detail not only so that he could forewarn the patrolman of what he was "getting into" (something that all the C.C. officers did, though not all for the same reasons), but in order to make a determination as to how the problem should be handled. He did not, as some of the other C.C. officers did, simply get the caller to state the problem so that he could act merely as a message-passer, but did so so that he could act as a real policeman.

This concern with being a problem-solver did not mean that the real policeman always became involved in a lengthy analysis of the problem. On the contrary, there were times when he concluded very early that as a policemen the most appropriate action to take was simply to pass the matter onto the patrolman. This was the case, for example, when a by-stander called to report an accident that they had not been personally involved in.

More often, however, the real policeman would not adopt the stance of a message-passer, but would engage in a detailed analysis of the problem thereby indicating that even when he simply passed messages he did so because, from the point of view of the police culture, this was the right thing to do and not because this was brass policy.

> C (Citizen): I'm having trouble with my water tank downstairs, I think something has happened.
>
> RP (Real Policeman): Something happened to what?
>
> C: The water tank downstairs in the basement.
>
> RP: Yeah.
>
> C: And I heard this funny sound.
>
> RP: Are you in an apartment?
>
> C: No, I'm on the ground floor.
>
> RP: Are you in an apartment?
>
> C: No.
>
> RP: In a house?
>
> C: Well, it used to be a real estate office, but it isn't now.
>
> RP: What would you like the police to do?
>
> C: Well, see if they can tell me what the trouble is so that I can report it.
>
> RP: Well, who are you going to report it to, ma'am?
>
> C: I don't know.
>
> RP: Oh, I see. Where do you live?
>
> C: 1878 1/2 -----.
>
> RP: (address) What's the water doing?
>
> C: Well...
>
> RP: How high is it? Is it more than three feet deep yet?

C: Well, I can't see, the tank is...

RP: Well, how do you know anything is wrong? Did you go down to find out?

C: I don't know how to get to find out.

RP: Well, how did you know something was wrong? That's what I'm trying to find out. Did you see something wrong? Is the water leaking out or what?

C: The water must be leaking out, cause there's...

RP: It must be leaking out! Well, why didn't you go down and find out?

C: Well, I can't see very well.

RP: Turn the lights on.

C: When you get to eighty-seven you don't have perfect eyesight.

RP: Well, how do you know, there's anything wrong? You haven't told me anything yet.

C: There's a funny sound.

RP: Well, what's it sound like? Well, what is it doing? Like, oh,...

C: Funny sound near the tank.

RP: Is there anybody in the house besides you?

C: No, there isn't.

RP: Nobody else lives there?

C: No.

RP: What's your phone number?

C: xxx-xxxx. I'm not listed.

. . . .

RP: I'll send someone over to see ya.

C: Thanks very much.

RP: Police radio ---, here.

C: I'd like to call the police here, for 220 --- Avenue.

RP: You'd like what?

C: Call the police here, put my son out.

RP: Where does your son live?

C: Right, he doesn't live here at all.

RP: Where does he live?

C: I've no idea where he lives, he's no right here.

RP: Would you mind telling me how he got in?

C: He walked in by his mother.

RP: Where does his mother live?

C: Right here.

RP: Well, she wants him there, does she?

C: Unfortunately, she does.

RP: Well, we're not putting him out then, if you both live there and she wants him in, we're not putting him out. One of you wants him in, one of you wants him out, you both live there, we're not going to get involved in your domestic.

C: Just a moment, please. I want the son out.

RP: We're not putting him out. Your wife wants him in there. O.K.

(caller hangs up.)

C: Ah, you know, I'm living somewhere, a rooming house, and this, tonight, ah, our janitor, tell me move out.

RP: He what?

C: Janitor of this place, you know.

RP: Uh-huh.

C: Move out.

RP: He what?

C: I have to move out, you know, this morning. It's a rooming house, you know.

RP: I don't know what you're talking about, what's your problem?

C: The janitor tell me I got to move out.

RP: The janitor what?

C: The janitor owns this place, you know.

RP: What did you do?

C: Nothing. He said, moving. He said I got to move out.

RP: Did he tell you to move out?

C: Yeah, just now.

RP: Just now?

C: Yeah.

RP: You behind in your rent?

C: No.

RP: Can you prove you've paid your rent?

C: Oh, yes.

RP: Have you got a receipt for it?

C: Yeah, I got receipts to prove for past weeks.

RP: Yeah, well, you've been causing some trouble over there, haven't you?

C: No.

RP: Eh?

C: I don't know.

RP: Eh?

C: Not at all.

RP: Yeah, well, what do you want us for? What are you calling the police for?

C: Well, what are you going to do?

RP: Well, I don't think we have to do anything. What's your problem?

C: Well, he says just move out.

RP: Well, move out then. How long, how much notice did he give you?

C: No time at all.

RP: Ah?

C: No time at all.

RP: No what?

C: No time at all.

RP: How do you pay your rent -- by the week?

C: Two weeks.

RP: You pay by two weeks?

C: Yeah.

RP: Have you paid for the next two weeks yet?

C: Yeah.

RP: You don't have to move, for the next two weeks.

C: Yeah.

RP: In two weeks you've got to move.

C: Yeah.

RP: O.K?

C: All right.

RP: So start looking for another place. If he gave you two weeks notice you've got to move. O.K?

C: Bye-bye.

RP: O.K.

Whether the real policeman insisted on an elaborate statement of the problem or not, he always acted as an expert who exercised his judgement as to what should be done about the problem. This might involve dispatching a patrolman to the scene or it might involve some other action such as giving advice or referring the call to some other public service agency. Whatever was done, was done as a consequence of a judgement made on the basis of the real policeman's "police sense". His actions reflected his rejection of the brass' view of C.C. officers as message-passers and his commitment to the police culture.

As we have just seen, the real policeman, as a "professional", showed no reluctance about offering callers advice as to what they should do, even though as message-passers, C.C. officers were not supposed to offer advice. Advice was, for example, often given to callers phoning about domestic and landlord and tenant disputes.

. . .

C: It's, it's, it's, between a man and his wife, you know.

RP: You and your wife?

C: Yeah.

RP: What do you want the police for?

C: Yeah. I want to inform them because it's, she threatened to poison me, you know. I have to make it clear, really.

RP: No, we're not interested in that.

C: Pardon.

RP: We're not interested in that, you just go somewhere else so that she can't poison you. Then you go down to Family Court with it, too. That's not a matter for the police.

C: O.K.

RP: Right. Bye.

. . .

C: He's beat me up.

RP: Why don't you go somewhere else for the night?

C: What do you mean, where?

RP: Well, you must have one friend in --------, have you?

C: Pardon me?

RP: Do you know anybody in -------- ?

C: No, I don't.

RP: How long have you lived in -------?

C: Three years.

RP: Three years, and you don't know anybody?

C: No.

RP: (to other C.C. officers as an aside, but probably heard by the caller) What are you doing after work tonight, you guys?

RP: You must know somebody you lived in Toronto three years, you have somewhere to go for the night.

C: I know one thing, but, ah...

RP: Yeah.

C: I know they're not home.

RP: Yeah, did you phone them to find out?

C: No. I don't.

RP: Well, phone them first and find out.

C: Well, I'm sorry, but they're not home.

RP: You didn't phone them?

C: I tried. Pardon me?

RP: You're just too lazy to do anything for yourself, ma'am.

C: I'm not lazy, you idiot.

RP: You phone them and ask them. You go and stay. . .

C: Go and fuck off.

(caller terminates call)

. . .

C: Ah, I got a room mate whose done quite a bit of damage in here and I want something done.

RP: What would you like done?

C: I want him come and taken out, that's what I want.

RP: He's your room mate, he lives there?

C: Yeah, but you should see this place.

RP: No, we won't take him out. If he lives there we can't take him out, it's his place as much as it's yours.

C: Yeah.

RP: You want to get your superintendent after him maybe, and find another room mate or something.

C: Yeah. He's out bowling with his wife tonight.

RP: But we can't do anything for you. He lives there just as much as you do.

C: Yeah.

RP: We can't, we wouldn't take you out of there, you wouldn't like us to take you out of there, would you?

C: No, I guess not.

RP: We can't take him out either. Split up for the night and you go somewhere else.

C: Yeah. O.K.

RP: Make arrangements to go your separate ways.

C: Yeah.

. . .

C: But I got fed up now. I want to get this straightened out.

RP: Whose the landlord?

C: I don't know Mrs. ----. I think it is.

RP: Where does she live?

C: She lives at ---- Avenue.

RP: Do you ever think of phoning her when you've got these problems?

. . .

It was, however, not only domestic or landlord and tenant problems that the real policeman advised on. He offered advice whenever he felt it was warrented.

C: . . . I wonder if you could help me. I've locked myself out of me car...

RP: What would you like us to do?

C: Well, can you open the car at all? Do you have a duplicate set of keys?

RP: No, you'll have to call a locksmith.
C: Have to call a locksmith?
RP: Yeah.
C: Have you any idea of the number or anything?
RP: There's some in the yellow pages if you have a phone book there wherever you're phoning from...

In analyzing the problem and getting the information the patrolman and the dispatcher would need, the real policeman defined himself as acting "efficiently" as a "professional", knowledgable policeman. This meant, among other things, responding to emergencies routinely. He showed an almost total detachment from the problems he dealt with (see Hughes' discussion of emergency and routine, 1971: 316-317). This, at times, meant being "cruel to be kind".

RP: Police radio ----, (pause), hello.
C: Hello, (sobbing) my father's beating me (sobbing):
RP: What's your address?
C: 38 ------ (sobbing).
RP: You'll have to stop bawling and tell me. I can't hear you when you're doing that.
C: 38 ------.
RP: x - x.
C: x - x - x - x - x - x - x.
RP: How old are you?
C: Thirteen.
RP: And what's your phone number there?
C: xxx-xxxx.
RP: Where's your mother?

C: She's right here.
RP: And is that a house or an apartment?
C: House.
RP: Yeah, 38 ------.
C: Yes.
RP: Yeah, O.K., O.K., we'll be over.
C: O.K.
(this call was "hot shotted", i.e., it was sent to the dispatcher as an emergency.)

In analyzing the problem, a major concern of the real policeman was with his colleagues on patrol. For example, he sought to insure that he provided them with an accurate description of the problem. Further, he was concerned with ensuring that the patrolman would be able to locate the place and the people he would have to find with a minimum of difficulty.

. . .
RP: Yeah, tell her to be in the lobby.
C: Yeah, she'll be in the lobby.
. . .

. . .
RP: Well, you're going to be watch for the police, are you?
C: Yes Sir, I am.
RP: 'Cause if you don't tell us where you are we're not going to go looking for you.
C: No, I'm standing here.
RP: You make sure you stop the police car when it goes by.
. . .

This concern with colleagues, of course, also extended to the dispatchers. The real policeman was careful to ensure that the dispatcher had all the information he needed, and would, if necessary, rewrite a complaint ticket to ensure that it was legible.

The real policeman, made clear however, that in his concern for colleagues he took his directions from the police culture not from the brass. One way in which he let this be seen was by showing that he did not limit his concern for colleagues to the concerns of a message-passer, such as those we have noted. On the contrary, he let it be known that his concern for colleagues was expressed in ways that the brass did not condone. For instance, he attempted to screen out non-police problems so that his colleagues, the patrolmen, would not have to deal with them. It is to this aspect of the real policeman's actions that we now turn.

Police Assistance

As the discussion of the real policeman's analysis of the problem indicated, he did not simply accept the caller's judgement that the police were required to deal with a problem and he did not dispatch a patrolman unless he was convinced this was appropriate. He refused to be no more than a message-passer. The real policeman refused to dispatch patrolmen in response to citizen requests for police service far more often than any other C.C. officer.

The real policeman usually refused to dispatch a patrol car when he felt that the matter should be handled by the caller (i.e., they should not be so helpless, stupid or exploitative) or that it should be handled by someone other than the police (i.e., that the caller, in calling the police, had either been naive, or was trying to use the police).

The following calls provide further illustrations of some of the "inappropriate" and "trivial" problems that the real policeman refused to commit police resources to.

RP: Police radio, ----.

C: We need a car, we got to go to the hospital. Emergency. Please?

RP: Hello; what's that again?

C: We got to go to the hospital and I can't reach no taxi.

RP: What's you problem?

C: I got to take my sister to the hospital.

RP: How old's your sister?

C: Ah, she's thirty-five.

RP: What's she got -- a toothache?

C: No, she's got a headache.

RP: A headache!

C: Yeah.

RP: Just keep trying to get a cab, ma'am.

C: O.K.

RP: O.K., right.

RP: Radio ----.

C: Is this the police station?

RP: Police, yes.

C: Yeah, listen, my wife, she leave me alone tonight and she go. I don't know where, you know.

RP: Your wife what?

C: She go out, you know?

RP: She's gone?

C: Pardon?

RP: She's gone out?

C: Yes.

RP: Yeah.

C: Well, she is very nervous.

RP: How old is she?

C: She'll be 21 years old.

RP: Well, what's the problem?

C: We just make a little bit of a fight, that's all.

RP: Ah, don't worry about it, she'll come back.

C: Well, I just wait...

RP: How long ago did she go out?

C: About a half hour.

RP: Ah, give her time, for God's sake, she's not going anywhere, she'll come back.

. . .

(No car was dispatched.)

RP: Radio ----, here.

C: Hello. Ah, ---- Rink guard calling. Ah, could you send a car around please, take someone to hospital. Just, ah, it looks, could be a broken wrist, or a sprained wrist, I'm not sure.

RP: Ah, we may not have a car, how about an ambulance?

C: Ah, well, don't need an ambulance for that.

RP: Well, we might not have a car, you see, this is a Saturday night.

C: Yeah, right.

RP: Yeah.

C: Ah.

RP: Well, if a car don't show up in ten to fifteen minutes, you'd better think about getting an ambulance 'cause we just haven't got cars.

C: Yeah, right, O.K.

RP: O.K.

C: O.K.

(RP phones ambulance service)

RP: At ---- Rink, some jasper managed to get his arm broken there skating around doing figure eights, I guess.

AMB: You're kidding.

RP: Yeah.

AMB: ---- Ice Rink.

RP: Somebody fell on his arm.

AMB: Somebody fell?

RP: Yeah.

AMB: (laughter) Oh, well.

RP: He was doing a figure one and he couldn't make it.

AMB: I wonder what he's got in his hip pocket.

RP: Yeah, I wonder.

AMB: O.K.

RP: O.K.

(After this call, the C.C. officer grumbled to the observer about the rink guard's audacity in suggesting that the problem was not serious enough for an ambulance, but was serious enough for the police to respond.)

Property damage traffic accidents, especially minor ones, were problems that the real policeman was particularly disinclined to dispatch a patrol car to. Not only was the problem "trivial", but in the case of property damage of less than two hundred dollars, the police were not even required to attend. On occasion the real policeman got into arguments with callers as he attempted to get them to define the damage as minor.

RP: How bad's the damage? Would... it isn't more than 200 dollars damage?

C: Ah, it's a '66 Ford. He buckled the fender and pushed the back end in. No glass broken. But it's pushed in...can't close the trunk.

RP: Yeah, how about the other car?

C: Ah, it's a '65 Dodge, not much damage to the front end.

RP: Well, how much damage do you think has been done? Do you think it's over 200 dollars' worth?

C: Well, I don't know for sure.

RP: Well, the policeman won't know when he gets there, either. We're not bodymen either, Sir.

C: Well, I'm not a body expert, let's put it...

RP: Right, that's what I just finished telling you. Neither is the policeman -- if we send one.

C: Well, ah, if I don't see one how can I get my money from the other fella?

RP: Well, what do you pay insurance for, or do you pay insurance?

C: I just have the, ah, 25 dollars.

RP: (pause) Oh, yeah. Well, maybe here's where you find out how good that is, eh?

C: (mumbles)

RP: You east-bound or west-bound?

C: The guy is at fault. He slid right into the back of me.

RP: That's not our problem, to find out either. Now, ah...

C: How can I take him to court?

RP: Yeah, that's a good idea.

C: All right.

RP: How bad, how bad, getting back to the point, how bad is this accident dollar-wise, do you think?

C: Well, I would estimate it, I don't know what they charge to pull out a back bumper, and fix the trunk and the back fender.

RP: You can make an estimate, the same as I can. You're there, you can see it, I can't.

C: Well, I'll tell you, the passenger side and rear fender is buckled, the trunk will not close, the back is all buckled in and so is the bumper.

RP: Yeah.

C: What's a bumper worth, I don't know.

RP: We'll send someone over to see you, but don't expect the officer to do a report. You change...

C: O.K., forget it!

RP: All right.

C: All right.

In response to "fourth class citizens'" problems, for example, a theft that he defined as a police problem, the real policeman usually dispatched a patrol car. His attitude to these calls, however, was highly ambivalent and he frequently appeared to be on the verge of refusing to send a car. When he did send a car to these citizens, he would often mumble to himself about how much this annoyed him.

> "I hate sending cars to those bastards when they get themselves into trouble. It's against my religion, but I guess I have to."

The real policeman left no doubt that the "have to" here did not refer to a concern for the brass and would have been insulted at the suggestion. In these and similar remarks, in response to calls from the "scum", he was expressing a conflict within himself between two possible courses of action. If the "scum" phoned with a "real police problem", he found himself torn between his belief that this was the sort of thing the police should respond to and his intense dislike for those "bastards".

Manner

The real policeman's conversations with citizens were characterized by a directness, frankness, bluntness and rudeness that was not found in the telephone conversations of any other C.C. officers. Unfortunately, the real policeman's telephone manner cannot be illustrated fully by transcripts as the tone of voice he used was as important as the words he used. However, as the reader will already be aware, even the words themselves say a lot about the real policeman's manner.

One area in which the real policeman's direct manner was seen was in the way he refused to send out a car. His refusal, as we have seen, was straight forward. He did not seek the caller's approval for his decision, he did not seek to persuade them of its correctness, nor did he attempt to "soften the blow". It was his decision and he simply and bluntly informed the caller that he was not going to send him a policeman. Where the caller argued the real policeman was inevitably firm in his resolve, after all he was the professional and the caller was the layman.

RP: Police radio, ---- here.

C: Ah, good night, sir, Ah, can you send me a policeman, please, sir. I live at ----.

RP: What is the problem tonight?

C: I get in plenty trouble with a woman here, yes, sir, it's not my wife, you know.

RP: Well, who is it?.

C: Well, before anything should happen, I would like to get she out of here.

RP: Oh no, no, no. How did she get in there?

C: I am very angry at...

RP: How did she get in there?

C: Well, sir, you see she is not my wife.

RP: How did she get in there?

C: She get in here with my consent.

RP: Well then, you get her out with your consent, too.

C: Yeah, but...

RP: You brought her in.

C: She don't, she does not want to go, regardless of what I tell her. She don't want to leave.

RP: Why did you let her in? (pause) Why did you let her in?

C: You hear all the noise she making, sir?

RP: Yeah. I'm going to put her name in for an Academy Award.

C: What really, what really happened now. I just try to be peace...

RP: You were trying to get a piece.

C: I try to be on the safe side, you know... try to understand me please, sir.

RP: You get her out yourself, you let her in. (pause) How come you're holding the phone over so I can listen to her? [Throughout this call a woman was shouting in the background. There was a torrent of words said so quickly and loudly that it was indecipherable.]

C: Beg your pardon?

RP: Why are you letting me listen to her? I don't want to hear her.

C: O.K. so there's nothing you can do about it, eh?

RP: You let her in, you get her out.

C: Well, suppose I get in trouble and, ah, I mean...

RP: What kind of trouble?

C: She just don't want to leave, she don't want to leave.

RP: Yeah, what did you bring her in there for?

C: O.K. All right. Thank you very much.

The real policeman's manner was also clearly evident in his analysis of the problem and his determination of the address. Once again his approach was one of "taking no nonsense". When he asked a question, he did so as a professional policeman who knew his job and he tolerated no "buts", "if's" or "and's".

C: Hello, could you send the police to ---- Street for me, please.

RP: What?

C: ---- Street.

RP: What is your problem?

C: Ah, Christ oh, when he comes. I'll tell him.

RP: You tell me now, sir!

C: Eh?

RP: You'll tell me now!

. . .

C: I would like to have the police at 20 ---- Place (much confusion and noise in the back ground)

RP: You'd like what?

C: 237

RP: Now what's the address? (pause) What's the address?

C: ----, please.

RP: What's your problem?

C: I think my husband is getting to be idiot.

RP: Now, madam, that's not enough, you tell me -- what's the problem?

C: Yes, it's the second time. I already called the police once.

RP: You tell me what the problem is, madam.

C: He's idiot.

RP: That's not good enough for me.
C: He's beating me up.

. . .

RP: Police radio, ----.
C: Police department?
RP: Yeah, it's the police.
C: Yeah, what station's that?
RP: You have to speak up.
C: Well, what station's that?
RP: This is the police, it doesn't matter what station it is, what's your problem?

. . .

As these, and some of the earlier transcripts, indicate, the real policeman did not tolerate the public either asking him questions or telling him what to do. He made it abundantly clear that he expected to control the conversation, and was determined to do so. He, not the citizen, would make any decisions that had to be made.

As almost all the transcripts we have used illustrate, the real policeman let citizens know exactly what he thought of them. He did not mince his words. He called a spade a spade.

C: (crying) My husband does beat me up for no reason at all.
RP: The rotten dog, the low down critter.
C: (crying)
RP: Where are you, madam?

. . .

RP: How often does he do this; every Saturday night?

C: No.

RP: Every second Saturday night?

. . .

C: Well, I've never phoned you people before.

RP: Well, there's always a first time and it's easier the second time.

C: Yes, I phoned, a parked car on driveway at a, ---- Avenue.

RP: Yeah.

C: They haven't been around there yet.

RP: Well, how long ago did you call?

C: Ah, about ten minutes ago.

RP: Ten minutes!

C: Yeah.

RP: Good heavens! It takes time to get there, you know.

C: Oh, oh, I see. O.K. Fine.

. . .

"You people can sure get yourselves into a heap of trouble, can't you?"

. . .

During conversations with citizens the real policeman used "humour" to reinforce his stance and to demean the caller. This humour is evident in many of the transcripts we have cited, for example, "I'm going to put her name in for an Academy Award". The real policeman seldom treated the other C.C. officers as an audience for his humour. His humour was directed at the caller. He was, however, laughing at, not with, the caller and it is unlikely that the callers found his "jokes" amusing. Even though the observer was an obvious audience for these "jokes", the real policeman did not seem to treat him as one and appeared unconcerned with his reaction.

The central characteristic of the policeman's conversational manner was that he treated citizens according to their deserts, according to the values of the police culture.

Post-Call Remarks

Compared to some of the wise policemen, the real policeman made relatively few post-call remarks. When such remarks were made they were seldom directed at other C.C. officers, but were either mumbled to himself or directed to the observer. Frequently, these remarks involved "thinking aloud" about what he was doing.

"Now where's that. Ah, North ----. Now let's see."

At other times the real policeman's post-call comments expressed his sentiments about the call and the caller. These remarks were typically very brief and he seldom elaborated upon them, even when questioned.

> "Had an argument with his old lady, about half an hour ago, now he's phoning"
>
> (In response to automobile accident call:)
> "There's probably no damage at all."
>
> "They get themselves into these God damn jackpots."
>
> (After child called re domestic dispute:)
> "I don't know how people can live from weekend to weekend without ending up killing each other all over again."

"Half the time they got the wrong house number,
anyway."

(In response to a call where the caller had difficulty
speaking English:)
"I don't know why they bother phoning. I'm supposed
to understand them. I suppose I'm supposed to speak
everyone's God damn language in the world, I guess.
He keeps saying 'I don't understand, I don't understand.
I suppose he'll call back eventually, I suppose."

Except for these brief remarks the real policeman seldom referred back to calls after he had completed them. This was even the case with respect to "exciting" and "tragic" calls that aroused the interest of most other C.C. officers.[5] Thus situations arose in which the entire radio room, with the exception of the real policeman, was following the progress of a problem that had initially been reported to him. His detachment was complete.

In between calls most C.C. officers engaged each other or the observer in "casual conversation". The real policeman, however, tended to remain aloof from this and would often whistle in between calls, thereby indicating that he was otherwise engaged and was not to be disturbed with "idle chatter".

III Dealing with the Police

The real policeman appeared to be better known by other policemen than any other C.C. officer and many of the callers addressed him by his first name. However, he did not always seem to recognize these callers.

He responded to police calls in a "business like" manner, and included in his conversation the occasional "in joke" at the expense of either the brass or the public.

RP: Radio ----.
PC (Police Constable): ----, downstairs, Rick.*
RP: Yeah, Clyde.*
PC: xxxx area.
RP: You sure?
PC: Hold on a sec, the sergeant's bugging me for a light, will ya?
RP: Smack him in the nose.
PC: Can't do that, he's got the rank. (laughter)
RP: xxxx
PC: xxxx, xxxx (street name)
RP: Yeah.
PC: I'm sorry. She's got some problems there.
RP: What's it sound like, a domestic?
PC: No, no. Landlord and tenant, but...
RP: Yeah.
PC: But the landlord isn't there.
RP: O.K.
PC: Bye.
RP: Bye.

RP: Police radio, ----, here.
PC: ---- in the basement.

---

* Neither of these names were the first names of these policemen. C.C. officers and other policemen would sometimes use "phony" first names, perhaps to emphasize their "in-group" status.

RP: Why don't you give us a break there?

PC: Well, luck, I wish I could. They're phoning in here like crazy.

RP: That's because they are crazy.

PC: That's probably why xxxx (patrol area). (Caller gives the address of a Mental Health Institution.)

RP: Pick up the sergeant and take him back to work.

PC: That's about it.

. . .

RP: Police radio, ----, here.

PC: Yes, (first name), 20 20, xx.

RP: Twenty-twenty, well, how's your vision?

PC: Ah, not too bad.

RP: It's not twenty-twenty, eh?

PC: No, it's not.

RP: O.K.

PC: Oh's area.

RP: Yeah.

PC: xxxx (street).

RP: Oh, yeah, the slum area, eh?

PC: Yeah, Apartment 213.

RP: Yeah. It's a?

PC: That's a domestic complaint. The woman apparantly has a knife in her grasp.

RP: Oh, she's going to have some hamburger.

PC: She says she's going to carve him up for dinner or something.

RP: Well, that's a good idea.

PC: Yeah. O.K.

RP: O.K.

PC: Right. Bye.

. . .

PC: Funny Farm, (caller gives address of a Mental Hospital).

RP: Pick up the sergeant and take him back to the station.

PC: (laughter) . ... .

. . .

Summary

The real policeman in all phases of activity we have considered, presented himself and was seen by others as taking his cue from the police culture. He rejected as unimportant the policy of the brass. He interpreted the directions of the police culture to mean that he should act as a problem solver not a message-passer, screen "unnecessary" calls from patrolmen and treat the public according to their deserts even if this meant being rude and hostile. In talking to fellow policemen, he presented himself as a person who had little respect for either the brass or the public and as aloof from other policemen because they did not have the "guts" to live the values of the police culture.

The Good Policeman

The good policemen, unlike the real policeman, did not embrace the police culture. Nor did they reject the brass as totally uninformed about police work. While they accepted that the brass, because of their position, were inevitably somewhat removed from day-to-day police work, they believed that their vantage point gave them a broader perspective. Above all, the good policemen viewed the brass as coordinating police work, so that even if one did not agree with particular departmental policies, one should follow them in the interests of the smooth functioning of the police department as a whole. If one did not agree with a policy, the appropriate response was to persuade the brass that the policy should be changed, or wait until one was in a position to change it oneself. One should not simply refuse to heed it. To do so was to sabotage the operation of the police department and to act in a non-professional delinquent fashion.

In the same way that real policemen epitomized the police culture, as it was expressed within the radio room, so the good policemen symbolized, through their actions, departmental policy as it was understood by the C.C. officers.

I Selection of Calls

The good policemen, like the real policemen, gave priority to "red line calls". However, they did so for very different reasons. They gave priority to "red line calls" because this was in accord with departmental policy.

> "We're supposed to give priority to red lines. This is to keep time delays to a minimum."

II Dealing with the Public

The Problem.

Unlike the real policeman, the good policemen assumed that they would be dispatching a car to most calls. According [illegible] their primary concern was with locating the problem and providing [illegible] patrolman with a description of it. They were not concerned with analyzing the problem so that they could do something about it, or screen the call by refusing to dispatch a car. This orientation was reflected in their handling of the problem. Unlike the real policeman, whose first and principal concern was always with analyzing the problem, the good policemen's initial concern was ensuring they had an address as this would allow them to fulfil what they believed was their principal function, namely, dispatching a patrolman.

> "It's important to get the address. Then if anything happens, you've got the address and you can send a car."

Good policemen in responding to citizen calls would usually concentrate first on locating the problem and would only then turn to its definition. They would also frequently return to the address at the conclusion of the call "just to make sure" that they "had it right".

. . .

> C: Yeah, there's a street light, 745 ---- Street, they're going to break, they broke my big glass window last night and I go into the yard tonight and they're throwing stones there, at my daughter, ---- ---- and this is ---- ----.
>
> GP (Good Policeman): Well, what's your address, ma'am?

. . .

GP: Metro police, ----. (pause) Hello, this is the police department, can I help you?

C: Yes, please send, will you send somebody here, my wife. . .

GP: What's your address?

C: 24 ---- Blvd.

GP: 24 ----.

C: Yes, ----.

GP: What's your phone number?

C: xxx-xxxx.

GP: And is that a house or an apartment?

C: Beg pardon?

GP: Is this a house or an apartment?

C: It's a house, yeah.

GP: And what's the problem?

. . .

. . .

C: Could you send the police to 1200 ---- Avenue, please?

GP: You're talking too quickly. Can I have the address again, but go slower.

C: 1200 ---- Avenue.

GP: 1200 ---- Avenue.

C: Yeah.

GP: Is this a store or a house?

C: It's a house over a store.

GP: It's an apartment over a store?

C: Yeah.

GP: What's your name?

(problem is discussed)

GP: Is there more than one apartment over the store?

C: Yes, Miss.

GP: There is? Which apartment are you in?

C: It's only one flat, you know.

GP: Oh, there's only one flat? O.K. then.

C: O.K. Could you send them straight away?

GP: Yeah, I'll have them come down.

C: O.K.

GP: O.K. Bye.

GP: Police radio ----.

C: I'm, I;m locked out of my house, and uh, uh...

GP: All right, madam, we'll get somebody by to see you there and help you out. What's your name?

C: ---- ----.

GP: Mrs.?

C: Uh, Miss ---- ----.

GP: How do you spell your last name, ma'am?

C: D as in Donald ----, and I live at xxx ---- Road.

GP: and xxx ---- Road.

C: It's near ---- and ----.

GP: All right, fine. What is the telephone number you're calling from, ma'am?

C: This's a pay phone.

GP: Uh, huh.

C: xxx-

GP: Uh, huh.

C: xxxx.

GP: Thank you. We'll get somebody right by.

C: All right.

GP: Thank you.

GP: Metro police, ----.

C: Yes, can I speak to someone who can help me? (caller is crying)

GP: Right, where are you?

C: I'm . . .

GP: What's your address?

C: I'm at xxx ----.

GP: What's your phone number?

C: xxx-xxxx

GP: What's your name?

C: ---- ----.

GP: What's your trouble?

. . .

GP: Police radio, ----, speaking.

C: I'd like to report the loss of a camera, um, which was either picked up or stolen. I mean it's, uh, I know it's not where it was left, uh...

GP: What's your name, sir?

C: My name is ---- ----.

GP: Where are you calling from now, sir?

C: I'm calling from home. The camera was, uh, left inadvertantly in a parking lot, uh, next to the, uh, church, right, let's see, behind the, uh, behind the stone, you know, the large, well not large, but the small parking lot, er...

GP: Was it taken from your car, sir?

C: No, it was not. I, uh, I mean it may be the person who picked it up might be turning it into you, which is one of the reasons why I'm calling.

GP: Uh-huh. Where do you live, sir? Where are you now?

C: Uh, I live at xx ----.

GP: And, your, uh, phone number there, sir?

C: Uh, er, xxx-

GP: Right.

C: xxxx.

GP: And you're there now, are you?

C: Uh, yeah.

GP: I'll have an officer see you, sir, at that address.

C: Oh.

GP: Proper occurrence, in case it is turned in, sir.
We can match it up and return it to you.

C: O.K., you're going to have someone drop around?

GP: xx ----.

C: Yeah.

GP: That's a private house, is it?

C: Uh, yes, we're on the third floor.

GP: Third floor? Thank you very much, Mr. ----.

C: Thank you.

GP: Bye.

The good policemen's focus in analyzing the problem was much narrower than that of the real policeman. They were generally not concerned with the question of whether help was needed. They only wanted to know what help to dispatch and to be able to inform the patrolman of the problem.

. . .

GP: And what's the trouble?

C: My wife has fallen down and I can't get to pick her up.

GP: Is she injured?

C: Yeah, no, no, I don't know exactly.

GP: I'll send an ambulance to you just in case she is, all right?

C: No, no, no, you don't need an ambulance, please.

GP: Is she an invalid?

C: Beg pardon?

GP: Is she an invalid?

C: Oh, just send a policeman to help her, for God's sake.

GP: Is she an invalid? I want to know in case we have to have two policeman to carry her.

C: No, no, I think she's all right if she can get up, but I can't get her up.

GP: O.K. There's an officer on his way.

C: Right, thank you, thank you.

. . .

C: Good morning. I would like to report a burglary.

GP: Your house, sir?

C: Oh, ah, in the, ah, in my, the radio in my car.

GP: Your car?

C: Yeah.

GP: What was taken sir?

C: Yes, it was taken, ehhhh...

GP: No, what was taken from your car?

C: Uh, the radio.

GP: The radio, eh?

C: Uh-huh.

GP: Are you home now?

C: Yes, I am.

GP: May I have your address, sir?

. . .

. . .

GP: (After getting an address). . . And it's a theft you say?

C: Yes. Some jewellery and a tapestry and I don't really know what else.

GP: Pardon?

C: Jewellery and a tapestry.

GP: Did someone break into your apa[illegible]nt?

C: Yes. And, the door was locked and I don't know how they got in or out.

GP: So entry and a theft. All right, madam.

C: A bottle of liquor.

GP: Pardon?

C: They took liquor.

GP: Liquor too, eh?. . .

. . .

. . .

GP: What is your phone number, ma'am?

C: xxx-xxxx.

GP: Yeah?

C: Like, you know, there are people, I don't know what kind of people, I never deal with, but you know, I couldn't go in. I couldn't take, she told me she doesn't want to pay. Like, you know, I don't know what to do.

GP: Have you given them notice to move?

C: I gave them their notice. I have few times police. She wouldn't pay. She lies every day.

GP: Uh-huh.

C: How I put, I'm scared to go in ever.

GP: You live in a private house there, ma'am?

. . .

GP: I'll have an officer see you there, then.

C: O.K.

GP: Thank you.

GP: Metro police, ----.

C: Yes, can I speak to someone who can help me? (sobbing)

GP: Right, where are you?

. . .

GP: What's your trouble?

C: (undecipherable)

GP: Pardon?

C: (undecipherable) So I went over to tell the parents that tell your son don't do, it's dangerous.

GP: Uh-huh.

C: And the father come this morning now and he just fought with me. Just fought with me and he called me, and you know what he called me, all sorts of things. He shoved me, his arm, and I said you wouldn't dare to talk.

GP: Did he hit your son over the head and give him stitches?

C: I have, I yesterday, I have never seen people in this country like that. (sobbing)

GP: Did you phone the police yesterday, when your boy was hurt?

C: No I didn't. I don't know why. My husband is not here. (sobbing)

GP: You tell the policeman about it, O.K.?

. . .

The central difference between the real and good policemen in the analysis of the problem was that the good policeman's concern wa getting the public police help, while the real policeman's first concern was making sure he was dealing with a police problem. Only once this was established did he devote himself to getting the calle police help either by offering advice or by dispatching a patrolman.

Both the real and the good policeman, it should be noted, were concerned with their colleagues: the dispatcher and the patrolmen. However, in defining this concern while the real policeman kept his eye on the police culture, the good policeman looked to the brass. Concern for colleagues accordingly meant different things to each of these categories of policeman and resulted in different responses to the public. For the good policeman, concern for colleagues meant ensuring that the dispatcher and patrolman were given the information necessary to do their jobs; for the real policeman it meant in addition, protecting his colleagues from inappropriate work by "screening out" callers who "used" the police and who sought police assistance with non-police troubles.

In getting an adequate description of the problem and an address for his purposes, the good policeman could be just as firm with the caller as the real policeman. This firmness was seen most clearly in the good policemen's refusal to allow themselves to be treated as problem-solvers. When a caller treated them as the person who would deal with their problem, the good policemen typically "cut them short", redirecting the conversation back to their concerns. In their eyes, as in the eyes of the brass, it was the patrolman, not the C.C. officer, who was the problem-solver, and the good policemen firmly rejected citizens' attempts to treat them as the problem-solvers.

GP: Police radio, ----.

C: Yeah, my name is Mrs. ----, I own a duplex on ---- Blvd. We rent an apartment. We have all the trouble from ----. The people didn't pay the rent, we give them notice, they didn't move out. She wouldn't let me in. She close right away the door, when I want to talk to her. She spoiled me think inside. So what should I do? (pause)

GP: Where are you now, ma'am?

C: I live in a different place. xxx ----, but the place is ---- ---- Blvd. Like they blackmail me. They do all kinds of things. I have to put them out after all they've . . .

GP: Where do you live, ma'am? What's your address?

. . . .

The good policemen not only rejected attempts by citizens to define them as problem-solvers, but they also, not surprisingly, seldom acted as problem-solvers. When they offered advice, for example, it usually was to inform callers as to how they should go about reporting problems to the police. Unlike the real policeman they seldom advised callers to resolve their problems without police intervention. Far from discouraging people from calling the police, the good policemen were more likely to encourage the public to rely on the police.

GP: Metro police, ----.

C: Yeah, I just want to report, nothing much, but someone come in my apartment yesterday. I lost my wallet and my keys yesterday, yesterday afternoon, and somebody must have found it. My radio was taken over plus my coins.

GP: Where are you right now?

C: No, no, I just wanted to for the record.

GP: What's your name?

C: ---- ----.

GP: Did you report your wallet being stolen, your keys being stolen?

C: No. I lost them yesterday, yesterday morning, and yesterday afternoon, like when I was, like when I was gone.

GP: I'll get an officer there now, but if this happens to you in the future, you report it as soon as it happens, O.K.?

C: O.K., right, yeah.

GP: Because, they can, report it, check your apartment, and maybe someone wouldn't have broken in.

C: Yeah, right.

GP: O.K.

C: (unclear) mislaid it or something.

GP: It's not just breaking into your apartment, they have all your identification and they can pass bad cheques.

. . .

C: Hello, I'd like to report my daughter missing since last night. She wasn't home yesterday from school at all.

GP: Are you home now sir?

C: Yes, I am.

GP: What's your address?

(address is given)

GP: How old is your daughter?

C: Thirteen years.

GP: Thirteen years old, you say she didn't come home all night?

C: That's right.

GP: And, this is your first chance reporting her missing?

C: Yes.

GP: Does she have a mother?

C: Oh, yes.

GP: Why didn't you report her missing last night?

C: Well, I just figured, I was up and down the streets looking for her and I just, she just didn't come home, that's all.

GP: And she's a juvenile thirteen years of age?

C: That's right.

GP: O.K. I'll send an officer out to see you.

C: O.K., Thanks.

GP: Bye-bye.

Police Assistance

In sharp contrast to the real policeman, good policemen practically always dispatched a patrol car in response to a citizen's request for police assistance.

Practically the only exception to this was property damage traffic accidents where the good policemen might indicate to the caller that if the damage was less than two hundred dollars, the parties concerned could handle it themselves. However, unlike the real policeman, the good policemen did not feel strongly that minor property damage traffice accidents were problems the police should not attend. Accordingly, they did not argue with callers if they did not want to deal with the accident without police attendance and in fact very often did not even bother to enquire about the extent of the damage.

GP: Police radio ----.

C: Ah, I'm at ---- and ---- in Willowdale.

GP: Yes.

C: I just ran into a chappie here. Ah, no injuries. Ah, you might send an officer out to investigate.

GP: ---- and ----?
C: Right.
GP: O.K., fine, will do, sir.
C: Thank you.
GP: Bye.

Manner

While the good policemen could be firm with callers, they were always polite, even in the face of insults. They shared the brass' concern about the image of the police department. They did not regard the public as unusually stupid or exploitative. They tried to let the insults of the public slip from them like "water off a duck's back". They did not allow themselves to be demeaned by the public. For them, being a professional was keeping one's distance from the insults of the public so that they did not affect one. This, it was acknowledged, was not always easy, but it was viewed as an essential ingredient in professionalism. As policemen, they felt that they would demean themselves if they allowed themselves to respond tit for tat to the public. That would involve lowering themselves to the same level as those citizens who were disrespectful. A policeman's response to the public must, they believed, be firm, but polite. This response has been apparent in several of the telephone conversations we have cited.

This attitude of distance from the public is very different from the detachment shown by the real policeman. The good policemen were more likely than any other C.C. officers to express empathy with callers and to treat them and their problems sympathetically. Very often they showed a deep concern about the caller's problem and would follow up on calls to see what happened. Further, they would sometimes comment privately to the observers that, at times, some calls "really upset" them. While all the good policemen tended to be more sympathetic than other C.C. officers, this sympathy was most apparent in the response of the one good policewoman.

The following conversations indicate something of this sympathy, although much is lost in transcription. In the first transcript, the C.C. officer shows considerable patience with a woman who is "well intentioned" but "rambles on". In the second, the officer attempts very sympathetically to calm the woman caller down before terminating the call.

> C: Couldn't you tell them for me?
>
> GP: This is the police. Can I help you?
>
> C: What I am, this is a very unusual thing for me to do.
>
> GP: Yes. (pause) Go ahead.
>
> C: I was talking with the lady there at xxx ---- Road. And she's been taking, she told me, she's taken fifteen sleeping pills and she's drunk liquor with it. Now she has, uh, another bottle, she showed me just before I left, and she has between fifteen and twenty-seven pills in it. And she says she's going to a hotel, a little small hotel on . . .
>
> GP: Is she still in the house now?
>
> C: She's still in the house.
>
> GP: Where are you calling from, ma'am?
>
> C: I'm calling from my own phone at xx ---- Avenue.

GP: xx ----.

C: She's gonna, she's says she's gonna take . . .

GP: What's your phone number?

C: My phone number here is xxx-xxxx. But what I wanted . . .

GP: I know. Go up and see if she's all right. xx a----. Is this over a store?

C: Over a store?

GP: Yes.

C: No, no, it's right in, right in a grey, it's in a grey building trimmed with white right in the end of, uh, the corner . . .

GP: Is this an apartment building?

C: No, no, it's yes, it's a rooming house.

GP: A rooming house, eh?

C: Yeah.

GP: What floor is she on?

C: She's on the first floor. She's at xxxa. She has a nice little apartment there.

GP: What's the number of the street? xxxa ----.

C: Yeah, but she told me she's going out to a, hotel to stay . . .

GP: What's her name?

C: Her name is ---- ----, ---- ----, ---- ----. And she told me she's going to do it, and if we could stop her doing it, I think maybe we could do something with her, but I can't talk to her and I wrestled with the pills . . .

GP: O.K. We'll get someone right down there.

C: She's done this many times before and she just got out of the hospital, you know.

GP: Yeah.

C: So it worries me and I don't like to see anything happen to her.

GP: O.K. We'll get somebody right down there to make sure.----'s O.K.

C: Listen, I tell you what I thought you could do. Watch her, she's going out, going to a pub and going to this little hotel on some street, she wouldn't tell me where, but if somebody could just watch and see when she comes out of that number and follow her to where she's going . . .

GP: Well, what we're going to do is go right in the house and see if she's all right.

C: Well, she's all right as far as I know. She said she's getting drowsy, but she's going to take these others. She's going to the hotel to do it.

GP: Yeah, well if she's getting drowsy and she's taken sleeping pills, we'd better get someone in the house right away to see if she's O.K.

C: O.K. You go then right away.

GP: O.K. then.

C: O.K.

GP: Right, bye.

C: Bye-bye.

. . .

GP: Stop crying, you're not going to help anything by crying because you got to be calm. You calm down and talk to the policeman and tell him everything that happened, O.K.?

C: Please help me, and you know he called me "mad woman".

GP: Well, you don't have to listen to that. Don't get worried about that. You know you're not mad. I'll send a policeman down to see you. O.K.? You stop crying.

C: O.K.

The good policemen we have noted shared with the brass a concern about the public image of the police department. One area in which this concern made a difference in the way the good policemen dealt with the public, was in the phrases they used to answer the phone. They tended to use special and slightly more elaborate openings, that were more informative and courteous, than the other officers. For most C.C. officers the standard opening was "Police radio, Jones". In contrast, one of the good policemen opened his conversations with "(City name) Police radio, Police Constable Jones". Another answered with "(City name) Police, Jones". Even where the standard opening was used an "extra touch" was usually added, for example, "Police radio, Jones speaking", or "Police radio, P.C. Jones". These openings contrasted with their openings on green lines which were like those of the other C.C. officers, short and to the point; usually "Radio, Jones".

If the real policeman's motto was "call a spade a spade", the good policeman's was "service wit[illegible]ile".

Post-Call Remarks

The good policemen did not make post-call remarks for the benefit of the other C.C. officers. Nor did they make them to themselves as the real policeman did. Further, the good policemen very seldom "made fun of" the public or expressed the values of the police culture in their post-call remarks. Their remarks were usually intended to help the observer understand what the call was about, why something had been done, what was likely to happen, what some term meant, or what some procedure was.

> "The Sound Unit consists of the men who go around to the schools with Elmer the Safety Elephant. They work from the Traffic Safety Division."

"If a call comes from the switchboard, it's usually a P.I. They transfer the caller to the ambulance to give them the information, then while this is happening the operator calls the complaint desk. The operator then calls the ambulance back to make sure they are on the way. Then they confirm with the officer."

"If no two man cars are available [a police caller had asked for the dispatch of a two man car], they'll send two cars."

After a call asking the police to send a car to a doctor's home to give him an emergency message:
"He's probably got his phone off the hook or something so the hospital can't get through to him. The car will either hustle him out of bed or drive him to the hospital.

"I think that it was a noise complaint but I can't be sure. It probably should have gone as a 'mental case'."

"People start giving information to the switchboard operator and when she says she's putting them through to the radio room they don't listen. So they're surprised when we start asking them questions."

"You have to be careful with no ambulance required calls because these [police] stations can be careless sometimes with them and it can mean a matter of life and death. I know of a number of cases where they said no ambulance required and it turned out later that this could have made a difference to them."

"When they carry on like that, you don't try to get it down, you sit back and wait until they are finished and then start over again."

After a call in which a woman who introduced herself as Mr. M----'s secretary, asked the police to get a message to the court house for him:
" I don't know him, but I guessed from the call that the guy was a lawyer and that he was supposed to meet a client at the court room today and was unable to attend so wanted to set another date."

The good policemen were concerned with procedures and "doing things right". They wanted to let the observers know how the job should be done and that they at least, even if none of the other C.C. officers seemed to care, were concerned about seeing that the job was done properly.

III Dealing with the Police

In telephone conversations with other policemen, the good policemen were brief and business-like. There was a minimum of banter and chit-chat. The good policemen did not participate in [illegible] of either the public or the brass. Their conversations with policemen over the phone were usually very [illegible] and often involved them in doing little more than opening and closing the call.

GP: Radio, ----.

PC: Yes, it's xxx-xx, and it's in xxxx's area.
76 ----. Apparently, there's a bad domestic there.

GP: O.K.

PC: Can you send two man car to that.

GP: O.K. Thank you.

GP: Radio, ----.

PC: ----, Sergeant ---- at #xx, xx07 to the station
please, I have school guard checks I want him to
deliver this morning.

GP: Right.

GP: Radio, ----.

PC: Yeah. P.S.----, xx, oh scout ,,01 to the station.

GP: Very good, thank you.

Two of the good policemen showed a concern with "rank" that was not seen in any of the other C.C. officers. All the C.C. officers were police constables so that the only rank lower than them was "cadet". The other C.C. officers did not specifically point out the rank of cadets to them any more than they would the rank of other constables. These two officers, however, would at times stress the callers' status as a cadet.

. . .

GP: Where are you calling from, boy?

. . .

. . .

PC: Ah, yes, Cadet ---- calling. Could you have a car go to, uh, xxx ---- Street. It's the ---- store. They have a shoplifter.

. . .

GP: You're a cadet from where?

. . .

When informal conversations took place during public-police phone calls this was invariably with personal friends. Sometimes this involved no more than an exchange of greetings.

GP: Radio, ----.

PC: Hi, Jack; Bill Jones.

GP: How are you, Billie Jones?

PC: All right. Would you go around to the, ah, police board and, ah, have a look and see who is in the ---- Hospital?

. . .

At other times such conversations might be more elaborate:

GP: Radio ----.

PC: Twenty twenty one in fifteen.

GP: Well, Jimmy, how are ya?

PC: Very well, and you Jack?

GP: Not bad at all. Listen, I hear, uh, you're the first Scotchman that's gone off the wagon.

PC: No-never.

GP: Well, they tell me you got an ulcer, Jim. What's your problem?

PC: No, I haven't got an ulcer. I gotta a nervous stomach, Jack.

GP: Really?

PC: And, uh, it's perhaps if it's neglected, it will go into one, but in the meantime I'm still feeding it on Scotland's natural product.

(simultaneous laughter)

GP: If it doesn't cure, it will kill you. Just as milk.

PC: I don't -- I don't really care.

(simultaneous laughter)

GP: What's your problem?

PC: Pardon me, my mind has just gone wanderin' again. Ummmm -- can I have fifteen ten into the station? He's just left so he may not even of cleared yet.

GP: To return.

PC: To the station.

GP: O.K. Jim. Say hello to Sally for me, eh?

PC: Will do, and to your good lady.

GP: You betcha.

PC: Thank you, Jack.

GP: Ciao, then.

PC: Bye-bye.

GP: Bye.

Summary

The good policemen's activities contrasted sharply with those of the real policeman. While the real policeman frequently refused to dispatch a patrolman this was something the good policemen never did. The real policeman would frequently deal with the problem himself by giving advice. The good policemen on the other hand refused to act as a problem-solver even if encouraged to do so by the caller. When the good policemen gave advice they restricted themselves to advising the caller on how and when to call the police and did not, like the real policeman, suggest that the caller handle the problem himself or refer it to someone else. Such advice, they believed, if it was to be given at all, was to be left to the patrolman.

The good policemen also differed from the real policeman in their analysis of the problem. While the real policeman discussed the problem with the caller with an eye to making decisions about it the good policemen restricted themselves to the definition and location of the problem. As a consequence of this difference in orientation the good policemen typically spent much less time on the analysis of the problem and relatively more time on the address than the real policeman.

The manner of the real and good policemen in citizen calls was decidedly different. While the real policeman was brusque, abrupt and tough and expressed the sentiments crystalized in the police culture in his conversations, the good policemen were polite and empathetic.

They showed their professional detachment in their refusal to argue with callers or to exchange insults with them. The real policeman in contrast showed his detachment through his apparent lack of empathy and his routine treatment of all emergencies.

While both the real and good policemen could be firm with citizen callers and tended to take "control" of the conversation they did so for different purposes and in quite different ways. The real policeman used the control he exercised in order to act as a problem-solver, while the good policeman controlled the conversation so that he could remain a message-passer and not be drawn into problem-solving. The real policeman controlled the conversation by being tough while the good policemen exercised control by being polite but firm.

In public-police calls the real and good policemen once again acted very differently. While the real policeman would engage in banter with other policemen who were not known to him, the good policemen restricted their informal conversations to friends. Further, while the real policeman's informal banter usually involved him in jokes at the expense of the brass or the public this was not the case with the good policemen who restricted their informal conversations to personal matters.

Finally, although both the real and the good policemen gave priority to red line calls they did so for very different reasons. In the one case this expressed a commitment to the brass while in the other it expressed a commitment to the police culture.

We see from a comparison of the real and the good policemen's work patterns that their different orientations to "others" had very different behavioural consequences. The world meant different things to each of these categories of policemen and they responded differently to it. The real policeman acted like the tough policeman that has been identified as a folk ideal within the police community (see, for instance, the Task Force on the Police, 1967) while the good policeman acted more like the social service oriented policeman that has recently been advocated as a model for police work in view of the number of "social service" calls that the police receive (Ontario Task Force on Policing, 1974). The real policeman in both his orientation and actions appears to correspond to what Cummings (1964) described as the manifest "control" aspect of the police ro[illegible] the good policemen in their orientations and actions appear [illegible] correspond to the latent "support" aspect of this role.

The Wise Policeman

Sociologically, it is perhaps the wise policeman who is the most interesting. He does not commit himself exclusively to either the values of the brass or the police culture. He hears the voices of both the colleague "other" and the brass and continually keeps his eye on both of them. Unlike the real policeman, he appears very concerned with the reactions of his fellow C.C. officers and "plays" to this audience constantly. He wants very much to be seen to be committed to the values of the police culture and he takes advantage of opportunities that allow him to demonstrate his commitment.

Unlike the good policeman, wise policemen were less willing to be seen as concerned with the expectations of the brass and where they could present themselves as unconcerned about the brass they did. Nonetheless, they kept their eye firmly on the brass and seldom forgot the power the brass had over policemen. While the wise policemen wanted to be, and to be seen to be, committed to the police culture, they did not want to jeopardize their career prospects. Unlike both the real policeman and the good policemen who made a clear choice between colleagues and the brass, the wise policemen wanted the best of both worlds -- they wanted to "have their cake and eat it too". With respect to the police culture, they did what they could. With respect to departmental policy, they did what they must. They followed the directions of the police culture but at the same time they "covered" themselves.

The real and good policemen symbolized two opposing sets of values. The competent wise policemen epitomized the union, in the crucible of practise, of these two sets of values; each set compromised to some degree, but neither rejected.

If the real policeman is the ideal policeman of the police culture, the wise policeman is the pragmatist, the practical policeman. This is the stance of the average policeman.

I Selection of Calls

In their selection of calls, the wise policemen did what the real and the good policemen did: they gave priority to red line calls. In selecting calls, the wise policemen did not "have to" choose between the expectations of significant others as both the brass and colleagues agreed that red lines should be given priority. It was this that constituted the wise policemen's problem. Giving priority to red lines could concievably be seen as representing a commitment to either the brass or the police culture. The wise policemen wanted to make clear to their colleagues (and the sergeants sympathetic to the colleague view) that they were giving priority to red line calls because this was what real police work was all about and not simply because the brass demanded it.

Accordingly, they would point out to the C.C. officers that they were giving priority to red lines in order to do real police work.

"Is no one else going to do any work here?"

Similarly, they would at times complain that others were working too slowly, thereby deliberately trying to avoid r[illegible]line calls.

The wise policemen faced a problem in selecting calls that neither the real nor the good policemen faced. There could be no doubt to which "other" these categories of policemen were oriented. The wise policemen, however, "had to" make special efforts to ensure that their "true" colours were seen. To use Goffman's (1959) distinction, they not only gave off signs, but were constantly working at giving off the "proper" signs.

II Dealing with the Public

The Problem

In dealing with the public's problems, the wise policemen's problem was much the same as the problem they faced in selecting calls. While they were sensitive to two categories of significant others, the audience they faced directly within the radio room was primarily an audience of colleagues. Whatever they did, this was almost always an actual or potential audience to their actions. To this audience they wanted to appear sensitive to the values and directions of the police culture, the colleague "other".

However, they were also aware of another audience, the brass, who, while not always directly present, might learn of their actions and therefore was an audience that usually had to be taken into account. The role of the sergeants was crucial here. For the sergeant ~~who~~ sometimes acted as a sympathetic colleague, might, when trouble brewed, become the "inspector's man" investigating the problem and reporting to him. In a similar way the public were also important as an audience because they, too might become, at some later stage, an important source of information to the brass and one really never knew when they might play this role or, if they did, how the brass would interpret what they said. How ~~the~~ brass treated the public as witnesses, depended on their motives. A person who on one occasion might be accepted as a credible witness by the brass might be discredited on another occasion.

In analyzing the problem the strategy many of the wise policemen adopted was to appear to engage in a detailed analysis of the problem of a sort that would allow them to make a decision as to whether a patrolman should be dispatched. Sometimes this meant that the wise policemen did indeed undertake a detailed analysis. At other times, however, it was possible to appear to be undertaking such an analysis without doing so simply by raising one's voice at appropriate moments during the conversation, and asking the "right" questions when other C.C. officers were paying attention to what one was doing. This strategy in analyzing the problem is difficult to illustrate because to appreciate the strategy one must be able to imagine what sort of analysis would be appropriate in ~~order~~ simply to act as a message-passer. This strategy can, perhaps, be most clearly illustrated in "second calls". A second call is a return call from a citizen, usually to enquire why the police have not yet arrived. In the face of these calls, C.C. officers usually assume that the message has been taken, that a complaint ticket has been sent to the dispatcher, and that he has the problem in hand. The assumption is usually made that if a car has not been dispatched, it is because the dispatcher does not have a car available. The "sensible" thing to do here is to let the caller know that the police have the problem in hand.

This is what the real and good policemen did, each in their own way. The good policemen would then typically send a complaint ticket to the dispatcher simply indicating that the complainant from such and such an address had called a second time. The real policeman, in contrast, seldom bothered to send a ticket believing that there was no need to as the dispatcher would be doing his best.

The wise policemen sometimes responded to second calls much as the real and good policemen did. However, at other times, when they felt they were "on stage", they would use second calls to engage in a "detailed" analysis of the problem, and by keeping alive to what others would and would not hear, created the appearance of making a decision about the dispatch of a car. They could then "demonstrate" that they were not going to dispatch a car by conspicuously showing that they were not going to "send down a ticket" to the dispatcher. Second calls thus provided a forum where wise policemen could "refuse" to dispatch a car, thereby demonstrating their commitment to the police culture without risking trouble from the brass.

Consider the following second call dealt with during a period when over half the shift's C.C. officers were at lunch and imagine how the wise policeman involved, knowing that the C.C. officer who had originally taken this call was probably at lunch, by carefully controlling what the other C.C. officers heard,[1] could use the call to create the impression that he had made a decision that "got the police out of" responding by referring the problem to the ambulance service. Remember that the other C.C. officers unless they "plugged in" on the line (and this was not the case here) heard only what the C.C. officer said and not what the caller said, and that by manipulating his speech, and the position of his head, a C.C. officer could affect how much others heard of what he said, even when they were listening to him.

WP (Wise Policeman): Police radio, ----.
C: I called you about fifteen minutes ago.
WP: Yes.
C: About pounding on our door at ----.
WP: (address)
C: He says, apparently he's bleeding all over the place.
WP: Oh, I see, has nobody arrived there yet?

---

[1] Some of those at lunch were replaced by men on the "split shift", who served as replacements.

C: No.

WP: You say someone is bleeding?

C: Yeah, outside.

WP: You know who it is?

C: Yeah.

WP: Who is it?

C: It's, ah, . . .

WP: A friend of yours?

C: Yeah, well, a, I don't want to let him in.

WP: What's the matter with him?

C: I don't know, we just want him removed.

WP: You say he's been injured? Oh, well, you're not going to find out what's the matter?

C: No. I've already had him removed from the apartment.

WP: Oh, I see. Well, we'll have somebody go back there and we'll check.

C: How long will it take?

WP: I don't know, madam. If we got a car ready, we'll send him right over, if not we'll have to wait. That's why I wanted to know the extent of the injuries. I wanted to know what happened to him.

C: I don't know the extent of the injuries.

WP: 'Cause if he's really hurt, I'll send an ambulance.

C: He's bleeding. I know that much. I opened the door a crack and I saw, he's bleeding.

WP: Where is he bleeding from?

C: I don't know.

WP: On his face?

C: I don't know, it's on his, ah, I only saw his leg.

WP: How long ago since he's been away from your place before he came back?

C: Oh, about five to ten minutes.

WP: Is he drunk?

C: Yep.

WP: He's probably fallen or something?

C: Yeah.

WP: You just stay there, we'll have an officer, as soon as we can get there.

C: He's waking up the whole hall.

WP: Well, don't open the door to him, then, if you think he's going to bother you.

C: I know he's going to bother me.

WP: Well, was he in your place earlier?

C: Yeah, and . . .

WP: Drinking in there, was he?

C: No, he had a golf club . . .

WP: Ah-hah, is that where he got his drink, eh?

C: Yeah.

WP: And he came home and he got obnoxious and you had him taken out?

C: He was waiting in the doorway; we didn't bring him home.

WP: Oh, I see, you just can't get rid of him?

C: Right.

WP: Well, we better try and see what we can do for you, anyway.

C: Well, I wish you'd hurry 'cause he's really causing a lot of trouble.

WP: Well, we can't have what we haven't got, can we?

C: No, but I mean he may be more hurt than I think he is; we don't want to let him in.

WP: Yeah, well, we'll do our best, you think he might . . . I'll send one to make sure.

C: Well, maybe it wouldn't hurt.

WP: All right, I can do that.

C: O.K.

WP: Right.

After this call, the C.C. officer phoned the ambulance service to request an ambulance. As it is a normal procedure to send a complaint ticket to the dispatcher desk when an ambulance is dispatched, as a file record, it would have been reasonable for the other C.C. officers to have assumed, depending on their interpretation of the call, that the wise policeman, although he "sent down" a ticket, had not requested the dispatch of a patrolman.

In analyzing citizen's problems, the wise policemen invariably appeared more concerned with creating the appearance of decision-making than with making decisions.

Police Assistance

Although the wise policemen would on many occasions engage in a detailed analysis of the problem, they very seldom ever refused point blank to dispatch a patrolman in the way the real policeman did. What they often tried to do was to persuade the caller to withdraw his request for police assistance. This strategy allowed them to remain true to the colleague "other" by screening out non-police matters and yet act in accordance with departmental policy. This strategy was acknowledged to be a good way of dealing with the demands of the brass, and C.C. officers prided themselves on their success at this.

"Well, that's another one I've put away."

The ability to "talk callers out of" calls was regarded as one of the skills of the practical policeman. It was seen as part of the craft of police work. Such strategies were the sort of things that experienced policemen learned to use as they came to terms with both the demands of the brass and the police culture. The strategy of "talking callers out of calls" was one example of how policemen, in practise, balanced and reconciled the demands of the brass and the colleague "other". Such strategies were [illegible] because they symbolized the craft of the wise policeman. Policemen who were skilled at these crafts were admired for their proficiency; for their practical wisdom in coming to terms with significant others.

These strategies gave the wise policemen considerable pleasure because not only did they allow them to act in accordance with the demands of the police culture, thereby demonstrating their commitment to it, but they allowed them to "beat the brass at their own game", to, as it were, twist the lion's tail with immunity.

It is perhaps the combination of these two elements that accounts for the pleasure the wise policemen got out of talking citizens out of requesting police assistance for minor traffic accidents. Minor traffic accidents were not only "trivial" but the two hundred dollar limit allowed one to use the brass' own rules to abide by the directions of the police culture; a nice irony which the wise policemen appreciated. This pleasure in talking people out of minor traffic requests was not diminished when the call was "only" a request for information for they realized from experience that if not treated with care, these calls could very easily "turn into" a request for police assistance.

How wise policemen talked people out of minor traffic accident requests is illustrated by the following transcripts.

WP: Police radio, P.C. ----.

C: Send a police car to ---- and ----. It's about, uh, four blocks. It's, it's the third light above ---- and ----. An accident there.

WP: ---- and ----, hey?

C: Yeah.

WP: What's the cause of the accident?

C: Well, a guy crossing, someone else coming up this other street, bang.

WP: Nobody injured, eh?

C: No.

WP: How much damage do you think to the car?

C: Oh, to my mind it's quite a bit, I think.

WP: What do you call quite a bit?

C: Huh?

WP: What do you call quite a bit?

C: Oh, a hundred dollars.

WP: Well, anything under two hundred dollars we no longer rate.

C: Yeah.

WP: We advise you to exchange names and addresses. Switch with each other, phone numbers and notify your insurance company.

C: That's all, eh?

WP: That's it.

C: You can't look at it no more, eh?

WP: No, sir.

C: O.K.

WP: Right.

C: Bye.

WP: This is, uh, the police radio room.

C: Oh, I beg your pardon. Yeah, I'm really looking for some advice, I've had a crash in a, uh, underground parking lot.

WP: Yes, sir?

C: I was driving down a lane and somebody backed out of their parking place into me.

WP: Uh-huh.

C: And, uh, they did about a hundred and eighty bucks worth of damage to the passenger door, um, I had my lights on. Now. What they are saying is that there is no, um, legal precedent that, uh, somebody's to blame if they have, um, an accident on private property.

WP: What difference does that make?

C: Well, all I want to do is, uh, you know, I feel I'm in the right because he backed into my side out of his parking place.

WP: Any damage to his car?

C: Um, virtually none. His bumper hit me and crunched the side of my door right in.

WP: Yeah, and ~~where~~ is he now?

C: Oh, I know where he lives. He lives a few doors away from us.

WP: Yeah.

C: But, you know, I was told that legally, uh, there's no rule of the road or anything in these places so therefore he would, you know, pay fifty-fifty and if I sort of got upset about it he'd pay nothing.

WP: Well, that's strictly up to your insurance company, sir.

C: I see, I have to approach it through my own insurance company.

WP: That's right, sir.

C: O.K. Fine.

WP: Right.

C: Bye-bye.

C: My name is Mr. ----, and I am in the Shell gasoline station on the opposite side, we have an accident with my car.

WP: Was anyone injured?

C: Pardon?

WP: Was anyone injured in the accident?

C: No.

WP: What do you estimate the damage at?

C: I have no idea.

WP: Well, then, how can you tell me if it's over two hundred dollars if you have no idea?

C: Because I have . . .

WP: Pardon?

C: Because I never in my live have any accident.

WP: Well, I asked you if the total damage was apparently over two hundred dollars and you said yes, but yet you have no idea what the damage is. Well, the reason I'm asking you is if the policeman gets there if it isn't, there won't be a report taken. You'll save yourself a lot of trouble and inconvenience if, ah . . .

C: I don't know, here is a man, just one second, hold the line.

C2: Hello.

WP: Yes, sir.

C2: Yeah, I'm talking to, ah, I'm calling my company now but the line's busy.

WP: How much damage is there, approximately?

C2: Um.

WP: Would it be over two hundred dollars?

2 C2: I doubt it very much, no. The front end's bent, but there is no trouble with the bumper or anything.

WP: What is it, a truck and a car involved or something?

C2: Yeah. A pick-up truck that I was driving.

WP: The reason I asked him like, you know, was that if it's apparently not over two hundred and there are no injuries, they won't take a report on it. You just exchange names and addresses and the insurance company.

C2: Right, right.

WP: You're a twenty year company, aren't you?

C2: Yeah.

WP: Yeah. Could you put him back on the line again to me please.

C2: Sure.

WP: Thank you.

C: Hello.

WP: Yes, sir.

C: Yeah.

WP: The gentleman you're involved with is phoning his company, is that right?

C: Yeah, I don't know but on estimate you know, because . . .

WP: Well, you're supposed to have some idea as a licensed driver, sir, so you just, you know.

C: Well, . . .

WP: You exchange your name and address with this friend. Get his insurance company and the policy number and you give him the same particulars.

C: Policy number, here only the driver license, you know.

WP: Well, that's fine, get the drivers licence off him. You know the name of his company?

C: Motor . . .

WP: Yeah, well he's phoning his company now when the line becomes disengaged.

C: Yeah.

WP: So you can speak to his company there while he's talking to them.

C: Yeah.

WP: And they will give you the particulars.

C: O.K., then.

WP: Radio, ----.

C: Um, I wanted some information. I had an accident this morning [time of call 1:15 p.m.], and, uh, the fellow I was involved with said not to call the police 'cause under one hundred dollars and you don't bother.

WP: That's right.

C: But, uh, I mean what happens with the insurance now if, uh, . . .

WP: Well, actually as far as the insurance is concerned, uh, the police don't make a report ma'am, unless there is over two hundred dollars' damage.

C: Yeah.

WP: Uh, you know, this includes both vehicles and as far as your insurance is concerned, uh, you can contact your own insurance company or you can both arrange to pay for your damages or, uh, um, something along this line or he can say that he'll pay your damages, whatever you want to come up to.

C: Yeah.

WP: Because, if you do, uh, report it, if it's very minor, of course, your insurance is going to go way up.

C: Yeah.

WP: For three years, I believe it is.

C: Yeah.

WP: But this is strictly up to you but he's absolutely right. If it is under two hundred dollars damage, there is no need for the, uh, for the police.

C: Uh-huh. No, well, I guess it's probably about fifty dollars or so, but the thing is he's in the wrong, you know, he cut me off.

WP: Well, then, uh, if you believe that he was in the wrong, and he's, uh, not going to do anything about your damage, you should contact your insurance company and let them go to work for you 'cause this is what you're paying for.

C: Uh-huh.

WP: Okay?

C: O.K. Thank you very much.

WP: You're welcome, ma'am.

C: Bye.

WP Good bye.

As the last of these transcripts illustrates, the pleasure of "getting out of" minor traffic accidents, derives in part from their belief that this puts those "damn insurance companies" to work.

Despite the pleasure that wise policemen get from not responding to minor traffic accidents, they seemed to regard these as somewhat hollow victories because one is not "really" crossing the brass so that the lion is not "really" having his tail pinched, indeed, in some ways it could be said he was getting his belly tickled. One was taking no risk and therefore there was an element of excitement missin Thus, although talking callers out of traffic complaints was fun, the wise policemen derived greater satisfaction out of using this strategy with other problems where greater skill needed to be employed and where one was not provided by the brass with a ready method to "get out of" the call.

WP: Uh-huh, well, I don't really see what the police can do for you. What do you wish us to do?

C: Ah?

WP: What was your intention in calling us? What did you wish us to do?

C: Just take him out.

WP: No. We can't take him out.

C: No?

WP: No. What I suggest you do, on Monday morning, you call the landlord and tenant Advisory Bureau. I'll give you the phone number.

C: Monday morning?

WP: Yeah, they're closed on the weekend.

C: Oh, just a minute, I take my pencil. (pause) Yeah.

WP: Give them a call on Monday morning.

C: Monday morning?

WP: Yeah.

C: He's bad drunk, he . . .

WP: Well, see he is entitled to be drunk in his own room. There's no law against it.

C: Yeah, I know, but he don't pay yesterday, he has to pay, you know.

WP: Yeah, well.

C: He doesn't pay, he . . .

WP: We don't, ha-ha, we don't collect rent either. It's not our function to do that either.

C: Just Monday morning.

WP: Monday morning, you call the Landlord and Tenant Bureau, Yeah.

C: O.K., O.K., thank you very much.

WP: Bye.

Wise policemen appeared to take considerable pleasure in simply using the skills involved in "talking people out of calls", especially if their craft was being admired by colleagues. As this admiration and pleasure seemed to be related as much to the craft as to beating the brass at their own game, the conversational skills themselves often became the major focus of attention. This is illustrated in the following call that took place during a "quiet shift". In this call, the wise policeman put on a performance for his colleagues and the observer. In reading this transcript, the reader should bear in mind that while some of the phrases and sentences used were similar to ones used in conversations cited above involving the real policeman, the tone of voice was quite different. In contrast to the real policeman's bluntness and harshness, the tone in the following call remained mildly jocular throughout.

WP: Hello.
C: Pardon?
WP: Yes?
C: Hello.
WP. Yes. Hello.
C: Yeah.
WP: Yeah.
C: I want you to come up and straighten him out.
WP: Straighten who out?
C: John Doe.
WP: Why, what's he done now?
C: Well, he is, he's very, ah, obnoxious.
WP: Very obnoxious!
C: That's right.
WP: Ah, maybe the police I send will be more obnoxious.
C: Pardon?
WP: Never mind, what's the address?
C: I said 90 ----, xxxx.
WP: 90 ----?
C: Yes.
WP: Or 19 ----?
C: 90 ----.
WP: ---- Avenue.

C: xxxx.

WP: Down at ---- and ----?

C: That's right.

WP: O.K. now just a minute, now, what was the apartment again?

C: xxxx.

WP: xxxx?

C: That's right.

WP: That's the year I was born. Now your name is?

C: Mrs. ----.

WP: Mrs. ----?

C: Yes.

WP: And it's John Doe?

C: I pay a hundred and seventy dollars here.

WP: Holy smokes!

C: And I don't have to take what he's telling me.

WP: What's he telling you?

C: Well, what do you think?

WP: I don't know.

C: He thinks he's an ex-hockey player.

WP: He thinks he's an ex-hockey player?

C: Yeah, well he was.

WP: Oh, I see. Who did he play hockey for?

C: Oh, ----

WP: Hershey bears or Berry . . .

C: ----

WP: Uh-huh.

C: But you know after all, I don't have to take it, do I?

WP: Well, what's he doing in there in the first place?

C: Pardon?

WP: How'd he get in there in the first place?

C: He's been living here.

WP: Well -- if he's been living there, ah, you don't expect us to kick him out, do you?

C: That's what I want.

WP: Oh-ho-ho-ho, I see.

C: I pay the hundred and seventy.

WP: You pay the hundred and seventy. What's that again?

C2: Hello, officer.

WP: How you doing there?

C2: Ah, not bad, this is Johnny Doe.

WP: Yeah.

C2: Oh, she's a little under the weather.

WP: Eh?

C2: She's a little under the weather.

WP: She is?

C2: Yeah (mumble).

WP: You don't sound, you don't sound like a fine sunny day yourself.

C2: Eh?

WP: You don't sound exactly like a fine sunny day yourself.

C2: (undecipherable) -- that's none of your business, I'm at my premises.

WP: What's this again?

C2: I beg pardon?

WP You're who?

C2: Now, do you want to come up here?

WP: Do you want us to?

C2: Just a minute. What did you say?

WP: Do you, do you want us to come up there?

C2: Well, it's up to you, do you have a warrant? Er, a, you knock on the door when you come, sir.

WP: Oh, well, certainly we always knock before . . .

C2: Be polite.

WP: We always are, sir.

C2: Yeah.

WP: (indecipherable)

C2: (mumble)

WP: Eh?

C: He, he said you start, I hope you do.

WP: What is this, musical chairs? One person. . .

C: Pardon? No, it's not musical chairs, dear.

WP: Yeah.

C: Now, (mumble), come up; now he's been like this. He says -- I have a little bit of money and he's going to take it. Can. . .

WP: I see. . .

C: Do you think he isn't?

WP: Oh, I don't know it sounds something like it, yeah?

C: What do you think. We went down to the race track last night and the guy sitting in front of us with so many tens and twenties and all the rest.

WP: Yeah?

C: Another Irishman there. (laughter)

WP: Oh, another Irishman.

C: Oh, that's what I am.

WP: You're Irish?

C: Oh, I wasn't born over there but. . .

WP: You weren't?

C: No, but I mean. And he said, when he came home he said, Oh God, is that other guy just sitting there, just taking -- and I said shutup you con-artist.

WP: Con-artist?

C: Isn't that right?

WP: Well, that sounds very much like it.

C: That's right.

WP: How much did you win?

C: Win last night?

WP: Yeah.

C: All on my own?

WP: Yeah.

C: About ninety dollars.

WP: Oh, that's not bad. What did you do with it?

C: No, I bet the goat.

WP: You did.

C: Now, wait till I tell you. . .

WP: Yeah, you tell.

C: I went down and I was (mumble). Listening?

WP: I'm listening.

C: I went down to bet the goat.

WP: Yeah.

C: Oh, I only put down the six dollars, you know.

WP: Yeah.

C: (undecipherable) It paid twenty dollars and I had my purse, I should've put twenty dollars, really clean the bank because the goat has given me so much money.

WP: It has?

C: And when he ran out in Mohawk. . .

WP: Yeah.

C: And when I went down to make this six dollar, whatever you call it, drop.

WP: Yeah.

C: The guy says, this fellow; hi, he says he always bets the goat. He says he's an awful old Seatchmor. I never.

WP: Is he?

C: (laughter)

WP: He said that?

C: Yeah.

WP: You're pretty (mumble)

C: How are you, any way?

WP: Oh, I'm not too bad, what about yourself?

C: Very fine, I mean that I'm going down tonight.

WP: You're going back again?

C: Yeah

WP: You're a sucker for punishment, aren't you?

C: No, I'm not.

WP: No, you just want. . .

C: (mumble) make ninety dollars last night.

WP: Right. Blow it tonight, eh?

C: You know something?

WP: No.

C: I'm through with the loss.

WP: You're through (laughter) but you're going back tonight, though.

C: With the ---- and the ----. Say, listen, tricks are nothing (indecipherable) come back to British Columbia.

WP: Yeah.

C: Why did he do that?

WP: I don't know.

C: He started this.

WP: So listen, do you still want us to come up there?

C: No.

WP: Eh?

C: No.

WP: You don't care now, eh?

C: Well, what I mean, I'm a good looking woman.

WP: Yeah, I can gather, I gathered that by the way you talk.

C: (indecipherable)

WP: No.

C: (laughter) give you a (indecipherable)

WP: Eh?

C: Going on 71.

WP: Is that right?

C: Yeah.

WP: 71.

C: Born in Hamilton.

WP: You were?

C: Yeah, you should see me.

WP: I should, I'd like to really.

C: Well, I bet you would.

WP: I'm not kidding you, have I ever lied to you before?

C: Pardon?

WP: Have I ever lied to you before?

C: No.

WP: No. Well there you are, you see.

C: (laughter) I guess you would'nt lie, would you?

WP: Yeah.

C: Ah.

WP: So you want us?

C: I knew old Chief ---- out there in ----, I come from ----.

WP: Do you?

C: Yeah, he's dead, the old bugger.

WP: Here, here, here,

C: You know what he used to do?

WP: No, I couldn't imagine.

C: Take all the people out in ---- that were going away.

WP: Yeah.

C: Hide them underneath the police station there.

WP: He had a good racket going for him then.

C: He got it good (laughter) he got it.

WP: Yeah.

C: You know ----. I was sitting down on the ----. He, and, ah. . .

WP: You weren't drinking, of course. You were just. . .

C: I beg your pardon?

WP: You weren't drinking?

C: Oh no, we were down there for a meal.

WP: Yes, oh yes.

C: I was sitting with the colonel.

WP: Oh.

C: Oh, definitely . . .(indecipherable). . . three people.

WP: No, I wouldn't think so.

C: I don't think so dear; you know something?

WP: No.

C: I think you're so charming I'd like to meet you, are you married?

WP: Yes, yes, I am.

C: How many kids?

WP: Three, three.

C: Ho ho, what a man.

WP: Oh, well.

C: How old are they?

WP: Ah, one's sixteen, one's fifteen and one's thirteen.

C: Oh my God.

WP: Yeah, I am, yeah.

C: You'd never know by your voice.

WP: You never would, eh?

C: No.

WP: Thank you very much.

C: One of the, one of these (indecipherable) Jesus Christ (laughter).

WP: That's my son, Jesus Christ.

C: Does he like it?

WP: (laughter)

C: Well, if he dies, stick with him.

WP: O.K. then.

C: Now, I mean that.

WP: Oh, O.K. I will.

C: I mean that because I love that song.

WP: I know what you mean. O.K., you don't want us up there, no, eh?

C: Oh, no.

WP: O.K. then?

C: I was mad.

WP: No, I know.

C: To do.

WP: Yeah, I know what you mean. So you call us.

C: Nice meeting you.

WP: Call us again, will ya?

C: (laughter) I call you.

WP: (laughter) Yeah.

C: O.K. dear.

WP: O.K. then.

C: O.K. Bye.

WP: Bye-bye.

The wise policemen were, of course, not always successful in talking a caller into withdrawing his request for police assistance. In such cases, these policemen would always accede to the caller's request. This was even true with those wise policemen who were most vocal about the merits of the police culture.

. . .

C: There's a party going on downstairs.

WP: What, are they in your house?

C: No.

WP: What's your apartment number?

C: My is xxx.

WP: xxx.

C: They live on the second floor downstaris.

WP: Well, did you call your superintendent?

C: We have called.

WP: Well, what's he going to do about it?

C: He's already spoken to them.

WP: Well, did you call him back and tell him that it's still going on?

C: No.

WP: What are you going to do about it now? (pause) You see, the police have to be called in there by an owner or representative, sir; noisy party (pause) This is on the second floor there, is it?

C: It's on the second floor.

WP: Pretty wild there, is it? (pause) All right, we'll send someone over.

C: Thank you.

Indeed, there were times when the wise policemen found that they had been too successful in their attempts to talk the caller out of his request and had to back-track because the problem appeared to be more serious than they had expected. Sometimes, as in the following call, this was because they became concerned about the consequences that might follow if the caller did in fact deal with the problem himself.

. . .

WP: Ah, what is this threatening all about, sir?

C: Well, I was sitting with these people and they come to my table and then they asked me to leave.

WP: Uh-huh.

C: Now is this, is this a democracy? (pause) If I was, I was, if I was going to be resistant. . . .

WP: Uh-huh.

C: I'd tear these people apart!

WP: Yeah.

C: And I can do it!

WP: Uh-hum.

C: If you people can't do it, I will do it.

WP: Well, have you talked to the manager there, sir, at all, or oh?

C: No, just forget about it, sir.

WP: This is a licensed. . .

C: If they don't do it. . .

WP: I'm telling you, this is a licensed premises, sir, so you should go to the manager with your complaints first before you call the police, that's no problem.....

C: Well, I, I'll have to do it myself.

WP: Have you talked to the manager on that?

C: Well, I'll, I'll take things into my own hands, then.

WP: Well, I'll have an officer come out, although you should speak to the manager first. We'll have an officer come over.

C: All right.

WP: O.K.

C: All right.

WP: All right, we'll see you there.

C: O.K.

WP: O.K., bye.

The wise policemen were not always trying to persuade callers to withdraw their requests for police assistance and like the real policemen considered many requests to be legitimate. With these requests their concerns were like those of the other C.C. officers; they wanted to get the dispatchers and the patrolmen the information they needed to respond to the citizen's request for help.

Manner

The wise policemen's concern for the good opinion of both colleagues and the brass was most clearly seen in their conversational manner. The telephone provided an "evidential boundary" (Goffman, 1975) that placed colleagues on the one hand, and the public (who were, as we have seen, a potential source of information for the brass) on the other, in a very different vantage point. Colleagues saw one side of the interaction while the police saw another. Some of the wise policemen took advantage of this evidential boundary to make asides (both during and after the call) to their colleagues about the callers and their problems that demonstrated a commitment to the police culture while at the same time remaining reasonably polite and respectful to the caller.

> "I'm glad he doesn't know the man at least. It's better that he doesn't get killed by a stranger."
>
> "Well, someone stole their water pipe!"
>
> After caller requested that a policeman be sent to ticket a parked car:
> "He must have got a ticket in that area in the last couple of days. Misery loves company."
>
> "That's the cloak and dagger type."

"When I was a kid, I would have been too ashamed to call the police and say I was being beaten up. I wouldn't have been able to look myself in the face again."

"That's [landlord and tenant dispute] a civil suit. Well, 'spose we'd better send a car anyway to see what's the trouble."

"You can't joke with them. I have to hold myself back sometimes from saying things. Most of them don't have a sense of humour. You're never sure how they'll take it. There was this doctor who called about a parking problem. So he says, 'Will you send someone out here, please?' I wanted to reply, 'Sorry, we don't make house calls', I didn't. With my luck, he'd have been some old guy who wouldn't have appreciated it and would have wanted my name and number."

After a call where an apartment superintendent called on behalf of one of his tenants:
"I wonder if he doesn't know how to work the phone himself?"

"This is the type of thing we get."

After a call reporting demonstrators were burning their placards:
"At least we won't have to clean them up this time if they leave them lying around."

"You get some old lady calling about her little boy who hasn't come home and you start taking down details and you find out that her 'little boy' is fifty years old."

In making remarks such as these, the wise policemen could make known their "real" feelings in a safe manner and indicate that the politeness they displayed in the call should not be taken as evidence of their "true" feelings towards the public. Such remarks, even if heard by the sergeant, would not result in a reprimand as the policeman had, after all, remained polite to the citizen.

Besides the evidential boundary that the telephone created, there was a further, more subtle, boundary created by the assumed difference in the interpretative framework used by callers and the C.C. officers. This interpretative boundary was sometimes used to "make fun of" the caller during the call itself, without the caller realizing this or at least not being certain of it. This involved a use of conversational skills similar to those used in the transcript of a "second call" cited above.

This strategy required more skill than the use of asides, during and after the call, and it was a strategy that only a few wise policemen were defined as doing well. These policemen typically became a focus of attention as other wise policemen watched them at work. Once again, this strategy, like the other strategies used by the wise policemen, appeared to have at least the tacit approval of the sergeants. The wise policemen using it were viewed by the sergeants as following the letter, if not the spirit, of departmental policy. Most importantly, they were viewed as unlikely to be the cause of a citizen complaint, and even if they did, their behaviour would not be difficult to defend as much of the "fun" was achieved through the use of innuendo and irony.

This feature makes this humour difficult to present in the transcripts. The following transcripts (and the earlier transcript of the conversation about John Doe) illustrate some of the more blatant examples of the wise policemen's use of double-edged humour in dealing with citizens. Even with these transcripts, however, to appreciate the humour, the reader must "fill in" some of the inflexion and tone used by the wise policeman and bear in mind the evidential boundaries we have noted.

WP: Police radio, ----.

C: Listen, please.

WP: I'm listening.

C: I have some troubles. He has drunk too much, and he do too much noise, all right. Right now, please because he dangerous.

WP: He's what?

C: He dangerous the man.

WP: Why, what's he doing that he's dangerous?

C: He's throwing the people, the floor and you know, he take something to punch to me right now, that's not how I like to live now, please.

WP: He punched you?

C: Yes, right now, please.

WP: By God, where is this nefarious offense taking place?

C: On the, ----, I'm the owner, right?

WP: Where?

C: I am the owner.

WP: Yeah, well where are you?

C: I'm Greek man, downtown, please.

WP: Man downtown!

. . .

. . .

C: Yes, yes, 'cause, I've got here a roomer, you know.

WP: Ah-ha.

C: And he have to pay yesterday, you know, Saterday.

WP: Yeah.

C: He don't pay to me, you know.

WP: Hmmm.

C: And he go upstairs, maybe; and he's talking you know, start to burn the bed, you know, the mattress.

WP: Starting to burn the what?

C: Ah?

WP: Starting to burn the what?

C: Yeah, the mattress and the sheets.

WP: Um-huh.

C: And he's drunk.

WP: Trying to start a fire?

C: Yeah, he burned the bed, you know.

WP: He's burning to death!

C: The bed, yeah.

WP: Oh, the bed.

C: Yeah, make all the house, you know, and the bed.

WP: Well, did he do this intentionally or was it an accident?

C: Ah?

WP: Did he do this intentionally or was it an accident?

. . .

C: Hello, the guy is going to make the trouble.

WP: The guy is going to make the trouble?

. . .

There was one other strategy that ~~some~~ of the wise policemen used that directly effected their manner; they sounded "tough" by being gruff. This unfortunately does not show up in the transcripts at all, as it involves tone of voice almost exclusively. Although these wise policemen were gruff, however, they typically went along with the caller's requests. Their gruffness indicated that they were tough no nonsense policemen, but their actions "conformed" with departmental policy. Once again we see that the wise policemen, in their response to the public, expressed a sensitivity to the judgements of both the brass and colleagues.

Post-Call Remarks

This matter has already been considered in some detail above. In their post-call remarks the wise policemen typically either pointed to their success in balancing and meeting the expectations of both the brass and colleagues, or expressed the values and attitudes of the police culture.

III Dealing With the Police

The central feature of the wise policemen's telephone conversations with other policemen was that they expressed a greater sense of shared identity with other policemen than any other C.C. officers. Their conversations with other policemen did not contain as many references to the public as did the real policeman's conversations or as many as were found in their own post-call remarks. Further, when such references were made, although they expressed the sentiments of the police culture, their jokes about the public were typically light-hearted and did not have the bite of the real policeman's humour. In these telephone conversations the wise policemen presented themselves first and foremost as colleagues; as members of an "in group" of policemen.

In contrast to both the real and the good policeman the wise policemen were frequently involved in casual conversations with police callers. Some of the wise policemen, indeed, appeared to take advantage of every opportunity to enter into a bantering relationship with police callers, whether or not they knew them personally.

WP: P.C. ----.

PC: xxxx at xx.

WP: Another shaky one here.

PC: We have all the heavy ones here. xxxx's area.

WP: Uh-huh.

PC: 75 ----- Crescent.

WP: It's got to be either a domestic or a neighbour dispute.

PC: No, it's a homicide. See the security guard. It's a private parking complaint.

WP: Just as heavy.

PC: Just as heavy.

WP: Okie Dok.

PC: So long.

WP: Radio, P.C. ----.

PC: Hello, P.C. ----. It's P.C. ---- here.

WP: Uh-huh.

PC: I'm going on, uh, detail presently on detail at sixteen seventy four ----.

WP: Um-huh.

PC: Uh, there's a guy with landlord and tenant problems here. I have to go up to ---- to see the tenant who's got her name on the lease. They're having problems with free loaders.

WP: You don't say?

. . .

WP: Radio ----.

PC: xxxx at xx, Mr. ----.

WP: Yes, Deputy.

. . .

PC: How are you?

WP: Over worked, under paid, carrying on magnificently in the face of adversity.

PC: I'm sorry I asked.

. . .

. . .

PC: I'd like to leave a message for CIB thirty one, if he's on the air. Twelve fifty six ---- Road.

WP: Already reported, eh?

PC: Yeah. It's a doctor's office. Dr. Murphy.

WP: Dr. Burger?

PC: Murphy.

WP: Oh, Murphy. (laughter)

PC: You're close.

WP: Yeah? O.K. Fine.

PC: Thanks, mate.

WP: Right.

(In this call, as the reader may have guessed, the wise policeman was suggesting that the doctor's office was in fact a hamburger stand.)

PC: Hello, One Traffic, P.C. ----, speaking.

WP: P.C. ----, one traffic, this is sugar-throat at your favourite radio station.

PC: Yeah, Mr. ----.

WP: (laughter) Oh my fame is widespread, there's no doubt about it.

PC: Hm-hm.

WP: Listen, I just got a call from a man. . . (Wise policeman gives information). . . so I don't know about it if anything.

PC: Um-huh.

WP: But I passed the buck successfully to you now. It's usually the other way around, isn't it?

PC: Um.

WP: Uh-huh. You're a very obliging fellow, I can tell.

PC: Hm.

WP: Hm-hm, a, yes man that's what it is.

PC: Hm.

WP: I'll have it in your capable hands.

PC: Thanks!

. . .

WP: Radio ----.

PC: xxxx in xx.

WP: Is that dickie bird?

PC: (Laughter)

WP: Any service station's open up there, dickie bird?

PC: Yes, we've got nineteen.

WP: (laughter) Tell Stories.

PC: In two's area, three's area.

WP: I see, you don't know any more, do ya?

PC: xxxx.

WP: Yes.

PC: Number forty.

WP: Hum.

PC: ---- Boulevard.

WP: Hm.

PC: See them there re: a theft.

WP: Re: a theft?

PC: No, a test.

WP: Yeah, that's what I said.

PC: Oh, all right.

WP: Listen, dickie bird.

PC: Yes?

WP: We're on tape here at the present time. Is this going to heard by everybody?

OBSERVER: Oh, everybody.

WP: Everybody? Is it safe to tell a dirty joke on this? All right, are you ready for this dirty joke, dickie bird?

PC: Yeah.

WP: All right, you hear the story about the kid that comes down for his breakfast in the morning, and his mother says, 'Ah, what do you want for breakfast?' And the kid says, 'I'll have some fucking cornflakes.' And his mother's aghast, you know. She doesn't know what to say, and she doesn't know how to handle the situation at all. So, ah, what happens is that evening she talks it over with her husband. She says, 'I won't have any of this nonsense going on in my house.' He says, 'Next time he uses language like that, you give him a smash right in the chops.' She says, 'O.K.' So the next morning, the old man goes to work and, ah, the kid comes down for breakfast, and the mother says, 'Well, what would you like for breakfast?' He says, 'I'll have some of them fucking cornflakes,' and with that she hauls off and gives him such a wallop right in the mouth there and he lands right across the other side of the room. So that night she tells the husband about it and he says, 'Well, I guess we'll have to wait until tomorrow morning to see what the results are, anyway.' So the next morning, the kid comes down for breakfast and his mother is somewhat apprehensive and she says, 'What do you want for breakfast?' The kid looks at her and he says, 'You can bet your sweet arse I don't want any of those fucking cornflakes.'

PC & WP: (laughter)

WP: We'll see you, dickie bird.

PC: All right.

The wise policemen in police calls did not have two different categories of "others" to consider, neither did they "have to" concern themselves with ensuring that colleagues placed the "correct" interpretation on their relations with the public. There were "no" expectations to balance and this was reflected in their actions. They were with colleagues and they responded accordingly. Some naturally were more friendly, jovial and talkative than others, but their informal conversations all invariably had the same quality.

Summary

In summary, as we have seen, not only did the wise policeman keep his eye on his significant others, but he was constantly alive to which of these "others" had their eye on him. He was sensitive to his audience. Often he found himself acting before two categories of others, simultaneously, and in these situations he sought to develop strategies that would allow him to pursue and preserve the good opinion of both his colleagues and the brass. Those who were seen to be successful at achieving this synthesis, provided the models of competence that other wise policemen admired and sought to emulate.

Not all wise policemen used the same strategies and in fact each wise policeman tended to develop a repetoire of strategies that he felt most comfortable with. Neither were all wise policemen seen as equally successful in meeting the challenge that the two categories of significant others presented. However, they all shared a recognition that the challenge was there and should be faced. None of them accepted the option of accepting one "other" at the expense of the other.

In being sensitive to the expectations of others and the composition of his audiences, the wise policeman was no reed that bent with whatever wind was blowing. He was not sensitive to every gust that came his way. Only some "others" were treated as significant. Thus, for example, he cared little for the opinions and judgements of the good policemen, the cautious policemen, or the public qua public.

The work of the wise policeman in every sphere of activity we have considered, differed markedly from those of both the real and the good policeman. They developed their own conception of the ideal policeman and their own unique style of police work. They did not seek simply to meet the expectations of the brass and the police culture but sought to achieve a balance between them. Typically, this involved appearing to meet the expectations of the police culture while "covering" themselves in the face of the brass.

The Cautious Policeman

The cautious policemen's stance was different from each of the stances we have considered in that they presented themselves as uncomitted to both the values of the brass and the police culture. Their eyes were turned away from the police world; they sought their role models and commitments elsewhere. For the cautious policemen the police department was a place to work, a place to earn a living; no more. Being a policeman was a relatively unimportant part of their identity. They looked at the police world, with its values and conflicts, as a world that was once important to them but had lost its hold. They looked with hope to the time when they could stop being policemen and could leave the police world behind them.

However, although he does not define himself as of this world, the cautious policeman recognized that he was in it, and being in it, he "must" be alive to the consequences it held for its members. He was particularly sensitive to the brass and the power they had over policemen and he wanted to remain on good terms with them so that his remaining time in the police world would be uneventful. He also recognized that colleagues were a real and important part of the police world and while not as powerful as the brass, they too could nonetheless make one's life miserable if they chose. He wished to live at peace with them too, if possible, though if he must choose between the displeasure of one of these others he would prefer to live with the displeasure of colleagues.

In short, what the cautious policeman wanted was to make his remaining time in the police world as pleasant as possible. To do this he sought to avoid the wrath of both the brass and colleagues.

The cautious policemen were by and large not unhappy with their position in the radio room. Of the alternatives available to them within the police department, it was seen as one of the best. Further, they were not unhappy with the brass' policy with respect to the status of C.C. officers. As they had no aspirations to be real policemen, they did not define the policy in the radio room as demeaning though they recognized that others did. They did not want to make any decisions because decisions were regarded as a potential source of trouble and they were only too happy that the brass did not demand that they do so. The cautious policemen did not embrace the brass' policy but they were content to abide by it.

The motto of the cautious policeman was "play it safe". Their principal objective was to keep out of trouble.

I Selection of Calls

The cautious policemen's orientation to police work was very clearly seen in their selection of calls.

They appeared to work as slowly as they dared without incurring the anger of either the sergeants or their colleagues. They were particularly careful in checking the patrol area number to be assigned to an address and would inevitably look this up in the address file even when they knew it, "just to make sure". When a line was ringing, they would move to take the call as slowly as possible in the hope that some other C.C. officer would take it before them. When this happened, they would sit back again contentedly. The fewer calls they answered of any sort, the happier they appeared to be.

When a cadet was not on duty, they would volunteer to leave the desk to make coffee.

In selecting calls, if they could, they would choose green lines over red lines. This was a delicate matter, however, as one had to be careful about the extent to which the brass became aware of this pattern of choice. If one was too blatant about one's preference for green lines one might provoke one of the other C.C. officers to complain vocally that one was not "pulling one's weight". This could lead to trouble and was consequently something to be avoided. However, despite this problem, cautious policemen usually managed to answer fewer red line calls and more green line calls than other C.C. officers.

II Dealing with the Public

The Problems

The cautious policemen were concerned with getting the dispatcher and the patrolman a description of the problem and the address that they would be satisfied with and that they would not complain about. In gathering this information, the cautious policemen, unlike the other categories of policemen we have considered, did not take control of the call by asking questions and insisiting that the caller provide the information the C.C. officers required in an order and at a pace which he determined. On the contrary, the cautious policemen would usually allow the caller to provide information in his own way if he was willing to do this. They tended to ask questions only when they felt this was necessary to prompt the caller to provide further information. In short, the cautious policemen took a passive rather than an active stance in telephone conversations. They allowed the caller to ramble and usually did not cut him short. This made their calls, on average, somewhat longer than those of the other policemen. This was something that did not bother them because it reduced the number of calls they had to deal with. The cautious policemen were sometimes referred to by their fellow officers as the "slow guys".

More than any other C.C. officers, the cautious policemen encouraged the caller to indicate what he wanted them to do and accepted his directions for action where possible. They tried to please callers.

CP (Cautious Policeman): Yes, sir.
C: My name is Mr.--------------
CP: Uh-huh
C: And, ah, I dropped my son off at the corner of ---- and ---- this morning and he was supposed to go down to ah, --- and --- to work down in that area.
CP: Yes
C: And he never showed up for work, and I checked with every place I think he could be and, ah, I can't find him.
CP: How old is your son?

C: Fifteen.

CP: And where are you now, Mr. ----?

C: I'm at work now. I work at ---- ---- at 610 ---- Road.

CP: Ah, should we send an officer up to see you to take a missing report on him?

C: Well, I really don't know what the heck to think, you know, I mean, ah, it's only been since 7:30 this morning, and. . .

CP: Yeah.

C: And I'm just wondering if something could've happened to him. You know, he should've just jumped on the bus and just went down to work, you know.

CP: Yeah.

C: But he may have hitch-hiked or got a ride or something, you know.

CP: Yeah, well you know almost anything could've happened when you -- you know, whe- you don't know what's happened, you're always imagining something, the worst.

C: Right.

CP: Ah, well how about your wife, would she be at home, does she live in the area?

C: No, she's at work this morning. She, ah, she, ah, works at ---- ---- down on ---- Road.

CP: Uh-huh.

C: And, ah, this is where he works, too.

CP: Yeah.

C: And, ah, I drop him off in the morning and he goes down and his mother goes into work later on, you know.

CP: I see.

C: And, ah, when she got to work, she called me: "What's happened to ----?", you know.

CP: Yeah.

C: And then we called back home, called a few of his friends we thought he might have gone to, you know.

CP: Yeah.

C: And, ah,

CP: Well, ah, by the sound of it, it would be better to send an officer up to see you. Would you be there for a little while, would it be O.K. for the police to come by to see you?

C: Well, it would be better if he went to see my wife.

CP: O.K., fine, yeah, she'd know what kind of clothing he's wearing and so on.

C: Well, yeah.

CP: Uh-huh. O.K. and where does your wife work, sir?

C: She works at ---- ---- Repair.

CP: ----,----, Repair. Uh-huh.

C: That's 1428 ---- Road.

CP: 28 ---- Road.

C: That's ---- and ---- area.

CP: O.K.fine, I'll get an officer right on it. It won't be hard to find her in the place.

C: No, she's the only girl there. She looks after the phones and that.

CP: O.K. fine. We'll have a fellow over there to see yah.

C: Yeah, well I was thinking if there's been an accident or something on the way down, you know.

CP: O.K. Well, I can make one quick enquiry. If it happened, say, since quarter to eight we'd know about it on this particular shift and that would be about the time, eh? Ah, ---- and ----, cross references here to find out who we can ask. Yeah, here we are. Hold on. (To dispatcher:) Fellow on the line here. Do you know of any accidents in the ---- ---- area involving P.I. this morning, xxxx?

DISPATCHER: There's one at ---- and ----, but it's not a P.I., that I'm aware of.

CP: Uh-huh. This was, is about what time? Do you have any idea?

DISPATCHER: No, but I'll look it up and see. Ah, ---- and ---- at 8:49.

CP: 8:49. Would that be about the time you were there? (pause) Hello, sir?

C: Yeah.

CP: Yeah, about eight, about roughly nine o'clock Would it be around that area he'd was there?

C: Well, I dropped him off there around 7:30.

CP: Oh, so he shouldn't have been at ---- and ---- then at nine o'clock.

C: No, he shouldn't have.

CP: No. Oh, there was there was nobody injured in that one, as far as we're aware.

DISPATCHER: ---- and ---- Road or, ah ---- and ---- Road (two other locations).

CP: ---- and ---- O.K. Well I think we'll just send a policeman over to see your wife, then, Mr. ----, at ---- ---- Repairs at 28 to take a missing report on him.

C: Might be the best.

CP: Yeah, O.K.

C: O.K. Thank you very much.

CP: Police radio ----.

C: Ah, yes, I wanted to register a complaint, I guess of sorts. Ah, I come down each morning, ah, down ---- to park at the parking lot there just north of the tracks to go down to ----.

CP: Oh, yeah.

C: And, ah, ----'s building that new project in there, you know, um.

CP: Is that the one by the ----, there?

C: Yeah. Well, ah, it's just at ---- and ----.

Comes just off of ---- there, just south of ---- about two and a half blocks there from the school.

CP: Oh, yeah.

C: Well, ah, to get into the parking lot, this morning, was almost impossible in as much as something called ----'s Snack Service, something, ah, one of these meal trucks, you know.

CP: Oh, yeah.

C: Go round coffee trucks and he parked right in the middle of ---- and the traffic was backed right up almost to Dundas. It's, ah, from the parking lot and it took about ten minutes to get in there, and, ah, these fellows once they establish a pattern, that's usually it and I thought if the guy can just be asked to move his truck off onto the ---- property.

CP: You didn't, ah, have anything to say to him yourself, eh?

C: No, I didn't have time (chuckle).

CP: Ah.

C: Ah, I was in the car myself, and, ah, I just thought, ah, if this goes on day after day, you're going to get traffic backed up through the other side of ---- Street.

CP: Funny somebody didn't have a few words with him, obstructing traffic like that.

C: But, ah, however, he was right in the middle of the street and there's plenty of room to pull over onto the ---- property.

CP: Sure, yeah.

C: Got one house there.

CP: I wonder what would be the best way, to, ah, just have someone there in the morning, I imagine, would be the only thing?

C: Well, ah, if, ah, I thought maybe you know, if you received calls over two to three days you'd know he'd established a pattern and ah, perhaps somebody could just drop like that. That was the only. . .

PC: Have you ever seen him before?

C: Ah. . .

CP: Or is this the first morning you've seen him?

C: This is, is the first morning he's been parked out on the street like that.

CP: I'll tell you what I'll do. I'll let the traffic branch know that it's at that particular spot area and they could have, maybe, just one of their motor cycles around in the morning.

C: Just at eight o'clock, almost bang on the nose.

CP: Yeah, well, O.K., around eight o'clock, and if he does park there, they can sort of move him on or move him out of the way or something.

C: There's plenty of room for him to move over (laughs).

CP: Yeah, surely.

C: Because he was sitting almost blocking the entrance of the parking lot.

CP: A few well-chosen words might have moved him over there.

C: Well, I don't know if it would do any good (laughs), just made him mad, I guess.

CP: Probably.

C: O.K.

CP: I'll get a hold of the traffic and let them know, O.K.?

C: Thanks a lot. Bye.

It should be noted that the cautious policemen did not lack proficiency. They had all been policemen for many years and they felt very comfortable handling calls. They simply were not particularly interested in doing so any longer and were not prepared to take risks in getting their job done.

Not all the cautious policemen allowed the caller to ramble. There were some who were very anxious to get rid of the caller as soon as possible. There policemen showed very little interest in the problem and sought simply to get an address as quickly as possible so that they could pass the matter on to the dispatcher and the patrolman. What differentiated these cautious policemen's persistent questioning from that of other C.C. officers was their tone, it was not conscientious, professional or strident, simply bored.

> CP: Police radio, ----.
>
> C: Yes, you know, I live in 17 ----. Just have some men come on my door and bang it, you know, just come from the work.
>
> CP: What's the address, ma'am?
>
> C: 17 ----, they're gone now.
>
> CP: 17 what?
>
> C: 17 ----, they're gone.
>
> CP: ----, ----?
>
> C: Yeah. Somebody's gone on the street, you know, they bang on the door of mine and. . .
>
> CP: Uh-huh, what's your phone number, there, ma'am?
>
> C: My telephone number?
>
> CP: Yeah.
>
> C: They're gone now, you know, I am, I'm stranger, you know, they're coming back, you know.
>
> CP: Uh-hum, what is your phone number?
>
> . . . .

Police Assistance

As we have seen, the cautious policemen looked to the public for directions. Furthermore, as the above telephone conversations indicate, they often informed the caller of the course of action they proposed to take to check and see whether this met with the caller's approval. The only time when they might attempt to push the caller into accepting some course of action was when he appeared ready to withdraw his request for police assistance. Unlike the wise policemen, this was seldom something the cautious policemen welcomed as they preferred to "play it safe", and this in the light of the brass's policy meant dispatching a patrol car.

> C: Ah, yes, I'd like to report a theft of a battery from my car in a garage at 10 ---- Avenue.
>
> CP: Near ----, eh?
>
> C: Yeah, I was going to, somebody suggested I phone it in anyway, ah, don't suppose anything could be done.
>
> CP: We take a report anyway, sir. What is your phone number there, can we have that?

In view of this attitude of "playing it safe", cautious policemen in response to traffic accident calls, seldom inquired about the amount of damage, preferring to leave the decision as to whether a report should be taken to the patrolman who attended the call: "Let them worry about it".

> C: Hello.
>
> CP: Yes.
>
> C: I wonder if you can send an officer around on ---- Avenue, please about an accident.
>
> CP: ---- Road.
>
> C: Yes, it's right opposite ---- ----. I ran into the back of a ----.
>
> CP: Opposite ---- ----, and that's on ---- Road.
>
> C: That's right.
>
> CP: All right, we'll get someone around.
>
> C: Thanks.

The cautious policemen took the same attitude with calls that were a little unusual and that required some extra effort to deal with. For example, in response to a report of a stolen vehicle by a person who lived in another city, the cautious policeman transferred the call to the "detective squad", remarking as he did to the observer, "Ah, let them take the report".

Cautious policemen dispatched police units to practically every citizen call they received; they took no chances. Even the good policemen were not as likely to dispatch a patrolman.

Manner

The cautious policemen's manner was more often than not sympathetic, courteous and conciliatory. They did not instruct callers, they made suggestions. With the exception of the bored policemen the cautious policemen did not present themselves as detached professional who "knew" but as sympathetic listeners who were ready to work with the caller to solve his problem and made suggestions as to how the police might be able to help. This attitude is seen in some of the transcripts we have cited and is further illustrated in the following transcript.

> CP: Police radio,----.
>
> C: Hello, my name is ----. Just wandered out to go to work and discovered that my wife's car has been stolen, from our apartment block.
>
> CP: What's your address?
>
> C: It's ----.
>
> CP: Apartment number there?

C: xxxx.

CP: Better have your phone number, too, please.

C: It's xxx-xxxx.

CP: Could you tell me the make of the car and perhaps the license number of it?

C: Yes, I could, it's a sixty-five Volkswagen, a beetle model, I'm not sure what you call it, a two door, anyway.

CP: Uh-huh.

C: It's red in colour, and it's got a very new paint job on it as a matter of fact.

CP: Would you know the license number of it, sir?

C: Ah, xxx, Yeah, xxx-xxx. I can give you the serial number?

CP: Well, I'll get you just. . .

C: Pardon?

CP: I'll get you just to hold the phone, would you please, and I'll check our files and see if we've got anything on a car like that, O.K.?

C: Fine, sure.

CP: Just hand on a sec (pause).
Hello, sir?

C: Hello.

CP: No, we have nothing on your vehicle just a moment, I'll have an officer drop by to see, to take the report and so forth from you.

C: Ah, he'll come here, will he?

CP: Yeah, O.K.?

C: All right, have you any idea how long?

CP: Oh, it shouldn't be too long, very shortly.

C: O.K., that's fine.

CP: O.K., sir.

C: Thank you.

Cautious policemen never argued with callers. This was true even when a caller was criticizing the police in some way. In response to such calls, other C.C. officers could be expected to put up something of a defense. The cautious policeman was, however, likely just to "go along" with the caller and pass the problem on to the patrolman and let him handle it.

CP: Police radio, ----.

C: Hello. I like information about parking.

CP: About parking?

C: See, my brother was visit me and he has three tickets, I mean he was three nights here and he had the tickets but he can't move his car because it was broke, so anyway. . .

CP: But just a minute, what's wrong with his car?

C: It was broken.

CP: It's broken?

C: Yes, he can't move it, so anyway they gave him a ticket three times.

CP: Uh-huh.

C: But now there is somebody else staying with us from last night five and he is still standing right there.

CP: Uh-huh.

C: So I wonder why he didn't get any tickets.

CP: I don't know.

C: Well, you don't know, I mean because it's unfair. If this car's not going to be moved, I will move it soon.

CP: I see.

C: And if you don't do nothing about it, I'm going to, going to write a big letter.

CP: O.K.

C: I mean it is just unfair.

CP: Um-huh, certainly is. What's your address?

. . .

C: It's unfair because he parked on my, my front of my door and he won't get no ticket and my own brother he was parking there and I believe somebody phoned up and unless, ah, and he had three tickets at once.

CP: Um-huh, we'll have an officer come up and check that brown truck for you.

C: O.K., thank you.

CP: All right, bye.

C: Bye.

In much the same way cautious policemen seldom put citizens who told them what to do "in their place" as the real policemen did and indeed, as the wise and good policemen would have been inclined to.

C: This is, ah, ---- Church on ---- Street. We have a couple here who are having quite a family dispute in the church. We have a girl in the rectory here and the husband is at the front door. Can you send someone immediately.

CP: ---- Church

. . .

C: And I'd send a plain clothesman.

CP: Well, we won't have a plain clothesman.

C: Oh dear.

CP: ---- and ---- Gardens. O.K., we'll. . .

C: Well, the man has threatened to kill this woman and it's quite drastic here.

CP: I see. O.K. we'll send him right up.

C: He'll see a policeman and he'll go haywire.

CP: O.K.

C: Bye.

CP: Bye-bye.

> CP: Radio-----.
>
> C: Uh, yes, my cleaning lady, I phoned last night about my cleaning lady. She's a thief and I'm sure she forges cheques and I'd like her investigated and fingerprinted.
>
> CP: You'd like her investigated and fingerprinted. Well, we can't fingerprint her. . .
>
> C: I've got all her things in my house, could you possibly come and take out the fingerprints. She's been living here for the last two weeks and all belongings are here.
>
> CP: I'll send a policeman around to see you, ma'am. What is your address?
>
> . . .

One of the most interesting features of the cautious policemen's manner was that they were the only category of C.C. officer who would on occasions fail to answer the phone with their name. Not all cautious policemen did this, and those who did, did not do so consistently. (To do so would have been to invite criticism from the sergeants.) It is significant, however, that it should happen at all and that when it did happen it was done by the cautious policemen. Giving one's name and number has a very distinct meaning for policemen. As we have seen, when a citizen asks for one's name and number, this suggests trouble. As the reader will have noted in police-police interaction, the C.C. officer always gives his name and number. Very often both parties will repeat the other's identification. Within this context to remain anonymous is to put oneself in a position where one cannot be held accountable. This is the position cautious policemen sometimes adopted for themselves.

The cautious policemen's manner was one that was not likely to get them into trouble and one which suggested that they identified much more with the public and their problems than other C.C. officers.

Post-Call Remarks

What distinguished the cautious policemen's post-call and between-call remarks is that they were seldom about the call and seldom supported the values and orientations of the police culture. These policemen did not have much to say to the other C.C. officers. When they did talk to other C.C. officers and the observers, their conversations were often about their families and their interests outside the police department. While the other policemen's conversations tended to be about police matters, the cautious policemen were more likely to talk about flying lessons, their thoughts about a second career or simply the television show they had watched the night before: "You know Carousel. Well, we watched it again last night. My wife cries every time she watches it even though she's seen it five or six times before".

Summary

As this discussion of the cautious policemen suggests, these policemen fell into the two sub-categories identified by Niederhoffer (1967: 104). On the one hand, there were those who appeared bored and tired. These policemen expressed a detachment from police work that Niederhoffer describes as "passive and apathetic". On the other hand, there were those rather kindly and sympathetic cautious policemen whose detachment Niederhoffer so aptly describes as "a form of mellow if mild good will". Both sub-categories, however, were united in their detachment from the police world and their concern with avoiding the displeasure of the brass, and if possible, that of other policemen also.

Conclusion

Policemen as we have seen, adopt different stances towards the police culture and departmental police; towards the colleague "other" and the brass. These different orientations are reflected in the way these policemen do their work, so that corresponding to each of the stances towards "others" policemen adopt we have identified a different style of work. This style effects not only the control C.C. officers exercise over the allocation of police resources, but their interaction with both citizens and policemen. Different policemen respond differently. A remark or attitude that will incite one category of policemen will leave another unruffled. Which of these responses the C.C. officers adopt depends on their orientation to "others".

The real policeman was more likely than any other category of policeman to express in action the values of the police culture. Callers, for example, whom he believed were exploiting the police were unlikely to have their request for police assistance granted. The real policeman demanded respect from the public and was determined to control the interaction. In maintaining his position of authority the real policeman would, if he felt this was threatened, respond bluntly and brusquely, and would leave the caller with little doubt that he would "take no nonsense". He presented himself as unafraid of citizens or the brass and had no hesitation in insulting callers who deserved this either because of what they did or, more likely, because of who they were.

With the "better class of people" the real policeman was likely to appear efficient but detached. He did not engage in pleasant chatter with callers.

Other policemen admired the real policeman but he remained rather aloof from them accepting their praise without becoming familiar. His toughness was made evident in his conversations with fellow officers in which he made clear that he was beholden to no one least of all the public or the brass who were both ignorant of police work. This man embodied for other policemen in his actions and his words the values of the police culture. He was a real policeman.

In contrast the good policemen recognized the police culture as the culture of the group but rejected its values as cynical and inimical to good police work. Good police work for them meant working as a team under the leadership of the Chief of Police and his senior officers. Not all the decisions the Chief made were right but right or wrong they should, in the interest of the department, be followed. Further, they pointed out one could not always tell whether the Chief was wrong. What might appear wrong, from the limited perspective of an individual policeman, might be seen as right from the perspective of the Chief.

The good policemen accepted the definition of the complaint desk function as message-passing. They recognized that from the perspective of the police culture this was defined as demeaning but they did not so regard it. Professionalism for them meant doing a good job as a team member in an occupation that had high ideals of service. It was these ideals and the ability of the occupation as a whole to live up to them that would earn them the respect of the public and the status of a professional. The tit-for-tat attitude of the real policeman, his rudeness, and abrupt manner they felt, was likely to bring discredit on the police community. What others thought was real police work was to them nothing short of bad policing. The good policeman they believed, should maintain his professional dignity at all times by not allowing himself to be provoked by the public and he should work with rather than against the brass.

The good policemen practically always acceded to citizens requests for assistance. They remained polite in the face of the public "no matter what". Not only did they provide "service with a smile" but they "went the extra mile" in being helpful and showing an understanding of and sympathy for the callers problems.

They kept their distance from other policemen who did not share their views thereby demonstrating unashamedly, their rejection of the police culture and its destructive influence. They would not be drawn into the humour of the other C.C. officers in which the public and brass became the butt of their jobkes. They were good policemen and they were not ashamed to stand up openly for their beliefs.

The wise policemen kept their eye on several audiences and performed for whichever audience they felt was watching. When this audience was the brass or the public, the wise policemen tried to present themselves as uncommitted to the values of the police culture. When their audience was colleagues they presented themselves as committed to the police culture. Their occupational dilemma was that these two audiences were not always discrete. More often than not they found themselves performing for both audiences simultaneously. In meeting this challenge the wise policemen developed strategies that allowed them to meet both their objectives - to appear both committed and uncommitted to the police culture simultaneously. Their ability to use these strategies and meet this challenge became a source of prestige among them, so that their status within their group depended upon their competence as strategists skilled at balancing the demands of both the brass and the police culture.

Where a caller phoned about a problem that the wise policemen believed was a police problem in terms of the values of the police culture their choice was simple: they would send out a car. To colleagues they could present this action as consistent with the police culture while at the same time feeling sure that they would not be questioned by the brass. Where they felt that a request for assistance was illegitimate in terms of the values of the police culture their situation, however, became more complicated. The strategy most frequently adopted to deal with this problem was to persuade the caller to withdraw his request. Whether they succeeded or not their use of this strategy was regarded by the wise policemen as demonstrating a proper orientation to the conflicting demands they had to deal with.

The wise policemen's conversational manner with citizen callers mirrored their response to citizen requests for assistance. Once again, they were concerned with presenting two different faces simultaneously. In doing so they developed a conversational style that allowed them to keep a "straight face" to the public and the brass while laughing at them behind their backs. This sort of humour was found only in the conversations of the wise policemen.

In their conversations with other policemen the wise policemen constantly reaffirmed their status as colleagues and engaged in much friendly informal banter.

Finally, the cautious policemen as the term suggests were above all cautious. They followed the brass' policy but were committed to neither the values of the brass nor the police culture. They did their best to avoid work especially work that was, they felt, the slightest bit risky. Some of them did this at the complaint desk by allowing callers to ramble on as long as they chose. Others felt it was less risky to get rid of citizen callers as quickly as possible. The former group tended to be sympathetic in their manner while the latter were bored and somewhat abrupt. In their relations with other policemen the cautious policemen tended to keep their distance. This, however, was not the austere aloofness of the real policeman nor the self-righteous distance of the good policeman but the disinterestedness of an outsider.

In considering role models and their behavioural consequences in the radio room we have answered some questions and raised others. How are these role models learned? How do policemen select a role model? How permanent is the selection of a model? What "pressures" do people who opt for various role models face? How do they respond to these "pressures"? What movement, if any, takes place between different role models? Is there any pattern to this movement? Can one identify typical career paths as actors move from one model to another? These questions are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SHIFTING ALLEGIANCE

Our observations within the radio room did not take place over a sufficiently long period to allow a thorough examination of the shifts in orientation that policemen make as their careers within the police department unfold. However, we did learn something about these shifts and the reasons for them as we listened to policemen talking about their own concerns and saw them responding to each other.

Becoming a Policeman

During the field work period we encountered three cadets working within the radio room. Cadets are would-be policemen who are too young to be police recruits or to go to the police training school, but who join the police department in a probationary capacity. The period they spend as cadets is regarded as an orientation and field training period at the end of which both the cadet and the police department are free to decide whether the cadet should join the police department as a police recruit. While not a recruit, the cadet's position is comparable to that of a recruit.

The first experience of the recruit, according to both Niederhoffer and Westley, is a "reality shock" in which the ideals the young policeman brings to the police world confront the "realities" of police work. Both these authors emphasize that the recruit learns to be "properly embittered" (Westley, 1971) through association with older policemen who introduce him to the interpretations of police work provided by the police culture. "The initiate role," writes Westley (1970: 182), "is one of a pair of counter roles: the initiate vis-a-vis the paternalistic expert."

However, as Niederhoffer observed, while all recruits are exposed to this "reality shock" not all policemen become "properly embittered" or as Niederhoffer prefers, "cynical". Why do some become "embittered" and "cynical", while others do not? Niederhoffer argues that the answer lies in the way in which the recruit interprets his experiences. "Occasionally," he writes (1967: 53), "reality shock is converted into a constructive experience that exhilarates the recruit and builds up his enthusiasm for police duty." Niederhoffer, however, seems at a loss as to what causes one man to become "embittered" and another "exhilarated". He suggests, by way of an example, that it is some how the "reality" of his experiences that makes the difference.

> "As the young policeman led them down the dark and chilly stairs towards the ambulance, the nobly proportioned friend unbuttoned her sweater and wrapped it around the shoulders of the expectant mother. The rookie could only stare in admiration. The friend had nothing on under the sweater. It is safe to predict every future aided case will bring an anticipatory glow to this policeman and recall pleasant memories."
>
> (Niederhoffer, 1967: 53-54)

The "reality" of police work itself, however, obviously cannot be considered an answer to the question Niederhoffer posed. His example leaves his query unanswered; for the question is, Why did the rookie stare in admiration not only at the friend's noble proportions, but at her kindness? Many possible responses besides that offered by Niederhoffer are conceivable.

The answer to Niederhoffer's question was provided by one of the C.C. officers, a good policeman, who had not become "embittered" or "cynical".

> "The new cadets are watching all this, and they're taking notes. Not only of the more verbal and verbose fellows, but the quieter P.C.'s as well. They're looking at the way they handle calls, the way others treat the loud mouthed men. The responses of the sergeants to their antics. It's these cues that the new cadet uses to relate to the older P.C.'s and decide what kind of policeman he wants to be. What is doing a good job? How should one deal with the public? Who do you want to imitate? When I was younger, I saw cadets mimic the style of the more flamboyant verbal officers but I realized that that was just one way."

When a researcher is lucky enough to have help like this from his subjects, his job of analysis becomes much easier! The answer to Niederhoffer's question is that the recruit has before him several role models. He sees that there is a police culture and he gradually learns its values but he also learns that it is not embraced by all policemen. He finds that different policemen define the police world in different ways and respond differently to the situations they face.

The choice of role models, as the good policeman cited above indicates, involves a period of assessment in which the cadet reflects on his experiences and compares the role models he finds available to him.

But he also does more than this. He actively experiments with different role models. He, as it were, tries them on for size. He decides whether he can wear them and whether they suit him. Accordingly, we found the behaviour of the cadets, once they graduated on to red lines, was somewhat varied. On some shifts one would find a cadet to be verbose, both in his conversations within the radio room, and in his dealings with citizens. He would perhaps proudly announce that he had certainly told "that citizen where to get off". At other times, one might find him quite subdued and very much the "listener", the "inactive one". (Westley, 1970: 180).

Sometimes these changes in attitude would take place because he had been defined as "too big for his boots", and had been "slapped down to size" by the sergeants or one of the older officers. This was an important feature of the cadet's experience, and is one which Westley notes.

> "When the initiate breaks out of the role and attempts to indicate abilities of his own, he threatens the knowledge of the older man and deprives him of his ego satisfactions. The initiate will then be defined as 'too smart for his own good' and will be deprived of access to the informal rules. When he is unable to observe rules of which he is not cognizant, sanctions will be applied."
>
> (Westley, 1970: 182)

He may also, however, find the "wind blown out of his sails" when he faces the "reality" of his own incompetence as a policeman and feels he has "made a fool of himself" in front of his older colleagues.

On one occasion, a cadet who was feeling very proud of the way he had been handling calls and had just said to another cadet, "If you can't handle that call I'll take it from you," received a call that he felt he could not handle because the caller had a heavy accent and it sounded to be an emergency of some sort. He paniked, called for the help of another more experienced C.C. officer, and found that this officer overcame the difficulty easily and handled the problem routinely. After the call he suggested in more subdued tones that perhaps he ought to go over the tapes of his calls to find out what he was doing wrong.

CADET: Radio room, ----, speaking.

C: Hello.

CADET: Yes, sir.

C: 49 ---- Street.

CADET: Pardon?

C: 49 ----.

CADET: 49.

C: ---- Street.

CADET: How do you spell that?

C: ----.

CADET: Oh ----. . .

C: ----, xxx-xxxx.

CADET: Just hold the line a minute, will you?

C: Ah?

CADET: Just hold the line a minute.
(Calls for assistance)

WP: What's the problem, sir?

C: ---- Street.

WP: Yeah, what's the problem?

C: Yeah, 49 ----.

WP: No sir, I haven't got a street with that spelling.

C: No somebody, now knocked my head, take the money away.

WP: 49 ---- is it?

C: Yeah, 49 ----, Ah, xxx-xxxx.

WP: Now, you say the party hit you?

C: Yeah, the store, you know, Chinese store.

WP: (to dispatcher) Yes, number 3 desk, 49 ----, we have a report of a hold-up.

DISPATCHER: Yeah.

WP: Now, what type of premises have you got there, sir?

. . .

It is not simply cadets who pass calls on to other C.C. officers. The reverse also sometimes happened as C.C. officers put cadets on the spot as part of a learning and testing process. When this happened, the cadet found himself in the position of performing for an audience of C.C. officers many of whom might actually "plug in" on his line to hear how he performed. These officers assessed his performance and let him know their conclusions. Such "trials" placed the cadet in a position where he had, for the moment, to choose a role model and a work style. In doing so he took into account the expectations and role choices of his audience.

(Call transferred from a "wise" policeman to a cadet as a "nut case".)

CADET: Hello.

C: Hello.

CADET: Yes?

C: Are you a policeman?

CADET: Yes, sir.

C: I, I asked my Dad, he didn't want to come to see me.

CADET: Doesn't want to come and see you, yeh? Where are you, yeh?

C: (unclear)

CADET: Where are you, sir?

C: (pause) ---- Street.

CADET: Pardon?

C: ---- Street.

CADET: Yeah, where about are you?

C: I'm in here.

CADET: I'm here?

C: Yeah.

CADET: How can you be in here, I'm in here. You're here, are you?

C: The ward.

CADET: Pardon?

C: I, I can't phone. Ah, I phoned my Mom and not home.

CADET: Not home?

C: And drunk, my Mom's drunk.

CADET: What is she doing drunk?

C: (pause) I don't (pause) I want someone to come and see me. I phoned, phoned last and he's not home.

CADET: He's not there?

C: No.

CADET: Why not?

C: (pause) See my Dad, my Dad gone out. I mean, my Dad gone out, he's gone.

CADET: Yeah? (pause) Well, tell you what we'll do. I'll, I'll go and see if I can talk to your father there, and I'll see if I can get him to come down and see you, O.K.?

C: O.K.

(Caller apparently hung up here.)

CADET: And, ah, I'll tell him that you want to see him and ah, we can go down, and ah, have him come down to see you. Eh? (pause) Hello? Hello? (He "clicks" the telephone a number of times.)

OPERATOR: Operator.

CADET: Yeah. Somebody cut us off?

OPERATOR: Ah, well they, they hung up.

CADET: They hung up, did they? Huh.

OPERATOR: Do you want, did you want to continue talking?

CADET: No, no, no it's O.K.

OPERATOR: O.K.

CADET: Right.

OPERATOR: Right.

CADET: Bye-bye.

OPERATOR: Bye.

The general consensus in response to this performance was that the cadet had done well. He had had "some fun" but had not been "mean to the nut", and indeed had shown what was regarded as the appropriate amount of sympathy. Further, he had "got rid of" the caller "skillfully".

The cadet, in selecting a role model, finds himself in a position similar to that faced by most novices entering a work world. Hughes' discussion of the choices the student physician faces sound very reminiscent of the situation the police cadet faces.

> "As in other professions, we may find that some models are -- like the saints -- considered a little too good for ordinary men to be expected to imitate in daily practices, although they are admired as embodiments of the highest values of the profession. A study of medical education should discover not merely the saintly models but also those the student regards as more practically (even a bit cynically) attainable by himself the mould being as it is, and he being who he is. The shift in choice of models by the student, his definite steps or his drifting into the path that leads to one model rather than others, is a significant part of his medical education."
>
> (Hughes, 1971: 402)

The police cadet like the student physician, eventually selects a role model. He becomes a policeman. Whatever model he chooses he will find he faces "pressures" from other policemen to change. Whether he succumbs to these "pressures" and which ones he succumbs to, will determine the career of role models he passes through.

Police Careers

In considering the career of role models that C.C. officers adopted we turn from fact to a mixture of fact and speculation, as we move to the limits of this study's findings.

Within the radio room each category of policeman looked on other categories with some hostility. The real policeman, for example, remained aloof from the other C.C. officers and viewed all others with some disdain. They all fell short, to some degree, of the values of the police culture, values which he expressed more completely than any of the others. He frowned on the wise policemen for their readiness to compromise the values they claimed to hold dear. He re[illegible] the good policemen for their dismissal of the police culture, an[illegible]r what he viewed as their sycophantic relationship with the brass. He understood, but nonetheless despised, the cautious policeman for "giving up" and withdrawing from the value conflicts of the police world.

For the most part, the real policeman was content to show his judgements through his aloof and austere posture. The good policemen, however, would occasionally provoke him to rebuke them directly. For example, on one occasion one of the good policemen was explaining to the researcher that in response to domestic disputes "all you can really do is try and calm them down". The real policeman overheard this and exploded loudly with, "Nonsense!". The good policeman's response was, "Well, what do you suggest, then?" The real policeman ignored this reply and went on with his work reassuming his usual distance. The challenge was, however, taken up on his behalf by one of the wise policeman who replied, "In the old days you would have given them a few good clips. When you do that they're less willing to fight."

The real policeman, through his actions and posture, and the wise policemen, through their actions and comments, constantly reminded the good policemen of their isolation. Indeed, even in their dealings with policemen outside the radio room, they found that they were "ribbed" for their sensitivity to the brass, for their "apple polishing".

. . .

PC: Hey, how do you keep working days all the time?

GP: It's not easy, boy.

PC: Ah, there must be something to it.

. . .

In response to the "ribbing" and the "insults", the good policemen embraced their isolation as the price that had to be paid for their commitment to the brass and the standards of good policing. Accordingly, they in turn viewed the other C.C. officers with some disdain. For example, after a call in which a caller had complained to a wise policeman about a person riding a snowmobile in the streets, the following exchange took place.

> WP: Shit, I drive my ski-doo in the street in storms all the time, what the hell?
>
> GP: So you're one of the idiots we have been getting calls about.
>
> WP: They'd never catch me, though. I'd run them all over the place until they gave up.

Similarly, the good policemen would not join the other C.C. officers when they were having "fun" with callers. For example, at one point in the field work, the C.C. officers were having "fun" with a "wierdo". They wanted to know whether the observer wanted to hear the call. The good policeman who was talking to the observer asked, "Do you want to hear it?" When the observer said, "Yes", he took the call for him on his telephone console. He then, however, appeared to ignore the call and did not join in the laughter and comments that took place within the radio room. Indeed, it was not until the call had been transferred to a division and the policeman there said that they knew the caller well, that she called "all the time", that they let her talk on and on for ages, and that she never knew there was no one listening, that the good policeman acknowledged that he had been paying attention and let a little smile fall across his face.

The price of isolation was a price the good policemen appeared prepared to pay if this was necessary to stand up for what they believed was right and to "get ahead".

But, what will happen if they are not rewarded for their loyalty and do not get promoted or are not in their opinion, promoted far enough or fast enough? What if they do not become commissioned officers and thus do not join the men whose hopes and aspirations they believed they shared? Will they still feel that the price has been and continues to be, worth it? Might they not begin to feel let down and betrayed? And how will they respond to this betrayal? Some perhaps will "wise up" and seek to join the ranks of the wise policeman. Others perhaps will feel the pain of disillusionment too acutely and will want to leave the police world. They might well find themselves joining the ranks of the cautious policemen as they lick their wounds and prepare to launch on a new career or simply invest their energies outside their work world; perhaps in their family, perhaps in hobbies, perhaps in entertainment and perhaps simply in alcohol as they come to terms with their lot as policemen.

And what of the wise policeman? May he not also find that he too joins the ranks of the cautious policeman? Did not many of the cautious policemen believe they were in the radio room as a punishment? Was not their cautious stance a response to this and did they not view themselves as having once been wise, and perhaps, even real policemen?

It is perhaps this recognition that they too might become cautious policemen that leads the other C.C. officers to treat them with kindness and to refrain from criticizing them too harshly for their slowness or their lack of commitment to the police culture. The cautious policeman was seen as a pathetic figure, a person who had broken under the load of life. As they viewed the cautious policeman, C.C. officers began to realize that their own load had become heavy and that it too, in time, might break their backs.

> "You know, old ---- was shot in the stomach some years ago. There was this gun battle between some men in a storehouse and about a hundred policemen were involved and only one guy got hurt -- ----. And he didn't even fire his gun. All the other police officers got medals and all he got was a bullet and a day off in the hospital."

It is the knowledge that they have "been there" and have experienced the pressures and strains of police work that leads the cautious policemen to smile knowingly at the other C.C. officers, all so intensively involved in being the kinds of policemen they are, and to adopt a rather paternalistic and cynical attitude to the young cadets. For he knows that many of them will eventually pass his way.

In response to a caller who was trying to locate an out of town address, one of the cadets spent about ten minutes trying, unsuccessfully, to locate the address. When he was finished and was sitting back frustrated at his lack of success, one of the cautious policemen turned to him and talked about his enthusiasm.

> ". . . Yeah, and when you get out of college, you'll be filled with a whole new purpose in life, just like the rest of us were. You get the feeling you're so important because you've got your finger on the pulse of the city. Yeah, and you feel a great sense of achievement. You work hard and you try and do a good job. But after you've been on the job for a while, you'll find your feelings change so that you don't give a damn. Yeah, you'll come out of college with a new sense of purpose, but you'll soon loose that."

It is such experiences that Niederhoffer appears to be referring to when he writes:

> "The rookie begins with faith in the system. He tries to follow the book of rules and regulations. Then, he discovers that many cases have repercussions of which the book seems wholly ignorant. He is chastised by his colleagues for being naive enough to follow the book. Gradually, he learns to neglect the formal rules and norms and turns elsewhere for direction. Individual interpretation replaces the formal authoritative dictum of the official book and the young policeman is an easy prey to cynicism."
> (Niederhoffer, 1967: 53)

And what of the real policeman, the hero of the radio room? He remains a mystery to his colleagues. How does he maintain his independence? How does he remain so immune from the brass? Does he perhaps have "connections" that protect him? Who knows. He is, however, certainly no man to tangle with and the sergeants know it.

They treat him with caution, respect and awe. Any policeman who has survived as long as he has living the police culture must have something "going for him". To tackle him is to risk coming off second best. Best leave him well alone.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

In this, the final chapter, we will first review our findings and compare them with similar findings of others. We will then consider the relevance of our results for other policemen working within other settings. This will lead us to consider other occupational settings and the parallels between the situation our policemen faced and their responses with the situations and response of other workers. Finally, we will turn our attention from the particular to the universal and look beyond the work world to life.

Review

The Police Culture

The single most remarkable feature of the police culture we discovered was its similarity to the culture identified by Westley. Like him we found that at the heart of police morality was the belief that the public was disrespectful and that policemen should resist the demeaning implications of this for their occupational status and personal dignity. Similarly, we also discovered that policemen believed that certain people were especially disrespectful and at times very dangerous. In responding to the public our policemen believed, like Westley's that when threatened policemen should rally to each others support and forget their internal differences in the face of an external enemy.

Like Westley, we found that besides "the public" C.C. officers distinguished between different categories of citizens in terms of their characteristics and the significance of these characteristics for their work. For example, both the policemen Westley studied and those we studied talked about people who lived in the slums as a morally depraved and evil lot. Both groups also distinguished particular ethnic groups and criminals.[1]

We found, however, that although the public's disrespect for the police was central to the C.C. officers' view of the public, in order to understand this meaning, one had to view it in the context of other meanings C.C. officers ascribed to citizens. While "disrespect" was a meaning that was applied to practically all citizens other meanings were more varied. "The public" was viewed as helpless, stupid and naive, but not particularly hostile and usually not dangerous The people in the slums on the contrary were viewed above all as hostile and exploitative. "The scum" were an enemy who deserved no quarter. The public, on the other hand, were seen as a bumbling collection of incompetents and were regarded as naughty, stupid children who should be kept in their place.

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[1] Although we did not discuss this in Chapter 3 specifically the C.C. officers like Westley's policemen also distinguished children as a sub-group of citizens who did not suffer from the faults of most citizens. Children were seen as particularly helpless and deserving of the care and help that the police had available.

This relationship between the constant and variable meanings policemen ascribe to the public appears to be something which Westley was groping for and, at times, recognized in specific arguments, for example, his point that policemen treated the "better class of people" and "people in slums" differently. However, he failed to carry this distinction through and in the final analysis identified "the public" with the "people in the slums". In contrast, we found that C.C. officers distinguished between rather than identified "the scum" and "the public".

Our description of the police culture also differed from Westley's in that we looked at other aspects of the police morality besides their view of and evaluation of the public. We found with respect to the brass that not only were they often considered an out-group but they were also seen as disrespectful. Like the public they too demeaned the occupational status and the personal dignity of ordinary policemen.

Colleagues, on the other hand, were viewed as an in-group bound together by their common experiences.

The public, the brass and colleagues, constituted the three pillars around and upon which the police culture within the radio room was built. The significance of each of these categories of people was derived from their relevance to police work as clients, superiors and team-mates.

Role Models

The public were the C.C. officers' clients. They were the people they, and other policemen, did things for and to. The C.C. officers, however, did not look to the public for direction as to the kinds of policemen they should be. For this they turned to two other categories of significant others: the brass and colleagues. The values and directions of the brass they found in departmental policy while those of colleagues were crystalized in the police culture. In responding to both these categories of significant others, and thereby defining a self for themselves, C.C. officers, distinguished between four basic role models each of which proposed a way of dealing with the often conflicting demands of the brass and colleagues. Each role model proposed a stance towards others and a corresponding self definition.

The C.C. officers used these models to guide them in their relationships with the brass, colleagues and the public. In doing so they defined themselves and others as tending towards one or other of the role models, with some of their number epitimizing these roles. These latter officers came to stand for and represent each of the role models.

The role model C.C. officers adopted guided them in their interpretation of the meanings that they confronted and in developing their own definition of the situation. In moving from this definition to action the C.C. officers were guided in part by the directions of the role models themselves and in part by the example of those policemen regarded as epitomizing the particular stance they had chosen. Each role model represents a way of handling meanings.

The role models we identified defined a continium with a commitment to the values of the brass at one pole and a commitment to the values of the police culture at the other.[2] Niederhoffer in his work recognizes a similar continuum. However, there are important differences which distinguish his description from ours. He views this continuum from the point of view of the brass. His vantage point is that of the good policemen and he presents his analysis from their point of view.[3] For Niederhoffer, as for the good policeman, the police culture is a destructive cancer within the police community that must be fought and he looks forward with hope to the day when this fight will have been won and the police culture's influence, if not eradicated, will have been greatly diminished. Accordingly, he describes the police culture as a "delinquent sub-culture".

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[2] The cautious policemen it will be remembered rejected both poles of the continuum. However, while they did not fall on the continuum, the continuum constituted the meanings that defined their position. Its meanings were what they rejected.

[3] Niederhoffer is an ex-policeman. As a policeman he had the opportunity to participate in the police world as an insider. This status affected both what he observed and the perspective from which he made his observations. Niederhoffer was very clearly a good policeman and it was as a good policeman that he observed the police world. He brings to his sociological analysis the views and perspectives of the good policeman. It is significant in this regard that Niederhoffer adopts the structural-functional perspective as his theoretical framework. This allows him to view the values of the brass as those necessary for the "survival" of the police organization and to treat other conflicting values as a dysfunctional and delinquent sub-culture that must be eradicated.

In contrast to this cynical sub-culture Niederhoffer identifies the values of the "professional policemen". These are the values the brass stands for. What identifies the "professional policeman" (our "good policeman") is his "commitment to the ideal of a decent and honourable career within the police force" (Niederhoffer, 1967: 103).

The good policeman's view that Niederhoffer adopts makes it difficult for him to distinguish the wise and the cautious policeman as distinct role model for all the good policeman sees, apart from his own "proper" perspective, is degrees of cynicism.

Niederhoffer presents the various stances that policemen can take in response to the brass and the police culture in terms of the career of a "typical policeman" in which he moves from an initial commitment to the brass towards the cynicism of the "delinquent sub-culture". Within this framework we lose sight entirely of the wise policeman and his attempts to balance the views of the brass and colleagues. Our wise policeman is for Niederhoffer no more than an intermediate stage on the road to cynicism. He becomes simply the "disillusioned policeman"

> "The second stage, romantic cynicism, is reached in the first five years of the police career. The most idealistic young members of the force are precisely the ones who are most disillusioned by actual police work, and most vulnerable to this type of cynicism."
> (Niederhoffer, 1967: 104)

In the same way that Niederhoffer misses the wise policeman he also nearly misses ~~the~~ cautious policeman and, in fact, manages only to grasp one aspect of this role model. He correctly identifies the stance of the cautious policeman as one of "mellow if mild good will". However, because he views this as the final stage of cynicism he fails to realize that the stance we have termed the cautious policeman is beyond "cynicism". His eyes are turned to neither the brass nor the police culture but away from them both. He wants only to live at peace with the brass and colleagues. Because he fails to see this aspect of this stance, Niederhoffer fails to note the boredom that is so characteristic of many cautious policemen.

Responding to Others

We used the four role models C.C. officers recognized to distinguish four categories of policemen. Each of these categories did their work somewhat differently. Further actions that appeared on first glance to be similar proved on closer inspection to mean different things to different categories of policemen because their motives were different.

We observed these differences in the C.C. officers work style in several different areas: selection of calls, the analysis of the problem, the decision to dispatch a car, the manner C.C. officers adopted with citizens and the manner they adopted when they dealt with police-callers. Furthermore, we found that different categories of C.C. officers responded to policemen within the radio room differently. No doubt other areas of activity could have been investigated. However, from the areas we studied it was abundantly clear that different definitions of "others" and "self" were reflected in different patterns of activity within the C.C. officers' work environment.

In reviewing the literature on the police we find little to compare our findings to. Both Westley and Niederhoffer, for example, whose work is most closely related to ours cannot be used as a basis for comparison. Westley, looked at the behavioural consequences of a commitment to the police culture but did not distinguish the different stances adopted by policemen to the police culture. Niederhoffer on the other hand distinguished different stances to this culture but did not consider their behavioural consequences. We have sought to integrate both these contributions by identifying role models, associated ~~-~~ categories of policemen and their activities.

Perhaps a word should be said about the "in-put" - "out-put" research on police decision-making that we considered and criticized in the first chapter. What implications does our study of the interpretative process in which policemen handle meanings have for these findings? Are we any better off now in predicting "outcomes" (an objective that these researchers hold to be one of the main strengths of their approach)? The answer to this question, we would argue, is an unqualified "yes".

Let us consider two of the findings that are central to research on police decision-making, namely, that citizen's demeanour is associated with police decisions (Rock, 1975), and that "complainant preference" is the single most powerful predictor of the outcomes of police-citizen encounters (Reiss, 1971). We will deal with the latter finding first.

The first point to note is that our findings suggest that this preference (in our case the caller's preference) is not important to the policeman because he values the judgements of callers. Its significance lies in the expectations and judgements of the brass and colleagues. It is these others who give or deny weight to citizens' preferences. This means that whether "citizen's preferences" will remain an important predictor depends on the values of the brass and colleagues and the role models policemen adopt. For example, for the real policeman, "complainants preferences" will not be as good a predictor as it will be for the good or for the cautious policemen. Further, if the expectations of either the brass or colleagues change with respect to "citizen's preferences" this will affect the predictive power of this variable.

The same sort of arguments apply to demeanor. First, what is respectful or disrespectful demeanour to one category of policeman need not be so for another. Secondly, while a disrespectful demeanor (as defined by the policeman concerned) is likely to be a good predictor of the real policeman's responses it will be less powerful for the wise policeman, of relatively little help for the good policeman and useless as a predictor for the cautious policemen.

In short, this means that predictions will be more accurate if one does not move directly from situational factors to action, but considers the interpretative process involved. This can be done by considering the role models policemen use and their allegiance to them.

Choosing Role Models

In considering the choice of role models we argued that police cadets on entering the radio room, have several role models available to them. In selecting a role, cadets we saw, not only considered the consequences associated with different models but experimented with these roles. The role model the cadet chose, we argued, need not necessarily be the stance he adopted throughout his career. This orientation to others might change, and with these changes would come a different role and different relationships to others.

Many policemen we speculated would, in due course, become cautious policemen. However, the career paths leading to this final destination would be varied and would depend on the previous role choices and experiences of individual policemen. There is no one typical police career. There are, however, typical occupational experiences that policemen often encounter during the course of their careers, and typical responses to these that collectively determine the shifts in allegiance to "others" that policemen make during their careers.

Niederhoffer (1967) also considers the policemen's career in terms of their stances towards others. Unlike us, however, he identifies only one typical career thereby missing the complexities, not only of the novice's initial choice of role models, but of the many different shifts of allegiance that policemen make as they assess their prior experiences and look towards the future.

Other Police Settings

The Police Culture

The coincidence between Westley's and our description of the police culture suggests that the morality we are considering is not only remarkab[illegible]ble but is fundamental to police work and police organization. But what of the differences? What of the aspects of the police culture not noted by Westley that we found expressed within the radio room? This question can only be answered authoritatively with further research. Our hypothesis, however, would be that all the aspects of the morality we have considered arise out of experiences fundamental to the work of all policemen and will accordingly be found in all police settings. However, in different work environments different configurations of values will be highlighted because of their particular relevance to the work at hand. The morality Westley described represents the view of the police culture highlighted by policemen whose work brought them into relatively frequent contact with the people in the slums.

Every group of policemen because of their particular work assignment will express and emphasize different aspects of the police culture. The aspects they emphasize will depend on their work. The policemen "in fraud", for example, will express a somewhat different morality from their colleagues "in drugs" or in the "homicide squad". Yet all these policemen would, we suggest, recognize a general police world and a general police culture that they share with all other policemen. A detective in the fraud squad who is working exclusively with "white collar criminals" may not contact many people who he regards as physically dangerous, helpless, or stupid, but he will recognize that "the public" is all these things.

What is universal among policemen, in whatever setting they work, is their concern for occupational and personal dignity. Both the public and the brass are likely to be viewed as disrespectful from the perspective of the police morality in all settings. The problem of status and dignity constitutes the core of the police culture. All other aspects of the police morality are secondary. These other meanings will be expressed in different ways in different settings. These different configurations of meanings form the contexts within which the central meaning of respect/disrespect is expressed. In each of these contexts the secondary meaning will colour policemen's concern for respect thereby giving this central meaning a particular hue.

Role Models

Underlying the differences between Niederhoffer's and our analysis of role models is the fact that both of us have found that policemen adopt different stances towards significant others. These stances are crystalized into role models by policemen and are used by them both as guides to action and in order to define themselves and others. Further, Niederhoffer, like us, has identified, as the basis for these role models, a polarity between [illegible] and the ideal policeman of the poli[illegible]. This similarity of findings suggests that these results de[illegible] general feature of the police world. We, however, did not [illegible] entirely with Niederhoffer so that once again the question that arises is, what about the differences? As we have indicated, in our view, the difference between the analysis Niederhoffer has provided and ours is primarily one of perspective rather than substance. What Niederhoffer describes of the police culture and police role models is consistent with the view of the good policemen we have identified. If Niederhoffer had not stuck so firmly to one perspective, but had looked at the police world through the eyes of other policemen the picture he would have painted would, we suggest, have been remarkably similar to ours.

Accordingly, we hypothesize that the role models we have identified are not limited to the police radio room but are found in other police settings and in other police departments. All policemen find it necessary to come to terms with the views and values of both the brass and the police culture. All policemen find in resolving this conflict, that several options are open to them. They all refer to the same basic role models. The specific fights for dignity will differ from setting to setting, as will the particular strategies that are developed, but the problems and role models used as guides in coming to terms with them will be similar.

Some indirect support for this hypothesis is provided by the Marin Report (Commission of Inquiry, 1976) in which a conflict between what the brass and the men regard as a prerequisite for good police work is identified as a problem that has been endemic to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police throughout its history. In support of this claim the Commissioner's cite the Haig-Brown Report of 1944, in which senior officers' disrespect for the men's intelligence and capability, reflected in the petty regulations that are issued, is noted as a major source of discontent among the members of the Force.

> "Generally it is the pettiness of restrictions, their nagging quality which suggests that the men are irresponsible and hard to discipline that causes most discontent. The writer has been impressed again and again by the number of small infractions, often quite unrelated to the main issue, which are brought to light in almost any inquiry. One feels that a close examination of any 24 hours of a policeman's life would reveal half a dozen such infractions and that any man who survives an inquiry without the discovery of a charge that can be laid against him has been extremely lucky. Such close regulations, particularly under the present

> system of slow promotion, have a very real tendency to discourage initiative."
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> (Haig-Brown, 1944: 5)

This conflict between conceptions of good policing that we found in the radio room of a Canadian police department, that Haig-Brown and the Marin Commission found within the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Skolnick (1967) also reports finding in an American police department. While Skolnick focused on a conflict between the expectations of "the law" and policemen he also recognizes a conflict of expectations as to what is good police work between the brass and the men.

While the evidence we have cited in support of our hypothesis that our findings are relevant to other police settings does not directly confirm the role models we have identified, it does confirm that the conflict for which the role models provide solutions is general. Further research is required to test the hypotheses that our results have suggested.

Responding to Others

If policemen in other police settings recognize role models similar to those we have identified, then they will identify categories of policemen in terms of these roles. Further each category of policemen will do their work differently. Precisely, what these differences will be is something that will have to await further research. These differences will depend both on the values and direction of the police culture and the brass, and on the way in which each category of policemen interpret these meanings in the light of the specific situations they face. In each case the behavioural patterns that emerge will be understandable in terms of the orientation to the brass and colleagues the policemen involved adopt. The real policeman will be seen as expressing the values of the police culture; the good policeman will be seen as following the brass's directions; the wise policeman will be seen to mediate between these two sets of meanings; and the cautious policeman as careful yet detached. The real policeman will do what he thinks he should and take his chances; the good policeman will do what he believes the brass thinks he should; the wise policemen will look first to see who is watching him and will follow in the steps of the police culture's ideal policeman so long as he thinks he can "cover himself"; the cautious policeman will let others take the risks if he can, and make sure that his actions are "safe".

Choosing Role Models

In talking about the shifts of allegiance between role models and the initial choice of role models, policemen within the radio room, made clear that this was a process that extended to all parts of the police department and to all policemen. The radio room for all the policemen we talked to was simply one assignment in a police career. The radio room was a setting in which one could observe at one point in time the net results of a long series of decisions with respect to "self" and "others" that each of the C.C. officers had made. Each of them was at a different point in their careers. The cadets were searching for role models and would express and modify their choices later in other settings. Other C.C. officers were displaying their final choices.

We have only been able to suggest the principal features of the process of shifting allegiances that occur as policemen move from one role model to another. Considerable research is needed to trace the shifts that occur and the thoughts, feelings and experiences that motivate them. Our suggestions in chapter five constitute one set of hypotheses that could be used to guide such research.

Other Occupational Settings

In all occupations workers make choices about the kind of people they want to be while others make judgements about the kind of people they are. In making these choices and judgements they are likely to use role models. What these role models are, and how well articulated they will be, will depend on the social environment in which the work takes place. In occupations where people work within an institutional setting, workers will tend, like the police, to make a distinction between bosses and workers. In some institutions, and for some workers, this distinction is likely to be sharply drawn (for example, nurses within a hospital setting), for others (for example, academics in a university setting) the distinction might be somewhat blurred. Whenever the distinction is made, the dichotomy of significant others we have identified in the radio room [illegible] to be recognized by the actors involved. Further, this dichotomy is likely to form a basis for role models. Where the dichotomy is made clearly and sharply, the role models will probably be well articulated. When it is vague and imprecise, this will probably be reflected in the role models.

Other workers like policemen one would expect will identify a colleague group on the basis of a shared work experience and develop a morality involving conceptions of how the work should be done. These conceptions will undoubtedly at times be divergent with those of their superiors. Farm labourers in countries like South Africa (where large permanent work parties live on the farms), for example[4], develop conceptions of farm work that do not always agree with those of the farm managers. One finds in this situation, categories of workers and role models being identified that parallel very closely those we have identified in the radio room. There are some workers who establish for themselves a role like the real policemen, that involves them going their own way. Some become "Uncle Toms". Others develop a variety of strategies to outwit their bosses without them realizing it. One method used in digging, for example, was to use one's shovel in a manner that made the ground appear very hard and compact to an observer. This would allow the labourers to establish work norms[5] far below their capacity thus meeting the expectations of both their bosses and fellow workers. In this setting one also finds the man who simply wants no trouble with either his bosses or his fellows and withdraws in order to "play it safe".

If the role models we have identified apply to such disparate occupations as farm labourers and the police, they no doubt apply to many other occupations. In discussions of occupations and occupational roles, one or more of the models we have described are sometimes mentioned. The "rate buster" recognized by the Hawthorne experiment (Homans, 1951) is, for example, very clearly the equivalent of the good policeman. Beckers (1970) "idealist" in his discussion of medical students is fashioned after a role model similar to that of the "rate buster" and the "good policeman", while his "cynics" are similar to the real and the wise policemen in their commitment to a culture that challenges the "idealistic" conception of the medical role. The ideal physician that Hughes talks about, who "keeps proper balance between the more and less valued activities of the profession, and who plays his role well in relation to himself, his colleagues, other personnel in medical work, and towards his patients and the public" (Hughes, 1971: 402) is very reminicent of the ideal of the wise policeman.

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[4] The author spent a year as a low-level manager-cum-labourer on a farm in South Africa. He was in a marginal position which allowed him to experience something of the worlds of both the managers and the labourers.

[5] See Homans (1951) discussion of work norms discovered during the Hawthorne experiments.

Sociologists studying the work world have been sensitive to the role-models workers use and have noted the orientations towards others they involve. Some of these, as we have noted, are similar to the models we have described. Others appear to be somewhat different (Roy, 1954). What is characteristic, however, of much of this work is a failure to articulate a full set of role models that workers use and the framework of meaning that provides them with their unity. We have articulated one such set. On the basis of the references by other researchers to one or more of the models in this set and to the dimension underlying it, it would appear that this set finds expression in a variety of occupational settings. Whether it does, and how it is expressed in different settings, is a topic for further research.

In addition to the set of models we have identified, there are undoubtedly other models. We have concentrated, because the policemen we studied did, on the dimension created by the dichotomy of the brass and colleagues. There are, however, other dimensions established by the orientation one takes towards other sets of significant others. Hughes has, for example, stressed the dichotomy between clients and colleagues in service occupations. One model he has identified on this continuum is the "quack"; someone who will "play it for the patients alone, dramatizing himself as their champion against the profession itself" (1971: 403).

What other models besides the quack are there with reference to this dimension? What other dimensions of relation to "others" if any, do workers identify? What is the relationship between dimensions? In the radio room, "quackery" was hidden within a commitment to the brass because of the nature of the brass' policy. This might not be the case in other occupational settings or indeed in other police settings. All these questions provide directions for further research. What we have provided is a suggested framework for first asking, and then investigating, these questions.

Role Models in Social Interaction

Our interest ~~with~~ significant others and role models is, of course, not restricted to the work world. It is at the centre of all interaction. Cooley wrote that "directly or indirectly the imagination of how we appear to others is a controlling force in all normal minds" (1964: 203). It is by imagining the responses of others that men develop a "self". "There is no sense of 'I'," Cooley argued, "as in pride or shame without its correlative sense of you, or he, or they." (1964: 183). The self as Cooley taught us is a "looking-glass self" where the looking-glass is the "social reference" (1964: 183).

In imagining others, Cooley noted people take into account the particular class of others involved. People respond differently to the imagined response of different "others".

> "The thing that moves us to pride or shame is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon an other's mind. This is evident from the fact that the character and weight of that other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference with our feeling. We are ashamed to seem evasive in the presence of a straightforward man, cowardly in the presence of a brave one, gross in the eyes of a refined one, and so on. We always imagine, and in imagining share, the judgements of the other mind. A man will boast to one person of an action -- say some sharp transaction in trade -- which he would be ashamed to own to another."
> (Cooley, 1964: 184-5)

We have considered two ideal "others" whose judgements policemen imagine: the brass and the colleague of the police culture. The role models we have identified represent different modes of orientation to these "others". The real policeman, for instance, was straightforward and brave while the wise policeman, like the man Cooley refers to, was concerned about which ~~"other"~~ would learn of his acts.

These role models, we suggested earlier, are but one set of many possible "selves" that people orient to. Klapp (1962) has noted that society can be viewed in terms of the structure of role models, or social types, that it makes available to its members, both as guides for action and for use in establishing identities. Social types, suggests Klapp (1962: 3-5), are the meanings men use to find themselves, identify others and fit their lines of action to those of others.

Klapp argues that all social types can be related to three fundamental role models that provide the framework of reference that gives meaning to the wide variety of social types that people use.[6]

> "By models, I mean images that guide people positively by inclination or negatively by avoidance. Major role-models are here called heroes, villains and fools."
> (Klapp, 1962: ix)

The hero is the courageous and good man, the villain is the shrewed and evil man, while the fool is quite simply the stupid man.

Primordial social types or role models, John Steinbeck (1976) has argued, are the stuff out of which myth, legend and popular drama are made. In the letters he wrote to his literary agent while he was translating and rewriting Thomas Malory's version of the tales of King Arthur, Steinbeck notes that these primordial types combine to create further basic types. The supreme hero, Steinbeck suggests, is not only good and courageous; he is also a fool, because he does not concern himself with his own self-interest. He sacrifices himself for some other good.

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[6] Parsons (1951) "pattern variable" scheme also involves an attempt to establish a framework of meaning for locating specific meanings and in particular specific roles.

> "The people of legend are not people as we know them. They are figures. Christ is not a person, he is a figure. Buddha is a squatting symbol. As a person Malory's Arthur is a fool. As a legend he is timeless. You can't explain him in human terms any more than you can explain Jesus. As a person Jesus is a fool. At any time in the story he could have stopped the process or changed the direction. He has only one human incident in the whole sequence -- the lama sabach -- that on the cross when the pain was too great. It is the nature of the hero to be a fool"
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> (Steinbeck, 1976: 343)

And what of our "policemen"? Are any of the role models we have identified expressions of the primordial role models of myth and legend? Do we have any heroes, villians or fools? Have we perhaps tapped something timeless that has relevance beyond the bounds of the radio room, beyond the police world, beyond the world of work and beyond the age in which we live and in which our policemen lived?

Our real policeman has the markings of a hero in Steinbeck's sense. The real policeman's commitment is to the values of the police culture and he is seen as persuing this commitment, and remaining true to it, despite the price this might mean in promotional opportunities.

This "foolishness" raises the real policeman to the status of a symbol. He is in Steinbeck's words "not a person". He is no ordinary man.

In contrast to the real policeman, we find the good policeman. despite his attempts to appear committed to ideals and to be willing to pay the price for his commitment, like the brass, his motives are questioned. Behind his "apparent selflessness" his colleagues point to the convenient coincidence between his commitments and the attitudes and activities that are rewarded within the police department. Unlike the martyr who must at best wait until another life for his rewards, the good policeman, like the good Christian of Calvinism, has "conveniently" chosen a path in which his rewards can be reaped in this life.

The good policeman and the real policeman express two models of man basic to our culture. The good, selfless, courageous man is the man of high motives and is reserved for higher things. He is the model for the highest occupations; for those occupations concerned with life and the spirit. This is the professional man. The self-interested man, concerned with material wants and self-preservation is the man of low motives. He is the model for the man of trade and commerce (Zakuta, 1970). When this man "pretends" to high wants we become suspicious and seek to return him to his place and disabuse him of his pretensions. We look for an ulterior motive in the philanthropic deeds of the business man. We suspect that beneath the "altruism" there lurks the shrewdness of the villain who would have us believe that he is other than he really is.

When our heroes and martyrs show that they can be human we are disappointed. If possible, we may even turn a blind eye. We need our heroes and we do not like to have their clay feet exposed. So we shroud them in mystery, feeling perhaps that if we keep a veil between us and keep our distance we will avoid disappointment.

Who is the hero and who the villain; who has high motives and who has low? That depends on who is doing the looking. The real policeman we have identified has been described in the police literature as a cynic, as a villain. We have seen, however, that this is all a matter of perspective. While he may be a villain from the vantage point of the brass, he is the hero of the police culture.

Most of us like most policemen, are neither heroes, villains or fools, but are ordinary men. We seek a middle course. Herein lies the wisdom of the common man; the man in the street. We learn to balance the demands of others without committing ourselves completely to any. We do what we can to live up to our ideals but we also, as reasonable men, face the realities of life. Our achievement is that we have avoided defeat at the hands of any and have retained our independence; we have survived. Our wisdom lies in the tools of survival and in our skill in using them.

Not everyone survives, however, and the ordinary man looks at those who do not with sympathy and understanding that neither the villains who are hardly human, nor the heroes who are superhuman, can appreciate. They have not worked for independence. Only the ordinary

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man who has striven for the victory of independence knows how close at hand defeat really is. Only he understands the cautious man.

The police represent, like most occupations and most men, a concern for the high and the low; not quite professionals, not quite mercenary. A good place to learn about life.

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Table 1

SCHEDULE OF RECORDING TIMES

Week	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
1	Oct. 3 4 - 12	4	5 4 - 12	6	7 12 - 8	8 12 - 8	9 8 - 4
2	10 8 - 4	11 8 - 4	12	13	14 4 - 12	15 4 - 12	16 12 - 8
3	17	18 4 - 12	19	20 8 - 4	21	22 12 - 8	23 8 - 4
4	24 12 - 8	25 12 - 8	26	27 4 - 12	28 8 - 4	29	30 4 - 12
5	31 4 - 12	Nov. 1 4 - 12	2	3 12 - 8	4	5 8 - 4	6 12 - 8
6	7 12 - 8	8 12 - 8	9 8 - 4	10	11	12 8 - 4	13 4 - 12
7	14 8 - 4	15 8 - 4	16 12 - 8	17	18	19 4 - 12	20

Table 2

FINAL TAPING SCHEDULE

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
OCT. 3	4	5	6	7 12 - 8	8 12 - 8	9 8 - 4
10 8 - 4	11	12	13	14 4 - 12	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24 12 - 8	25 12 - 8	26	27 4 - 12	28 8 - 4	29	30 4 - 12
31 4 - 12	NOV 1 4 - 12	2	3 12 - 8	4	5 8 - 4	6 12 - 8
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14 12 - 8	15	16	17 4 - 12	18	19 8 - 4	20 12 - 8
21 8 - 4	22 8 - 4	12 - 8 23 8 - 4	24	25	26 4 - 12	27
28 4 - 12	29 4 - 12	30	DEC 1 8 - 4	2	3 12 - 8	4 8 - 4
5	6 8 - 4	7 12 - 8	8	9 12 - 8	10 4 - 12	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20 12 - 8	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	JAN 1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31	FEB. 1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8		10	11	12 4 - 12