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NORMAL VIOLENCE, CLEAN MONEY, EASY SEX AND ROUTINE LYING:
THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL WORLDS
IN THE POLICEMAN'S CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1982

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IN THE POLICEMAN'S CONSTRUCTION OF REALITY

by

JENNIFER HUNT

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

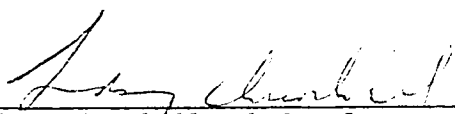
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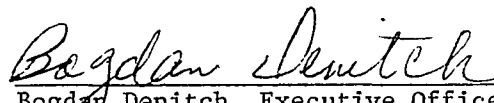
This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 25, 1982
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PREFACE

Material for this dissertation was gathered during an approximately one and a half year period of participant observation in a large urban police department in the United States referred to as the "Metro City P.D." The field work took place in the late 1970's. I spent several months attending the Police Academy with male and female recruits and then began to work in one man cars with rookies and some male veteran officers. I worked on 4x12 and occasionally 12x8 shifts in six high crime districts. In the last few years, I have continued to gather additional data through informal interviews with major informants.

The study of Metro City police took place in the context of the introduction of women to uniformed patrol as a result of a legal suit filed by a policewoman plaintiff and the Justice Department charging discrimination in the hiring and promotion of female officers. I was one of six observers hired to study the patrol performance of the first ninety-nine female officers to join the ranks of uniformed patrol. I also had administrative responsibilities to help coordinate project activities, construct the experimental design and train three other observers.

The study was highly political. The city had contracted an independent consulting firm which then hired me as an "evaluator." Gradually it became apparent that the firm was indirectly controlled by the city which had an investment in the production of scientific

results which would prove that women did not have the physical or emotional capacity to handle police patrol work. With the firm's cooperation, the city planned to use the evaluation to bolster its legal case against the female officers.

In order to preserve the integrity of the study while protecting my own position, it became necessary to hire a lawyer to negotiate an employment contract with the firm. As a result, two other observers and I became increasingly alienated from city officials as well as the firm. Our employer feared that our refusal to sign the agreement approved by the city would ruin his chances of renewing the consulting contract and create adverse publicity which might destroy his reputation. At the same time, our refusal to sign the approved agreement placed the city in an awkward position. If we did not sign an oath of silence about the project, we might reveal information which could compromise the city's case against the women in court. We could also embarrass the police department by revealing the political shenanigans surrounding the alleged "objective" study of patrol performance.

The contract dispute with the firm was eventually settled in our favor. However, field observations were conducted in an atmosphere of intimidation and paranoia. Although relations with the elite were strained, my political stance did not appear to alienate me from rank and file officers. In fact, once I revealed that I was neither a city nor a federal spy many police officers came to my aid. They either opposed the regime themselves, supported an honest study or simply trusted me not to betray them to superiors. In addition, many female officers felt the study provided their only opportunity to prove

competence and thereby maintain their jobs in uniformed patrol.

Ultimately, the evaluation study did confirm the competence of women officers in spite of opposing data introduced in court by the department and the city. Thus, the Justice Department and the plaintiff won their legal case and women assumed positions previously dominated by men. However, the judge delayed his decision until after the mayor lost his bid for reelection when it was inevitable that a new regime would take power.

Although I had spent a year working on patrol as an observer on another study of male and female officers in New York City. I was not personally interested in writing a dissertation about women or sexual discrimination. However, the experience in Metro City forced me to reconsider my academic concerns. The female officers had conducted a courageous struggle against overwhelming political opposition. I owed these women an explanation for why they had to suffer in order to gain even minimal equality with policemen colleagues. At the same time, I wanted to understand why the department went to such extremes to sabotage a simple study and keep women off the force. This dissertation attempts to answer these questions through a symbolic analysis of the underlying logic of sexist ideology among police.

As the actual location of events is of little importance to my study, I have tried to disguise the names of places and people in order to protect the anonymity of individual police officers. However, I have not hidden political and historical information which is crucial to my analysis. Although some people will recognize the identity of Metro City as a result, I have tried my best to fulfil my ethical

commitment to the subjects of study without sacrificing sociological integrity.

My most profound intellectual debt is owed to my friend and teacher Lindsey Churchill. Without his support and commitment I would not have written this dissertation nor any other. There is no way to express my appreciation.

I am also grateful to Bill DiFazio who has made me feel that I have something special to say.

Jim Birch and Marie DeMay Della Guardia have both given generous assistance. Jim has read several drafts of this manuscript and provided invaluable criticism. Marie has been a model of courage and competence as well as an extraordinary teacher and friend.

I would like to thank Leslie Fleck and Bob Spiegelman for their technical assistance in the preparation of this manuscript. I am particularly appreciative of Leslie Fleck who typed the final draft.

Many other people have provided intellectual encouragement during my years in college and graduate school. I am particularly grateful to Michael Brown, Margery Franklin, Eve Hochwald, Delmos Jones, William Kornblum, Regala Muggli, Joyce Riegelhaupt, Dean Savage, Peter Schneider, Sydel Silverman, Charles Winick, my two brothers Samuel P. Hunt III and Tom Hunt and my father Samuel P. Hunt.

Finally, I would like to thank all the police officers whom I have known. They showed me a world which changed my own. They taught me sociology.

This dissertation is dedicated to my father and mother, Lindsey Churchill and Vivian Fromberg.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study provides an analysis of the introduction of women into the male domain of uniformed police patrol in one major urban area referred to as the Metro City P.D. My own observations of male and female police officers assigned to work high crime areas in two large cities confirm the view that women can handle the crime fighting, combat, rescue, peacekeeping and social service aspects of policework as well as men. Most comparative, quantitative studies of patrol performance also confirm the competence of female officers (see, for example, Bloch, Anderson and Gervais, 1974; Bloch, Anderson and Gervais, 1973; Sichel, Friedman, Quint and Smith, 1977).

In spite of the general consensus that women can handle most occupations traditionally defined as male, much formal and informal resistance remains. My own field experience, for example, took place in the context of a discrimination suit filed by the Justice Department and a policewoman plaintiff against a police department which violently opposed women in the ranks. The Department assumed that women did not have the physical strength to handle the crime fighting, combat and rescue aspects of policework. In cities such as Washington, D.C. and New York, where liberal administrators formally encouraged women to join, informal opposition and differential treatment still prevailed (see, for example, Martin, 1980; Remington, 1981). The resistance to the introduction of

women in male defined occupations, therefore, remains largely mysterious. Although "sexist" attitudes and role expectations regarding male and female behaviors are viewed as major sources of male resistance to women, the attitudes themselves are taken for granted and perceived as intractable products of "traditionalism" (see Martin, 1980:27). Thus The underlying rationality of male ideology and resistance to women remains unexplored. In this study I analyze the hidden logic of sexist ideology through an exploration of the psychological and cultural meaning of femininity in the context of masculine gender construction among policemen.

Review of the Literature

Role Theory

Although there are few qualitative studies of women in policing available, one recent publication (Martin, 1980) discusses the issue of integration and resistance from the perspective of role theory (for a similar analysis in different settings, see Bernard, 1978; Kanter, 1977; Epstein, 1970). Martin suggests that resistance to the integration of women into formal and informal structures of police organization result from a conflict between her sexual status and occupational role. In particular, occupational norms which dictate appropriate behaviors for male police officers contradict social expectations regarding proper female behavior.

For policewomen sex role norms of appropriate
"female" behavior conflict with occupational role

definitions of behavior appropriate for a police office, affecting day-to-day occupational interactions of policewomen and evoking a variety of interactional dilemmas. (Martin, 1980:17)

Role expectations regarding womanly behavior structure workplace interaction and limit the officers' acceptance by male peers who assume that feminine characteristics are incompatible with opposing masculine "core traits" (aggressiveness, toughness, etc.) which are compatible with the occupational definition of a good cop (see Ibid., 1980:88-89).

Depending on whether the policemen perceive the women as more cop or more female, they are ". . . cast into limiting sex role stereotypes in which they are treated either as subordinate 'ladies' or as sexual objects. . ." (205). Alternatively, they are desexualized or defeminized and viewed as mothers, sisters or lesbians.

In interaction on the job, policemen cast female officers into several stereotypic roles which closely reflect their linguistic categories for dealing with women (Kanter, 1974) and place themselves in parallel counterroles (Bradford et al., 1975) which have a semi-sexual basis, limit participants behavioral options, and are particularly harmful for policewomen's work performance. These role pairs include the seductress and the "macho"; the helpless maiden and the chivalrous knight; the pet and protective father; and the nurturant mother and the tough warrior. Women are pressed to choose among the sexually available seductress ("broad") and the sexually inactive maiden, mother, ("Lady") and pet ("girl") roles or be labeled lesbian, bitch, or 'funny' for their failure to flirt, foster the men's sense of masculinity, or acknowledge men's superiority. (Ibid., 151)

As children, boys and girls internalize norms regarding the sex

appropriate behaviors which constrain their everyday activity as adults.

These culturally defined sex roles are learned from infancy, becoming a basic part of an individual's self concept. Often taken for granted, they condition interactions in which all individuals participate, but because they are ubiquitous, are often ignored or taken as "given" by sociologists analyzing the social interaction of male and female actors in other role performances. (Ibid., 18)

A woman's biological inheritance also structures interaction and constrains her social behavior. Her relative physical weakness feeds men's fears that she has neither the physical strength nor emotional endurance to back them up in a dangerous situation or hold her own in physical combat (see Ibid., 88, 117, 129). If she lifts weights to build her strength or participates in other kinds of "masculine" activities approved by men for men, she ". . . does so at the expense of 'womanliness' since a muscular woman is viewed as unfeminine." (Ibid., 121)

Finally, women are also constrained by the formal organization itself. The administration advocates a policy of assimilation which assumes that men and women should be treated the same (Ibid., 109). Given the natural contradiction between her roles as female and police officer, the department's policy serves to perpetuate role conflict and inhibit job performance by not recognizing the differences between men and women and the overwhelming constraints which limit the behavior of female officers. Thus,

By adopting an assimilation model the department implies that the women must be like the men and

where there are differences, it is the women who must change to overcome the handicaps imposed by their prior experience, the men's attitudes, and departmental policy. (Ibid., 109)

Martin goes on to explore how women adapt to the interactional dilemmas and conflicting demands imposed by the contradiction in roles and concludes that "policewomen" give up their feminine identity in order to preserve their feminine status.

A policewoman must choose between defeminization (and its emphasis on occupational role obligations) and deprofessionalization (and emphasis on meeting sex role norms while on the job). Those who adopt the former option I have called policewomen; those who choose the latter policewomen. (Ibid., 186)

Nevertheless, the careers of both policewomen and policewomen are limited because they are excluded from access to informal organizational structures on the basis of their sexual status. These informal structures control the distribution of strategic resources and are essential to upward mobility (Ibid., 157; see also Kanter, 1977).

Advocates of role theory make several problematic assumptions regarding the nature of men and women which limit their understanding of social process. Martin, for example, assumes that the behavior of major players is structured in terms of role demands and expectations from a variety of sources including the formal and informal organization of the police department, male colleagues and the internalized "script" of the women themselves. She therefore paints a picture of the police officer as a passive actor who is victimized by organizational, social, psychological and biological constraints which lie outside her control.

In contrast to some interactionists whose concept of role

distancing (Goffman, 1961a) and secondary adjustments (Goffman, 1961b) at least allows for the possibility of resistance to roles and norms, Martin's police remain prisoners of their gender without choice or creativity. They neither transform their world nor resist its constraints but simply adapt to a given set of structural circumstances.

Role players appear to lack consciousness. Meaning is reduced to sets of verbal and nonverbal gestures and cues which are constructed and interpreted in a preconditioned and stereotypical manner. Although role players possess the ability to communicate, they are deprived of the capacity to symbolize which clearly differentiates animals from men and social organization from culture (see Chalmers, 1980). The role theorists' stage is a world with signals but no symbolic meaning.

In contrast, ethnomethodologists view social facts as ongoing accomplishments rather than empirical realities which promote preconditioned responses. Man is a conscious actor who subjectively interprets and recreates his world. Thus, sexual identity as a "natural and normal fact of life" (Garfinkel, 1967:24) is an ongoing social construction. This dynamic view of gender avoids the sociobiological reductionism implicit in Martin's analysis. In addition, the proposition that gender production is an ongoing process creates cultural symbols as a new object of study. Although ethnomethodologists themselves do not study symbols, their phenomenological approach to fact production paves the way for the analysis of meaning. From this point of view we can abstract sex from social structure and redefine gender as the complex web of symbols which represent masculine and feminine sexual identity in a specific cultural context. Gender symbols are neither

natural nor biological. Instead, they are culturally constructed webs of associations which are produced and reproduced in everyday life.

The meaning of gender symbols is dynamic as well as "indexical" (see Garfinkel, 1967:4-7). A fish, for example, can have masculine significance in one context and feminine significance in another (see Freud, 1965:392-4). Meaning is also dependent on particular combinations of symbols. For example, war is generally perceived as an honorable masculine activity. The combination of sexual intercourse and war (sex and blood), however, is perceived as dangerous and polluting unless the object of sex is under control and defined as unhuman (see Friedrich, 1978:135-6).

The proposition that gender is composed of webs of "dynamic" symbols which are constructed and reconstructed in everyday life allows for a transformational view of gender which challenges the static assumptions implicit in role analysis. Individuals are not passive victims of their sexual roles, but active creators of cultural definitions. Meaning is not predetermined by organic factors which set our place in social organization, but instead is an ongoing mental process subject to elaboration, reinterpretation and invention. Thus, the same men and women who produce gender categories can also transform them. One category can become another. Metaphors which signify maleness can assume a feminine association or lose their gender identity altogether (see MacCormack, 1980:7). As gender symbols are dynamic, sexual identity itself can change, that which appears masculine can become feminine and feminine symbols can become masculine ones. The analysis of the introduction of women into male domains involves an inquiry into the

interrelations among sexual symbols and meanings within the context in which they arise (see Ortner and Whitehead, 1981:1-6). It also involves an exploration of transformations of meaning in the context of cultural change.

In summary, a major limitation of role analysis is that it is inherently conservative. The reduction of symbols to social structure does not allow for social change in the "nature" of gender. Thus, from the perspective of role theory, the introduction of women into policing is problematic because it promotes a conflict between the traditional role of women and the occupational norms that define policework as masculine (Martin, 1980:16-18). From the perspective of role theory, we can decipher four ways to handle the conflict. First, the formal organization can exclude women from the police force and thus eliminate the source of conflict altogether. Second, the men can exclude women from informal power networks which facilitate upward mobility and thereby reduce role conflict and maintain systemic stability. Third, the department can recognize the "natural" difference between men and women and treat them in a unique manner in order to decrease internal conflict. Finally, the department can promote the assimilation of women by encouraging equal treatment. Martin rejects the first two options because she views herself as a feminist (Ibid., xv) and therefore cannot encourage overt discrimination. She takes the third position by rejecting the assimilation model because she assumes that the equal treatment of men and women promotes female role conflict and thereby inhibits the success of women officers. Her assumptions however stem from the inherent conservatism of role theory rather than an

analysis of the implications of equal treatment.

In contrast, if we view conflict and social change as potential forces of liberation, then the assimilation model can be reevaluated in the light of symbolic analysis. The differential treatment of men and women encouraged by Martin tends to promote categorical stability and inhibit change. It perpetuates sex role differences which limit female performance by conflicting with occupational norms. In contrast, the equal treatment of men and women is one means to encourage the transformation and redefinition of masculinity and femininity so that policework and womanhood become compatible categories in cultural life. As meaning is psycho-cultural rather than natural, and symbols transformational, "policewomen," "policewomen," and policemen could actively construct the new category of police officer which excludes neither male nor female. Alternatively, policework itself could be redefined as women's work as well as men's.

Neo-Durkheimian Symbolic Analysis

A more enlightening view of the relation between structure and meaning is provided by the "neo-Durkheimian" (Cohen, 1980:49) school of symbolic analysis. Victor Turner's theory of liminality and Mary Douglas's analysis of pollution and danger offer particularly interesting ways to conceptualize the problem of male resistance to women in the public domain.

Turner defines liminality as an interstitial state of process in which the actor lies between two opposing realms (Turner, 1969:94-5). It involves ". . . crossing over (out of or in to) relatively stable or fixed structures or "grids" (Friedrich, 1978:132). Or, it may involve

operating "on the margins of recognized and accepted categories, rules, groups, and structures" (Friedrich, 1978:132). The attributes of liminal people are,

. . . necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. (Turner, 1969:95)

A woman who leaves the domestic sphere to become a police officer on the street could be viewed as a liminal figure. She lies between two categories which are symbolically opposed in the cultural system. These include,

Female	vs.	Male
Nature	vs.	Culture
Domestic	vs.	Public
Home	vs.	Street
Domestic Instruments e.g. pots, pans, dishes	vs.	Street Instruments e.g. guns, batons
Production For Use	vs.	Production For the Market
Kinship	vs.	Market Relations
Verbal	vs.	Physical (means to maintain control)
Real Women	vs.	Street Women (prostitutes, dykes)
Motherliness	vs.	Sexuality
Passive	vs.	Active

From this perspective, man's fear of woman lies in part from the potency and danger associated with marginality (see Friedrich, 1978:47; Douglas, 1966:116). The liminal person represents "The challenge of aberrant forms" (Douglas, 1966:52). She threatens to disrupt the social order of things. She signifies dirt which pollutes a tidy system of classification (see Douglas, 1975:53; Douglas, 1966:52). Turner explains,

One may well ask why it is that liminal situations and roles are almost everywhere attributed to magico-religious properties. Or why these souls so often be regarded as dangerous, inauspicious, or polluting to persons, objects, events, and relationships that have not been ritually incorporated into the liminal context. My view is briefly that from the perspective of those concerned with the maintenance of "structure", all sustained manifestations of *communitas* must appear as dangerous and anárchical, and have to be hedged around with prescriptions, prohibitions, and conditions. And as Mary Douglas (1966) has recently argued, that which cannot be clearly classified in terms of traditional criteria of classification, or falls between classificatory boundaries, is almost everywhere regarded as "polluting" and "dangerous". (Passim) (Turner, 1969:108-9)

In order to avoid the danger of chaos, cultural members negotiate the status of liminal people in terms of their own conceptual schemes. For example, the offender may be reclassified into a known category and treated accordingly.

If a monstrous birth can be labelled an event of a peculiar kind the categories can be restored. So the Nuer treat the monstrous births as baby hippopotamuses, accidentally born to humans and, with this labelling, the appropriate action is clear. They gently lay them in the river where they belong (Evans Pritchard, 1956:84). (Douglas, 1966:52)

The anomaly may also be physically controlled through the institution of rules which punish the violator. Overt stigmatization of the polluting person functions to limit interaction to avoid contamination. Finally, the person with liminal potential may be formally excluded from social membership before she becomes a problem at all (see Douglas, 1966:52-56).

In order to control the danger of the female police officer, for example, men may exclude her from their formal or informal activities (see Martin, 1980:157). They may institute rules of avoidance which limit interaction. For example, integrated partnerships may be prohibited or contact between the sexes discouraged by the enforcement of rules regarding moral turpitude. Finally members may handle the female officer like a "monstrous birth" and reclassify her into a known category of women whose treatment is prescribed by custom.

From this perspective, the policewoman/policewoman dichotomy proposed by Martin can be redefined. Some policewomen are composed of categories of female who belong in the domestic sphere. These include mothers, wives, sisters and daughters. The label functions to isolate the house woman from the informal world of men because fathers, brothers, husbands and sons normally protect their female kin from the corruption and violence of the street. The sexy kind of policewoman and the masculinized policewoman are classified as dykes or whores, two known categories of female who belong in the informal world of the street. The dykes are treated like part-men while the whores are viewed as sexual objects. Thus, from this perspective, sex role stereotyping constitutes a means to neutralize the danger of ambiguity inherent in

the category of female police officer, a liminal status which combines the oppositional attributes of active-female, woman with a gun, woman on the street, violent-female and so forth.

Although both Douglas and Turner recognize the mind as an active force in the construction of everyday life and thus avoid the role theorist's reduction of consciousness to social structure, they still reproduce the assumptions of functionalism. Thus, neither the role theorist nor the new-Durkheimian symbolists allow for social change. Douglas, for example, implies that liminal persons cannot actively transform social categories. Instead, the system responds to the introduction of disruptive elements by adjusting in traditional ways and maintaining systemic stability. Turner, on the other hand does recognize the importance of developing a more dynamic approach to the study of consciousness which can account for cultural and social transformation. He explains,

By verbal and nonverbal means of classification we impose upon ourselves innumerable constraints and boundaries to keep chaos at bay, but often at the cost of failing to make discoveries and inventions: that is to say, not all instances of subversion of the normative are deviant or criminous. Yet in order to live, to breathe, and to generate novelty, human beings have had to create--by structural means--spaces and times in the calendar or, in the cultural cycles of their most cherished groups which cannot be captured in the classificatory nets of their quotidian, routinized spheres of action. These liminal areas of time and space--rituals, carnivals, dramas, and latterly films--are open to the play of thought, feeling, and will; in them are generated new models, often fantastic, some of which may have sufficient power and plausibility to replace eventually the force-backed political and jural models that control the centers of society's ongoing life. (Turner, 1969:vii)

The antistructural liminality provided in the cores of ritual and aesthetic forms represents the reflexivity of the social process, wherein society becomes at once subject and direct object; it represents also its subjective mood, where suppositions, desires, hypotheses, possibilities, and so forth, all become legitimate. We have been too prone to think, in static terms, that cultural superstructures are passive mirrors, mere reflections of substructural productive modes and relations or of the political processes that enforce the dominance of the productively privileged. If we were as dialectical as we claim to be, we would see that it is more a matter of an existential bending back upon ourselves: the same plural subject is the active superstructure that assesses the substructural and structural modalities that we also are. (Ibid., vii)

In his actual analysis, however, Turner also assumes that marginal persons pass through interstitial states to obtain a permanent status in the social world. For example, an individual who is becoming a police officer passes from one permanent status to an opposing one. He goes from civilian to cop. In transit, however, he assumes the liminal status of recruit or rookie. As such he is neither civilian nor cop but something "betwixt and between." When he leaves the academy and spends some time on the street, he loses his liminal status and ultimately assumes the identity as a real cop.

In contrast to the ethnomethodologist who views the construction of social categories as an ongoing process, Turner appears to take the nonliminal states for granted. If a social category such as masculinity or politeness was as secure as Turner implies, then the introduction of female officers would not appear so threatening. In fact, interstitial persons are only dangerous because they bring out the underlying instability of nonliminal states. Consequently it is essential to view the construction of gender and

social identity in general as ongoing processes if we are to understand the meaning of the feminization of policing and the underlying logic of male resistance to women in the public domain.

The theory of liminality also assumes that non-liminal categories are pure. The feminine woman, for example, is perceived as all-passive while the masculine man is completely active. The creativity of women is realized fully in childbirth. In contrast, the creativity of men is expressed in the workplace. Role theorists take a similar view regarding the sexual purity of gender roles. Parsons, for example, suggests that

One major part of the process of growing up is the internalization of one's own sex role as a critical part of the self-image. It may well be that this way of looking at the process will have the advantage of making the assumption of constitutional bisexuality at least partly superfluous as an explanation of the individual's sex identification. In any case it has the great advantage of linking the determinization of sex categorization directly with the role structure of the social system in a theoretical as well as empirical sense. (Parsons, 1953:22)

Although Parsons acknowledges that a child may "learn to love" through interaction with the mother, his masculine self is viewed as a product of identification with his father. Girls in contrast construct feminine gender through the internalization of sexual roles in relation to mothers.

Although the characteristics typically associated with gender may dominate a person's socio-sexual identity, they are not pure. Thus women have masculine strivings (see Crossman and Steward, 1977) and

incorporate aspects of their fathers into their psycho-social identity (see, for example, Kestenberg et al., 1982; Tessman, 1982). Similarly, men have passive wishes and procreative desires (see, for example, Jaffe, 1977; Ross, 1982a, 1982b, 1982c). Thus, there is a "mother in every man" (Ross, 1982a:9) and a father in every woman. From this perspective, the introduction of women in a male domain takes on new significance. Feminization is polluting in part because it activates a man's repressed wish to be "like a woman." If he cannot integrate his "feminine" desires with his masculine self, he experiences danger. If nonliminal categories and sexual roles were pure and maleness did not involve femaleness, then the presence of women would not violate masculinity and anomolous states would seem less dangerous.

Unconscious and Sociological Role Theory

As role theory does not recognize the conscious activity of the mind as an autonomous force in the construction of social life, it cannot explore the realm of unconscious cultural or psychological meaning. Consequently, role analysis is limited to a superficial description of surface events rather than an explanation of these phenomena in terms of hidden dynamics. For example, following Kanter (1977), Martin acknowledges that men engage in a number of discriminatory practices including "sex role stereotyping" (Martin, 1980:151), the treatment of women as sexual objects (Ibid., 148, 149, 152), and ultimately the exclusion of women from participation in their informal social and political world (13-15). As Martin has no explanation for

for sexist ideology and behavior, she attributes it to the ". . . forces of traditionalism and resistance to change, . . . (which) have retarded the hiring of policewomen" (Ibid., 27). Thus, from the perspective of role theory, contemporary sexist ideology is caused by traditional sexist ideology. Alternatively, sexist ideology is viewed as a reflection of social roles which, themselves are manifestations of internalized norms learned as a child.

Parsons, for example, deals with the unconscious in culture by excluding the "id" from sociological analysis. He then collapses the ego into the superego and defines the resulting construction as the external culture internalized through the process of identification.

The above considerations have important implications for the nature of the process of identification in so far as that is the principal mechanism by which the superego is acquired. If this analysis is correct, the crucial problem concerns the process of internalization of the common culture, including all three of its major components--the cognitive reference system, the system of expressive symbolism, and the system of moral standards. (Parsons, 1953:19)

Learning one's sex role is, of course, a critical part of the internalization of culture and the formation of the Parsonian superego.

The role theorist's concentration on surface phenomenon leads them to accept actor's explanations of behavior as true causal statements because they reflect internalized norms. Sexism, however, cannot be explained by reference to statements which embody the very phenomenon we are trying to explore. After all, ". . . conscious models, which are usually known as 'norms', are by definition very poor ones, since they are not intended to explain the phenomenon but

to perpetuate them" (Levi-Strauss, 1973:181).

In addition, the actor's explanation of his beliefs and practices may not necessarily seem logical to the social theorist. Policemen, for example claim that women should be excluded from units such as the robbery squad and canine because they are too weak to handle violent criminals and rough dogs (Martin, 1980:129). Yet my own observations as well as quantitative studies (Bloch, Anderson and Gervais, 1973; Bloch, Anderson and Gervais, 1974; Sichel, Friedman, Quint and Smith, 1977) confirm that women can handle violent criminals. Although the training of police dogs is rigorous (the dog is trained to bite by attacking the policeman's arm which is wrapped in a protective shield of rags and leather), it takes courage, not strength. Furthermore, if women are assumed to lack the physical means to handle policework, then canine is a good place for them. First, the dogs take the physical role in the pursuit of criminals and second, few canine units do much crime fighting anyway. Finally, the technology of modern combat necessitates little physical strength. In those rare instances in which fights do occur, women are certainly biologically capable of using the instruments of violence. Thus, on the surface at least the men's attitudes about women officers appear illogical.

Finally, the issue of women in policing is highly emotional. Formal and informal reactions to the introduction of women to the ranks of uniformed patrol are extreme. An event which elicits such heightened emotional responses must itself have deeper meaning.

In order to explain surface phenomena which seem irrational in view of actors' explanations or the theorists reference to empirical

structures, it is necessary to construct ". . . a theory that both generates further referants and also explains why there is more to the symbol (act or attitude) than meets the eye" (Cohen, 1980:45). We therefore need a theory of unconscious meaning which will explain the hidden logic of sexist ideology and the exclusion of women from male domains.

The Unconscious and Neo-Durkheimian Symbolic Analysis

Although most neo-Durkheimian theorists acknowledge that implicit meanings are distinct from indigenous interpretations of events (Turner, 1967:34-5), they are primarily concerned with the analysis of symbols at the socio-cultural rather than psychological level. Affect and the "dynamic unconscious" of Freud (see Cohen, 1980) are viewed as beyond the scope of sociological inquiry.

Turner, for example, clearly recognizes that,

. . . a complex relationship exists between the overt and the submerged, and the manifest and latent patterns of meaning. . . . Overt and ostensible aims and purposes of a given ritual conceal unavowed, and even "unconscious" wishes and goals. (Turner, 1967:46)

However, the analysis of unconscious symbols is viewed as outside "the limits of contemporary anthropological competence" (Ibid., 46).

For him, (the sociologist) it is enough that the ritual symbol is primarily a factor in group dynamics, and, as such, its references to the groups, relationships, values, norms, and beliefs of a society are his principle items of study. In other words, the anthropologist treats the sensory pole of meaning as a constant, and the social and ideological aspects as variables whose interdependencies he seeks to explain. (Ibid., 36-7)

Structuralism and the Unconscious

The structuralists, on the other hand, are concerned with unconscious meaning. Levi-Strauss, for example rejects "immediate and spontaneous evidence as criterion of truth. . . ." (Rossi, 1974:7) and suggests that, ". . . all forms of social life . . . consist of systems of behavior that represent the projection, on the level of conscious and socialized thought, of universal laws which regulate the unconscious activity of the mind" (Levi-Strauss, 1963:58-9; see also Rossi, 1974:16). A fundamental principle of organization of mental structures involves the human ability to make binary distinctions.

The foundation of any ultimate structures is the human ability to make binary distinctions (Levi-Strauss, 1978:22-3). By perceiving opposites or contrasts the mind builds up its perceptions of the world. One does not perceive light without knowing darkness, nor unvoiced fricatives without knowing voiced ones. But isolated contrasts are not an end in themselves, for the human mind seeks analogies with other contrastive phenomena and upon finding them encompasses the analogies into its system of classification. On a conscious level people are aware of concrete manifestations rather than the relations themselves, but for structuralists the unconscious tendency to perceive relations is fundamental to the mind. (MacCormack, 1980:2)

Foster makes a similar point in a discussion of symbolic structures.

The first assumption is that metaphor is the major law of symbolic organization and growth (Langer, 1942:119). In essence, this means that all symbolic codes, including language, are complexly organized at a deep structural level in ways that are nonarbitrary. The law of metaphor is a biological necessity for the cognitive functioning of Homo Sapiens. It creates and maintains culture by discriminating likenesses and using them as the basis for establishment of

cognitive classes that determine action. Classes and members of classes are systematically polarized with some dimension of similarity at the axis. There is a strong tendency to attach a higher value to one polar extreme and a lower value to the other. Much of social interaction is involved in reaction to, or manipulation of, these binary judgements. (Foster, 1980:372)

Sherry Ortner, for example, applies structuralist principles to explore the nature of sexist ideology, in particular the universal fact of female subordination. She attempts to expose "the underlying logic of cultural thinking that assumes the inferiority of women" (Ortner, 1974:68). Ortner suggests that as a result of woman's physiological makeup and social role as mother, she is viewed as a "mediator" who is symbolically closer to nature, as opposed to man who is associated with culture. "Since it is always culture's project to subsume and transcend nature, if women were considered part of nature, then culture would find it 'natural' to subordinate, not to say oppress them" (Ibid., 73).

The structuralist's recognition of the unconscious principle of binary opposition as a structural law of cognitive organization contributes much to the analysis of culture as a symbolic system. Ortner's article, for example, does offer a brilliant explanation for an assumed cultural universal. However, she offers only a partial solution to the limitations imposed by role theory. The concern for form over content (Rossi, 1964:17-8) and the search for universal, invariant structures (Ibid., 19) can explain neither variation nor transformation in the meaning of cultural symbols. Ortner, for example, cannot account for changes which occur in the cultural construction of the nature/culture, female/male dichotomy in relation

to historical transformations in the structural position of women in different societies (see, for example, Bloch and Bloch, 1980). As a result, the structuralists tend to reinforce the traditional sociological view that men are passive victims of forces beyond their control. Levi-Strauss, however, locates the sources of constraint in the unconscious infrastructure of the mind while the role theorist finds it in the social organization of roles and norms which exist as objective realities outside the actor's consciousness.

Psychoanalysis and Gender Symbolism

Psychoanalytically-oriented sociologists offer a different approach to the analysis of gender identity and unconscious meaning. Nancy Chodorow, for example, accepts Ortner's explanation of sexist ideology. However she adds a psychodynamic dimension to the formal logic of structuralist analysis. In particular, she describes how

. . . elements of social structure, . . . as transmitted through the organization of parenting as well as the features of individual families, are appropriated and transformed internally through unconscious processes and come to influence affective life and psychic structure. (Chodorow, 1978:51)

From the perspective of object relations theory in psychoanalysis, she explores the process through which exclusive female mothering produces men and women who exhibit gender personalities traditionally associated with masculine and feminine roles in industrial capitalist society.

Women as mothers, produce daughters with mothering capacities and the desire to mother. These capacities and needs are built

into and grow out of the mother-daughter relationship itself. By contrast, women as mothers (and men as not-mothers) produce sons whose nurturant capacities and needs have been systematically curtailed and repressed. This prepares men for primary participation in the impersonal extra-familial world of work and public life. (Ibid., 7)

Object relations theory is particularly concerned with transformations in psychic structure in relation to the process of separation-individuation of the young child in relation to both parents. The early relations between mother, father and infant provide a basis for subsequent transformations in psychosexual identity in the context of the child's biological, instinctual and cognitive growth.

Object relations theory explores the infant's journey from a state of absolute dependence on the mother who is perceived as part of himself to a state of relative independence in which he views himself as separate from her. The separation-individuation struggle is thus the major process in which the mother is psychically transformed from a "subjective object" to an "object objectively perceived" by the infant (see Winnicott, 1965). As the child emerges from the state of absolute dependence and begins to relate to separate people, the father assumes a crucial role in the individuation process. In particular, he facilitates the process of "disidentification" (Greenson, 1968) with the preoedipal mother which is basic to the development of independence and sexual differentiation in both male and female children (see also Stoller, 1977; Cath, Gurwitt and Ross, 1982; Abelin, 1971). On the one hand, he provides a shield to protect the child against mother's impulses to prolong the mother-

infant symbiosis (Tyson, 1982:178). Greenspan explains,

Thus, optimally, father is temporarily available as an ally to help the youngster pull out of the dyadic drama. One may imagine the father's offering his hand to the youngster who is trying to swim to shore, while fighting off the malevalent phallic dragons that wish once again to submerge the child in the dangerous undifferentiated waters (even though the "phallic dragons" may be in part products of the youngster's own imagination). The picture of the secure second other on the shoreline is a tremendous boost in helping the youngster to climb out of the water. (Greenspan, 1982:135)

On the other hand, the father provides an alternative "defined gender object" (Ibid., 135) to facilitate early sexual differentiation from the mother in both boys and girls and thus "prepare for stable movement into triangular relationship patterns characteristic of the phallic-oedipal phase of development" (Ibid., 134).

Here the identification, or the transient fantasy of being like father even without full-fledged organized identifications, helps the youngster consolidate, either transiently (as in little girls) or more permanently (as in boys), the early phallic self-organization.

The father also plays a particularly important role in the consolidation of male core gender identity in boys (Stoller, 1977; Tyson, 1982) by helping him resolve his primary identification with the mother.

Thus, while the mother represents the submerged self of the infant, the father signifies the emerging self to the individuating child. Inside maternal space is symbolically contrasted to outside

paternal space in the child's struggle for identity. While mother's zone represents a safe "home-base" for the child, father's sphere is perceived as new and exciting (Abelin, 1971:238-9). Thus, in the process of development the child gradually leaves the inside world of the mother to explore new regions associated with the father. As the "other-outside," the father provides support against reengulfment inside the maternal domain. At the same time he presents the child with an exciting alternative reality (Ibid., 231).

During this subphase, the relationship with the father acquired a quality quite different from that with the mother. He became the "other", the "different" parent, not just the secondary mothering figure. . . . The father became associated with specific practicing modes of upright position, dexterity, brightness, and intensity of sensations--with the special quality of elation and discovery. At times of distress, fatigue or need, however, or at night, most infants would turn once again to the symbiotic mother for physical and emotional comforting.

. . . . By then, father was no longer an outpost, but a safe way station on the journey into the outer world. . . .

The regressive imagery and intense ambivalence appeared specifically linked to the mother image. Meanwhile the father continued to be taken for granted: he represented a stable island of external reality, carrying over his role from the lost practicing paradise. (Ibid., 238-40)

Boys as well as girls envy their mother's capacity to bear and nurture children and therefore wish to share her creative abilities. Ross explains,

A boy further seeks to endow himself with the gifts of both male and female and to fashion for himself an identity not simply, as Freud had it, of the polymorphous "little pervert," but somewhat more discriminately of a "little hermaphrodite." He would have breasts like his mother's and use them as he sees her use them, to feed with or simply to "have." More intuitively, he would be full, possessed of her womb as he conceives of it, and bear babies just as she does. (Ross, 1982c:194-5)

In most cases, however, childbearing fantasies in boys eventually become problematic (Ibid., 197). The father then provides a masculine alternative for the boy's ambivalent identification with his mother and thereby paves the way for a future integration of the feminine desire for procreativity within the masculine framework of paternal love.

The boy who associates these inner feelings with delivering a baby inevitably becomes angry with his mother when he discovers that she has usurped all rights for reproduction for herself and the female sex. This period of dissatisfaction with his inability to produce babies is, however, much shorter than that of the girl. . . . Encouraged by his parents and older siblings, he begins to aggrandize his penis at the expense of inner genitality, which he is then moved to deny. With this, innergenitality is depreciated, and the mother comes to be pitied rather than idealized as a bearer of children. As for himself, he no longer wants to become a mommy. Resting on the successful development through the inner-genital phase, and evolving from maternal identifications, a new phase is entered, earmarked by emerging phallic and subsequently paternal ambitions. (Kestenberg et al., 1982:211-212)

These early struggles for individuation and gender identity are reactivated and transformed during the oedipal period and later in

adolescence. Both boys and girls must renounce maternal dependency and defend against regression to infantile passivity. While the girl ultimately transforms the original libidinal object to men and identifies with the mother, the boy abandons his passive identification with the mother and his wish for a child. He transforms a passive relation to women into an active one as he begins to identify with the father and compete with him for the mother's love. The boy resolves his youthful oedipal rivalry by confronting his relative weakness and postponing the fulfillment of his libidinal desires until the future when he can have a woman of his own.

Chodorow is less concerned with the father's role in individuation and gender formation than the mother's place in the perpetration of dependency among female children. Thus, she explores how the differential relations between mothers and infants of the opposite sex are critical not only to the development of "core gender identity" (see Stoller, 1977), but to adult personality as a whole. She suggests that mothers tend to experience male and female children in unique ways. Female babies are perceived as more continuous with the mother. Consequently, the girl tends to remain part of the "dyadic primary mother-child relationship" longer than the boy. Thus, she "continues to experience herself as involved in issues of merging and separation, and in an attachment characterized by primary identification and the fusion of identification with object choice. By contrast, mothers experience their sons as a male opposite. Boys are more likely to have been pushed out of the preoedipal relationship, and to have had to curtail their primary love and sense of empathetic tie

with their mother" (Chodorow, 1978:75). While girls establish a personal identification with their mothers as feminine objects, boys tend to develop a "positional identification" (Ibid., 75) with less personal aspects of the masculine role.

A boy must attempt to develop a masculine gender identification and learn the masculine role in the absence of a continuous and ongoing personal relationship to his father (and in the absence of a continuously available masculine role model). This positional identification occurs both psychologically and sociologically. Psychologically, as is clear from descriptions of the masculine oedipus complex, boys appropriate those specific components of masculinity of their father than they fear will be otherwise used against them, but do not as much identify diffusely with him as a person. Sociologically, boys in father-absent and normally father-remote families develop a sense of what it is to be masculine through identification with cultural images of masculinity and men chosen as masculine roles. . . . males tend to identify with a cultural stereotype of the masculine role; females tend to identify with aspects of their own mother's role specifically. (Ibid., 176)

While the girl maintains aspects of the primary tie in her oedipal identification with the mother, a boy tends to repress inner qualities perceived as feminine and reject and devalue women in order to separate himself from primary ties and establish masculine identity (Ibid., 181-2).

The unique relationship between boys, girls and their parents serves to reproduce particular personality attributes which are traditionally associated with feminine and masculine roles in industrial capitalist society. Thus women appear more passive, dependent and personal than boys. Their ego boundaries seem more

diffuse. Boys, in contrast, seem more active and independent with well-defined ego boundaries. Chodorow explains,

Women's role in the home and primary definition in social reproductive, sex-gender terms are characterized by particularism, concern with affective goals and ties, and a diffuse, unbounded quality. Masculine occupational roles and men's primary definition in the sphere of production are universalistically defined and recruited, and are less likely to involve affective considerations. This nonrelational, economic and political definition informs the rest of their lives. The production of feminine personalities oriented toward relational issues and masculine personalities defined in terms of categorical ties and the repression of relation fits these roles and contributes to their reproduction. (Ibid., 180)

In summary, the reproduction of exclusive female mothering serves to reinforce and perpetuate the very structural divisions of the larger society which oppress women and maintain male dominance, in particular, the rigid division between a low status, feminine domestic sphere associated with nature and a high status, masculine public domain associated with culture (see Rosaldo, 1974; Ortner, 1974).

Thus, we can define and articulate certain broad universal sexual asymmetries in the social organization of gender generated by women's mothering. Women's mothering determines women's primary location in the domestic sphere and creates a basis for the structural differentiation of domestic and public spheres. But these spheres operate hierarchically. Kinship rules organize claims of men on domestic units, and men dominate kinship. Culturally and politically, the public sphere dominates the domestic, and hence men dominate women. (Chodorow, 1978:9-10)

Although Chodorow provides a brilliant exploration of the

of the effects of "too much mothering" on the psycho-social role of women in industrial capitalist society, she takes for granted the meaning of "too little fathering." She therefore reproduces in her methodology the same distant father who is institutionalized in the social organization of the family itself. In fact, a deeper understanding of remote fathering would strengthen her analysis of the reproduction of mothering. It would also clarify the relation between the devaluation of women and the construction of masculine gender which is implicit in her argument.

Remote fathering can contribute to problems of dependency in male as well as female children. The unavailability of the father "robs children of the necessary counterpoint to the mother" (see Ross, 1982b:26) in the separation-individuation process. Consequently, the "fatherless" child is more likely to experience a deeper dread of drowning; of sinking back into a state of selflessness than the child who successfully resolves his struggles for autonomy with his father's helping hand.

A personal relationship to the father is also helpful in diffusing the child's aggressive impulses. Since he is not "able to differentiate self from nonself fully, personal aggressive feelings and those of others are frightening" (Greenspan, 1982:127). Consequently, the availability of a second adult who is not the object of anger provides him with some measure of safety to pursue the task of individuation.

I would speculate that the ability to run to the significant second other for comforting at these

times enhances the flexibility of the youngster's capacity for initiative and further behavioral and emotional organization. Thus, the presence of the second significant other also helps the youngster to integrate and deal with aggressive feelings, particularly towards the primary object. (Ibid., 127-8)

The child who suffers "father hunger" (Herzog, 1982:163), therefore, may have difficulty integrating feelings of aggression with love and passivity with assertion. In conjunction with problems in developing gender identification, the child could also begin to harbor deep hostility towards women who unconsciously represent the mother as the original target of unmediated aggressive stirrings.

The "fatherless child" may also suffer gender confusion. On the one hand, he does not have a father to help him integrate his "feminine" desire to create and nurture children with his masculine self. He must therefore deny his feminine wishes and envy of women in order to achieve a more secure sense of manhood. The child also has a limited personal relationship with the imagined "good father" who "is there to be loved, imitated, and introjected" (Ross, 1982c:197). Consequently, he may only perceive a "bad father" who is absent, frustrating, punishing, tough and eventually rivalrous, a stereotypical he-man" (see Ibid., 200). The boy's model of masculine identification then becomes the "bad father" who is internalized as a defense against self-perceived weakness. Ross explains,

Whatever illusions of strength and promise of greatness an identification with this aggressive, sadistic, or even "bad" image of the father may appear to offer, it remains an "identification with the aggressor," a primarily defensive maneuver

designed to ward off a boy's fears for his nascent, still fragile masculinity and to counter his sense of inadequacy. Moreover, such an identification is fruitless: Even some measures of success in his effort to be strong in a bold but unproductive way will not enable a boy to feel fertile and creative, to fulfill his sensuality, and to assuage the hurts suffered as a consequence of his body's barrenness. Another sense of the father and of his future is needed if a boy is to atone for these (potential) lacks within himself. (Ibid., 200)

Kestenberg et al. adds,

Further, we theorize that the adult man's paternal stance is determined by the interplay and successful integration of two tendencies. These involve (1) inner-genitality and an underlying identification with the nurturing mother, and (2) a phallic outer-genitality which is buttressed by the boy's identification with his seemingly self-sufficient father. We have observed that in phases wherein inner-genital needs are accentuated, and when there is identification with the mother as nurturer, there is a greater tendency to externalize inner-genital impulses into body care and affection. When phallic narcissism predominates in an excessive identification with the "pure" male is present, love tends to be considered demeaning and sentimental; rather, one's own and one's child's worth is measured by prowess. (Kestenberg et al., 1982:207)

The "pure male" child therefore exaggerates the provider-protector aspects of his masculine role and avoids the nurturing ones (see Kestenberg et al., 1982). As a result he cannot be a "good enough father" because fathering represents a regression to unresolved feminine states.

Pure maleness is unsuitable for effective fathering, just as pure femaleness is unsuitable for good mothering. To become truly paternal or maternal, individuals of each sex must borrow certain characteristics from those of the other: That

borrowing is the essence of their bisexuality.
(Kestenberg et al., 1982:206)

Thus, remote fathering and exclusive mothering combine to produce men with fragile psychosexual identities. The total masculinity such men manifest provides a defense against overwhelming fears of the loss of individuality and gender identity. Thus, the fatherless boy is more likely to stress the negative aspect of his relationship with the mother rather than the positive libidinal attachment because the latter is associated with loss of identity while the former provides a defense against regression to infantile passivity.¹ He therefore must reject and devalue women in order to feel complete as a man. At the same time, the "fatherless" boy is more likely to internalize his conception of the "bad father" as a defense against the fear of paternal castration. At the same time he must repress his desire for "maternal inner riches" and invest his penis (the symbol of masculine power and control) and the outside world with greater importance (see Herzog, 1982:311). He thus pursues at all costs the "positive, positional" identification with the social role of the real man as the rescuer who provides one more defense against maternal reengulfment. He becomes a superman in the outside world.

In summary, the fatherless child reproduces remote fathering in his sons in the same way that pure mothers reproduce exclusive female mothering in their daughters. Remote fathers and exclusive mothers therefore both contribute to a social organization which supports the separation of a low status feminine sphere where women nurture and care for innocent children and a high status masculine

domain where men aggressively pursue their activities as wage earner, provider and protector of the home. At the same time, the social organization of domestic and public spheres and the sexual division of labor which relegates women to inside domains reinforces the family structure which limits the role of the father in childcare. As a result precarious masculine gender identity becomes an institutionalized phenomenon and thus the mark of normal men. The rejection and devaluation of women then are necessary aspects of male psychosexual development because they defend against regression and disguise unresolved feminine desires.

Chodorow's analysis of the unconscious process involved in the reproduction of mothering coupled with a psychoanalytic understanding of the development of masculine gender identity contribute much to our understanding of the internal logic of sexist ideology.

In contrast to the assumptions of Neo-Durkheimian symbolists and role theorists, psychoanalysis postulates a complex process of bisexual identification in the construction of masculine and feminine genders. Gender identity is not internalized in one Parsor.ian gulp. Thus there are no pure distinctions between policewomen and policewomen or female and male officers. At the same time there are no stable oppositions between feminine and masculine categories such as nature/culture, domestic/public, passive/active. The oppositions simply appear pure because they are defensively created to preserve a social order based on the repression or transformation of opposing fantasies and desires regarding gender identity.

Beneath the manifest world which actors construct to define

their daily lives lie layers of unconscious meanings which may contradict the obvious ones. The danger of liminal phenomenon such as active female or women in masculine domain can be fully understood only through the analysis of these unconscious psycho-social symbols as well as the cultural ones. Thus the introduction of women to policing represents many things. On the one hand, it signifies the pollution of a tidy social order (see Douglas, 1966). On the other hand, it represents the destruction of the policeman's identity as a separate person and a masculine individual. The exclusion of women is therefore necessary not only to preserve a social order but to maintain the policeman's psycho-social identity.

The following chart (see table 1) begins to outline some of the unconscious symbols which may be activated by the presence of women in masculine domains. Beneath the split between inside and outside domains such as the domestic and public worlds or the academy and the street, lies an unconscious dichotomy. Inside is ultimately associated with female sexuality and procreativity. In contrast outside is invested with male sexuality and the positive or positional identification of a boy with his father. Working inside therefore assumes an emasculating quality for normal men with a precarious sense of psychosexual identity. Working inside activates unconscious conflict which revolves around the child's wish to nurture and have babies. The real man must repress such desires or lose his sense of manhood. Similarly, a woman who leaves the domestic world and works on the street

TABLE 1

SYMBOLIC CHART OF CULTURAL AND UNCONSCIOUS EQUATIONS

Self	Other
Subject	Object
Mother	Father
Female	Male
Nature	Culture
Domestic Sphere	Public Sphere
Home	Street
Inside (self)	Outside (other)
Inside (female sexuality)	Outside (male sexuality)
Inside Spheres	Outside Spheres
Home	Street
Academy	Street
JAD	Uniform Patrol low crime
IAB	Uniform Patrol high crime
Research and Planning	Plainclothes vice
Public Relations Bureau	Stakeout
	Highway
	Anticrime (ACT)
	Narcotics
	Homicide
Inside work/women's work	Outside work/men's work
Feminine Characteristics	Masculine Characteristics
passivity	activity
irrational	rationality
emotional	nonemotional
verbal	physical
subjective	objective
Formal World	Informal World
Female/Mother/Clean	Male/Father/Corrupt
Real Woman	Real Man
	Negative Masculinity: participation in normal violence, easy sex, clean money and routine lying as a rejection of all that is feminine
	Positive Masculinity: identification with inaccessible father as rescuer and the participation in clean money, normal violence, easy sex, routine lying as a means to assert masculinity

is perceived as a danger. If masculinity is based on the rejection of women and their exclusion from public domains, their presence presents a serious threat to the maintenance of "defensive" or negative masculinity. At the same time, the policewoman may represent the "phallic dragon"-mother of childhood from whom he fled by assuming a positive identification with the father as the rescuer in the outside world of the street. At another level, inside is also associated with a state of symbiosis with the mother. It is self and object emerged in one entity. Outside, in contrast, represents the individuating self in relation to the father as the objective other. Unconsciously, then, women represent a loss of masculine identity and a merging of self with the mother as the primary object.

Although the nature/culture, female/male dichotomy may be universal as a result of woman's biological role as mother, its significance varies depending on the historical organization of mothering and related unconscious connections. For example, nature becomes more emphatically female and culture closer to maleness with the rise of industrial capitalism. At this time women assume the exclusive roles of mother and wife who work in the domestic sphere. Men, in contrast, adopt the status of provider who earns a living in the marketplace. Thus, women become closer to nature and men to culture as a result of the sexual segregation of domestic and public spheres. The historical change in the division of labor is related to a transformation in the organization of parenting. Men become remote fathers and women exclusive mothers. Consequently, the gender identity of nature and culture assumes the unconscious opposition of subject and

object, self and other and mother and father. At the same time, the rigid relation between culture and nature represents only a manifest opposition which disguises culture's closeness to nature and man's desire to mother.

Femininity and masculinity have unique cultural as well as psychological significance. As a result, every liminal phenomenon is not dangerous or polluting for the same reason. What signifies chaos and dirt in one cultural setting may represent order and cleanliness in another. For example, femininity assumes an association to purity and cleanliness when women begin to take on more tasks associated with childcare and nurturing. Masculinity in contrast becomes associated with corruption and vice as men assume the role of businessman-provider in the marketplace (see, for example, Demos, 1982:437). The introduction of domestic women into the public sphere therefore signifies the intrusion of something pure into something dirty. It is therefore purity which induces chaos to an untidy social order. Liminal women thus represent change more than anarchy. They could clean house in public and tidy man's dirty world. In Metro City, for example, female officers are introduced into a patronage political system which is infamous for violence and corruption. Consequently, the association between cleanliness/domestic/inside and femininity versus corruption/public/outside and masculinity assumes an additional symbolic dimension. Women are associated with the inside world of the police academy where formal rules and law are taught. Men, in contrast, are associated with the outside sphere of the street where informal rules are dominant. The introduction of the formal feminine order into the informal masculine

realm is dangerous because it implies exposure and punishment. Women may "go by the books" and expose men's illicit activities.

Theoretical Proposition

This study attempts to integrate cultural symbolism with psychoanalytic process in order to understand the hidden logic of sexist ideology and resistance to the introduction of women into the masculine domain of policing. I share the structuralists' view that men construct the world in terms of binary oppositions. However, I am less concerned with universal meanings and invariant structures than with the specific way that policemen organize their psycho-social world in terms of complex layers of oppositional symbols with masculine and feminine significance.

In contrast to both Neo-Durkheimian and role theorists, I assume that gender categories and roles have no pure meaning. Instead, the construction of masculine and feminine gender involves an unconscious and conscious process of bisexual identification. With this in mind, I explore the cultural and psychological significance of the introduction of women to policework in relation to the construction of masculine gender identity.

Following Chodorow (1978), I suggest that the social organization of parenting in industrial capitalist society is characterized by exclusive mothering and remote fathering. Men raised in such homes display a precarious sense of masculinity which, in the case of policemen, is exacerbated by the nature of the work which heightens the sense of impotence. A good policeman for example must assume an

attitude of paranoia, distrust and cynicism in relation to the public in order to maximize his safety and effectiveness in the face of unknown dangers. Thus, the policeman's defensive posture protects against an underlying sense of vulnerability endemic to policework. Daily encounters with violence, death, sickness and suffering also increase his sense of weakness. Finally, he feels powerless to do his job, prevent crime and help people in the face of socio-economic realities and legal and organizational constraints.

Masculine gender construction in families with remote fathers and exclusive mothers involves two dominant processes which serve to limit feelings of powerlessness. First, "positive masculinity" involves a partial identification with the role of ideal father as protector and provider who rescues the child from maternal reengulfment. The positive identification with the father not only assumes a protective significance but it also involves a sense of exploration. In contrast to the inside domain of the mother, the outside sphere is associated with excitement and discovery. The boy who wants to be a frontier cowboy or an astronaut is simply trying to become a real man, a knight in shining armor like his father.

The crime fighting and rescue activities associated with real policework can epitomize the attainment of manhood in terms of a positive identification with the exciting father in the outside world. Policemen reproduce their masculinity in everyday life by doing real policework on the street. As they move further outside to higher status units within the department, they continue to actively construct manhood.

The second dominant process in the development of gender involves the construction of "negative masculinity." A man actively rejects and devalues femininity as a defense against regression and loss of psycho-sexual identity. Real policemen for example may avoid inside work such as administration, childcare, social service and public relations which is associated with the mother. At the same time he may reject the clean, virginal, personal and nonphysical activities associated with femininity and actively participate in an informal world of normal violence, clean money, easy sex and routine lying.

Organization of Study

In Part One of this study I explore the policeman's construction of his world into two opposing realms which are associated with masculine and feminine gender. These include domestic/public, inside/outside, police academy/street. Each of these spheres involves particular kinds of activity which are also gender specific. For example, inside work involves childcare, social relations, administration, paperwork and public relations. Outside work, in contrast, involves crime fighting, combat and the rescue of innocent victims.

The activities associated with inside and outside work involve different personality attributes and skills which are also related to masculinity and femininity. For example, inside work involves selflessness and sacrifice, concern for people versus profit, interpersonal skills including the manipulation of words

and emotions. In contrast, outside work stresses "selfishness" and concern for profit over people. It also involves aggressiveness, the ability to use physical means to resolve conflict, self-control and rational thinking under stress. Thus while women are assumed to be irrational, emotional, subjective, passive, pure and weak, men are perceived as rational, physical, objective, active, dirty and strong.

Part Two of the study explores the policeman's construction of his informal world. I suggest that policemen distinguish between formal and informal worlds. The formal order of law is oriented towards the academy and the courtroom. In contrast, the informal world is oriented towards the situational realities of everyday life on the street. The conceptual split between formal and informal worlds is in part separate from gender. Both male and female police officers do participate in extralegal normal violence which is viewed as a necessary response to external exigencies. Women also take some kinds of clean money and, in all probability, would engage in more corruption if they were not excluded from much of the men's informal activity. The formal-informal dichotomy does, however, permit the activation of cultural and unconscious issues which do relate to masculinity and femininity, in particular, the symbolic association between femininity and moral purity and virtuousness and formal laws, may combine to provide an association between femininity and the formal rules (see Chapter IX of this study). The feminine formal order is then perceived in opposition to an informal, masculine world of clean money, easy sex and extralegal violence. Other gender symbols permeate the policeman's world and confirm the oppositional relation of formal feminine vs.

informal masculine. The relation between femininity and verbal skills and masculinity and physical prowess, for example, strengthen the belief that women do not engage in violence while real men do. Specifically, men assume that women will not engage in normal violence by virtue of their physical weakness as well as their adherence to the formal realm.

At the unconscious level, the split between formal and informal realms may activate issues relating to the development of negative and positive masculinity. Formal rules, academy and inside work are associated with domestic and mother. In contrast informal rules, street and outside work are related to public and father. The policeman therefore rejects the inside feminine world and identifies with the outside domain and the crimefighting role of the real cop in order to affirm his identity as separate person and a man. These cultural and unconscious associations between the formal inside world of law and femininity and the informal outside rules of the street and masculinity then serve to reinforce and perpetuate man's participation in normal violence, easy sex, clean money and routine lying. Participation in extralegal violence, corruption and lying therefore become not only situationally necessary but psychologically inevitable.

In Chapter IV, I define normal violence as the amount of legal and extralegal force that any rational man might employ given a particular set of circumstances. Policemen distinguish two kinds of normal violence; situational and abstract. While situational violence involves the use of force in response to immediate exigencies such as a threat to the officer's safety or authority,

abstract violence constitutes a kind of premeditated act of punishment for a crime which takes place at a different time and which is not directed at the officer himself. It is therefore the nature of the criminal act and the category of the criminal which merits street justice in situations of abstract violence. The use of normal violence is overtly related to issues of gender construction because it constitutes a symbolic rejection of assumed feminine purity, physical weakness and verbal ability. At the same time, it constitutes an attempt to gain control when the officer experiences a threat to his manhood. For example, situational normal violence occurs when the officer perceives a verbal or physical challenge to his self and authority. While bodily violation may be experienced by women as both heterosexual rape and/or symbolic castration, men are more likely to perceive an assault as an unconscious castration or homosexual rape. Policemen also administer violence when they temporarily lose control and display feminine characteristics. They feel fear, overwhelming rage and/or helplessness. They therefore apply force to reassert masculinity in times of self-perceived weakness.

The use of violence also involves a positive sense of gender identification. For example, the policeman may experience a kind of controlled exhilaration during the state of combat high which precedes many violent acts. The exhilaration may be unconsciously associated with the subjective sense of the father as the other, exciting reality outside the maternal domain. Similarly, proactive situational violence in response to extreme states of boredom constitutes both a "negative" rejection of feminine passivity as well

as a positive attempt to assert masculinity by creating physical activity and excitement.

Abstract violence is also related to issues of gender construction. For example, the categories of persons who merit abstract violence include rapists of real women and children. Such criminals violate the separation between the formal, domestic world of women and the informal public domain of men. They symbolically commit violent acts which belong on the street in the home. The split between formal/informal, home/street, and inside/outside realms is unconsciously associated with issues of individuation and sexual identity, in particular the separation of the boy from his mother through the construction of positive and negative masculine gender. Consequently, the dichotomy must be maintained or the policeman risks a loss of self and manhood and a regression to infantile passivity.

Policemen also participate in an informal world of clean and dirty money. Clean money is defined as any extralegal gratuity in kind or currency which a rational policeman would take while conducting routine duties. Dirty money, in contrast, is defined as the kind of money only a moral degenerate would accept while working the street.

Involvement in corruption is also gender related. At the cultural level, purity is perceived as feminine because "virginal" women clean the home and tend to the moral caretaking of innocent children. In contrast dirtiness is viewed as masculine because experienced men are involved in a world of politics and business which is "naturally" corrupt. Policemen also distinguish clean and

dirty money in ways which necessitate their participation in corruption in order to attain manhood. For example, clean money is defined as payments received while performing routine peacekeeping and social service duties. In addition, it involves gratuities accepted for the protection of victimless crimes such as gambling and prostitution. Dirty money, in contrast, is money the policeman takes to protect or pursue the sale of weapons, narcotics and other "real crimes" involving innocent victims. By definition, then, clean money does not interfere with the apprehension of real criminals who violate the domestic order. In fact a cop who takes clean money ultimately protects innocent victims. Not only does he take care of women and children but he also supports legal enterprise as well as the gambler and the prostitute, two categories of criminals who are perceived as honest businessmen victimized by the law. In contrast, the policeman who takes dirty money no longer acts like a man by pursuing real criminals and rescuing victims. Instead, he participates in the murder of innocent children and women by supplying drugs which harm children and weapons which are used in crimes against the domestic order. In addition, he promotes the feminization of real men by encouraging narcotics addiction which symbolically turns males into passive, dependent "females."

The policeman in pursuit of manhood also straddles a thin line between clean and dirty money. First, the officer who takes no illegal money is viewed as irrational, like a woman. Secondly, clean money is associated with feminine personality attributes such as passivity, production for use, low income, vegetarian eating habits

("grasseaters"), and submission or cooperation. In contrast, dirty money is associated with masculine characteristics including aggression, production for profit, high income, masculine eating habits ("meateaters") and coercion or dominance. Thus, the real policeman must take clean money in a dirtyway if he is to attain status as a man.

Participation in extramarital sexual relations is perceived by police as well as the public as a male prerogative. Thus, real policemen do partake in illicit sexual relations while on and off the job. While women who sleep with many men are categorized as easy lays, whores or nymphomaniacs who violate the canons of respectability to the point of pathology, men are allowed to engage in illicit sex without stigmatization. In fact, extramarital sexual activity is perceived as a positive sign of manhood. In addition it suggests a "negative" rejection of the virginal sexuality of mothers and wives. Illicit sex, in fact, is something a boy conducts behind his mother's back to ward off anxiety associated with castration and regression. At the same time it constitutes a positive assertion of masculinity.

"Choirpractices" (Wambaugh, 1975), the quasi-ritualized sex parties which take place between policemen and groupies also have unconscious significance related to gender construction. They represent external attempts to assert dominance and control in the face of internal violations of masculine self. Thus, while the policeman feels frightened, helpless and impotent on the job, he can assert his power over the omnipotent mother and deny his fear of his own femininity by dominating whore-like women on the street. Thus,

sexual activity outside the home provides a means to reduce castration fears introduced by the mingling of sex with the blood and violence which characterizes policework (see Friedrich, 1978:135-6 for a further discussion of the meaning of sex and blood).

In order to bridge the gap between formal and informal worlds, policemen routinely engage in lying. In particular, they lie to institutions and individuals who represent the legal order including the courts, the department, the public and immediate supervisors. There are two kinds of routine lies which dominate policework, case stories and cover stories. Both categories are related to gender construction. A case story, for example is a lie the policeman tells to facilitate the apprehension and conviction of a suspect. It therefore constitutes a means by which the policeman actively constructs his positive masculine identity as the crimefighting cop who protects the innocent public. A cover story is a lie the policeman tells to protect himself against accusations of legal or departmental misconduct. Thus, the cover story constitutes an attempt to maintain the symbolic separation of formal and informal realms which include the academy and the street and the domestic and public order. Unconsciously, then, lying protects the policeman from intrusion by maternal representatives who threaten to punish him for normal expressions of "negative" masculinity.

The policeman also straddles a masculine-feminine line which relates to categories of clean and dirty lying. Clean lying is associated with similar attributes as clean money such as passivity and submission. The policeman who lies by omission or says he doesn't recall facts he does know, commits a clean lie. In contrast, the

officer who actively frames a suspect by constructing false events conducts a dirty lie. Similarly, the policeman who submits to organizational or political pressure to frame an innocent suspect is cleaner than the officer who independently lies to convict a suspect he knows is innocent. Thus, in a symbolic sense, the policeman must participate in some degree of dirty lying in order to assume masculine identity.

In Part Three of the study, I explore the meaning of the feminization of policing in relation to the construction of positive and negative masculinity. In particular, I explore the underlying cultural and unconscious logic of sexist ideology and resistance to women in the male domain of policing. Men fear women because they represent the purity and innocence of the home and the formal order of law. If the wife or mother takes her moral crusade to the street, men fear she will expose their informal world of normal violence, clean money, easy sex and routine lying. The exposure not only signifies the political subversion of a patronage system based on corruption and violence but it also represents an attempt to undermine the very basis of masculine gender identity. Consequently, the feminization of policing symbolizes the emasculation of men and the subversion of a social order based on the opposition between domestic and public spheres.

In view of the underlying meaning of femininity, men must create means to neutralize the danger of women. Sex role stereotyping provides one way. By making women dykes and whores, two masculinized categories of female who inhabit the street, men neutralize the very

feminine purity which is so threatening. Consequently, both dykes and whores have access to man's informal world although they sacrifice their feminine identity. Similarly, women labelled mothers, sisters and daughters are desexualized as a result of the incest taboo which inhibits sex within the nuclear family. As a result men avoid the danger of castration implicit in the mingling of family sex with the blood and violence of the street. At the same time, domestic categories of women are excluded from male informal activities in order to protect them from subversion in the face of feminine purity and innocence.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. According to Ross (1982b:27),

"Loewald hypothesized two pairs of relationships with the parental figures: (1) a positive libidinal relationship to the mother, growing out of the primary narcissistic position and a defensive, negative dread of the womb, of sinking back into an unstructured state of identity with her; and (2) a positive identification with the father, 'which lends powerful support against the danger of the womb, and a defensive relationship concerning the paternal castration threat.'" (See Loewald, 1951:16)

CHAPTER II

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE DOMAINS: DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION

"They lose sight of what's going on," she said.
"I believe 90% of the force should be operational,
and 10% should be administrative. Policework is
done on the streets, not at headquarters."

Gertrude Schimmel
retired Deputy Chief Inspector
New York Police Department
Daily News, Sept. 18, 1981

This chapter explores how rank and file officers construct their organizational world and the subjective meaning of the respective units and ranks which compose "The Department." I propose that policemen perceive a contradiction between masculine and feminine domains in their world of work. The closer the officer comes to achieving prestige as a real policeman fighting real crime in the masculine sphere of the street, the more likely will the participation in violence, graft and lying become symbols of the officer's status as a real man and a real cop. Conversely, an officer who stays off the street in a female domain, is less likely to participate in the informal world of violence, graft and lying. At the same time, however, he loses his status as a real cop and a man.

Street patrolmen divide their world into inside and outside domains. The inside domains include those organizational units whose activities are oriented towards the formal world of the public and the

legal realities of the courtroom. In contrast, the outside domains orient their activities to the informal world and situational realities of the street. Inside work is perceived as "behind the desk" intellectual labor, such as reading, writing, administrative planning and public relations. Outside work involves the physical activities associated with the crime fighting and rescue aspects of policework.

Although inside work is largely defined by the activity involved, it also revolves around locations. Inside work usually takes place within an enclosed space such as an office building. Outside work, in contrast, takes place outdoors. Thus, for example, administrative work is done inside the Police Administration Building (PAB) behind a desk while outside work is done within the territorial divisions and districts which divide the city streets. Similarly, at the Police Academy, inside work is done in the mainbuilding where report writing and formal classes on law are taught. Outside work is done in outdoor arenas separate from the mainbuilding including the obstacle course for recruit Physical Training (PT), the Canine Unit where police attack dogs are trained and the Police Pistol Range. Similarly, inside work at the district level takes place within Police Headquarters in the operations room where reports are compiled and assignments composed. Outside work takes place within sectors on the street. Although a street cop may pursue an armed felon inside a house or office building, the territory which he perceives as his own is the sector he works or the footbeat he patrols.

The definition of real policework correlates with the

activities associated with the inside-outside contradiction. Real policework involves the crime fighting aspects of policing, in particular the pursuit of murderers, rapists, armed robbers, narcotics dealers and other heinous felons. It also involves the rescue aspects of policework such as saving peoples' lives in floods and fires or saving a child with a critical injury or illness.

The social service and administrative aspects of policing, on the other hand, are not perceived as "real police work." Such "bullshit jobs" include petty misdemeanors such as disorderly conduct, and noncriminal matters such as regulating drunks, resolving family disputes, handling routine hospital cases, traffic control, ticket writing, and any other routine job which involves an abundance of paperwork such as a car accident.

Real policework involves the use of violence, deception and other tools of trade associated with the informal side of policing. It involves the instant, physical response to certain situational exigencies which evolve in the world of the street. Inside work involves an adherence to formal legal rules, scientific thinking and the dominance of verbal means to deal with people and problems which arise in the formal world of the office and the courtroom. The personality characteristics associated with the good cop on the street become less dominant as men move inside. Thus inside men tend to be less aggressive, tough, paranoid, and cynical than the street cop who must deal with violence on an everyday basis and who must question the reality of appearances and perceive environmental incongruities in order to do his job as a crime fighter.

The contradiction between inside and outside work in the police department reflects the larger social division between domestic labor and market production. The policeman who works inside is perceived as doing low status, feminine labor.¹ The feminine stigma associated with inside work is reflected in the derogatory labels assigned to those who perform it. "Pencil Pushing Administrators from Downtown" refer to the high ranking officials who work in the PAB, an inside domain. In particular a police officer applied the term to describe a Deputy Commissioner who ordered some officers to hold their fire in a complex crowd situation involving a politically sensitive group. Although shots were fired at firemen, the police were prevented from defending themselves or their associates by using the lethal force associated with real policework on the street. "Bird Watchers" is another derogatory label used to refer to men who work in the park where no real policework takes place because there is no crime. Such low crime "country clubs" often attract "hairbags" or "oldtimers" in semi-retirement who have done their time on the street. They also attract officers who are studying for departmental exams or college degrees as well as the do-nothing "drones" who never cared much about the job in the first place. "Roving secretaries" refer to the way a policeman views himself when he is forced to write up voluminous amounts of paperwork inappropriate to his role as rescuer and crime fighter. "Ticket men" refer to police officers in districts who concentrate on writing summonses to please the sergeant at the same time that they avoid the dangerous jobs associated with crime fighting and rescue work.

Men who work inside and are disliked by colleagues are likely to receive labels which explicitly confirm their emasculated roles. They could be "pussies," "cunts" or "asskissers." Even if the individual is popular among colleagues, he is still perceived as someone who has "lost his balls" and become just a little bit more female. He couldn't make it on the street because he was an incompetent or a coward. Consequently the officials transferred him inside or he requested an inside job.

The extreme example of the humiliation associated with the inside man involves the Rubber Gun Squad of New York City. The squad is composed of police officers whose alcoholism so blatantly interfered with their ability to function on the street that they were "volunteered" to join a group of similarly situated men and transferred to inside locations while undergoing treatment for their condition. The name of the group stems for the fact that the department took away their guns, the ultimate humiliation to a policeman.

Men who work inside can also be perceived as persons with connections who "kissed enough ass" to get an "inside tit job" close to a high ranking police administrator who guarantees his career for life. Although men who work inside can usually manage their masculinity by presenting a cop-like attitude towards the world, they still are perceived as more female than their male counterparts who work the street.

An officer who works in an inside location at the PAB is often viewed with ambivalence and suspicion. At best he represents the formal legal order which automatically conflicts with the street.

At worst he represents the judicial arm of the administrative elite, the Internal Affairs Bureau which investigates officers suspected of misconduct.

The Cop From Downtown

One rank and file officer worked downtown in the office of the Director of Administration, the highest ranking civilian position in the department, one notch below Deputy Commissioner. I was introduced to him by first day in the city because he was instructed to take me to the basement of the PAB in order to get fingerprinted and photographed for a police identification card. As I attended meetings with high ranking officials which periodically took place at the PAB, I often encountered this officer. He also provided official information to me in his capacity as a liaison from the Director of Administration's Office to the Police Academy and the Evaluation team hired to study the women (see Preface of this manuscript). Gradually, as I revealed to him that I was "o.k." and not "out to get cops" myself, we developed a warm and friendly relationship. Ultimately, I learned that the officer had been forced to leave the streets on a disability as a result of a serious injury to his lungs from a chlorine gas leak. The injury was obviously not his fault or a consequence of poor police work. It was apparent that he missed the street and was bitter about the injury which not only cost him his identity as a real cop but limited his physical activities and would inevitably shorten his life. He appeared to be a hard working man who enjoyed

activity because it gave him a sense of accomplishment. He did not appear to work hard to "kiss ass" to gain favors from a powerful boss. Although he never betrayed the secrets of his superior to me, he never asked me to betray the secrets of my work to him. One day I was working a four to twelve shift at the 54th district where the officer from downtown had worked prior to his injury. Since the accident, he rarely came to the district and knew few of the officers currently assigned. He had just finished his official business and was standing around the roll call room when he saw me talking to some cops. His hair was slightly longer than the men in the district were allowed to wear. At the same time he had on a pair of glasses and a suit which neither characterized the outfit of the plainclothesmen who worked the area nor the anticrime teams who worked on the street. Consequently from the perspective of the district patrolmen, the officer from downtown "looked wrong." At the same time, he acted like he belonged there and did not take the lost or demanding attitude of the typical civilian. As he fit no clear category of outsider or insider, his behavior only increased the suspiciousness of the district patrolmen. When they realized I knew him they became even more curious.

I smiled when I saw the officer and he began to walk in my direction. The district police with whom I was talking dispersed as he approached me. Other policemen stood in back of him and gave me questioning looks regarding his identity. We made small talk and then he left. Immediately, several officers approached and asked who he was. When I explained that he was a cop who worked in the

office of the Director of Administration the policemen's hostility increased. They wanted to know "what the hell" he was doing at the district. Their suspicious attitude changed only when I explained that the officer was "o.k." He had worked as a cop in the 54th district until he received a severe lung injury as a result of the gas leak. From their perspective, the officer from downtown was not inside because he was a "pussy" who couldn't handle the street or an "asskissing cunt" who wanted "an easy tit job." Nor was he a "gink" or a "rat" who wanted to "hurt cops." Instead, he was a "street cop" at heart who was forced inside as a result of a tragic accident that he did not create and which could happen to anyone. The circumstances of his transfer to an inside location to some degree transformed his spoiled identity and confirmed his masculinity.

Inside and Outside Units

From the patrolman's perspective, the Police Administration Building or "downtown" epitomizes the inside world. It houses the offices of the Police Commissioner, the Internal Affairs Bureau, the Staff Services Division, Laboratory and Records, the Director of Administration and the Community Relations Bureau. In contrast, the Uniform Forces Division and the Detective Bureau of the Division of Investigations and Training represent the outside world of the real street cop.

Although the split between downtown and the street forms the basic inside-outside contradiction in the police department, both downtown

and the street can be internally subdivided into other inside and outside domains. The closer the location to the informal world of the street and the activities associated with real policework, the more likely is the unit perceived as an outside realm within an inside domain. Conversely, the closer the unit is to the formal administrative and social relations aspects of policing the more likely is it perceived as an inside job within an outside realm.

Thus, the Internal Affairs Bureau, Command and Inspections units, Community Relations Bureau and various administrative units in the PAB are perceived as low status inside work alien from the world of the real cop. The Crime Laboratory, Ballistics, Mobile Crime Unit, detention cells, criminal records, reports control and identification units are perceived as more cop-like because they represent outside arenas associated with the law enforcement functions of real policework.² In general, these units help the policeman accomplish the crime fighting tasks by providing important services, information and the evidence necessary for the presentation of a strong legal case in court. In contrast, the inside units limit the policeman's work with departmental regulations, legal stipulations, and internal investigations which threaten punishment if the officer violates the departmental conception of what constitutes reasonable behavior.

Within the Uniform Forces and Investigations and Training Divisions, the Training Bureau and several units within the Patrol and Special Patrol Bureaus represent inside domains within the larger outside arena associated with the Street. The inside units include the Juvenile Aid Division because it involves activities associated

with social work and the feminine duties of childcare. The Park Division, Subway, Marine and Airport units are also perceived as low status inside locations because they handle few people and little crime. The Park unit in particular is seen as a place to study or retire in a refuge away from the rigors of real policework. The subway unit, on the other hand, is seen as an unpleasant punishment assigned to men who displease a supervisor or can't make it on the street. Officers who work in mounted patrol or with police attack dogs in the canine unit are highly skilled in activities associated with male strength or violence. Consequently, these specialists have higher status than the subway, marine or airport police. However, neither mounted or canine officers receive the full status of "real cops" because they are rarely used in dangerous or crime fighting situations. Instead they appear as public relations vehicles, in parades and as guard at privileged locations. Although most canine men are supposed to do "real policework" such as search for perpetrators in large buildings, in fact, their aid is rarely requested by the district supervisors. Consequently, the canine men can only fulfil their role as real cops on the rare occasions when they are assigned to work with other crime-fighting units such as the Granny Squad where they supply useful backup.* Similarly, the pretty boy

* The Granny Squad is a Decoy unit. ACT teams are plainclothes police officers who specialize in making arrests of street criminals.

identity of the mounted men whose horses attract more women than muggers subsides only during large demonstrations when any foot patrolmen feel intense relief with the arrival of the horses to disperse and control the crowd.

Within the Uniform Forces and Investigations and Training Divisions, the high status, outside units include uniform patrol, the plainclothes vice squads as well as the Granny Squads, ACT teams, Highway, narcotics and stakeout units. The Homicide and Major Crimes detectives are also perceived as outside jobs which concern the crime fighting aspects of "real policework." The more the unit is oriented towards the pursuit of real criminals (murderers, high level narcotics dealers, rapists, armed robbers, and so forth), the higher its relative status. Rubinstein explains,

Special Patrol Units are manned entirely by carefully screened volunteers. Most of the men in these units are patrolmen who disliked the obligations imposed on them when they worked in a district. They are men who want to do real police work without the confining requirements of service calls and the demeaning obligations of vice activity. When a district patrolman does a particularly outstanding piece of work, he may be rewarded with a transfer to one of these special units. (1973:364)

In addition to the association to real policework, freedom from supervision is another major ingredient of status. A plainclothes unit can usually create its own working hours and initiate independent action. They are not the passive recipients of radio calls which have little to do with law enforcement. Consequently, even the vice squads which ideally arrest offenders for petty crimes such as numbers and

prostitution have superior status to a uniform unit which is the slave of the radio.

The now defunct Special Investigating Unit (SIU) of the New York Police Department provides a perfect example of a high status plainclothes detective unit which worked unsupervised in pursuit of real criminals, in particular high level narcotics distributors. In many ways, SIU represented the ultimate real street cop. Daley explains,

To other cops SIU detectives reeked of success. They had style; also, obviously, they had money, more money than cops were supposed to have. But for a long time no one in authority noticed this, or wondered where the money might be coming from.

Of course they were the object of envy. Not because they had rank. They did not. Like all detectives, they were patrolmen who had been designated to service as detective-investigators. They held authority over no one. The newest sergeant outranked the most senior first-grade detective, and the newest patrolman was, technically, his equal.

The envy existed because the SIU detective, though perhaps still in his mid or late twenties, had reached the top of his profession; there was no other assignment as good as the one he had. The rules and procedures of the department, which weighted down every other cop, he ignored.

He was virtually unsupervised. SIU headquarters was on the third floor of the First Precinct station house, but some SIU detectives did not go near this office for months at a time, not even on pay day--they would send someone in to pick up their checks. Some of them, in effect, worked out of their houses or their cars.

They were rated on results only. All they had to do was keep making big cases, big seizures of heroin. That they worked hard was never questioned. They were men who would sit on wiretaps or

surveillances for days, even weeks at a time, virtually without relief, and never put in for overtime. They were hunters. Theirs was the most elusive game of all, and the kill was always close--maybe tomorrow, maybe even today. They disdained overtime as much as medals or credit for arresting murderers.

They had citywide jurisdiction. They chose their own targets and roamed New York at will. Someone once called them the Princes of the City, for they operated with the impunity, and sometimes with the arrogance, of Renaissance princes. They could enforce any law or not enforce it, arrest anyone or accord freedom. They were immune to arrest themselves. The Princes of the City--they liked this, and adopted it. (Daley, 1978:5-6)

Outside Units

The outside units within the Divisions of Uniform Forces and Investigation and Training can also be divided into low status inside and high status outside domains. The uniform patrol officers who work out of district headquarters have the lowest status. The district man is the generalist of the police department. Although he receives some jobs involving law enforcement and rescue work, much of his time is spent performing jobs associated with peacekeeping and social service. In contrast, Highway, Stakeout, the Granny Squad, ACT, Homicide, Major Crimes and Narcotics are the specialists who handle the crimes associated with real policework. From the patrolman's point of view, then, he does the dirty work. He is the scullery maid who pushes the drunks, "psychos," junkies and bag ladies into the invisible corners of his sector or into another district altogether. He is the social worker who maintains the peace inside the home of the same people who

call him time after time to intervene and settle their domestic quarrels. Thus the uniform officer spends much of his tour sweeping streets and homes while the specialists pass their time fighting crime and engaging in real policework.

Each District itself is divided into inside and outside domains. The men who work inside the operations room compiling reports and answering phones, for example are perceived as more feminine and less cop than those who work the street. At the same time the street cop who specializes in writing tickets on parked cars or locating abandoned vehicles is perceived as a cowardly type who belongs inside with the rest of the secretaries in the operations room.³

Districts themselves vary in status depending on the nature of the community and the amount of crime. A high crime, "busy" district in a poor community is perceived as the home of a real cop. In contrast the cop who works in a "slow" upper class residential area or "country club" is either retired, a do-nothing or an intellectual who is using the time to study for a degree or an exam. Districts in large business areas in the center of the city which also cover wealthy residential sections have mixed reputations. On the one hand, they do not offer the sense of everyday violence which permeates policework in a high crime "jungle" where a real cop works. On the other hand, they contain enough serious crime to confirm the officer's identity as a cop. In addition, the officer who works in a wealthy business and residential community avoids the "bullshit jobs" which dominate the ghetto where poor people can't afford the private ambulances, doctors, and psychiatrists who serve the rich. The

officer who works in a wealthy district also receives extra "perks" which compliment his masculine status. These include women who are wealthy, beautiful and bored, fine food and trouble free watering holes for men who develop a thirst on the job.

In general, however, the police who work in high class districts perceive the men who work in the wealthy areas as spoiled and less manly than themselves. At the same time the men who work in wealthy districts see the high crime cop as sloppy and uncouth. One sergeant for example commented that he wouldn't want any of "those animals" working in his district because they wouldn't have the verbal skills to handle the local homosexual disputes and would tend to invoke the physical means to often used to resolve conflict in their own districts.

Crime fighting is not the only factor which influences how a patrolman categorizes a district. Districts also have informal reputations which relate to the availability of graft. There are three sources of graft available to men who work in uniform patrol. First an officer may collect clean money or "legal notes" in the performance of routine police activity.⁴ He may also collect legal notes by providing extra protection for legitimate businesses. The "church is always good for a note" when the officer guards the building during a raffle. The beer distributor gives the sector man a six pack when he parks on the property as a reward for his services. Major food chains give free hamburgers and a five dollar note to the officer who provides an escort to the bank. They also pay the district a monthly sum to provide a uniform policeman as a private guard.

An officer may also collect a clean, illegal note to protect the perpetrators of minor offenses involving traffic and parking violations. The funeral director gives the officer ten dollars to avoid a slew of parking tickets during a funeral. The motorist who "blows a light" prefers to pay the police a ten than give the city a fifty.

The clean minor criminal note provides a more lucrative source of graft than the legal or illegal payoff. The clean criminal note involves the protection of an illicit business involved in a victimless crime. An officer receives routine payoffs from speakeasies, bars who employ G-girls and prostitutes, numbers operators and after hours clubs. Although supervisors receive more, the uniform man's cut from an organized collection is usually five to ten dollars a month. Thus even the steady salary from criminal notes is small for the uniform officer.

In addition to legal, illegal and minor criminal notes a patrolman may occasionally score from the perpetrators of more serious crimes such as narcotics dealers. Some also take drugs and money from prisoners for private use. Others routinely steal goods from open properties for use at home or gifts to friends.

The amount of legal, illegal, and criminal money available to a uniform patrolman depends on a number of factors. Of particular importance is the nature of the community in which he works.

The area also determines the major sources of corruption payments. For instance, in Midtown Manhattan precincts businessmen and motorists were major sources; on the Upper East Side, bars and construction; in the ghetto precincts, narcotics and numbers. (The Knapp Commission Report on Police Corruption, 1972:67)

As criminal money is more lucrative than legal money, and vice and narcotics are largely relegated to red light zones and high crime districts. A real cop who works in a busy district as well as the classy cop assigned to Center City makes more money than the policeman from a low crime, residential neighborhood.

The third factor is the area to which an officer is assigned. At the time of the investigation certain precincts in Harlem, for instance, comprised what police officers call "The Gold Coast" because they contained so many payoff-prone activities, numbers and narcotics being the biggest. (Ibid.)

The Pennsylvania Crime Commission investigation into police corruption confirms the Knapp Commission's Report.

For example, the 24th District has the reputation within the Department for being the most valuable district so far as notes are concerned because there are many bankers and writers (gamblers) in that area. A lieutenant or captain would really 'clean up' with an assignment to the 24th District. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 1974:433)

The Commission continues,

Officer Felix Ruff was also a uniformed officer in the 23rd Police District before he went into plainclothes in the Northwest Division. Officer Ruff testified that while he was a uniformed patrolman he received as much as \$200 to \$225 per month in bribes from gamblers and speakeasies.

He found it difficult to estimate what the average policeman on the take in the 23rd District received, since a number of different factors were involved, including whether the officer was assigned to the east or west end of the district. He said, "The West end is known to be more prosperous in vice activity than the east end." When he was assigned

to plainclothes his take immediately rose to \$300 to \$350 per month and gradually increased to \$600 to \$700 per month. (Ibid., 212-3)

In Metro City, the 67th District located in a high crime area in the south end of the city was notorious for vice. After federal investigations resulted in the indictment of a captain, several supervisors and some patrolmen, the department transferred the whole district and substituted rookies in order to inhibit the proliferation of graft.

Compared to the high crime cop, the retiree assigned to a "country club" or the intellectual who studies in the park has little opportunity for profit.

In contrast, the Twenty Second Precinct, which is Central Park, has clearly limited payoff opportunities. As Patrolman Phillips remarked, "What can you do, shake down the squirrels." (Knapp Commission, 1972:67)

In summary, in spite of some opportunities for graft, particularly in high crime districts, the nature of the patrolman's job severely limits his unofficial income. The most lucrative sources come from the clean and dirty criminal notes associated with real policework. In contrast, the legal and quasi-legal payoffs associated with the "bullshit jobs" which involve social service and peacekeeping are minimal. As long as the policeman remains a generalist in uniform patrol he limits his success as a businessman as well as a real street cop.

The patrolman who wants to become a real cop in pursuit of the crime fighting activities associated with real policework must

eventually leave the peacekeeping world of uniform patrol and join an "outside unit." A real cop ultimately seeks the position of detective in an elite unit like Homicide, Major Crimes or, in some cities, a Narcotics Investigation Unit. A policeman in Metro City must first pass a formal exam for detective and work in a division before he has access to an elite location. Informally, the career path of the real cop has additional requirements. Depending on the city, he usually needs experience in plainclothes, vice or narcotics (Maas, 1973:144, 82-3). At least he should pass some time in a specialized unit which concentrates on real policework such as Highway, Stakeout, the Granny Squad or ACT.

As the real cop pursues his career, he inevitably becomes involved in the informal activities which characterize each of these specialized units. The closer he comes to doing real policework in the masculine world of the street, the more likely is he involved in graft, violence and lying.

Highway Patrol

The Highway patrol is composed of teams of two men who work in special uniforms in unmarked cars. They are assigned to saturate high crime areas in search of suspicious persons carrying illegal weapons or involved in other criminal activities. They are not assigned service calls by radio or required to respond to direct citizens' requests unless the situation is an emergency. Although Highway has no formal quota, informally the quality of their activity is evaluated by the quantity of arrests. Thus like most "collar men,"

they must produce high arrest "activity" if they intend to stay in the unit.⁵ On the surface, Highway appears to fulfil the role requirements of real cop who avoids the "bullshit jobs" in order to pursue serious felons and do "real policework." In fact, however, the Highway patrol unit has a mixed reputation. Informally, they are known as over-aggressive, brutal policemen who harrass the community by making petty arrests to fulfill their activity quota. As the unit works on a temporary basis in different territories they are relatively unfamiliar with the turf. They can't sort out "who belongs" in an area as skillfully as the district patrolmen who work in steady sectors. Consequently, the Highway teams appear to rely on the numbers game to locate felons rather than the perceptual skills admired by policemen. As a result, Highway is known for harrassing the community with frequent pedestrian and car stops of dubious legality which then lead to illegal searches which do inevitably produce some weapons and contraband. Given the nature of their activity it is inevitable that violence occasionally results when victims "fatmouth" the officer or otherwise threaten him and he returns their abuse with some of his own. Once enough stops are made to fulfill the informal quota, the Highway men can rest until they are reassigned to another area. Meanwhile the district police are left with angry citizens who blame them for the harrassment. The reputation of Highway for using heavy handed tactics to make petty arrests, is complimented by their uniform. Their high black boots, peaked hats, jodhpur shaped pants and leather jackets can't help but remind their colleagues and the public of Nazi Germany. Thus both their activities

and their appearance contribute to their reputation as "the gestapo of the Police Department."⁶ A policeman explains,

The Highway Patrol has a very omnipresent military, gestapo, fear-producing approach to the community. They are often referred to as boot cops because they have been known to kick the crap out of everyone they suspect of a crime. Highway would spend two to three days in a district and make gun arrests. In order to get enough gun arrests to justify their existence they would indiscriminately enter bars or stores or wade into crowds and search everyone until they found a gun. Of course they would alienate everyone they came in contact with and would always end up in fights. At the end of the two or three days, they would drive off into the sunset and leave behind a hostile community. The community would then take their grief out on the district cops. It would always take a week or so before the community would calm down and deal normally with the district. . . . This doesn't happen with canine or mounted because their fixed post gives them a vested interest in the community.

Both Rubinstein and Mallowe confirm this officer's view of the Highway unit.

The district men deride them for being "stickmen" and "pinch crazy," pointing out that the distinctive riding boots and peaked hats they wear are a sign of their peculiar mentality. . . .

In the areas where these men are concentrated they are intensely disliked. Everyone knows them on sight and people are particularly cautious in dealing with them. "Here comes the fucking boot cops" is a commonly heard warning.

Practically all of the rest of the force resent The Mayor's favorite unit, the leather-booted, so-called Highway Patrol, whose sole function is to infiltrate high crime areas and stir up action. The other police units refer to Highway Patrol as

"The Gestapo." The incidents of shooting and brutality complaints against the Highway Patrol are exceeded only by deadly force complaints against the "Granny Squad."

Stakeout

Stakeout is the second specialized uniform unit with "outside status" among patrolmen. The unit is composed of highly trained marksmen who specialize in jobs involving weapons or the possibility that lethal force may be required. As their name implies, they are also assigned to stakeout locations in which frequent burglaries or robberies have occurred. As one discouraged stakeout officer phrased it, "It's a disgrace, we're the Department's professional hit men."

The stakeout men are universally admired for their expertise in the arts of lethal force as well as their courage and willingness to use it. At the same time, they are also perceived by themselves and their colleagues as somewhat superfluous. As there are relatively few jobs involving weapons which require more than the ordinary police presence, the stakeout units often find that they have nothing to do. Consequently in spite of their status and skill, they remain bored and demoralized. Their boredom contributes to an increased desire for combat. In order to display their skills and feel useful, some men become willing to shoot anything and the unit as a whole gains a reputation as gun crazy killers. Given the opportunity one can imagine the devastation the unit might cause: The stakeout man approaches a perpetrator armed with a "saturday night special." He raises his arm in the policeman's direction. He is hit with one

thousand rounds from three submachine guns, a highpowered rifle and a police shotgun. One more criminal is transformed into a piece of swiss cheese.

The Hill Street Blues program (NBC-TV) depicts the ambivalent reputation of the Stakeout Unit in an amusing portrayal of the "Hill's" SWAT team. The SWAT captain is a man who is always ready and willing to display his weapon and use his men to employ lethal force to resolve any and every disturbance in the community. His solution to crime is to wipe out the people. The Hill's Captain Furillo, however, prefers to use alternative means. But he still has to dispose of the SWAT Captain's incessant demands for action. On one program, the sanitation department provides Furillo with a temporary solution. They need some policemen to clean the alligators out of the sewer pipes. Furillo assigns the SWAT team with a warning that the reptiles can grow big and dangerous. Obviously the SWAT team has no trouble turning a minor situation into a major shootout. Two district patrolmen play a joke with predictable results. They put a large wooden alligator in the sewer. The animal moves on wheels. When the SWAT team sees the beast running towards them, they all open fire. The alligator is devastated.

A stakeout officer in Metro City related a similar story. His unit was assigned to stake out a toy store which had had frequent burglaries. During the night one officer thought he heard a sound. They all quietly rose from their hiding places with weapons ready. As they crept through the room, one officer suddenly saw a large shape loom towards him in the darkness. He turned quickly and fired. When his

colleagues turned on the lights, the men discovered that the officer had wounded a large stuffed kangaroo in the heart.

In summary, the stakeout team does have higher status than Uniform Patrol because they engage in activity which involves the use of lethal weapons in jobs which constitute real policework. At the same time, however, the men have an informal reputation for being eager and willing to employ their expertise to kill anyone available. They are the department's killers.

Granny Squad and ACT Teams

Both ACT (Anticrime) and the Granny Squad (decoy unit) also enjoy higher status than either the uniform patrol or the Highway unit. These plainclothesmen present a less ominous appearance than Highway at the same time that they have a reputation for making arrests of more serious offenders than the Highway unit. They are real cops who specialize in arresting street criminals in the process of committing serious offenses including burglary, larceny, armed robbery, rape and assault. Given the nature of the crimes they seek, the ACT and Granny Squads do not have to rely on the harrassment tactics of the Highway unit. At the same time, however, the plainclothes street cops have reputations for employing their own informal methods to achieve their goals. Although some ACT teams rely on the "incongruity procedure" to sort potential criminals who are then put under surveillance in the hope that they are caught committing a crime, others rely on informal methods dominant among most patrolmen.⁷ These include the use of violence or threat of violence to coerce informants

into cooperation. It also involves the exchange of immunity, money or drugs for information. As immunity is often an illegal arrangement made between other police or officials in exchange for some other favor and the drugs or money exchanged is generally seized during the arrest of another suspect, such tactics are rarely formally condoned. If the informal quota of arrests cannot be reached by using these routine and time honored practices, other methods may be employed. The officer, for example, may "farm" the suspect in order to frame him.⁸ Although farming does occur among uniform and Highway units it is generally perceived as more prevalent among plainclothesmen.

The use of decoys by the Granny Squad is itself a nebulous tactic from a constitutional perspective because it is not always clear if the decoy entraps an innocent suspect into committing a crime he might not commit under other circumstances. In addition when a decoy cop disguised as a grandmother is assaulted by a mugger, he often responds with excessive force. The criminal not only has committed a heinous crime on a helpless victim but he has also assaulted an officer. Thus situational normal violence and abstract normal violence (see Chapter IV) is doubly justifiable and a simple arrest is turned into a serious hospital case.⁹

In addition to their reputations for physical violence and dirty tactics, the ACT teams and Granny squads are also known for their willingness to use lethal force. As plainclothesmen, they are vulnerable to attacks from criminals who think they are robbers. At the same time they are subject to misidentification by uniform officers who perceive the "man with a gun" is a criminal and not a cop.

Consequently, plainclothes paranoia and vulnerability is heightened and the men may respond by becoming somewhat trigger happy. The more frequent their involvement in shootings, the more normal becomes the use of the gun and the more likely will shootings occur under circumstances perceived as inappropriate even from the perspective of the plainclothes officers themselves.

The Detective Units: Divisional and Homicide

The detective units which work in "outside domains" have differential status and informal reputations.¹⁰ The Divisional Detectives are equivalent to uniform patrol and therefore have the lowest status of any detective unit. The Divisional Detectives work with uniform patrol in the preparation of routine paperwork involving arrest warrants, investigation of minor cases and their preparation for court. In addition the Divisional Detectives are assigned to investigate missing persons cases, an area of policework perceived as closer to social work than crime fighting. Only when a missing person becomes a homicide is it perceived as real policework. In this case of course, it is turned over to the homicide unit. Thus the Divisional detectives are generalists who are involved in the same routine cases as the patrolmen. As their opportunities for doing "real policework" are limited, their status remains low compared to other outside units. However, in order to become a "real detective" in Major Crimes or Homicide, it is necessary to pass some time in the Division.

Like all detectives, however, the Divisional Detectives

have a reputation for skilled lying.¹³ Detectives are largely responsible for the categorization of crimes necessary for their dismissal, investigation and prosecution. In addition the unit prepares routine cases for court. Consequently they must learn the skills involved in report writing and the routine falsification of paperwork as well as lying in case story construction. Detectives in particular must become expert liars because their success is measured by the number of convictions they obtain rather than the number of cases they process through the criminal justice system. As detectives work with patrolmen, they are responsible for teaching the officers some of their own routine skills. The better the officer is at case lying the easier becomes the work of the detectives. One uniform patrolman discusses the detective's role in the routine construction of false reports.

In contrast to my original assumption that the crime statistics displayed the high quality of law enforcement in [Metro City], I learned that they actually reflect an unofficial classification criteria called "Solveability." Simply put, if the crime is likely to be solved, we'll classify it as a crime, if not, we'll call it a minor disturbance.

Let's take a typical burglary and see what happens in many instances, enough at least to have a significant effect on the statistical rate of crime. The sector car receives an assignment to 'meet a complainant.' The complainant tells the officer he just arrived home from work and found his door forced open. The inside of the house is ransacked and some personal property is stolen. There are no witnesses and no suspects. The officer then contacts the Divisional Detectives.

Because the incident described is unlikely to result in an arrest, the Detective Supervisor "strongly encourages" the officer to change his

report from a "burglary" to a "minor disturbance." The detective then justifies the falsification of reports by invoking the typical administrator's plea for mercy, insufficient work force. After all, with manpower constraints and the overwhelming workload it would be unrealistic to report every crime as an actual crime. In almost all instances the District Patrolman agrees with the Detective and another crime is downgraded to a disturbance. This practice on the part of the Divisional Detectives exists City wide. Any District officer could testify to the innumerable times he routinely transforms shootings, stabbings, burglaries, and assaults to "minor disturbances" when he writes up the "paper." (Personal communication, Jim Birch)

In contrast to the high status detectives who can justify their lies on the basis of the seriousness of the crime as well as the assumed guilt of the suspect, the Divisional Detectives generally deal with less serious offenses and therefore produce lies of more mundane proportions. They can justify their actions on the basis of the departmental pressure for clearance or convictions as well as the court actions which rarely really punish petty offenders anyway.

Major Crimes and the Homicide Division are among the highest status rank and file policemen in the city. These units enjoy the glory of doing real policework by investigating crimes of major significance such as rape, murder and high level narcotics distribution. At the same time that these units epitomize the real cop, they also have reputations for heavy involvement in informal activities. The Homicide Division, for example, is not only renowned for its skill at lying in the construction of case stories but it is also notorious for its violence. Although most detectives tend to use violent means to induce confessions periodically, the homicide unit in particular is known for its development of sophisticated

torture techniques to induce a suspect's confession. According to a report in the Metro City Newspaper,

Medical problems are not rare among those interrogated by the Metro City Police Department's 84-member homicide division. In fact, a four month investigation by the [Newspaper] has found a pattern of beatings, threats of violence, intimidation, coercion and knowing disregard for constitutional rights in the interrogation of homicide suspects and witnesses. . . .

The study shows that many homicide detectives, in beating or coercing suspects and later denying it under oath, have come to accept breaking the law as part of their job. As a result of those practices, the [Newspaper] has found there are cases in which murders have remained unsolved, killers have gone free and innocent men have been imprisoned. . . .

The illegal interrogations follow a pattern:
 *They are conducted by teams of detectives in tiny rooms at police headquarters--known as the (. . .)--at (. . .) and (. . .) Streets. The suspect or witness is often handcuffed to a metal chair, which is bolted to the floor. Some of these sessions have lasted 24 hours.

*Some of the techniques used in the beatings leave no severe marks. Those techniques include placing a telephone book on a suspect's head and hammering it with a heavy object; beating his feet and ankles; twisting or kicking his testicles; and pummeling his back, ribs and kidneys.

*Other techniques do leave marks. Testimony about interrogations that judges have ruled illegal has shown that suspects have been beaten with leadpipes, blackjacks, brass knuckles, handcuffs, chairs and table legs. One suspect was stabbed in the groin with a sword-like instrument.

*The detectives make use of oneway mirrors through which the interrogation rooms can

be observed. Suspects and witnesses have testified that they were forced to watch beatings through such windows and were told that they would receive the same treatment unless they cooperated. (Local Newspaper)

One Metro City patrolman discussed a rumor which floated among the rank and file. Allegedly one black homicide detective who was very large in size would get dressed up in a big white bunny rabbit costume. He would put a lead filled nightstick or other weapon in a big orange carrot. He would then go into the interrogation room and beat the suspect into making a confession. If the suspect changed his mind and insisted in court that he was coerced, the judge would naturally request a description of the interrogation process. When the suspect explained he was beaten with a carrot by a big white bunny rabbit, the judge would assume he was crazy and the confession would be upheld. Homicide detectives who employed these techniques would justify their use according to the severity of the crime, the guilt of the suspect as well as the departmental pressure for conviction. One detective explains,¹¹

[Chief Inspector Silver] runs that place like a czar. He got rid of an accumulate experienced background of 500 years and brought in all inexperienced men, and they all aim to please. Because it's a very lucrative job, bringing them alot of overtime pay. Believe me, the money is something they think about.

The rule down there: convictions at any cost. A detective will say, "Chief, we know it's him, but we haven't got it yet" and then [Silver] will say, "Get it." and they know it doesn't matter how they get it. Beatings? Yes, I've seen them. Really. Why beatings? It's very simple. They do it because they're told to. It's very lucrative. The

only thing [Silver] has to do to maintain discipline is threaten to transfer. . . . They listen because [Silver] has them lock, stock and barrel. Convictions is the name of the game, not truth.

You get caught in the web and if you don't get out quick enough, you're trapped. Because they got you. They got too much on you. They can lock you up with what they know. Or, if you're independent, they have ways to treat you , bad details, bad shifts, limited overtime, transfer from one district to another to the next, put you on the night bus. . . . (Local Newspaper)

Shortly after the conviction of one defendant was overturned when the real culprit confessed, the local newspapers began an inquiry into the interrogation techniques of the homicide division. Consequently the Justice Department initiated an official investigation and several members of the unit were indicted.¹²

Plainclothes Units: Vice and Narcotics

When a policeman leaves a district to work in specialized units concerned more with crime than social work, he may increase his opportunities for graft as well as the propensity to inflict violence. In vice and narcotics, for example, he ceases to make the small scores available from "legal notes" and begins to develop the inside knowledge and connections necessary for the big score and the "criminal note." The vice and gambling squads are particularly notorious locations for grafters.¹³ Vice and gambling offenses are perceived as more criminal than narcotics or weapons. Thus, the major vice units function more to collect graft and ensure low vice visibility than to fight real crime. While uniform patrol still maintains some clean cops and

homocide and major crimes contain the real cops, vice houses the businessmen. The more prestigious the unit, the more lucrative the business. The high status Chief Inspector's squad for example can collect vice payments on a citywide basis. The Inspectors' men only have jurisdiction within the district. The dirty reputation of plainclothes is explored in the Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report (1974). An investigator asks Officer Ruff if he had to initiate a discussion of payoffs when he joined the vice squad. Ruff explains,

A: Well, it was, it was understood that as a plainclothesman in the Northwest Police Division that each man would receive a certain amount of money because this is the main policy in the Philadelphia Police Department.

Q: Was that known to you before you became a plainclothesman?

A: Yes, it was. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 211)

A former Policeman Edward Droge discusses plainclothes graft in the New York Police Department prior to the Knapp Commission investigation.

The general understanding throughout the force was that everyone in plainclothes was "on the pad" (i.e. wherever a pad existed). The term pad refers to a payoff system in which gamblers paid varying amounts to the plainclothes division within which operated in return for protection against arrest. The total amount collected was then split among the plainclothesmen and the story was always the same: Everybody's on the pad. If you don't take, the bosses arrange for your transfer out of the unit. (Droge, 1973:186)

William Westely confirms the universality of this perception of plainclothes operations in another patronage police department with a similar political organization as the Metro police department.

The detectives place a differential evaluation on assignments which is based on the access they give the incumbents to graft, and the degree to which they enable the holders to make big cases. Thus, they feel that both the automobile detail and the vice and gambling squad are good positions because the auto detail enables the holder to cash in on the rewards, and the vice and gambling detail enables him to collect a lot of graft. (Westley, 1970:39)

The dirty reputation of plainclothes is so notorious that Jimmy Riley, the fictional police partner of Harry Gross is incredulous that an honest cop would volunteer for a vice squad at all.¹⁴ Riley therefore concludes that Serpico had a hustle in mind from the beginning of his career.

"Absolutely. Didn't you and I always have the idea that that was the prick's original scheme in the first place? Every cop in New York knows he can refuse plainclothes work if he has any scruples about it. All Serpico had to do was say no, I don't want vice-work. Every street cop knows that plainclothes is the money route. If he didn't want to take money, why the hell did he take the job in the first place?"

"I've told you my opinion of the guy at least fifty times. I honestly believe he had a master plan. To play honest George and all that shit. Then to finally go before an asshole investigative body like the Knapp Commission. Then when he put everybody in the grease, get rich by writing an expose. Serpico had to be the cutest and slickest cop of all time. (Reardon, 1980:16)

Narcotics. The narcotics units are also viewed as corruption prone locations by most big city policemen. They have more status than plainclothes vice, however, because they are perceived as "real cop"

locations. A narcotics policeman has the locations. A narcotics policeman has the privilege of working plainclothes and the prestige of pursuing real criminals. A narcotics cop can, for example, become involved in investigations of high level distributors with international connections and relations with organized crime. The bigger the criminal, the higher the status of the unit and the more money is involved in the protection of the offender.

For example, the defunct Special Investigating Unit (SIU) of pre-Knapp New York is one of the most prestigious narcotics divisions in police history. SIU is renown for dirty tactics in routine investigations. They engage in the use of illegal wiretaps routinely, steal money and narcotics from one junkie or dealer in order to pay another one for information, "flaked" evidence in one case in order to pad another case and obtain a conviction. The narcotics detectives not only use dirty tactics on a routine basis but also are notorious thieves. If an officer is on the take, narcotics is known as the place to go to make the biggest score. A team may reward themselves for good policework by withholding thousands of dollars from a major case. They may also take "dirty money" as protection to let narcotics dealers continue to deal. Finally a corrupt detective can begin to sell narcotics himself, make a fortune and retire with his pension and thousands of dollars stored away.

From the patrolman's point of view, then, most policemen who do real policework in units such as SIU are bound to be corrupt. The association between real crime fighting and corruption is affirmed in Westley's study on Violence and the Police (1970).

There was considerable antagonism between the detective's and the patrolmen, especially from the patrolmen. The patrolmen felt that the detectives were hogging all the credit, and that they stole the credit from "pinches" which legitimately belonged to the patrolmen. Many patrolmen recited cases in which they had made the initial apprehension and the detectives had taken over for the interrogation and then claimed the credit for the solution of the cases without even mentioning the patrolmen. The patrolmen felt very bitter about this since these good "pinches" are their only source of demonstrating their competence as policemen. The patrolmen also felt that the detectives were in on the graft and that they were cut off. (Westley:1970:43)

Wallance's description of the Special Investigating Unit (SIU) also supports the association between real policework and graft.

Detectives in the Special Investigating Unit, the saying went, were poor in their twenties, rich in their thirties, and in jail in their forties.

The Special Investigating Unit was the most corrupt law enforcement unit in American history. Every detective mentioned in this book was a member of the SIU, and the story of the French Connection thefts cannot be understood without first understanding SIU. There will never be a detective unit like the SIU again. Each of its field detectives was handpicked from throughout the department on the basis of talent, experience, and accomplishment. Detectives in the SIU were the best of the department's best.

The SIU unique assignment was to investigate major narcotics traffickers in New York City. SIU detectives did not bother with runny-nose street junkies, or pimps, or numbers runners, or loan sharks. They were big-game hunters. Only the biggest and best-organized heroin dealers were proper targets of an SIU investigation. (1981:98-9)

In fact the association of SIU with big time corruption is so

overwhelming that most cops who want to stay clean and really fight crime must avoid joining the unit. The very unit which epitomizes the ideal of the real cop ultimately excludes the honest cop from membership. In Prince of the City, Daley describes an incident involving an honest cop named Hubert. Soon after Hubert transferred from narcotics into the Special Investigating Unit, his team made a bust of a major narcotics connection named Marchese. However, Marchese offers Sergeant Cohen and his team a four thousand dollar bribe to ensure his release. When Hubert displays displeasure, Cohen threatens to expel him from the unit.

"You don't belong in SIU," Cohen told him.
"You belong back in the fucking field group, chasing niggers up in Harlem, that's where you belong." And he strode angrily away, leaving Hubert still staring at the floor.
(1978:64)

Disillusioned, Hubert exclaims,

"I hate this fucking thing. . . . This is the nicest collar I ever fucking made. And so quick. I've kicked in a thousand doors. I never saw that much junk before. All I ever got was little bags, four or five little bags at a time maximum. I work with you two days, and in twenty minutes I got a fucking mafia guy. I got an eighth of a kilo of heroin. . . ."

"I'll do whatever you do," mumbled Hubert miserably. "But I don't want to talk to that little fuck of a sergeant again, because I might punch him out. This prick will put me back in the fucking field group tomorrow unless I take the money. And after that back to the uniform." (1978:64)

After Hubert eventually obtains a transfer to the Intelligence Unit, he locks up a suspect for attempted bribery. Although he transfers to a less prestigious unit when he leaves SIU, he is able to maintain his self-esteem. To most police officers, however, the money they make in vice and narcotics is just a part of the job. For many real cops, the score is simply their reward for doing good policework.

Summary

I have provided a map of the policeman's world from an inside perspective. I have suggested that policemen divide their world into inside and outside domains. The inside sphere is perceived as a feminine location where clean cops, intellectuals, social workers and administrators perform their duties for the public and the courts. In contrast real cops work in outside domains where they fight crime and pursue "real policework."

The Uniform Patrol Division constitutes the lowest status outside unit which works on the street. Although the district cop can make more money than the inside man downtown, his preoccupation with peace keeping and social service constricts his opportunities for graft. Although some noncriminal and social service jobs such as ticket writing, parking regulation and guard service do provide a regular source of income to individual officers, the value of the legal note is minimal. Uniform partolmen who take money to protect criminal operations such as vice, gambling and narcotics on the other hand, can make more than the five or ten dollars associated with the legal note. But the uniform officer's cut in the criminal note is still limited by rank,

position and organizational responsibility. As a low level, low ranking, departmental generalist, the district man has neither the time nor the power to really develop the informal resources, information, and contacts which are necessary to construct a lucrative business with the underworld.

The officer who wants to do real policework and avoid the low status bullshit jobs associated with uniform patrol must transfer to a specialized unit. The man who can "get outta the bag and into plainclothes" is not only freed from routine radio runs but he also enjoys an opportunity to direct his own actions without the supervision afforded the all-too visible policeman in blue. Consequently the real cop must work plainclothes to fulfil his ideal of masculine independence and good cop. In some departments plainclothes, vice and narcotics are considered a crucial step in an informal career path for any policeman who wants to obtain the Detective's Gold Shield or other symbol of excellence in the performance of real policework (see Maas: 1973). Whether he remains in a specialized patrol unit or goes on to become an investigative detective in an elite unit such as major crimes, homicide or SIU, most policemen inevitably become immersed in an informal world of violence, lying and corruption as they advance in their career.

Consequently, corruption, violence and lying are inevitably associated with real policework in the outside realm of the street. At the same time that participation in illicit activities mark a man as a real cop, corruption as well as the use of physical force seem to confirm his masculine identity: Jimmy Riley, for example, becomes a man

when he takes his first note.

Jimmy put his right hand with the money in it deep down in his pants pocket as he turned toward the subway. Nice and deep. He didn't dare take a look until he got on the Canal Street subway platform. He hated to take it out of his pocket. Was it a five? A tenner? Twenty? Jesus, not a fifty? He walked to the front part of the station and surreptitiously lifted the bill out of his pocket and looked at it. Holy Christ, a C-note! One hundred American dollars! You sweetheart, big Petey O'Neil, today you have made me a man, a man of stature, a man of great wealth. See you in Gallagher's Petey Boy. (Reardon, 1980:33)

A high ranking official who refuses a note is perceived as feminine. He doesn't participate in the informal world of real men and real cops because he has "no balls."

Gottlieb was known to his men as "No Balls," and for very good reason. With slightly over thirty years on the job, he had made a total of two arrests, and they had been forced on him by superior officers when he was a patrolman. He had avoided public contact as much as he could through the years, opting to perform clerical work in the stationhouse when he could get it, rather than patrol the streets. Fear was a primary motive. As a patrolman for eight years he had spent most of his time behind a typewriter in the clerical office. As a sergeant he had worked an office job in the communications division. As a lieutenant he had been able to stay on the inside of his assigned precinct in such roles as desk officer and administrative officer. For five years as the captain of the Fifteenth Precinct he had made no effort to meet the residents or businessmen of the community. Only specific requests for a personal appointment from community leaders, such as the block association representative, were honored, and those at an inconvenient hour to discourage a lengthy visit. (Droge, 1979:86)

In comparison to what most of the captains of the other precincts throughout the city collected, Gottlieb's "nut," as the total collection was referred to, was quite small. But Gottlieb wanted no part in payoffs for drugs, prostitution, gambling, or the various other potential sources. The reason for this was certainly not a moral one. Gottlieb's ambition was limited by his fear of getting caught. In truth, he had no balls. (Droge, 1979:89)

In contrast, the corrupt SIU detectives involved in the French connection heist are considered real men by their colleagues. Wallance discusses the policeman's reaction to the theft.

Within the police department, there were several schools of thought. "Learning of the thefts was like eating your heart out," was the way a ranking deputy Chief inspector put it. But at the patrolman level, the few cops who would talk to reporters were gleeful. They were gleeful because the thefts made the Knapp Commission which had just finished its investigation in the police department, look bad, since the Commission had been completely unaware of the heroin thefts. That was the state of police force morale at the end of 1972. And among the department's narcotics detectives there was unanimity on one point: "Whoever did it, he had a big pair of balls." (1981:32)

The real cop who takes risks and aggressively pursues criminals is therefore often corrupt. It takes the same masculine skills to do policework as it does to take money. It is therefore no surprise that men like Phillips, the notorious "rogue" cop of the Knapp Commission Investigation are good cops.

Phillips' career gave the Commission insights into matters beyond facts indicating the nature and extent of police corruption. It demonstrated, for example, that a corrupt office does not necessarily

have to be an ineffective one. Phillips possessed qualities of aggressiveness, courage, imagination, intelligence, and a highly developed knowledge of street conditions and the law. These qualities served him well in all his activities in the Police Department--both legitimate and corrupt. (Knapp Commission:54)

In summary, a real cop is aggressive and takes risks. He uses these same skills to pursue criminals and to take graft. Just as the amount of money an individual legitimately earns is a symbol of his success as a man in the larger world, the amount of money the policeman makes in illegitimate activities is a symbol of his masculinity and success as a real cop in the informal domain of the street. Given the close association of manhood, real cop and participation in corruption, it is not uncommon that the best cops often do end up in jail.

A great detective, Giuliani thought, should be a man of imagination and fearlessness, a man with a sense of adventure, a man not limited to procedure. In his new detectives, all these qualities were absent, so that he asked himself almost in despair; Where have all the great detectives gone? The answer that came back to him was this one: I put them all in jail. (Daley, 1978:322)

Inside Domains

Rank

Although rank is technically not a location within the police department, most ranking superiors are perceived as inside men who perform feminine tasks. They are more concerned with public relations and administration than with the crime fighting activities of real men who work the streets. In his novel about the good cop,

Captain Powers, Robert Daley explains,

Powers tried to decide what to say to them. Cops became very cynical very fast. They hated bosses--and Powers now was their boss--because bosses were men who hid out in offices, sticking cops with the risk, taking credit if there was any, avoiding, at all costs, blame. In addition most cops counted their own experience as real and vital and all other police experience, especially desk experience, as being in some way fraudulent. They would respond to and respect only street cops like themselves. (1981:75)

Cops on patrol from the beginning until now had had to make the life-and-death decisions by themselves, while their commanders had hid out in here; this was a commander's second perk, to evade responsibility, if he wished, totally. Which was the time-honored way to survive in the New York Police Department, Powers knew. A commander could do very little to alter crime patterns anyway, and a precinct would run well enough by itself. A captain who managed his paper work and who otherwise merely hid out was safer and probably wiser than one who came in determined to institute reforms, to improve the life of the community. On a realistic level a station house was not a shrine, not a sanctuary. It was more like a cavalry post. The commander was isolated inside his fort. To go outside was to court possible, even probably ambush, for there were hordes out there who didn't like him and who would overwhelm him if they wished. (1981:96)

Men above the rank of Captain are more suspicious to the patrolman than most immediate supervisors. A policeman can rise to the rank of Lieutenant by taking a written civil service exam. In contrast the test for Captain is fifty percent oral. The higher the rank the more dominant becomes the oral aspect of the examination. Consequently, patrolmen assume that high ranking officials are usually subject to political pressures. Those who move upward are

tied to the departmental elite who work inside the PAB. In contrast the Lieutenant and Sergeants are perceived as linemen who work outside on the street. They therefore take the same risks as their subordinates.

Thus, the Captain lies between two worlds. He mediates between the interests of the Divisional Inspector and other representatives of the inside elite and the outside concerns of the policemen who compose his command. A bad Captain is an inside man who does not protect his officers because he is too weak to fight "the brass" or is willing to sacrifice his men to superiors in the interests of his career. An inside Captain is perceived as an "asskissing" eunich who lost his manhood on the way to the top. A good Captain, on the other hand is perceived as a "cop's cop," a man who will protect the troops against unreasonable intrusions from administrators whose interests conflict with their own. He is also more concerned with crime fighting than with presenting the proper public image to the people and the department.

The Good Captain. Captain Furillo on the Hill Street Blues program provides an example of the good Captain who protects his men and earns their respect. He is portrayed as a man with high moral scruples who will not compromise politically by sacrificing his men or the community in order to gain a superior position in the department. In one episode, for example, Furillo helps a plainclothesman named JD out of a jam in spite of departmental pressure to indict him. In a moment of weakness, JD accepts a bribe from a corrupt narcotics officer who then turns around and testifies against him. Once Furillo is

convinced that the narcotics officer is lying and that JD really intended to return the money, he provides his support and protection.

In another incident Furillo insists on helping an officer who he believes is innocent in spite of intense departmental pressure to indict him. The officer claims he shot a black boy in self-defense. Shots were fired at him at the same time that another felony was in progress. The community, however, makes the incident into a racial issue and the officer's actions become a priority political matter. As the policeman is already on the departmental "shit list" because of a history of civilian complaints alleging racism and brutality, he is an official embarrassment. Consequently the elite is quite willing to sacrifice him to the community regardless of his guilt in this particular shooting. Furillo however believes the officer committed a legally justifiable shooting. He therefore launches his own investigation which ultimately clears the officer. His refusal to compromise, however, further ensures that Furillo will remain on the Hill and never advance in his career.

Furillo's reputation for political purity is so well known that even corrupt men trust him when they couldn't trust one another. For example a "dirty" undercover cop who turns states evidence against his colleagues insists that he will only talk if Captain Furillo provides protection. He is the only Captain who can protect the undercover cop against an internal assassination attempt because he is the only who doesn't owe anyone anything.

Captain Hope, a commander in the Metro City Police Department is perceived as a good captain because he demonstrates similar attributes

as Furillo. He is an "outside cop" who tries to protect his men against unreasonable intrusion from above.

Hope is different from most high ranking officers in Metro City. He is a well educated man who recently attended the FBI academy, the training ground for the new professional elite. He does not appear to have close connections with the Mayor and his followers. His alienation from the Mayoral elite is reflected in an offhand comment regarding the value of education under the current administration. Jokingly, Captain Hope suggests that the FBI training would not enhance his career because, "a good cop can't go beyond the 11th grade." His remark is obviously directed at the Mayor. The Mayor is a high school drop out who didn't finish the 11th grade. He is viewed as a "red baiter" who hates "commies," radicals, hippies, women and intellectuals. Although intellectual activity in most contexts is perceived as feminine because it involves a dominance of mental rather than physical skills, the captain's educational achievement is viewed as a symbol of resistance rather than femininity because he retains a positive attitude towards his men. The following incidents illustrate Captain Hope's outside orientation and reveals how he earned the respect and trust of the rank and file.

The Mayor and the Commissioner publicly oppose women on patrol and make it clear to the troops that they should also subvert the women's success if they wish to remain in departmental favor. A policeman explains,

. . . In this system of favors . . . (it is apparent)
that all of these "bosses" owe someone--ultimately

that someone is the police commissioner directly and the Mayor indirectly. . . . It's obvious that the administration doesn't want females on patrol. A police commissioner makes public statements to the effect and the Mayor seconds it. It logically follows that in order to please the police commissioner and the Mayor, the Chief Inspectors, the Captains etc. have to undermine the study (of women) both overtly and subtly.

Lieutenant SJ is a supervisor in Captain Hope's district. He is well connected to the regime and consequently vehemently opposes the women on patrol. In order to help the department prove their incompetence, SJ allegedly follows the women on patrol and collects negative information regarding their performance. He sends the reports to the police academy where they are filed for possible use in a court case against the women. SJ does not follow the men on patrol or make similar reports regarding their performance. Nor does he file positive reports describing the good policework conducted by his female officers.

One day SJ and Sergeant Jones reprimand the veteran officers in a roll call for backing up the females when they go on assignments. A few days later Sergeant Jones had reprimanded the men for "playing house" by bringing coffee to a female officer on a foot beat. The veteran officers are upset by their supervisors' unprecedented reprimands. They have never been scolded for providing coffee to a fellow officer nor has anyone ever discouraged them from backing each other up on jobs. Consequently, one veteran officer secretly approaches Captain Hope and reports the orders that they received in roll call.

Although a Captain rarely attends routine roll calls, Hope

makes an exception. The following day he attends the meeting and makes an announcement. He says that "rumor has it" that some officers are being encouraged not to back up other officers when they feel it is necessary to provide assistance. He then ordered his men to back up their colleagues whenever they feel it is appropriate.

By this action, Captain Hope publicly opposes the Lieutenant and overtly subverts the department's unofficial attempt to harrass the females on patrol. Given the Lieutenant's relation to "downtown" it is highly unlikely that the Captain's announcement is kept a secret from the elite.

In another incident the Captain again attempts to protect a female officer against harrassment by SJ and his sergeant. A male rookie, Officer, Brown, formally charges a female rookie, Officer White, with neglect of duty as a result of the failure to take proper police action. Specifically,

In that [date], at about [time], you failed to actively engage in the physical restraint and handcuffing of two prisoners although you were on the scene the entire time. Police Officer Brown while arresting TS, for theft of services, was assaulted by TS. While trying to subdue TS, LR was obstructing Officer Brown in his effort to make the arrest. (Anonymous source, 1977)

The officers made the following statements in the hearing before the Board of Inquiry.

Q. Officer Brown, exactly what is your complaint?

A. I feel that with the circumstances that occurred at (12th and Madison) with two people I ultimately arrested, of which one struck me,

pushed me and I had to strike him back. My gun was at the feet of one of them and I felt that my life was in danger. From the time I got out of the car at (12th and Madison) to the time I left, I was unaware of the location of Officer White, since she was right behind me when I stopped the car, she participated to my knowledge in no way.

Q. Are we to understand that before you departed from your car, you observed P.O. White on the scene, and that at no time throughout this described incident did she offer any assistance to your knowledge?

A. Not to my knowledge, I'd like to add that she did not help me in securing the physical arrest of TS which I obviously needed.

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Q. Is there anything further that you would like to add to this statement?

A. I feel that TS, if he so desired, could have inflicted serious bodily injury on me because he had a knife and at one point my gun was at his feet, and I had no assistance to prevent him.
(Anonymous source, 1977)

In contrast Officer White claims that she did not observe TS assault Officer Brown. In contrast, she saw Brown punching TS. She did not see Officer Brown's gun on the ground. Finally she did not perceive that Officer Brown was in any danger of great bodily harm. In addition she claims that she did help him arrest the suspect. When she saw Officer Brown hitting TS, she dropped the radio receiver and got out of the car. She approached TS and, while holding his arm to maintain control, instructed him to follow the orders of Officer Brown.

A. I had the receiver in my hand when I saw Officer Brown strike Mr. TS. All I got out (on the radio) was the car number, at which

time I saw Officer Brown pull his gun out. I dropped the receiver and immediately got out the car and ran to the scene, and grabbed the man by the arm and told him to calm down and do what the officer told him.

Q. Did you observe any injuries to either officer or either defendant?

A. No, none other than Officer Brown punching TS in the face. (Anonymous source, 1977)

Soon after the incident took place, Captain Hope encouraged Brown to handle his complaint in the routine manner. Usually an officer charged with cowardice is informally punished. Colleagues spread rumors which serve to humiliate him and isolate him from his partners. Many men will refuse to work with the coward claiming that "personality problems" diminish effectiveness. However a real cop will rarely file a written complaint. By filing formal charges the district Captain loses all control of the matter and the inside administrators from downtown gain the upper hand. In White's case however, Lieutenant SJ and Seargeant Jones allegedly opposed the Captain and encouraged the male rookie to file formal, disciplinary charges. The rest of the squad was outraged by Brown's actions. First many veterans thought that Brown lied about the incident in order to appease the lieutenant and gain his favor. In addition, Brown was not particularly popular because he spent most of his time making car stops and investigating unoccupied autos. He therefore avoided real policework by handling bullshit jobs. Some officers also felt that Brown had overreacted and, to prove his manhood, had to exaggerate the danger. Whatever the truth, however, Officer Brown had sinned. He violated informal protocol and filed a

formal charge against a fellow member of his squad. Consequently, most veterans perceived him as an untrustworthy rat who betrayed their interests for those of the department. The female officer was found guilty of neglect of duty and disciplined. However, the male rookie was ostracized and isolated from his colleagues. Eventually he transferred to another location where he maintained his unpopular profile. Meanwhile the Captain had again opposed the department in an attempt to protect the female rookie and the interests of the rank and file itself. Although he lost his battle with SJ and Jones, he maintained the respect of his men.

Research and Planning

Once a Captain assumes a position in an inside location or moves upward in rank, he becomes an inside man whose interests lie downtown. Although some owntown domains are cleaner than others, they all operate to fulfill the goals of the dominant patronage elite. The elite must maintain its power by presenting an appearance of legality, formality and efficiency in administration. The men who work downtown are therefor largely concerned with the production of paperwork, training in formal rules and laws, public relations and the maintenance of departmental image. They are less involved with the crime fighting activities and situational realities of the real cop who works on the street. Given the downtown orientation of the inside men, and this participation in feminine kinds of tasks, he is often labelled an "asskisser" or some other category of feminized male who left his manhood on the street.

The inside units associated with owtown which have clean reputations include the Research and Planning Division, the Community Relations Bureau and the Police Academy. On the surface, the Internal Affairs Bureau (IAB) appears to be an inside location for honest cops. However, the cultural peculiarity of the unit attracts an unusual membership which includes both honest and "dirty" policemen.

The Research and Planning unit is known as a haven for honest policemen. It not only attracts those who avoid making scores but also men who tend to limit their participation in the quasi-corrupt activities which characterize the informal politics of the department's patronage elite. The Research and Planning Bureau, in fact, is perceived as one source of a "new professional elite" who wait for a revolutionary transformation of the department before joining the ranks of the powerful. In addition it is composed of a few loyal men who have retained their self-respect by hiding in havens for honest men and looking the other way. Rubinstein discusses the reputation of the Research and Planning Division.

Captains in Districts where vice activity was strong did not get appointed unless they were involved. They allowed their patrolmen to hustle what they wanted in return for loyalty and honesty. "Honest" policemen would operate under these conditions, but usually these men gravitated to commands where there was no graft and no obligations to perform illicit service. The Training Division and the Planning Bureaus of most Departments became the bastions of reformers who were disgusted with "politics" and corruption. (1973:374)

The activities of Research and Planning constitute the intellectual work of a scientific elite who create the paper view of the police

department. They construct the map of how the department is supposed to work. The unit is therefore composed of men who stay corruption-free by becoming immersed in the manufacture of the formal order for public consumption. From the perspective of the patrolman, the Research and Planning unit makes the "bullshit" which the Public Relations Department then sells to the public.

The Training Bureau

The Training Bureau is also considered an inside intellectual realm where formal rules and law are taught to recruits as well as veteran officers engaged in in-service training. The Academy attracts volunteers who can no longer tolerate the violence and corruption on the street. It is also composed of dissidents who the department transferred to a place where access to the informal world is limited; if they see nothing then there is nothing for them to oppose or expose. In addition, the Academy provides an honorable dwelling for the psychological and physical casualties of the street. The instructors at the Metro City Police Academy, for example, included an alcoholic, two victims of shootings, one brutal policeman, one cop who opposed the violence on the street and three officers who had come into open conflict with the regime. One had thrown a milkshake in a superior's face. A second had refused to order his troops to perform manual labor unfitting to their role as crime fighters and real cops. The third had refused to allow the city's Managing Director to ride his horse in the police ring while he was conducting a class.

By virtue of its role as the official teacher of formal

departmental policy and the law, the Police Academy is particularly vulnerable to legal scrutiny in the face of outside investigations. An Academy instructor who talks about informal street procedures to a naive recruit risks his position. If the rookie is caught participating in illegal activity and claims he learned it during his formal training, the department itself becomes as liable as the officer. Consequently, veteran officers who work at the Academy are forced to lie to recruits. They assume the voice of a formal order they know contradicts the practice on the street. When the recruit is assigned to a district, and learns that "It's not done on the street the way that it's taught at the Academy," his experience at the Training Bureau comes to represent the first "big lie" or betrayal that provides support for his growing cynicism and alienation from the inside world downtown. One officer alludes to the contradiction between the formal world of the Academy and the informal world of the street.

The Academy was really like fantasy island. You learned all about what you should do. All about the laws and you thought you knew alot more than you did. And you watched all those T.V. shows so you thought you know what it was about. Interesting. It was interesting. It really was a make believe world though because they never ever told you about what you could really expect on the street.

The Police Academy can be further divided into inside and outside domains. The mainbuilding is perceived as less cop and more feminine because formal classes in law and departmental directives are taught in those classrooms. It also houses the offic of the Chief Inspector and other high ranking officials associated with the downtown

elite. In contrast the physical training field, the K-9 unit and the police pistol range are all viewed as outside arenas where policemen learn the skills associated with policework on the street. Officers are taught self-defense and other techniques associated with physical strength and violence in "P.T." Police dogs are trained in the K-9 area. The training takes "masculine" courage and physical prowess because the policeman-owner must provide the bait for the attack dog learning how to bite. He wraps his arms in cloth and leather and encourages the dog to attack him on command. Finally, the police pistol range is the most "outside unit" because it involves the use of the gun which symbolizes masculine power as well as the use of violence necessary to the crime fighting work of the real street cop.

Juvenile Aid Division (JAD)

Like the Research and Planning Division and the Training Bureau, the Juvenile Aid Division is perceived as a "Siberia for honest cops" (Mallowe, 1977:113). The Juvenile Aid Division attracts men who enjoy the social service dimension of policework. They handle gangs, delinquents, and crimes against minors including child abuse and rape. As the Juvenile Aid Division specializes in the protection and treatment of wayward children, it has a distinct feminine flavor. Consequently, it is the only unit in the Metro City Police Department which hired policewomen prior to the advent of sex discrimination suits in the 1970's. Thus JAD is perceived as an inside feminine domain composed of honest intellectuals and social workers who prefer to use their minds instead of their fists to perform their duties. Westley explains,

All the major crime details are desired because of the attendant possibilities of publicity and prestige. The juvenile assignment was desired only by those men who had a particular interest in that area, and generally it fell to their lot. Interviews with these men indicated that they particularly liked the juvenile detail because they didn't have to use any rough stuff, and they had asked for it for that reason. Other assignments such as the investigation of broken windows were considered to be a kind of Siberia, the reward for inefficiency or unpopularity in the front office. (Westley, 1970:39-40)

The Internal Affairs Division

The Internal Affairs Division is the third unit associated with the inside realm downtown. It consists of three subunits; the Inspection Division, the Internal Security Division and the Police Board of Inquiry which conducts formal departmental hearings regarding allegations against police officers. The Internal Affairs Division as a whole is formally supposed to relieve the department of incompetent and corrupt members and discipline others who violate rules in minor ways. Informally, however, the unit is viewed as an instrument of the patronage elite. It maintains the appearance of legality by disciplining officers whose illicit conduct has become so outrageous that they threaten to embarrass the department as a whole.

The Internal Affairs Bureau appears as a practical matter to have assumed the responsibility to investigate "the more serious cases" of corruption or brutality--those with "notoriety" or "sensitivity" or those cases which may result in some civil or criminal litigation against a police officer. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 467)

These rotten apples are "swept under the rug" through transfers or, if necessary, dismissal. Informally, the Internal Affairs Division also

disposes of dissident members who overtly oppose the policies and practices of the dominant patronage elite. With the use of undercover surveillance the Internal Securities Division can usually "get something on" a recalcitrant member which can be used against him in a formal disciplinary hearing. Westley explains,

No man in the police department obeys even a good portion of these rules all the time. Therefore, all the men in the department are susceptible to disciplinary action by the chief and are thus under his control in spite of the protection of the civil service status given them. . . . Two points encompassed by the list (of offenses) are of particular significance: First, the presence of a multitude of essentially unenforceable rules such as that against smoking on duty, which keep the men on the force perpetually susceptible to disciplinary action, and therefore under control; second, the intrusion of the police department's control into the private lives of the men, as exemplified by the rule against incurring personal debts while in the service of the department. (Westley, 1970:27)

If the department can't get something on him, they can of course, simply give him a "routine transfer" to a location such as the Police Academy where he can do no harm to anyone.

Given the contradictory nature of the Internal Affairs Division and its highly sensitive activities, it is apparent that the unit attracts an unusual variety of policemen. The Inspections Division and the main body of the Board of Inquiry are both composed of officials who are the rank of Staff Inspector and above. Although these men are feared more than other high ranking officials, their power as formal agents of control is consistent with their superior rank. In general the officials who join these two subunits have mixed reputations

among the rank and file. Some are perceived as "clean reformers" while others are known as "friends of the elite" who perform the dirty work for the department. The "clean reformers" attend to the formal functions of disciplining corrupt officers whose conduct has gotten out of hand. The friends of the elite conduct exploratory investigations of the dissidents or provide the "swing" opinion on a Board decision which may serve to ratify a frame-up or ensure a guilty verdict.

Internal Securities is the third subunit within the Internal Affairs Division. It is composed of both high ranking and rank and file officers. A cop who is formally placed in a position to judge or discipline another cop automatically breaks informal rules which govern the conduct between colleagues of equal rank. A cop may talk negatively about another policeman or even challenge him to a physical fight. However a good cop doesn't judge another cop on paper or in public. Nor does a "real cop" rat on another officer except under highly unusual circumstances. Thus, a rank and file officer who works in the Internal Securities unit is formally placed in a compromising position from the perspective of his colleagues. If he maintains an administrative position the officer retains some of his identity intact. If he becomes an investigator and conducts undercover surveillance of suspect officers, he so totally violates the policeman's code of ethics that he loses status as a real cop and acquires the subhuman identity of a "rat" or, in the local vernacular, a "gink." The officer who works as a "rat" for Internal Security must resign himself to an inside career among other "rats" who view him as "normal." If he leaves Internal Security, he will face isolation from colleagues who perceive him as a

social "untouchable."

Internal Security is an unusual unit because its very existence contradicts cultural rules which define social membership and individual identity as police. Its activities violate the cultural code of policemen in such a way that its members assume a subhuman or subcultural status. They are not "real members" because real members do not behave in this fashion. Given the cultural reversal of roles the unit represents, it is logical that its internal structure must also be reversed in order to fit within the larger social scheme of the department. Thus, Internal Affairs is the only unit in the department in which the man who works inside in an administrative capacity is more likely to retain a remnant of masculinity than the individual who works outside on the street. The outside work of crime fighting in IAB concerns fighting crime among cops rather than criminals. Participation in crime fighting therefore constitutes a violation of informal cultural rules which only an asocial, non-police person could commit. Consequently, in order to retain some remnant of humanness and masculinity the policeman must withdraw from the crime fighting activities which negate his status as a policeman and assume a more passive inside position doing administrative work.

There are three basic categories of rank and file officers who work in Internal Security; clean rats, dirty cops and dirty rats.¹⁵ These categories are also applicable to the officer who acts in the capacity of informer to an outside investigating body such as the Knapp Commission or the District Attorney's Office. The officer who turns State's evidence however must bear the additional stigma of violating the cultural boundary which structures communication between police and civilian. "Going Public"

is perceived as a more dangerous act because it is more likely to instigate major investigations into the activities of the department as a whole rather than the few unlucky offenders who got caught with their hands in the cookie jar.

The clean rat is the first category of policeman who works in Internal Security. The clean rat views himself as a social missionary. He believes he can change the barrel by cleaning out the rotten apples. When the clean rat worked on the street, he openly displayed his attitude toward corruption to the officers around him and earned a reputation as a clean cop. Although he took free coffee, food and occasionally discounts on merchandise from friendly businessmen, he refused to take any kind of money note. At the same time he followed the informal code of ethics and did not expose the activities of colleagues who were on the take. Only when the officer transfers to Internal Security and assumes the formal role of informer does he begin to expose the corruption of other policemen. However, the men he pursues are strangers and do not include cops who were partners or friends when he worked on the street in another unit.

In summary, the clean rat is a crusader who voluntarily joins Internal Security for moral reasons. His role as clean rat is consistent with his reputation as a clean cop on the street. His new identity is not accompanied by a drastic transformation in character and behavior. In addition he is careful not to abuse his new authority by giving up his friends or betraying his partners. As cleanliness and a legalistic interpretation to formal rules and law are perceived as feminine, the clean cop has always been viewed as an inside man. His work in Internal

Affairs as an investigator exposing corruption on the street is consistent with his early female-like orientation to policing. He was never a real man nor a real cop on the street and is even less so in Internal Affairs.

The second category of cop who works in Internal Security is the "dirty cop." The dirty cop is an opportunist who joins Internal Security for personal or political reasons which have nothing to do with a moral commitment to clean up corruption and make a better police force. Although the dirty cop works in a location inhabited by rats, he himself tries to avoid overt participation in anti-corruption activity. As he is primarily oriented towards the outside world of the real street cop rather than the unit in which he works, he prefers an administrative position within Internal Security rather than a job as an investigative informer on the street.

When the dirty cop worked in uniform patrol, he participated heavily in corruption and sees no reason to suffer financial loss because of his change in locale. Given the sensitivity of the unit and his special access to information, opportunities to earn a note in Internal Affairs are abundant. He can, for example, exchange information regarding the secret investigations of Internal Security to "friends" outside in return for a substantial "score." Thus, the dirty policeman who works in IAB may act as a kind of double agent who minimizes betrayals of street cops by limiting participation in official investigations at the same time that he sells information to colleagues on the street. In summary, the dirty cop is an opportunist who has no moral commitment to the formal goal of IAB. He participated in corruption on the street and continues to make money inside. When possible he avoids betraying friends

and colleagues by staying "inside" and avoiding internal investigations "outside" on the street. Like the clean rat the dirty cop is consistent in his personality and behavior in spite of his formal position as an officer in Internal Affairs. He starts out as a "real man" and real cop who participates in the informal world on the street. He continues to maximize manhood by working in an inside capacity in Internal Affairs and continuing his involvement in corruption. There is no drastic cultural reorientation or major reversal to another kind of man than the one he was when he worked on the street.

In contrast to the clean rat, the dirty rat participated in graft before he joined Internal Security. When he joined the unit, however, he switched sides and agreed to inform investigators about the activities of his colleagues on the street. Often his cooperation is induced by promises of future success or the threat of punishment. In contrast to the clean rat who was never trusted by policemen because he did not engage in corruption and the dirty cop who does not change sides, the dirty rat betrays his partners trust and therefore assumes a particularly repugnant identity.

Symbolically, the dirty rat transforms his allegiance from the informal world of law. He leaves the outside world of the street and joins the inside domain of Internal Affairs. There, he breaks the oath of silence which unites policemen and betrays his colleagues. This change in social identity and behavior constitutes a symbolic transformation in sexual orientation. Like the jailhouse punk,¹⁶ the dirty rat comes into the system a man who belongs in the informal world. However he has neither the courage nor strength to maintain his masculine status and is

forced to become a woman. In contrast to the clean rat or the dirty cop, the dirty rat undergoes a sexual transformation and symbolic emasculation which forever marks him as a contaminated individual whose ambiguity implies both pollution and danger.¹⁷

TABLE 2

CORRUPTION AND VIOLENCE: DEPARTMENTAL LOCATIONS

Clean - - - - -			Dirty		
Feminine			Masculine		
Inside Work			Outside Work		
Formal World			Informal World		
<u>DOWNTOWN</u>			<u>STREET</u>		
Research and Planning			<u>Uniform Patrol</u>		
Graphics			Park District		
Statistics			High Crime District		
Training Bureau			Low Crime District		
IAB			<u>Special Patrol</u>		
Lab			Stakeout		
Firearms			Marine		
Documents Examination			Mounted		
Criminal Records			Airport		
Mobile Crime Unit			ACT		
Reports Control			Granny Squad		
Identification			Highway Patrol		
Evidence Custodian			<u>Plainclothes/Detectives</u>		
Warrant Units			Juvenile Aid		
Garage			Division		
Personnel Officer			Homicide		
Safety Officer			Major Crimes		
Administration			Narcotics		
Fiscal			Vice		
Building Maintenance			CIS		
			Captainsmen		
			Inspector's men		

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. For a symbolic analysis of the structural contradiction between low status female spheres and high status male spheres, see Ortner, "Is Female to Male as Nautre is to Culture?" (1974). Nancy Chodorow provides a psychoanalytic analysis of the differential status of masculine and feminine domains in The Reproduction of Mothering, Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender (1978).

2. Ballistics, the Crime Laboratory and the Mobile Crime Units have higher status than Records and Identification. The former are more concerned with investigations and real policework while the latter are viewed as file clerk units who maintain the paper work.

3. The policeman assigned to the "meter car," for example, collects the formal quota of parking tickets for meter violations. As most real cops hate to write meter tickets, the district normally assigns one man to write all twenty-five tickets which takes approximately three to five hours. Upon completion of the task, he is allowed to go home as an informal reward for doing the dirty work.

4. See Chapter IV for a discussion of the distinction between legal and criminal notes and clean and dirty money.

5. Collar men is an expression used by New York City patrolmen to refer to the anticrime unit. The success of the anticrime unit is measured by the number of arrests. The term collarmen suggests the hunter quality of a unit such as anticrime which concentrates who arrests. In Metro City a "collar man" is said to be "pinch hungry."

6. In the 1960's the Tactical Patrol Force (TPF) now called the Tactical Patrol Unit (TPU) was known by other policemen as the "gestapo" of the New York City police department. They, like Highway, were sent into precincts to make a large number of arrests. They would leave after several days, "leaving the precinct to clean up the blood." Several officers joked about the alleged brutality of the unit by calling them "Trees, Plants and Flowers," the very opposite of their reputation.

7. The incongruity procedure is a method that policemen employ to sort their environment into suspicious and innocent persons (Sacks, 1972).

8. To Farm is to plant evidence on someone.

9. See Chapter III for a discussion of situational and abstract violence. Abstract violence refers to violence which is perceived as appropriate to a particular category of person regardless of the immediate situational pressures. Thus, cop killers and muggers of old ladies and other helpless victims are perceived as appropriate

targets for police violence. Situational violence refers to force which arises in the context of social interaction as a result of situational exigencies. A mild physical assault on the officer, for example, merits normal situational violence.

10. A policeman gains the status of detective by taking a standard test. He must first work in a division before he has the opportunity to transfer to another unit. In Metro City, homicide and major crimes are elite units composed of detectives. In contrast, narcotics is composed of rank and file officers and their supervisors. In New York, in contrast, SIU was an elite unit composed of detectives.

11. In Violence and the Police, Westley suggests that the use of force is perceived as legitimate in order to obtain information that would lead to the solution of a crime or the conviction of a criminal.

12. Maas discusses the beating of a rape suspect in Serpico (Maas, 1973). One of the detectives was named "blackjack" because of his "enthusiastic use of that leather-bound instrument." In John Allen's autobiography (Allen, 1977), it is significant that the detectives are the officers who beat Allen and his friends rather than the patrolman who makes the arrest.

13. Officers in plainclothes vice squads also have reputations as high class womanizers. In contrast to the patrolmen who has access to residential females and low class professional whores, the vice officers have access to high class call girls. Jimmy Riley describes the sweet life of the vice officer.

"Jimmy brushed off the bitterness, thought again of the good days. It was a great trip-- the high life, fine clothes, beautiful showgirls, money coming out of every pocket. Would I ever want to turn the clock back to boyhood and begin again? Never. In spite of everything. I had a sweet life. And one day soon Jimmy Riley would be home again and get another crack at life--the sweet life that Jimmy Riley knew."
(Reardon, 1980:379)

14. Harry Gross was a numbers operator who was involved in the 1950's investigation into corruption in the New York Police Department.

15. Robert Leuci is an example of a dirty rat kind of policeman. Serpico, in contrast, represents a clean rat. Although both Serpico and Leuci were disliked by most policemen because they ratted and sent cops to jail, Serpico is often viewed as courageous but crazy and also honest. Leuci in contrast is perceived as a totally degraded "scumbag" who has no positive virtues.

16. I borrowed the work punk from prison vocabulary. A faggot is a person who presents himself as he is, a homosexual. He is like the clean cop with the consistent feminine identification. He does nothing undercover or indirect. In a sense his feminization is honorable. The punk however is a prison homosexual who starts out as a man. He comes into prison male but is too weak to resist the gestures of other male prisoners who want to have him as their "kid" or lover. He therefore is "turned" in prison into a homosexual. The punk is viewed as an emasculated man rather than simply a faggot. Consequently he is a lower category of person than the faggot who is not turned around. The punk cop who turns and becomes a clean woman is perceived as a lower form of life than the dirty rat or the clean rat who maintains a consistent sexual identity.

17. The fictional material quoted in this chapter is derived from books written by former police officers which appear to reflect their personal experience on the job. Both Reardon and Droge, for example, were New York City Policemen. Although Robert Daley was a civilian, he spent several years as a police reporter before assuming the position as Deputy Commissioner in the New York Police Department. His writings are well liked by rank and file policemen.

CHAPTER III

MERIT AND BLACKMAIL: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Formal and Informal Political Organization

Policemen perceive a contradiction between the formal and informal basis of power and upward mobility within the police department. Formally, they are taught that the police department is a quasi-military system based on the hierarchical organization of rank and status. The Mayor is the most powerful figure in city government and in the police department. He exerts formal control through direct appointment of high ranking officials or because his approval is necessary for their appointment. In addition, the Mayor has veto power in city council. The Mayor appoints the Police Commissioner, the highest ranking police official. The Police Commissioner appoints the Deputy Commissioner with the approval of the city's Managing Director and the Mayor. The Mayor also chooses the Managing Director.

The highest ranking civil service position in the department is Chief Inspector. However, the test for Chief Inspector is one hundred percent oral. The test for Captain is fifty percent written and fifty percent oral. In contrast, the ranks of sergeant and lieutenant are one hundred percent written.

In any complex organization, an informal structure of economic and political power is supplementary or parallel to the formal framework

(Wolf, 1966:2). In the police department, the para-military structure, the formal emphasis on political appointments and the oral nature of the civil service examination enhances the possibility that informal factors influence the attainment of superior rank and status. Although "objective criteria" such as superior job performance, leadership ability, formal knowledge and education should all contribute to rank, informal factors appear to dominate most decisions regarding promotion and attainment of high status assignments.

There are three principles which policemen regard as basic to the informal accumulation of power. The first principle involves "who you know"; relations of patronage, kinship, and friendship dominate the formal criteria of competence, performance and merit. "What you owe" is the second principle which underlies the informal system; an exchange of favors based on "generalized reciprocity" (Sahlins, 1965) is fundamental to the development of the friendship networks. The third principle of power involves "what you have on someone." In particular knowledge about the illicit activities of colleagues is perceived as a major weapon in the struggle for power in the informal realm. "Dirty knowledge" can be used by the elite to maintain their position and control the troops. The Internal Securities Division and the Mayor's special spy squad, for example are formal organizational tools which can be used by the elite to get something on political enemies. Dirty knowledge can also be used as a weapon by the rank and file. They can gather information about superiors to use to gain special privileges or prevent abuses. Colleagues also maintain internal control by keeping abreast of each other's participation in illicit activities.¹

Who You Know and What You Owe

Relations of kinship, patronage and instrumental friendship largely determine who gains superior rank and position within the police department and the city government. For example, the Mayor of Metro City was a cop who rose through the ranks to become the Police Commissioner. He gained his original appointment to the force as a favor from a ward politician.

I okayed his appointment. In those days it helped to have (political support) because there were a lot more names on the eligibility list than there were vacancies in the police department. (Anonymous Source)

By the time he was appointed Police Commissioner, the Mayor himself had earned a reputation as a true padrone who would take care of his friends and avenge his enemies. Supporters were rewarded with city jobs and city contracts. Political enemies including "creeps, kooks, liberals, phonies, fags, ultraliberals, lefties, hoodlums, and bums," as well as the lesbians, intellectuals, and unconnected racial minorities were red-baited, brutalized, investigated and disowned from political positions. The Mayor even had a personal spy squad who maintained surveillance of political enemies in order to collect information which could be used against them in a political crunch.

When the Mayor assumed his position, he appointed an honest but loyal man, "no-note Nicky" as the Police Commissioner. Nicky would attend to the formal aspects of police administration while allowing the Mayor full informal control of the troops. The Mayor also appointed a loyal associate as Managing Director (MD). Prior

to his appointment, MD had worked as a lawyer for an auto leasing agency. Although he had no administrative experience, he had provided support throughout the Mayor's campaign and was therefore rewarded with a powerful formal position in City Government. With a cooperative Police Commissioner, a dedicated Managing Director and a lifelong network of friends in the department and the city, the Mayor's power was ominous. The dominance of informal criteria as the basis for rank and position was so overt that the Mayor even appointed his own brother as Fire Commissioner.

Relatives, friends, and benefactors of the mayoral regime also receive privileged access to the police and their services. MD for example had free access to the Police Riding Stables. One Lieutenant was allegedly transferred to the Training Bureau after he refused to allow the Managing Director to ride in the police ring while he was conducting a class for new transfers. A close relative of the Mayor was even assigned his own police vehicle with an official "call name." Although he had no formal police authority, the relative was free to radio police units and command them to ticket cars or perform other similar tasks.

Rank and file officers were also frequently ordered to do favors for "friends of the Mayor." In one district, a policeman was assigned to make several checks on a friend's house during a four to twelve shift. The officer would shine a light on the house, wait for a response from the occupant and then fill out the routine paper work which documented the visit. Similarly a mounted patrol officer was given a detail to guard the home of a "friend of the Mayor's." He was

not allowed to leave his post lest he receive a formal complaint. The 'frame' incident recited in Chapter VII provides a more flagrant example of the special access to police services granted supporters of the regime. As Frankie made large contributions to the Mayor's political campaign and his brother loaned the Commissioner his summer home in a resort location, he was allowed to use the police as his "private little army." For example, a special unit was assigned to guard the warehouse which Frankie owned in the district in spite of the fact that the building was apparently empty. After Frankie installed a special tack alarm system in the warehouse, he decided to test the unit himself. He walked on the floor and set off the alarm which was connected to the police communications system. Consequently, patrol cars, footmen and even stakeout units responded to the false alarm. Although "anybody else woulda been arrested for doing that," Frankie got away without even a warning. He was, after all, a friend of the Mayor's. (See Rubinstein, 1973:410-2, for a similar discussion of internal political arrangements.)

Police officers in Metro City also believe they must know somebody in order to gain most desirable assignments, high ranking positions and other special favors within the department. Men who have connections with the Mayor, his associates or other powerful persons within the community are more likely to receive favored treatment. For example, several men with relatives on the job were removed from the original study sample and sent to "classy" districts in the center of the city. Although the Chief Inspector claimed the sample was altered for reasons of commuting convenience, the Director of

Administration informally acknowledged that the changes were "political."

Mallowe discusses another instance where connections proved fruitful. He explains,

The assistant DAs who handle most of the brutality problems. . . estimate that there are about 80 chronic losers within the department whose names keep reappearing on brutality reports, deadly force incidents and those hushed-up memos concerning the off-duty activities of the officers when they have been known to shoot up bars, beat up their wives and occasionally gun down each other. But as one of the assistant DA's put it, "There's a real reluctance to move against these nuts because when we track down their backgrounds, practically every one has some prior, friendly connection with (The Mayor). They either did a good job for him when he was shooting up through the ranks, or they plain have something on him. We can't do a damn thing about them because (The Mayor) takes care of his friends.

During my field work, there was a major shakeup in one district. A Captain, some supervisors and several police officers were all indicted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for corruption. One police officer pointed out that the cops were fired from the department while the Captain was allowed to resign and therefore collect his pension. The officer suggested that "the Captain must have made a deal with the Mayor. . . they used to work together as cops and the Captain probably had enough on the Mayor to put him in jail."

An officer who knows no one and tries to follow the formal rules to obtain favors or transfers is at a tremendous disadvantage. One policeman, for example, describes his effort to get off the street and in the Juvenile Aid Division. This particular officer had an

outstanding record as a police officer. He was known as a good cop who minded his own business and did his job well. He was formally educated, happily married and, aside from a few free hamburgers, donuts and coffee, did not participate in the informal world of corruption which dominates the policeman's life.

As a police officer without rank of detective, JAD was about the only unit where you could get rid of the junk on the street. I could have also gone to K-9 or anticrime but they were the same play hard work hard attitude. Anticrime guys are fantastic, . . . They make the best arrests in the city. . .but they also play hard. I mean it's that philosophy I wanted to get away from. JAD has the reputation of, you go there, it's a nice clean job you get a suit and tie and you handle good missing children and juvenile cases. It was good police work and there wasn't a lot of drinking and galavanting. Your day was consumed with what I consider, good clean investigations. And so I went to the Lieutenant and I asked him, "How do I get into JAD?" And he told me, "The official way. You put in transfer papers." Which was very nice of him and he laughed. And he said, "You know you can't do it that way." And I said, "Well, sure you can. I understand the politics and all but surely I have credentials." By that time I spoke good enough Spanish where I could say I was Spanish-speaking and I had a BA and all that and I thought that that was what they were looking for. So I put in my papers and I had an interview with the JAD captain and he was very nice. He said, "You certainly meet what we want and we'll put you on the waiting list and as soon as an opening comes we'll put you in. And about a month or two went by and other guys also put in for JAD, after I did and they got chosen and I said Jesus something must be wrong here and I'm getting a little cynical now. And I went to the Lieutenant and I said, "What may I ask happened?" and he laughed and he says, "You have to go get a politician." And I said, "No I want to do it the right way." I'm convinced that along with the parachute jobs I'm sure that they could use somebody because I think I could add something to it." So I arranged another meeting with the JAD captain and he said, "That must have been an oversight, I don't know how these

guys could have been chosen before you. I see the date on your transfer papers and I do admit the guys we took in before you don't have the credentials. So I'll put you on the waiting list." So the same thing. Two or three months went by and more guys got in JAD who I know put in after I did. And they were drones and they should have never been in there. By then of course I knew but I was just being a pain in the ass. So I go for my third interview. And the same captain, he looks at me and he says, "Hey why are you wasting my time for. . .Why are you trying to get transferred the official way?" I say, "Well, that's the way you do it." He says, "Don't waste my time, the only way you're gonna get transferred is through your ward leader."

Getting Something on Someone

Knowledge regarding the illicit activities of low ranking policemen, colleagues and superior officers is an important tool in the accumulation of power as well as the maintenance of obedience and loyalty within the police department. The departmental elite, for example, allegedly collect "dirty information" about the conduct of low ranking policemen who are politically dissident or otherwise troublesome. Low ranking officers also gather "dirty knowledge" about colleagues and superiors to ensure their cooperation, gain favors and otherwise enhance their leverage in the face of differential formal rank and status.²

Early in their careers, police recruits begin to learn of the importance of dirty information as well as the chronic presence of surveillance. After several weeks at the Police Academy, the "smart" recruit begins to develop a deep sense of distrust or "normal paranoia" as he becomes aware of an informal system of departmental surveillance designed to control his behavior and keep him in line. He learns that some rooms have intercom systems which are connected to the Chief

Inspector's office. They can be switched on at the Chief's discretion without the knowledge of the person in the other room. He learns that some of his teachers and associates are rats who will inform the Chief of all their activities. One Captain, for example, nicknamed "The Scrote" by several veteran officers, was well known as the Chief's man. He was married to the Chief Inspector's secretary who was perceived as a "hot line to the Mayor." Unknown to most recruits, the resident psychologist was also a Chief's man. A confidential talk between a troubled recruit and the sympathetic psychologist would usually land on the Chief's desk. There are also, of course, rats on the street who inform the elite of the activities of the rank and file. Thus, for example, one lieutenant was known to follow the female officers on patrol in order to get something on them. He would send his reports regarding their activities and on the job conduct back to the academy. He did not perform similar acts for the male recruits. Later the lieutenant testified against the female officers in court. The predicament of the police officer was clearly stated by a departmental lawyer in a meeting regarding the study. He explained, "We want them to know that someone is watching them all of the time."

The recruits learned a lesson in dirty knowledge after they witnessed the dismissal of two classmates who were brought "to the front" on charges of moral turpitude because they demonstrated their affections too publicly. One incident, in particular, served to remind the recruits that they were always under surveillance, even in the most private places. One day the Chief's secretary walked into the woman's bathroom. The

bathroom was one of the few places in the Police Academy where there was no intercom system which connected to the Chief's office and therefore was considered a private place where confidential discussions could occur. The secretary left the bathroom and reported to her husband, the Captain, that it was a total mess. The Captain proceeded to yell at the female recruits. He called them all "filthy pigs," and ordered them to clean up their abominable mess. When the women went into the bathroom, the only filth they observed were a few paper towels surrounding a full trash can. But they knew, then, that "Big Brother" was everywhere. Once the recruit leaves the Academy, his knowledge regarding the use and abuse of dirty information becomes increasingly sophisticated as he learns to manipulate the informal system to his own advantage.

Departmental Control. Although there are informal channels which keep the elite in touch with the rank and file, the Department also has the formal apparatus of Internal Security to use to gather "dirty information" regarding recalcitrant officers.

However, in practice Internal Affairs actually operates as a punitive wing of the police command structure in which lower-ranking policemen are ruthlessly singled out and harrassed for the most minute infraction of the Department's voluminous rules and regulations. (Mallowe, 1977:150)

The myriad of rules include idle conversation, smoking on duty, sleeping on duty, uniform and haircut violations, cursing on duty, drinking on duty, moral turpitude and a host of others. The Department

is fully aware that most police officers violate some of the rules most of the time and other rules some of the time. Thus, most policemen feel that enforcement is arbitrary because it depends less on the commitment of violations which are informally permissible than on something else the suspect officer is doing which attracts undue attention. From the policeman's point of view, "If they want to get you for a reason, they'll find a reason to get you." Given the atmosphere of fear and intimidation that prevails, policemen are always on the lookout for evidence which indicates surveillance.

One officer, for example, described what he thought the department had on him. He explained that he had gone into a bar to get a sandwich. He came out of the bar with the food in a paper bag. Internal security took a photograph of his leaving the bar with the paper bag. Although the bag contained no alcoholic beverage, it is a violation of policy for officers to enter bars without supervision unless they can prove it is done in the line of duty. Second, the department could always claim that the bag contained alcohol and thus it would be simply his work against theirs in a hearing before the Board of Inquiry allegedly dominated by friends of the elite. The officer assumed that the department kept the photograph in a special file in case they should need to use it against him in the future.

Gathering dirty knowledge provides a means to protect the men who are faithful to the elite and who gain power through the informal system of patronage and favors. Thus, men who attempt to gain power through following formal rules are more dangerous to the elite because they have no way to control them. The elite can only dispose of these

men by harrassment or ordering routine transfers to a clean location such as the police Academy where they provide no threat. Rubinstein confirms the necessity of the policeman's participation in the informal system to ensure the dominance of the patronage elite.

No Department wanted some of its men to become fences, burglars, and even robbers, but it was difficult to prevent this without risking the exposure of all the illegal activities in which the police were systematically involved. Everyone in these departments also learned to limit his curiosity about what others were doing. To assure the loyalty and good faith of the men, superiors sought to "get something on" their colleagues that would prevent them from considering betrayal. Conspiracy and secrecy became requirements for employment. (Rubinstein, 1973:374)

TABLE 3

FORMAL ORGANIZATION OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT

Formally the police department is organized into three major operational Divisions under the authority of the Police Commissioners. The operational divisions are subdivided into approximately ten bureaus headed by the Director of Administration, Chief Inspectors and occasionally an Inspector. The ten bureaus are further divided into subunits with various functions relating to the administration, investigative, public relations, crime fighting and social service facets of police work. The following chart depicts the formal organization of the department.

A. Police Commissioner

1. Internal Affairs
 - a. Board of Inquiry
 - b. Investigations
2. Staff Services Division
 - a. Systems, procedures and communications
 - 1) Research and Planning
 - 2) Data Processing
 - 3) Graphic Arts
 - 4) Communications Division (911)
 - 5) Statistics
 - b. Laboratory and Records
 - 1) Laboratory
 - 2) Camera Control
 - 3) Firearms identification
 - 4) Document examination
 - 5) Mobile Crime Detection
 - 6) Detention
 - 7) Criminal Records
 - 8) Identification
 - 9) Reports Control
 - 10) Court Liaison
 - 11) Evidence Custodian
 - 12) Warrant Unit
3. Director of Administration
 - a. Personnel Officer
 - b. Administrative analysis
 - c. Fiscal
 - d. Building Maintenance
 - e. Safety Officer (process IOD's)
 - f. Garage
 - 1) Motor maintenance: police vehicles
 - 2) Special Service: tows, storage large pieces of evidence, abandoned vehicles, etc.

4. Community Relations Bureau

B. Deputy Commissioner Uniform Forces

1. Patrol Bureau (Division Inspectors, District Captains, District Personnel)
2. Special Patrol Bureau
 - a. Traffic Division/sanitation unit
 - b. Accident Investigation Unit
 - c. Highway Patrol
 - d. Stakeout
 - e. Canine unit
 - f. Airport unit
 - g. Marine unit
 - h. Transit unit
 - i. Mounted
3. Command and Inspections (night command)
4. Park Bureau (2 divisions commanded by Inspector and subdivided into seven districts)

C. Deputy Commissioner of Investigation and Training

1. Detective Bureau
 - a. Homicide
 - b. Major Crimes
 - c. Intelligence
 - d. Labor
 - e. Narcotics (investigations)
 - f. Juvenile Aid
 - 1) Field investigations
 - 2) Policewomen
 - 3) Morals
 - 4) Gang control
 - g. Civil Disobedience
2. Training Bureau

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. The threat of violence ultimately enforces the dominance of the informal system. If an officer is honest and threatens to betray superiors or colleagues, he can be killed in such a way as to make the murder appear as an accident (see, for example, Maas, 1973:13-4). One Metro City officer, for example, described how he was set up by colleagues when they thought he planned to rat on their illegal use of force. He claimed they fixed his car so the brakes went out while he was driving home on the highway. Similarly, Beigel and Beigel discuss the response of a policeman regarding the formulation of a legal deal which would exchange his cooperation from lenience. Although he wanted to make a deal, he feared that his life would be jeopardized if he did.

Holder said, "he said he would like to help, but if he did, he'd soon be found dead in an alley somewhere." (Beigel and Beigel, 1977:54)

"Mr. Beigel (the policeman said), you really have me by the balls, but I'd rather not be dead." (Beigel and Beigel, 1977:56)

2. For a more detailed discussion of ways in which rank and file officers use dirty information in order to increase their power in relation to supervisors, see Reardon, 1980:194, 165-6 and Wanbaugh, 1975:133-8. For a more detailed discussion of ways in which rank and file officers maintain control over each other through participation in illegal activities, see Maas, 1973:142, 189; Pennsylvania Crime Commission Report, 1974:429, and Rubinstein, 1973:431.

CHAPTER IV

LEGAL, NORMAL AND BRUTAL VIOLENCE

I got close to being court-martialed in Vietnam for shooting some kids. Of course we thought they was VC. We were out on an ambush. Headquarters called and said they were getting sniper fire from this village and we were to go over there for a little Search and Destroy mission. They said, 'Sweep through it.' So we did.

I was the squad leader. Burned all the rice and burned down few hooches. We shot two or three kids that were running across the rice paddies, because it was dark and we thought they were carrying rifles. I beat up this old man. He was giving me a hard time. I beat him up and I was getting ready to shoot him, when somebody came over and told me that he was the fucking village chief.

When we got back my whole squad had to write up a statement. But the CO told me, he says, 'They had all better coincide. They better match up to what you said.' So we all got together and we made up the same story and it was cool. We had brought a couple of prisoners back that time. The CO, he told me, "Next time, remember dead men tell no tales. Don't bring back no prisoners." That's what got me in trouble.

It wasn't too long after that, one of our platoons got in a fire fight with the ARVN by mistake up on some hill. Platoon leader killed the Vietnamese captain by mistake. Then some other company attacked a church full of people, killed them and burned down the church. The CO comes over to me and says, "Well, now you ain't the only one that's fucked up. They're going to forget about you now."

That Goddam Search and Destroy. They send you out to do it, then they want to fucking bust you for it. (Baker, 1981:

Police officers divide the use of force by policemen into three major categories, legal violence, normal violence and brutal violence. Legal violence is defined as the amount of force necessary to subdue, control and restrain a suspect in order to take him into custody. Although any force beyond legal violence is technically labelled brutality by the courts and the public, the police perceive that some forms of illegal violence are normal. Normal violence is the amount of force that any reasonable man might employ given a particular set of circumstances. Although normal violence is not necessarily culturally sanctioned or admired, it is perceived as a natural response by normal men to particular situational exigencies and/or categories of criminal activity. Thus neither the use of normal violence nor legal violence implies a moral transformation of the policeman's character into a degraded or untrustworthy person.¹

In contrast, the policeman who employs brutal violence is perceived as morally inferior and untrustworthy. Brutal violence is the amount of force that policemen perceive as illegal, illegitimate and immoral. The brutal policeman is provocative, unpredictable and uncontrollable. He uses force more in response to internal, psychological demands rather than external exigencies. He obeys neither the formal or informal rules regarding the appropriate use of violence. As he is considered a danger to his colleagues as well as the public, the brutal policeman is perceived as an undesirable partner who is unfit for the street. He is labelled a headbeater or shaky.

Legal Violence

At the Police Academy, the recruits are taught legal violence. They learn the formal law regarding the use of force. Legally an officer may use only as much force as is necessary to control, subdue and restrain a suspect. Additional force is illegal and could subject the officer to departmental reprimand and legal suits. Rubinstein discusses the instruction at the Police Academy regarding legal violence.

The men are told bluntly and often, formally and informally, that they will find themselves in situations where the use of force is necessary, unavoidable, and occasionally desirable. But every time that they are taught a technique or introduced to a new weapon, their instructors stress the limitations that the law imposes and reminds everyone how easy it is to go over the edge between defense and terror. There is never a hint that violence is to be treated casually.

"We are trying to make this job into a profession, not some Irish goon with a stick like it used to be," the instructor said, with a grin. "You can hit a man who resists arrest and you can keep hitting him until he submits, but once he is subdued, you cannot hit him, then it's brutality. If you hit a man who is cuffed, if you beat someone in the station even if you give a guy a shot after he gives up because he hurt you, it's illegal. You're not much of a man if you do. You'll see guys out there who do these things, fewer every year, but there are still some and in this business I guess there will always be some. But don't you be one of them." (1973:276)

The Instruments of Legal Violence

The Revolver. At the Police Academy, the recruit is issued the regulation instruments of violence and taught their legal use. He receives a .38 combat revolver which is considered the most efficient, accurate and

weapon for policework. It fires double action for close range combat shooting and single action for long range accuracy. In most police departments it is against departmental regulations for a uniform patrolman to carry a street gun like a 9 mm semi-automatic because it is likely to jam, misfire or discharge accidentally.² In contrast, a .38 revolver will fire only when the trigger is pulled or the hammer is otherwise released on the firing pin. Thus there is no accidental shooting attributable to a faulty revolver when the regulation .38 is used. The police revolver therefore allows the officer maximum control over his weapon. The more control the officer has, the less likely will he fire accidental shots which could subject the police department to public embarrassment or legal action. Thus, from the beginning of the recruit's training in the instruments of violence, he learns that he has control over his weapon and there is no such thing as a mistake without culpability.

The law regarding the use of the revolver as an instrument of deadly force states that,

A police officer is clearly justified in using deadly force when it is necessary to save himself, a citizen, or a prisoner from death or grave bodily harm. A policeman is not justified in taking life, except when the assault is so violent as to put them in danger of death or great bodily harm. (Policeman's Manual, 1973: 65)

Under some circumstances, an officer may shoot a felon. First he must witness a major felony such as a homicide or rape. Second, he must exhaust all other means before applying deadly force. Finally, he must

be sure that his actions do not jeopardize the lives of innocent civilians (Ibid.).

As the use of deadly force is largely restricted to situations in which the officer perceives himself or another in danger of death, recruits are trained to shoot at the largest part of the body. At the Police Academy, figure targets are used as instructional devices. Maximum points are rewarded for hitting the stomach, chest and the head. In contrast a minimum of points are dispensed for arm or leg shots. By shooting at the largest part of the body, the recruit maximizes his accuracy and incapacitates the victim before he himself is killed. He is not taught to shoot to save a life, maim, murder, overkill, inflict pain or take revenge. Even a highly skilled marksman would not aim at the extremities in order to avoid killing a suspect. A wounded suspect could still be capable of harming him. In combat situations the officer would be likely to miss the target altogether if he aimed at the smallest part of the body. It is difficult enough for the recruit to hit a standing target on the range. In an emotionally charged situation with an armed and moving target it is even less likely that the policeman could hit the mark.

Along with his revolver, the recruit receives lead bullets which flatten and fall on contact, thereby reducing the chance of ricochet (Rubinstein, 1973:289). The use of non-regulation ammunition such as hollow points is prohibited by the police department although they are readily available in police supply stores. The hollow points shatter on impact and cause severe internal damage to the victim (Rubinstein, 1973: 288).

Blackjack. In the Metro City police department, recruits are also required to carry blackjacks. Most instructors recommend they purchase a convoy jack rather than a slap jack. A convoy jack is a lead filled instrument with a round head and spring action grip. The slap jack in contrast has a flat head and a sharp cutting edge which can cause extensive damage to the victim. Rubinstein explains,

The jack, as it's called, is basically a round or flat piece of lead encased in leather. The flat-headed jack, slap jack is preferred by many policemen who work in cars because it fits easily into their back pockets without causing discomfort. The round jack, called a convoy is usually fitted with a spring handle that allows the weapon to be used with a whipping, which greatly increases its force. The convoy is a lighter weapon and recruits are urged to use it because it is likely to cause less damage. The slap jack usually weighs more. It has a wider hitting surface and hard, thick edges which can cause terrible cuts, while the convoy will not cut a person if used properly. The instructors are frank to warn recruits of the dangers inherent in the blackjack, seeking to instill an understanding of its power and danger. (1973:181-2, my underlinings)

The baton. The recruit is also issued a wooden or regulation plastic baton. He is taught that the baton is to be used to temporarily disable a person rather than injure him (Policeman's Manual, 1973:36). He is instructed to,

- A. Use the baton in your weak hand. This will permit the strong hand to be free for the use of your firearm (if necessary).
- B. The intention in using a baton is to temporarily disable a person rather than injure him. In normal usage,
 - 1. Direct blows downward at the person's shoulder muscles on either side of the neck.

2. Direct cross blows at person's forearms, shins, or the backs of his legs.
 3. Jab at person's abdomen or back using restraint to avoid causing internal injury.
- C. A baton left in the car is of no value.
 A properly used baton can assist in detaining an offender, overcoming his resistance, preventing his escape, re: capturing an escapee. Carry your baton at all times, unless specifically ordered not to do so. (Policeman's Manual, 1973:36)

According to Rubinstein, most policemen are fully aware of the regulation use of the baton and are familiar with its lethal capabilities.

There are policemen who develop reputations among their colleagues as "headbeaters" or headhunters but they are relatively rare. The patrolman knows that the stick can be a lethal weapon if applied to the head, heart, throat or groin. Unless he loses control of himself which occurs rarely, feels that he is fighting for his life, or has become a vicious person, he avoids swinging his stick over head. (1973:279)

Summary: Legal Violence

In the formal world of the Police Academy, the recruit learns the rules of legally necessary force. He is issued the instruments of violence and trained to use them in order to subdue, control and restrain a suspect. If he or another person is threatened with great bodily harm the officer can use deadly force and fire his revolver.

The recruit is issued a revolver which will not discharge accidentally or cause unnecessary wounds to the suspect in a combat situation. He is given regulation ammunition which will not cause extensive damage to the victim. He receives a regulation baton and is

instructed to avoid applying it to areas of the body such as the head or neck which could cause lethal harm. The recruit is told to purchase a convoy jack rather than a slapjack because the convoy does not have the hard cutting edge which could cause horrible wounds to the suspect.

In the formal world of the Police Academy, the recruit learns that he cannot use his baton, jack, or gun to torture, maim, kill unnecessarily, or overkill the suspect. He cannot take the law into his hands and administer punishment or street justice to suspects who have committed heinous crimes or purposely violated the officer's self and his authority.

Normal Violence

When the recruit leaves the formal world of the Police Academy and is introduced to the informal world of the street, he begins to view police violence in a new light. As he loses his civilian identity, he begins to incorporate the police construction of violence as his own. In contrast to the civilian who sees violence as either legal or brutal, the real cop distinguishes three shades of violence; legal, normal, and brutal.

Although the rookie continues to use his baton, jack and revolver to inflict legal violence, he also transforms these instruments to fulfil the demands of normal violence. In addition, normal policemen may acquire new weapons and transform other objects into instruments to inflict pain and injury.

Instruments of Normal Violence

The Nightstick. When the recruit leaves the Academy, he quickly dispenses with his wooden baton and substitutes a more substantial version which befits his status as a cop and a real man. Rubinstein quotes a veteran officer's instructions to a rookie,

"Hey Tony, I been meanin' to ask you, where'd you get that little stick you carry?"

"It's what they issued us at the academy," the rookie replied.

"No kiddin, take my advice and get rid of it. Go down to Coteman's and get yourself one of them new plastic sticks. They're good and solid, not a toothpick." (1973:319)

The new weapon is also designated by another name which underscores its masculine nature compared to the inadequate feminine version supplied in the inside world of the Police Academy. Thus, most cops begin to call their baton a nightstick as soon as they join their colleagues in the informal world of the street. (See, for example, Wambaugh, 1975:167)

Some officers also substitute large heavy duty flashlights for a nightstick. If used correctly, the flashlight can inflict more damage than the baton and is less likely to break when applied to the head or other hard part of the body.

In school, the recruits are taught to avoid hitting a man in the head or neck because it could cause lethal damage. Instead, they learn to hit the training dummies at the Police Academy in the shoulders and shins. On the street, in contrast, the rookie quickly discovers that he must hit wherever it causes the most damage in order to incapacitate

the suspect. He has little time to hesitate or contemplate the degree of harm a blow might inflict. Therefore, even the officer who employs legal violence often uses it in a manner which violates departmental directives.³ In the following incident, for example, the officer uses only enough force to subdue the suspect in order to take him into custody. However, she strikes him on the head and "opens him up."

We had an incident where there was a disturbance. They sent a guy who I had terrible feelings about. He hates me and I hate him. And they sent him and one of the guys who's an oldtimer, and a drunk, to back him up. Now, I just knew the drunk wasn't gonna get there and as much as I despised the other guy, I still wanted to make sure that he had a backup. So I went there, and, low and behold, I'm the first car on the scene. And when I get there, if goddamn, there isn't a disturbance going on. So Tom comes. The guy that I went to back up. The male talks to him. I take the female and talk to her. And the drunk comes and the Sergeant comes and another guy comes. So while we think we have everything settled, and we have the guy calmed down, he turns around and says, to his sister, no less, that's who it is, "Give me the keys to my car." And with that, she rips them out of her pocket and throws them at him. Now, he goes nuts. He goes into a Kung Fu stance and says he's gonna kill her. The drunk cop says, "You, knock it off" and goes to grab him and the guy punches him. So Mike (the drunk cop) goes down. Tommy goes to grab him and is wrestling with him. And all the cops are trying to get in there. So I ran in with my stick and I stick the guy in the head. But I just missed Tommy's face and I opened him (the suspect) up. Yeh, (I opened the guy's head). So all of a sudden everybody's grabbin' him and I'm realizing that if we get him down, he won't hurt anybody. But if they leave him up, he's gonna kick somebody. So I pushed the Sergeant out of the way and I got my stick under the guy's legs and I pulled his legs out from under him and I yelled, "Tommy take him down." And I pulled his legs and he went down. And I sat on him. So Tommy says, "Well, cuff him," and I says, "well I can't find my Goddamned cuffs." I molested my body

trying to get my cuffs. So I couldn't find my cuffs.

So when I get my cuffs we cuff him. And we're sitting there talking. And Tommy, he has no regard for me whatsoever. . . .so Tommy said, The guy's opened up and he bled all over Tommy's shirt. And I turned around and said, "Tommy, look at your shirt, there's blood all over your shirt." He said, "Who the hell almost clobbered me." I said, "I'm sorry Tom, that was me." He said, "You're the one who opened him up?" and I said, "Yeh, I'm sorry, I didn't mean to get so close to you." So he didn't say anything. And the Sergeant later come back out on the street. After it all ended. I didn't go in on the arrest. I let Mike, the guy that got hit go in on the arrest and Tommy. Even though my cuffs was on him, I didn't go in on the arrest. . . .

When the lieutenant heard the story he said (to the sergeant and Tommy), "Did Susie get in it? and the Sergeant said that he just wanted to stand there to see if Tommy would give me any credit. And he said, "Yeh, she was right in there." (The Lieutenant said) "She jumped right in?" and Tommy said, "She did."

So when the Sergeant come out he said, "And you, what do you mean telling me to get outta the way." He said, "Do you know you pushed me outta your way. . ." He says, "This little thing pushed me outta the way," and I said, "I didn't want you to get hurt. . . .and I was afraid he was gonna kick one of yous." And he says, "I still can't believe you pushed me outta the way. You were like a little dynamo."

And I found after that I got respect from the Sergeant. He doesn't realize it but he treated me differently after that. 'Cause I had one of the Sergeants over. . . I had (the two sergeants over) and Mary and all. And the otehr Sergeant is very quiet and I didn't think he thought much of anybody. And he turned around and said to me, "Susan, you're the most aggressive female cop I've ever met." He said, "Usually my opinion of the girls wasn't high because I noticed that whenever I went in on a job and there was a fight, the girls would sit back and let the guys handle it." He says, "But you really impress me. You're very aggressive." To me it's aggressive in a nice way. . . like if the shit hits the fan (they know I'll be there). . . .

Slapjack. Not only do rookies acquire a new stick and learn to use it in unique ways when they leave the Academy, they also often acquire a slapjack rather than a convoy. On the street, most policemen prefer a "jack that'll do the job than one that won't."

The revolver. Policemen also often carry an extra gun which may be concealed beneath a leather jacket. Generally, the extra gun is a nonregulation weapon such as a Browning automatic. As long as the officer keeps the gun hidden, he is usually perceived as normal by other officers. If, however, he keeps the gun on public display the officer is considered a bit shaky or an "asshole." The following incident reveals the policemen's attitude towards colleagues who insist on displaying their power.

I was working with two anticrime officers assigned to a large demonstration. Several of the newly hired police rookies were out on the street in uniform assigned to the demonstration. You could tell they were rookies by their demeanor: they were self-consciously police-like; their body positioning appeared 110% assertive and authoritarian. Their uniforms were 100% clean. They carried flashlights on their belt. Their hair was cut regulation length. They also seemed very young in age.

One rookie carried what appeared to be a large automatic weapon in his belt on his left side. He appeared to take great pains to avoid concealing the gun with his arm or his coat in order to keep it on public display. He gave the appearance of wanting the world to know he carried a secret, illicit automatic.

Both anticrime officers made disparaging comments regarding the rookie's need to display his weapon. They suggested that he was an asshole or a dumb rookie who was so scared that he had to act super tough to give himself a minimum of confidence and confirm his manhood.

In another incident in Metro City, I was assigned to ride with a veteran officer. He and I began to discuss the pleasures and disadvantages of shooting a 9 mm semi-automatic compared with the .38 revolver. In a symbolic gesture of trust, he called a colleague to the car and asked him to show me his gun. The officer pulled an automatic weapon from a concealed place in the left inside of his leather jacket. He handed the gun to me. I admired it and returned it to him. He immediately replaced it inside his coat. Neither of these officers had reputations as trigger happy or brutal policemen. The officer with the 9 mm carried the extra gun to ensure his safety in situations of danger. In contrast to the shaky rookie, he had no need to display the weapon in order to confirm his authority and power.

An officer who employs only legal violence might also purchase an extra gun after having experienced a situation in which he felt unprotected, helpless or in extreme danger. For example, one officer apparently purchased several extra guns after an incident took place in which his own revolver was taken by the perpetrator of an armed robbery. Although the incident did provide a commonsense rationale for acquiring the new gun, his partner still joked about its implications. The extra gun could represent fear instead of commonsense or manliness.

Joe and Mike received a call in Sector Edward of the 12th precinct. The call was for a recorded alarm at the Chemical Bank on Broad and Nassau Streets. Recorded alarms are frequent occurrences. In most cases, they are tripped by the rain or the snow. Most police officers who ride a steady sector are familiar with those alarms that frequently go off and others that might signal a burglarly in progress. In this case it appeared to be a routine false alarm.

Joe walked in the bank first. He saw the hold-up man but didn't see his partner hiding behind a blind wall to his right. The second holdup man put a gun to Joe's head, disarmed him and ordered

him to lie on the floor. Joe lay down on the floor. Seconds passed as he waited for the click. Mike walked in and saw his partner on the floor. He fired six shots at the perpetrators who returned his fire and ran out of the bank. Mike with an empty Smith and Wesson and Joe with an empty hand chased the two men on foot. After a brief pursuit, they grabbed the two with the assist of a scooter cop. The papers reported that the perpetrators of the armed robbery were in the hospital with minor injuries. \$4000 was missing from the bank after the money was returned. Mike had hit the bag and the money had flown all over Broad Street. Some people got rich that day. Mike tells me that, "I'm afraid to ride with Joe in a patrol car now because he's carrying so many guns. . . .He's more shook up now than he was then. . . .Those brown stains in your underwear. . . .I was scared too, I didn't know where I was shooting. . . .I would have beat them up more if there weren't so many people watching. . . .Joe was just waiting for the click of the gun hammer."

Miscellaneous Instruments of Violence. An officer who works on the street also constructs new weapons from objects which are intended for other use. Thus, for example, the patrol wagon can become an instrument of torture (Rubenstein, 1973:331). An officer who has been angered by a prisoner may place him in the wagon handcuffed. He will take him for a ride; driving at high speeds and making sudden stops and quick turns. The prisoner is thereby thrown all over the wagon. One officer explained,

Well, if a guy gives you a lot of mouth, you put him in the wagon handcuffed. You drive at 40 miles an hour and then stop suddenly for the light. Ya don't wanta blow the light and get into an accident. Then you pick up speed again and drive 40 miles an hour and again you stop at the light. You do this until you get him to headquarters.

Another officer explained how he and his partner employed the wagon as a sophisticated means to obtain a confession from three juveniles suspected of a shooting. The two policemen had just received a job to transport a body of an old lady to the morgue. After they wrapped the body in a reed stretcher, they put it in the back of the wagon. At the same time a shooting came over the radio which took place only a block and a half away. As the two officers drove quickly towards the location, they spotted three adolescent males running away from the scene who "didn't look right." The officers picked up the suspects and put them in the wagon. After determining that the adolescents were indeed at the scene of the shooting, the officers agreed to transport them to the district on their way to the morgue. However, they decided to take a long route to headquarters and interrogate the suspects themselves. They opened the dividing partition and began to question the three adolescents. They were all silent about the shooting. As the boys were Hispanic, both officers thought that they might have particular religious beliefs regarding death which could make a trip with a dead body particularly unpleasant. Consequently, one of the officers warned the suspects about "what happened to the last guy who didn't confess." He asked if they knew what was in the stretcher and added that "that's the last guy." The officers then closed the partition and proceeded to drive several blocks, periodically making quick turns and fast stops so that the stretcher was sliding back and forth on the floor of the vehicle seemingly in pursuit of the boys. Meanwhile one of the boys had become curious and looked inside the stretcher. When he realized it was a dead body, they all began screaming. Finally, one boy agreed

to confess and the case was solved.

Several rookies also devised a means to frighten a suspect held prisoner in the back of the wagon. They pretended that they were in the midst of a shootout and the perpetrators were firing shots at the wagon. The prisoner could not see what was happening but only heard the alarmed voices of the two officers describing the alleged predicament. The policemen made the wagon backfire periodically to imitate the sound of shots fired as they rushed through the streets of the city in pursuit of the armed bandits. Meantime, the suspect was bounced back and forth on the floor of the wagon in a state of complete terror.

Handcuffs can also be transformed from simple restraining devices to instruments of torture.⁴ If the officer squeezes them too tightly around the wrist bone, the pain is severe (Rubinstein, 1973:330). If he pulls the cuffed hands up behind the prisoner's back, the pain is overwhelming. And, as Rubinstein suggests, the handcuff treatment and the wagon ride are particularly useful instruments of violence because they provide a legal out for the officer. It is legally insignificant to complain that the police are poor drivers and they make the handcuffs too tight (Rubinstein, 1973:331).⁵

Situational Normal Violence

Normal violence is the second category of violence that policemen construct. I have defined normal violence as the amount of force that any reasonable man might employ given a particular set of circumstances. Normal violence can arise situationally or abstractly. Situationally, it may arise under four major conditions. First, an

officer may respond with spontaneous violence when he perceives that his self, authority or control is severely challenged or violated. Although the officer may first employ nonverbal and verbal techniques to assert control, the situation may escalate to such a degree that physical force becomes necessary to restore the balance of power. Under these circumstances the officer often experiences intense anger which may contribute to a temporary loss of emotional control which precipitates the administration of normal violence.

Situational normal violence may also occur during periods of danger and intense excitement in which the officer experiences the combat high and adrenalin rush familiar to the combat soldier (Caputo, 1977:251-6). A shootout, violent fight, car chase or foot pursuit are all examples of incidents in which normal violence accompanied by a combat high is likely to occur.

Third, situational normal violence may arise in response to emotions of helplessness accompanied by fear and anger. If an officer almost makes a fatal mistake and uses deadly force and kills an innocent man, he may respond to the confusion and sense of helplessness with anger and strike the suspect.

In all three cases of situational normal violence, the officer experiences a personal threat accompanied by emotions of fear, anger, helplessness or adrenalin high. He temporarily loses his emotional control and "snaps out." Although most police officers know that much of what constitutes situational normal violence is illegal and many feel guilt as a result of their anger and loss of control, such violence is perceived as a normal response by a reasonable man. The officer who

responds with violence to such situational provocations is therefore labelled neither a headbeater nor a brutal policeman.

In the fourth kind of situational normal violence, the officer may experience the extreme opposite of the heightened emotional state which accompanies the first three varieties. Instead, he feels an intense "low" or depressed mental and physical state of being. During long periods of inactivity in which jobs are scarce, the experience of intense boredom or battle fatigue leads to a desire for external stimulation and excitement. In order to alleviate discomfort, the officer may begin to wish a crime would occur. An officer who is particularly susceptible to battle fatigue not only may fantasize about the good fight or the heavy job but he may try to create one. He will find an easy mark to harass or himself respond in a provocative manner to minor threats to his authority in order to escalate a "bullshit" job into a situation in which he can justify the use of physical force. Although proactive violence is neither sanctioned nor admired, the officer who occasionally creates trouble to relieve his boredom is perceived as normal by his colleagues. If the officer always responds to battle fatigue by harassing civilians, initiating violence or turning a disturbance into a major riot, he will of course gain a reputation as a punk and a brutal policeman.⁶

Normal Situational Violence: Circumstance One. Spontaneous violence in response to a threat to the self or the officer's authority is well recognized in the literature (Rubinstein, 1973; Chevigny, 1969; Westley, 1970; Reiss, 1971). Van Maanen provides a definition of the category of person who challenges a policeman's control and definition

of a situation and thereby provokes his wrath.

"Assholes," by way of contrast, are stigmatized by the police and treated harshly on the basis of their failure to meet police expectations arising from the interaction situation itself. Of course street interaction may quickly transform suspicious persons into know nothings and know nothings into assholes, or any combination thereof. But it is the asshole category which is most imbued with moral meaning for the patrolman--establishing for him a stained or flawed identity to attribute to the citizen upon which he can justify his sometimes malevolent acts. Consequently, the asshole may well be the recipient of what the police call "street justice"--a physical attack designed to rectify what police take as personal insult. Assholes are most vulnerable to street justice, since they, as their title implies, are not granted status as worthy human beings. (1978: 224)

A verbal challenge to a policeman's authority is generally not immediately reciprocated by physical violence on the part of the patrolman. Usually the situation escalates from a verbal attempt to challenge control to a physical threat to the officer's possessions and finally to a direct physical attack on his person. While the physical threat inevitably provokes violence from the policeman, a verbal challenge instigates varied responses depending on the personality of the officer, his mood and the perceived severity of the verbal gesture. Van Maanen provides a good example of the first level of verbal challenge to the policeman which involves the crime of "fatmouthing a police officer."⁷ A policeman stops a driver for a minor traffic violation.

P.O. "May I see your driver's license, please?"

D. "Why the hell are you picking on me and not somewhere else looking for some real criminals?"

P.O. "Do you want your picture on the front page of the Metro City Newspaper?"

The second level of threat involves not only a challenge to the policeman's authority but an intentional effort to degrade the policeman. The following incident provides an example of a suspect's attempt to resist and humiliate the officer which resulted in the normal use of extra legal violence. In this instance a conservative officer employed a minimal amount of force given the nature of the situation. Most normal officers would be likely to use more force and to add cover charges such as assault on an officer to protect themselves against formal accusations of brutality.

Well, the day before the Lieutenant had a roll call announcement that there had been a pursuit in one of the districts and as a result a fireman was killed. And he said, "Why pursue them, in court nothing is gonna happen anyway and being as it was a taxi cab that was involved it would be returned. You know they're driving around for awhile so he said, "What I'm trying to say is," o one of the guys said, "What's a pursuit." He said, "Exactly."

So Goddamn, if not the next day, about three o'clock in the morning, three thirty, I heard Anne go out with a carstop at 2nd and Madison. And I heard Joan back her up, and she (Anne) ran the car through (the computer) and I heard, "Hold me out for TVRs (traffic tickets)." So I'm sitting at 2nd Street, Second and Nassau, writing curfews up. And this silver thunderbird blows right by a stop sign where I'm sitting. And I look up and think to myself, "Now do want to get involved." And I figure, "Son of a Gun. That was really belligerent doing it right in front of me." So I take off after him, put my lights on and he immediately pulls over. So he jumps out of the car. I jump out of the car right away. And I say, "I'm stopping you for that stop sign you just blew through." And he says, "Aw come on I just got stopped." I'm sick of this shit." So I said to him, "Look I don't care how

many times you got stopped." He said, "Well, I'm sick of this shit." And I said, "I'm stopping you right now for the stop sign you went through at Second and Nassau, let me see your cards please."

Then he starts making these lip smacking noises at me every time he begins to talk. He said, (smack), "The only way you're seeing my cards is if you lock me up and the only way you're gonna lock me up is if you chase me (smack)." And I said to him, "Well, look, I will satisfy you on one account, now go to your car because I will lock you up. . . And just sit in your car, I'll be right with you." He smacks his lips, turns around and goes to his car and he sits. And I call a wagon at Second and Nassau. They ask me what I have. I say, "I've got one to go." So as the wagon acknowledges, the car all of a sudden tears out of its spot.

And I get on the air and say, "I'm in pursuit." And I give them a description of the car and the direction I'm going. And I heard a couple of other cars coming in and they're comin' in. And all of sudden he pulls over about a block and a half after I started the pursuit. So I got on the air and I said, "I got him at Second and Washington." I jumped out of my car and as I jumped out of my car he tears away again. Now I'm ready to die of embarrassment. I have to get back on the air and say no I don't have him. So I got on the air and said, "Look, he's playing games with me now. He took off again." I said, "I'm still heading south on Second Street." He gets down to Lexington. He pulls over again. Well this time I pulled the police car in front of him. I jumped out of the car and as I'm jumping out of the car I hear two female voice screaming "Lock him up, lock him up." I go over to the car and I hear him lock the doors. I pull out my gun and I put it right in his window. I say "Unlock that door." Well, he looked at the gun, he nearly like to shit himself. He unlocked the door. I holster my gun. I go to grab his arms to pull him out and all of a sudden I realize Anne's got him. So we keep pulling him out of the car. Throw him on the trunk of his car and kept pounding his head. I'm kicking him. Then I take out my blackjack. I jack him across the shoulder. Then I go to jack him in the head and I jack Anne's fingers.

We're being so rough. Then the wagon comes and we're kicking the shit out of him. Trying to. . . draggin him over to the wagon. This poor sucker don't have a chance. The wagon guys open the door. The next thing they know is we're throwing him bodily into the wagon. And they said, "Did you search him?" We go to the wagon, drag him out again. Now we're tearing through his pockets throwing everything on the ground. Pick him up bodily again, threw him in.

So I say to one of the wagon guys, "You want to do me a favor, drive that car into the district." So we get into the district and I'm fuming. So the guy's standing there and he was all full of fire and fury when he was on the street. So the corporal makes a remark about me. And the guy says, "No." He says "She's a very nice person. She would never hurt anybody. . .not on purpose." Then he turned around and says, "Why did you hit me on the head." So I said, "I wanted to knock your teeth out." He said, "I'm glad you didn't do that because I need my teeth." So I wrote up a ticket and he's thanking me. I locked him up for being drunk. So later in the operations room. They got all p.o.'d and went to the sergeant and said that I was outstepping myself by having the car brought into the district. Said it was a supervisor that was supposed to be making that decision. So I straightened it out with the Sergeant and he said, "By the way what were you doing?"

I said I was in a pursuit. . . . (He said) "A pursuit Thank God the Lieutenant wasn't there." He said, "There's no such thing as a pursuit." I said, "I tried to call it another name but I couldn't think of any other name to call it. All I know of it is as a pursuit."

"I'm following a guy at fast speed who refuses to pull over." So I said, "What did you want me to do? Let any citizen on the street get stopped and pull away and that's the end of it?"

In the pseudo pursuit, the suspect verbally abuses the officer and resists arrest by driving away after she informs him he is in custody. In addition he intentionally humiliates the officer by making

sexual sounds with his mouth and playing a car chase game. Although the prisoner neither physically touches the officer nor threatens her life, his actions are so outrageous that most policemen would consider violence justifiable.

Although many policemen will try to use alternative means to control a suspect who verbally threatens them, few officers will hesitate to assault a suspect who physically violates their body in any way. A hand on a collar is a legitimate stimulus to provoke a minor act of force. A punch in the stomach or fist to the face is enough to provoke a brutal beating. Rubinstein quotes a police recruit who is praised by his instructor because he clearly recognizes the informal rules regarding the use of normal situational violence.

A burly Puerto Rican recruit rose and in halting English expressed his feelings. He was well liked by all for his willingness to take part in any classroom demonstrations and for his bluff attitudes toward the academy, which most men despise by the end of the first month of training. "I don't care what anyone call me, spic or anything," he said, "just as long as they don't touch my body. They touch my body, I care, I care a lot." The sergeant bounded up from his seat beaming. "That's a policeman talking. I want you in my platoon, boy, keep your hands off my body, I like that. Oh boy, I just can't wait to see you guys on the street," he said, beaming. (1973:277)

Joseph Wambaugh provides an amusing example of situational normal violence involving a physical assault on a policeman. This kind of incident is familiar to all policemen who work on the street. Clickety-Clack is a district wino who used to be a prize fighter. He is a well known phenomenon among the Los Angeles policemen who

frequently must place him under arrest.

When Clickety-Clack was brought inside the station by Roscoe he had merely said what he said to every arresting officer from Boston to Los Angeles: "I could whip you, Officer. In a fair fight I could whip you from here to East Fifth Street, know that?"

And most arresting officers answered something like: "Yeah, Clickety-Clack, I know you could, in a fair fight. But if you try it, it ain't gonna be a fair fight cause my partner and me and half the nightwatch are gonna work out on your gourd with our sticks and do the fandango on your kisser. But in a fair fight you'd kick my ass, that's for sure."

And Clickety-Clack would be satisfied. But on this night when he made the same speech to Roscoe Rules, Roscoe replied, "Oh yeah, you're gonna whip me, old man?"

And then in the corridor of Wilshire Station by the front desk in the presence of luscious officer Reba Hadley whom he was trying to impress, Roscoe Rules took off his hat, slammed it on the desk, stood on the balls of his feet in front of the hulking derelict, put on his black gloves dramatically, both fists on his hips and said, "You think you can whip my ass, you wrinkled wart? You stinking tub a puke. Think you can whip me in a fair fight, huh?"

And Clickety-Clack just said, "Yeah." And from a corner of his all but destroyed brain, he found a memory, a rhythm in instinct and sent a picture left hook whistling through the air. Roscoe Rules woke up three minutes later in the lap of luscious Officer Reba Hadley who said to him, "You dumb shit."

Clickety-Clack Reilly was of course buried by five or six blue uniforms and ended up with a badly cut lip and three more stichtes in his eyes which made no difference at all to that caved in, monstrous face. (1975:71)

In a similar incident, an officer was punched in the face by a prisoner he has just apprehended for allegedly attempting to shoot a

friend. The incident occurred in the stationhouse and several policemen standing around observed the exchange. Immediately, one officer, Joe, hit the prisoner in the face while the rest of the policemen joined the brawl. After the situation was resolved both Joe and the prisoner were taken to the hospital with multiple injuries. Joe had broken his hand when he landed the first punch.

If a suspect threatens an officer with great bodily harm, the asshole can become a more ominous category of person, a cop hater or cop killer. A person who attempts to kill a cop inevitably receives a beating by the policeman's colleagues. After one policeman was shot in midtown Manhattan, for example, several colleagues joined some transit police in search of the perpetrator. When they found him in the subway, he was severely beaten. Later Sam, one of the city cops involved in the shootout and apprehension of the suspect, related the story to me.

Sam explained that he and his partner hadn't liked the cop who was wounded very much. He wasn't a real cop, more of a ticket man. It was his own fault he got shot. Then he took all the glory for an arrest he hadn't even made. Anyway, the cop who got shot apparently heard shots fired in the direction of a holster shop. He ran towards the location and was wounded by a fleeing perpetrator. When his colleagues found him on the ground, his gun was still in the holster. He hadn't even taken his gun out. Meanwhile Sammy and his partner were involved in a shootout and a foot pursuit of the suspect. They found him in the subway car. Sammy looked up at me with a guilty expression and drank another sip of scotch. He asked, "what would you do if I told you we tuned him up pretty bad?" I responded that "I knew it already, Sam. That's one of the rules." He nodded his head in acknowledgement.

In a tense situation, of course, mistakes can be made. In Metro City,

for example, a female officer was allegedly stabbed in the back when she attempted to resolve a dispute between several men which took place outside on the street. The knife had penetrated the leather coat and her colleagues were trying to rush her to the hospital as an "assist officer" was put over the air and the rest of the squad rushed to the scene. Every policeman in the vicinity who knew an officer had been stabbed participated in the brutal beating of the suspect. When the perpetrator was taken to the hospital, the policemen discovered that they had assaulted the complainant and not the man who attempted to kill their colleague.

Situational Normal Violence: Circumstance 2. Situational

normal violence may occur during periods of danger and intense excitement in which the officer experiences the "combat high" and "adrenaline rush" familiar to the combat soldier. Foot pursuits and car chases are common sources of normal violence because they combine the challenge to authority assumed by running away from a police officer with the danger and excitement of a pursuit. One officer who rarely employs extra legal force explains the use of normal violence after a pursuit.

It's my feeling that violence inevitably occurs after a pursuit. . . . The adrenalin. . . .and the insult involved when someone flees increases with every foot of the pursuit. I know the two or three times that I felt I lost control of myself. . . was when someone would run on me. The further I had to chase the guy the madder I got. . . . The funny thing is the reason for the pursuit could have been for something as minor as a traffic violation or a kid you're chasing who just turned on a fire hydrant. It always ends in violence. You feel obligated to hit or kick the guy just for running.

nother policeman who claimed he had shot two people under nebulous legal circumstances and a third legitimately, confirmed the use of violence in pursuit situations. "Yeh, he got tuned up. . .you always tune them up after a car chase."

The following example provides further evidence.

After a car chase and foot pursuit through a park, several officers apprehended the perpetrator who had just stolen a car at gunpoint. They handcuffed the prisoner, then walked him towards the patrol car to transport him back to the stationhouse. As they walked, they pulled his arms up behind his back as he screamed in agony. As I was in the third car on the scene, I was not directly involved in the torture. One officer sitting next to me commented when he looked back and heard the screams, "that's not necessary." However, when he realized the nature of the crime and the context of the apprehension, he changed his mind and added, "well, maybe it is." The incident involved a car pursuit and foot pursuit all of which contributed to the subjective experience of the combat high. In addition the perpetrators had committed a "real crime" involving an armed attempt to steal a car.

Violence under circumstances involving pursuits is so common, that one veteran officer gave a rookie the following advice. "The only reason to go in on a pursuit is not to get the perpetrator but to pull the cop who gets their first offa the guy before he kills him."

Combat High. During a pursuit and similar situations of great danger and excitement, the officer experiences an internal psycho-physical state called a combat high. Although the combat high both preceeds and facilitates violence, it also allows the policeman to control his fear and anger in order to take rational action during emergencies.

The combat high is a state of controlled exhilaration in which the officer experiences a heightened awareness of the world around him. Physiological changes such as an increase in the output of adrenalin contribute to the subjective experience of the combat high. Perception, smell and hearing seem acute. For a moment the policeman stands outside of himself and the world appears extraordinarily vivid and clear. At the same time, the officer is able to think rationally and instantly translate his thoughts into action. Although he may experience fear, it does not incapacitate him. Instead, it enhances his ability to act while the adrenalin rush heightens his perceptions and facilitates rational decision making.

The following accounts of soldiers in combat provide a vivid description of the subjective state of combat high that is also experienced by the policeman in action.

When something went right in a fire fight--you call in a fire mission real good, you get your fields of fire right, deploy your men so that you outflank them and you stand up and walk right through them--it's thrilling. There's nothing like it. It's so real. Talk about getting high, this is beyond drugs--ultrareality. (Baker, 1981:100-1)

The experience of being under fire is like suffocating: air suddenly becomes as lethal as a poison gas, its very molecules seem to be composed of pieces of lead flying at two thousand miles an hour. The bullets hissed and cracked over my head. . . . an eerie sense of calm came over me. My mind was working with a speed and clarity I would have found remarkable if I had had the time to reflect upon it. I knew what I was going to do. The platoon could not assault across the deep, fast river, but it could pour a withering fire into the Viet Cong. If that did not kill all them, it would at least kill some and drive the rest out of the village. But first, I had to bring up a machine gun to suppress the fire coming from around

the river bend, and a rocket launcher to knock out the enemy automatic weapon in place behind the cement-walled shrine. That had to be done before the platoon could be deployed safely. . . .

The whole plan of attack flashed through my mind in a matter of seconds. At the same time, my body was tensing itself to spring. Quite separate from my thoughts or will, it was concentrating itself to make a rush for the tree line. And that intense concentration of physical energy was born of fear. I could not remain in the hollow for longer than a few more seconds. After that, the Viet Cong would range in on me, a stationary target in an exposed position. I had to move to face and overcome the danger. I understood then why a cornered animal is so dangerous: he is terrified and every instinct in him focuses on a single end; destroying the thing that frightens him. . . .

I could not come down from the high produced by the action. The fire-fight was over, except for a few desultory exchanges, but I did not want it to be over. So, when a sniper opened up from a tree line beyond the village, I did something slightly mad. Ordering the platoon to train their rifles on the tree line, I walked up and down the clearing, trying to draw the sniper's fire.

"When he opens up, every man put five rounds rapid into the tree line," I said, walking back and forth and feeling as invulnerable as an Indian wearing his ghost shirt.

Nothing happened.

I stopped walking and, facing the tree line, waved my arms. "C'mon Charlie, hit me, you son of a bitch." I yelled at the top of my lungs. "HO CHI MINH SUCKS. FUCK COMMUNISM. HIT ME, CHARLIE."

Some of the marines started laughing, and when I heard one of them mutter, "That cocky little fucker's crazy," I started laughing too. I was crazy. I was soaring high, very high in a delirium of violence.

"C'mon and hit me, Charlie," I yelled again, firing a burst into the tree line with my carbine. "YOU SON OF A BITCH, TRY AND HIT ME. FUCK UNCLE HO. HANOI BY CHRISTMAS."

I was John Wayne in Sands of Iwo Jima. I was Aldo Ray in Battle Cry. No, I was a young, somewhat immature officer flying on an overdose of adrenalin because I had just won a close-quarters fight without suffering a single casualty. (Caputo, 1977:251-5)

The combat high allows the officer to maintain enough control over his fear and anger in order to facilitate rational action during periods of great danger and excitement.

From the police perspective, rational action may involve a variety of activities. He must be able to use the radio effectively in order to request a backup or call an assist. He must be prepared to disarm a suspect or use physical force to subdue him. He must be willing to use deadly force if it is necessary to stop certain felonies in progress, protect himself or save a life. At the same time that the officer must act quickly and effectively, he must observe the common sense procedures which maximize his own safety and that of his colleagues. For example, he should keep his finger off the trigger when he is following a colleague in a foot pursuit of a man with a gun. He must not run blindly into a holdup alarm without checking the area for the lookout or a spatial blind spot that could harbor danger. He should avoid parking the patrol car directly in front of an entrance or exit to a building that houses a holdup in progress. At the same time that he must act quickly he should provide cover for himself and minimize the vulnerable blind spots around his body.

The use of the police radio provides an interesting example of behavior that constitutes rational police action. Under normal circumstances, the use of the radio appears to be a simple task even for

a rookie with little experience on the street. Under stress, however, the job can become ominous particularly for a young officer who has not yet learned to control his excitement and fear. The officer must pick up the radio, depress the button and request the immediate attention of the dispatcher. If other units are communicating and he has a priority message, he should interrupt with 'priority' or other indication of an emergency. Once he states his desire to relate a message, he must release the button in order to hear radio's response. When he is acknowledged, he must again press the button and state his car name or number, the condition or request and the location of the incident. If the situation is extreme and the officer fears for his life or his partner's, the use of the radio can become overwhelmingly complex. He is lucky if he can at least deliver the assist and the location in a comprehensible manner. Mistakes can be made in remembering the car number or the location of the job. If the officer forgets his car number then radio is less likely to know where he could be if he does not recall the location. Manipulation of the transmission button on the receiver can also be botched. If the button is depressed and pressed without the officer's awareness, the message may be garbled. If radio hears an officer who sounds as if he is in trouble but who is unable to relay the message, the dispatcher will count down every unit in the vicinity until the endangered officer is found. Meanwhile the air is filled with silence as every car listens for the location of the officer in need of assistance.

Given the complexity of using the radio under pressure, policemen often make jokes based on real instances concerning the

garbled message which is sometimes transmitted during a real "assist officer." The message which should state, "Highway Unit Two, Assist Officer at 2300 Madison Avenue..." becomes,

P.O.: Help! Help!

Radio: What's your location?!

P.O.: Where the fuck am I!!

A former soldier in Vietnam captures the sentiment that the policeman feels when he attempts to deliver a simple message in the midst of a dangerous situation.

Then you're back at it again, hunting humans. I hope one shows up, man. I'm going to blow that mother fucker to kingdom come. If the world could only see me now. This is bad news out here and I'm real bad. We are armed to the teeth. If I could get back to the States with my platoon intact, I could take over the world. Somebody fuck with me, just somebody fuck with me. Come and get me.

When they came to get you--Holy Shit. I can't even talk to the radio to call in the fire mission. I'm warbling like a kid going through puberty. You swallow slowly and force yourself to say the coordinates. Everything hits slow motion, like you're in your own movie. You try to be cool, calm and collected, and you are. . .kind of. You certainly ain't John Wayne.

The combat high is also the subjective state which allows the officer to master his fear and anger during situations of great danger.⁸ Consequently, the officer who does not experience the combat high may handle difficult situations in less rational ways.⁹

The policeman may respond to fear by suspending it entirely. There is little conscious perception of anxiety. Instead the officer

experiences a mental toughness or hardness which allows him to act. Although he is not paralyzed, his repression of fear may inhibit action to some extent because he does not experience the adrenalin rush which heightens perception. His senses are dulled and he may not act as quickly or carefully as the officer who experiences the combat high with some sensation of fear. If he does not feel fear or combat high, the officer may act without experiencing the appropriate sense of danger which allows him to automatically take precautionary measures.

Second, an officer may snap out or lose total emotional control in a stressful situation. In this case he acts but his actions are blind. He may literally black out. Such unconscious action usually occurs in situations that provoke more rage than fear.

An officer may also respond to fear in such a way that he becomes super-rational, so rational in fact that although he mentally constructs a million possible courses of action he cannot decide which move to make. In this case, the officer is paralyzed but is not conscious of his fear. He thereby resembles the character Watt from the novel by Beckett. After Watt enters Mr. Knott's house, he tries to reconstruct precisely how he got inside. However, he thinks of so many possible ways to open a door and walk in the room that he can't decide which manner occurred. He thinks of every possibility but is unable to decide how the action actually took place. (Beckett, 1953:34-5)

During periods of danger an officer may also lose control altogether. He allows fear to permeate his whole body and suffocate him. He is overcome and rendered helpless. In such a situation, the officer is also paralyzed. In The Choirboys, Wambaugh describes a

soldier in a state of fear induced panic.

The soldier stumbled, muttered something and stood looking down a tunnel to his right, fingering the flame thrower while the two marines lay behind him almost at his feet. They could smell his sweat and powerful odor of fish sauce and garlic. Then the soldier turned and walked back toward the cave opening where the voices got louder. Several soldiers propped their weapons against the clattering rocks and sat down for a break.

And as the short marine felt the panic deepen and believed that he could no longer control the sobs he was smothering, the tall marine suddenly started suffocating, or thought he was. He ripped at the collar of his jacket, panting. Only the soldier's voices outside saved them.

It was the tall stronger one who began to cry. The walls and darkness closed in. He began to hyperventilate and couldn't get enough air. At first he wept almost imperceptibly but then convulsively, and voices or not, the short marine was sure the NVA could not help but hear him. Desperately, instinctively, there in the darkness he took the tall marine in his arms and patted his shoulder and whispered: "Now, now, now. Hush now, I'm right here. You're not alone." (Wambaugh, 1975:8)

In summary, the combat high both precedes and facilitates normal violence. A car pursuit, foot chase or shootout may culminate in violence because it offers a release to the tension and excitement engendered by the combat high which accompanies the experience of great danger and stress. At the same time, the combat high allows the officer to control his fear and anger in order to take rational police action during emergencies. Thus, when a rookie displays the symptoms associated with combat high, he is perceived by his colleagues as a real cop and a real man.

Situational Normal Violence: Circumstance Three. Situational normal violence may also arise in response to emotions of helplessness accompanied by fear and anger. This emotional combination occurs most frequently when an officer almost commits an irreversible mistake and kills someone.

Most policemen feel responsible for the injury they cause and can only rationalize the use of violence and alleviate their guilt when force is employed under legal or normal circumstances. This is particularly relevant when lethal force is used. No officer who fires his gun with the intention to kill takes his actions lightly. Consequently, if a suspect creates the appearance of intense danger to the officer's life so he almost uses deadly force in an illegal situation, the officer may experience of a sense of helplessness and confusion which culminates in a temporary loss of emotional control. He then 'snaps out' and hits the suspect.

The sense of helplessness which contributes to the third variety of situational normal violence is similar to a parent's feelings when he watches his child almost die in an accident. For example, a father is walking with his six year old son. Suddenly, the boy runs into the street to get a red ball he sees on the pavement. The father watches a car slam on its brakes and miss the boy by two inches. He grabs his son and smacks him on the face before he takes him in his arms and hugs him.

Like the policeman, the father does not hit his son to inflict pain or even punish him for doing something stupid. Instead he uses force in response to the helplessness and fear he experienced as he watched an

innocent child whose safety was his responsibility almost die under the wheels of a car. In City Police, Rubinstein provides an example of the third kind of situational normal violence.

A young white officer noticed a man standing near a street corner turn away as the patrol car approached. He stopped his car and rolled down the window to look at the elderly negro man. Instead of getting out of the car, he yelled across the deserted street to him, "Take your hand out of your coat." The man had turned back toward the car when it stopped, and he had his right hand jammed inside. He did not react to the command. They were frozen for several seconds, then the patrolman repeated his demand. When the man remained silent, the officer drew his pistol, continuing to remain seated in the car. He placed his gun in plain view and again ordered the man to show his hand. The man was very agitated but he remained silent. Slowly he began to extract his hand, but he gave the appearance of concealing some intention which threatened the patrolman, who cocked his gun and pointed it directly at the man. Suddenly the old man drew out his hand and threw a pistol on the ground. He stood trembling. The patrolman uncocked his gun with a shaking hand and approached. He was on the verge of tears, and in a moment of confusion, fear, and anxiety, he struck the man with the butt of his pistol. "Why didn't you take your hand out when I told you? I almost shot you, you dumb bastard." The man protested the treatment he had received, complaining that there was no reason to hit him. He said he had no intention of using the gun but was carrying it for self-protection. The patrolman recovered from his fright, but despite his regret for striking the man in anger, he refused to acknowledge any responsibility. "Are you wearing a sign? How the fuck am I supposed to know what you're gonna do?" (Rubinstein, 1973:305)

The following account from my own field material displays a similar pattern of events leading to the third kind of normal situational violence. The patrol car is a two man vehicle. The operator is named Joe and the recorder is called Tom. The event takes place in approximately three minutes.

Joe is driving east on Gentry Avenue in the 56th District. He is driving slowly, patrolling the area. At 9:05 p.m. a young Puerto Rican male approaches the car. He is about 5'7", tall and clean shaven. He is wearing a multi-colored shirt and a green army jacket, dark pants and tennis shoes. There appear to be dark stains around the shirt collar. Tom puts his right hand inside the left side of his leather jacket and grabs the stick of a hidden automatic. At the same time, the Puerto Rican male approaches the car on the recorder's side. He is signaling us with both hands and shouting something which I can't hear. He reaches Tom's side of the car at about the same time that Joe pulls the car over to the curb and stops. Both officers are listening. The Puerto Rican is speaking very quickly and it is difficult to understand what he is saying given the speed at which he is talking and his slight Spanish accent. Tom takes his right hand out of the jacket and listens. Tom tells the Puerto Rican, "Slow down, man, I can't understand you." The Puerto Rican keeps talking about some guy, a friend of his, who just tried to shoot him and something about his wife and a bar. "He tried to shoot me, just now, on the street." Tom asks calmly and firmly, "Who tried to shoot you?" The Puerto Rican male points west on Gentry and continues in an excited voice about some guy, a friend of his, who just tried to shoot him. "He took two shots at me, with a .38, just now. . . .on the street. . . ." Tom asks him what direction the man fled and tells him to sit in the back of the car. The Puerto Rican male, whose name is Angel, continues to talk. He doesn't get in the car. Again Tom asks him to get in the car. "Get in the car so we can look for him." The Puerto Rican hesitates and continues to talk. Tom states a third time, "Get in the car, get in the car, you want us to look for him, then get in the fucking car!" Angel finally gets in the back seat of the patrol car on the recorder's side. Again Tom asks Angel what direction his friend fled as Joe puts the car in reverse and heads west on Gentry. Angel points west, "He went down Gentry. . .towards Avenue C." The street is very narrow and cars are parked on both sides. Joe continues to drive in reverse in the direction that the suspect allegedly took. Tom asks Angel what his friend is wearing. He is calmer now. He states that his friend is wearing dark pants and a dark coat. The friend is taller than Angel. We drive about half a block and Tom spots a male about 5'8" tall wearing a navy pea coat. It's too dark outside

to clearly see the color of his pants but they appear to be dark. He is about fifteen feet away from the recorder's side of the car walking south on Jay Street. The car is positioned west of the suspect so that the police officers face him from the car. Joe slams the gears of the car in forward drive while Tom asks Angel, "Is that him?" Angel looks, "No, that's not him." Joe throws the car back in reverse and continues to drive west on Gentry. Tom spots a man walking west on Gentry. He is walking rather quickly and has his back to the car. His clothes appear to be dark. Angel looks through the back of the window at Tom's request. The complainant hesitates but then identifies the man as his friend. Joe speeds up in reverse so the car is positioned in such a way that the policemen are facing the suspect who continues to walk west on Gentry. He doesn't slow down his pace and he doesn't look at the car. Tom already has drawn his revolver from the holster. He is now holding the pistol in his right hand using his left hand for support. The gun is sticking out the window in the direction of the suspect. The window frame supports Tom's left arm. At the same time Tom loudly orders the suspect to "Stop, don't move." The suspect slows down but doesn't come to a complete halt. He is walking away from the car and doesn't look up. Tom tells him, "You, dont' move!" The Puerto Rican looks up at the car and stops walking. He continues to shuffle his feet as if he is about to move on. His hands are exposed. He appears to have nothing in his hands. For the third time, Tom tells him to keep still, "Don't move motherfucker or I'll blow your brains out." The man stops shuffling his feet and continues to look in Tom's direction. With his gun still pointed in the direction of the suspect, Tom gets out of the right side of the car. At the same time, Joe with gun drawn gets out of the operator's side and approaches the suspect. Joe walks slightly behind and to Tom's left side as they both move towards the suspect. Tom and Joe are about four feet from the suspect when he suddenly reaches towards his back pocket. Tom jumps on top of him, wrestling him to the ground. A few seconds later, Joe grabs the suspect and pushes him against the car. Joe slams him hard against the car and forces him in 'the position' for a search. Tom finds no gun on his person. He then pulls the suspect away from the car and throws him against the front. He kicks the back of his legs, turns him around and

punches him once in the face. Joe then cuffs him behind the back and holds onto his arm while Tom looks around for the gun. The gun is found on the sidewalk about five feet from where the suspect was originally standing. While Joe continues to hold the prisoner, Tom walks around the patrol car to the operator's side. He gets on the radio and calls for a backup for transportation. After the unit arrives and Tom and Joe are sitting in the patrol car with the complainant in the back seat. Tom looks at Joe and comments, "Jesus Christ, I almost let one go." His hands are shaking.

Normal Paranoia and the Predisposition to Violence

In the preceding pages, I outline the basic external circumstances that provoke normal situational violence among ordinary policemen. In addition, I suggest that the subjective experience of combat high heightens the potentiality of violence in dangerous and stressful situations. There is an additional psychological attitude prevalent among patrolmen which predisposes them to violence. This psychological attitude can be called normal paranoia.

From the psychiatric perspective, real paranoia constitutes a delusional state in which the subject projects his own hostile attitude onto others. Consequently, he creates a pseudo-community of persecutors who conspire to do him harm (Cameron, 1959). The paranoid's pseudo community ultimately assumes some basis in reality because people eventually respond to his strange behavior by isolating him from social intercourse and thereby amplifying his deviation (Lemert, 1962). However real paranoia remains largely delusional because it is based on unconscious infantile conflicts that are not alleviated by minor transformations in the environment.

In contrast, normal paranoia is largely reality-based. It constitutes a response to the real possibility that the community is hostile and intends to do great bodily harm. Normal paranoia is therefore a rational response by normal men to a dangerous and unpredictable world. It is a manifestation of mental health instead of emotional illness.

A good cop must never trust in the reality of appearances; a rose is not necessarily a rose at all. The most innocuous setting, complaint or person could hide something lethal. Conversely, what appears dangerous could be innocent. A job which is dispatched as a 'hospital case' may turn out to be a man with a gun. Conversely, a job that comes out as a 'man with a gun' may turn into a boy with an eyeglass case who runs from the police because he is scared of being caught for something else (Hunt, 1978:216-7).

The following incident illustrates the fluid nature of the policeman's reality which necessitates the use of normal paranoia in everyday life.

Another situation where I was sitting in a restaurant. I was having coffee. Just pulled up in my motorcycle and went in there and was having coffee and I looked outta the window. A white neighborhood o.k. which is important because there's one black guy running down the street like his ass is on fire which right away doesn't seem right. I mean just looking out the window it doesn't seem right. Running after him is a white guy with a field jacket with a radio in his hand. So I figure it's one of the guys in anticrime. They're involved in some shit. So I jump outta the restaurant and I start running after the white guy and I ask him, "What's going on?" So he says that the guy just committed a robbery or something,

something to that effect. Something where it led me to believe that this guy had committed some heavy shit. So, a, by this time this guy, well, I run by him because he's tired from chasing this guy. So I run about two or three blocks. I'm chasing down, down towards the East side and, as we get in the middle of the street I take out my gun and I yell halt police. As I move, and all of a sudden my gun comes out and I have people ducking everywhere and this guy is still running. And so I yell again. And to make a long story short, the guy turns around and, to see who was yelling I imagine, and when when he does the sun hits an object in his hand which is chrome. I catch the glint off the sun which leads me to believe the man has a gun. O.K. now at this particular moment as soon as he turned, I jumped between two cars. Whether there were civilians there, the question of whether to shoot or not to shoot didn't come into play, seeing as there were innocent people, because it's like I told you before, I don't get paid to be shot at. And if you get hit by accident, well that's the breaks. Terrible thing to say but that's where it's at, man. As it was the cover that was available and I ran between the cars and I ducked down. And I ran around the side and told him again to stop and he stops and I threw him in the hallway. As we get into the hallway what he has in his hand turns out to be a stapler that he just boosted from one of the big department stores. At the time, I didn't know what it was. So you know, I can imagine the headlines. But, at the same time, at the time that I was chasing him, especially when he turned around, number one, the guy that I originally passed because he's nowhere near me now because he's tired out, well, he's a security guard for the store which I didn't know. Because of the radio (I took him to be a cop). So, it's like I said, things don't seem to be what they seem to be.

While the recruit is still at the Police Academy he receives lessons which instruct him in suspicion. For example, recruits are shown a film called "Shoot Don't Shoot 1" (Woroner Films, Inc.) which

constitutes a basic exercise in the instability of perception. The recruit views a number of critical sequences and must make the decision to shoot or not to shoot. Many scenes display an innocent picture which then becomes something lethal. Others show a lethal appearance which turns into something innocent. The seductive lady who bears her breasts to the policeman making a car stop turns out to be a female with a gun who shoots the officer in the face. A burglar with a weapon trying to break in the back door of a house turns out to be a drunk old man who locked himself out of his own residence.

Once the rookie leaves the Academy and goes on the street, veteran officers may play jokes which also teach him to distrust the world of appearances. A veteran officer explained what they used to do to the new rookies in the old days.

On a 12x8a.m. shift, a veteran officer would tell the new kid to join the veterans in a sequential gangbang of a woman in the back of the patrol car. The rookie would wait for his turn some distance away from the car. He would watch as each officer entered the patrol car and came out smiling a few minutes later. Finally, it's the rookie's turn. He opens the back door of the car and observes an attractive woman with long hair. He gets in the car and begins to feel for her in the darkness. The girl giggles and begins to make love to him. Suddenly he puts his hands between her legs and discovers the girl is a guy. The veteran officers had set up the rookie by putting a transvestite in the car. The rookie was naturally shocked while the veterans were amused.

This disruption experiment was more than a dirty joke played on a kid by grown men. It also provided an important lesson to the rookie. Not only should he never trust in the reality of appearances but he should

also never trust a cop. A similar lesson in normal paranoia was performed on a female rookie in Metro City.

After a female rookie left the academy and was assigned for six weeks for field training at a district in Center City, the following events occurred. She was waiting inside district headquarters when she observed a man lying on the floor of the room. She approached the man who turned out to be an unconscious street drunk. The rookie was standing next to the wino when suddenly he grabbed her legs. The officer screamed, freed herself from his grasp and left the area. As it turned out the drunk was really a decoy policeman playing a joke on the female recruit. As the incident could have lead to unfortunate consequences if the female recruit had panicked and shot the drunk, the veteran officers involved in the incident were interrogated by their superiors. The female rookie was also questioned. She insisted however that the incident was simply a joke and refused to press formal charges against her colleagues.

The joke of course was more than a joke. It provided a lesson that the female officer would never forget. A drunk is not necessarily a drunk but could be a cop.

As the meaning of appearances is unstable, a good cop must always adopt a defensive posture towards the world. Until proven otherwise, the policeman must assume that the average stranger is really out to harm him. He must prepare himself for assault by taking the necessary precautions to maximize his safety before anything actually occurs. Thus the good cop stands to the side of the door when he knocks at the house of a "see complainant." The officer takes out his gun and puts it behind his back or to his side when he makes a routine carstop. If he works a one man car, he approaches the operator cautiously,

watching his hands through the window. He keeps to the side and in back of the driver so he is forced to turn his head to the left in order to see the policeman and hand him his registration and license. The good cop takes the elevator up an extra flight for a family dispute and walks down the stairs to avoid an ambush when the elevator opens. At all times an officer takes positions and walks in a manner which minimizes his areas of vulnerability and maximizes his sight and safety.¹⁰

The policeman who is wounded or killed in action is most often the one who lets down his guard and begins to trust in the world of appearances. For a moment, he is insufficiently paranoid.¹¹ Several policemen in Midtown South Precinct discussed the 1978 shooting of a Port Authority officer. The policeman thought the regular street wino was just a regular street wino.

They pick up some pizza to take to the stationhouse for meal and head to 35th Street. Ed takes the radio and informs central that they are out for meal at the house. They walk inside the precinct and go downstairs to eat. They sit at a rectangular table, watch television, eat pizza and occasionally talk. They talk about the death of the Port Authority police officer. The man who shot him was a regular street wino. He'd been around the precinct for years. The officer had tried to get him up and walking. He grabbed the cop's gun and shot him three times. He hit him in the face with the gun after he was dead. He fired a few more rounds into the crowd wounding a few bystanders before another police officer shot him. "He was just like one of the winos you see on the street and then turns out to be a psycho." (Hunt, 1978:187)

Normal paranoia is not only a product of the policeman's suspicious relations with the public, but it is also a function of the policeman's construction of his informal internal political world. If

dirty knowledge is perceived as an instrument of power and upward mobility, then many policemen will routinely collect such knowledge to use against a colleague who is threatening in order to further their own career (see Chapter VI). Consequently, the fear of betrayal from within is always present in the policeman's mind. Even at the Police Academy, recruits are beginning to learn to distrust their peers and suspect internal betrayal. Thus one recruit described a dream she had during her training.

At the end of the summer training the police recruits were instructed on the rules of the pistol practice game. They would line both sides of the railroad tracks and fire blanks at Police Officer Susan Reynolds as she rode an open freight car through the gauntlet. The game would test their accuracy and her courage. Susan climbed to the center of the freight car, stood up straight and signaled her readiness. The car moved as the recruits raised their guns and fired, six rounds each. Susan was astonished. Her chest felt numb. Her blue coat was blotched with blood. They had ruined her uniform. This was no game.

In order to guard against betrayals by colleagues, many policemen work to get something on an enemy or a friend. In addition, they take precautions in case the department itself is out to get them. After the Knapp Commission Investigations in New York City, for example, policemen began to check underneath the back seat of their cars before beginning a tour of duty. In part they were checking for weapons slipped behind the seat by a prisoner. In addition they were trying to protect themselves against the possibility that Internal Affairs had planted drugs or money to test them to see if they would voucher it. If they kept the

money or drugs they could be framed. If they left it in the car they could be disciplined for violating a minor departmental rule.

In summary, a policeman must assume an attitude of normal paranoia in order to survive in an unpredictably hostile world. He must distrust the reality of appearances and always take appropriate measures to guard against attack from unknown conspirators. The good cop is therefore chronically defensive. At the same time, he must be prepared to respond with lethal force in the face of assault. Not only is he defensive, then, but he also remains suspended in a state of anticipatory physical action. As a result, a predisposition to violence necessarily underlies the policeman's attitude of normal paranoia. Consequently, it is inevitable that "trigger happy" policemen make mistakes and shoot unarmed civilians. It is also inevitable that the normal cop periodically loses control and responds with extralegal force in the face of minor threats to his authority. Both combat high and normal paranoia therefore are subjective dimensions that precede and facilitate many instances of situational normal violence.

Abstract Violence

In contrast to situationally induced normal violence, abstract violence is less immediate because it arises outside of the interactional context. In contrast to situational violence abstract violence does not produce the emotional loss of control, fear, anger, combat high or battle fatigue induced by immediate exigencies. Instead, abstract violence constitutes a kind of premeditated act of punishment or revenge for a crime which takes place at a different time and which is

not directed at the officer himself. It is therefore the nature of the criminal act and the category of the criminal which merits street justice in situations of abstract violence.

The categories of persons who merit street justice include cop haters who have gained notoriety as persistent police antagonizers. It includes cop killers or any person who has attempted to seriously harm a policeman. Westley explains,

"If a guy kills a cop and they are sure of it he is going to have a rough time. Or if it's a big case and there's a lot of pressure on him and they tell him you can't go home until the case is finished then naturally a fellow is going to lose patience after awhile."

However, when the police are seriously threatened--
"If a guy kills a cop"--It's perfectly all right to go all out on him. (1970:131)

Sexual deviants who prey on children, 'real women' and any category of person who belongs in the home are also subject to abstract violence. The more serious the sexual act, the more likely will the police respond with violence. A man who exposes himself to children in a playground is therefore far less likely to experience a police assault than a person who rapes or sexually molests a child. Westley confirms the routine nature of abstract violence to the sex offender.

The solution of this problem has not completely crystalized. However, the group acceptance of harsh treatment for the sex offender is permissive of brutality, and brutal treatment is frequent. . . .

It should be repeated, however, that many officers refuse to follow the dictates of the group with respect to the problem of sex. They either treat the sex delinquent gently, or take him into the station. Nevertheless, they do not condemn the use of force in this area by the other man. (1970:63)

Persons who abuse children, mug old ladies and other helpless victims of high moral worth are also perceived as morally decrepit individuals who are likely candidates of street justice. In addition, homosexuals, junkies, winos, and other 'scum' who inhabit the street are more likely recipients of violence than categories of persons perceived as moral members of the human race.¹² Van Maanen alludes to the application of abstract violence to categories of persons deemed morally decrepit in a footnote of "The Asshole" (1978:233).

Certainly, this may not always be the case. For example, some 'suspected persons' due to the nature of their alleged crime (child molestation, drug dealing, indecent exposure, political sabotage, assault (or worse) upon a police officer, etc.) are likely to provide a strong sense of moral indignation on the part of the arresting (or stopping) officers. In such cases, once identity has been established to the satisfaction of the police (and it should be noted that errors are not unknown--particularly in these volatile cases), the person suspected is transformed immediately into an asshole and is subject to a predictably harsh treatment. Thus in effect the label arises from an offense which occurred outside the immediate presence of the officers. However, since the spoiled identity must be reestablished anew in the immediate surroundings, the properties of the 'affront' correspond to the more familiar case outlined in the text.

Clean criminals such as high level mafiosi, white collar criminals and professional burglars, in contrast are rarely subject to abstract violence. Perpetrators of violent and nonviolent street crime who only prey on adult males, prostitutes or other categories of persons who belong on the street are also less prone to abstract violence.¹³

Outside the two extremes, moral criminals who do not merit

abstract violence and immoral ones who do, there lies one kind of individual who fits in neither realm. The psycho or demented person is one category of person who is perceived by police as so mentally deranged that he is not responsible for his acts. Van Maanen explains,

While such action cannot normally be allowed to continue, the moral indignation felt by police is tempered by the understanding that the person is not aware nor would be made aware of the rule-breaking nature of his actions. The police response is to isolate the offender, not punish him. Thus, the 'mental case' is shipped to the country hospital for observation and treatment (1978:233-4)

As most policemen go out of their way to protect those who they perceive as helpless and not responsible, the demented person can get by with an extraordinary amount of verbal and physical abuse without suffering the normal consequences. As a result of their hesitancy to use even legal force in relation to the psycho, it is the demented person who often causes the policeman bodily harm rather than the cop hater or other morally decrepit individual.

The following incident provides an example of interaction between a policeman and a psychotic woman. The woman clearly sabotages the policeman's attempts to control her behavior and ultimately controls them. If a person who performed similar acts of mortification was perceived as sane by the officers, she would have received physical punishment. In this case, however, the assumed insanity of the female culprit protects her from violence by the police. In some sense, then, her bizarre behavior can be perceived as an intelligent attempt to reverse the order of power and degrade the degraders.

Two male police officers receive a job to transport a "demented" woman to the hospital. They arrive at the scene where a female is acting "crazy," laughing, lunging, waving her arms, and talking irrationally about nonexistent beings. It takes several officers to subdue the woman because she is extremely fat, to the point of obesity. When the officer handcuffs the prisoner, he comments to his partner about the terrible odor that emanates from the woman.

The fat woman is put in the wagon and transported to the hospital. When the police arrive at the Crisis Center, they open the wagon and take the woman out. She is calm and offers no resistance. She no longer talks about the bizarre beings and appears generally sane. When she steps out of the wagon, it becomes apparent that she is not wearing any handcuffs. She has managed to slip them off her wrist. Alarmed, one of the officers searches the wagon while his partner guards the prisoner. Not only has an important part of his equipment disappeared but he knows that he risks formal discipline if the handcuffs should appear in a place such as a prison ward or hospital where they are not supposed to be. The thorough search of the wagon, however, produces no handcuffs.

The officer's partner then calls for a female officer to search the prisoner. The female officer takes her to a hospital examination room and conducts a strip search. She finds no handcuffs. The male officer asks the policewoman if she will conduct an internal examination to see if the prisoner has hidden the cuffs in her vagina.

The policewoman, aware of the officer's predicament, slips on rubber gloves and conducts an internal. She discovers that the odor emanating from the prisoner comes from a severe vaginal infection which enhances the unpleasantness of the examination. The female officer is mortified. But, in spite of her efforts she cannot find the handcuffs between the layers of fat in the prisoner's vagina.

The female officer leaves the examination room and watches the prisoner through a one-way window. After some time, the prisoner puts her hand in her vagina and pulls out the set of handcuffs. She walks across the room and hides the handcuffs in the bottom drawer of an empty file. Later the female officer retrieves the handcuffs and returns them to the relieved officer.

She returns home after work and immediately takes a shower.

The next day, the female officer breaks out in a rash on her face and arms. At first she thinks it could be lice because a male officer with whom she had worked had contracted lice from a drunk. After a medical examination, however, she learns that she has caught a severe case of contact dermatitis as a result of the internal examination of the contaminated prisoner.

The female prisoner has reversed the order of power and degraded the police officers. She has reciprocated each assault on her self with a more degrading attack on the officers. First she takes the cuffs and hides them. She hides a part of the officer's self in her vagina. Then she gives the policewoman who humiliates her with the search a bad rash. She has symbolically said, "You think you can degrade and control me but you are wrong because I will degrade and contaminate you ten-fold." Her craziness is also protective. Because she is labeled crazy, the police cannot impute evil intent to her acts. She is not responsible and therefore cannot be punished. She has rendered them impotent.

There's a saying among police officers that "psychos may be crazy but they aren't stupid," a point perfectly illustrated by this story.

Emotion and Abstract Violence. The officer who perpetrates abstract violence rarely acts in cold blood in the total absence of heated emotion. In contrast, the crime or criminal may arouse a similar kind of subjective response as induced in situational incidents of violence. However, the officer still acts without the immediate provocation which occurs in the first three varieties of situational normal violence. Instead, he acts in response to a personal symbolic meaning triggered by the category of crime or the nature of the criminal act.¹⁴

Some instances of abstract violence are more premeditated

than others. The officer who forms a posse to hunt a man who raped three children or killed a cop knows that violence is inevitable when they apprehend the suspect. In contrast, the policeman who inadvertently captures the criminal does not predict his violent response. In both extremes of abstract violence, most officers do experience an intense rage which facilitates the loss of control and subsequent assault of the victim. Jim Birch, a former Metro City police officer clarifies this issue in comments on an early draft of the manuscript.

You imply that a rapist or child beater is a symbol which the police despise and which therefore warrants a normal violent outburst. The outburst is premeditated in that these symbols always bring out this kind of response and cops are prepared ahead of time and therefore they 'practice' normal abstract violence in these instances.

I disagree. The abstract is not premeditated. It is just as spontaneous as the situational. I arrive on the scene as a wagon crew to transport a rapist to the detectives. I have no premeditation that I'm going to give this guy a few shots. I now see the guy in the back of the patrol car. He's handcuffed. The situation is over. I'm there merely to transport him in the wagon. I take him out of the car and way to the cop, "What d'ya got?" He says, "This guy just raped some girl. Take him to the detectives for me. . ." I take the guy out of the car and walk him to the wagon. Now I'm thinking, this creep just raped my daughter or my wife. This guy's a real bitch. Now I'm getting mad inside. I'm thinking that if this guy ever touched someone in my family I'd kill him. So I look at the guy and I'm mad and inside I'm getting all tight because he represents a symbolic threat to my family. Now I finally can't take it any more and while this guy is getting into the wagon I push him in real hard. I holler "So you like to rape women. . .nothing else to do right?" I kick him once or twice because I have to show him that he'd better never touch my family.

The feeling lasts maybe sixty seconds. I didn't plan it. It just happened. Now maybe I squeeze his cuffs a little tighter or maybe I give him a real bad ride in

wagon so he gets roughed up. Anyway, I didn't plan on doing any of this. But once I saw this guy, he stood for something I hated. My anger was temporarily uncontrollable just like in your situational normal violence.

The Meaning of the Abstract Categories. The distinction between the categories of persons who merit abstract violence and those who don't is more complex than the overt moral features of an act or the legal designation of its criminal status. Not every rape for example is perceived as cause for abstract violence. Nor is every murderer subject to police discipline. The distinction between violence prone categories of persons and nonviolent prone people can best be understood as a symbolic manifestation of the contradiction between formal and informal orders in the policeman's construction of reality. Only those individuals who trespass the boundaries which divide the formal and informal realm are truly subject to abstract violence. A man who belongs in the informal world of the street for example will be subject to police violence only if he rapes or abuses a category of person who belongs in the formal, feminine realm of the home. The man who attacks a child or a real woman for example is likely to be beaten by the police. In contrast the man who rapes or assaults a prostitute, a known category of woman who belongs in the informal world of the street is unlikely to receive street justice. From the policeman's perspective a rape of a prostitute is simply a 'theft of services' rather than a real violent attack.

In a certain sense, then, the policeman is the guardian of a moral order which is based on the separation between a formal, domestic world inhabited by women and an informal public world of men. When any individual trespasses from one realm to another, the policeman subjects

him to punishment and control. Consequently, the man who enters the home to commit violent acts which are associated with the street is perceived as a moral degenerate who should be punished. Similarly, a woman who enters the informal realm of the street and commits acts which belong inside the home if also subject to discipline.¹⁵

The rape of a nun is one of the most heinous crimes from the perspective of the policeman.¹⁶ The nun symbolizes the domestic realm at every level. She is the pure, virgin mother, sister, daughter and wife. She epitomizes the 'real woman' who belongs in the home. The physical violation of the nun by a street criminal represents the pollution of the formal world by the informal order. The social system itself is symbolically threatened by the contamination of someone as "pure" as the nun. Given the meaning of the violation of a nun, it is inevitable that the perpetrator of such an act receives the kind of abstract normal violence reserved only for the cop killer.

In the following incident the rapist of a nun is apprehended and punished by the police. The story was told to me by a police officer who remains at the nonviolent end of the range of normal situational and abstract violence. The officer felt that the beating of the suspect was justified in spite of the fact that he had previously expressed guilt about his loss of control during an incident in which he mildly beat a drunk who had been extremely verbally abusive and had instigated a car pursuit. When I asked the officer if he would have participated in the torture of the suspect, he explained, "I'm Catholic. . . . I would have participated."

A nun was raped by a male adolescent of approximately 17 years old. When the police officers apprehended the suspect he was severely beaten. In addition his penis was put in an electrical outlet to teach him a lesson. As the suspect was seriously injured, an investigation followed the incident. However nothing was uncovered and no indictments followed because the nuns who witnessed the apprehension and were aware of the beating maintained silence along with the policemen involved.

Brutal Violence

Brutal violence is the amount of force that policemen perceive as illegal, illegitimate and immoral. The brutal policeman is provocative, unpredictable and uncontrollable. He uses force more in response to internal psychological demands rather than external exigencies. He obeys neither the formal or informal rules regarding the appropriate use of violence. As he is considered a danger to his colleagues as well as the public, the brutal policeman is perceived as an undesirable partner who is unfit for the street. He is labelled a headbeater or shaky and considered morally inferior to other policemen.

Roscoe Rules is a character in Wambaugh's The Choirboys who typifies the brutal policeman that every officer knows about.

Working with Roscoe Rules was many things but it was never dull. He was what is known in LAPD jargon as a 'four fifteen personality,' 415 being the California Penal Code section which defines disturbing the peace. Indeed Roscoe Rules had turned many bloodless family fights or landlord tenant disputes into minor riots by his presence. He had been transferred around the department more than any member of his academy class, had been the subject of many complaints of excessive force from citizens and even from a few police supervisors who generally don't challenge the

techniques of policemen like Roscoe Rules. Not if they respond promptly to radio calls, write one moving traffic violation a day and stop at least three people daily for field interrogations. (1975, 36-7)

Roscoe, like most black glove cops, believed implicitly that if you ever backed down even for a moment in dealing with assholes and scrotes, the entire structure of American law enforcement would crash to the ground in a mushroom cloud of dust. (1975:41)

"The Street Monsters" from The Glitterdome also reveal a flair for violence which is characteristic of the real life brutal policeman.

The Street Monsters didn't like fights. Unless they were in them. It made them nervous to see all the sissy punches and flabby slaps and face scratching that went on. Not just among Selma Avenue fruits but even in barroom brawls where people were supposed to be better at it. The fact is, most people liked to fight like baseball players. Lots of show and nobody gets hurt. It always made the street monsters want to jump in and kick and gouge and kneedrop and arm strangle and do all the other things that worked. (Wambaugh, 1981:204)

Instruments of Brutal Violence

In general, a policeman is perceived as brutal as a result of the way he employs his weapons as well as the context in which violence arises. Thus most instruments of normal violence can also be used to inflict brutal force. There are, however, some weapons which signify to colleagues that the officer in question does have a brutal orientation to the use of force.

The Nightstick. While normal officers may purchase a plastic baton or a heavy duty flashlight, brutal prone policemen construct extra

sticks. For example, some officers hollow out their batons and fill them with lead (Rubinstein, 1973:289). A cop in one district even carved custom nightsticks out of pick and axe handles. Policemen who wanted extra long models would also place special orders with the manufacturer.

Sap Gloves. Metro City police officers also often acquire a set of black leather gloves.¹⁷ In most cases, these gloves are used to provide protection from physical contamination by lice infected winos and persons with contagious disease. In addition they present a symbolic shield against the district civilian population which most officers learn to despise. Some brutal prone officers, however buy special black gloves which conceal saps in the palms and the knuckles. Rubinstein explains,

Rarely seen any longer are brass knuckles which are now made of aluminum, but they have been replaced by a much more efficient weapon. Lead loaded sap gloves are proudly described in one equipment catalogue for their deceptive appearance. "You would never know that this handsome flexible dress glove made of genuine deerskin is loaded with 6 oz. saps, built in. . . ." These gloves come with the lead in the palm or the knuckles, giving a man the option of clapping or punching a person. Either is devastating. The only purpose of this weapon is to inflict punishment and to terrorize. (1973:289)

Revolver and Ammunition. Although many normal policemen occasionally express a desire to carry more powerful weapons such as magnums or shotguns, it is only the brutal cop who is truly insistent. In The Choirboys, for example, Roscoe Rules the 'blackgloved' cop who typifies the brutal policeman is the only officer on the Wilshire Watch who constantly screams for hollow points, hotloads and super guns.

"In addition to knowing your car you gotta know all your equipment," Roscoe continued. "Like that pea-shooter you're carrying. I wish I could talk you into buying a magnum and carrying some good, gut ripping hollow points in it. I want a gun that'll stop some scrote when I need him stopped. After the prick's dead, I'll worry about the ammunition being department approved. (Wambaugh, 1975:49)

Baxter Slate, finally getting his flashlight to work by banging it on his hip as he ran, caught up with Spermwahle who was standing motionless and aiming two handed at a running shadow eighty feet away. Then there were three explosions in Baxter's ear and the Regretful Rapist dropped to the asphalt shrieking in terror from a slight wound which entered his lower back, broke two ribs, ricocheted around the rib cage, following the path of least resistance, and exited in the front, causing, aside from the broken ribs, little more than a flesh wound. And this caused Roscoe Rules at the next afternoon's rollcall to scream loudly for the hundredth time that they should be permitted to carry dumdums and high velocity ammo. (Wambaugh, 1975:158)

Finally, the officer who consistently uses his gun butt as a slapjack or nightstick is perceived as brutality prone by many colleagues. One officer explains,

Another instrument of violence which you don't see very much but can be classified as brutal and done by assholes, is hitting someone with the butt of your revolver. I've seen Highway Patrol do it a few times--they feel real macho. But most cops feel its an idiotic thing to do.

Brutal Policemen

In The Choirboys, Wambaugh characterizes the brutal policeman as a person who reads too much into things. He interprets every gesture as a threat to his authority and even his safety. Consequently, the brutal policeman reacts to events in the outside world according to a

private meaning unrelated to the intentions and perceptions of those around him. In an incident called "The Night My Balls Blew Up," Wambaugh describes the brutal policeman in actions as Roscoe Rules transforms a minor dispute into a major riot.

Roscoe Rules and his partner Dean Pratt, are called to settle a family dispute. After the argument is resolved, Roscoe Rules takes the black complainant aside and warns him that,
 "I don't want no more trouble outta you. . ."
 The complainant responds,
 "I ain't gonna give you no trouble, Officer,"
 Roscoe then interprets this statement as resistance and screams,
 "Don't argue with me, man!"
 Additional words are exchanged and finally the complainant quietly asks Roscoe to just leave him alone so that he can go back inside and join his family. Rules proceeds to interpret the request as another arrogant affront to his authority and the situation escalates. Finally, Dean Pratt interferes. He instructs Rules to stay with the Mexican disputant who is already quiet while Pratt proceeds to calm down the outraged black complainant. Roscoe then decides to offer some friendly advice to the Mexican. He tells him,
 "If that loudmouth bitch was my old lady, I'd kick her in the cunt."
 The Mexican is outraged. Roscoe has attacked his Manhood by insulting his woman. Rules then further aggravates the situation by treating the Mexican like a three year old child. He insists that he and the black complainant shake hands before the police depart. When the Mexican refuses, Rules threatens to administer great bodily harm and to lock him up. Eventually the disputants join together and attack the policemen. Roscoe rules is kicked in the groin and the incident is named, "The Night My Balls Blew Up."

In contrast to the normal policeman whose use of legal force makes him a reliable partner and a man while his use of normal violence confirms his status as a real cop, the consistent use of brutal force by

the brutal policeman transforms his sexual and cultural identity. His over reaction to minor perturbations is perceived as a sign of fear, weakness or sadism which makes him less of a man and less of a cop in the eyes of his colleagues. Rubinstein comments,

But if a policeman reaches for his gun when someone swears at him or threatens him, it is a sign of fear that demonstrates the man cannot be relied on.
(1971:29)

It is therefore no accident that Roscoe Rules, our prototype of the brutal cop, frequently loses control of his manhood. His 'balls' are first attacked by the Mexican on "The Night My Balls Blew Up" and finally assaulted by a little pond duck during a drunken "Choirpractice" in MacCarthur Park (Wambaugh, 1975:331-3).

In most instances, the distinction between a normal and brutal policeman is more complex than suggested by policemen such as Roscoe Rules. The Roscoe Rules of most departments are usually transferred to depopulated sectors, subways or inside locations where they are less likely to embarrass the department by producing a rash of civilian complaints and legal suits. More often the brutal cop on the street displays a borderline personality which lies between the extremes of normal and brutal violence. He gains a shaky reputation because of consistent and frequent involvement in acts of violence which seem unprovoked to his colleagues. Thus his violence does not involve the occasional loss of control under nebulous situational or abstract circumstances but a frequent overreaction to minor disturbances. The following incident contains both legal and normal violence. However it provides a background of interpretation for the construction of the brutal character

by the officer's colleagues.

Mary gets a call loud music. 4400 Madison Street. So like she says, "in your mind you get a mental picture of what the job is and you get very lackadasical." And she goes and pulls up to the house and as she pulls up two Puerto Rican girls are entering the house with a case of beer in each arm. So she says to the girl, "would you mind lowering the music in there." So the Puerto Rican girl turned around and said, "No, get in your fuckin' car and leave." So Mary said, "What?" So the girl comes down and points her finger at ther and says, "You heard me, get in your fuckin' car and leave." Mary said, "You're locked up!" She goes to open the back door and put the girl in. The girl lifts up her foot, kicks the door shut and Mary figures, "Well shit I better call a backup." So Mary's trying to get to the car. So one jumps on her and the other one jumps on her. She gets on the air and says, "Please send me a backup please." Period. Thank God, the Sergeant and Susan heard a little screaming in the background. Jack went over and Billy and Susan. Jack's going up the street the wrong way and he says when he gets there he didn't even see Susan. The party's emptied out on her. Billy said that when he pulled up all he saw was this little stick in the air going wack wack wack. She thumped everybody. What'd happened is that she'd put her stick up to hit the girls while she was waiting for a backup to come and then when she went to stick the girl, what she did was put it too far over her head. They teach you at the academy, do a quick one. She put it up over her head and the girl pulled it down and smashed it right in her face. Broke her nose. Mary kicked, kicked her right in the crotch. And so Susan gets on the scene. They cuff one of the girls. And she throws her in the back seat of the car. She climbs over the back seat, jumps out of the car with cuffs on and starts running up the stairs. Susan and Mary are trying to cuff the other girl and all of a sudden Susan looks up and sees her cuffs running away. She said Susan turned into an animal. Susan runs up the steps, grabs the girl by the legs. Drags her down the five steps. Puts her in the car. kicks her in the car. Mary goes in the car and call her every name she can think of and waves her stick in her face.

But it turned out that Mary got a broken nose over it. But like I said, when I first heard about it I 'd wondered if Mary had provoked it any because we'd gone on a disturbance and it was a drunk black guy who called to complain that the kids who lived upstairs keeps walking through his apartment. The kid to me looks wacky. He's talking crazy. He's saying they shoulda sent men. What are you women going to do. Going on and on. And to me it was a bullshit job.

But Mary turns around and says, "We don't have to take that from him. Let's lock him up." I said, "Mary, forget it." And the kid has numchuck sticks on him and when he turned his back, he had them in his back pocket. So as he's pulling away saying you're scared. Like a little kid I turned around and said, "I've got your sticks." And I go away. Mary. . . So Mary was, I just looked at her and she was so disappointed in me. . .like I'd turned chicken on her. So I tried to explain to her. I said, "Mary, all we have is disorderly conduct. That's a summary offense. That's bullshit." I said, "Did you want to get hurt for a summary offense?" I said, "The guy was drunk who called to complain. It wasn't even a legit complaint." I said, "It's just. . . You've got to use discretion. If you think I'm chicken think of the times when a man with the gun comes out over the air and I'm the first car there." I said, "when it's worth it, I'll do anything. When it's not worth it, I'll back off. And I think she tries to temper herself some because Collette and her, they finally had a talk about why they hated each other. And Collette said to her, "I think you're too physical. I think you look for fights." And I think maybe Mary hearing it twice, once from me, and once from Collette might start to think that maybe she does provoke. Instead of going up. . . . I always go up to them friendly and then if they act shitty, then I get shitty. But if I can be friendly with them, I'd rather leave where they can thank me. Because for me, deep in my mind, I always think for every friend I make, one of these days I'm gonna be on the ground having my head kicked in. . . And one of them is gonna remember that I was nice and is gonna take the time and make a phone call and that's always behind my mind. I have enough enemies around here. That it doesn't hurt to have a couple of friends.

In this incident, the female perpetrator first challenges the

officer's authority and verbally abuses her by refusing a direct request and cursing at her. When the officer attempts to place the girl under arrest the offender resists and kicks the door of the patrol car. As the officer calls for assistance, she is physically assaulted by the perpetrator and the other members of the party. She administers legal force in self defense by hitting her attackers with a nightstick. One perpetrator, however, manages to break the officer's nose and the brawl continues to escalate. Nevertheless the female officer continues to use only legal force to defend herself and gain control of the suspects.

When the backup units arrive, they help the officer subdue the perpetrators. One is handcuffed and placed in the patrol car. Suddenly, however, the girl jumps out of the car and runs up the stairs towards the house. The officer who owns the handcuffs perceives the escape as a direct assault on a part of herself (the handcuffs) as well as a challenge to her control. She responds with appropriate "normal" rage, pursues the offender up the stairs, grabs her feet and drags her down the steps. Although the police officers involved in the fight periodically lose their temper, there are still no overt incidents of illegal violence. Once the perpetrators are handcuffed and under control, no additional force is administered.^{14A}

The officer who relates the story, however, adds an additional dimension. Based on the reputation of Mary, the female officer who received the job, she suggests that the event may have occurred differently than she described. Perhaps Mary provoked the fight by being over aggressive and antagonistic when she first instructed the girls to turn down the music. Like Roscoe Rules, Mary may have escalated the situation

by overreacting to minor provocation or misinterpreting events entirely. The officer goes on to relate an instance in which Mary did overreact to a minor matter and almost created a tense situation.

In summary, this incident reveals the ambiguous nature of the personality construction of most brutal policemen. Although no brutal violence was apparent in the fight itself, the officer had already earned a reputation as a borderline officer. Consequently her actions were suspect because she was already labelled a shaky cop who would turn a bullshit job into a major disturbance.

Rules Regarding the Use of Normal and Brutal Violence

Although each policeman varies in his response to the situational and abstract conditions involved in the constitution of normal violence, there are certain universal rules which all men must follow in order to maintain peaceful working relations with colleagues.

First, an officer only has the moral right to administer extralegal violence to his own prisoner. He cannot beat a suspect who is the possession of a colleague unless he has received the expressed permission of the arresting officer. An officer usually claims a prisoner by placing his handcuffs on his wrists. The arresting officer formally confirms ownership by signing his name to the arrest forms. The arresting officer is subsequently both informally and formally responsible for the health and well-being of the prisoner. It is he who is responsible if the prisoner claims injury or files a brutality complaint.

One New York police officer explained that if another cop

touched his prisoner, he'd go up to the desk and disclaim the act to the supervisor on duty. He would also declare that the prisoner was no longer his but the officer's who beat him. He thereby makes it official and public that he is not responsible for any marks on the prisoner. In response to the violation of one informal rule, that you don't touch another man's pinch, it is legitimate to break another informal rule, that you don't rat on a fellow officer in order to protect yourself against legal action. Rubinstein mentions a similar example.

Occasionally, a patrolman will try to beat another man's prisoner: this can create an explosive situation. The beating of people in custody is not widely practiced but it persists. If a man approaches a person who is handcuffed and hits him, he is committing a crime that should cause his colleagues to arrest him. While this rarely occurs, it is one of the few instances when a policeman will even jokingly suggest that the solidarity that binds them is on the point of dissolution. "You put your hand on my prisoner, pal, and I'm gonna put you down and lock up your ass." On another occasion, a patrolman who hit the handcuffed prisoner of a colleague was thrown down a flight of stairs by the outraged officer. "Son-of-a-bitch, he hits my prisoner and I have to stand him up in court tomorrow."
(1973:322)

An officer does not risk moral degradation if he does not participate in an invitation to beat a prisoner who has committed a crime worthy of violence. Nonparticipation, in fact, is quite common. John Allen, for example, mentions an incident in which an officer refuses to participate in the beating of two suspects who were apprehended for armed robbery after a car pursuit, foot pursuit and shootout in which both officers and suspects were wounded. In addition the suspects were

uncooperative in the stationhouse and one even spit on a witness.

They took JoJo out to get fingerprinted and mug shots. Meanwhile, they taking a statement from the second witness. Now, they also taking me right by the witness. He says something smart, I forget what, and I say, "Man, you making a mistake, man." And he said something smart again, and I spit on him. That was a kind of a bad move. One police yoked me, and another one hit me in my gut, and I'm handcuffed. Then they take me across to a little room just before you get to the fingerprint area. The police who is taking me is a regular street roller, but the dudes what's jumping on me are detectives. Now, this roller that first handcuffed me and carry me to get fingerprinted, you know, kind of a young white dude, he don't have nothing to do with it. He just stood back. The detectives above him or represented more authority than he had, but he probably could have gotten in on the beating and nothing would have been said. But he didn't get involved. . . .

So my face is swelled up, I'm beat up. Bruises everywhere, and then they give me back to the little officer, who all the time stood there quietly, politely, and watched. He half carried me to the ingerprint place. When we get there, he gotta take the handcuffs off. 'Cause he's seen what they've done to me and the way I was reacting to it, he's a little afraid to. I guess he figured with my hands loose I might have took care of myself a whole lot better. Then he says something like, "Man, I didn't have anything to do with them beating you up. And I really don't like it. Now, I'm not saying this just to be saying it so that you can be cool. But if I take these handcuffs off and you start something, man. . . ." So I said, "Yeah, I understand, I'm not going to do nothing, I'm too tired. Just take the handcuffs off, get me fingerprinted, and tell them I want to go to the hospital."

A couple of hours later they carry me over to D.C. General and say I was hurt in the process of banging into cars. So theoretically wasn't anything I could do or say to make them think anything different. I didn't even try. There wasn't even nothing said about what really happened in court. It was

just one of them things that police do often and get away with. (Allen, 1977:118-20)

Rubinstein (1973) mentions a similar incident. A rape suspect is apprehended and transported to the district. He is handcuffed and taken inside headquarters. AS a sex offense is considered a crime which merits normal abstract violence, several patrolmen engage in the beating of the prisoner. One of the officers invites two other policemen to join them. The two officers decline the invitation and no more is made of the incident. Neither of the two policemen are stigmatized because they refuse to participate in a beating perceived as normally violent.

If, however, either officer had tried to prevent the beating of the prisoner by the arresting officers he would have been rebuked. The third rule of violence claims that an officer is not allowed to interfere with the normal administration of street justice inflicted on one's prisoner except under particular circumstances. One Metro City officer, for example, claimed that he once interfered with the beating of a black juvenile delinquent during a street encounter. As a result, his colleagues perceived him as untrustworthy. They assumed he was keeping a record of their violent acts with the intention of exposing them to the FBI. He was subsequently isolated and harrassed by other members of the squad.

Under certain circumstances an officer may interfere with a lethal beating. If for example the policeman has "snapped out" or lost total emotional control, a colleague may pull him off the suspect before serious injury is sustained. In this case, the officer who has snapped

out is perceived as not fully responsible for his behavior. Consequently, it is his colleagues duty to protect him against uncontrollable actions he may later regret. John Allen provides an example of a situation in which an officer is restrained by his colleagues from killing a suspect after the officer "snaps out." The incident takes place after a shootout with the police in which two officers are killed.

What eventually happened, I see them get Duke's gun and twist it out of his hand. Just before they twist it away, though, Duke shot it, and it grazed one of the police's head. He rolled over and that must have thrown Duke off balance, cause they got the gun right away after that. Then another police held Duke down and they shot him while he was on the ground after they had got his gun. Just shot him. And I heard Duke say, "Oh, man! I'm dead."

So now I threw one pistol down 'cause it's empty. I got the other one in my hand, and they still shooting at me, but I don't know which way to run. I want to run now 'cause there ain't no reason for me to stay there. I cant get to the car to get the money or to drive away. I can't help Duke 'cause he done said he dead! And I assumed that he was. Do you ever wanna run so bad that you just trip all over yourself? I wanted to get away that bad, so I just tripped over myself and I fell. And when I fell, I stuck both hands out automatically to catch myself. My gun flew out of my hand ten or twelve feet in front of me. When I first hit the ground, I looked up to see where my gun had fell so I can try to scramble to get it, and just in them few seconds I heard someone say, "get that bastard right there!" And the next thing I remember I got that feeling of bullets in my head, going through my head, tearing through my body. Just in that second, I heard Pow! Pow! Pow! and I remember feeling like somebody had picked my legs up. But it really wasn't so. I was just laying half on the concrete and half on a little g assy area. I remember not being able to move. And I heard another officer say, "Man, don't shoot him no more, don't shoot him no more. He not

armed!" Then there was a lot of footsteps running around. And I remember thinking. Duke dead. Damn. Then I thought, I'm gonna die. (Allen, 1977:209-10)

Summary: Lethal Combinations

In summary, policemen distinguish three shades of violence, legal, normal and brutal. Legal violence involves the amount of force necessary to subdue a prisoner in order to take him into custody. Normal violence is the amount of force that any reasonable man employs given a particular set of circumstances. There are two categories of normal violence; situational and abstract. Situational normal violence arises when the policeman perceives that his self or control is endangered. The suspect presents a threat to his life or a violation of his self. The police officer temporarily loses emotional control and administers violence. In contrast, abstract violence arises in the absence of interactional provocation. Instead it is an unconscious response to certain categories of crime and criminals who unconsciously symbolize a threat to the ideological political order. Abstract violence is intended to punish the violator and restore the separation of the formal and informal spheres on which the political order is based.¹⁵ In contrast to normal violence, brutal violence is the amount of force that policemen perceive as illegal, illegitimate and immoral. The brutal policeman is perceived as provocative, unpredictable and uncontrollable. As he obeys neither the formal nor informal rules regarding the appropriate use of violence, he is considered an undesirable partner who is unfit for the street.

In order to gain a reputation as a good cop and a trustworthy partner, an officer must at least participate in the use of legal violence.

A man who hesitates to use force when necessary to back up a colleague, protect himself or restrain a suspect is perceived as a coward who does not belong on the street. Although an officer need not participate in the extralegal use of force to prove himself a reliable partner, most cops do engage in some degree of situational and abstract violence. Given its dominance and assumed rationality, the use of normal violence is perceived as the mark of a real cop and a real man who has experienced the situational realities of the street.

The likelihood of a violent response to a particular situation is related to the degree of the perceived offense as well as the category. Thus, mild verbal insubordination is less likely to result in a physical assault by the officer than a physical attack on the policeman. Once the suspect passes the borderline between words and touch, a violent response by the officer is ensured. The severity of a morally justifiable beating depends on the amount of injury the officer or a colleague sustains. An officer who mortally beats a suspect for fatmouthing him, for example, is perceived as brutal, not normal. On the other hand an officer who inflicts potentially lethal wounds on a suspect who shot his partner is considered normal. His violence is both comprehensible and morally justifiable. A suspect who kills a police officer is therefore brutally beaten and, if a cover story can be successfully constructed, he may even be killed.

Any combination of factors involved in the construction of situational and abstract violence also relate to the likelihood of force. A child rapist who fatmouths an officer is more apt to receive a beating than the "Regretful Rapist" who displays remorse and is polite to

the arresting officer (see Wambaugh, 1975:158). The most lethal combinations would inevitably involve a policeman who was violence prone. Thus, a brutal officer who is assaulted by a child rapist after a dangerous car pursuit will inevitably inflict great bodily harm.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Normal violence is to brutal violence as clean money is to dirty money. Like the policeman who engages in clean violence, the officer who takes clean money or minor perks is perceived as morally trustworthy and untainted. In contrast, the officer who is brutally violent or who takes dirty money (money to facilitate the sale of weapons or narcotics) is considered a morally degraded and untrustworthy person.

2. An officer who works other units such as narcotics is allowed to carry another kind of gun. An undercover policeman, for example, might prefer to use a 9 mm semi-automatic because it is perceived by street people as a street gun. In contrast, every criminal knows that policemen carry Smith and Wesson or Colt .38 revolvers.

3. The officer who employs legal deadly force may unintentionally violate departmental directives regarding overkill. Although an officer may kill a man with a first shot, he is likely to fire all six rounds in a stressful situation. When a shootout occurs involving many policemen then they all may lose emotional control and empty their guns. On occasion this practice leads to departmental scandals, public outcry and legal investigations. For example, the 'Swiss Cheese Staircase Shooting' which took place in an East Harlem precinct produced a major departmental investigation. The officers who first arrived on the scene were involved in a legal shootout with several perpetrators. As additional units arrived, the backups also began to fire at the location of the alleged perpetrators. Meanwhile an innocent bystander walked out of the building in the line of fire and was killed. However, the perpetrators had long escaped and the shootout continued without them. The staircase became a historical sight in the precinct as a result of the holes produced by the bullets. It was nicknamed the "Swiss Cheese Staircase."

4. Handcuffs are the symbols of the policeman's control over the suspect. Once a suspect is handcuffed, he is usually subdued and in custody. Consequently, the officer rarely has the legal right to use force on a handcuffed prisoner. Handcuffs therefore represent the point at which legal violence becomes illegal normal violence.

5. Policemen on the street also learn how to use their weapons in ways which serve to minimize their legal vulnerability. Some officers, for example, are careful to hit suspects in places which leave few bruises.

6. Situational Violence Circumstance Four is discussed in detail in a later chapter.

7. I am not defining a crime in a legal sense but instead am using the term to refer to how the police officer perceives crime. For example, rape is both a legal crime and a crime according to the police. In contrast, fatmouthing a police officer is only a crime according to the police. Thus, in order to bridge the gap between legal definitions and their own, the police sometimes invoke the closest legal definition for paper purposes. Fatmouthing a police officer may become disorderly conduct, drunk and disorderly, driving under the influence, resisting arrest or assault on an officer.

8. Most officers experience some degree of fear or anger during periods of great danger and emotional stress. Young policemen are particularly concerned that they might lose control or freeze during a critical situation. A typical policeman's dream reflects this concern. He dreams that something inhibits him from firing his revolver when shots are fired at him or he is in danger of great bodily harm; the gun is jammed; the trigger won't squeeze, suddenly he discovers that he has no ammunition in his gun. One officer explained that he had the same inhibition dream over a period of years until he actually was involved in a situation in which he did fire his revolver. Once he proved to himself that he could respond rationally and use deadly force in a critical situation, he ceased to have the dream.

9. Some officers may suspend fear during an incident itself. The fear may be experienced directly after the incident or sometimes weeks later. For example, during a stabbing incident in which the 'psycho' also lunged at several officers with a meat cleaver and was almost shot as a result, I experienced no fear. Two weeks later, however, I watched a cook behind a lunch counter sharpen a butcher knife. I felt the delayed incident involving the meat cleaver.

10. Goffman refers to the vulnerable areas about the body as lurklines (1971:294-5). A policeman must minimize lurklines as much as possible.

11. In Officer Down Code Three, Brooks outlines the ten deadly errors which result in police deaths. Most of these mistakes involve insufficient paranoia. They include the failure to maintain weapons in good condition, improper search and handcuff methods, sleeping on duty, relaxing too soon, usually at routine false alarms, missing the danger signs, taking a bad position, failure to watch the suspect's hands, tombstone courage, preoccupation with personal problems while on duty and finally, apathy. (1975:6-7).

12. New York policemen call the scum of the earth, "skells,"

13. Westley includes all felons in the category of persons who merit police violence. In contrast, I suggest that only some felons merit street justice. Only in a detective unit which specializes in gathering confessions do other categories of felons merit violence.

14. The officer does not respond as an agent of the state and rarely perceives an insult as a political threat. Instead, a threat to his authority represents a personal crime against himself or his family.

15. See Chapter VI.

16. The categories of persons who merit violence are not unique to the police. Prisoners, criminals, and hospital personnel appear to draw similar distinctions between morally worthy and unworthy persons. Prisoners, for example, consider mafiosi and professional criminals high in status. Rapists and child molesters are perceived as moral degenerates who deserve a little jail justice. Thus rapists are frequently raped by other prisoners to avenge their disgraceful acts. The rape of a nun is particularly repugnant to criminals as well as police. The New York Post reports that the mafia put "out a . . . \$25,000 contract to kill the monster and his accomplice. . ." who raped a nun. (1981, Oct. 15, 1)

Doctors and nurses also make similar distinctions between persons who deserve medical care and those who don't. Sudnow suggests, for example, that alcoholic patients, suicide victims, dope addicts, prostitutes and assailants in crimes of violence as well as wife beaters are perceived as morally degenerate. These categories of people appear to receive different treatment than morally worthy individuals like children. The alcoholic, for example, is pronounced dead and treated accordingly prior to the time a child in a similar state of health would be so diagnosed. (Sudnow, 1967:105)

17. In New York City, I have never seen policemen wear black gloves. Instead, some officers use plastic hospital gloves to handle dead bodies or drunks or simply use their bare hands. This difference in attitude about wearing gloves appears to symbolize a different kind of relation with the community. In general, New York police appear less isolated from the public than the policemen in Metro City.

CHAPTER V

LEGAL, CLEAN AND DIRTY MONEY

Policemen distinguish three kinds of payments received in the performance of their peace keeping, social service and crime fighting activities; legal, clean and dirty money. Legal money is defined as the salary an officer receives as part of his official contract with the city. It constitutes the paycheck he earns in return for routine police services as well as authorized overtime, night differential, or sick benefits. In contrast clean and dirty money constitute all extralegal gratuities in kind or currency which the officer receives in his official capacity as a policeman. There are a number of factors considered in the categorization of clean and dirty money.¹ Most important, it is distinguished by the kind of activity underlying the unofficial payment. Traditionally, clean money involves any gratuity paid in kind or currency which an officer receives while conducting routine peace keeping and social service duties. It also involves money received for the protection of certain categories of "victimless" crime such as vice, gambling and prostitution.² In contrast, dirty money involves accepting payments to protect or pursue the sale of weapons, narcotics and other real crimes involving innocent victims. Clean and dirty money are also defined by factors besides the category of activity underlying the payment. These include the attitude of the officer receiving the money, the nature of its distribution, the political dimension of the exchange and finally

the amount and kind of the gratuity.

The officer who earns legal pay and takes clean money is viewed in a similar light as the policeman who participates in normal violence. He acts as any rational man would act given a similar set of circumstances. In contrast, the officer who systematically collects dirty money is perceived in the same way as the brutal policeman. He has crossed the boundary which divides cop and criminal and has become as morally untrustworthy and degenerate as the people he is supposed to police.

Legal Money

In the formal world of the Police Academy, recruits learn the official rules of police corruption and are instructed to report any officer in violation. Formally, it is a violation of the city charter and departmental regulations for a policeman to take any gratuity in kind or currency other than his pay check.

No officer or employee of the City and no officer or employee whose salary or other compensation is paid out of the City Treasury shall solicit or accept any compensation or gratuity in the form of money or otherwise for any act or omission in the course of his public work. (1974:240)

Violations of the home rule charter are punishable by dismissal from public office, a fine and a jail sentence of ninety days or less. If the illicit gratuity involves the pursuit of criminal activity, bribery or extortion, it also constitutes a violation of the criminal law punishable under state or federal statutes.

Formal departmental policy regarding police corruption is reflected in the testimony of the Chief Inspector of the Internal Affairs Bureau in the Metro City police department:

. . .I am opposed to all notes, clean and dirty, and I think that any kind of involvement with notes opens the door for further involvement, and we are opposed to it. We are opposed as a department. I am opposed as a person. I don't like the practice. I never did. I don't condone it, tacitly or openly. I don't think it does the Police Department any good. (Ibid., 240)

Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy's address to one hundred and eighty commanders of the New York Police Department echoes Chief Inspector Scafidi's statement to the Crimes Commission.

"The great majority of police officers," I continued, getting to the point, "are honest men, proud of their profession. . . . It is this large majority that welcomes strong leadership--the kind that has the courage to denounce corruption.

"Except for your paycheck, there is no such thing as a clean buck. . . . I will hold each of you accountable for the misdeeds of your subordinates. . . . I expect borough and division commanders to make frequent visits to station-houses. . . . Corruption in any form is odious and repugnant to this administration. (Murphy, 1977:159-60)

Although a few Academy instructors will make "between the lines" statements which imply that a world of clean gratuities exists outside Academy walls, most teachers avoid the subject of informal salary. At least, no instructor will risk his position by openly debating the dominant view of the street cop which holds that some forms of extra

legal money are morally pure while others are contaminating. Whatever their personal experience, instructors must publicly uphold the moral superiority of the policeman who maintains his legal cleanliness. As the Academy is an open window to the outside world, discussion about alternative views concerning the morality of graft would subject the department to legal scrutiny and public suspicion. At the same time, the recruits themselves are not yet truly police. They manifest the ambiguous personalities of formal policemen and informal civilians. As a result, they have not internalized the policeman's code of silence and cannot be trusted to refrain from reporting unofficial lessons to superiors or even civilian outsiders.⁴

Informally, however, recruits do often hear stories about the tarnished badge outside the Academy. Those with friends or family on the force may receive street information which they share with colleagues in bathrooms, open fields and other locations safe from official surveillance. Many Metro City recruits also carry copies of Rubinstein's City Police (1973) as if it was their bible of the street world. However, neither their personal knowledge nor Rubinstein's detailed accounts of police corruption appear to prepare the recruits for the world they face upon graduation. When they discover that it's not done on the street the way that it's taught at the Academy, most rookies experience intense betrayal and shock (Sherman, 1974). As the policeman is transformed from a rookie to a real cop, however corruption becomes routine.

It was all around and nearly everyone was taking part. It was difficult to think it was wrong

when nearly everyone was involved. The fact that you didn't think about it all. Corruption grew on you and became an everyday, acceptable part of the job. (Droge, 1979:105)

Clean Money: Category of Activity

The category of activity which underlies the payment defines one way by which the police distinguish clean and dirty money. Clean money includes legal gratuities, legal notes, illegal notes and criminal notes. Dirty money involves what the police perceive as the real criminal note.⁵

A legal gratuity is defined as a non-monetary payment which the officer receives while conducting routine peace keeping and social service activities. The gratuity involves a tip from a legitimate businessman or a complainant in appreciation for the policeman's steady presence, his quick response to previous calls, or to thank him for a job well done. Typically, restaurants provide free meals and coffee to encourage the policeman to use the premise because they assume his visibility will discourage criminals. The local beer distributor leaves a six pack in the car when the sector man makes a routine visit or responds to the scene of a tripped alarm. Dry cleaning stores, barber shops and wholesale food outlets all may offer the policeman goods or services at cost or for free. At Christmas time many merchants routinely give merchandise to the sector cop and even the district as a whole. A policeman testifying before the Crimes Commission of Philadelphia discusses the Christmas gifts of cash and kind to the local police.

- A. Oh yeah, well, see, the Christmas notes is a totally different system. You have quite a few businesses participating in Christmas notes. . . . some places will give you notes just at Christmas time and no other time of the year. In the case of the 23rd, for example, the Dodge dealer at Broad and Master Streets. This was one of the businesses in the 23rd on the East end. The only time that they would consider giving notes would be at Christmas time. They would always give the radio patrol car, the wagon crew, the sergeant, the lieutenant, the plainclothesmen as well as the Captain and the Inspector a turkey--sometimes a turkey, you know, and five dollars. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 225-6)
- Q. Do you know of any officer that solicited any payments from you?
- A. Sometimes around Christmas time they would come in and I would give them fruitcake.
- Q. Did they ask for it?
- A. No. It was around Christmas time they would come in and say, "Merry Christmas," You do not have to be hit over the head very hard. (Ibid., 327)

Thus, the policeman who takes a legal gratuity is not involved in the protection of any illegal operations. Although most rookie cops are first hesitant to accept the legal gratuities which violate the formal rules they learned at the Academy, they soon begin to expect them as a regular part of the job. The merchant who is not "good to cops" is resented by veteran policemen and often perceived as a hostile enemy. Even the cleanest cop rarely thinks about the effects of the legal gratuity on the public distribution of police services but instead he begins to view it as an unofficial part of his contract with the city.

One unusually clean Metro City policeman who remained at the legal gratuity stage on the corruption ladder describes his first experience taking a common legal gratuity.⁶ He had just graduated from

the Police Academy and was assigned to ride with a veteran officer.

When you first hit the district you realize that the first thing you do is to get a cup of coffee. So When I was with Tom Smith, the first person I broke in with, he'd say, "John, would you like some coffee?" And I'd say, "Yeah, how much do you need?" And he'd say, "No, I've got it." This happened three of four days in a row and finally I said, "Well, Tom you keep going in and getting the coffee and you don't let me give you anything for it. Why don't you let me go in and buy it?" So he chuckled and he said, "I take cream, no sugar." So I go in the place at Madison and Jay Street and I ask for two cups of coffee, one light no sugar, one black, no sugar and he (the waiter) gets the coffee and puts it on the counter. And I go in my pocket and I say "How much is it?" And he goes, "Oh nothing, nothing." And I say, "Oh, really, how much is it?" and he says, "Nothing." I look and see how much it is and I hand him the money. And he's getting a little annoyed and insists I don't have to pay. And I insist. "No, no here's 70 cents," because I see the coffee is listed as 35 cents a cup. And he refuses to take it so finally I put it on the counter and go to walk away and before I get out the door he threw the 70 cents at me.

So everybody is looking at us and so you want to make a scene? So you have to make a decision and you take the coffee. And after that I never paid for another cup of coffee in my life.

. . .There really is a ladder of progressive experiences with graft. And as you go up th ladder, it's whether to go up to the next step. . . .The first experience is generally with your coffee and your newspaper. That's the first thing you do. And you make an instant decision. "Do I take, do I take?" Pretty easy decision. It's generally always yes and even though I go home, my God, it's not really right. I don't know a soul whose ever turned that down. . .and as I said before, it's really amazing because as the years go by, you resent the people who don't give it to you. Now I could never rationalize that but that does happen.

The Rationality of Clean Money⁷

When the recruit graduates from the Academy and is first

assigned to a district, he is often an idealistic young policeman who expects to pass eight hours a day fighting criminals and rescuing innocent victims. Not only is the gung-ho rookie likely to respond to every job available during his eight hour tour but he may even get involved during off duty hours. Although his crime fighting attitude is perceived by vererans as an admirable trait associated with the masculinity of the real street cop, the rookie's super-aggressive, gung-ho posture is also seen as a temporary aberration, expressive of naive youthfulness. From the veteran's perspective, only women volunteer to do social work without pay. Only wives work for love inside the home. The man who performs unpaid labor for social good in the outside world of the street is perceived as feminine.⁸ Like a woman he will be easily manipulated and exploited by the very people he is trying to help. Once the naive rookie learns that the public and the department perceive his generosity as weakness and will use him when they can, he too will slow down and act like a reasonable working man. He will do only the necessary amount of work to earn eight hours of legal pay. He will cease to work off duty unless there is an unusual emergency or he is receiving authorized overtime. Policing will become just another job and not a religious mission.

While the policeman who does policework for free is viewed as a dumb rookie or a naive asshole, the veteran cop who refuses to participate in clean corruption is perceived as a weak and irrational person who cannot fend for himself in a highly competitive business world where everyone is out to make a buck. The clean cop is therefore seen as a sucker who allows others to take advantage of him. In

Beneath the Badge, Biegel and Biegel (1977) discuss the moral career of grafter patrolman Barley. When he first goes on the street and observes his colleagues taking payoffs, he is surprised.

. . .he naively asked his sergeant why these things happened. The sergeant told him this was the way it had always been and if he kept quiet and played by the rules he would get his share. (Biegel and Biegel, 1977:52-3)

Some time later, Barley is assigned to a patrol car with a new partner who he assumes is an honest cop who takes no money. After the veteran officer shakes down a motorist and offers to split the proceeds with Barley, the young patrolman begins to understand that only a naive idiot refuses to take the easy money available on the street. Barley's partner tells him,

"Don't be a sucker, Jim, there's ten bucks in it for you." (Ibid., 53)

Barley finally learns that a real man actively hustles on the street in order to maximize his profit and minimize exploitation by those more powerful than he. The rationality of taking clean money is confirmed by Rubinstein in his discussion of the Philadelphia police,

The patrolman is obliged to violate the law, degrade people, lie and even shame himself in his own eyes in order to make arrests he knows are meaningless and he suspects produce money for others. This not only tends to make him cynical about the law and the motives of many people he knows, it also makes him think himself a special kind of fool. He sees himself operating in a world where "notes" are constantly floating about, and only the stupid, the naive, and the faint hearted are unwilling to allow some of

them to stick to their fingers. (Rubinstein, 1973:401) (my underlinings)

Similarly, Edward Droge, a former New York City policeman explains,

After my seasoning in the Nine-0 and the conversations with more experienced men through the department, I had come to believe that taking money was a part of the everyday life of a patrolman. To other police officers your participation was another strong link in a chain of fraternity and had no reflection whatsoever on your honesty. Conversely, your refusal meant certain ostracism and a cross-eyed look as someone not in full possession of all his mental faculties. (Droge, 1973:100) (my underlinings)

One officer who works in Metro City reveals his shame when he is teased by colleagues because he hesitates to take some "clean money" left in the back seat of the patrol car by a passenger during a previous tour. He appears to apologize for his momentary act of honest indiscretion because it is associated with weakness and stupidity.⁹

I (fieldworker) was walking down Madison Street when I saw JJ on the corner. He was standing by his patrol car and signaled me to come over and talk. I walked over to the car. He explained that he had found five-hundred dollars in cash and some blank checks in the back seat of the car. He had vouchered the money and the checks because he was concerned about the federal investigation into corruption which had recently been initiated in the Metro City Police Department. When the other officers learned that he had turned in the cash instead of keeping it, they said he was an idiot and began to tease him unmercifully. JJ exclaimed "Talk about harrassment. . .these guys are harrassing me all the time. . . . It's not that I'm so honest, but considering what happened the other day. . .I was afraid to get jammed up." I told him that he was smart to turn in the money given the current investigation. It could have been a plant. They used to do that during the Knapp Commission Investigations,

plant drugs or money in some location to see if the cop would voucher it. At this point a wagon crew drove by and the two officers made some teasing remarks to JJ. JJ turned to me and said, "See what I mean!" I commented that "In this district they've had it so good for so long, they don't think anything will ever happen to them."

The second category of clean money involves the legal note. A legal note is defines as a monetary payment which the officer receives for conducting routine peace keeping and social service activities. Like the legal gratuity, the legal note does not involve the protection of illicit or criminal activities. Instead it involves a monetary tip in appreciation for regular police activity or some small extra service provided by the police. The Crimes Commission Report mentions some of the varieties of businesses that may participate in makeing legal notes to the police.¹⁰

The Crime Commission found a broad spectrum of businesses, large and small, making illegal direct cash payments to the police: they included banks, insurance companies, automobile dealers, restaurants, supermarkets, jewelers, construction companies, vendors, country clubs, and moving companies. Businesses were found paying police officers in every one of the twenty two police districts. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 1974:14)

One Metro City policeman, for example, discusses an incident in which he was offered a legal note from the Con Edison man for performing a routine service. As legal notes are perceived as clean money by any rational policeman, this officer's public refusal to take the note is viewed by his sergeant as a source of embarrassment.

The other way which wasn't really a note but more a thank you for your service. . . I was

on the wagon with John. And we got a call to meet the gas man. And so we met the gas company out on the street and they said, "Listen we hate to bother you guys but can you do me a favor? We have to shut off the gas in this one house and we've been here before and the guy always gives us trouble. Would you just come in with us?" Well, that's a legitimate thing for us to do, to prevent a disturbance. So we said, "By all means we'll accompany you." So we just stood in the background and knocked on the door and when they said who it was we said police and we went in with the gas man. And when we get back out on the street the guy says, "Here fellows" and he hands us ten bucks. And we said, "No, no that's part of our job and we're pleased to help you." And they said, "No, no you take ten." So we banter back and forth and yes, no, yes, no. And finally the sergeant pulls up and he said, "What ya got?" and we say, "Oh sarge, funny thing, you'll never guess what happened. We went in with the gas company and they want to give us ten dollars for doing it. And he says, "Well, take it. . . . They have money to give us when we provide extra services." So we said, "But this wasn't an extra service." And then we said, "Honestly 'sarge,' we don't want it." So we got in the wagon and drove away. So about half an hour later, we get a meet the sergeant at a certain location and we go meet him and he says "Listen you guys, it was very embarrassing out there, what you did. . . .the fact that the gas company guys get money. . . .all of the city departments gets extra money to pay us for these things and it's very embarrassing that you didn't take it. I had to take it for you." And I said, "I don't agree with it. We don't think it's necessary. We're not out here to make extra money. . . .if you took it great." And he said, "No I took it but you guys are gonna get it because you deserve it and he threw a bill in the car and when we unraveled it, it was a five. So he kept five and gave us five. He's gonna be f r to us. That's the other kind of graft. It's similar to the other kind in that you need now to make a decision. You didn't solicit. You didn't ask for it. It just happens. It's money that just comes your way for something that you're supposed to do.

Police officers also receive legal notes from churches and funeral parlors. In the following account, a Metro City rookie describes the first time that she took a note. Although she feels contaminated by

the exchange, the morally pure character of the note is displayed by the attitude of her veteran colleagues as well as the priest who gives her the money.

I had a foot beat on Madison Street. I was told to go right to the church on Broadway and Fifth Avenue and stay there until nine at night. They were having raffles and there was going to be a lot of money there. So I went there and I sat outside, I brought a book with me. And a priest comes out. He said, "You'd be better off reading inside. You'd be able to see better." I said, "Well, if I go inside I won't be able to hear my radio." So he said, "Well you can go inside and call radio room and tell them where you are." So I said, "O.K." So I walked in with him and as I'm walking in he takes my hand and I feel him pushing paper in the palm of my hand. So I turned my hand over and I see that it's money. So I said, "Oh, Father, please, you know, I get paid. You know I don't want anything." He says "No, buy yourself a coke." I said, "Father, this is embarrassing. I really. . . I'd rather not . . . it's embarrassing." So he said, "Just buy yourself a coke." I said, "Father, I'm a Catholic, why don't you put it in the collection for me." He says, "Nonsense, you take it," and with that he shoves it in my pocket.

So we go in and he walks me over to a telephone and he puts a dime in for me. I say, "Oh Father, I have a dime." He said, "Go ahead, call radio room and tell them where you are." So I called them and told them I'd be inside the church if they wanted me. So he asked me if I would stay in a certain room where the money was. So while I was in that room I checked in my pocket and he gave me five dollars. So I was all nervous and beside myself thinking that I took my first note. Well, nine o'clock came and I left and went back on Madison Street. And there was a wagon sitting there. And one of the wagon guys called me over and he said, "Well Sue, did you get your note?" And all I thought was Oh God it shows on my face that I got a note. I said to him, "What do you mean?" He said, "You didn't turn it down did you?" So I said, "No, no." So he said, "You'll find out Catholic churches are good for it. . . said, "Don't ever turn it down."

- Q. Do you have any idea why the priest. . . He seems to know the informal rules of radio. . . .
- A. Yeah, I didn't even know to go in and call radio.
- Q. Do you have any idea why he pays the cops off?
- A. To show how much he appreciates it and to get a little extra. Like a little extra was for me to go inside the church and not stay outside. To stay inside there with the money. So he was willing to pay for that. But I was willing to go in without the money. I was just worried that I couldn't hear my radio while I was inside.
- Q. How did you feel about taking money from a priest?
- A. I was sick. I was absolutely sick. All I thought is a priest making me corrupt. Not only that he was the priest, but he was the Pastor. And it just seemed so wrong. I just wondered where does it begin and where does it end. The priests are right in with it. And then I find out from the men, that, yeah, churches are the best. They're always good for a note.
- . . .I felt dirty. I felt like it was all over my face that I took a note. I felt better after I talked to them (the wagon crew) because they made it sound like, you know, it's clean money. . . you always get a note for that. . . Funerals. . . , funderals is another one. . . .If you get a funeral detail. The funeral director always gives you a note. They say that's worth ten. All they're worried about is keepin' the parking open for the cars. . . .

Although this officer willingly participated in legal gratuities, she was never able to accept the informal code of her colleagues regarding clean money and playing on duty. Consequently she avoided the dominant cliques in the squad and associated with several other renegade officers who shared her perspective. They called themselves "the outlaws."

Policemen not only receive small notes to perform regular police assignments but they also may take money to perform extra peace

keeping or social service duties not formally required by supervisors. For example, individual policemen may receive free food and money to provide an escort or guard service to a restaurant chain or other business involved in the transportation of large amounts of cash to a bank.

You would receive a radio call, "Escort," and you would go over and the manager would come out in his private car and you follow him to the bank and he would make the night deposit. Well, to make sure he didn't get a bang over the head and all the money took off him, he would show his appreciation and give you two dollars. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 1974:275)

Similarly, the Crimes Commission Reports that Gino's Hamburger chain supplied approximately \$70,000 dollars a year worth of free food to individual policemen. They also paid the district a weekly salary in exchange for uniform guards.

The records showed that 15 of the 36 Gino's restaurants in Philadelphia regularly paid police officers a cash sum of money for "guard service" in 1972-1973. The amount of money paid was usually \$75 or \$100 every six days, although at one store it was only \$56 and at some it occasionally rose to \$125. The total amount of money paid for 1972 was \$59,947. For the first half of 1973, the amount was \$29,000.

The standard arrangement between Gino's and the police provided that one on duty police officer in full uniform with badge and weapons be assigned specifically to patrol a "beat" in or around the Gino's store. For the purposes of police recording, these policemen were sometimes assigned to an area larger than the store itself. Policemen also apparently were carried on the assignment sheet as working inside headquarters or being a second man in a car. (Ibid., 245-6)

Both cash payments and food for the police were recorded by Gino's as legitimate business expenses. Similarly, police officers also might receive a five to twenty dollar legal note to provide private guard service to small businesses during vulneralbe times of the day.

The payments at one store consisted of a cash payment of \$20 per week paid Friday night to which ever policeman would appear, in return for the policeman being present on Thursday and Friday nights at closing time. A second store gave either a carton of cigarettes or \$5 once a week to police in return for closing protection Thursday adnd Friday nights. The third store gave two dollars to the police each time the manager received an escort. (Ibid., 283)

The third kind of clean money routinely received by patrolmen is the illegal note. The illegal note constitutes a bribe the policeman takes from a legitimate businessman to overlook some minor violation of city or state ordinances.¹¹ A note the policeman takes to overlook a motor vehicle violation by a licensed operator, for exampel, constitutes an illegal note. Construction companies which pay the police to ignore the refuse that accumulates in front of their work place provides another example. The After Hours Clubs which donate \$100 dollars a month to the district "pad" to stay open an extra hour presents another exampel of an illegal note.¹²

A veteran policeman discusses a rookie's first experience trying to close a club at three a.m. that pays the police to stay open until four a.m. Although this particular officer did not take club notes, his discussion reveals the perceived moral legitimacy of the illegal note in the eyes of his colleagues.

When they give you a car, then you have to handle club closings. The first two years they kind of rotate you around. Let's say I get on a car with John Doe (the Bagman) and we have a club. . . .no, that wouldn't happen (they would never put a rookie in a car with the bagman). That's a bad example. Let's say I work 90 car which has a lot of black and hispanic clubs which pay off the district. So let's say you would work 9490 car and let's say it was time to close a club. Now he (the veteran) would actually go in and make the appearance to appease somebody and I think most of the cops do go in the clubs but it's just for the appearance because they don't do anything. . . .You're on the midnight shift and it's club closing time. You're working a car and you have a specific sector and there are various clubs that must close at a certain hour. And it is your job to go into that club to ensure that they close. Now everybody knows which clubs are really allowed to stay open. Veterans know this and they know that they're allowed to stay open because they're making payoffs. But a rookie, they don't tell you that. They don't say let the Big A Lounge stay open. . . . But they do tell you, "Make the club checks, Joe." O.K. So you show up to the club and you walk in, and it's quarter to three, and you say hi, this is me, your local cop, you have to close at three. I'm just giving you a little warning. I'll be back at quarter after to make sure all the people leave. And they always say, "Yeah, o.k. Good enough. . . ." So at Quarter after three you go back and of course nobody's left. The club owner doesn't come over to you and say, "Hey I pay off so why can't I stay open?" And they don't even say to you, "Hey here's ten, let me stay open." Because this system has been going on for so long that they just don't understand why you're doing this. They will say to you eventually which is what one guy said to me, "Hey, why are you. . . are you. . . are you really here to close me?" And I'll say, "Well, Jeess yeah, I know you're a businessman and it's inconvenient for you to close. . . ." Man, talk about naive. "But I have to close you." So they say, "Who's your lieutenant?" So I think that's an odd question but being so civic minded I say "Oh my Lieutenant is Lieutenant White." And he'll say, "O.K. could you have him meet you here."

And I'll say, "O.K. I guess so if you really won't close. . ." Because my next rule says that I must call my supervisor. So my Lieutenant comes and he says, "O.K. Just wait here kid, and he goes up and comes out. Then they close for the evening and what I find out later is that the Lieutenant tells him "Hey he's just a rookie, don't worry about him. I'll make sure he doesn't work this car any more." The implication becomes very obvious to you about why the club is open. As a rookie you have to sort of go along with it. Yeah I got transferred to a different sector where there were no clubs. At least no on last out. I was allowed to work that sector day work and 4x12, but not last out. So after awhile, the implication becomes obvious. . . what happens, I think, is once you gained acceptance in the district you can then go up to the Lieutenant and say, "Jees Lieutenant, I'm working that sector and I know why that club stays open and don't I get something too?" And then it's up to the Lieutenant to give you a little bit of it. Or you can make waves, you can say "If you don't cut me in, I'll insist that that club gets closed and if you transfer me I'll let everybody know why you're transferring me." But if you do that you will get transferred out of the district so you win the battle and lose the war.

The Bagman

The bagman is the policeman's term for the officer informally assigned to make the club collections. Not only is the bagman's role perceived as socially legitimate and necessary but it is also viewed as morally clean. The job of handling illicit money does not appear to stigmatize the officer.¹³ In contrast, his informal responsibilities and personal association with money appear to signify his trustworthiness and reliability. He only invites condemnation when he purposely avoids real policework or shirks the "bullshit" jobs which come out on his own sector and "bags" them on his colleagues. A policeman explains,

. . .each squad has their own bagman. . .that person who is so trusted that he picks up the money for the lieutenant. He picks it up and distributes it, o.k. Let's say a club pays fifty bucks. . .out of that fifty bucks I'd say twenty goes to the Captain, ten goes to the. . . I may not have it in exact terms of amount but, the percentage. . . I'd say the larger percentage goes to the Captain and the Lieutenant and then the bagman, that would be Joe Smith and the wagon crew, they'd get five apiece and the car would get five. So you have to worry about the sector car and the two wagon cops who cover the sector.

The bagman serves a very important role. The thing is that everyone knows he's the bagman. He's not expected to make a lot of arrests. He's really. . .the only thing that guys would get mad at the bagman about was if he didn't handle jobs on his sector. That. . .it's important. If you're an upper end car you handle the jobs in the upper end. . .for instance 1089 (the bagman's car) had B sector. And we didn't mind because I don't like the whole concept of graft and corruption. But I understood that it was a necessary evil and as long as I didn't participate I could rationalize in my mind. Well o.k. he's the bagman. . . . and that's why I have to bring in the tickets. He brings in the money. He makes the Lieutenant happy. I have to bring in moving violations, ped stops, and arrests to satisfy my role in this and John doesn't have to do this because he brings in the money. And everybody understood this and they didn't get mad at him for that. The only thing you would get mad at the bagman for was if a job came out on B sector and you knew he was available and he didn't take it. Then you would complain. You would go to the Lieutenant and you would say, "Hey listen, I understand his function here but he can at least handle his jobs." And I don't think the Lieutenant would get so mad at that and he'd tell John Doe to go handle his jobs and not let these guys get so mad.

See, John Doe gave the money to the Lieutenant and I would have to assume that the Lieutenant then gave some of the money to the Captain. However, the Captain had his own Captain's men who functioned as his bagmen. He had two. And I think most districts have two.

Like after hours clubs, a public bar which operates in violation of minor laws is likely to pay the police a steady note.

Patrolmen also view bar notes as clean money which any normal policeman could take without self contamination. A Metro City police officer explains,

I think basically all cops think that dirty money is narcotics. Getting money to let narcotics run. But I think bars are, that must be thought of as clean money because it's very prevalent, right up to the Inspector of the Division. He gets notes from the bars.

A policeman involved in the Chicago Investigation into corruption confirms,

P.O. "For years I took money from bars. I didn't think it was any big deal. It certainly wasn't anything new. Although I suppose if I had thought about it maybe I'd decided it was wrong."

Att. "You didn't think there was anything wrong with what you were doing?"

P.O. "Not really. I don't know. Maybe. But we weren't protecting murderers. There were guys on the force who did that and take money from drug pushers and the Mob. But I wasn't one of them. We were just making an extra buck. If I had known that taking money from tavern owners was a federal crime, I never would have done it." (Biegel and Biegel, 1977:176)

Another Chicago policeman adds,

Collections from tavern owners were "nickle and dime" activity. Tavern owners wanted to pay. "Shit, they get favors, they don't get arrested, and they keep their licenses. You fellows (attorneys investigating corruption) should be spending time looking into the real corruption with narcotics and hoods rather than wasting time on tavern payoffs." (Ibid., 55)

The fourth variety of clean money policemen receive is a minor criminal note. In contrast to the illegal note which involves an exchange between the police and a legitimate enterprise, the minor criminal note involves the protection of a business which earns the balance of its income through illegal operations. A speakeasy which sells alcohol without a license, a gambling den, a bar which employs G-girls or prostitutes and a massage parlor which fronts for a whorehouse are all examples of illegal businesses which may pay the police a minor criminal note.¹⁴ The minor criminal note is viewed as clean money by most policemen because it involves "victimless crimes" which take place between consenting adults. In contrast to real criminals like rapists, murderers or narcotics dealers, neither gamblers nor prostitutes cause great bodily harm to innocent persons.¹⁵

Gambling in particular is perceived as clean money.

Police officers, sharing the general attitude that gambling does no harm, themselves regard gambling money as "clean" graft. (Knapp Report, 1972:73)

Gambling is a cultural pastime of real men of every class who are willing to take a risk to earn an extra buck. Bookmakers and numbers writers are just "nice friendly guys" out to make a living like anybody else. The laws themselves are viewed as criminal because they make victims out of ordinary men. Jimmy Riley, a fictitious plainclothesman involved in the Harry Gross gambling scandals of the 1950's explains,

Of course the law and order reader will rationalize that the cop who took gambling money would also take all types of crooked money. This is very possible, but the cancer of corruption in those days was the insipid hypocritical gambling laws--

the stupid bluenose, bullshit, gambling laws. We are finally coming out of the Dark Ages with the likes of off-track betting parlors, state lotteries and Las Vegas Nights. It is only a matter of a few years until gambling will be legalized throughout the United States.

Of course, the politicians and law makers in search of headlines will beat their breasts and scream that the Mob will move in. Who the hell runs the oil companies and the big corporations but the white collar mob? (Reardon, 1980:8)

. . .But it's a lot of shit. Trying to stop gambling is like trying to stop the public from drinking booze. It just won't work. Not in New York City, that's for sure. Everybody--the rich, the middle class, the poor--they all like to drink, fuck and gamble. Maybe not before I die, but certainly before you die, all this bluenose shit will be legal. At least now you can drink legally, soon you might be able to get laid legally, and sometime in the future you'll be able to make a bet legally away from the racetrack, or go to a crap game or card game just like they are starting to do in Nevada. (Reardon, 1980:35)

While policemen who work vice and gambling squads are accorded the respect of any plainclothes unit free to pursue independent police activities without the direction of the radio, policemen who actively hunt small time numbers writers are viewed as somewhat emasculated persons who pick on the little guy and leave the big fish for the real cops. As policemen gain little social prestige or moral satisfaction in the enforcement of vice laws they can at least make a profit by their protection. In fact, gambling corruption could be viewed as a kind of solution to the masculine crisis invoked by the assignment itself. Besides, the corrupt cop who takes a gambling note still has the courage to do real policework. Jimmy explains,

But remember, ninety-nine percent of these uniform and vice cops had plenty of balls, and law and order reigned supreme in the more vital areas of crime. They did not get paid big salaries or overtime, or have fringe benefits. They stayed out all night, ever on the alert for a sneak siginette game run by the Italians, a baboot game run by the Greeks, or the best score of all, a sneak crap game run by the Irish or the Jews. They patrolled all night, always on the lookout for the score, but God help the mugger or the thief they grabbed. Or the would-be tough guy that gave them any shit. You ever called a cop a pig in those days, you had better be prepared to take the shellacking of your life. Whenever the detectives took the stickup guy, rapist, or mugger, into the abattoir called the squad room, even the cops in the station house felt pity for him. (Reardon, 1980:9)

Thus, like a real man, the corrupt cop protects the little guy, pursues the bad guy and at the same time, earns a man sized income for himself.

The enforcement of sex-related vice laws appears even more degrading than the pursuit of the small time bookmaker. The officer who secretly ovservees the tea-room trade in order to make a bust, himself becomes a participant-voyeur in the action. The policemen who works the "pussy posse" to "collar" a prostitute knows the woman he arrests could be the "girlfriend" of a colleague or friend.* Sergeant Scuz, a vice cop in Wambaugh's novel, The Choirboys, explains the situation to his men,

"Boys, I gotta take you to the trap first off tonight. And I gotta apologize which I don't like to do cause I always feel a cop shouldn't have to apologize for doing his job. But the truth is--and don't tell your lieutenant old Scuz told you this when you go back to patrol--but the truth is that most of a vice cop's job

*The pussy posse is a somewhat derogatory term that New York policemen use to refer to the prostitution patrol.

is just public relations. See, we can say we're protecting the city's morals and point to statistics to prove it, but fact is we ain't doing much of anything. So you might say, Scuz, what the hell we doing it for? And I say, boys, it's part a the game. Every business has its PR department where they manufacture bullshit, right? General Motors got it. U.S. Steel got it. AT&T got it. For sure the White House got it and City Hall. We can tell all the folks who pay our salary that we're guarding the morals a the citizens from the degenerates that wanna pay money to suck, fuck or gamble with someone they ain't married to outta the privacy a their own bedroom. You only work this vice detail for eighteen months and then you're out. I say it's a little break from routine for me so I work it but I ain't got no illusions about cleaning up maggots. In the first place how do I know I ain't just a maggot myself, you stand back and look at the whole picture in general? (Wambaugh, 1975:255)

The film, *Sharkey's Machine* starring Burt Reynolds provided a similar view of the degraded status of the vice cop. At the same time it offers a solution to the dilemma of emasculation inherent in the viceman's job.

In the first scene of the movie we meet the hero cop, Sharkey. He is a member of an elite Narcotics Investigating Unit which handles real crime involving high level drug traffic. While in pursuit of an alleged drug dealer, Sharkey becomes involved in a shootout in which an innocent bystander is killed. Consequently, he is bounced from the narcotics unit to the vice squad. After collecting his belongings from the top floor office of the Narcotics Unit, Sharkey begins his descent to the basement home of the vice squad. On the way downstairs he passes other high status units including homicide. Before he goes down the last few flights to the bottom, his old partner wishes him good luck and goodbye. He explains that he can't accompany Sharkey further downstairs. It is clear in the exchange that a policeman who

goes all the way down is automatically contaminated by the vermin who work in the vice squad. Thus, Sharkey is bounced from the high status, real policework, masculine arena of the Narcotics Unit to the low status, bullshit work sphere of the vice squad. In the process, he loses his masculinity and joins other emasculated policemen who have fallen from departmental grace and forfeited their high status positions.

The next part of the movie revolves around Sharkey's attempt to regain his former status as a real cop and a real man. In order to do real policework, he transforms a simple vice assignment into a homicide. The homicide then becomes a sophisticated investigation of political corruption and a cocaine snorting hit man with connections to an international "slave" ring which imports young girls and transforms them into high class call-girls. At the same time that Sharkey solves the murders and kills the hit man, he saves the very prostitute he was supposed to arrest. He turns the victim-whore into the princess-wife and saves her from "The Life" of the street.

Unfortunately, Sharkey's solution to the masculine dilemma of the vice cop is only available in Hollywood. A vice investigation which becomes a murder case is turned over to the homicide unit and not kept within the confines of the basement. In the real world of the policeman, corruption offers an alternative solution to the crisis of job engendered impotence. Like the plainclothes officer in the gambling squad, the vice cop can always pursue a policy of nonenforcement and offer protection to the criminal victims of the law. As monetary income has always been a measure of masculine success, the corrupt policeman also gains prestige by making a few extra bucks on the side.

Dirty Money

I have so far suggested that clean money constitutes payments

police receive from legal and illegal sources in exchange for routine services and the protection of minor legal violations and victimless crimes. The officer who takes clean money is perceived as a rational man and a good cop who provides needed services to legitimate business and protects honest criminals while making a decent living for himself and his family. Dirty money, in contrast, is defined as an extralegal note the policeman takes to protect or pursue the perpetration of "real crime." As real cops define their identity in terms of crime fighting, the policeman who protects real criminals rejects his role as a real cop and a man. Consequently, the cop who takes dirty money undergoes a moral transformation into some kind of person who is less than a man and a cop.

Real crime includes violent acts against any category of person who belongs in the formal order. The homicide, assault, rape and sexual abuse of real women and children, for example, are viewed as real crimes by the police.¹⁶ It also includes the sale of weapons which could be used in the perpetration of crimes against the formal order. Thus clean cops would never take money to protect crimes against such innocent persons. Jimmy Riley, the fictional hero of Reardon's novel about vice corruption in the 1950's, displays the moral orientation of the clean corrupt cop in a discussion about the gambling pad.

"The main thing is"--and now Jimmy's voice got harsh and tense and he leaned close to Pete--
 "I don't give a fuck where the money comes from as long as it doesn't come from poor widows and orphans." (Reardon, 1980:35)

In contrast, the dirty policeman would not hesitate to take money to

protect violent crimes against women and children. Vann, a fictional character in Droge's novel about corruption in the New York Police Department displays the moral personality of the real, corrupt cop.

The majority of police officers in New York City participated in corruption of one form or another, but when it came to violent crimes, such as rape, assault, robbery, and so on, most policemen shied away from payoffs. It wasn't "clean" money. Taking money from a gambler or a prostitute for protection against arrest was okay because gambling and prostitution, in the eyes of many, were victimless crimes, that is, no one was hurt who didn't go looking for it. Money from muggers, rapists, or the like was "dirty" money. But Vann did not shy away from any payoff, no matter what the crime involved. In his eyes nothing was sacred. To him, there was no difference between clean and dirty money. There was no rules in his book except to take care of himself and to take advantage of all means open to him to receive his "just" due. For this reason, instead of arresting the two muggers he had contracted with them: Every month he received money which was to be split by all eight men covering Sector C of the Fifteenth Precinct. In return, the men were free to carry on their muggings. However, Vann, in keeping with his nature, was pocketing all the money for himself. The seven other men in the sector knew nothing about the payoffs. That the young woman walking toward the muggers would probably get raped repeatedly during the assault did not move Vann to prevent it. . . (Droge, 1979: 12-3)

Finally, real crime involves the illegal manufacture and distribution of "hard" drugs such as heroin. Thus, clean, corrupt cops like Jimmy Riley or even Knapp Commission informant Phillips avoid taking money "to let narcotics run." Jimmy discusses the issue in a conversation with his mother.

"You did, James, and you really filled my apron. But I'm always worried about you

getting into some kind of trouble, even though I know you're a good boy. All this money, the way you live. Where does it all come from?"

"Not from whores and not from dope, momma. It all comes from nice friendly bookmakers. How many times did you, Pop and I discuss it, the gambling business? It's a dumb law." (Reardon, 1980:130)

According to the Knapp Commission Report,

Phillips asserted that he drew a line reflecting the traditional notion in the Department of "clean" and "dirty" money, and the Commission found no evidence to contradict him. He said that he had never taken money in connection with narcotics or illegal guns because he found narcotics traffic abhorrent and an illegal gun could some day be used against him or another police officer. (The Knapp Commission Report on Police Corruption, 1972:52)

In fact, narcotics graft is perceived by police as the dirtiest form of corruption (The Knapp Commission Report on Police Corruption, 1972:13). Not only could narcotics harm innocent children seduced by the "candy man" or turn unborn babies into premature junkies, but drug addiction is also viewed as a "feminine" threat to the informal world of men. A junkie is an emasculated character. Like a woman, he is dependent. All his activities are controlled by his habit. In contrast to a real man, a junkie would "cry," "beg" and even give up his own mother for a fix. Manny, a drug addict, describes the unmanly personality of the junkie.

See, once you're hooked you're not your boss any more. You belong to the habit. Plain and simple. You plan and scheme, and con, and lie, and hustle for your habit. Anybody and everybody becomes fair game. Look, you leave your

mother, brother, sister, father, friend for heroin. When you're hooked you gotta score. It ain't maybe I'll score, maybe I won't. It's, man, I'm gonna score and all hell ain't gonna stop me! (Rettig, 1977:35)

But that's the way it is and it's really strange. You have no values, there's no such thing as values for a dope fiend, none at all. The only livin' thing that counts is the fix. That's all that counts, nothing else means a shit.

. . . Like I would steal off anybody--anybody at all, my own mother gladly included if it meant the difference between a fix and no fix. I would do anything for money to fix. I would con, I would beg, I would cry. . . . (Ibid., 13-4)

The junkie does not hesitate to give up his manhood for dope. Manny explains,

Can you dig it? But one way or another, a dope fiend is going to prostitute himself for dogie. (Ibid., 15)

All to get enough money to fix. If I hadn't been so skinny and ugly, I'd of sold my ass for dope. (Ibid., 13-4)

The act of shooting heroin and the experience of the high also marks a man as sexually passive and receptive like a woman. First, the sexual meaning of injecting drugs is apparent in the language which junkies use to describe the act. Expressions for "shooting up" include "getting down" which also refers to sexual activity with a female partner. "To hit" or "take a hit" means to inject heroin. At the same time "to hit on" a woman refers to heterosexual relations. A junkie is said "to score" drugs just like a man "scores with" a woman and gets her into bed.

The experience of shooting up and getting high also appears

to have sexual significance. One junkie describes the injection of narcotics in the following manner.

"There's no need to go into Freudian symbolism. Guys dig chicks hitting them and vice versa. One chick that hit me up would play around with the blood awhile before injecting it. I usually hit myself. It's a sexual thing to me to have a chick hit me." "Having a person stick something in you is very sexual. Girls particularly like to be injected by boys." "Using needles is like screwing your arm. I have observed this while stoned on acid, and it is very clear to me." "It seems to be a sexual substitute for guys. Their own insecurity and paranoia can't let them become involved with anyone else. They can't have sex and turn to the needle as a sexual substitute. I know this play junky whose whole trip was doing up other cats." (Howard and Borges, 1972:133)

Similarly, in his biography, Manny describes the drug experience.

But scagg, man, is the cool, cool, cool, of the sunlight, that stone-good feeling, the ultimate kick! And I open up the package and I got the white lady in front of me, fluffing her up and playing with her. And the more you fluff heroin the bigger it gets. It's almost like fondling a tit. It gets nice and firm and begins to swell under your hand in anticipation of the final thrusting explosion. (Rettig et al., 1977:52)

As the hypodermic needle is perceived as a masculine object and the heroin high is compared to sexual arousal, the junkie who shoots himself up symbolically performs an act of onanism or homosexuality which excludes women. As both masturbation and homosexuality are perceived as less masculine expressions than relations with a female partner, the injection of heroin confirms the addict's symbolic emasculation.¹⁷

The male junkie also reverses gender identity by taking the needle inside his body. He thereby assumes the passive position of a woman during sexual relations. Finally, heroin addiction is symbolically unmanly in the sense that it is associated with anal (pre-phallic) activity. Heroin for example, is called "shit" on the street. As money itself is also associated with anality, it is therefore logical that "dirty money" involves the protection of the sale of "shit" on the street.

The policeman who takes dirty money and promotes the emasculation of men by protecting heroin dealers is himself contaminated. The feminization of the dirty cop is further confirmed by his rejection of his role as crime fighter which defines the policeman's identity as a real cop and a man. Like the brutal cop whose excessive use of force is viewed as a manifestation of feminine weakness, the act of taking dirty money also defiles the policeman and turns him into a woman.

Factors Which Influence the Categorization of Clean and Dirty Money

There are factors which determine the categorization of clean and dirty money in addition to the kind of activity which underlies an extralegal payment. These include the attitude of the officer, the political nature of the exchange, the distribution of the payoff and finally the quantity and nature of the gratuity. Each of these factors is related to the issue of gender construction which underlies the classification of clean and dirty money by activity. In particular, the cleaner money is associated with more feminine personality attributes. Conversely, the dirtier money is associated with more masculine

characteristics. Consequently, the policeman must lean toward taking money in a dirty manner in order to become a proper man. At the same time he must avoid taking money in too dirty a manner lest he undergo a feminine gender transformation which is associated with any extreme demonstration of sexuality. That is, the manhood of the individual who appears ninety percent masculine is rarely called into question by his colleagues. In contrast the individual who displays an one hundred ten percent masculine appearance may well be sexually suspect. If he also denies his manhood by taking money to protect real crime, then he will certainly be perceived as something less than a real cop and a man.

Officer Attitude: The Passive-Active Gratuity

A major factor which determines the moral purity of extra-legal money involves the attitude of the officer taking the payoff. The more actively the money is pursued, the dirtier it becomes. Conversely, clean money constitutes payments which the officer receives in a passive manner. The Knapp Commission report recognizes the passive/active, clean/dirty dichotomy in its discussion of "grasseaters" and "meateaters." "Grasseaters" are policemen who receive notes in a passive manner. "Meateaters," in contrast, are dirty cops who actively pursue graft.

Corrupt policemen have been informally described as being either "grass-eaters" or "meat-eaters." The overwhelming majority of those who do take payoffs are grass-eaters, who accept gratuities and solicit five- and ten- and twenty-dollar payment from contractors, tow-truck operators, gamblers, and the like, but do not aggressively pursue corruption payments. "Meat-eaters"

probably only a small percentage of the force, spend a good deal of their working hours aggressively seeking out situations they can exploit for financial gain, including gambling, narcotics, and other serious offenses which may yield payments of thousands of dollars. (Knapp Commission, 1972:65)

The distinction between passive and active notes is also recognized in the sociological literature. Sherman, for example, mentions the dichotomy in terms of the legal transition from "reactive" bribery to "proactive" extortion which a policeman may assume in his moral career as a grafter (Sherman, 1974:203).

The "grasseater" who takes extralegal money retains his moral cleanliness by taking a passive attitude to his participation in graft.¹⁸ He perceives himself as a reactive recipient of notes that are "constantly" "floating about" (see Rubinstein, 1973:401). He takes "lying around loot" which is freely available to anyone who happens on the scene (see Sherman, 1974). He takes coffee, beer, or a five dollar note thrown at him by forceful citizens ever eager to thank him for his services or buy his protection.

These same men had always tried to convince me that money was thrown at them as they went about their day. They were bribed, they insisted, to overlook liquor license violations, speeding tickets, bookmaking joints, prostitutes, or double parking. The public demanded corrupt cops and it offered 'clean' money they contended, gratuities, favors, tips, gestures of good faith. (Beigel and Beigel, 1977)

The political pressures from colleagues, superiors, and powerful persons in the community to take graft or risk informal discipline contribute to the patrolman's sense of helplessness (see, for example, Rubinstein,

1973:396, 410). Given the "invitational edges of corruption" (Manning and Redlinger, 1978) the policeman perceives that he has no choice but to take or make a fool of himself in the eyes of the public or his colleagues. Rubinstein explains,

He knows he does things that are illegal, but he has no choice. He knows that there are many dishonest policemen, but his rewards for doing work he considers "dirty" are little more than the renewal of his right to continue in the job. He cannot prevent what he disapproves, nor can he explain to anyone without jeopardizing his career (and his life in some places), so he turns his face to the wind and does what he must. (Rubinstein, 1973:402)

The clean policeman who takes only the legal gratuity as well as the clean, corrupt cop who makes criminal notes to protect victimless crimes all describe their participation in corruption in passive, reactive terms. A clean cop from Metro City explains,

Well, an old lady called me and wanted me to go to the hospital. Now I knew that it wasn't an emergency and I knew that I could have gotten out of it but I took her. It was an absurd request because she wanted to go to a hospital out of the district. But she was just so innocent and so naive and so helpless I said that I'll make up a story so I can leave the district which was no problem so I took her from the 45th to Metropolitan Hospital and she got out and she said, "Oh officer, thank you very much," and I said, "No problem." And she comes out with this crumpled five dollar bill and I said, "Oh please no that's out of the question. No." And she said, "Oh officer please, that would have been a fifteen dollar cab ride," and I said, "no really don't. . .thank you very much" and I looked in the mirror as I drove away and as I drove away, she threw it in the window. And when I'm half way down the block I see the five and what do you do with that? I didn't run back and try to find her. I really feel guilty about that five dollars but it's one way of getting money.

Droge describes the attitude of clean cop portrayed in his novel in similar terms.

Chris never looked for it. He never went out of his way to hound down all he could get, as some men did. He merely took what came his way--such as free meals at first. Then a few dollars from supermarket managers for escorting them to the bank with their daily receipts. And a few dollars from burglarized factory owners to check out the premises in the middle of the night. And a few dollars from grateful car owners when he recovered their stolen cars. . . . (Droge, 1979:10)

Droge also describes his own participation in graft as largely passive. As a clean corrupt cop he actively pursued narcotics dealers in order to meet his quota of arrests. At the same time he took money from gamblers and any other notes which happened to come his way. He explains,

Also unpredictable were sudden windfalls of money from unexpected sources. The most notable occurred one wintry evening as another officer and I were passing a bar with the radio car. We were hailed by a black man with a hairless, shiny dome, spread nose, and a walrus mustache over full, crimson lips nestled atop a redwood frame. Each step closer to the car magnified the bulk of his giant. He stuck his head in the window and leaned on thick-wristed branches. His overpowering presence enfeebled me and I could not imagine what he wanted.

"Sorry I missed you last week," he said, dripping fifteen dollars on the seat. We didn't say anything. We had never seen this man before and he obviously took us for someone else, but we kept the money anyhow. Until this day I don't know what he was up to. (Droge, 1973:23)

In contrast to the clean, "grasseaters," the dirty policeman pursues graft with an active attitude. Williams Phillips, for example,

is described in the Knapp Commission Report (1972) as a "meateater." Even though he did not take money to let narcotics run or promote the sale of weapons, he aggressively exploited every opportunity to make an extra buck (Knapp Commission Report, 1972:52). It is therefore the "ingenuity, " "courage" and "aggression" he displayed in practicing corruption rather than the category of activity protected which earned Phillips the reputation as a dirty policeman and a "rogue cop." According to the Knapp Commission,

Phillips possessed qualities of aggressiveness, courage, imagination, intelligence, and highly developed knowledge of street conditions and the laws. These qualities served him well in all his activities in the Police Department--both legitimate and corrupt.

Among his fellow officers, Phillips stood to gain approval, or at least grudging admiration, both for his tough, aggressive police action and for skillful extracurricular money making. He was adept at both. (Knapp Commission, 1972: 55-6)

A Philadelphia policeman describes another meateater in somewhat unsavory terms. Although the officer engages in "clean" corruption by taking an "illegal note" from a motorist, his mode of collection is distinctly dirty.

. . .I forget the bum's name. .there was a stop sign at Twentieth and Berks. He would park the wrong way on Berks Street to catch a car coming to a stop (at) Berks Street. (The driver on Twentieth Street) would look this way, would look west because (Berks) Street was running east, so he would slow up at the stop sign and he would be looking west, wouldn't see no car, no police car, nothing, but this other guy would be sitting east of it and, see, the guy would be looking west and the guy just break the stop sign. Well, this guy

made a virtual, what would you say, fortune out there. . . (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission, 1974: 351-2)

Stealing from open properties by policemen called to investigate a possible burglary is a pervasive form of corruption in Metro City. A clean cop who is a member of an informal clique called the "outlaws" as a result of her outlook towards graft explains,

What I've noticed our guys are into is. . .
 They go into a place that's been burglarized. . .
 Our Sergeant is strict. If there's an open property you will not go in until I get there and if you do, you better bring somebody out with you. . . . But what they do is go in and burglarize the place themselves. . . That's where they're dirty. Now you'll get guys who would vomit at the thought of that, of stealing, of reducing themselves to the common thief they're after. But I'm shocked to find out how many of the guys steal when they go in there. I mean they. . . . In one job Joe was telling me he was there, they were coming out with radios, hair blowers. . .you know, it's unreal. But the Sergeant I've got is super straight, super clean. . .

The officer who burglarizes an open property takes "lying around loot." It is perceived as a clean form of corruption because the policeman does not actively create the conditions which provide the note by breaking into the property. Instead he came upon the goods while investigating a possible burglary. In contrast, the policeman who actively plans a burglary is perceived as a dirty cop by his colleagues. Thus, although similar actions are involved in both the premeditated burglary and the passive one, only the former kind of corruption is perceived by police as dirty.

If an officer who steals from an open property becomes too

aggressive and takes too much, he no longer is viewed as the passive policeman taking lying around loot. His greed consequently sullies an otherwise clean mode of corruption. The offending officer gains a poor reputation and few normal policemen want to work with him. Brian, for example, was considered a dirty Sergeant by his men. Whenever a call for an open property or a burglary in progress was transmitted over radio and he responded to the call, squad members would make comments which indicated his aggressive orientation toward corruption. For example, they would say something like, "If it's not an open property now, it will be" or "if it's not a burglary, it will be." One policeman discusses Brian in less than flattering terms.

They'll (the FBI) get him (the Sergeant) because he's so greedy. He'll get caught. When there's an open property a cop will take one radio but Brian will take six and send you in to carry out a case for him. Brian thinks that no one will rat on him because they know that he's crazy. Crazy enough to shoot whoever does it. So they're afraid of him. He'll either do it himself or hire someone else to do it. But he is wrong about me because he doesn't know that I'm crazier than he is and I'll shoot him first.

Politics of Exchange: Cooperation and Coercion

Another classification ingredient in the construction of clean and dirty money concerns the politics of exchange. Most passive notes are clean because they involve a cooperative arrangement between the officer and a client. The officer does not coerce the client into making a payment which is not mutually beneficial to both parties (see, for example, Rubinstein, 1973:418,427). In contrast, many active notes are dirty because they involve coercion. The policeman uses his badge

to extort money from an unwilling client who is forced to participate in an asymmetrical exchange. The client is exploited and the officer profits.

The cooperative, clean note includes a "gift" the policeman receives from a legal business in exchange for routine services. A Philadelphia jeweler, for example, describes the note he gives the regular beat cop in exchange for doing his job. His discussion reveals the mutual "We take care of them, they take care of us" nature of the arrangement (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission, 1974:285).

B. I'll tell you why (I take care of the police).
I'll give you a perfect example. Take this
cop out of here? Joe (T #3566). . . Nicest
guy you'll ever meet. Joe is Johnny on the
Spot. He sees two "schwartzes" on the street.
Let's say they come in here. He don't like
the looks of 'em. He lays right outside the
window for me.

This guy is the type of guy that he's right
there when you need him. You understand?
He's worth it to me what little he gets,
cause he's right here. . .

G. But don't forget, that's his job.

B. Irv, there's a lot of cops that have their
jobs and are supposed to do their jobs and. . .

G. They don't do it, right?

B. But when you've got a guy like that. . .
(Ibid., 286-7)

The cooperative clean note also includes a bribe the policeman accepts or solicits in return for the protection of illegal activity. For example, the motorist who pays the policeman a ten dollar note in lieu of a fifty dollar ticket perceives the exchange as advantageous. (See, for example, Ibid., 350) A bar with G-girls or prostitutes is

also willing to pay a reasonable rent to avoid a legal arrest and elicit the policeman's protection. In the following meeting a policeman and the owner of a bar which employs G-girls discuss a protection arrangement. It is clear from the conversation that the deal is perceived as mutually beneficial. It is also apparent that the policeman minimizes the use of language which appears coercive or threatening. He also tries to present the appearance that both parties in the deal begin their negotiations on an equal footing.

W: Well, Irv, look, there's a thing of trust between each other.

Goltzer: Well, I'm not going to make the offer, I'm telling you right now, because if they put me in a lie detector test and you bust me, it'll show up, you understand what I mean?

W: Right. Now look, the only thing I can tell you is this: I got to take a chance, you got to take a chance. Now I'm speaking for myself.

Goltzer: See, you've got the badge, I don't have the badge. See, you can even lie, you can even turn around and lie and say you know what I'm talking about because you got the badge.

W: Then all of a sudden I got the upper edge on you. . . .

Goltzer: Look, I don't know you. If I knew you or if another cop brought you to me, I could understand it. You know what I mean? But I don't know you and you mention a guy that I ask to do me a favor and he never did it.

W: Well, if I was trying to get you, would I mention this fucking guy?

Goltzer: Well.

W: I would keep him a fucking secret. The thing is this, Chief's Squad, two and a half years. For a long time I didn't do a fucking thing,

I was scared, right? I took a chance on a couple of people. They recommended me to a couple other people and as time has gone by I been recommended here and there, you know. So you know my position. So finally at this point in the game, I said, well, see Sammy the Barber, see the Why Not. . . .

Goltzer: So what? I'm taking care of a certain guy that's busting me once in awhile too. If you have to do it, I can't help that.

W: Of course, I would have to give you a buzz. I'd call and say, look Irv, I'm coming down; the heat's on, I got to let you know I can't speak for nobody else in this fucking squad. This fucking squad, believe me, they're cutthroats, they'll lock their own fucking mother up. Me and my partner are on our own, we're working. . . .

Goltzer: Yeah, but there's 12 men on that squad. There's no way I can take care of 12 men, it's impossible. I'd be out of business, are you kidding? You'd have to either pass the line down or try to tell them that I'm a friend of yours or whatever you want to do.

W: Well, basically, the only thing that I can really offer you is myself and my partner. Anything that I hear, I give you a buzz and say, look, Irv, watch yourself. This week something's going to happen on Wednesday night. That's all I can do for you.

Goltzer: That's fair.

In contrast, the dirty, coercive note usually involves payments the police extort from a legitimate business. The client does not pay for services or protection but instead he pays to avoid harrassment or false arrest. The Pennsylvania Crimes Commission discusses one example of the coercive note involving a legitimate bar. A married couple, the Taylors, bought and renovated a bar called the Dapper Dance. Soon after the remodeling, a policeman bought in a "Xmas list" of names of

officers in the district who were on the pad. Soon after, a lieutenant went into the bar and requested his "Xmas gift." When the couple refused to give him a note, the police began a harrassment campaign. For a month, the couple were constantly stopped and issued tickets for motor vehicle violations which apparently didn't occur. After the police threatened the Taylors with an arrest, they finally gave in and decided to pay or quit the business. The following discussion between the Taylors and Commission agents illustrates the coercive nature of the arrangement.

Q: What did you do that made you decide it would be easier to pay? How did you contact the police?

A: He contacted me. It was after they had picked me up. I walked out of the bar at one o'clock in the morning one night, and I was going to see another fellow in the bar and I said hello to him and everything. And the next thing I know, a car pulled up alongside of me with lights blinking. I figured, "Here was another ticket." He said, "Would you come with us and park your car?" So he put me in the back. So we rode around for awhile. He said, "You are going to save yourself a lot of harrassment." He said, "I'm going to get in touch with you tomorrow. Be in your bar tomorrow morning." He said, "Look, I know you can't afford it. Would you like to be closed for 90 days?" He said, "We understand--how was this point put--we understand you are--we understand that there is a possibility you are peddling drugs." So I figured there, "no more. That's it. I quit." (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission, 1974: 163-4)

A Metro City police officer describes a similar arrangement between a legitimate bar owner and members of a division plainclothes squad.

But I do know that the Inspector gets money. . .
Now there's a guy who was doing some work around

here who's a friend of the family. He owns a bar in the 99th District. So I said, "John, tell me something. Do you have to pay the cops?" He looked at me, knowing I'm a cop and said, "You shouldn't be asking that." I said, "Do you pay?" I know he got hit for numbers and I know John isn't a numbers writer. But what they found were some old football pools that were a year old in his kitchen and locked him up. And from what I understand he wasn't paying enough. And the Inspectors' men came in, and from what I understand, this is his side (of the story), they planted it. . . I said "How much do you pay a month?" And he put up two fingers. . . two hundred (dollars). . . .

Mode of Distribution

The mode of distribution is a third factor which influences the categorization of clean and dirty money. A clean cop who receives goods in kind in exchange for services or protection keeps the goods for himself and his family. Only a dirty cop would take goods he did not need and sell them on the market for a profit. The greedy sergeant who took cases of radios from the open property (see p. 244, this chapter), for example, was immoral not only because he displayed aggression but also because he took more than he needed for personal use. He apparently planned to sell the extra radios to acquaintances for a profit in order to support his gambling habit. The same informal rules regulate the distribution of gratuities kept within the district. A clean officer may take free meals and dry cleaning from locations on his sector. He may also occasionally bring his family's clothes to the district cleaner or take his wife out to dinner at a local restaurant. However, he should not overstay his welcome or abuse the privilege by inviting his family too frequently or extending the gratuity to friends. Even other policeman's use of sector privileges is regulated

in order to prevent exploitation. One unusually clean officer alludes to the informal system of control.

A: Cleaners, I didn't have any problem with that. You take your uniform in and get a discount. You don't want to over stay your welcome. No, you don't all go the same cleaner. If I wanted to use a cleaner. . . Well the guys on the other side of Madison, there aren't any good places to eat. . . so they'll come here. But you don't abuse it. . . You go to the sector car who has the cleaners and say, "I don't have a cleaner on my sector, can I use yours?"

Q: Would you bring other people's clothes?

A: No I wouldn't. It's done though. Just like some people bring their families down just for meals but I wouldn't do that.

Q: Would you bring friends down for meals or buy goods for friends?

A: No. Some guys do though.

The last factors which influence the classification of clean and dirty money involve the amount and nature of the gratuity. The higher the amount the officer makes the dirtier the money becomes. Goods in kind are also perceived as "cleaner" than a direct monetary payment. The officer who steals five hundred dollars worth of wool coats from a factory outlet takes "clean money." The officer who takes the same amount in cash from the same open property makes money which is slightly contaminated.

Corruption and Gender Construction

In the preceding pages I outlined some additional factors which influence the categorization of clean and dirty money. Like the activity criteria, these factors relate to the process of masculinity

construction of the real cop. Clean money involves attributes associated with femininity and household economics. Both women and clean cops are perceived as passive, lack power in interpersonal relationships, and produce small amounts of goods in kind for use in the home. In contrast, real men and dirty cops are aggressive, dominant, and produce large amounts to sell on the market for a monetary profit. Thus real men not only lean towards taking dirty money to protect real crimes but they are also encouraged to make money in a dirty manner in order to display their manhood on the street.

The "dirty" character of the extralegal money the policeman makes also increases as he moves into more prestigious positions within the police department. The officer in narcotics who wants an extra bit of cash as a reward for work well done inevitably takes money from narcotics dealers. Although he claims that money stolen from dealers is clean money as long as they are punished instead of protected he still takes money which the uniform cop associates with the protection of real crimes against the formal order. In contrast, the policeman who works in a low status position as a uniform cop has little opportunity to make dirty cash. As his work involves largely peace keeping and social service activity, he inevitably takes mostly clean gratuities, legal and illegal notes. The policeman in high status locations like narcotics also makes the largest scores as a result of the value of the drugs. The Knapp Commission reports for example that one narcotics deal brought in an \$80,000 score. If the policeman wants to "fence" goods to make a profit, narcotics has a high street value and will bring in the most profit. In contrast, the uniform cop takes five and ten dollar

notes from service calls motorists and occasionally bars. If he aggressively pursues graft he still is limited in his profits compared with the policemen who fight real crime. Sweaters, coats, radios, hair dryers and other goods he steals in bulk from open properties are unlikely to be the cocaine and heroin the narcotics officer encounters on the street.

Rules Regarding the Distribution of Extralegal Resources

The formal organizational principles of territory, rank and status regulate the distribution of extralegal as well as legal resources. These same principles guide the activities of individual policemen with diverse moral orientations to the informal world of clean and dirty money.

A district is composed of four squads which work rotating shifts. A squad is composed of one lieutenant who supervises two sergeants. Each sergeant supervises a number of rank and file officers who are responsible for policing one of the two major territorial units within the district, the upper or lower end. Each end is subdivided into a number of sectors patrolled by wagons, sector cars and occasionally foormen. While a one man patrol car is assigned the jobs on his sector, a two man wagon works approximately three sectors and is responsible for the transportation of prisoners and emergency hospital cases.

When a policeman is assigned to a sector car he gains access to an informal world of extralegal money which accompanies his new responsibilities. He commits himself to handle problems on his sector

and simultaneously acquires use rights to the gratuities and notes which are locally produced. If a policeman wants free access to services available in another officer's sector, he must ask permission of the "owner" before collecting the goods.¹⁹ The Knapp Commission Report (1972) discusses these rules.

The Commission discovered that there was a certain etiquette among police officers concerning free meals in restaurants. In most precincts an officer could not eat free in a restaurant on another man's beat without first getting his permission. Officers also tried to time their free meals for restaurants' slow periods, to avoid taking up tables which might otherwise be used by paying customers. And thoughtful policemen in at least one precinct installed a wall chart containing a box for each eatery in the precinct where officers made an appropriate entry every time they had a free meal. The idea being to keep track of police traffic and spread the burden fairly. (Knapp Commission, 1972:174)

The wagon crew as well as the responsible supervisory Sergeant and Lieutenant, also have access to the gratuities and notes available to the sector car. In fact, a wise sector man will voluntarily provide his supervisors with a portion of his income in order to gain their favor and ensure support in the future. The Pennsylvania Crimes Commission reports,

Q: Was it always each man for himself, or were there some payments that were picked up, Christmas payments picked up and distributed around the squad?

A: Well, that it was, was basically you took care of your own sector as (opposed) to, like, somebody going to one company and picking up a box of envelopes and distribute it at the District. It was more or less if you went to the gas station, like I just mentioned, and he gives you a Christmas note, (he would say) "Make sure to tell your sergeant to come by, he'll get his." And the

sergeant, you tell him, you know, "Routine patrol, guy over at Nineteenth and Girard, or Ridge and Gerard, got a little Christmas present for you." And I assume they went over and got their Christmas present.

Q: Did that happen to you frequently?

A: Well, any place I stopped and got a Christmas present you have to tell your sergeant. It is the unwritten law. You don't take anything without the sergeant getting his.

Q: At Christmas time or always?

A: That's at Christmas and, like if a game was funning, you know, you just wouldn't take it on your own to take a note and don't say nothing to nobody about it, you know. So "Routine patrol." You say, "Game at Nineteenth and Ridge." Well then you never go around and witness him taking anything, but he is happy. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 1974: 329)

Some sectors also contain after hours clubs or chain restaurants which provide large monthly payments to the district as a whole. Although a supervisor may distribute extras to his favorite men, only the sector car, wagon crew, the two Sergeants, the Lieutenant and the Captain are entitled to a portion of the District pad. In addition, the collection agent or "bagman" receives a cut regardless of the territory he routinely works.

For an after hours club payoff, for example, the bagman collects the money which the owner puts in envelopes for the police. The bagman gives the envelopes to his Lieutenant who distributes the appropriate amount to the Captain and his two Sergeants. Each Sergeant then pays the wagon crew and the sector car. The highest ranking officers usually receive the largest payment from the pad.

The money comes in by, like in our district, it comes in by a guy, I don't know what the hell his function is, he's a cop but I've never seen him in uniform. He's always in the Captain's office. He brings in the envelope. The way it is now, there are some Sergeants who don't want money. My Sergeant won't take money and neither will the lower end Sergeant and the Lieutenant takes all their money. But what bothers them is that the money still comes in with their name on it. The money comes and it's given to four Sergeants, the Lieutenants and the Captain. The people who are giving the money have no idea who's getting it. So the Lieutenant's tickled pink because both his Sergeants are new and don't want any so he gets their money.*

Similarly, if a patrolman refuses the graft available on his sector, the extra money is divided according to the formal principles of rank and territory. Thus, the Lieutenant, Sergeant and wagon crew may benefit from an honest sector man. A Metro City officer explains,

9650 car had no clubs on it. Funny, isn't it. There were a few houses that sold liquor. But I didn't bother them and they didn't bother me. I would never go there. Because I knew they were making payoffs and I didn't even want to get involved.

Q: So people took payoffs on your sector?

A: Yeah.

Q: Now if another cop who wanted to make a little extra money had 9650 car, would he get upset if somebody took money from his sector?

A: Of course.

Q: So in a way you served another useful function. . . who would take the money, the wagon?

* A club has to pay the appropriate men in each squad in order to be covered when that squad works the 12 to 8 shift.

A: In my case, yes the wagon crew. But a whole bunch of interesting things could have happened . . . There could have been a major blow out there as to which surrounding sector gets money. But the way they settled it was that the wagon crew would get it. Because he has three sectors and there was none of this "Joe do you mind if" because it was a topic we never talked about. It was one of those things that I made my impression known very early. Very early I let them know that I wanted nothing to do with it and that I also didn't care what happened. So you do what you want and just don't tell me and don't involve me and I don't care. But if I ever get called to that place and I see something, I'm going to take action but I won't initiate any action. It's like this one house at 2900 Madison. I knew that place was a speakeasy. Now I would never go there on my own. And I would never go there on my own to try to close that place or to make problems because I knew that they were paying off and to me, to me there were many other more important things in the district to do than to worry about this speakeasy. If I get a call to go there because shootings or disturbances do happen inside of speakeasies, I will go and then if I see enough evidence to show that it's a speakeasy I will make a vice arrest. But I'd never initiate it because I know that somebody is getting paid off and I could care less. So they knew that. They knew that I was not a threat to them. I wasn't a Serpico. I wouldn't go around and be. . . I didn't have a white car. I wasn't a knight in shining armor. I would only react if called. That was fair. That was good but it was funny because it was all informally done. None of that was ever really said to anyone. It was just understood. The Lieutenant would go to different guys. How's Joe? What's he doing? What's he saying, you know? It's funny. It's amazing how rules are implemented but never spoken and never formulated. There was never any big meeting. O.K. Joe, your'e not taking and we. . . . It was all understood.

Q: The formal structure takes over there? I mean it's formally the wagon's territory?

A: It's up to the Lieutenant's discretion. He's the . . . I'm sure he has the final say.

Q: Maybe he gets a little tip from the wagon crew?

A: Oh, he gets a little extra. Again, that's another useful purpose that I served. . . I was very. . . The Lieutenant considered me a good cop but that's a different definition of good. It was good in that I would always respond to jobs and I was dependable. It was also good in that I was never a threat to him. I was also very very good because he had all my extra money because I didn't want any of it and I couldn't care less if that was extra for him to divide up as he saw fit.

Q: What did one cop say, "Whitie's o.k. as long as you don't mess with his money?"

A: Oh yeah.

Q: And even better give him some?

A: Yes even more. And, it didn't bother me. It really didn't. I mean I abhorred what was going on but I just didn't see my role at that time to reform. You can't reform at the bottom. I'll reform when I go back in at the top. From the bottom, I thought it was best for me to live and let live and just be the best policeman I could and get as much knowledge as I could and come day come back in at the top.

The formal rules of territory and rank which guide the distribution of extralegal resources produce several additional postulates. First, an officer must not abuse the generosity of his patrons by over expooiting his resources. Second, an officer must split his goods with his partner(s) who share the territory. A greedy policeman who takes too much and doesn't share his income earns the wrath of his colleagues who will avenge his misdeed at the first opportunity. One Chicago Policeman, for example, anonomously tipped off federal investigators regarding the corrupt activity of a greedy colleague.

Officer: Right. Well, see now, you're not getting to Braasch. You're not getting-- one other fellow you haven't got to at all, and well, the thing of it is the

way some of us look at it, you got
Keep-It-All Murphy, Lieutenant Murphy.

Davidson: Keep-It-All Murphy?
(Investigator)

Officer: Yeah (laughter).

Davidson: James Murphy?

Officer: Yeah (laughter).

Davidson: Why do you call him Keep-It-All
Murphy?

Officer: Well, because he (laughter)--whenever
there's a beef, he never shares. He's
not a very sharing fellow. . . .
(Biegel and Biegel, 1977:137)

Several other Chicago policemen found guilty of extortion refused to cooperate with prosecuting attorneys until their colleagues from the vice squad violated informal distribution rules and neglected to take care of their families. The policemen explain to investigators why they are willing to break the code of silence.

". . . . Skippy and I were willing to stick it out, hoping the families would understand what we were doing. But it's different now. I want to tell you why."

"It isn't necessary," Davidson (the investigator) said.

"Just the same, it's worth getting it out so you know the shit you're dealing with. I got a letter from my wife the day before yesterday. Here it is. Take a look at it." Mascolino fished a crumpled piece of paper out of his pants pocket and handed it to Davidson. "She says she can't go on and is thinking of committing suicide unless I get out. And I gotta get out now."

"What about you?" Beigel asked Cello. "Why are you here?"

"There is something else," Cello said. He appeared much more self-possessed than Mascolino. "A raffle was set up to raise some money to support our families while we were in jail. It was supposed to be enough to keep us going. Except, our families never saw any of it. The cops who set it up ripped it off! The goddam scum. I can't believe it. Can you believe it?" (Beigel and Beigel, 1977:170-1)

At the same time that greedy policemen are vulnerable because they violate informal rules, honest cops are also subject to discipline if they disobey the laws of the street. Serpico, for example, provides an extreme case of the honest policeman who followed formal rules which contradicted informal ones. Not only was his public refusal to take money a source of embarrassment to colleagues, but he also overstepped boundaries by busting places that paid. His career came to an abrupt end when his colleagues began to suspect he was a rat. During a narcotics raid, he was shot in the head by the perpetrators and permanently disabled. Although some officials claim the shooting was accidental (Murphy and Platt, 1977), most rank and file policemen assume that his partners spontaneously seized the opportunity to set him up by providing inadequate backup during the investigation. Although there is no rule which forces a policeman to take graft, he must maintain the code of silence if he expects to stay on the job and in good health. One Metro City police officer explains,

One of the guys who I went through the Academy with called me after he was on the street and he said to me that he couldn't get over how corrupt . . . and he said, if they offer me money, I'll go do this, I'll do that, I'll do. . . .I said, Joe, if you're smart you'll do nothing. All you have to do is turn it down and then forget it. Otherwise you're gonna get hurt. . . .I know better. . . .You just don't do that. . . .Like I said, Serpico is

so true. You don't know how much truth there is . . . That you just don't do that. You just mind your own business.

More minor violations of etiquette provoke less detrimental disciplinary measures. One honest policeman, for example, followed formal orders requiring vice arrests which violated local contracts between police and criminals. The Sergeant gathered his men together and raided bars which fronted vice operations.²⁰ Consequently he was reassigned to another district as a routine measure. A Metro City policeman explained,

You get some guys with balls. . . they'll go and close the clubs. . . Like Mike, Mike for two reasons may have been transferred. . . but also he started hitting all the bars. I mean one day he called John and I. He called a couple of wagons and we went and hit one bar after another. It was during that time that every six months we had to put in a vice report. You can't put in a negative report. You have to find vice. And he knew we knew of no vice. So we were going to hit every bar until we found vice and we did. And I think that tread on toes. But he did wind up getting transferred and he was given the reason, routine transfer. Needless to say he was only in the district for three or four months.

Eddy, an idealistic young rookie approximately twelve months out of the Police Academy, made a similar attempt to enforce the law which produced a major conflict in his squad. Eddy and another rookie were assigned to work a wagon in the 50th district. The wagon covered sectors five, six and seven. That night, Eddy inadvertantly discovered a speakeasy operating in five sector. The regular man who worked 505 dar was off that evening. Both rookies went to the District to discuss their observation with their supervisor, Sergeant Rose.

Rose was new in the district. He had recently been transferred because he had allegedly raided a vice operation which was paying off the police. A basically honest man, Rose refused to take free meals from a new restaurant which apparently fronted a numbers operation. I had suggested we get lunch there one day because the food was free and unusually good. I also warned Rose that I thought there was something "funny" about the place from what I had observed when I worked in the District where the food stand had previously operated. After investigating the situation, Rose returned. He briefly described the owner's attempt to gain his cooperation in exchange for payments and food. He explained that we'd have to get lunch some place else and added, "You might think I'm wrong, but I've never taken anything on this job yet and I don't intend to start now."

When Eddy discussed the possibility of a vice raid of the speakeasy with Sergeant Rose, he suggested they pursue the matter after discussing it with the Lieutenant. After the Lieutenant gave his consent the Sergeant, the two rookies and additional backup proceeded to raid the speakeasy at approximately 4:15 a.m. It turned out to be a large operation. When they arrested the owner, he told Eddy that they (the police) would be sorry and that the Captain would have something to say about this. As Eddy had gained the consent of his supervisors to make the raid, he assumed that the prisoner was lying about the Captain's interest in the matter.

When the officer who worked 505 car returned to work, and learned that Eddy had raided a speakeasy on his sector without discussing the issue with him, he was enraged. He told Eddy, "Why are you always

trying to be a hero?" and made it clear that he would not back him up on jobs. When Eddy was assigned to handle a disturbance, "Radio" assigned 505 car to back him up. The officer did not show up. Eddy then warned the veteran that if it happened again he would call for him over the air and thus formally tell Radio that 505 did not show up as a backup. This increased the officer's anger and he threatened to increase the rookie's problems.

Eventually 505 was reassigned to work another sector car because the Lieutenant was afraid that the rookie's safety was at stake. By this time the squad was completely divided. Half the veterans supported the rookie. In spite of the fact he had violated an informal rule by raiding a location on another policeman's sector, he had gained the consent of two supervisors before proceeding. In addition, he was a rookie and rookies make mistakes. Many of his supporters were also honest policemen who refused to participate in illegal graft. One ally officer, for example, was described as a good cop but a bit of a pinch stealer. He had to pursue arrests to make overtime pay in court in order to support his family. His friends often gave him their arrests to ease his financial burdens.

Other veteran officers opposed the rookie because he had violated rules which directly benefited them as they too were on the take. Eventually the rookie's allies simply backed him up on jobs regardless of formal assignment by "Radio" while his enemies arrived late or simply didn't come at all. As I left the district in the midst of the conflict, I do not know how it ultimately resolved itself.²¹

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Additional distinctions regarding extralegal money are made according to the "safeness" of the note. "Safe notes" are those that are unlikely to get the officer in trouble. Notes received as tips from legitimate businessmen, for example, are perceived as safe because the arrangement is initiated by the donor who is unlikely to lodge a complaint. Some notes received to protect illegal vice activity are also perceived as safe if they are initiated by the criminal instead of the policeman. As safe notes are usually cooperative while risky notes are coercive, safe notes are usually cleaner than risky notes. Finally, notes from prostitutes are perceived as relatively clean because the activity protected involves victimless crime. However, prostitutes themselves are perceived as shaky females who will give up the officer and get him into trouble at the slightest opportunity. Thus, notes from prostitutes may be avoided because they are perceived as unsafe.

2. The burglary of property of large businesses could also be viewed as clean because it is perceived as a victimless crime because the owner usually has theft insurance. If an officer steals a radio, the owner can file a claim and collect on the items stolen by the police as well as the burglar. Thus no victim is created by the officer's action if the property is already opened by a burglary. However, I have included burglary of open properties in the discussion of officer attitude because the passivity of the action, in other words, taking "lying around loot" rather than the victimless nature of the crime appears to dominate the categorization of the burglary of open property as "clean" money.

3. Political pressure and personal factors also influence the moral nature of the note. Outside pressure helps to neutralize the officer's guilt and free him to engage in corrupt activity (see Matza, 1964). If he risks losing a good position in an elite unit by arresting a politically powerful person or refusing a payoff, then he can justify the note with "they made me do it" or "I had no choice." If his son needs an operation which the officer cannot afford unless he begins to make a little extra money on the job, he also has a legitimate rationale to engage in corruption. Such external exigencies which influence the officer's moral career as a grafter (Sherman, 1974) are considered here in the context of officer attitude. That is, the more passive the officer's attitude toward corruption, the cleaner the money. Conversely, the more actively he pursues the note, the dirtier the money. The officer under great personal or political pressure to take a note is relatively passive and therefore takes a cleaner note than an officer who actively engages in corruption in the absence of external contingencies.

4. The gungho rookie is also viewed as a dangerous rate buster who does more work than the veterans for the same pay. He must quickly be instructed in the unwritten rules of minimal work output before his supervisors or the department begin to demand more activity from veteran colleagues.

5. Obviously, all gratuities in kind or currency are a violation of the policeman's departmental regulations, the Home-Rule Charter or the Criminal or Civil law. However, the adjective that designates the kind of gratuity or note the policeman takes refers to the kind of activity which underlies the payment. Thus, no illegal activity underlies the payment of the legal note while criminal activity does underlie the payment of the criminal note. The kind of activity which underlies the real criminal note involves the crimes which policemen perceive as real crimes versus those such as vice and gambling which are not viewed as real crimes regardless of the state and federal statutes which formally define the legal nature of these offenses.

6. In his discussion of the moral career of the grafter, Sherman describes the moral transformation of an officer as he moves up the ladder to progressively dirtier forms of corruption. Each officer makes individual decisions regarding where to stop depending on personality and external exigencies (see Sherman, 1974).

7. The rationality of taking clean money can also be related to gender identity. Thus the real man and real cop perceives corruption as a rational activity. Rationality is perceived as masculine in contrast to irrationality and emotionality which is viewed as feminine. Men are also perceived as more objective while women are subjective.

8. For the same reason, civilian auxiliary police, Fuardian Angels and other "do gooders" who try to work as police officers without pay are viewed as feminine type social workers as well as scab laborers trying to take over the policeman's job.

9. Maas mentions an example in which Serpico's refusal to take vice money is also perceived by colleagues as an embarrassment. Like the officer who refuses the note from the gas man and the policeman who didn't take cash from the seat of the patrol car, Serpico's refusal to participate in corruption is viewed as an antisocial act which breaks taken for granted rules governing the interaction between the police and the public (Maas, 1973).

10. Although legal gratuities and legal notes are technical violations of departmental rules and the home rule Charter, they are often perceived by the businesses themselves as legitimate operating expenses. Thus the Con Edison Company as well as Gino's Food Chain apparently had special funds for the police. The Gino's funds were even recorded on their formal accounting sheets. Similarly, minor criminal notes are also perceived as neceary business expenses by

illegal operators. According to the Knapp Commission Report,

As for gamblers, they were found to regard payments to the police as a necessary business expense. They often pointed out that a numbers operation couldn't exist unless it was under police auspices. As one gambler told the Commission, the police "are the insurance company, and unless you pay your monthly rent, you can't operate." (1973:73)

In general the exchange is as beneficial to the client as it is to the police. Thus a motorist would generally prefer to pay the policeman five or ten dollars than pay the city fifty dollars for a moving violation. Similarly, a private guard service for Gino's Hamburger chain would have ultimately cost Gino's more than the combination of free food and cash payments. Both the mutual beneficiality of the exchanges involved in the legal gratuity and legal note as well as the absence of overt coercion in their collection constitute two facets of their relative cleanliness. They also contribute to their categorization by policemen as "safe notes" which will cause him no legal repercussions. The fact that such payoffs may benefit business operations by depriving the larger community of police services does not enter into the policeman's construction of the categories of clean and dirty money.

11. For example, a bar owner who operates an after hours club is a legitimate businessman. However, he pays the police to work extra hours in violation of the terms of his license or city, state and federal laws regulating the sale of alcoholic beverages. In contrast, the operator of a speakeasy which pays the police to sell alcoholic beverages without a license is providing the criminal note because he is not a legitimate business man with a valid license to operate.

12. The illegal note can involve a score paid to an individual policeman or an organized sum paid to the District as a whole. Although it would seem that the complexity of organization might be a factor influencing the moral nature of the note, other factors are more important. Thus most organized payoffs are perceived as dirtier because they involve an active, premeditated stance on the part of the officer taking the money. In contrast, most individual scores are viewed as cleaner because they involve a more passive spontaneous attitude by the officer. An after hours club pad is also viewed as dirtier than the illegal five dollar note from the construction company because the pad is generally more lucrative than scores received on such an irregular basis. On the other hand, although the narcotics score is individual, it is perceived as dirty money. It is dirty because narcotics involves the protection of a real crime against innocent people rather than a bullshit crime between consenting adults. At the same time narcotics is usually highly lucrative. In summary, the active stance of the officer taking the payoff, the amount involved, as well as the category of activity the policeman protects are more important factors in determining the moral nature of the note than the complexity of social organization.

13. In contrast to the bagman, the morgue attendant in a hospital who does the dirty work of handling dead bodies is stigmatized and avoided by associates (see Sudnow, 1967:53-4).

14. On the scale of corruption, prostitution is often considered dirtier than gambling. The sexual nature of the business appears to contribute to its relative degree of contamination. In addition, there is some suggestion that prostitution is viewed as less a dirty source of notes than a risky one. Like women in general, the prostitute is viewed as an untrustworthy individual who might turn around and hurt the policeman who provides protection. Thus, officers learn to avoid dealing with her when possible. Thus,

In addition, on grounds of self-protection rather than morality, he (Patrolman William Phillips of the New York Police Department) claimed to have followed a general rule of avoiding prostitutes because of their notorious unreliability. He proved the wisdom of this rule when he finally was caught because he ignored it. (Knapp Commission, 1972:52) (See also Droge, 1973:211-2)

15. Sexual crimes between consenting adults are perceived as bullshit crimes which are victimless. A sexual crime between an adult and a child, however, is a violation of formal (family) and informal (street) orders and perceived by the police as a terrible crime.

16. Kiddie porn and child prostitution have the status of real crimes. A policeman who takes money to protect crimes involving children is perceived as a dirty cop by his colleagues.

17. The expression which policemen use to refer to suicide among the ranks, "to eat your gun," also contains this kind of symbolic sexual reversal. Suicide is, in effect, perceived as an act which obliterates the officer's masculine self and his identity as a separate person.

18. The "grasseater," "meateater" dichotomy can also be related to the issue of gender. Thus women eat salads and vegetables while real men eat "meat and potatoes."

19. If a policeman is a "guest" in someone else's sector, he must behave accordingly. He should not take money from businesses which obviously belong to the sector car. Nor should he aggressively pursue any extra policework which could violate informal arrangements of the sector car. The guest should simply answer the jobs that radio assigns to him and relax for the rest of the tour. If a policeman rides with the regular sector man as a temporary partner, he should also behave as a guest in a stranger's house. Although he may act differently

in his own house or his own sector, he should behave in the same fashion as the regular sector man when he works in his territory. One Metro City policeman explains,

. . .and if he rides with me and he says, "Hey JJ let's go out tonight and get a six pack." I say, "No, because you're with me tonight. I don't care what you do in your own car. I don't care what you do when you're with Bill or John but when you're with me you're gonna do this." It's really respected and it's the rule. . .that when you're in your car you set the tone. . . .

20. When another cop temporarily works an alien sector, some peculiar things sometimes occur. One officer related the following incident when he worked someone else's car.

I was on 12 car. And it was on Second and Madison and I had just handled a job. I pulled over and I was filling out my paperwork. And I was filling it out and all of a sudden I look up and there's a guy standing there and he's got a six pack of beer for me. And I say, "Well, what. . . I don't want a six pack of beer." "You don't want a six pack of beer?" "No, why did you bring that over to me?" And he says "Because, whenever a cop stops here it's our signal to bring out a six pack of beer to you." He thought I was nuts. . .but I never filled out another piece of paper there. . . I think it's a write off. It's part of the job. It's better to have that than to have cops come in and hassle you. . . .They only see the car number. They don't see the policeman. They just knew that I was in their sector because they saw the 12.

. . .The stores get just as possessive as the cops do. Stores won't give out. . .hey'll say, "Hey you're not my cop." They know they have four cops . . . They know them. If I go in with one of their four from the four squads and he says I'm o.k. then the store will think it's o.k. to give me something.

21. There were a number of unusual circumstances surrounding the incident with Eddy which disrupted the normal flow of informal business. First, rookies normally would not ride cars and wagons together on a steady basis. The study of women and the establishment of a male comparison group forced rookies to assume positions which would be granted to veterans until the rookie had received the proper socialization. Thus, normally a rookie would not be in a position to raid a speakeasy until he was a trusted member of the squad who would not do such a thing. Second, normal mechanisms which might have

inhibited the raid did not occur because people may have feared that the district was under observation as a result of the study and ongoing investigations into corruption and brutality. Finally, the Sergeant who condoned the raid was new in the district and was also an honest man. In addition, the veteran officer was off the day that Eddy discovered the speakeasy and planned the raid.

* The fiction sources used in this chapter are by former police officers with considerable experience in the area of police corruption. James Reardon, the author of The Sweet Life of Jimmy Riley (1980) is a former New York City police officer who was assigned to a citywide vice and gambling squad after his appointment in 1942. He was a key figure in the Harry Gross gambling probe of the 1950's. Edward Droge, the author of The Honor Legion (1979) and The Patrolman's Story (1973) was a New York police officer who turned informant in order to avoid prosecution during the Knapp Commission investigation into police corruption.

CHAPTER VI

EASY SEX

The contradiction between the formal world of the Police Academy and the informal world of the street extends to the policeman's sexual behavior and perception of women as well as the use of force and participation in graft. Just as he distinguishes between legal and normal violence, he also constructs categories of legal and easy sex. The wife who belongs in the formal world of the home provides legal sex to the policeman. In contrast, whores provide the easy sex associated with the world of the street.

Legally a married policeman can only engage in off duty sexual relations with his wife. A single officer may also engage in sex with single women during off duty hours as long as the activity takes place between consenting adults at a private location such as a house. In addition, the woman must not be a professional prostitute who takes money in exchange for sex. Participation in any on duty sexual activity or off duty extra marital relations constitutes a violation of departmental rules under conduct unbecoming an officer.

Although any good cop always responds to a job involving real policework such as an assist officer, rape, shooting, burglary, robbery or other major crime in progress, most policemen also routinely play during the quiet hours of a working shift. In particular, they engage in illicit sexual activities with a variety of "whore-like" women who

inhabit the informal world of the street. In addition, both married and single men routinely engage in "deviate" sexual activity at parties or in public locations when they are off duty.

There are basically five kinds of easy women who are available to the policeman on and off the job. They include the mistress, one night stand, district girlfriends, stationhouse groupies and professional prostitutes. The status of these women varies according to their relation to the police and the nature of their sexual acts and assumed moral characteristics.¹ The purest of these women is the mistress. She is involved in a long term commitment with one man which involves friendship as well as a variety of sexual acts. District girlfriends and one night stands have less status than the mistress. Although they may engage in the same kinds of sex, their relationship with the policeman is primarily one of convenience rather than emotion. For example, the policeman meets the one night stand by accident on a routine call. Either she is attracted to the uniform and solicits him or he takes the initiative and asks her out. Although the one night stand is rarely shared with colleagues and thus does not become the subject of police ridicule and thus does not become the subject of police ridicule and gossip, her relation to her boyfriend is short lived and superficial. To him, she represents just another free meal which comes with the job.

The policeman's relationship with the district girlfriend is somewhat deeper because he sees her more and she knows him better. However, her status is also low because she is viewed as a practical convenience rather than an emotional necessity. The cop goes to her house for home cooking and good sex during on duty hours. As she lives

in the district, he may also pass by on his way home or before he goes to court. However, if he is transferred to another district, their affair most likely would end. Although she retains some status because she is a "one-man lay," she loses respect because her identity is public knowledge. Every cop in the squad knows which women provide "cribs" for colleagues. She therefore inevitably becomes the subject of derogatory "man talk."

Stationhouse groupies and professional prostitutes have the lowest status of all the policeman's women. Both categories of women are involved in relationships which lack commitment or emotional depth. Both groupies and professional hookers service the district as a whole and thus lose the respect granted the one man girl. In contrast to the mistress or even the district girlfriend, the stationhouse groupie and the professional prostitute avoid sexual intercourse which is reserved for "clean" categories of women such as the wife or mistress. Instead, they provide oral sex, "handjobs" and occasionally "gangbangs" for two or more cops. Not only is groupie sex public knowledge and public property but it also often takes place in public space. Bars, parks and more isolated sights near rivers or railroad tracks are common locations for groupie sex or group practice. Rubinstein discusses groupie phenomenon in City Police,

He also comes to know about the "cop buffs," the women who actively pursue social contacts with the district men. Unlike the nurses and waitresses whom the police contact initially in the course of their work, these women usually have no occupational connection with the patrolman. The new man hears their names mentioned by other policemen, and occasionally an older officer will point one out to

him on the street and even introduce him. But usually he meets them casually; they approach his car to strike up a conversation or ask him to take them for a ride. At squad parties, which are held in the holiday season, the buffs are often the star attractions. On warm nights they can be seen wandering the streets of their neighborhoods at all hours. Whatever comfort they seek from knowing policemen is private and obscure. They are not prostitutes or "hustlers" looking to buy protection with sexual favors; they want to be friends. They are known to most district patrolmen by nicknames that celebrate reputed qualities or places where they circulate. "The Fang," "Whitelips," "Susquehanna Rose" --the mere mention raises grins on men's faces, even those men who have nothing to do with them. They have no real names, at least not for the men they chase. While an officer may have a private relationship with a woman who lives in his district, the buffs are treated as collective property. Colleagues openly exchange information about their reputed skills. The return of a buff who has been absent for some time is reported to every squad member with remarkable speed and economy; it is one of the few kinds of information policemen share with each other. Some patrolmen taunt their colleagues about being seen with buffs and they often seek to catch each other in compromising situations. Any effort to hide a relationship with a buff is a challenge no patrolman's colleagues will let pass. (Rubinstein, 1973:176-7)

A Metro City policeman discusses a mother-daughter team of stationhouse groupies who serviced the district men.

How this man ever made Captain, well I guess I know but Smith was a real "cop's cop." I'll never forget this guy. Captain Smith, a Captain is a high rank you you're supposed to have respect for these guys. And after I'd been on the job for a year. When I was working a car. . .on my sector There was a mother, daughter team that used to blow cops. Jill and Josie. Josie was the mother and Jill was the daughter. And you would go over there anywhere between midnight and eight and they would take care of you and, every time you saw a strange car in front of the house, you knew what they were doing. . . . And, they took care of all the cops too. Anybody. It was really very nice.

Well, there was this alleyway which goes behind their house and because it was on my sector, I would periodically ride back there. So one day I ride in back of the alleyway and I hear all this loud noise out of the back of Jill and Josie's house. And I see two guys and I can't really make out who it is. It's four in the morning. Then they say goodbye to Jill and go up to the wall and take a leak against the wall. So I think I should go there and at least tell them to keep the noise down. So I go up and it was Captain Smith and his Captain's man. They were just out for the evening. I think that's when I said to myself do I really want to be a cop.

. . .No, other cops wouldn't think any less of him at all. The district was run loose. If a citizen came in to complain he would make the civilian feel better but he'd never write you up.

A rookie patrolman discusses the bar at the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), a local hangout for policemen and groupies.

I don't take my wife down there at all. She wanted to go but just look at the place. I went there with Susan (a cop) after work one night. It was unbelievable. These guys are drunk and slobbering over the women and the women are pushing them away because they don't want some drunk breathing in their face and then the men leave and start pouting like little boys and then these steady whores who go down there just looking to pick up some cop are crawling all over them. It's a sad place. Any guy who goes down there. . . . There's gotta be something wrong with him. The guys call it a meat market.

One male veteran officer who perceives himself as a social outcast because he doesn't participate in the men's extracurricular sexual activities and prefers to go home to his wife explains,

We didn't really socialize with any policemen. There was only one police couple we enjoyed going out with. . . . I remember the first year on the job, they invited. . . squad this, squad that, squad New Year's Eve Party and my wife said, "O.K. Joe if that's the thing to do we'll do it." And we went and it was the worst time I ever had in my life. . . . It was like a High School Dance. All the girls got in the corner and talked about how they hated the job. And all the guys got in another corner and got so drunk that they couldn't stand up. And the whole game was who could curse the most in front of the women and get away with it and be cool. And the coolest guy was always a guy named John Smith because he would always be the drunkest and do something gross, streak across the room or break a wall. And, so we hated that. It wasn't fun. And we would go periodically to a picnic and we would show up out of professional courtesy and I hated it. It was gross because the whole idea of the squad thing was who could be the grossest.

After leaving the district for several years a female officer returned to the squad to celebrate a retirement party of a popular oldtimer. Although the event involved no sexual entertainment and therefore was appropriate for wives as well as female officers, she still perceived the party as a distasteful manifestation of the policeman's informal world. "It was the Pits. Seeing the same old slob. Acting like slob."

Although most policemen perceive the professional hooker as a nonfeminine woman of low status, she retains more respect than the average stationhouse groupie. Although the policeman doesn't usually pay the hooker cash for sex, he does exchange a favor. In contrast to the groupie who "does it for free," the hooker "does it" for protection. The Crimes Commission Report discusses a typical example.

Aside from money, the police corruption in the area of prostitution found by the Commission was the free use of a prostitute in return for not raiding a bar or arresting a prostitute. The best documented source of corruption of this sort comes from the Chanticleer Bar which operated from 1962-1967. Irvin Goltzer stated that many times policemen would require one of the bar prostitutes to service them either in the office or basement of the club. Among those mentioned who used these services were Policeman Albert G (#4042); Michael B (#2459); Joseph T (#3566); Al S (retired); Inspector Charles L (payroll #14588). Edith Taylor stated that several times a week Vivian Ashton or Mrs. Taylor, both prostitutes who operated out of the Chanticleer, were required to take care of police officers. Periodically, sexual relations with officers took place in a police car. Mrs. Taylor testified before the Commission about these services:
 . . .

Marge Wilson also told Mr. Goltzer that police officers had their choice of sexual companionship with the girls who were willing. There was a room on the second floor where the officer could take the girl to engage in a variety of sexual acts. The girls would accompany the officer if asked by one of the owners, and these services were considered part of the protection cost. According to a Philadelphia policeman, free food and drink were also available to the officers at the Opal room. (Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 1974:222-5)

Thus, while groupie and hooker are both low status, whore-like women who inhabit the informal world of the street, only the groupie is perceived as a sucker who the policeman completely controls and degrades.

Although not every policeman must partake in every kind of illicit sexual activity available on the job, it is considered normal to participate in orgies with stationhouse groupies or receive oral sex from the professional prostitute. A cop who has never had a blow job by the river is considered somewhat unusual. The cop who has neither

had a mistress nor a one night stand is considered something less than a man or a real cop. One officer who did not engage in easy sex with his colleagues discusses his status as only "half a cop."

Exactly, I was half a cop. I didn't fit. Good cops play hard and work hard. When it's time to work they respond like crazy. They do a fantastic job. Anytime an emergency call comes over the radio, there is not a cop in that district, even John Doe the bagman who won't respond because you're getting paid and you come on to be a real policeman that chases over rooftops and rescues victims and gets rapists and everybody responds . . . But when you don't get those emergency jobs, then it's time to play hard. You go get Jill and Josie, you go get your payoffs and you go get your six pack of beer and you go down to the piers and in our case the River, and you party like hell until a real job comes along again and then you all go race to the real job.

In his novel, The Choirboys, Wambaugh also explores the routine nature of easy sex among ordinary policemen. In particular, police sex parties are discussed in relation to the occupational hazards of policework. Following police incidents in which a "choirboy" experiences fear, helplessness, or loss of control, the men gather together to enjoy a restful night of rest and relaxation with wine and women by the pond in MacArthur Park. After their scandalous activity is brought to public attention following an accidental shooting of a local homosexual, a conversation takes place between their Sergeant and a superior officer.

Nick Yanov (the Sergeant) stared at the sleeping ducks in the peaceful pond and said, "They were just policemen. Rather ordinary guys, I thought. Maybe a little lonelier than some. Maybe they banded together when they were especially lonely. Or scared. (Wambaugh, 1975:382)

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. Some of the factors which effect the status and/or desirability of these women parallel distinctions made by William Foote Whyte in his article "The Slum Sex Code" (Whyte, 1967).

2. The account of the informal sex life of cops described in Wambaugh's novel The Choirboys (1975) is not an inaccurate portrayal. One policeman explained, "If you think the Choirboys was bad, you should have seen the North Division 11."

CHAPTER VII

ROUTINE LYING: HANDLING THE CONTRADICTIONS
BETWEEN FORMAL AND INFORMAL DOMAINS

In the preceding chapters, I have shown that the informal world of the street cop contradicts the formal world of the courtroom and the Academy. While the recruit learns to use legal force at the Academy, the veteran officer employs legal, normal and sometimes brutal violence in response to the situational exigencies and informal rules of the street. At the Academy, the recruit receives moral lectures regarding the illegality of corruption and is warned that if he accepts even minor gratuities he risks departmental censure and possibly criminal prosecution. When he leaves the Academy, the rookie discovers that all policemen take minor perks such as free meals, discounts on dry cleaning and groceries and occasionally a free "blow job" from a local prostitute. Other officers please the public by taking clean money and ignoring traffic violations for a price less than the cost of the ticket. The public gladly gives him a tip for his extra consideration while performing routine tasks such as guard and escort services. Other officers steal from open properties when the owner has insurance or receive organized payoffs from after hours clubs so they can remain open for business until dawn. At the Academy, the recruit learns that all money he earns outside his paycheck is dirty money. On the street he learns that passive payoffs approved by the public and active money

expropriated without loss to the victim are clean money because it doesn't hurt anybody (see Matza, 1964:69-100). The only truly dirty money involves the cash a policeman makes to let narcotics run. Premeditated burglaries of private homes and similar proactive crimes with victims also violate the boundaries of clean money and earn the offender a dirty reputation among his peers. In addition to major violations of the law, most policemen routinely violate some departmental rules which govern their personal conduct while on or off duty. In response to the anger, depression, alienation, guilt, cynicism, paranoia, fear, anxiety and boredom that the job engenders among the normal, many officers wear unauthorized clothing, drink alcoholic beverages, sleep on the midnight shift, loaf, party and have sex with groupies, girlfriends or prostitutes while on duty. Off duty, other officers engage in extramarital affairs, join the district's Choir-practice, drink excessively in public, smoke marijuana and engage in the violations of departmental etiquette and state and federal statutes which are common among members of the "noncriminal" public at large.

Given the contradictions between the formal world of the Academy and the informal world of the street, the police must devise ways to bridge the gap in order to perform their job and protect themselves against legal and departmental charges. Lying provides one means to bridge the contradictions between the two worlds (see Buchner, 1978, for a similar discussion of the function of lying).¹ Lying on official reports, to official representatives, to the public and in legal testimony all provide a way to make legally rational a past course of action which occurred in the context of situational

demands and informal pressures unrecognized by law.

Routine lies are here defined as the policeman's constructions for the legal world of a series of events which took place within everyday reality. Lying which occurs within a legal framework is in most cases illegal. The officer who lies in court while under oath, for example, is committing the crime of perjury. A lie on an official report is also illegal because the officer constructing the report is acting under oath. The falsification of documents, however, is generally perceived as a less severe offense than perjury in a courtroom setting. In contrast to lying on official documents or in court, an informal lie told to a colleague or superior officer in an everyday setting is technically not a crime. In spite of the peculiar legal ramifications, I am treating both formal and informal lies as similar phenomena because they are usually invented for the same purpose and involve a similar process of transformation of everyday experience to legal reality. Thus in all three contexts the lying involves an invocation of formal rules and law to justify a past course of action which occurred in the context of situational exigencies and informal demands.²

There are two kinds of routine lies told to colleagues, to the court or written in reports. One is the "case story" and the other is the "cover story." A case story is defined as a lie an officer tells in order to construct a legal case to facilitate the prosecution and conviction of a suspect. A case story is therefore perceived as an aspect of the officer's peace keeping or law enforcement functions. A "cover story" is defined as a lie an officer constructs in order to protect himself against accusations of legal or departmental misconduct.

The cover story is therefore constructed to secure the officer's personal safety rather than to fight crime or maintain the peace. Where the cover story is conceived as an unfortunate but necessary consequence of doing real policework, the case story is perceived as a normal part of an officer's job.

In some situations the cover story and the case story may overlap and be indistinguishable. For example, if an officer reorganizes the chronology of events to create probable cause for an arrest, search or seizure of evidence in the absence of probable cause, he is both covering himself against accusations of false arrest or illegal search and seizure and also constructing a legal case which will hold up in court. In most cases, however, the officer who illegally arrests and searches a "known criminal" in possession of contraband who has no political power or economic recourse will rarely be sued for false arrest. Instead, the illegally obtained evidence may be thrown out in a pretrial hearing or the District Attorney may decide to drop charges altogether. The lie the officer tells regarding probable cause is therefore constructed largely to facilitate law enforcement activities rather than for self protection.³

Although incidents involving a cover story may facilitate convictions, the motive of self protection generally dominates the officer's decision to construct the story. Thus, the officer who claims that a suspect resisted arrest and assaulted him after the officer used illegal normal violence consciously lodges the cover charges in addition to the legitimate one. Although the suspect may receive a more severe sentence because he allegedly resisted arrest, the purpose

of the charge is usually to protect the officer himself rather than satisfy revenge or gain a conviction. Similarly, the officer who plants a "throw away piece" on a dead suspect to justify the use of deadly force is concerned with self protection rather than the conviction of a dead man.

In summary, although the case story and the cover story may occasionally overlap the officer usually knows when he is constructing a case story and when he invents a cover story. If the story is skillfully constructed, however, the public may not distinguish the nature of the statement and the courts will be unable to prove if the officer is lying or telling a version of the truth.

Case Stories I: Probable Cause

A case story is defined as a lie an officer tells in order to construct a superior legal case to justify an arrest or facilitate the prosecution and conviction of a suspect.⁴ The most common form of case lying involves the construction of probable cause for arrest, search and seizure in situations where probable cause was weak or absent. Probable cause can be constructed from a series of facts which the officer actually recalls. He may reorganize the chronology of events, use "facts" after the incident which he did not consider during the initial interaction. The officer may also actively create facts which did not occur.⁵ Buchner explains,

In some cases the press of the immediate situation makes it imperative for the officer to act at once, in the absence of "reasonable cause" that would pass a common-sense test. If his actions result in

evidence of criminality he can then "back up" and figure out the way to proceed which will make his evidence admissable. If no such way exists, he may retroject into the situation the necessary elements to support the common-sense typification of criminality. Since the officer is linguistically objectifying his own subjective reality, there are many ways in which he can stretch it in the light of his present knowledge. He can find what would have constituted reasonable cause had he thought of it at the time. He can testify to things he did not see which were there. He can anticipate the court's review and put in his initial report items which would have given him reasonable cause had they happened. Finally and without much danger, he can simply perjure himself. Very few of his fellow officers will testify against him and no one else is likely to be able to. (Buchner, 1978:321-2)

Similarly, Sacks discusses how the policeman may construct probable cause to make legally rational an arrest and search that occurred in view of the officer's informal method of perceiving incongruity and sorting suspicious persons from the "normals."

While the police would like their special skills in observation to constitute grounds of a recognition of their professional status, and their professional status to then operate as a preliminary warrant of their observations, the fact that the warrant of their observations is decoded by a test of reasonableness for an ordinary man is not only irking but also places them in a severe bind.

Apart from the fact they then tend to see the courts as hindering them in their work and in their search for professional status, they feel required to adopt a series of unpleasant adaptations.

1. The method of recognition and the method of presentation may become separate issues. The policeman may feel himself forced to "rationally reconstruct" what happened.

He would state that he saw defendant come down the street, knew him as a long time police game

operator, stopped him, searched him, found policy tickets and brought him in. The prosecutor would advise he had no case as the search was not legal, and unless the search was made pursuant to a lawful arrest, the evidence was inadmissible. The officer would then say, "put me on the stand." He would testify he was standing under a street light when the defendant came by, a man known to him to have previously been convicted of policy violation, and that he saw his policy ticket sticking out of the defendant's coat pocket. . . Thereupon he arrested him, searched him and found a number of such tickets and brought this prosecution. (Sacks, 1972:388-99)

A Metro City policeman provides an example of a typical case story in which probable cause is invented in order to justify an arrest and obtain a conviction.

Let's take a burglary. How did this happen. Well it's three o'clock in the morning, not a soul on the street. And you get a call of a burglary in progress. So I go to the factory. It's at 2900 Madison Street. I go to the factory. And indeed, I find an open property. In that you see that the door had been forced open at the back of the factory. And all they said was burglary in progress. They didn't say that they saw some kid by the door you better send a cop. We really had no description of who may or may not have gotten in the factory. So I arrive at the scene, and I say, I know. I do have an open property. And I'm going in to search it. And I'm looking around and I hear noise. Then I hear glass break. And I run to the window and obviously something just jumped out the window and is running and I hear skirmishing. So I run and I still don't see anyone yet. I just hear something. I still haven't seen anyone. You hear a window, you see a window and you hear foot steps running. Then you don't hear it anymore. I don't find anybody. So I say whoever it is is around here somewhere. So fifteen minutes go by, twenty minutes go by. The job resumes. One cop stays in the front and about a half an hour or forty-five minutes later, low and behold, I see someone walking half a block away coming out of a field. Now the field is on the other side of the factory. It's the same field that I chased this

noise into. So a half hour later I see this guy at quarter to four in the morning just happened to be walking out of this field. So I grab him. "Who are you? What are you doing?" Bla bla bla And I see that he has flour on him, like white flour which is what's inside of this factory. So I say to myself you're under arrest for burglary. Well, I really, at this point it was iffy if I had probable cause or not. . . .a very liberal judge would say that that was enough. . .but probably not because the courts are so jammed that that would be enough to have it thrown out. So in order to make it stick what I said was that as I went to the factory and I noticed the door open and I entered the factory to search to see if there was anybody inside. Inside by the other side of the wall I see a young black male approximately twenty two years old wearing a blue shirt and khaki pants jump out of the window and I chase him and I lost him in the bushes. An hour later I saw this very same black male walking out of the field and I arrested him. He was the same one I saw inside. O.K.?. . .

What I did was constructed a probable cause that would definitely stick in court and I knew he was guilty. So in order to make an arrest stick, that's the kind of lies that happen all the time. I would defend that.

. . . .planting goes along with narcotics arrests, and planting will go along if an officer makes a mistake and injured the other guy. Now that I won't do. To me that is where I make my cut off. . .

Case Stories II: Beyond Probable Cause

The construction of legally rational case stories may go beyond the simple introduction of probable cause. Like lawyers, the officer may combine legal "facts," observed "facts," and invented "facts" to form an elaborate but coherent legal picture which may help to solve a crime, clear a case or convict a criminal.

Joseph Wambaugh provides a humorous example of rational

case story construction in his latest novel, The Glitterdome (Wambaugh, 1981:42-50). The Captain of a Hollywood Precinct is under extreme pressure to solve the apparent homicide of a man who is powerful and famous in "the Business" (movie industry). He takes two detectives off the case after they have had no success and reassigns two other men who have a "reputation" for "clearing" "Difficult" cases because of their "nimble and inventive ways." Wambaugh describes several "homocides" they cleared by establishing that the homicides were actually suicides. In Wambaugh's discussion of the officer's method of constructing suicides it becomes apparent that "nimble inventive ways" refer to their skill at transforming the meaning of "facts" to "clear" cases in order to reduce the pressure on the Captain. Wambaugh explains,

What the tape (the officer's made proving that the alleged homicide was really a suicide) didn't show was the 231 times the shell was ejected and didn't land in an upright position. Had anyone checked closely, they would have found gaps in those videotapes ten times bigger than any attributed to former President Nixon. Al Mackety and Martin Welborn decided privately that the odds, therefore, were 231 to 1 that the pimp blew his own brains out. That was close enough. Certainly better odds than Plato Jones ever gave. The Deputy Chief was happy. Captain Woofer was thrilled. The City Councilman was ecstatic. The case was cleared. (Wambaugh, 1981:45)

Thus, the Captain wants the men to use their imaginations to clear the movie case for the benefit of the public. The law, justice and the "truth" are largely irrelevant. The Captain tells the detectives,

Nobody's asking anybody to solve anything. I just like the way you two seem to clear every homicide that might make me more. . ." He sighed and didn't finish. . . .

So they didn't have to solve the crime, only clear it? Al Mackey and Martin Welborn looked at each other again.

"Captain," Al Mackety began, "this is a bit different, it would be pretty hard to suggest he committed suicide, what with two .38 caliber bullets in his face and no gun found."

"You two resourceful boys handled that death two years ago where the coke dealer killed himself with the hatchet, didn't you?" Captain Woofer looked at them craftily, "you haven't lost your nimble inventive ways, have you? . . ." (Ibid., 1981:42)

In spite of the Captain's encouragement, the detectives do have a problem because the "facts" of this homicide do not easily lend themselves to "suicide."

Square one was not necessarily the scene of the crime. Square one was where the body was found. If they were going to clear this one for Captain Woofer, the crime scene might have to be The Goddam French Riviera, Al Mackey said. It was going to take more than their nimble inventive ways to clear this killing. They might actually have to solve this one. (Ibid., 1981:51)

Consequently, the detectives are forced to try and solve the case and not simply "clear it" in order to relieve the Captain of his political troubles. Wambaugh goes on to describe the investigation. As everyone lies to the police, the police must devise some means to sort out the lies and establish legally rational facts. The means they employ involve both legal and illegal deception. Ultimately one of the detectives does discover the identity of the murderer but prefers to invent a "story" rather than convict a man for actions which he views as morally justifiable.

Case Stories III: Manipulation of the Court
as an Informal Entity in Case Construction

Not only is the officer concerned with the production of an objective, legal rationality in case construction but he also may address himself to the informal and subjective world of the major courtroom actors.⁶ While most case stories are constructed to bridge the gap between the street and the Academy, other lies appeal to the courtroom itself as an informal entity. For example, the officer might consider the taken for granted moral and social subjectivity of the judge or jury when he lies in court to gain a conviction of a defendant. One officer for example, describes several case stories which not only create probable cause for legal purposes but also appeal to the subjective side of the courtroom.

In the following case a specialized unit is created as a result of community pressure for the purpose of arresting "troublesome" juveniles for disorderly conduct. The success of the unit depends not only on the amount of arrests but also the number of convictions. The unit is considered a desirable assignment because the men work steady hours from 7 p.m. to 2 a.m. and because they make a lot of overtime pay in court proceedings. Consequently those officers who want to maintain their position in the unit are under pressure to make arrests and gain convictions. The officer explains,

The juvenile unit is a new unit which recently was arranged as a result of community pressure. The community got together and requested that the police department do something about the juveniles who hung out on the corners, made a lot of noise and disturbed everyone

in the neighborhood. The community arranged a meeting with the Captain of the District and submitted a petition. Some of the parents of the kids themselves signed this petition. So as a result, the department formed a special unit to handle the kids. We each got a problem corner where we had to lock up the kids.

Now, the thing about the unit is this: It's success is geared not only to the number of arrests made but also to the number of convictions. Even though it's just a summary offense, (the department) they are interested in how many kids will be found guilty.

. . .When there's any amount of kids over five there is noise but it's not really being unruly even though the community complains that they are drunk and noisy. Anyway, you get there, you see five kids and there's noise. But they're not really being unruly. It's not really criminal but you gotta lock them up particularly if someone had called and complained. So you lock them up for disorderly conduct and you tell your story. If they plead, not guilty, then you have to actually tell a story.

. . .It's almost like a game. The kids know that they can plead guilty and get a \$12.50 fine or a harder judge will give them a \$30.50 fine or they can plead not guilty and have the officer tell their story of what occurred which lead to the arrest.

. . .The game is who manipulates better. They (the kids) know the judges. The kids'll come dressed differently or with their parents cause they know that this is a good ploy to get over on the judge.

. . .the game is who manipulates better, the kid or the cop. The one who lies better wins.

Well the kids are really cocky. I had arrested this group of kids and when we went to court the defense attorney for the kids was arguing that all of the kids who I claimed were there the first time that I warned them to get offa the corner weren't there at all. Now, you don't really have to warn them to get offa the corner before you arrest them but the Judge likes it if

you warn them once. Anyway, the attorney is trying to prove that they weren't all there the first time that I warned them.

Meanwhile, one of the kids is laughing in the courtroom and the judge asks why he's laughing. Obviously she's offended that he's laughing in her courtroom and showing disrespect.

At this point the kid's attorney asks me what the kid was wearing when I arrested him. I couldn't remember exactly what he had on so I just gave the standard uniform; dungarees, shirt, sneakers. . . .Then the defense attorney turns around and asks the kid what he was wearing and he gives this description of white pants with a white sports jacket. Now you just know the kid is lying because there ain't a kid in that neighborhood who dresses like that. But, anyway, I figure they got me on this one.

But then I signal the District Attorney to ask me how I remembered this kid outta the whole bunch who was on the corner. So the defense attorney asks me "Officer, what was it that made you remember this male the first time?" And I said, "Well, your honor, I remembered this one here because the first time that I warned the group to get offa the corner, this male was the one that laughed the hardest." I knew this would get the Judge because the kid had pissed her off in the first place by laughing in the courtroom. Well the judge's eyes lit up like she knew what I was talking about.

"Found guilty. . .60 dollars."

In this case, the officer believes the kid is guilty because he hangs out regularly with the juvenile corner group. Although he doesn't recall exactly what the kid was wearing the day he was arrested, he assumes he wore the standard juvenile "uniform" and testifies to that effect. The kid, however, claims he wore a suit. If the officer cannot correctly identify him as the suspect, then the case will be

out in court.

The officer assumes that the kid is lying because the claim is incongruous with what the juveniles "normally wear" in the neighborhood. In order to win the case, the officer then constructs another lie to manipulate the emotions of the judge whose authority was threatened by the kid's disrespectful demeanor in the courtroom. The officer claims that he knows this is the kid who he arrested because he remembers him "laughing the loudest" during the incident. In this case, then the officer won a conviction because he skilfully lied and manipulated the subjective experience of the judge.

Another officer from a similar unit describes a highly "creative" example of case construction to gain the conviction of a juvenile offender.

We arrested a group of kids in a park right across from the hospital. They all know us and we know them. So they are getting as good as we are at knowing which stories go over better on the judge. So the kids in this instance plead not guilty which is a real slap in the face because you know that they are going to come up with a story that you are going to have to top.

So the kids' story was that they were just sitting in the park and waiting for someone and that they were only having a conversation. So now it's the police officer's turn to testify and his testimony was this: The kids were making so much noise, the kids were so loud, . . . They had this enormous radio blasting and the people in the hospital were so disturbed that they were just hanging outta the windows. And some nuns, some of the nuns that work in the hospital, they were coming outside because it was so loud. And the thing that appalled the officer most was that this was going on right in front of the entrance to the hospital. The kids were acting in such a manner that the officer immediately arrested them without even a warning.

...

Well, the kid, when he hears this, likely drops dead. He kept saying "what radio, what radio?" The funny part of it was that the other police officers who were in the back of the courtroom watching the cop testify kept rolling their eyes at him. First of all because when he said that the people were hanging outta the hospital windows, the wondows in that hospital don't open. They're sealed. Another thing was that the cop said this occurred at the entrance of the hospital. Two years ago this was the entrance to the hospital. But it's not the entrance now. Another thing was that there never was a radio. But when the officer testified regarding the radio, he got confused. He actually did think there was one but in fact, the radio blasting was from another job. The cop realized after he testified that the kid didn't have a radio blasting.

In his testimony, the officer claims that the kids not only disturbed the patients but also the nuns. The kids therefore disregarded the privacy of the sick and vulnerable and displayed little respect for the church. As in the preceding case, the conviction has less to do with the kids' legal conduct than with their moral behavior. The officer constructed a story which successfully manipulated the judges subjective sense of proper moral behavior in the face of the sick and the holy. By skillfully lying about the behavior of the nuns and the patients as well as the extent of the noise, the officer won a conviction.⁷

Case Story Construction: Clean and Dirty Lying

I have defined a case story as a lie an officer tells in order to construct a superior legal case to justify an arrest or facilitate the prosecution and conviction of a suspect. The most common forms of

case story construction involve the creation of probable cause for arrest, search and seizure in situations where an illegal action was taken. In addition, I suggested that policemen routinely lie in order to manipulate the informal "subjectivity" of major courtroom actors to facilitate convictions.

Police no more lie indiscriminately than they use violence irrationally. Just as policemen distinguish between normal and brutal violence, they construct categories of clean and dirty lying. Clean lies are the stories that any rational man would tell given a particular set of circumstances. Dirty lies, in contrast, are told in the absence of appropriate situational provocation and formal necessity. They therefore mark the culprit as a moral degenerate who constructs stories in the absence of necessary cause.

Like the classification of lying in cover stories, the categorization of lying in case stories is based more on the set of events which underlies the lie than on the lie per se. The distinction between clean and dirty lying is based on a number of situational circumstances or 'necessary ingredients.' These include the category of activity for which the suspect is arrested, his assumed guilt or innocence, the organizational and political pressures for the arrest, the officer's motivation for the arrest, the nature of the police action (Does the officer passively arrest someone who is in possession of narcotics which is discovered after an illegal search and seizure or does he actively plant evidence and "frame" a suspect?) and finally, the nature of the lie (Does the officer passively lie by silence or omission or does he actively construct an intricate story to ensure conviction?).

Category of Activity

One major factor which influences the moral nature of an officer's actions and subsequent category of lying involves the kind of activity in which the suspect is engaged. If the individual is arrested for a minor offense such as disorderly conduct while the officer is involved in peace keeping activities, lying is often perceived as a necessary and morally justifiable part of his job.⁸ An officer knows that he must contain skid row drunks within particular areas and keep them from disturbing the peace. As there are few laws which guide an officer in the peace keeping activities which do not easily fall within the Criminal Justice System framework, the officer must invent ways to facilitate his tasks. One solution, of course, is to lock up the drunk when necessary to maintain the peace regardless of whether he has actually committed a criminal violation. The officer later can construct the legal rationale to justify the arrest. Buchner explains,

For example, Drunk Arrest Forms tend to be "over-written." Far fewer drunks actually urinate in their pants than the forms indicate, but when it comes to court who is to say? The drunk can't remember, and the officer has it down in writing. "Over-writing" is common, in my experience when the officer knows in his subjective reality that the offender is guilty but also knows that he cannot prove it in legal reality with evidence legally gathered. (Buchner, 1978:322)

In another situation previously discussed in the section on case lying, the officers lie in court in order to facilitate the convictions of juveniles arrested for disorderly conduct. Here the officers are also involved in the arrest of suspects known to be guilty

at one time or another for minor offenses associated with keeping the peace. Given the additional organizational pressure to make the arrests, the lying in court to justify the police action and facilitate convictions is perceived as a form of "clean lying" necessary in the performance of good policework.⁹

Police officers also view lying in certain kinds of criminal cases as clean if the suspect is perceived as guilty. Officers involved in the arrest of persons for "victimless crimes," such as narcotics and prostitution, for example, are often placed in situations where legal action is difficult. In prostitution cases there are complainants willing to testify against the suspects. In addition the street hooker is highly skilled at manipulating the public seduction of the John so as to avoid legal detection by the police. Consequently the officers tend to make illegal arrests in order to produce the informal quota the department demands. They then justify the action on paper and, if necessary, lie in court. As long as the officer arrests a person he knows is a prostitute, or who has displayed patterns of public behavior characteristic of the prostitute-John interaction, his lie is legitimate regardless of whether she is actively working at the time of the arrest.

Similarly, Rubinstein points out the difficulties a uniform officer encounters when he tries to make a drug arrest and the necessary lying which follows in order to justify the action in court.

The patrolman is dependent upon the people he polices for his knowledge of their habits and manners. He knows what they allow him to see on the streets and in places where his presence is requested. They tell him things indirectly through the radio dispatcher. But the actions they conceal from him can be learned about only

by deception or compulsion. Most gambling activity is carried on discreetly. A patrolman may know there is gambling in his area without ever having seen any. Number writers are alert to his presence and the sight of his well-marked car and self gives ample warning of his approach. The young officer may make a vice pinch with some luck or by telling a lie to provide a legal basis for some evidence he has acquired. He may catch a few men involved in a dice game in an alley, and he can charge that one of them is "cutting" the game, taking a percentage, which makes it a crime rather than a social affair. Even when gambling operations were officially protected, number writers and bookies who were usually persons well established in their neighborhoods, did not flaunt themselves publicly. Today few gamblers take action from people they do not know. This makes it almost impossible for the honest patrolman to see gambling transactions, and if he does not see anything, he has no right to stop and search someone for evidence. (Rubinstein, 1973:380)

. . .The inhibitions most policemen have about using any of these practices is weakened by what they see their colleagues doing when they make a 'legitimate' narcotics arrest. How can a uniform man actually witness a drug transaction? He sees many pushers on the corners, he knows them by sight, but few actually carry drugs on them. These are kept concealed nearby, and when a sale has been arranged, the buyer collects his drugs at another place. The patrolman cannot follow people around. Even if he were able to, it would require his ignoring the demands for service and the emergency calls he receives from the dispatcher. He may stop the pusher on the street and illegally search him. If he finds anything, the patrolman may decline to make an arrest because he does not want to lie in court, preferring to exploit the moment to get information from the man or to swell his supply of drugs. But there are men who have no inhibitions. Everyone in court, from the policeman to the judge, knows that most drug arrests are illegal. Every time a policeman tells of a flying bag, the police description of a technique used to support court testimony, his words are greeted with open skepticism, but there are no grounds for a judge to presume that the man is lying. Often defendants do throw heroin to the ground upon the approach of a policeman in the mistaken belief that if the contraband is not on their person,

it is not legally their goods, but many patrolmen use this claim to cover the planting of evidence or illegally seized contraband. If the officer is determined to make his arrest stick, he really has little choice but to tell a lie. (Rubinstein, 1973:392)

The same kind of lying takes place when officers make vice arrests based on warrants. Rubinstein quotes a conversation between several patrolmen regarding the construction of probable cause in an illegal warrant which clarifies the social legitimacy and routine nature of this form of "clean lying."

"You gotta put in there that he gave you information before, Hal, or the judge won't go for it," a corporal said. "Aw, fuck it, this is good information. The guy who give it to me is a number writer, he should know." "Listen, you just put in there that the information you got was given to the special squads and they made all the pinches," a patrolman said to his partner. "Not me, I ain't committin' perjury. I never made a vice pinch before. You do it if you're such a big man." "Shit. You think you're any better than anyone else. Everyone perjures himself in vice--the cops, the courts, and the defendants. Go on." "All right, but you better tell me just what to say." (Rubinstein, 1973:388) (my underlinings)

There are also certain categories of "real crimes" with victims which merit "clean lies" which involve no stigmatization of the officer. These crimes are perceived as so morally degenerate that almost any means are justifiable to ensure the conviction of the defendant. The categories of crime which merit "clean lying" are the same ones which provoke abstract normal violence. They include the cop killers, child molesters, rapists or real women, muggers of old ladies and other innocent victims. On the other hand, an officer who

lies to convict a criminal involved in more "reputable" crimes such as professional burglary or white collar crime is generally perceived as somewhat dirty himself.

In every category of crime in which lying is perceived as a legitimate means to rationalize an arrest and gain a conviction, it is essential that the officer believe that the suspect is guilty. Although he may not be guilty of the specific crime for which he is arrested, he must be generally guilty of that crime at one time or another if the lie is perceived as morally clean.

Officer Attitude

A major factor which determines the distinction between clean and dirty lying involves the degree of political and organizational pressure placed on the officer to arrest and convict a defendant. If the officer must produce activity in order to gain favors from superiors, maintain a position in a desired squad, district or unit, he must invent a means to fulfil the "quota" of arrests or convictions. "Creating an arrest" becomes a career requirement for many ambitious police officers: the greater the organizational pressure for activity the more likely is lying perceived as a "clean" tool of the law enforcement and litigation. If there is intense organizational pressure to make arrests for categories of offenses which are legally ambiguous, lying becomes a routine, everyday activity of any rational man. In the incidents involving the construction of juvenile case stories, for example, the community petitions the Captain of the District to stop local juveniles from "hanging" in the neighborhood and "disturbing the

peace." The Captain then creates a special unit to handle the problem. As the officers' performance is measured by the rate of conviction and number of arrests rather than the quality or legality of the action, lying becomes routine means to win convictions in order to stay in the unit. Similarly Rubinstein discusses vice arrests and routine lying in relation to organizational pressure for "activity" in the Philadelphia police department.

The District policeman is well aware of the department's official policy toward vice, but he also knows that its purpose certainly is not the eradication of gambling or illegal drinking. All vice activity is computed on the basis of arrests, a policy that is not designed to encourage men to make quality arrests. It also encourages an indifference to the method by which the arrests are made, although if policemen arrested only known gamblers, they would still have to violate the law to do it. At times in many cities "bad arrests" were encouraged for the purpose of getting cases dismissed. Policemen also make deals with defendants to give "bad testimony" in court to assure their acquittal or the dismissal of charges, although this is more a matter of personal initiative than any kind of policy. (Rubinstein, 1973:378)

An experienced vice man cannot possibly retain any respect for the rigid standards of law and evidence which, presumably, the society has an obligation to maintain. He has committed perjury so often and routinely that he sees the courtroom as just another element in a giant charade. There are many policemen who despise this state of affairs, but there is no alternative available to the policeman who wishes to continue in his job. He can simply refuse to get any vice, but if he wants to advance in his platoon, he must make vice arrests and this requires him to lie. He cannot tell the truth because the costs of doing so are grave personally and have no effect on the continuation of the system. (Rubinstein, 1973:393) (See also Rubinstein, 1973:381, 386-8; Pennsylvania Crimes Commission Report, 1974:374)

Along with the assumed guilt of the suspect, the organizational pressures for arrest and conviction and the category of criminal activity involved, a fourth factor which influences the distinction between clean and dirty lying revolves around the officer's motives for his action and subsequent lie. If the officer's motives are "pure," his lie is legitimate. If his motives are "corrupt," the lie is also corrupt. An officer whose motive is pure lies in the interests of law enforcement and peace keeping. He therefore acts "to benefit" the organization, local political groups or the society as a whole. An officer whose motives are corrupt lies in order to maximize his own advantage at the expense of the organization, his colleagues or society at large. Obviously, pure and corrupt motives may overlap: Arrests may benefit the organization and local political groups at the same time that they help the officer who gains favors for producing the desired quota of activity. However, there is no organizational and political pressure for activity and an alternative means of career advancement is provided, fewer officers would lie to cover illegal arrests. Those who continue to illegally arrest persons for offenses unrelated to categories of morally decrepit crimes would be perceived as "greedy men" who are morally depraved themselves. Rubinstein explains,

Many of the illegal things that policemen do are not designed to generate payoffs for them but to meet obligations established by the department. If the patrolman were freed from having to make vice arrests, only the corrupt, the money hungry, would continue to do the illegal things so many policemen do. There are no legal ways to enforce the drug law on the streets, so any pressure on the police to make more drug arrests is an open encouragement to them to lie and violate their pledge to uphold the constitution. (Rubinstein, 1973:377)

The Nature of Police Action: Passive versus Active

The nature of the police action surrounding an illegal arrest also helps determine the category of the case story. In general, the more "passive" the officer's action, the less tainted is the lie. The more "active" his action the more likely is the case story perceived as dirty. For example, an officer who discovers a large amount of drugs on the person of a known dealer as a result of an illegal search may testify in court that he saw the suspect with some narcotics and then searched his person and seized additional drugs. In this case, the lie is clean because the officer's initial actions were passive. He did not invent new facts or evidence but simply recombined a series of events to make the order of "facts" legally rational. On the other hand, the officer who illegally searches a known drug dealer, discovers no drugs and then plants a bag of his own heroin on the suspect in order to frame him, actively creates new events not originally present. Consequently the case story is contaminated. As frames almost always involve the active creation of "facts," they are always slightly "dirty." Chevigny recognizes the distinction between clean and dirty case stories when he discusses "frames."

Nevertheless we do commonly distinguish between a charge which distorts an incident that actually occurred, in order to cover an abuse, and a frame, in which an incident is alleged that never occurred, or a piece of evidence is manufactured. (Chevigny, 1969:147)

Although framing, defined as the planting of evidence on a suspect which was not originally in the suspect's possession, is by nature a dirty practice, the degree of stigmatization inherent in the

act depends on the presence of other variables discussed. "To frame" a guilty perpetrator who the police see flush his drugs down the toilet just as they open the bathroom door is perceived as less dirty than to frame a person who is an unknown "criminal" with nothing on him at the time of the arrest. Regarding "clean framing" Chevigny explains,

Nevertheless from our experience with police ethics and the evidence that we have about frames, we can conclude that the motive for manufacturing evidence is usually the conviction of someone whom the police believe guilty in fact or in intent. . . .

...most of the complaints about frames that I received, unless they were totally improbable, can be explained in the same way as these cases. For example, one boy who swallowed a bag of heroin when saw the police coming claimed that the police first pistol whipped him to try to make him cough it up. When he would not, they charged him with possessing a different bag of heroin, which they produced. This complaint, if true, is certainly to be explained on the theory that the police thought the defendant was "guilty anyway."
(Chevigny, 1969:150-2)

The dirtiest frame involves framing an innocent victim for personal profit in the absence of organizational pressure to make an arrest. The officer who plants numbers on a recalcitrant bar owner who he knows is not a numbers writer to extort monthly payments to the Division pad is perceived as more corrupt than the officer who frames a guilty suspect in the presence of intense pressure from the Captain and the community to clear a case. The officer who is privately hired to frame an innocent victim is even dirtier than the member of the Division pad because there is no social or political pressure to enact the frame and construct the necessary story. The officer acts purely

for profit. Both Chevigney and Rubinstein recognize the subjective distinction the policeman makes between clean and dirty frames in the following discussions.

There are policemen who are willing to frame anyone they believe cannot resist them or whose protests will not be acknowledged because of their reputation or previous record. There are many more men who hold these colleagues in contempt but are willing, nonetheless to plant evidence on a person whom they regard as guilty. They defend their patently illegal behavior in terms of the need to get activity and the guilt of the suspect. They implicitly argue for the morality of their actions in comparison with the immorality of those who frame the innocent along with the guilty. This pathetic effort to maintain their dignity and honor is something only a policeman can understand. (Rubinstein, 1973: 391)

Surely the most outrageous of police abuses is falsification of evidence by officers for corrupt personal motives, or because there is public outcry to find a culprit in a celebrated crime of violence. This is the classic "frame" of the detective story. There is no question that such frames do occur, though I suspect they happen less often than the "law enforcement" frame we have described in the first part of the chapter. (Chevigney, 1969:152) (my underlinings)

Nature of Police Lie: Passive versus Active

The final factor which influences the categorization of a lie as clean or dirty involves the nature of the lie itself rather than the action which preceeds the lie. A "passive" lie like a passive illegal action is perceived as "cleaner" than the active lie. For example, an officer who lies by omitting facts or suggests that he "doesn't recall" certain information which is damaging to the case which in reality he does recall is "cleaner" than the officer who actively creates facts

which are detrimental to the suspect.

Case Study: The Frame. The following incident involves a situation in which an officer is forced to make a decision regarding a false arrest: Should he obey informal political directives by superiors and "frame" a suspect or make no arrest and suffer the consequences of his disobedience? Although the incident is extreme, it is by no means rare. It clearly brings into relief the factors involved in the policeman's categorization of an illegal arrest and consequent lying in a case story. In addition it provides an instance of decision making in action given the classification of events and the moral dilemma presented. In this case, we have an arrest which is by nature "dirty" because it involves a "frame." However, the frame could be justified because of the intense political and organizational pressure on the officer to make the arrest and construct the story. At the same time, however, the category of person involved is inappropriate: that is, the frame involves a suspect who the officer knows is innocent of the crime. The suspect is also a child who by nature is a "good" category of person regardless of his race or ethnicity. Although the political and organizational pressure may "cleanse" the illegal arrest, the category of suspect sullies the action. To frame an innocent child is an immoral act, particularly from the perspective of an officer who is on the "cleanest" end of the "clean-dirty" continuum in general. Had the suspect been an adult or known juvenile delinquent who the officer assumed was guilty of raping an old lady, then, even he might consent to the "frame." However, in this case the suspect's innocence and the nature of the police action itself sullies the arrest

and the case story. The officer is consequently forced to avoid the frame if he is to save himself from a moral transformation into a dirtier category of police officer.*

The following events take place on the border of two districts, the 42nd and the 43rd. A police officer named Joe works in the 42nd district. A man named John has a butcher shop in the 42nd district. Another man named Frankie has a small appliance shop in the 43rd district directly across the street from Joe's Butcher shop. The Detective Bureau for the whole division is located in the 43rd District.

John the butcher is 'good to cops.' He gives the meat at cost. He is a member of a religious organization to which a Deputy Commissioner and several Captains also belong. John is friendly with them and does special favors for them as well as for the Lieutenant of the 42nd District. John the Butcher is particularly fond of one rookie cop named Joe who often works his sector. John gives Joe his meat for free. Joe is an honest cop who only takes the "cleanest of clean money." He gets free meat from Joe, eggs and milk at cost from the local dairy, a pack of cigarettes a day from the newsstand and free coffee, donuts and "lunches" from local restaurants who like the steady presence of policemen. In contrast to many clean cops, Joe has never intentionally taken a cash "tip" for routine services or a payoff for ignoring a minor traffic violation. He has not even accepted a donation from a motorist who would prefer to pay Joe a "five" than the City "fifty."

Across the street from John's Butcher store is an appliance shop owned by a man named Frankie. Frankie's appliance shop is in the 43rd District. Frankie is a close friend of the Police Commissioner. Frankie's sister is married to a man who owns a drug manufacturing company in the city. He donates a lot of money to the Mayor's political campaign. The Police Commissioner vacations at Frankie's sister's summer home in an elite resort location. Frankie "has a lot of pull" and police officers are frequently

* Names, locations and certain details of events have been changed to protect those involved. However the essential ingredients remain as they were constructed by the officer involved.

called upon to do him special favors. As a result, one police officer referred to the Police Department as "Frankie's private little army."

One day Joe and his partner are working a two man car in Sector A. John's butcher shop is on Sector A. Joe is talking with John when Frankie walks across the street and tells Joe, "Officer, Officer I want you to keep an eye on my store. . . .I think I'm gonna get robbed. This guy just tried to pull a check on me."

Joe tells Frankie, "O.K. I'll watch the store." Joe doesn't think anything really happened to Frankie. He assumes that Frankie is a little jealous and angry that the police are paying more attention to John the Butcher instead of to him. Joe goes into the Butcher shop for a few minutes to talk to John inside. When he comes outside, he hears Frankie screaming, "Stop him, stop him!" Joe responds, "Stop who?" Frankie screams, "Stop the guy walking with the bag." Joe sees a black kid walking away from the store with a bag in his hand. He calls him over. Joe then asks Frankie, "What's going on?" Frankie responds, "Something fishy's up, something fishy's going on." At this point the kid empties the bag in front of the officer without a direct request from Joe. There is nothing but a few personal belongings inside the bag. Joe then searches the kid. He finds nothing on his person. The so-called bad check turns out to be a valid money order which the kid was trying to cash at Frankie's appliance store. Joe asks the kid to come over to the car and proceeds to make out a "ped stop," a routine form which police officers are required to fill out when they stop a person for investigation. Joe comments, "Thank God I made up a good ped stop. . . . I got all the information on the kid."

At this point a "Man with a Gun" comes out over the radio on Sector B. As no one else picks up the job, Joe takes it. The job is unfounded. As Joe leaves the scene of the "Man with a gun", he says to his partner, "We'd better go back and check on Frankie because there might be trouble." They both return to Frankie's appliance store. Joe asks Frankie, "Is everything all right?" Frankie responds, "No it isn't." Joe says, "What's wrong." Frankie responds, "I told you he took something." Joe counters, "That's not good enough, you have to tell me what he took. . . .not that something is fishy and he must have taken something. . . .did you see him take anything? If you didn't see him take anything then I can't lock him up. Do you have anything missing?" Frankie responds, "Three radios."

Joe goes inside the appliance store to see the missing radios. He observes a number of radios on a shelf way above the counter where it would be difficult for anyone to reach them, particularly a kid.

Joe asks Frankie if he wants him to take the report or if he would prefer the regular 43rd District car to take it. Frankie tells him, "You take it!" Joe takes the report and, anticipating trouble from Frankie, calls a 43rd District car to take the report into the detectives immediately.

An hour later, Joe gets a call to go to the precinct to see the Captain. The Captain calls him into his office and begins to interrogate him. The Captain asks "What did you do to Frankie?" Joe responds, "Nothing." The Captain asks again "what did you do to Frankie?" Joe responds, "Nothing," and proceeds to tell the Captain exactly what had occurred at the incident. The Captain asks, "Why didn't you lock the kid up?" Joe responds, "I didn't lock him up because I had no probable cause." The Captain asks, "Did you run him through the computer?" Joe responds, "No, I didn't." The Captain asks, "Why not?" Joe responds, "Because I had legitimate identification." The Captain tells Joe "Well you better get your story together because Frankie's going to put in a complaint to the Comisssoiner and you're going to the Board of Inquiry. You fucked up! Now, tomorrow you're gonna apologize!" Joe responds, "But if I apologize it makes it seem like I did something wrong. I did nothing wrong." The Captain responds, "Don't argue with me, I told you what you're gonna do."

An hour later Joe receives a call from the Division detectives at the 43rd District office. He wants to know the cop's side of the story. Joe tells him what happened. The detective says, "Well, we have to put out a warrant for the kid's arrest." Joe says, "For what?" The detective explains, "Believe me, the only reason this kid is getting locked up is because it's Frankie. . .Have you ever been burnt by Frankie? Do you know who Frankie is?" The detective then tells the cop, "Will you go to court?" Joe responds, "Why should I go to court, I didn't make the arrest." The detective says, "Well, you're the key to the identification of the kid." Joe responds, "O.K. send me to court and I'll make an asshole out of him that he is." The detective responds, "O.K. if I'm not man enough to stand this up in court, then I won't ask you to do it. . . . Let the old bastard do it himself."

Joe is later called back into the District to see the Captain in his office. The Captain tells him that "You're in for it now. . . .the detectives have put out a warrant for the kid's arrest and that makes you look foolish. . . ." The Captain then tells Joe to tell the story again. Joe tells the story again. Finally Joe says, "I didn't lock the kid up because I had no probable cause and to this day, I have no probable cause." The Captain tells him "Well you're going to the Board of Inquiry and there's nothing you can say that will get you out of this one. . . .I hope your partner's a good front man." Joe responds, "My partner don't need to lie. . . ."

Joe now has a "choice" to make. He can agree to apologize to Frankie and testify against the kid in court. He can corroborate Frankie's story by simply identifying the boy or he can actively construct probable cause in order to justify an arrest based on an illegal warrant in the absence of probable cause. Or, Joe can continue to "obstruct justice" and disobey the Captain by refusing to apologize to Frankie or to testify in court against the boy. If he does refuse, he will obviously get "jammed up" by The Commissioner who has received a complaint from Frankie against Joe. It is also possible that Joe can pull some other political strings in order to avoid cooperation and, at the same time, stay out of trouble himself. That depends on who he knows and what favors are owed to him. Obviously, whoever helps him must have "superior pull."

What actually occurs is as follows: The butcher hears of the officer's plight and offers to do what he can. Joe thanks him and tells him that he'll let him know if he needs help. Obviously, if Joe asks John for a favor then he'll be forever indebted. At a future time Joe might have to give John more than extra protection in exchange for free meat. The officer finally goes to his superiors. Although the lieutenant himself is "notorious" for being dirty" he doesn't like Frankie and "will not kiss his ass." Although the Lieutenant has some problems with Joe, Joe does produce enough activity and generally stays out of the Lieutenant's way. They are not close friends but they aren't enemies. Although Joe is not sure how he got out of trouble and who helped him, ultimately, "it died," and he never heard anything more about the incident. Joe suspects, however, that the Lieutenant helped him out of the "jam" because he did tell him about the situation and Joe observed several heated discussions between the Lieutenant and the Captain

that he assumed were about the arrest. Although Joe doesn't know where the lieutenant "gets his power," he knows that "he has a lot of pull."

In conclusion we have the appropriate organizational and political pressures to legitimate an illegal arrest and case story: a person who is politically powerful has virtually ordered an arrest, the Captain has backed him up and warned Joe that if he doesn't cooperate he will be in "big trouble." Under such circumstances, even a clean cop would back down and apologize to Frankie. He would then testify in court regarding the identification of the boy if that was necessary to save his career. However he would avoid total contamination by refusing to actively construct a story even if encouraged to do so. His cooperation would therefore be passive and Frankie would be forced to actively construct the lie. The officer would thereby maintain some degree of "moral integrity" in a "dirty" situation.

Joe, however, is an unusually "clean" officer. To cooperate even passively in this "dirty" an arrest would sully his moral self. Thus he preferred to risk his career rather than become "this dirty." First, the category of suspect and nature of the police action "smelled wrong." There was no heinous crime committed by a guilty degenerate which could justify the frame. Ultimately, Joe took one step further. Not only did he refuse to sully himself by testifying in court against an innocent boy, he even directly agreed to testify for the kid against the department. Joe explained that several weeks after the incident had "died," he saw the boy on the street. At first he didn't recognize him but when the boy began talking he remembered. The boy told Joe that he had been arrested. He said, "I been arrested before but never for nothing I didn't do." The boy then asked the officer if he would help him. The officer asked if he had a Public Defender. He told the boy that when he was assigned a lawyer, the lawyer would see Joe's name on the arrest report. The lawyer could then subpoena him and the officer would indeed testify to the boy's innocence. Although the officer was not subpoenaed and does not know what happened regarding the case, his final interaction with the boy served to cleanse the officer of any residual feelings of moral culpability regarding the incident.

TABLE 4

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE THE CATEGORIZATION
OF CLEAN AND DIRTY LYING

Clean Lying - - - - - Dirty Lying	
1. Category of activity	
a. peacekeeping minor offense	a. peacekeeping major offense
b. real crimes	b. professional criminal-white collar
c. crimes without complainants such as drug dealers, prostitutes where arrests are difficult to make legally	c. crimes with complainants in which legal arrest is easy to make
2. Guilt or innocence of suspect	
a. Officer assumes suspect is guilty	a. Officer assumes suspect is not guilty
3. Officer attitude	
a. passive: organizational and political pressures to make arrest	a. active: officer initiated without organizational or political pressure to make arrest
4. Officer motive	
a. for the interests of law enforcement, peacekeeping and the organization	a. for personal profit
5. Police Action	
a. passive action: the officer lies about evidence which is illegally seized. However it is the property of the suspect	a. active action: officer plants evidence on the suspect
6. Nature of lie	
a. passive lie: by omission or wilence such as "I don't recall"	a. active lie: by addition of creative facts which are not observed at the scene of the incident of concern

The Cover Story

Gibson Hand was sweating, holding the shotgun at Port Arms, waiting until they got it and headed for the door. Then the clerks are safe. Then the gunman's back is to you. Then you "shoot the money" right through the asshole's back. And then you yell: "Stop! Police!" after he's safely dead.

Gibson Hand knew that the cops who yelled first and gave their crazy fuckin selves a chance to get wasted did their work on celluloid, not in real life. (Wambaugh, 1981:68)

The cover story is the second major kind of routine lying which police tell on paper, in court and to colleagues. A cover story is defined as a lie an officer constructs in order to protect himself against accusations of legal or departmental misconduct. In contrast to the case story the cover story is constructed to secure the officer's safety rather than enforce the law or maintain the peace.

Like most case stories, cover stories are constructed in order to bridge the gap between the informal world of the street and the formal work of the courtroom. Given the dominance of normal deception, normal violence and normal corruption in the street world, most police find it necessary to occasionally construct a cover story to protect themselves against accusations of departmental or criminal misconduct.

Investigations can concern minor departmental charges involving conduct unbecoming an officer and neglect of duty or major legal actions regarding false arrest, brutality or homicide. If convicted of a departmental violation or crime by an internal investigating committee or civilian jury, the officer faces punishment ranging from informal reprimand to lost pay or dismissal. He may of course also be sentenced

to prison.

Like legal case stories, most cover stories involve the invocation of formal rules or law to justify a past course of action which occurred as a result of situational exigencies. One police officer relates the following mythological cover story which conforms to the principles cited above.

One day a police officer assigned to a footbeat ventured out of his sector and into another precinct. Apparently he was bored and had business to take care of. Unfortunately, he was caught off post by a high ranking police official who noted the number of his precinct on his collar and began to interrogate him. Politely the officer explained why he was where he was not supposed to be. He said that "I was in pursuit of a low flying airplane." The Chief Inspector looked at him, turned around and left the officer alone.

In this incident, the officer cited a formal written rule and applied it to the circumstances at hand. The formal rule states that an officer may go out of his sector, precinct or even out of state, if he is in pursuit of a person or object suspected of criminal activity. As the officer was way out of his precinct, he needed an appropriate criminal object to justify his distance on foot. A plane was just the object. He therefore invoked the formal rule of "hot pursuit" in relation to an object which behaves in a manner which suited his situation. His unauthorized whereabouts was thereby rationally explained and punishment avoided.

A cover story may involve the manipulation of other "facts" besides the laws or departmental rules. It may, for example, involve the use of taken for granted knowledge regarding a neighborhood or the

actions of people and things. Every officer knows for example that there are "dead spots" in a district. A dead spot is an area in which the radio transmission equipment ceases to function due to technical problems. If radio calls an officer and he doesn't pick up the job, they will usually call him a second time. If he still doesn't respond, another officer will usually take the job in order to "cover for him," or a friendly dispatcher will assign the job to another unit. However, if radio assigns the same job to the same car a third time and the unit doesn't pick up the job, he is subject to accusations of neglect of duty. Consequently the officer must be prepared to rationally account for his temporary unavailability. One means to explain his absence is to claim that he didn't receive the job because he was in a "dead spot."

Another frequent cover story for informal happenings which is sometimes invoked prior to accusations of misconduct, is the "out mechanical" rule. An officer who plans to disappear for a time may pick up the radio and claim to be "out mechanical." The "out mechanical" and the "dead spot" rules are difficult to prove one way or another and consequently provide reasonable means to conceal minor infractions.

The most common cover stories involving criminal matters are constructed to protect the officer against charges of brutality or homicide. Thus, most criminal cover stories serve to bridge the gap between the normal or brutal use of violence which characterizes the informal world of the street and its legal use as defined by the court and the Academy.

A cover story is perceived as a necessary act by a moral man when it protects him against charges of brutality in cases when only

normal illegal violence is employed. The cover story is therefore morally justifiable when it is constructed to protect the officer in the face of normal situational and normal abstract violence. Under these circumstances, the officer usually claims that the offender resisted arrest and/or assaulted the officer. Chevigny explains,

It seemed that there is some sort of folklore or underground standard circulating in the department, according to which charges are drawn to cover abuses. Lying to cover a mistake and the use of a criminal charge to buttress the lie are such a natural development that it would hardly seem necessary to do more than give a patrolman a hint. Charges are so much alike from one case to the next, that I am constrained to believe that something a little more definite than a hint is at work. At some level in the department, something close to this standard has been accepted: When a citizen is injured by a policeman, he must be charged with resisting arrest, together with the underlying crime for which he was arrested. If there was no crime, but rather a personal dispute with a policeman, then the defendant must be charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Other more serious charges become something of a matter of taste. . . . These charges, or all three, together with a story to establish them, constitute the system for covering street abuses. (Chevigny, 1969:143)

Thus, the officer who temporarily loses emotional control and beats a child molester who verbally abuses him after the officer apprehends the suspect following a car pursuit will most likely charge him with resisting arrest and assault on an officer. In this case, the cover story, is not only necessary and rational, but also morally justifiable because the act which requires the story is seen as a normal response by rational men to situational and abstract provocation. On the other hand the officer who constructs a cover story to protect himself against

legal charges in cases of "brutal violence" is perceived somewhat differently by his colleagues. Although the lie is necessary for self defense, the act which precedes the lie is questionable. Consequently, the lie itself takes on the same negative stigma as the brutal act. Although most officers will "cover" for the brutal policeman by publicly claiming ignorance, in private they often feel contempt and sometimes guilt as a result of their necessary collusion and constant contamination. "To rat" on the brutal cop however, is not an alternative because it leaves the "rational" man open to retaliation when he must lie to cover for his own acts of "normal" violence. The more frequently an officer engages in violence, the more likely will colleagues label him brutal. The more brutal the officer, the more lies he will have to construct to bridge the gap between the street and the courtroom. Consequently it is no accident that policemen with "violence prone" reputations are also perceived as "the biggest liars." Wambaugh discusses two such policemen in his novel, The Glitter Dome. Wambaugh explains,

What happened next is anybody's guess. What Gibson Hand said happened is what propelled Buckmore Phipps into song and legend. Though everyone knew that Gibson Hand was an even bigger liar than Buckmore Phipps, and that both of them would tell any lie to be enshrined in cop folklore, the story spread that when Buckmore Phipps saw the legless, bloodless remains of the cheerleader, he turned to the stock boy while baring at least twenty-eight donkey teeth and said, "Hey kid, you like to Boogie?" (Wambaugh, 1981:66)

. . .Then Gibson Hand went over to his second kill and pulled the porky pig mask from the twitching cadaver. When his backup team came running in the store, they found Gibson Hand

holding the mask up beside his face, saying,
Th-th-th-th- that's all, folks.

It was the locker room story of the month. But unfortunately, a news team from the scurrilous television station that Captain Woofers hated happened by while monitoring police calls, and caught Gibson Hand doing a reprise of the Porky Pig impression for a surprised group of detectives. The bastards did an editorial on the eleven o'clock news saying that Gibson Hand's only competitor was Iran's ayatollah Blood who had chortled over the remains of dead Americans. And Gibson Hand had been transferred right back to Hollywood Patrol, in despair, since there couldn't be nearly as many opportunities to kill people and do other good police work. (Ibid., 1981:69)

I Illegal "Good Shootings" and Cover Stories

Cover stories also evolve in situations in which the officer fires his gun when the use of "lethal force" is not legally necessary to prevent great bodily harm or a felony in progress. Such stories are perceived as necessary and morally justifiable when the officer's use of force is the result of a "rational mistake." A rational mistake involves the misinterpretation of a combination of events, objects and gestures that any good cop could make given the same set of circumstances. For example, suppose the policeman employs the "incongruity method" and reads danger cues like a good cop. While observing the suspicious person he sees a weapon in his hand. The suspect moves his hand towards the officer which leads him to believe the suspect plans to kill him. The officer shoots in self defense. He then examines the body and discovers that the man has no weapon. He has misinterpreted a combination of gestures, events and objects and produced a legally questionable shooting.

Consequently the officer must invent a combination of facts which will pass in court to legally justify the use of lethal force. As long as any other rational cop in the same circumstance is likely to interpret the events in the same manner, neither the lie or the original act will have a negative stigma attached. In the following typical "shoot don't shoot" incidents, any officer would be likely to misread events in the same way and use lethal force. It would then be necessary to construct a cover story to account for the "rational" misinterpretation. For example, a complainant informs the officer that there is a man with a gun at the corner of Eight Avenue and 10th Street. The officer arrives at the location and observes an adolescent boy running away. The officer takes out his gun and pursues the suspect on foot. He yells stop police. The suspect keeps running. The officer again yells stop police or I'll shoot. The suspect suddenly stops running and turns around. As he turns the officer sees a black shiny object in the suspect's hand. The officer assumes the object is a gun and shoots the kid. The officer approaches the body and discovers that the gun is nothing but an eyeglass case with a metal clip which glistens in the sunlight. The boy has a nickle bag of grass in his picket and the police officer realizes that the kid only ran because he was afraid the "man" would bust him for a nickle bag. He stopped suddenly and turned around when he heard the officer threaten to shoot him. He forgot he was carrying an eyeglass case and had no idea the officer thaought he had a gun. Meanwhile the complainant has disappeared. The "man with a gun" if he ever existed, has left the scene. The officer has shot an unarmed kid and must face a grand jury investigation for homicide. The production of a cover story

in this incident would be perceived as a rational response by an ordinary man who must bridge the gap between the street and the courtroom if he wants to protect himself.

The following three cases are actual "shoot don't shoot" situations in which the officer almost killed an unarmed suspect. Had the officer actually used lethal force most policemen would agree that the violence was rational. They would also agree that a cover story was not only necessary to legitimate the use of deadly force but also morally justifiable.

Cover Story: The Toy Gun. The following incident provides an example of a case in which a cover story would have been legitimately invented in the event that the officer had used lethal force and killed the suspect.

The call is for a dispute. It's 3 a.m. and we enter the vestibule. There are four kids at the bottom of the stairs. We go up to the third landing. My partner is half a landing ahead of me. As we approach the third landing I look to the left. There is a kid to the left. He's nineteen although I don't know it at the time. I arrested him prior to this for burglary although I didn't know it then. When you get to be my age you're a kid at nineteen. I see to my partner's left just his back. My partner then yells, "JJ, he's got a gun." I drew my revolver and put it through the railing. Right away the kid puts his hands up in the air and yells, "It's a toy, it's a toy." He's no dummy.

But the kid still hasn't faced me. If he would have turned toward my partner with my having heard my partner say he's got a gun even though I saw no gun, I would have shot him in the back. Even though I never saw a gun. If he would have moved his hands toward his body, anywhere but up, I would have shot him, I wouldn't have just fired once. Like I told you before I would have emptied my gun on him. I would have shot him. . .six shots, just to make sure

that he couldn't get what he had on my partner.

Well, it turns out he has a starter pistol. And you have to ask. What is a kid doing at three a.m. with a starter pistol. He's gotta be going to burglarize somebody. I look at the kid and I say, "Where do I know you from?" I recognize this kid from somewhere. Then I realize that this kid, I'd locked him up not long ago for burglary. The other guy who'd been locked up lives below in the same building. So what is he doing at 3 in the morning at this location, probably going to rip somebody off.

I told the kid I should have killed him anyway. I said, "If I shot you right now, just for spite, . . . It's just you, me and my partner and the toy gun. It was a narrow hallway. I couldn't miss. If he'd have moved his hands in any other way but up. I woulda shot him. Even though I never saw a gun. And low and behold if we turn him over and he has nothing. Where am I then?

In the Choirboys Wambaugh also presents an incident in which lethal force is used in a quasi-legal situation. Several police officers are drinking a cup of coffee at a carhop and flirting with the waitresses. Suddenly a sniper fires shots at them. They immediately seek cover and then initiate a pursuit of the perpetrator. Baxter Slade sees a running figure and chases him in the police car. With his gun drawn he then jumps out of the car and continues the chase on foot. When he leaves the car the man suddenly screams and charges Slade. Instinctively Baxter fires a shot which kills the man who turns out to be unarmed. Luckily for Slade the man's fingerprints are on the sniper's rifle which facilitates the construction of a "self defense" story to justify the shooting. Had the prints not been on the rifle and Slade had shot an innocent man, he would have had to construct a more complex cover story or risk losing his job or possibly going to jail.

Four police officers are flirting with some carhops at a drivein

restaurant. Suddenly, some shots are fired at the patrol cars. The policemen immediately go in pursuit of the unseen culprit who has attempted the ambush. One officer recovers a rifle from the ground and the others continue the pursuit.

On St. Andrew's Place, Baxter Slate saw a dark running shadow. He jammed down the accelerator and the next sixty seconds became a fragmented impression as he screeched to a stop beside the running figure and jumped out in the darkness, gun drawn. He was met by a fanatical, screaming charge by what turned out to be a weaponless man, and for once Baxter Slate did not intellectualize. He simply obeyed his instinct and training and emptied his gun at point blank range hitting the man three times out of six, one bullet cracking through the left frontal lobe killing him almost at once. He discovered that unlike choreographed slow motion movies, violence, the real thing, is swift and oblique and incoherent.

The young man's name was Brian Greene, and luckily for Baxter his fingerprints were found on the rifle. He was twenty-two years old. He was white. He had no arrest record. He had no history of mental illness. The Vietnam War was long over and he was not a veteran. He was not a student. He cared nothing about politics. He was a garage mechanic. He had a wife and baby.

"I didn't want to kill him," Baxter Slade said quietly. "I never wanted to kill anybody."
(Wambaugh, 1975:204)

Like the previous incidents, the shooting is rational because any good police officer would have perceived the "facts" in the same way. Although the legality of the shooting is questionable, given the absence of a weapon on the victim, situationally the use of lethal force was necessary and the cover story an unpleasant but moral consequence of the contradiction between the street and Academy.

II Incompetent "Bad Shooting" and Dirty Lies

Although cover stories are always perceived as a rational means to bridge the gap between situational and legal realities, they are not always perceived as morally justifiable. If the illegal act which necessitates the story is based on an unreasonable or stupid mistake then the lie itself takes on the stigma associated with the action. Thus, the lie constructed to cover a "bad shooting" (one that has no legal, moral or cultural legitimacy) is also perceived as unclean. The officer who commits a "bad shooting" and constructs a "dirty lie" is perceived as a poor police officer because the shooting is based on poor policework. He does not read the combination of objects, gestures and events in a manner acceptable to other police. He misreads cues, overreacts or acts without sufficient knowledge. He does not employ the incongruity method and perceive danger like a competent member should. He is unable to attain the proper state of "combat high" which facilitates rational action in the face of perceived danger and emotional confusion.

Police distinguish, however, between "bad shootings" and "Bad Shootings." At one end of the continuum the bad shooting involves a misjudgement or overreaction in which the officer incorrectly perceives himself, a colleague or a civilian in danger of great bodily harm. Instinctively, in the midst of his fear and confusion, he fires his gun. Although the shooting is "bad" because he misjudges the situation and reacts in an inappropriate manner. His motives are "pure" and his mistake is human. He may not be the best police officer but he's not a bad person. The following incident involves a bad shooting

which displays the incompetence but morally understandable mistake.

In one instance it came out as a silent alarm. It was the second time that the job came out as a silent alarm. Supposedly one of the old timers had checked the place and said that the building was secured. Well, the second time it came out a wagon crew got the job. And they went around to check the place. Joe went around one way and Tom stayed out the other way. Then Joe found two guys inside and when he came upon them they started running. So he yelled "T O M M Y" and Tommy thought he (Joe) was hit and when Tommy saw the guy running he fired at him. He drew his pistol and fired. And it was like a hundred and fifty yard thing.

The problem was reading more into something. When he heard his partner yell Tommy, he thought that Joe got hit. He thought that they had hurt him. So he shot. It was a "Bad Shooting" but I never heard anything come of it.

Although the officer describing the incident is not aware of the specific story told to legitimate the event, it is evident that it was good enough to pass legal inspection and avoid trouble for the officer involved. If the story was not good enough, the officer would have "heard something come of it."

III Negligent Bad Shooting

In the station house, Joseph Kossman was breaking for a meal in the first-floor lieutenant's office. Sitting at a desk wedged between four lockers and the wall, he was about to devour his sandwich when someone banged at the door. Kossman looked up and Sergeant Robert Bennet rushed into the room, "We have a shooting."

"What kind?"

"A bad one. Tom Shea shot a suspect who's been taken to Mary Immaculate Hospital." (Hauser, 1980:54)

The middle range "bad shooting" and subsequent lie involves a kind of police action which reflects on the officer's moral character as well as his competence as a patrolman. A truly "bad shooting" involves negligence as well as incompetence. The officer does more than interpret meaning in an ignorant manner or overreact in an emotionally charged situation. He also uses his weapon irresponsibly and without provocation. He abuses his power by responding with lethal force when there is no subjective sense of danger or appropriate criminal target of violence. The officer involved in a negligent bad shooting, for example, might kill a fleeing felon simply to apprehend the villain who defies a police order to halt. The officer sees no weapon and experiences no immediate danger. He may not even be sure that the suspect is guilty of a crime, much less one that merits "normal violence." The following two cases provide examples of this category of bad shooting. In each case cover stories are constructed. Although the cover stories are perceived as necessary, they still reflect the moral stigma of the underlying act. The "dirtier" the shooting, the more guilt the participants experience in lying. However, every officer knows that contamination is unavoidable in case they should ever make a mistake which necessitates the active cooperation or passive silence of a colleague.¹¹

Negligent Bad Shooting: Spider Kid.

In another incident which I was involved in, it (the job) comes out as two males burglarizing the property. There was no open property. They were just going through a car that they had just stolen, and they were stripping it. So actually, what they had was a stolen car but they were thinking it was an open property. What had happened was the neighbors thought that the guys were breaking into

the house because they were so close to the property so they called it in (as a burglary in progress). So the wagon then puts out a pursuit for the guys. And all the wagons and the police cars are all over and they're all chasing these guys.

Then they get into a back yard chasing one kid. The kid starts running up a rain spout like he's a spider man and one of the cops took a shot at him. So now they're all panicky because the kid made it to the roof and he let out a scream and the cops thought that they hit him. And that was a bad shooting! What would you think if you was that kid's mother? Not only did they not have an open property but they don't know if it's a stolen car at all.

Well, when they shot the kid I gave them an excuse by mistake, inadvertently. I was on the other side of the place with my partner when I heard the one shot. I says to my partner, "We gotta get out of here because when them cops start shooting, they'll shoot at anything."

Well, it was one of those properties which are separated and they have a little alley way. This alley way's got a metal iron grate which separates it. Well, me and my partner get there and (another cop named) JJ's on one side of the grate and me and my partner are on the other side. JJ says to me that the gate is chained shut. And I looked and it's got a chain on it. So JJ tells me to see if I can kick the gate and break the chain. So I looked at it and put my foot up and kicked it as hard as I could and Jesus Christ the chain wasn't locked. It was just kind of lapped over it. And JJ is standing right behind the gate and it cracked him on the head. JJ keeps stepping backward like he wanted to cry. . . . like he was in a daze. "It's alright, it's not bleeding." I says to him. . . Like he was stunned.

So then the Sergeant gets to the scene and asks what happened. Cause this shot has been fired and the kid screamed and you figure some kid's been hit and he's up on the roof.

They gotta explain this dead kis and the shot to the sergeant when he gets there. So JJ and Eddy, Eddy was the cop who'd fired the shot at the kid climbing up the rain spout and all of a sudden JJ got hit with something in the head and JJ yells, "I'm hit, I'm hit." Then Eddy, thinking his partner's been shot fires a shot at the kid. So they reported this all to the

Captain and JJ gets reprimanded for yelling I'm shot when he said, "I'm hit."

JJ was never involved at all but he just says this to cover for Eddy and JJ has got this bump on his head.

Meanwhile the fire department is out there looking on the roof for the kid and they never found him so you figure he never got hit.

Negligent Bad Shooting: Pandora's Box.

The Police Dispatcher announced a burglary in progress over the radio. The two anticrime officers responded to the scene where the incident allegedly was occurring. They observed an open property and a boy running away from the location where the incident allegedly took place. The boy was carrying a box in his hands. With guns drawn the two officers pursued the boy on foot. One officer's gun went off wounding the boy in the leg. The suspect was then apprehended. According to the officer his gun discharged whe he tripped and fell. Soon the story of the shooting was all over the district. Many police officers felt it was a "bad shooting", a shooting with no legal cause or social legitimacy. They referred to it as "Pandora's Box" because the officer who shot the suspect didn't know what the box contained.

The lieutenant was particularly disgruntled about the incident and made several negative comments in reference to the anticrime units overzealous use of guns. He asked if we'd seen the two officers immediately after the incident when no one could find them. I commented, no Lieu, "I guess they're hiding, just trying to get their stories together." He nodded in agreement. All the policemen perceived the "accident" as a lie to cover for a "bad shooting."

Malicious Shootings and Psycho Cops

I have discussed three kinds of illegal shootings and consequent cover stories. In the "illegal good shooting," neither the competence or the moral character of the officer is in question.

He acts in a manner that any good cop would act given the same situation. In the "incompetent bad shooting," in contrast, the officer displays his inadequacy as a patrolman but he reveals no serious moral flaw. In the "negligent bad shooting" however the officer not only reveals a high level of incompetence but a degree of moral inferiority as well. He misuses his firearm and abuses his power. In spite of the illegality of all three varieties of shooting, however, none marks the man as a moral degenerate and total outcaste. In every kind of shooting including the negligent homicide, the officer's actions arise situationally. He does not murder an innocent victim with intent to do malice. All three varieties of shooting can be perceived as a kind of mistake that any member could make given a particular set of circumstances and a particular state of mind. It is the sense of a mistake which provides the rationalization for collusion in the construction of cover stories.¹² The protection of the self because, after all, we are all human and people make mistakes.¹³ There is, however, one kind of bad shooting which is so morally reprehensible that most police would hesitate to cover for their colleague. This category of shooting can be called a "malicious bad shooting" or a murder. In a murder the officer's actions arise outside of situational context and cannot be morally justified as assaults on a category of person who merits abstract normal violence. A "malicious bad shooting" involves an unprovoked attack by a brutal policeman on an innocent victim who neither presents a threat of physical harm or appears as a symbolic assault on the officer's self and authority. In a malicious shooting the officer neither acts from incompetence or negligence. Instead he acts from malice. He murders

in cold blood.

For example, the fictitious killing of an innocent boy in the film Fort Apache (see Gould, 1981) would be perceived as an act of a moral degenerate. In this instance an enraged officer throws an innocent boy off a tenement roof. He has no reasonable cause to believe this boy is the person throwing bricks at police on the street below. The boy does not challenge him or argue. Instead he is quiet. He is embarrassed because unknowingly the officers interrupted his making love with his girlfriend. In this situation, more than one officer might have broken the code of silence and ratted on his colleague. Few would condemn the rat and none would sanction the brutal murder. An officer who murders in cold blood is perceived as an unpredictable partner who is not fit for the street.

In spite of the moral nature of the act, however, in all four varieties of shooting, the cover story is still perceived as a rational response to bridge the gap between the situational reality of the street and the formal reality of the courtroom. The officer who does not construct a cover story when he commits an illegal act is perceived by colleagues as irrational and dangerous. He is labelled dumb, naive, or crazy.

Torsney, for example, was viewed by other policemen as a psycho cop.¹⁴ Not only was his behavior peculiar prior to the unprovoked shooting of an unarmed boy, but he also behaved in an irrational manner immediately after the shooting.¹⁵ Apparently he did not try to prepare a cover story in collusion with colleagues but instead just walked away. Only later did the alleged toy gun come into

the picture. Consequently, Torsney did not act like a rational member should act given a particular set of circumstances. He therefore was perceived as "a cultural nut" and a psycho cop.¹⁶

Routine Lying Among Cops and Criminals

I have suggested that lying is a routine means to bridge the gap between the informal world of the street and the formal world of the courtroom. Routine lies are defined as the policeman's constructions for the legal world of a series of events which took place within an everyday reality. Lying therefore constitutes the transformation of everyday experience into legal "facts." I have discussed two major kinds of routine lies told on paper, on court and to colleagues; the case story and the cover story. A case story is defined as a lie an officer tells in order to construct a legal case to facilitate the prosecution and conviction of a suspect or the clearing of a case. A case story is therefore perceived as an aspect of the officer's peace keeping and law enforcement functions. A cover story, in contrast, is defined as a lie an officer constructs in order to protect himself against accusations of legal or departmental misconduct. A cover story is therefore constructed to secure the officer's personal safety rather than to fight crime or maintain the peace.¹⁷

Lying is perceived as necessary not only to bridge the gap between the street and the courtroom but to equalize the relations of power between cop and criminal. Policemen assume that criminals lie to them for the same reason that they lie to colleagues. A superior officer is a legal representative to the cop just as the cop represents

the formal order to the criminal. Thus, the criminal lies to the policeman in order to bridge the gap between the street and the legal order so he too can perform a job which, by definition is illegal. Routine lying is therefore perceived by the policeman as a cultural universal. Wambaugh explains,

Some policemen become legends by virtue of accumulated felony arrests which propel them into the category of instinctive policemen, who doglike smell or sense when something is wrong: when a suspect is lying, when a turn of the head or a clicking of eyeballs means more than just another case of black and white fever. When one knows which cars to stop, which pedestrians to talk to, most importantly, which one to believe since most policemen eventually conclude that in addition to being hopelessly weak, the human race is composed of an incredible collection of liars who will lie even when the truth would save them, and more often than not haven't the faintest idea of what the truth really is. (Wambaugh, 1973:470)

Not only does the policeman believe that people lie during routine investigations, but he also assumes that the experienced criminal is an expert liar in court. While the policeman lies to win a conviction, the criminal lies to construct a superior case and manipulate the subjectivity of the courtroom actors in order to gain a lighter sentence or an acquittal. John Allen, a specialist in Armed Robbery, explains,

Ordinarily you lie to your lawyers because you don't trust him any more than you trust the police or the D.A. Say a lawyer representing me, and I got a case where I shot somebody. Maybe I was a drug user, and I go to this dealer and I say, "Man, I'm sick. Give me some drugs for now, and I will pay you double later." So the dealer get tough with me and rough with me,

and I happen to have a gun. My intentions are not to shoot, but he got some drugs and I want some, and he says no. Now maybe he and I get to scuffling, and I shoot him--bang. Okay, but maybe it really didn't go like that at all. Maybe I said, "Give me some drugs." He said, "No." and I fired. We never scuffled or nothing. I just shot him and took the drugs.

Now the first story sounds much better, and that's ordinarily the one I would tell my lawyer. I would say I was sick, I begged this man for some drugs, he refused and tried to take my gun from me. It went off. And I shot him. My lawyer is going to represent me harder under these circumstances than he would if I told him, "Yeah. I was a drug addict, and I shot him and and took the drugs." You can be guilty and have a good reason for being guilty, and the lawyer still gonna put everything into it. But if you guilty and you don't have no reason for being guilty, then the lawyer ain't gonna fight real hard. (Allen, 1977:153-4)

The criminal however is also aware that the policeman routinely uses deception as a tool in litigation. John Allen explains,

One of the things you have going against you in court is the way the D.A. coaches the police and all the government witnesses. The police will say one thing and have it pretty well pat no matter what. So you got no chance there. And the witnesses going for the government come directly behind the police. The police often lie, sometimes in strong cases, most of the time in weak cases. Sometimes in strong cases they want to make it even stronger or sound more exciting or make it seem like they played a bigger part when only the officer that wrote up the report was invovled. But everybody wants to get in on it.

An example is when we was picked up after we robbed that liquor store. They made a big deal out of the fact that we had a police radio in the car--that was all over the papers. It made the government's case sound real good. There go two stickup men, so well equipped and professional that they have a police radio, and every time the police set up a road block to stop them, they was aware of it by listening to that radio. Actually the thing wasn't even hooked up!

They said it was in the glove compartment: a hole was bored in the back of the compartment very deeply, and the wires came out the back and hooked up to something that made it work. But that was a lie. That thing couldn't pick up nothing 'cause we didn't know how to hook it up. (Allen, 1977:154-5)

Ultimately, then, from the perspective of the criminal defendant and the police, the whole Criminal Justice System is based on lies. The construction of legal reality becomes a competitive game of lying. A criminal explains,

But the whole trial is like a show played to an audience. They're acting, but you're acting too. Everybody play the same game. Everybody is in the show together. (Allen, 1977:155)

It's not a one-way street. When you get up there and you put your hand on the Bible, "I swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help me God," the first thing that come out of your mouth is, "I didn't do it."

But it weighs out. It weighs out because the police tell their equal amount of lies. The D.A.'s tell their equal amount of lies. All boils down to one thing. The police is a government witness, and he get up there, and his job is to try to help the D.A. to get a conviction, and the D.A. tells his lies or fabricates the truth or bends it out of proportion so he can get a conviction. On the other hand, the defense attorney also fabricates or bends the truth so he can get a better reputation for himself as well as get his client off. (Ibid., 1977:85)

In the novel, The Sweet Life of Jimmy Riley, by a former policeman, James Reardon, is about to testify in front of a grand jury during an investigation into police corruption. He recalls his past days in court and considers the possibilities of an indictment on charges of perjury. He tells his lawyer,

Don't worry about me, Danny, I won't get rattled
I got away with bullshit on the witness stands
from the Bronx to Staten Island for over five
years.

He reflects,

Perjury. A truly ominous word, enough to send
that now familiar chill up Jimmy's spine. He
left his chair in the den and went to the wall
bookcase in the living room and reached for the
king sized Webster's dictionary. He wanted the
definitive meaning indelibly printed in his mind.
"Perjury In Law, the willful telling of a lie
while under oath to tell the truth in a matter
material to the point of inquiry."

Jimmy put the cumbersome dictionary back in the
bookcase and returned to the den. He sat back
and contemplated all his years of courtroom
experience. Who the hell ever told the truth
in a court of law? The entire legal system was
predicated on evasiveness, cunning, and theatrics.
He involuntarily broke into a big grin when he
thought of some of the antics and fabrications of
lawyers, D.A.s and judges he had observed throughout
his busy career. He'd seen all kinds of cases tossed
out of court, all kinds of outrageous lies told in
open court. Christ, among most vice and gambling
cops it was one big joke. Lawyers he had become
intimate with through the years told him
unbelievable tales of chicanery in civil and
criminal courts. The ones who started as
"ambulance chasers" when first out of law school
were the funniest of all. . . .

Jimmy smiled. I wonder how many lies I told
Helfand while being questioned in the horror chamber.
Let's see, fifteen hours. Conservatively at ten an
hour, I probably told him approximately one hundred
and fifty lies. He laughed. Christ, if Leibowitz
ever catches me in all those lies he'll probably give
me seven hundred and fifty years. Even if I got
paroled after one hundred years, I'll be to goddam
old to have any fun when I get out. Beautiful girls,
twelve-year old scotch, swinging nightclubs, fancy
restaurants, the garden, Ebbets Field--Christ I'll
be over a hundred and thrity. (Reardon, 1980:296-7)

Normal Cynicism and the Art of Lying

In summary, a policeman learns that both cops and robbers routinely lie to bridge the gap between the informal world of the street and the formal world of law. given the dominance of routine lying among colleagues and criminals, a good cop must not trust that what people say is true is what they perceive as truth. At the same time, the policeman must not believe in the reality of appearances lest he be tricked by a criminal disguised as a cop or a cop disguised as a criminal (see Chapter IV). A good cop, then must not only assume an attitude of "normal paranoia" but he must also become "normally cynical." At the same time that he must distrust others, he must be untrustworthy himself. He must learn the art of deception and become a skillful liar. Only then can he fulfil his law enforcement and peace keeping functions, while, at the same time, avoiding accusations of legal misconduct himself.

Competence in lying, the ability to skillfully manipulate formal and informal rules in the face of situational exigencies and assorted events, becomes an important attribute of any cop who must construct case stories and cover stories in the routine performance of his job.¹⁷ As one officer suggested, "The game is who manipulates better, the kid or the cop. The one who lies better wins."

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII

1. According to Manning,

"The labels 'lie' and 'lying' are socially derived, socially utilized and constructed, and are thus always tied to some delineated relationship between an audience and speaker. A lie can be labeled as such either by a hearer or by the speaker, each independent of the other's knowledge or awareness. . . .observer is able to ascertain intention and attribution. These tentative analytic distinctions permit us to distinguish at least two types of lies: the recognition case where an observer who makes an assessment of intention and attribution and decides that a lie has been perpetrated, and the hearer recognizes that such is the case, and the nonrecognition case where the observer makes the same decisions concerning intention and attribution but where the hearer does not recognize the communication as a lie or potentially a lie."
(Manning, 1978:239-40)

2. Obviously, an officer might be more careful about the construction of a lie in a courtroom situation or on paper than a lie in a courtroom situation or on paper than about a lie to a superior or a colleague if the matter is insignificant and superior trusted and if he is not concerned about legal charges. In addition, if a lie to a colleague is not skillful enough to pass in court as truth, it can often be negotiated or reconstructed. Once stated on paper or in testimony, however, it becomes more difficult to negotiate the lie to pass legal inspection without self incrimination.

3. Officers also lie and manipulate paper reality to facilitate the processing of what is perceived as bullshit jobs. For example, in Metro City, burglaries are routinely transformed into "minor disturbances" when the complainant is poor and has no insurance on the stolen property. Such transformations may be accomplished by the officers who work "inside" and process paper work as well as by the patrol officer himself who eventually learns to cooperate with the "inside" men in the way he writes his reports. Jim Birch, a seven year veteran of the police department notes that the official clearance rates are influenced by the possibility of crime resolution. In an unpublished letter to the Citizens Crime Commission of Metro City, Mr. Birch comments,

(Metro City) continually boasts of having disproportionately lower crime and higher clearance rates than most major cities. I remember feeling very proud each time the

(Metro City newspapers) listed the crime rates of the top cities and (Metro City) would always be the lowest. I actually thought it was a reflection of the quality of law enforcement in Metro City. Unfortunately, it soon became obvious that the rates were not as much the result of effective police operations as they were of an unofficial classification criteria called "solvability." Simply put, if the crime is likely to be solved, we'll classify it as a crime; if not, we'll call it a minor disturbance.

Let's take a typical burglary and see what happens in many instances. The sector car receives an assignment to "meet a complainant." The complainant tells the officer he just arrived home from work and found his door forced open. The inside of the house is ransacked and some personal property was stolen. There are no witnesses and no suspects. The officer then contacts the Divisional Detectives. Because the incident described is unlikely to result in an arrest, the Detective supervisor "strongly encourages" the officer to change his report from "burglary" to "minor disturbance." After all, with manpower constraints and the "overwhelming" work load, it would be unrealistic to report every crime as an actual crime. In almost all instances, the officer will agree and, hence, another crime (is) down graded to a disturbance. This attitude on the part of the Division detectives is city-wide. Just ask any District officer how many times he's reported shootings, stabbings, burglaries and "assaults" as minor disturbances. Only if the detectives can claim an arrest or it's likely that the crime can be solved with minimum effort will they be glad to handle the officer's report. (Personal communication, Jim Birch)

4. According to Chevigny,

"The criminal court is not viewed as a tribunal for the determination of fact, but as a sort of administrative adjunct to the police station for the purpose of obtaining desirable results. Lying is a litigation tool much like, say, investigation. Once the police have arrested a man, particularly under circumstances when charges have been made against an officer, the real objective is conviction, and the police feel that they have made a mistake if they fail to obtain the conviction, not if they lied to obtain it." (Chevigny, 1969:142)

5. In an extreme situation, the case story construction may even involve the active addition of legal facts to construct a more substantial case in the presence of probable cause to stop, frisk, arrest and search the suspect. One officer provides a hypothetical example.

A policeman receives a call of an armed robbery in progress. He sees an adolescent running away from the area in which the robbery allegedly took place. The adolescent fits the description of the offender. The officer pursues the suspect on foot until he finally apprehends him in an alley way. He frisks the suspect but finds nothing on him. Exhausted, angry and convinced that the suspect is guilty, the officer plants an unregistered gun which he carries in his pocket for emergencies. After the boy is positively identified by the complainant the officer claims that he found the weapon he seized after the initial frisk.

In this case, the stop, the frisk and arrest are all legal. The officer simply tries to strengthen the case to ensure a conviction by caliming that he found the weapon used in the robbery. Although this kind of situation does occur among police, most police perceive that this kind of proactive story construction involving the actual planting of evidence is dirty and should be avoided. In contrast, the construction of probable cause when the suspect is thought to be guilty is perceived as normal.

6. My analysis of police is mainly concerned with the contradiction between the street and the Academy. Therefore I generally view the courtroom as a representative of the legal order which police associate with the Academy and which is in opposition to the street. The contradiction between formal and informal or Academy and street, however, is not unique to the police. Thus the courtroom itself has a formal and informal organization. The informal world of the court contradicts what the lawyer is formally taught in the classroom just as the recruits training at the Academy contradicts "real policework" as practiced on the street. In the case constructions discussed, the police officer lies not simply to bridge the gap between street and court or formal and informal, but also to manipulate the informal world of the courtroom to his advantage in order to gain a conviction or clear a case. Obviously lawyers do exactly the same thing in relation to judges and juries.

7. At the same time the officer established the probable cause for the arrest by insisting that the kids were acting in a disorderly and loud manner which was disturbing the patients and personnel in the hospital. However, the establishment of probable cause and legal rationality in this case appears secondary to the manipulation of the subjective experience of the judge in order to gain a conviction.

8. Most peace keeping offenses and victimless crimes are perceived by the officer as minor offenses which receive minimal punishment by the courts. Thus the officer can neutralize his guilt and "cleanse" the lie which gained the conviction because, "It didn't hurt nobody." Other categories of criminal activity are legally perceived as more serious and may receive more severe punishment by the courts. As long as the officer is convinced of the suspect's guilt he can "cleanse" his own by invoking another of Matza's neutralization techniques, "He had it coming to him. . . .He deserved it anyway." (See Matza, 1964)

9. In the case of the juveniles their refusal to plead guilty is also viewed as an affront to the officers' authority. Their "attitude" thus serves to justify the lies and escalate the courtroom verbal war between cop and juvenile.

10. Diarrhea is another explanation which is used less frequently because officers must tell radio that they are out on a "personal" to formalize their bathroom absences from the availability chart, although diarrhea may be such an emergency as to make the "out for a personal" impossible to put over the air. However, for an absence of any length of time to do non-police related matters, the officer may claim a number of formal excuses to cover his nonavailability. They include the "personal" or simply "out at the district for paperwork." A good cop who doesn't abuse this opportunity for rest will not be questioned by supervisors or radio.

11. Guilt in participation is also reduced by passive cooperation rather than active participation. The officer who lies by claiming to see nothing experiences less guilt than the one who actively constructs events and collaborates on the cover story. In general, it is also considered wise to limit one's knowledge about informal events so that lying can be avoided as much as possible. The "I don't want to know nothing" approach keeps the officer as clean as possible thereby minimizing possible contradictions in testimony as well as legal vulnerability. The smart liar knows little and says less.

12. Another fact which provides legitimation for collusion in a cover story in spite of how colleagues perceive the act itself, involves the sense of injustice which pervades departmental investigations into illegal conduct of any sort. There is a saying that "They'll get you if they want to" which reflects the arbitrariness as well as the politics of punishment. In general, an officer who is formally reprimanded for a shooting knows that other officers have "gotten away with worse." He assumes that the actions taken by the department depend on political pressures which bear. If there is community pressure to fire an officer or investigate a shooting then the department is likely to perform a thorough investigation. If there is less pressure then the department may be less inclined to investigate. Thus the officer who commits an incompetent bad shooting could be treated in the same manner as the man who commits a negligent shooting or a malicious one. As the

13. Although some bad shootings may be perceived as mistakes, the officer who accomplishes the act still often feels guilt. For example, in spite of the fact that the shooting could be classified as a "good illegal shooting" Baxter Slade feels overwhelming guilt because he kills just an ordinary man. Even officers who shoot legally in self defense may later suffer tremendous guilt.

An officer's immediate reaction following the use of his gun varies. Some feel nothing, some suffer temporary amnesia, others shake and cry. Still others become severely depressed. In spite of the callous attitude an officer displays towards the public and his expressed desire to physically harm certain categories of people, when he actually employs violence, particularly lethal force, he often suffers excruciating anxiety, guilt and depression. Although the social legitimacy of some forms of illegal shooting may alleviate some guilt, it does not alleviate suffering entirely.

14. The reaction to Torsney and assessment of his psychological stability are derived from newspaper articles about the case and from police who did not personally know him and were not actually present during the incident. Their perception of events constitute some of the rumors or stories which surrounded the shooting. These inside stories and rumors constitute part of the informal (vs. formal public) knowledge about the situation and consequently are important sociological material relating to the policeman's subjective construction of reality.

15. Prior to the shooting Torsney allegedly wrote something in his memo book which indicated that he planned to commit a felony that day. Allegedly his sergeant "scratched" his book, but ignored the statement because he assumed that Torsney was just "acting crazy" like any cop is prone to act and was not "really crazy."

16. It is possible of course, as many outsiders claim, that the whole insanity defense in the Torsney case was a "cover story" to prevent an indictment for first degree murder and a subsequent jail sentence. However, that seems unlikely given the possibility that a civilian jury could acquit Torsney as they acquitted Shea. In addition a plea of insanity leaves the individual powerless. In contrast to a jail sentence which is rarely indeterminate, a sentence in a psychiatric hospital holds a possibility of forever.

It is interesting to note however, that the police department at first thought that Bon Viso's claim of hallucinations and insanity after he shot up the police locker room was also a cover story to defend himself against a more serious charge (See Willwerth, 1977). It took some time before the department realized that Bon Viso was really crazy and had had paranoid delusions and hallucinations for some time.

17. Some cover stories can appear humorous. One policeman discusses one.

One of the funniest episodes I remember was the

stabbing at 10th and Diamond. One bad guy stabs another bad guy and he's lying bleeding, half on the curb and half in the street. People call the cops and lights and sirens start sounding. Police always respond energetically if it's a real police job. Anyway three of us go to the scene first and were protecting the scene and getting information when another cop comes flying up in a car. Of course he really wanted to get to the scene first. He slams on the brakes. Door flies open, and he jumps out wanting to know what happened and where the victim was. The problem: In his haste he stopped his car right on top of the victim's head and killed him. We had to do some fancy talking and report writing to say that the guy really died of stab wounds instead of the police tire tracks on his face. Now that's funny.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN DOMESTIC
AND PUBLIC SPHERES

The contradiction between the formal, inside domain of the Police Academy and the informal, outside world of the street is reflected in the basic split between the policeman's domestic and public life. Like the Academy, the domestic sphere is perceived as a low status, feminine domain where real women maintain a clean house and take care of children. In contrast, the public sphere is perceived as a dirty world where strong men perform high status work to provide a living for their families. As the policeman's identity as a real man who fights crime in a brutal world depends on his participation in an informal sphere unknown to domestic women, he must maintain a rigid separation between work and home in order to maintain his family's ignorance. Martin recognizes the split between the feminine, domestic and masculine, public spheres.

Particularly characteristic of policemen's marriages is the avoidance of any discussion of their job with their wives. For men who are unaccustomed to working with or sharing feelings with women, the presence of policewomen can threaten their social world. (Martin, 1980:67)
(See also Reiser, 1982:175-183)

At one level the policeman separates his work and home life in order to protect the wife and family from the brutality and corruption of the

street. He hesitates to expose his family to the ugly things he sees on a daily basis. One officer, for example, discussed a disturbing incident of child abuse. The parent toilet trained her boy by making him sit on a hot burner on an electric stove. The officer was so upset by the incident, that he felt the impulse to lock his family in the home and never let them out. He recalled his uncle's efforts to protect his own family from the brutality of the street.

Well, a, you look at the kid. . .and you always think of your own family. You really do. A job's bad like that. I had an uncle who was a policeman and he worked in the 99th district and he saw a lot of things as any cop would. You see a lot of things. And he took it out on his family in that his children became prisoners in the house. He refused to let his children ever leave the home. He was well intentioned but the psychological damage it caused to my cousins who are now adults. . . . There's absolutely no love for the father anymore. They just can't understand it but in his mind he was doing. . .he was protecting his children from all the evils of society but they became prisoners and then resented it and ran away from home and then, what he did in his love for them, to protect them, created the very same people (he was trying to protect them against). . . They then became street people because they both ran away.

At the same time that the separation of public and private spheres protects innocent women and children from the ugly world of the street, it also maintains the family's formal image of the policeman. Many wives and daughters believe in the ideal myth of the policeman as crime fighter and rescuer. They view their husbands as knights in shining armor who risk their lives daily in order to protect good citizens against the animals who threaten their safety. They are

unaware that much of the policeman's job involves social relations, peace keeping, helping the sick, cleaning the streets of winos and junkies, secretarial jobs and other tasks associated with woman's work inside the home. They do not know that much of the time their husband has nothing to do on the street. As long as she thinks he's busy bravely fighting crime and saving society, the wife continues to respect her man and feel proud of him. As long as she believes he's professionally occupied, suspicions are suspended. In the excerpt from field notes below, one policeman's wife who became a cop herself, discussed her marriage.

Betty's husband is a fifteen year veteran police officer. She said that he's a real bully and feels that women should be in the home. His word was law in the household and he even dictated when she would go out. She took the job as police officer in part as a dare from him. She thinks that the job will alter their relationship drastically, but for the better. She loves the job. . . She would take it for free. She feels self confident, like a more complete person now that she is working. As a result, she has changed and makes more demands on her husband. She takes her own time to do things and doesn't just follow his orders. She feels that when she didn't work she resented him. Now she doesn't martyr herself because she feels good about what she does. She doesn't have to envy her husband. We discussed the sexual fears of the policemen's wives. She felt that the wife is jealous of the female officer because she shares things with the cop that the wife does not. "Few policemen's wives have any real understanding of what policework is about." Betty confirmed that until she joined the force she believed in the "exotic myth that policework was all crime fighting and rescue work." She thought he was always busy on some job and never had a minute free. She added that she never knew "the secrets." She mentioned, for example, that she hears the guys in the operations room give the wives the very same explanations regarding the whereabouts of their husbands that

she used to hear when she called the district to find out why her husband was late or where she could get in touch with him. For example, they'd always say that he's "in service" and "not available. They would try to locate him as soon as possible." She hears that now and she knows that the cop took off the night. Sometimes he'll call a buddy to see if there are messages or else a friend will call him and tell him his wife called the district.

Although some policemen do tell their families that the job is less glamorous than television and newspapers imply, few cops are willing to expose the informal aspects of their job to their wives or daughters. In particular, they hesitate to tell them that they or their friends routinely participate in normal violence, clean money, extramarital sexual activity or illegal lying. In the field notes quoted below, one policeman's daughter, for example, discussed her father's presentation of his job.

Mary talked about her father. He was a cop for seven years and went out on a disability as a result of a massive coronary. He was very young and didn't want to leave the job. Her father didn't really approve of Mary joining the force but when she did, he said, "O.K. kid, if that is what you want, go ahead." She said that she realized from comments her father had made that he was somewhat envious of her. She explained that her father had told her enough about the job so she was aware of its service orientation. She had no illusions about the dominance of crime fighting in policework. What she hadn't realized was the extent of "the dirt." She went on to explain that "the dirt" referred to the graft and brutality. She then went on to talk about how now she really hated cops.

A married policeman commented,

No, the wives didn't know what was going on in the street. In fact there was going to be a

party and the big joke was no slipping. Make sure that we don't mention Jill and Josie (two groupies who provided oral sex to the district). You could kid around but don't even make a suggestion that the guys were fooling around. The wives maybe knew about drinking but not about the girls.

A good woman trusts her husband or father and believes in the ideal image of the job which he presents to her. Jimmy Riley, the fictitious character indicted during the Harry Gross corruption investigations, for example, is married to a "good wife." She believes in him.

Jimmy had carefully rehearsed Kay the night before. He explained that it was all a publicity stunt and would soon blow over as the public got tired of reading about Helfand and Liebowitz. He emphasized that the worst that could happen to him was confinement in a hotel room for thirty days as a martial witness. She was a strong girl and accepted without question any tale Jimmy wove. Her faith in him was implacable and he rarely discussed any of his outside affairs with her. He was a good provider, and she and the kids led the good life. To her, he was a proper husband. (Reardon, 1980: 213)

Although fathers are more likely to inform sons about the informal aspects of policing as part of their routine socialization into manhood, even sons are sometimes surprised to learn the extent of police violence and corruption. In the field note account described below, one rookie bitterly discusses the shocking realization that his father was corrupt. The rookie observed a group of policemen stealing goods from an open property. He immediately associated the event to childhood memories of his own alcoholic father. Although he was ambivalent about

his father because he used to humiliate him with searches and beatings, the rookie at least admired him as a policeman. He lost his respect, however, when he realized that the presents his father brought home to the family were probably stolen.

Joe sat in the patrol car and watched the policemen pack the goods they had stolen from the warehouse into the trunks of their automobiles. Joe thought about his father. His father was a policeman. He would come home after an 8x4 shift loaded down with radios and clocks and blenders. Joe never asked where they came from. He believed in Santa Claus at the time.

Joe once stole something too. When he was nine years old, he took some change from his father's bureau and bought his mother some perfume. His father came home and discovered that the money was missing. When Joe said he hadn't touched it, his father called him a lying son of a bitch. He lifted him by the belt and threw him against the wall. He made Joe spread his legs apart while he searched him with his clothes on and once with his clothes off. When his father found the perfume in a jacket pocket, he called Joe a flaming faggot and beat him.

Joe hated his father. He was beginning to hate cops. He wondered why no one ever said anything to the policemen who took the blenders.

The split between work place and home is not a product of a natural division of labor between maternal women as mothers and protective men as providers. Instead the dichotomy between public and domestic spheres has its historical roots in the 19th century. According to Demus,

The growth of large-scale commerce, of industry, and (later) of service enterprise--indeed, all the

dynamic tendencies of economic modernization-- yielded this overall effect: home and the workplace would no longer be the same. On the contrary, they became very different places, each with its own designs and purposes, its distinctive values and modes of activity. (Demos, 1982:433)

Thus, the separation of workplace and home redefined the roles of men and women and subsequently, the psycho-cultural image of masculinity and femininity. Real women were defined as mothers whose primary activity involved the nurturing and caretaking of children and husbands. Men, in contrast, became distant fathers whose masculinity was defined in terms of work and their ability to provide adequate financial support for the family.

As natural caretakers of innocent children, women were imbued with a moral superiority and virtue which was maintained by their isolation from the public sphere and the reproduction of women who viewed themselves as mothers (see Chodorow, 1974; and 1978).

Feminine character was calm, unselfish, in all ways "pure." It was woman's purity that, from a moral standpoint, elevated her far above man. It was also her purity that especially qualified her for motherhood. (Demos, 1982:431)
(See also Welter, 1966; Cott, 1977; Degler, 1980)

The child savers of 19th century Chicago were typical in their view of women.

. . . They vigorously defended the virtue of traditional family life and emphasized the dependence of the social order on the proper socialization of children. They promoted the view that women were more ethical than and genteel than men, better equipped to protect

the innocence of children and more capable of regulating their education and recreation.
(Platt, 1977:78)

Masculinity, in contrast, became associated with the compromise and corruption viewed as necessary in the marketplace.

There was, moreover, an explicitly pejorative meaning to the contrast between home and the world. Home would exemplify the "purity" of women and the "innocence" of children. The world seemed deeply suspect from a moral standpoint--disordered, unstable, full of "traps" and "temptations" to vice in many forms. Personal integrity was largely discounted there. The struggle for success presented many inducements to abandon "true principle"; and one compromise led easily to the next. The men who lived and worked in this environment were necessarily imperiled, and maleness itself seemed to carry a certain odor of contamination. This too greatly complicated father's role and whatever substantive contributions he might hope to make at home. (Demos, 1982:437)

Thus, the good wife was responsible for maintaining a clean home for husband and children. Not only did her housekeeping chores entail the physical activities of washing floors and dirty laundry but they also involved moral ones. The proper mother protected innocent children from the vice and brutality outside the home. She taught them moral values and trained them in social etiquette. Consequently, it was poor mothers not fathers who were blamed when a child got sick, went wrong and turned to crime (see Howell, 1978; Demos, 1982:439) Platt quotes the feminist reformer Francis Lieber,

The influence of women, as wives and mothers upon the family. . .is, generally speaking greater than that of men. . .a prudent and moral mother may, in great degree counteract

in her family the unhappy consequences of her husband's intemperate or dissolute life, much more than it is possible for an honest and industrious husband to counteract the melancholy effects of bad conduct of an immoral wife. . . . If she is unprincipled, the whole house is lost. (Platt, 1977:78-9)

The whore inside the home, the mother who cared as much about her career as her children or the strong woman without a man were all viewed as the underlying cause of wayward children.

Thus, while men protected women and children from the street, women provided a domestic refuge from the alienation of the marketplace (Lasch, 1977).

The Kitchen in the Street: Women in the Public Sphere

Real women could work outside the home without forfeiting their gender identity if their husbands maintained status as primary breadwinner and the women maintained their position as mother and wife. In addition, the women who worked outside the home must work in inside spheres. For example, a real woman could be a social worker, grade school teacher, secretary or nurse because these occupations reproduced family relations outside the home. A social worker for example, socializes children and adolescents in the moral virtues and social skills necessary for success in the formal world. A nurse nurtures weak men, women and children just like a mother in the home. A secretary cleans and organizes her boss's office just like the wife maintains her husband's house. The secretary also gains power and status through her boss's position and not through independent activity

of her own. Similarly, the domestic woman gains public recognition through her father's or husband's work in the public sphere. She has no status apart from his.

The first women who joined the police departments in the United States retained their feminine identity by extending their maternal and wifely roles to the public spheres. Mary Hamilton, one of the first women to join the New York Police Department writes,

In many ways the position of a woman in a police department is not unlike that of a mother in the home. Just as a mother smooths out the rough places, looks after the children and gives a timely word of warning, advice or encouragement so the policewoman fulfills her duty. (Hamilton, 1974:4)

(Her duties include) the moral protection of women and minors; the prevention of delinquency among women and minors; and the performance of such other duties as the Police Commissioner may assign. (Ibid., 20)

They avoided competition with men and limited their opportunities for promotion and transfer by assuming the separate status of policewomen instead of police officer. The policewomen were thus placed in a special unit or assigned to particular duties which excluded men and were perceived as feminine.

Effective service depends largely upon the extent to which the women cooperate with the men, for after all, policewomen have taken up policewomanship, not with the idea of replacing men in this work, but for the purpose of aiding and assisting them by seeking in a quiet unassuming way to prevent crime.

Women police, no matter how splendidly they are organized will never attain their ideal of service

unless they cooperate whole heartedly with the men of the force. Women have their own field, their own ideals and their own methods, but the service that they seek to render does not differ from that of the men. All rank alike, for it is all for the great good of mankind, a service of safety and protection of human beings. (Ibid., 46)

The Woman's Bureau of the New York Police Department and the women's units within the Juvenile Aid Division in Metro City are examples of "inside" domains which began to proliferate with the introduction of women to policing. The nineteenth century definition of masculine and feminine gender persists well into the 20th century (see Demos, 1982). In Metro City women do not assume the role of police officer and work the street with men until the late 1970's. At this time as a result of a lawsuit filed by a policewoman plaintiff and the Justice Department, the Metro City Police Department hired the first one hundred women and assigned them to uniform patrol. However, the Juvenile Aid Division is still viewed as a feminine sphere for real women who wished to retain a feminine identity and still work within the world of policing.

In contrast to female officers on patrol, real policewomen assume a variety of feminine activities which include the counseling of wayward women and children, community relations, secretarial and clerical duties and the investigation of missing persons and child abuse cases (see Milton, 1972; Martin, 1980; Horne, 1975). Combat, crime fighting, and the dangerous aspects of rescue work are left for the male cops who work in uniform patrol or in elite specialized units. The closest a woman comes to doing real policework is in the

searching of female prisoners, the interview of rape victims, and occasionally the impersonation of a victim in a decoy assignment. Even when women assume the title of police officer and work in uniform patrol, the men assume they can only handle the tasks traditionally associated with women, children, and the household. They can for example, resolve family disputes, and interview rape victims. They can also serve a useful purpose in incidents of child abuse. However, female officers can not handle the crime fighting and combat jobs which involve the emotional control, physical strength, aggression and courage associated with the masculine work of the real street cop. The Police Commissioner of Metro City, for example, states in sworn testimony before the court (January, 1975),

. . . (a woman) is not as strong physically as a male. I believe they would be inclined to let their emotions all too frequently overrule their good judgement.

. . . there are periods in their life when they are psychologically unbalanced because of physical problems that are occurring within them. (Local newspaper)

The Mayor, a former policeman who rose through the ranks to become Police Commissioner, explains,

(Metro City citizens) are "suffering" because women are on police patrol. He said that a woman "cannot provide the safety or security a man can" and he said the only reason they have proven effective elsewhere is that other departments have "put them with guys my size."

"They cannot provide the safety, security, that a male officer can perform." He said, "They better have enough male policemen to back them up when they are screaming for help." (Local newspaper)

Mary Hamilton makes explicit that the policewoman not only has had different tasks than men but also a unique code of morals and ideals. If she does not retain her separateness she will lose her feminine identity and become a "little man."

With prevention and protection as a slogan and the welfare of children, girls and women for their field of service, policewomen have been given a task to perform quite different from their fellow policemen. Raymond Fosdick once said that when policeowmen put on uniforms, carried guns and clubs, they became little men, but when they did their work as women, they rendered a great service. And it is certainly a fact that no woman can really be a good policeowman, unless she works as a woman and carries with her into a police department a woman's ideals. (Hamilton, 1924:5)

At one level, becoming a "little man" involves the acquisition of the physical instruments of violence and power associated with masculinity. It also involves the sacrifice of feminine ideals for masculine ones. The ideals of a policewoman are the same as those of the real woman who stays inside the home. She is diligent and virtuous.

As soon as a policewoman proves by her good work that she is sincere, honest and earnest, any antagonism that the men may be inclined to display at first quickly vanishes. (Ibid., 1924:20)

In contrast to the men who may gain their positions in the department through political patronage, the policewoman avoids the dirty world of politics and gets her job by taking a formal civil service test.

The importance of filling the position of policewoman through the formality of civil

service examinations cannot be stressed too strongly. While appointment without examination is at times an excellent means of securing the right person for the right job, it carries with it the dangers of politics and personal favoritism, both of which have no place in the policewoman's sphere. (Ibid., 29-30)

Politics are a pitfall that the policewoman must avoid early in her career. Party leaders cannot dictate to one whose policy embraces all and all alike. Protection and Crime Prevention are ideals beyond petty politics. A policewoman must be free to pursue her tasks unhampered by the limitation that politics place upon one. (Ibid., 193)

Playing politics to secure an appointment immediately obligates the policewoman to render unto politics the things that are politics and such things are not always her ideas. (Hamilton, 1924:193)

The real policewoman also tells the truth and does not participate in the informal activity of routine lying.

Another pitfall is the system. It can quickly submerge the person who enters it with the idea of treating the work as a job to be done with the least possible effort and the greatest possible ease. Getting on the right side of somebody; doing underhanded work, are all millstones around the neck of a woman. To such a person policewomanhood does not reach beyond the realm of the routine.

A woman entering any police department for the first time, must necessarily comply with the rules and regulations; they are sensible and fair. She does not, however, have to adhere to any customs which revolt against her ideals. The old time policeman uses the phrase "covering himself." In it is expressed all the fear of being brought up on charges.

The minute the policewoman begins "to cover herself," she is enveloping ideals in the meshes of the system. A woman must blaze her own trail and while considering

her colleagues of the old school, work independently of them when it comes to the point of doing the work of a woman in the police field as a woman would do it. (Ibid., 193)

The moral purity of the real woman also is reflected in her sexual life.¹ Real women are perceived as loving but not lustful. The kind of sex she gives her husband is as much associated with procreation as pleasure. While the policeman expects to have sexual intercourse with his wife because it is perceived as clean, he indulges in impure desires through sexual activity with other categories of women who belong on the street. Oral sex and "hand jobs" for example are viewed as pleasures which degrade women. Consequently, they are associated with the whore and not the wife.² A female police officer married to a crime fighting cop discusses her husband's private life. Her account reveals his conceptual split between the woman as virgin-wife and the woman as whore. This particular female officer was well liked by her colleagues but not well respected. She appeared too weak and vulnerable to be a police officer. She elicited a protective response from both male and female colleagues. As she was gentle but not flirtatious, she was rarely viewed as a sex object by the men. Instead, they saw her as a younger sister who needed the protection of an older brother. She was perceived as a real woman who belongs in the home and not on the street. The following description is from field notes.

Mary's husband is a gungho cop who works in the ACT (anticrime) team. He makes a lot of arrests and is a very aggressive policeman. Mary is having some problems with her husband and is contemplating

a separation and possible divorce. Although he is aggressive at work, she feels he is passive at home. She views his work as a "necessary fulfillment of his masculinity" which he doesn't realize in his relationship with her. He's not impotent but he doesn't appear to enjoy sex very much.

Mary explained that they were married when she was very young, about twenty-two years old. They've been married about three years. She had not had any sexual experience prior to marriage and now considers that unfortunate. She said that they hadn't slept together before marriage either. At the time, she felt that was an indication of his love for her and she was glad about it. In retrospect she wonders if it was a mistake. She said that when her husband discovered that she enjoyed "messaging around," he appeared to be disappointed. Apparently he doesn't enjoy sex with her and is not able to express his love for her physically. At the same time, he is jealous and possessive and does not want a separation.

A male member of the squad, confirmed Mary's perception that her husband was jealous. He claimed that the husband had accused him of fooling around with her and they had almost had a fight. He likes Mary but views her as a vulnerable sister not a lover. He is protective rather than sexual towards her. However he has the reputation for (fooling around a lot) and recognizes that he is a natural target for male accusations of infidelity.

Mary discussed how she had wanted to take a trip to Bermuda with her husband. They had talked about it for some time. She fantasized about their intimacy: They would hold hands. They would make love on the beach. When they did go to Bermuda, she was disappointed. She felt her husband rejected her. He didn't want physical intimacy and refused to make love on the beach because, apparently, he felt it was degrading to her. "It'd make you a whore," he told her.

The cultural distinction between the real woman and the whore, or the woman you marry and the one that you play with, is not

unique to police. Whyte, for example, discusses a similar categorization of women among lower class corner boys. "Good girls" are not expected to "hang" on the street corner (Whyte, 1967:802). In contrast, bad girls or "lays" belong on the street. Corner boys avoid premarital sex with good girls because sex with a virgin is perceived as unmasculine and immoral (Whyte, 1967:803). In contrast, "lays" including "one man girls," "promiscuous girls" and "prostitutes" are permissible objects of corner boy lust. Obviously the corner boy marries the good girl and not the lay.

Manny, a Puerto Ricangang member alludes to a similar distinction between good girls who belong in the home and the other categories of women who belong in the informal world of the street.

I had a steady girl friend named Ricky, but she wasn't a member of the gang. She was Ricky. It was really strange. Somehow, I never really wanted to make it with Ricky. It was like she stood for something else. Like gang girls were fair game, and they were all right in every way, but Ricky was kind of heavenly, if you know what I mean. Really, just because I could make it with the debs (girl gang members) anytime, I didn't think they were "bad" or anything. It was just that Ricky was a thing apart from all that, another dimension or something. (Rettig et al., 1977:23)

It seemed that chivalry was really an important part of our gang experience. We had strict codes of behavior around the notion of "honor the women." But, at the time, broads knew what they were supposed to do. They were supposed to handle and hide the weapons and front for the warriors before the cops in other ways. We never thought of the women as an object of sex orgies and parties. They shared coequally in the partying with us. In that respect they were partners. And I never thought about sexism or discrimination in the gangs. Looking back on it, however, I

can see that we did have one set of standards for the guys and another for the debs, especially regarding sexual activities. (Rettig et al., 1977:26)

Woman as Rat

Along with moral purity, women are assumed to possess particular personality attributes which reinforce her association with the formal world. Women are perceived as "natural rats" who do not understand how to manipulate power informally and maintain the code of silence. While men are more likely to confront each other when a conflict arises or injustice perceived, women will run to "daddy" and file a formal complaint.³ The supervisor who receives the complaint is then obliged to take action to protect the woman and "cover his ass," lest she go beyond him.

When the first class of women graduated from the Academy, rumors began to circulate about a number of incidents in which rule violations were reported to officials in the Training Division. The incidents inevitably involved a woman who allegedly informed on a veteran officer for minor infractions such as taking free meals on duty. No similar incidents were ever attached to the male recruits. The Metro City police department fostered the veteran officers' fear of women as informers. When classes of male and female recruits returned to the Academy after six weeks of preliminary field training prior to graduation, they were ordered to fill out memos reporting any illicit activities observed on the street. Although most recruits said nothing, a few did fill out the forms. The names of persons who

filed the memos apparently got back to the districts. Although sex of the suspects was not clear, the memo policy reinforced the view that the class of recruits associated with the women were natural rats.

Although it is possible that some recruits made a mistake and reported the transgressions of some veteran officers, I could not document any incident in which formal accusations were filed by women against men.* In fact, once the women were on the street, male rookies and veteran officers appeared more likely to expose female officers than vice versa. Two female officers, for example, were brought before the Board of Inquiry on charges of cowardice as a result of a formal complaint filed by male supervisors and rank and file officers. According to a black male officer who claimed to have an inside connection with a black male member of the Board, the Board apparently ruled that the woman involved in the first incident should receive only minor reprimand as her actions did not clearly constitute neglect of duty. However either the Mayor or the Police Commissioner allegedly pursued the matter and had her dismissed. In another incident a male rookie was encouraged by his Sergeant and Lieutenant to file formal charges of cowardice against a female officer who allegedly did not back him up during an altercation on the street in which he perceived his life in danger. Although the female officer presented contradictory testimony which implied that the male rookie lied, she was

* One female officer did file charges against another female officer who she disliked. The complainant alleged incompetence bordering on neglect of duty.

also found guilty of neglect of duty.

In contrast, neither male nor female officers filed formal charges of neglect of duty against male officers who acted inappropriately. One male rookie, for example, allegedly refused to get out of the car during an assist officer. Another policeman on the scene apparently dragged him out of the car although he still refused to aid his colleague in trouble. Although the policeman was informally ostracized and labelled a coward, no formal charges were filed.

In summary, whatever the "facts," ratting is viewed as a feminine activity. Real women are perceived as natural rats who talk as a result of their naive honesty and idealism. Even women who are perceived as impure such as prostitutes, are viewed as more treacherous than men. Male policemen, for example, are advised not to make business arrangements with prostitutes because they would turn around and betray you. Patrolman Droge for example is warned not to arrange protection with a local madame.

"Hey, whatever you do, don't get invovled with them women, Ed. Something goes wrong and they turn on you like that," he said, snapping his fingers. (Droge, 1973:211-2)

Similarly, the Knapp Commission reports,

Prostitution in New York, while widespread, is unequivocally illegal and would seem to be a likely target for corrupt police officers. owever, it is an unwritten rule among policemen that taking money from prostitutes is unduly risky. Patrolman Phillips testified that the advice he was given by older officers when he joined the force was "never to take money in narcotics, prostitution, or involving weapons." He conceded that the rule has broken down

concerning narcotics but that for the most part it still holds concerning prostitutes. When asked why it was considered a bad idea to get involved with prostitutes, "(W)ell, first of all, prostitutes are known to be dangerous people to deal with. They are unreliable and they give people up. People (policemen) shy away from them." This conventional wisdom, coupled with the fact that other more lucrative sources of payoff money were available, apparently acted as a brake on police involvement with prostitution. (my underlining) (Knapp Commission Report, 1972:116-7)

Women on the Street: Dykes and Whores

As the public sphere is masculine, a woman who works on the street loses her feminine identity. She becomes either a dyke or a whore, one of two known categories of masculinized females who belong in the informal world of the street. Like a man, a whore sells herself on the market for a profit. In contrast to the real woman, she labors for money not love. A cop is also like a whore in a political sense. He sells his ideals to gain upward mobility in a corrupt political world. Several policemen, for example, used the term whore to describe themselves or those above them. In a discussion about police graft, one officer commented,

"Cops are all whores, we're all whores."

Another alluded to the political elite as prostitutes during a conversation about departmental politics and the mayor. He suggested,

"They're all whores. No, they're nothing but whores. At least a whore gives you something in return."

The prostitute is also like the policeman because she used her body as the tool of her profession. She controls people through the manipulation of her physical self.⁴ Like the policeman who is the breadwinner for the family, the hooker makes a living for her pimp. Both streetwalker and street cop also do shift work around the clock. They therefore share an outside world of people, places and events which exclude the real woman who stays in the inside domain of the home.

In contrast to the real woman, whore and cop share an impure sexual world. While the wife's marital relationship involves sexual intercourse imbedded in love, the prostitute offers her partner oral sex without feeling or commitment. Consequently, the wife's sexual activities are perceived as moral and clean. Those of the prostitute are viewed as dirty and degrading. The sexual life of the prostitute is masculinized in another sense. Like a real man who gains prestige by having many johns and one pimp. In fact, the number, wealth and power of her clientele are indicators of her professional success.

The dyke is also viewed as a masculine category of female who fits in the informal world of the street. Men perceive the dyke as manlike in physical appearance. The classic bulldyke looks tough. She has short hair, and a muscular build. She walks and acts like a man. The sexuality of the butch is also perceived as masculine. She is the aggressor in sexual relations who dominates more passive feminine persons. Like the man and the whore, the dyke also engages in "male-talk." She talks tough, curses and uses "gutter language" which belongs on the street. In contrast, the real woman does not

curse. In addition men avoid using obscenities at home or in front of mothers, wives or any symbolic equivalent of the domestic order. Rubinstein, for example, mentions that policemen rarely used one hospital in the district because it was run by an order of Catholic nuns. They did not want to expose the sisters to street language and filth.

A fourth hospital was run by an order of Catholic nuns. Although it had an emergency facility, it was used sparingly. "There's no policy. Most of the men are Catholic and don't like to bring our niggers, pigshitters (Irish lower class), and dogpatchers (Southern migrants) there because they want to spare the sisters the filthy talk, the carrying-on, and all the cuttin' and swein'. It ain't fair but that's how most of the men feel and that's why we don't use it very much. If it's real serious, why, nobody hesitates," a lieutenant explained. (Rubinstein, 1973:132)

Finally, cop, whore and dyke are all masculine in another sense. They all participate in an informal world which violates formal rules or law. The prostitute is "dirty" because the sale of sex is illegal. The dyke is also "unclean" because homosexuality is a violation of moral or legal statutes. The homosexual can be slandered or even formally brought up on charges. Like the policeman engaged in extra-marital sexual activity, the practicing homosexual in the military or the police department participates in behavior which violates departmental rules regarding conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. She commits the crime of moral turpitude.⁵

In summary, the female officer today inherits a legacy from the Nineteenth Century. In particular, she is burdened by a gender image which defines femininity and masculinity in oppositional terms

appropriate to the split between domestic and public spheres. This definition of gender identity is then reproduced within the family unit as a result of the institutionalization of remote fathering and exclusive mothering (see Chodorow, 1978). A woman is only perceived as a real woman when she stays at home or works in an inside realm in the outside world. She retains her gender as a woman only as long as she uses the relational skills and feminine attributes associated with her role as wife and mother. The real woman is perceived as physically weak but morally pure. She does not join the men in the dirty world of politics nor lie to protect herself from formal charges. Instead, the real woman "goes by the book" and follows the formal rules of the system. She thereby maintains the feminine sphere as a refuge from the corruption of the informal world of the street. As the real woman as wife and worker never really leaves the formal domain of the home, it is the man who negotiates the formal and informal spheres of domestic and public place in his role as private husband and working man.

The association between woman's role as mother and wife, feminine purity, cleanliness and formal rules in contrast to man's role in the public sphere, masculine pollution, corruption and participation in informal activity is particularly apparent among occupational groups like the police where the contradiction between formal and informal systems is so extreme. It is also this opposition between the feminine woman as the representative of the formal order of law in contrast to the masculine man who represents the informal order of the street which provides the basis for sexist ideology among policemen.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VIII

1. The real woman is, in practice not necessarily a real woman. One female police officer and member of the New York's Bureau prior to the introduction of women to patrol was married to a fireman. She was also having an affair with a police officer who worked in a downtown precinct. She once told me,

"They say their mothers don't fool around, their sisters don't fool around and their daughters don't fool around. . . I don't know what these cops think, . . . that there's one perpetrator in sneakers foolin' around with all those cops!"

2. In the Lively Commerce, Winick and Kinsie suggest that men visit prostitutes for a variety of reasons which include interest in perversions not otherwise attainable. . . (Winick and Kinsie, 1971: 172). He goes on to explore the psychoanalytic concept of the split between the tender and sensual components of the erotic impulse that lead some men to prefer prostitutes. The prostitute symbolically provides an example of the "bad" woman, so that he can readily believe in the existence of the "good" woman (Winick and Kinsie, 1971:180). Winick explains that oral gratification is a dominant form of sex requested by the clientele of the prostitute.

"Coitus was the staple service offered by prostitutes before World War II, but it has since become a minority preference. Through the 1930's one woman in every brothel would usually provide 'perversions' and had the least status among the prostitutes. Today the single most requested service is fellatio ('French' or 'derby'). Anal intercourse ('Greek') is popular, as is cunnilingus ('going below 14th Street') and fellatio before coitus ('half and half'). A 'flat-backer' who offers only coitus ('old-fashioned' or 'straight') is likely to lose customers.

"Increasingly, and especially in the last decade, prostitutes and madams report substantially more customers who are seeking oral satisfaction ('muff diver' or 'face man'). Annual surveys conducted by the American Social Health Association suggest that as many as nine out of ten customers now want some form of oral satisfaction in contrast to the 10 percent requesting it in the 1930's. The trend towards orality has been continuous, with a substantial increase after World War II." (Ibid., 183-4)

3. Under certain circumstances, it is not a violation of the etiquette of silence to complain to a superior officer about the behavior of a colleague. However, the complaint must be informal in nature. For example, if two partners cannot work together because one is perceived as a coward or too brutal, the officer can tell his colleagues and the sergeants the true reasons for his desire to change partners. He thereby informally damages the reputation of the offending officer and also gains the desired end. The sergeant instructs the policeman who composes the daily assignments to keep the two cops from working together. If a formal explanation is necessary to explain a switch in partners, the reason must be innocuous. "Personality conflict" for example, is the classic formal explanation for changes in partnerships.

Officers may also gossip about each other, maliciously spread rumors or even request that a superior officer take action. However, the nature of the complaint remains informal and nothing is put in writing. If an officer decides to "drop a dime" on a colleague in order to take revenge or hurt him in some way, he usually does it anonymously.

4. Rubinstein suggests that the policeman's body is the tool of his profession.

"The policeman's principal tool is his body. He shares with many persons the use of their bodies as a piece of equipment essential to the performance of their trades. He is similar to a mountain climber; to athletes whose success is rooted in physical prowess rather than the skillful use of equipment; to runners, circus acrobats, sexual performers, laborers and peasants. He also has, in common with people in many trades, a set of skills that are needed for the effective use of tools expressly provided to expand the effectiveness of his body. For him a gun and a nightstick are not simply weapons that terrify some and intrigue others but extensions of himself whose use and non-use is linked to his notions about how he uses his body to do his work. But unlike anyone else whose body is the tool of his trade, the policeman uses his body to control other people."
(Rubinstein, 1972:267-8)

In general the use of the body as a professional instrument is masculine. With the exception of dancers and skaters, most women who have a physical orientation to bread winning are perceived as somewhat masculine. Female athletes for example have many of the same conflicts in the social world as female police officers. The female police officer not only uses her body physically but she uses it in an explicitly masculine way. She uses her body as a weapon to control people. In addition she extends her physical power by adopting weapons such as a gun, jack or baton which are explicitly associated with masculinity.

5. Brogan points out that to label a person a dyke is not only an insult but also a weapon because homosexuality is illegal by army rules. She explains,

"The term 'dyke' is a weapon, not simply an insult because homosexuality is forbidden in the military, and a mere accusation may be enough to ruin a soldier's career."

"Military women who are gay, or even suspected of being gay for reasons picked at random, have been the objects of slander, ridicule, punishment, gossip, myth. Because the Army forbids homosexuality, male and female homosexuals must be very discreet. Speculation is used against the women, very effectively, since it can end careers by rumor and witch hunts." (Ibid., 151-2)

CHAPTER IX

THE INTRODUCTION OF FEMALE OFFICERS TO THE
INFORMAL WORLD OF THE STREET

When a real woman leaves the home to become a police officer on the street, she joins a world in which she doesn't belong. There is no known category of feminine woman who works in the masculine realm of the street. By nature, real women are neither soldiers nor policemen. Rogan explains,

We still live in a world in which a boy picks up a gun to become a man, but uniformed ranks of women who know how to kill with weapons can be called girls. The ubiquitous use of the word "females" to describe women in the U.S. Army is equally interesting, in that it is not real "women." (Rogan, 1981:326)

Martin comments,

The system of recruitment, too, has traditionally selected men who possess the "mark of affinity"; a particular view of their own masculinity that enables them to immediately "fit" into the informal world of police. As yet there are no comparable clear standards for the female recruits since, by definition, women do not "fit." (Martin, 1980:115)

There is no known category of female police officer who is both a real woman and a cop. Consequently, women who join the public

sphere are placed into one of the three known categories of female, depending on how the policeman interprets her appearance, personality and activity. If she is well liked or respected as a woman but does not seem sexy, seductive or tough, men may perceive her as a real woman who belongs in the home. She is therefore viewed as a mother, daughter or sister. If she is perceived as tough and aloof or tough and seductive, then she is defeminized and viewed as a dyke or a whore, two categories of female who belong on the street. A similar system of classification is apparent among women who join masculine realms within the military. Rogan explains,

Army women are victimized by a mystique that, because it is partly built on excluding them, renders them powerless. However much the women may despise it, it dominates their working lives and assures their inferiority by setting up a double standard that identifies them as unmilitary if they behave in a "feminine" way, and as "defeminized" or "butch" if they behave like soldiers. They are penalized if they get pregnant and if they are gay. If West Point cadets wore skirts, they were harassed; if their officers were not married, they were whispered about. The result is a lack of status in a status-conscious environment. (Rogan, 1981:301)

Real Women¹

One male officer introduced a female colleague in the following manner. "Hi, I'm Joe. . . .This is my sister Anne. Mom's on the beat on Lexington Avenue." In contrast to whores who have subservient (though masculinized) sexual relationship to men, mothers, sisters and daughters are desexualized as a result of the incest taboo. Consequently,

these women are accorded appropriate respect and not treated as sexual objects. However, the relationship of older brother to sister, and son to mother is physically as well as sexually protective. Consequently, domestic categories of women are not allowed to be cops who work equally with male partners. Instead, they are excluded from the informal world of men and protected from the heavy jobs viewed as ugly, dangerous or violent. At the same time, the men encourage the real woman to leave the job or transfer to an inside sphere such as the Juvenile Aid Division where they are isolated from the street and can retain their feminine status. "Mom," for example, was recognized as a good cop at the same time that she was perceived as squad mother. Her physical appearance as well as her behavior towards the men helped construct their definition of her. She was an attractive married woman in her early thirties who was slightly heavy in build. Although she had sexual fantasies about having an extra marital affair, in particular an anonymous, "zipless fuck," and found several men in her squad attractive, she felt it would be impossible to work with a man with whom you were involved. Consequently, she did not express her desire by acting flirtatious or seductive. Instead, she displayed her love by being nurturing and supportive. Once, for example, she gave a male colleague a Teddy Bear to sleep with on the midnight shift. The bear became a "transitional object" which provided comfort to the officer when he was lonely or distressed.² Consequently, when it was stolen from the wagon along with other equipment and personal belongings, the officer was particularly upset by the loss of the bear. Mom discusses the contradictions in her role as symbolic mother, normal woman and actual cop.

They tell you they like you but then try to send you away. "We don't want you to get hurt out here so why don't you go to JAD (Juvenile Aid Division)."

Once I got pissed off at them telling me to get out. . . .I said I was sick of it. All I wanted to be was a cop and they wouldn't even let me be that. I cursed one of the guys I was arguing with and then gave him the finger and walked away. I was really angry. He was very upset that I cursed and got mad. He'd never seen me like that before.

They want me to be a Virgin Mary. Their Virgin Mary. Yet they label us dykes and whores. They have no place for us so they make us different things all the time just to find a niche. It gets you so crazy.

Dykes and Whores

Most women who manifest behaviors characteristic of the good cop and real man are masculinized. The men assume that a female officer will lose her feminine softness and become hard like a dyke or a whore when she participates in the brutal world of the street. One policeman, for example, first argued that women shouldn't be on the street because they didn't have the physical strength to handle wagon jobs which involved the transportation of hospital cases and prisoners. When I pointed out that male officers often enlisted outside help to lift bodies if the hospital case refused to walk and that heavy "D.O.A.s" were tied to reed stretchers and pushed down the stairs when the family was removed from the scene, he commented, "But the job makes you hard It does things to you. I don't even know why they (the women) want it." Another policeman complained, "They (the women) shouldn't be on this job. . .If my wife was a cop. . .I don't want to hear her

come home after a 4x12 talking about how she jacked up some cocksucker. It's just not feminine."

Although cursing is viewed as normal male police behavior it is not seen as natural to women. Consequently cursing and similar masculine behavior is viewed as a symptom of a discrepancy between actual and virtual social identity (see Goffman, 1963). She looks like a woman and acts like a man. The woman who curses is therefore stigmatized. She becomes either a whore who fools around or a dyke who "talks like a truck driver."

Hardness and cursing are usually viewed as attributes of the dyke if the female officer is aggressive as a cop but also acts cool and aloof towards the men. Her physical appearance may also contribute to her categorization. The lean or muscular woman, for example, is more likely to be viewed as a dyke. The voluptuous girl with the playboy body who is friendly or responds to the men's sexual overtures is perceived as a whore when she curses. Martin explains,

When women curse, many men become offended and withdraw the deference and respect they give to "ladies" or condemn the women's behavior by calling attention to the use of certain words rather than their meaning. For example, a policewoman working in the station with two male officers noted that she had "fucked up" a particular task. "Did you hear what she said?" asked one of the officers. "Sure I did," said the other, "but I . . . know she didn't mean to say a thing like that."
(Martin, 1980:144)

In an incident in Metro City, a female officer was in the bathroom washing her hands when the sergeant and several colleagues came into the adjoining room. They were discussing female genitals

in graphic detail. Another officer politely suggested that they end the conversation because a woman cop was in the bathroom. The sergeant, who was notorious for his hostility to the women, said loudly, "Fuck her, she's no woman. If the cunt wants to be a man, let her hear us talk." In his eyes then, any female officer was automatically a dyke and therefore could use or be exposed to "man-talk." When I asked another policeman what his colleagues thought about a particular female officer who looked feminine but occasionally cursed, he responded, "Well, she curses so they figure she fools around."

More liberal policemen are less likely to make hostile remarks if they hear a woman curse. However they do perceive the behavior as uncharacteristic of real women and therefore significant. One pretty and petite female officer, for example, brought a large male drunk into the stationhouse and put him in a holding cell. She was angry because he had continually "fatmouthed" her and, in addition, had urinated in the wagon which was both an insult and a bother. She pushed the drunk into the cell and pounded him against the wall several times as she called him every name in the book. Two male anticrime officers observed the scene and were astonished. They warmly nicknamed the woman officer, "Angel Mouth." Her behavior indicated to these policemen that she was a real cop in spite of her small stature and feminine appearance.

The gentleman police officer therefore avoids using obscenities in front of a cop he perceives as a lady. Other men escalate their use of foul language in the presence of women to test their sexuality or subject them to insult. A few men take special notice of

the woman's language but view its reasonable use as a sign of her integration into the world of the real street cop not simply a symptom of degradation.

Similarly, some female officers who are concerned about their reputations don't curse, curse alone or only in the presence of women. They are careful not to swear in front of men because "it embarrasses them." Other women simply do what is natural and risk their reputation as ladies. A few also increase their use of obscenities in the presence of men to shock them or because they perceive that cursing is the language of the real street cop.

Women who are attractive and feminine in appearance are the most likely candidates for the label of whore. If they act friendly, flirtatious, or are disliked by the men, their chances for stigmatization increase. One female officer was disliked by the men because she was viewed as an asskissing goody goody who would use her box to move up in the world. She was humiliated to discover that the men had written on the bathroom wall "Susie Jacobs sucks cock." Thus, they made her a whore who provides oral sex to the police. Even officers who are well liked by their colleagues are chronic objects of sexual solicitation by men. Martin quotes one female source,

They all tried to hit on us when we arrived, to see who could be the first to get one of us. When we had that detail, they'd line up their cars trying to get our phone numbers.

A Metro City officer describes a similar pattern of behavior on the part of male colleagues. At first the women were invited to attend some parties at the Fraternal Order of Police bar in downtown Metro

City. Once the men discovered that the female officers were not sexually available they stopped inviting them to the parties. By this time, the women had discovered that the FOP was the town meat market where cop groupies went to find a policeman for the night. Consequently, they began to refuse invitations to squad parties at the same time that the men were beginning to exclude them. A female officer explains,

See with me, we were invited in the beginning and now I realize why. It was to see if we were easy. You know, to see what they could get and when they saw there was nothing, there was no sense in inviting us anymore.

In The Choirboys, Wambaugh discusses a similar effort to make an attractive female officer named Reba Hadley into a whore. She was particularly threatening to the police because she was outspoken about the rights of female officers and their competence as cops at the same time that she remained aloof from their informal activities. Wambaugh writes,

So No-Balls Hadley was considered a rabble-rouser and trouble maker by those high ranking members of the Los Angeles Police Department who believed that women had some value in rape cases, juvenile investigations and public relations. But otherwise should keep their big fat insecure libber mouths shut because they were probably bulldykes at heart and were out to steal men's jobs. No-Balls Hadley knew that the brass was not about to give up those jobs since they had kissed so many asses to get them.

In short, No-Balls Hadley was intelligent, articulate courageous and correct most of the time. She was utterly feminine, with long shapely legs, tapering fingers, honey colored bobbed hair, naturally jutting young breasts. She was also discriminating in the

men she dated, preferring professional men of breeding and affluence, thus dashing the hopes of every policeman on the Wilshire Nightwatch. For this reason she was considered an insufferable bitch and it took the person who loved her more than any one on earth to put her in her place. (Wambaugh, 1975:78-9)

When No-Balls Hadley is attending a "respectable" squad party with some other female officers she experiences a humiliation not unfamiliar to many female officers. She decides that the party is getting out of hand and the hour is late and goes into another room to change from a bathing suit into her clothes. She takes off the bottom of the suit and sits on a glass table while she starts to put on her clothes. Meanehile, a drunk male cop has managed to sneak into the room and slip under the table. When she notices his tongue through the glass, Hadley flies into a rage and attacks the officer until she is forcibly subdued by other policemen. In this incident, the offending officer symbolically tries to make No-Balls Hadley into a category of women who belongs on the street. He neutralizes her femininity by engaging in oral sex and creating a scandal that could transform her identity from aloof bitch to whore.

Metro City police officers who did attend squad functions with male colleagues found themselves subject to gossip, and rumors which enhanced their sense of exposure and humiliation. One female officer, for example, went to the FOP for drinks after work when she was first assigned to the district. She drank with colleagues and then drove home with a female partner. When she went to work in the morning several men whom she hadn't noticed at the bar commented on the number of scotches she had consumed the night before. The men

implied that her drinking habits indicated a propensity towards sexual promiscuity. Another female officer who didn't drink alcohol sarcastically explained why she no longer attended FOP parties.

I don't go to the FOP anymore because when I did go the guys would come up to me the next morning and tell me how many ginger ales I drank before I blacked out and they all got a piece of the action.

Rogan makes similar observations regarding the problems that women in the military encountered when they socialized with men.

The very attractive women were always under suspicion. At least one had her career ruined when some foolish horseplay in which she and a male colleague indulged after a drinking spree inflated into a scandal of major proportions. (Rogan, 1980:215)

When they join the department, women police officers sacrifice their privacy. There is no place to go and relax with colleagues unless they are willing to further jeopardize their reputations. But, they're damned if they do and damned if they don't. As soon as she becomes a cop, the officer's sexuality is called into question. The woman police officer loses her feminine identity and becomes a known category of female who inhabits the street. If she refuses to attend social events and acts aloof with the men, they assume that she's gay. If she drinks with the guys and seems friendly and attractive, they think she's a whore. And, regardless of her actual behavior, rumors will proliferate regarding her sexual orientation and conduct.

Departmental Policy and Desexualization

The attempt to defeminize the women by making them dykes or whores is not simply a natural response by rank and file officers who are unaccustomed to the presence of women. At times in Metro City, it appeared to be an informal departmental policy to discredit the women and encourage them to leave the street. The Mayor, for example, publicly proclaimed that any woman who wanted to become a street cop was a "lesbi." The uniform issued to the female recruits contributed to their defeminization. As it was tailored for men, the pants were low in the crotch and loose at the waist if they fit around the hips. The leather jackets had enormous shoulders which buried most women and distorted their figures. The dress code requirement that women wear bras and T-shirts could also be viewed as an attempt to neutralize female sexuality. If the women wore bras and T-shirts beneath their blouses and uniform coats, then their breasts would be hidden. One recruit, for example, who was wearing both bra and T-shirt, was ordered by the Captain to write a disciplinary memo explaining why her bra line showed through her blouse. Apparently, the fact that the bra line showed indicated to the Captain that she either wasn't wearing one or her T-shirt was too thin. Although the officer did not violate formal rules regarding dress, she apparently broke informal ones. She displayed evidence of female sexuality.³ Rogan observes a similar requirement for women in the military.

The only difference between a male and female uniform was that the females had to wear the jacket top of their fatigues loose instead of tucked into their pants, so as not to incite the males. (Rogan, 1981:37)

Women on patrol were also required to get haircuts as short as the men's. They could not wear colored nail polish, earrings, or any other feminine accoutrement. As few of these regulations related to safety or neatness, most women perceived them as attempts to sabotage their femininity and make them feel like men. One attractive female officer commented, "Well, if ya got it (femininity) they can't take it away from you, but they sure as hell try."

Some women who felt less secure in their sexual identity or who could no longer tolerate the social isolation and sexual harassment they experienced on the job did leave the masculine realm of the street. Officer Smith for example told me that she decided to transfer to JAD because she was sick of chronic harassment from her supervisors and was tired of looking like a dyke. She wanted to grow her hair long and feel like a woman again. Many of the female officers who left the street were considered good cops by male colleagues.*

When Smith put in her resignation for example, a male colleague begged me to persuade her to stay.

The girls have ruined the job for us by coming on the street (because surveillance was increased and formal rules more likely to be enforced). But damn it, they ought to stick it out. Can't you do something?

Several months after the women graduated from the Academy, the department conducted a campaign to get the women off the street and

*Several friends of her also told me that they thought her boyfriend was pressuring her to leave the street.

into the Juvenile Aid Division. Positions in JAD suddenly opened up for female rookies although no equivalent jobs were available to men. Apparently, there was intense pressure to transfer because it could be used as evidence to prove that women could not handle the job. One officer who originally wanted to join Juvenile Aid Division rather than patrol, decided to interview for a transfer with the position became available. She was allegedly informed by the Director of Administration that she could transfer if she signed a statement professing incompetence in patrol work. Fearing such a statement would be used against the woman in court, she refused to sign and decided to remain on the street. When rumors regarding sexual harassment increased to the point where the FBI initiated an investigation, the department apparently softened its tactics. JAD transfers no longer were instructed to sign incompetence statements but just had to resign as police officers to become policewomen, thus forfeiting promotional and job opportunities open to men.

The JAD openings coupled with an informal police of defeminization and harassment, composed a clever strategy to get the women off the street. JAD provided an alternative path for women who resented defeminization because they could leave the masculine realm of the street and do inside work in a traditionally female domain. JAD women could regain their feminine status, grow their hair long, wear women's clothes, makeup and jewelry. Although the campaign had some victories, it was not as successful as the department had hoped. A Chief Inspector and the head of the Training Division commented, "But they're determined. . . .We expected another twenty to go but

there appears to be a conspiracy to stick this battle out."

Informal departmental policies and attitude not only reflected the categorization of women as dykes but also as whores. Apparently, the department feared that the attractive woman police officer would gain control of the men through sex. She would be irresistible to the male officers who were assumed to have little control over their erotic impulses. On duty sexual activity would reach scandalous proportions. Extramarital affairs would increase. The divorce rate would soar and the wives of policemen would riot against the department.⁴ In order to avoid this possibility, the department attempted to isolate the men from the women. Men and women were not allowed to ride together in patrol cars and interaction between female recruits and male officers was discouraged.

From the moment the women entered the Academy investigations into their moral conduct were initiated. A male and married female recruit were fired on grounds of moral turpitude. They had risked their jobs by openly displaying their affections in public. A veteran policeman who was dating a female officer prior to her appointment was investigated for conduct unbecoming an officer. Both parties were legally separated from their spouses. They were placed under surveillance and ultimately brought up on formal charges of moral turpitude. The couple sued the department on constitutional grounds and the surveillance was stopped and charges were dropped. Although the female officer remained on patrol, the male officer continued to suffer harassment. He was transferred to an isolated post in the park and colleagues were told not to talk with him. He provided the perfect

martyr to warn all the male officers that they should stay away from the women if they wanted a healthy career.

A married male officer testified that he had had an affair with a married female cop who worked in an adjoining district. Although she claimed that he lied because the department as well as his wife apparently pressured him to make the statement, formal charges were filed. The female officer was forced to resign although the man kept his position. Later the department allegedly had the female officer fired from a new job as a security guard. The female officer's colleagues were particularly upset about the dismissal because she was well liked and respected as a police officer. The woman was also quiet, reserved and discreet, the last person that anyone would suspect of being a whore. Many of her partners, in fact, assumed that the male officer had lied and the female was framed. Whatever the truth, they all felt the man's betrayal was a disgrace. Several of her colleagues threatened to harm her alleged lover if they even saw his face in the district.

In addition to formal charges filed against particular officers, there were constant rumors regarding some sex scandals which were about to blow the department wide open. Usually the rumors involved a female officer who allegedly provided sexual services to the squad or district during on duty hours. Although none of the alleged scandals involving female officers ever materialized, some scandals involving the extracurricular activities of policemen did erupt.

In one incident, for example, three policemen were put under investigation for the alleged rape of an 11 year old girl.

Simultaneously there were investigations into allegations that two patrolmen had engaged in oral sex with a fifteen year old girl while both men were off duty.

A few months later, four city policemen were arrested at a stripper bar and charged with voluntary deviate sexual intercourse with a dancer during a bachelor party for a fellow officer. A Sergeant nicknamed the Frog by his female subordinates was also transferred to an adjacent district after he was caught in a bar with a nude dancer. He had his face buried in her crotch when Internal Security happened to walk into the bar and suggested he stop. The Frog hadn't known that the bar was under surveillance.

In spite of intense concern over the sexual lives of female officers, the Chief of Administration did say that the segregation policy "isn't sexual." In spite of court testimony to the contrary, there was also no scientific or legal basis to the department's decision to place new female recruits in one man cars without preliminary training with veterans. There is, however an alternative explanation. Sexual segregation directives which precluded the possibility that women receive on the job training, served to limit their exposure to the informal aspects of the job. Female police officers would be isolated from the men's informal world of routine lying, clean money, easy sex and normal violence in the same way as their wives. The department's policy therefore served to maintain the split between the domestic and public spheres as much as possible.

In summary, the departmental elite and the policemen themselves viewed women in terms of three categories, real women, dykes

and whores. The real women were desexualized and protected from the informal world of the street. At the same time they were encouraged to leave patrol and join an inside realm like JAD where they could retain their feminine status. Policies of sexual segregation also served to reproduce the split between domestic and public spheres and keep the women isolated from the informal world of men. Women who stayed on the street were viewed as dykes and whores. The categorization served a useful purpose because it made females vulnerable to departmental investigation and formal reprimand. If they committed the crime of moral turpitude, they could be fired. Sex role stereotyping, therefore, is a weapon of social control. If the whore or dyke did discover man's informal world of violence, corruption and lying, she would not expose it lest he turn around and betray her. In contrast to the real woman then, who is clean, the dyke and whore are categories of women who are as dirty as men. The neutralization of feminine sexuality is therefore a necessary aspect of joining the policeman's world.

The Female Officer as an Honorary Man

Although most female officers are viewed by most policemen as real women, dykes or whores, the exceptional woman can gain complimentary status as a man-woman. In order to do so she must prove that she is not as pure as the real woman but not as corrupt as the whore. She must act masculine enough to fit into man's world without appearing so manly that she is labelled a dyke. The honorary female-man

must successfully negotiate characteristics of the real man and the real woman so as to construct an alternative category of woman. Most important, she must seem feminine and, at the same time appear competent in her ability to use normal violence and routine lying. She must display courage and know how to keep her mouth closed.

One woman officer, for example, was sitting at home watching television when she heard the news reports about some female officer in the department who was being sued for brutality. The officer ran through some of the names of her female colleagues who she viewed as violence prone "amazons" likely to be formally charged. However, it turned out that she was the defendant in the suit. The next day the officer walked inside the district and received a standing ovation from the male members of her squad. She was told with great warmth, "You can use our urinal now." Thus, she attained a complimentary status as a real man and real cop when she was sued for brutality and thereby proved to the men that she was "normally violent."

In another incident in which another attractive female officer used her fists in a fight with a large man, the male officers whispered among themselves, "The cunt has balls." As there is no known category of female with courage, a woman with guts who can employ violence inevitably gains masculine status. This is particularly apparent if the woman is attractive and feminine yet does not assume the identity of a known category of woman who inhabits the street such as a whore.

A woman who worked in another district discussed her role as mother or sister. She was a warm person with a gentle manner. At the same time, she was tall with a strong, hefty build which befitted her

extracurricular athletic activities. She neither cursed nor flirted with the men but remained friendly but reserved. She avoided socializing with squad members and thereby maintained a strict separation between her personal and public life. Although she did not seem particularly motherly toward the men, they liked her and made her a nurutring sister. She explained that the men "acted like babies who needed a lot of attention." As they always seemed to come to her for aspirin when they had a headache or a hangover, she had begun to carry a bottle of bufferin on a regular basis. Her role was transformed, however, after an incident occurred a few months after her assignment to the district. She was working a "solo" when she observed another patrol car making a motor vehicle stop. As he had not called the incident in over the radio, she went to back him up. As she approached she saw the policeman being brutally beaten up by a large male civilian. She ran over to the suspect, jacked him, pulled him off the officer and placed him under arrest. Although the male officer only suffered minor injuries, he didn't show up at work for weeks because he was embarrassed that a woman had rescued him. The incident, however, established the female officer's identity as a reliable partner. Although the men still requested aspirin, they also began to treat her as a colleague. She was expected to share the burden of real policeowrk. Thus the sister who provided drugs to the sick boy was granted a new street identity. One policeman commented warmly, "Oh Mary, she's a good cop. She's my main girl."⁵

NOTES ON CHAPTER IX

1. In general, policemen appear to distinguish between white and black women in terms of their familiarity and competence on the street. Black women were viewed as part of the informal world while white women were kept on a pedestal at home. One black cop, for example, suggested that the black women were different kind of fighters than white women. "Never trust a black woman because she will fight wild. . . . She will tear you apart. . . . A white woman hasn't learned to street fight as well." This black officer, however, viewed the problem as experiential rather than biological in contrast to white officers who appeared to feel that black women were naturally superior policewomen because they fit into the informal world of the street. In a sense, the white cops seemed to view all black women as "whores," where only some kinds of white women were "whores." In general black male cops seemed more supportive of both black and white female officers regardless of class. Their own experience with women as competent persons in the work world may have influenced this view. In addition many rank and file black policemen joined the department after a race discrimination suit forced the city to hire them. Consequently they identified with the women as victims of discrimination. I did not see any class difference between white and black females nor middle and lower class women in terms of their ability to use force or handle stressful situations on the street. Differences appeared individual.

2. A transitional object is an object, such as a blanket or a stuffed animal which facilitates the infant's separation from the mother in the separation-individuation process (see Winnicott, 1953).

3. The female officer ordered to write the bra line memo was very attractive. However she was slender and small breasted and did not flaunt her sexuality and bring undue attention to herself.

4. As most members of the elite had been cops themselves, they were fully aware of the routine nature of the policeman's extramarital escapades with the civilian female population. They knew that "There's nothing these new rookies can do that hasn't been done before." Thus, their fears of male sexual vulnerability can only be understood as a disguise for other more paramount concerns. First the department feared that women would bring out the "feminine" in men. They would incite the men to lose control and become volatile and emotional. They would, perhaps, symbolically act unreasonable and rebel against the department.

5. Main girl is a take off on "main man." Main man refers to the street junkie's major drug connection.

CHAPTER X

THE CULTURAL MEANING OF FEMINIZATION
AND THE DANGER OF WOMEN

Some sociologists concerned with women working in fields traditionally defined as male, recognize that "sex role stereotyping" is a dominant feature of the social organization. Moss Kanter, for example, suggests that women who do men's work in corporations are encapsulated into stereotypical roles. These include the mother, seductress, pet and Iron Maiden (Moss Kanter, 1977:230-7). Martin also discusses sex role stereotyping in relation to women in the Metropolitan Police Force.

In interaction on the job, policemen cast female officers into several stereotypic roles which closely reflect their linguistic categories for dealing with women (Kanter, 1974) and place themselves in parallel counterroles (Bradford et al., 1975) which have a semi-sexual basis, limit participants' behavioral options, and are particularly harmful for policewomen performance. These role pairs include the seductress and the "macho"; the helpless maiden and the alrous knight; the pet and the tough warrior. Women are pressed to choose among the sexually available seductress ("broad") and the sexually inactive Maiden, mother ("Lady") and pet ("girl") roles or be labeled lesbian, bitch or "funny" for their failure to flirt, foster the men's sense of masculinity, or acknowledge the men's superiority. (Martin, 1980:151)

However, neither Kanter nor Martin offer an explanation for "sex role stereotyping" nor do they explore the underlying logic of male ideology.

Martin, for example, simply attributes female "role entrapment" and the exclusion of women from informal power networks to "the forces of traditionalism and resistance to change, . . . (which) have retarded the hiring of policewoman" (Martin, 1980:27).

If we view the categories of women in terms of the split between domestic and public domains, however, we can analyze the significance of sex role stereotyping and the opposition to the introduction of women into the informal world of men. Once we grasp the taken for granted meaning of femininity in the context of the social construction of masculine gender, we can begin to understand why women who enter male domains are either transformed into dykes and whores or excluded from participation in the public world of men and encouraged to go back inside the home.

Martin and Moss Kanter's stereotypes, for example, can be viewed in terms of the categories of women who belong in the domestic and public realms. The "pet," "Mother," "inactive or helpless maiden" are kinds of real women who belong in the domestic domain as wife, mother, daughter or sister. In contrast, the "lesbian" or "Iron Maiden" are subsumed within the category of dyke who belongs on the street. Similarly, "Broad" or "seductress" are whore-like females who belong in the public sphere of men.

The natural femininity of the real woman is associated with moral purity and physical cleanliness. In contrast to the real woman who belongs in the home, real men who work outside on the street are viewed as dirty. On the one hand, the construction of masculinity itself involves the rejection and devaluation of the feminine world of the real

woman (see Chodorow, 1978). At the same time, it necessitates active participation in an outside sphere characterized by normal violence, clean money, routine lying and easy sex. As femininity inside the home is associated with purity, outside the home it is tied to the formal institutions and rules which enforce legal compliance to a moral order. In contrast, masculinity is connected to an informal world of dirt and degradation which implicitly violates the formal domain.

If the real woman leaves the pure world of the home and enters the dirty sphere of the street, she becomes a formidable threat. As a representative of the formal order, the real woman on the street could expose man's informal activities and thus subvert the very basis of his masculine identity. Underlying one policeman's concern that "They'll (the women) give it all up in two years and write a book" lies the fear of emasculation. Another policeman suggested, "Women don't belong on the street. . . They just don't belong. . . (because) They're taking something away from us." The integration of the real women into the public sphere of men implies the subversion of the masculine identity of the real cop because she could expose its very roots; the participation in an informal world of easy sex, normal violence, clean money and routine lying. Her exclusion from his informal world therefore becomes necessary in order to protect himself from exposure. Alternatively, an incident which occurred in the Metro City police department soon after the women went out on patrol, illustrates the men's attempts to make the real woman into a whore in order to neutralize her femininity. It also displays their fear that they will lose their power and masculinity if they cannot maintain control of the woman by

making her into a dyke or a whore. The incident takes the form of a rumor with several versions. As a rumor, it can be viewed as a meaningful construction of culturally significant events.

One day I walk into the district. A black veteran officer and a white rookie are sitting on a bench in the rollcall room. The two officers begin to kid around with me. Finally the veteran asks me, "Would you do that?" After I request more information regarding the nature of "that," he asks, "Would you shoot a guy in the balls?" I comment that "It depends on the circumstance but I don't think I would shoot him in the balls. I would shoot him in the head." Both officers comment, "Well, I guess she's not the one." I respond smiling, "Yes it must be one of the others, because I'm right here."

Later, one of the officers explains the rumor to me. It has several versions. In the first version, one of the female observers shot a cop in the balls in a dispute which took place in the woods behind the police academy. Apparently, he asked her to give him a "blow job." She refused and the struggle began. She took his gun away and shot him in the groin. The second version of the rumor is the same except the female fieldworker is alleged to be a female police officer. At a later time, I hear the final version of the rumor. Apparently, a police officer and his girlfriend had a dispute and there was a struggle for his revolver and she accidentally shot him. It is neither clear where the dispute occurred nor what the argument concerned. Apparently, however, the female involved is neither a police officer nor an observer and the male officer was not shot in the groin.

The first two versions of the rumor suggest that the culprit is a female officer or an observer. Both fieldworker and officer symbolize the "real woman" who penetrates the public sphere. Consequently, they are dangerous to men unless they are controlled. One way of controlling the dangerous female is to defeminize her and make her a prostitute. The prostitute is a known category of female

who belongs in the public domain. Like a man, a prostitute is impure and corrupt. She sells herself to make a profit. She takes money in exchange for sex. In contrast, to the real woman, the prostitute is part of man's informal world. She is streetwise, curses and engages in the dirty sex the wife avoids. She gives blow jobs and hand jobs. In contrast to the real woman, a prostitute is unlikely to expose the informal activity of a police officer because it could implicate herself. The police have as much compromising information on the prostitute as she as on him.

In order to control the evaluator and the female officer, then, the policeman tries to make her a prostitute. In the rumor, he asks for a "blow job." She refuses to engage in oral sex and thereby maintains her feminine purity. As a result, she usurps his power and takes his gun. Then, the woman punishes the police officer for his illicit request by shooting him in the groin. It is also significant that the incident is alleged to have occurred in the woods in back of the Police Academy. While informal rules are taught on the street, formal law and departmental directives are taught at the Police Academy. Thus it is logical that the male officer is exposed and punished in the woods near the Academy rather than on the street.

Sex

The real woman who enters the public sphere will inevitably learn about the policeman's illicit sexual activities with the easy women who inhabit the street. If she acts in a feminine manner and follows the formal rules, she may tell the policeman's wife as well

as the department about what she sees. One male officer for example, discusses his opposition to women police. At first he expressed concern about her loss of femininity which was associated with cursing and the use of force. However when I suggested that, "Isn't part of what you guys are afraid of is that the women will find out the secrets, like how you cover for each other in the district when the wife calls?" He shook his head in confirmation and another policeman commented, "You have a point." A female officer made a similar observation,

Q: So, the outlaws, your group, do they go party with the cops too?

A: No. . .most of the cops are drunks. . . and they get out of hand. . . See our guys don't like us to go because there they get drunk as skunks, they have the local pigs come in and they get, you know, the blow job. . . That's what I've seen. I know they're uncomfortable with us there, particular when we go to other parties and they're there with their wives. It makes them very uncomfortable that we know.

Although the women were sometimes invited to squad parties open to the public, few were invited to attend the private festivities which celebrated some masculine rite de passage. For example, a sergeant in one squad refused to invite female rookies to a retirement party even though all the male rookies and veteran officers were asked to attend. Apparently a topless Go Go dancer was expected to provide entertainment and the sergeant was afraid that the women would report any incidents. One female officer was particularly angered and hurt by the exclusion, in part because the party took place on her birthday. However,

she recognized that the men didn't invite the women because "They're afraid we're all ginks (rats)." As a show of sympathy, some male rookies and veterans left the party early and attended a birthday gathering at a local bar for the female officer.

The exclusion of women from the squad party was only the tip of the iceberg. The sergeant himself was known as an ambivalent man who felt deep hatred for women. Once he handcuffed a female officer to a chair in the district and refused to unlock the cuffs. Although the woman publicly laughed at the joke, other female officers viewed it as a manifestation of his sadistic attitude toward the women. This particular squad was also notorious for its extracurricular sexual escapades, some of which eventually made the headlines of local newspapers. Thus the retirement party disguised a number of activities which were occurring within the squad and served as a convenient focus for the men's fear of women.

Corruption

The morally pure woman is also perceived as too honest to take graft. If she did sell herself for money, she would cease to be a woman and instead become a whore. Consequently, the female police officers were assumed to be untrustworthy members prior to their normal initiation into the world of the street. As women were not tested in the same way as men, it was less likely that they would be socialized into corruption like male rookies. Thus, real women were not invited to join the informal world of the grafter and the men's fears about the honest woman became a self fulfilling prophecy. He reproduced the clean

women in everyday life because he assumed she was pure and consequently excluded her from his informal world. A female police officer discusses this issue.

Q: Do you think more of the women now who are on the street stay clean while the men are more like to get involved?

A: Definitely. . .the men are taken under the wing alot easier than women are. Now I've got almost three years in. . .and I'm being more ostracized now than ever. . .especially now that I've proven myself. And where the men go out and play basketball with the guys and go drink with them afterwards. See, with me we were invited in the beginning and now I realize why. It was to see if we were easy. You know, to see what they could get and when they saw there was nothing, there was no sense inviting us any more.

Q: So now the guys you're closed to are the guys who are clean?

A: Right, and I notice that the cops who like me and who spend time with me and talk to me are the ones who I respect as professionals.

Q: I was wondering, are they also ostracized? Yes, as a matter of fact, they're also ostracized. . .We call ourselves the outlaws. We're not in the crowd.

If the woman is willing to sacrifice her feminine identity and become a whore by participating in the policeman's illicit sexual world, then he is more likely to include her in more lucrative aspects of his informal world. If she's not "easy," however, he has no choice but to leave her outside of his world.

Violence

The fear that women are too physically weak and emotionally

volatile to employ legal force in order to subdue a struggling suspect disguises the deeper concern that she is too pure to use normal violence. Instead she will expose the policemen who employ extralegal force and turn them over to the authorities. A police account of an illegal shooting illustrates his symbolic fear of women.

Pandora's Box

The police dispatcher announced a burglary in progress over the radio. The two anticrime officers responded to the scene where the incident allegedly was occurring. They observed an open property and a boy running away from the location where the incident allegedly took place. The boy was carrying a box in his hands. With guns drawn, the two officers pursued the boy on foot. One officer's gun went off wounding the boy in the leg. The suspect was then apprehended. According to the officer his gun discharged when he tripped and fell. Soon the story of the shooting was all over the district. Many police officers felt it was a "bad shooting," a shooting with no legal cause or social legitimacy. They referred to the incident as "Pandora's Box" because the officer who shot the suspect didn't know what the box contained.

In this incident, the box symbolically contained the lie that the police officer constructed in order to protect himself from formal charges in a "bad shooting." It is no accident that the box is Pandora's. In all her naive curiosity, the woman opens the box and unleashes man's evil and corruption on the world and himself. The real woman symbolically exposes the lie which protects informal activity from scrutiny.

Lying

If the female officer is perceived as a real woman who is too morally pure to participate in the policeman's informal world of easy sex, clean money and normal violence, she would not have to lie to cover herself in the face of formal investigations into illicit conduct. If one cop refuses to lie, the others fear exposure. The fear of women as truth tellers was highlighted in an incident which occurred in Metro City.

In the late 1970's there was an official investigation by the District Attorney's office into possible cheating on the sergeant's examination by approximately thirty-one police officers. The investigation stemmed from reports that copies of the sergeant's exam were available for sale before the test date. Promotions for the thirty-one officers under investigation were delayed for six months while the investigation took place. Although the District Attorney did not order lie detector tests for all accused officers, he did agree to clear any officer who voluntarily took a lie detector test and passed. It appeared unlikely, however, that any policeman would cooperate because it was against the policy of the Fraternal Order of Police to submit to lie detector tests in official investigations. The FOP claimed that the tests were unreliable and inadmissible as evidence in court. Consequently the organization refused to supply legal aid to any officer who took the test. Although lie detector tests are by no means scientific truth detectors, the FOP policy does serve to protect policemen against investigations into routine lying. As long as they lie skillfully, the police are relatively immune from detection

or prosecution for perjury.

One of the thirty-one officers accused of cheating on the examination was a woman who had worked in one of the divisions under investigation. Although no male officer followed suit, the female officer agreed to take a lie detector test in order to clear her name and avoid extensive delay in promotion. Although her decision violated the advice of the accused officers' lawyers as well as FOP policy, she took the test and passed. As a result she was promoted with the rest of the class.

When her action became public, she was ostracized by her colleagues. She explained, "I walked into the office and they guys just turned their backs on me. None of them would say a word." At the promotional ceremonies, a former Lieutenant did try to provide comfort. He explained, "It'll take awhile. Stand firm. It'll all pass in time."

In her own mind, of course, the female officer felt she had done nothing wrong. She hadn't exposed individual colleagues but simply cleared her own name. In the minds of the men, however, her act constituted a symbolic exposure of their informal world. If she agreed to take the lie detector test, the public would wonder why no one else followed suit, unless of course they were all guilty. In addition, the public would question the rationality of the FOP stance regarding the unreliability of the lie detector test. Her actions, therefore, brought forth the possibility that the FOP stance was a cover for policemen who routinely lie.

The female officer's results on the lie detector test are

particularly interesting in the context of events which occurred some years before. The Mayor of Metro City, a former cop who rose through the ranks to become Police Commissioner, had also volunteered to take a lie detector test in relation to allegations of corrupt political dealings. In contrast to the female officer, however, he flunked the test. His failure is particularly interesting in view of his past reputation as a street cop. He was known as a womanizer, headbeater and grafter. In contrast to the woman who epitomized the formal world of purity and cleanliness, he represented the informal world of immorality and pollution.

Several months after her promotion, the officer took a leave of absence from the police force. By this time she was working as a sergeant in a high crime district and was apparently well respected by her subordinates. However, she had been denied a transfer to the Police Academy, a clean, inside location which would provide an alternative to the dirty world of the street. Eventually, the officer resigned, claiming that she was tired of being punished for her competence and honesty as a professional police officer. At the same time, she was sick of the corruption and brutality of most of the district cops who she perceived as incompetent slobs. In addition, her recent marriage to a wealthy politician who preferred traditional marital arrangements to the independent, working wife, provided the final impetus to end her career in the police department. Her marriage provided a means to leave the informal world of the street and retain her status as a real woman in the formal sphere of the home. As her husband himself was an elite participant in the informal world of

patronage politics, her new status had its contradictions. She was now the typical wife of the working man. She maintained the appearance of feminine cleanliness while her husband did the dirty work in the public sphere. She maintained a refuge from the marketplace; a place of emotional and physical refueling so that he could go do men's work in the informal world of the street. Thus, in symbolic terms, the clean woman in the home conceals her oppositional self, the dirty woman of the street. The real woman disguises the whore in the home. It is she who reproduces the psycho-social conditions which allow men to participate in an informal world of their own.

CHAPTER XI

FEMININE MALES

In contrast to the real woman who works in an inside sphere performing activities associated with social service and the care of children, real men work outside on the street fighting crime and rescuing victims. While real women are viewed as morally clean and sexually pure, real men participate in an informal world dominated by patronage politics, normal violence, clean money and easy sex.

Given the view of masculine and feminine genders which underlies the policeman's definition of himself and his job, we can logically assume that the policeman who does woman's work or who displays characteristics associated with femininity may be viewed with suspicion. Not only is his status as a man in doubt, but also his credentials as a cop. In addition, the real cop fears the feminine man for the same reason he fears the real woman. If the man is clean, his colleagues have nothing on him. Like the real woman, the feminine man can expose their informal activities without risk to himself.

Serpico provides a classic example of a policeman whose sexual credentials were called into question because he displayed characteristics associated with femininity and did not participate in man's informal world. Serpico was a clean cop. Although he took meals at a discount, he refused to become involved in any other form

of clean or dirty money. He took neither a legal note nor an illegal gratuity. Serpico refused to participate in the informal political system. As he owed no favors and asked none, he had no connection to help him obtain his career goals.

He did not have, nor did he attempt to develop any "rabbis"--people in high places in the department--to advance his career, as so many other cops did as a matter of course. (Maas, 1973:110)

Although he was part crime fighter and consequently pursued the Detective's Gold Shield, the real cop's symbol of success, he was also community oriented. He prepared himself for policework with juveniles by becoming a youth worker with the Mayor's Youth Board prior to joining the force (Ibid., 1973:47). He felt that police should serve the public and help people, not exploit and alienate them. Consequently, he was disillusioned by the antagonistic relationship he observed between the police and the populace.

If cops talked to people more, instead of just other cops, if they took the initiative in reaching out to them, Serpico was certain they could break down some of the barriers. (91)

Complementing his social service orientation, was an apparent reservation in the use of normal abstract violence. Serpico preferred verbal to physical means to resolve conflicts or accomplish policework. After a detective beat a rap suspect, he was turned over to Serpico. Serpico removed the handcuffs, took him for lunch and talked to him. In this manner, Serpico gained the suspect's trust and he confessed the names of his accomplices.

Finally, Serpico did not appear to engage in the customary "man talk" which helps affirm masculine identity between policemen. He neither talked about sports nor about sex (8). Although he had attractive girlfriends, his off duty extracurricular activities also included an interest in poetry, gourmet cooking, ballet and opera (7-9). Not only did he enjoy feminine pastimes, but he also did women's work. He was handy with a needle and thread and repaired his own jeans (4). He also did his own laundry until a girlfriend came along and insisted that that was "woman's work" and she would do it for him (7).

Serpico didn't look like a real cop or a real man any more than he acted like one. He lived in Greenwich Village and dressed like a hippy with beard, long hair and one earring in his ear.

Perhaps it would have been easier for them if Serpico fitted a recognizable puritanical mold. But he dressed like a hippie and sported a beard and long hair, and he lived in a bachelor pad in Greenwich Village doing, in their minds, God knows what. In the suburban tract houses with tiny, neatly trimmed lawns where most of the city's policemen lived, in the saloons where they gathered, in the precinct houses and radio cars, Serpico became the prime topic of conversation. One frequently repeated rumor about him held that he was "part spic and part Ethiopian, and speaks a funny sort of Italian," as if this somehow explained everything. (23)

Most important, Serpico was a rat. Out of idealism, honesty and commitment to a formal moral order, he did what no other policeman dared to do. He publicly exposed the informal world of police corruption and testified against fellow officers in the Knapp Commission hearings.

Given Serpico's feminine characteristics and activities, it is not surprising that he was labelled a homosexual by colleagues.

During his tenure at BCI (Bureau of Criminal Investigations), the unit's Inspector accused him of engaging in homosexual acts with another policeman. Although no official action was taken because there was no proof, five years later the charge was dredged up in an attempt to discredit his testimony when he took the witness stand against a corrupt cop (98-99).

A Metro City policeman provides another example of an officer whose identity as a real cop was suspect because he demonstrated characteristics associated with femininity. In contrast to Serpico, Joe was married. He was also less isolated from colleagues and enjoyed squad athletic activities which were perceived as masculine. Although he was honest, he preferred to leave the department rather than rat on his colleagues in order to maintain his ideals. Consequently, he was never directly accused of homosexuality by any member of the police force. However, he was a service oriented policeman with a college degree who refused to participate in the real cop's informal world of patronage politics, corruption and easy sex. As a result he was perceived as only half a cop and something less than a man.

In contrast to Serpico who sported the hippie look, Joe was clean cut and neat in appearance. Like Serpico, who had college credits in sociology, however, Joe did have a university degree. Thus, in spite of his more traditional life style, Joe was also viewed as a dangerous liberal who was more sympathetic to the community than to the police. He explains,

This was the late sixties when I went in (to college). And I remember all these kids were raising their hands and condemned the police and the police were pigs and I remember thinking,

Oh, they're wrong. How could they be so misconceived to think that a policeman would be on the take. And how could they be so naive as to think that. . . . And obviously it turned out that the only naive one in the class was me.

When I first graduated from the Academy, I was assigned to ride with a veteran officer named Mike. Mike did not talk much. And, trying to make conversation and being very naive, I said to him, "I went to Metro College Mike. . ." And that was a mistake. He said, "You went to college?" And I said, "Yeh, yeh, I did." And that was the last time we talked for a long time. The implication was that, "Hey, he's a liberal. He's not to be trusted." I don't know all the implications. Then it really took a long time to prove myself to them. But I never fit in.

Although Joe shared the normal policeman's dislike for the community, he still retained a feminine social service orientation. He was both a social worker and a crime fighter.

I enjoyed the human services aspects of it (the Academy training). Looking back. . . I guess that's why I didn't fit in. I really enjoyed the service aspects. Not that I didn't like the crime fighting. That was good. But the opportunity to help people. I mean you could actually go out there and really do something for a family and help them get through their day a little bit better.

Thus Joe enjoyed many of the "bullshit jobs" which fell outside the crime fighting category which composed real policework. These included missing person jobs as well as family disputes.

Missing kids are not taken seriously. And a lot of them are phony junk calls. But a real missing persons case is part of the policeman's job which is half social service and half crime fighting. I enjoyed them because you really could do a service. With that type of thing, the mother is honestly grateful that you have just settled her

mind. But that's not the way the department says to handle it (through investigation by the policeman on the street). Because what you are supposed to do is take all this paperwork into the district where the operations room guys are and then they laugh you out of the place. They don't want to hear it because (to them) all missing people are runaways and there's not a serious missing persons case that could ever be in existence and they don't want to hear it. Real cops don't want to handle missing persons.

Like Serpico, Joe was clean. He took only the minimum of legal gratuities such as free coffee or dry cleaning at cost. He would not accept even a legal note and expressed guilt when he confessed that he once kept a five dollar bill which was thrown in the car window by a grateful old lady. He had transported her to a special hospital outside of the district and she had tried to thank him with the note. He refused twice and as he put the car in gear, she threw it through the window.

As Joe wouldn't take, he was transferred to sectors where there were no clubs, bars or other locations where supervisors collected organized graft. He explained,

Oh, you eventually get transferred somewhere where your innocence won't get in the way. Innocence or with me, it was eventually my choice not to get involved and that's a test too.

Although Joe enjoyed sports and played baseball with colleagues, he was viewed as odd because he never engaged in "man talk." He didn't curse.

I don't know why but I know that my wife and I very seldom curse and that doesn't mean that one person's better than the other, but it's just something we don't do. . . .

Even then (when I lose my temper), I didn't curse.

In fact, they used to kid me. . . .When I got mad I called the guy a creep and they knew that I was going to snap out. . . .When I said creep. And I remember one time, and it was a softball game. I generally played shortstop on the softball team. I got very mad at myself if I made an error because, well, I know a lot about baseball. And there was one time, CC, he was playing third base. And I was playing shortstop and the ball came by. And I just completely bungled the ball and I said, "shit." You know and CC stops the game and gets everybody out on the field and said, "Did you hear that. Joe Smith, he cursed. I heard him. My God after five years we heard him. He's human."

Not only was Joe perceived as a liberal with a social service orientation who refused to take money or engage in "man-talk" with the guys, but he also did not participate in their informal world of drinking and easy sex.

You prove yourself. You prove you can be trusted. You prove you can perform in various situations that a cop has to. . . .you prove that you won't turn anybody in for anything and you prove that you will get just as mad at the people in the district as they can. But I never fit in. It starts out minor. It starts out mostly on "Last out" (12x8). I'm not just saying just getting a free cup of coffee. They are individual decisions and I don't think even the public condemns that right now. But the test will be like, getting a couple of six packs out of the bar in the evening and going where there's a bunch of guys drinking and they say to you, "Joe, do you want a beer?" And I said, "No." And they're a little upset that I say no but the big thing is are you gonna tell everybody that we're drinking beer. And I know what image I want to portray and what morals and standards I have and if they want to do that. . . .Mine was live and let live.

. . . .And everybody knew. I don't know if it was just one incident but I was constantly saying no

to beer, constantly saying no to the girls, I guess the girls were the big thing.

The bottom line was that once I became a veteran, nobody wanted to ride with me. And the reason that nobody wanted to ride with me was that I wouldn't drink.

As a result of Joe's refusal to participate in the informal world which defines a policeman as a real man and a cop, he was perceived as only half a cop.

Exactly, I was half a cop. I didn't fit. Good cops play hard and work hard. When it's time to work, they do a fantastic job. Anytime an emergency call comes over the radio, there is not a cop in that district, even the bagman, who won't respond because you're gettin paid and you come on to be a real policeman that chases over roof tops and rescues victims, captures rapists and everybody responds. But when you don't get those emergency jobs, then it's time to play hard. . . You go get Jill and Josie. You go get your payoffs and you go get your six pack of beer and you go down to the piers and in our case the river and you just party like hell until a real job comes along again and then you all go race to the real job. Well, the problem is or what I saw was the problem or why I was considered a problem was that I would show up at all the real jobs. . . so I was half a good cop but I wouldn't want to party. They'd all go back to the pier and finish the beer and go with the girls and I'd go over to John's gas station and read. So O.K., he's wierd. We can trust him now because he won't tell but he's really wierd. I was half a cop. I responded just like the real cops did but I wouldn't play.

When Joe could no longer tolerate the corruption and lack of professionalism among his fellow officers, he decided to leave the street and work in a clean, inside location such as the Juvenile Aid Division. However, he could not obtain informal means. Like Serpico, he had no rabbi. In addition, Joe was not trusted by his colleagues who

preferred to limit his access to knowledge by leaving him in the same place throughout his career. If he decided to rat, he could do relatively little damage.

Politics took the form. . .well after about four years on I realized that these guys were just getting on my nerves and I would go home and I was feeling miserable at home and I realized that it was time for a change. And so I thought I would get into some nice good unit which investigated some nice good crimes. And in Metro City, the way you do that is you go to JAD which is the Juvenile Aid Division. And I decided of all the units that would be the most desirable for me. As a police officer without rank of detective, JAD was about the only unit where you could get rid of the junk on the street. I could have also gone to K-9 or anticrime but they had the same play hard work hard attitude. Anticrime guys are fantastic. They make some of the best arrests in the city. But they also play hard. I mean its that philosophy that I wanted to get away from. JAD has the reputation of, you go there, its a nice clean job. You get a suit and tie and you handle good missing children and juvenile cases. It was good policework and there wasn't a lot of drinking and galavanting. Your day was consumed with what I consider, good, clean investigations. And so I went to the Lieutenant and I asked him how do I get into JAD and he told me, "the official way. You put in transfer papers." Which was very nice of him and he laughed. He said, "You know you can't do it that way." And I said, "Well, sure you can. I understand politics and all but surely I have credentials." But that time I spoke good enough Spanish where I could say I was Spanish-speaking and I had a BA and all that and I thought that that was what they were looking for. So I put in my papers and I had an interview with the JAD Captain and he was very nice. He said, "You sure meet what we want and we'll put you on the waiting list. And, as soon as an opening comes we'll put you in." And about a month or two went by and other guys also put in for JAD after I did and they got chosen for JAD. I went back to the Lieutenant and he told me to go to a politician. I said, "No. I want to do it the right way." . . . So I arranged a meeting with the JAD Captain and he said, "that must have been an oversight. I don't

know how these guys could have been chosen before you. I see the date of your transfer papers and do admit the guys we took in before you don't have the credentials. So I'll put you back on the waiting list." So the same thing, two or three months went by and more guys got in JAD who I know put in after I did. And they were drones and they should have never been in there. By then of course I knew, but I was just being a pain in the ass. So I go for my third interview. And the same Captain, he looks at me and he says, "Heh, why are you wasting my time for. Why are you trying to get transferred the official way." I say, "Well, that's the way you do it." He says, "Don't waste my time. The only way you're gonna get transferred is through your ward leader."

Frustrated in his career and feeling he had no future in the police department, Joe resigned and joined a federal law enforcement agency. With the exception of the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency), federal law enforcement groups are viewed as clean locations where men can pursue honest careers.

Although Joe never betrayed his colleagues like Serpico did, he was perceived in a similar light. Both policemen enjoyed the "feminine" aspects of policing including social service and work with juveniles. In contrast to their male colleagues, neither Serpico nor Joe participated in the kind of "man-talk" indicative of masculine status in the eyes of other policemen. Joe didn't curse or engage in extramarital sexual relationships. Serpico preferred ballet, opera and poetry to sports and he didn't discuss his private life with colleagues. Finally neither Serpico nor Joe participated in the policemen's informal world of politics or graft. Consequently, neither officer was perceived as a real man or a real cop. Instead they were as dangerous as the real woman who leaves the home for the street. As

both Serpico and Joe were clean, their colleagues had nothing on them. However, they knew everything about the other policemen. Joe explains,

I don't think anyone will admit to me but it's firm in my mind and firm in my wife's mind. Even though I performed a certain role in the street, they didn't trust me. They still had this underlying thing that this guy, this college graduate who refuses to partake in anything in the district as far as fun goes. Who refuses. . .who has this image thing where he's always got to wear his hat. . .He's not like any other. . .So it was very frustrating. It has to be the reason (I didn't get in JAD). Because to this day a lot of people think I left the department because my assignment was up. . .A Fed. I had nothing to offer them really. . .I knew everything about them. I think that the reason they resented me in a way was that I knew everything about them, everything and they didn't have anything they could say about me. I read school books on "Last out." . . .When I did go to these squad parties they were worried about me slipping but they couldn't slip about me because I went home and my wife knew everything, everything I'd ever done on that job. . .the close calls, the good calls, the calls where I did get asked to sleep with someone because you do get a lot of, some women just like the uniform. So you do get a lot of, offers and I thought they were comical and I would just go home and tell. And they would never understand why you would ever tell your wife that. I just think I was a threat to them. If I ever flipped out. If I were a walking time bomb and just snapped out. All those careers would just come tumbling down. And they couldn't do a thing to me except maybe get me on a departmental regulation of being off my sector because I was reading.

The Lieutenant told me last night why it didn't work (the transfer to JAD). He says, "Joe, the reason you never went anywhere was because you were too honest. Nobody trusted you." And from the Lieutenant this is something. He said, "Joe, there's not a soul who trusted you in that police department because you didn't do anything that anyone else did."

CHAPTER XII

EPILOGUE: FEMINIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Cultural symbols are historical and political as well as psycho-social constructs. Consequently, the meaning of the feminization of the rank and file has historical and political dimensions. In Metro City, the introduction of women into the masculine realm of policing took place as a result of a discrimination suit filed by the Justice Department and a policewoman plaintiff. Consequently, the introduction of women was associated with the threat to local level autonomy by the federal government. A few months after the women graduated from the Police Academy, the Federal Bureau of Investigation initiated an inquiry into brutality and corruption by the police department and the city. These events served to reinforce the association between federal penetration, femininity and the subversion of a patronage regime based on an informal world dominated by violence and corruption. Consequently, the political elite in Metro City was particularly suspicious of any activity associated with Washington. For example, in a meeting concerning the discrimination suit, the Deputy City Solicitor suggested that all studies about women on patrol be collected for possible use in their case against the women. He was, however, adamant that the Washington, D.C. study be left out of the request list. He commented,

Patrick Murphy decided to stick four females on patrol for his own reasons. . . .I don't know why he did it. . . .he didn't have to. . . .very

unscientific. . . .if we ever got ahold of his underlying data, God knows what it would say. . .for all I know the figures were made up by some statistician. We'll eliminate Washington because of bias. . .There's was done hand and foot with the Justice Department. The bias is obvious in correspondence. . . .They would be hostile.

When I politely suggested that it could make "our case" stronger if the Washington data was included because, after all, "What would the court think if we excluded a major urban city?" He responded in an arrogant tone of voice, "You can get anything you want. . .I can destroy it anyway."

While the Justice Department represented a national threat, the city's patronage elite was also experiencing trouble at home. During the summer that the first ninety-nine women were assigned to the Police Academy, a recall the Mayor campaign was launched by local political groups. Although the Mayor did not forfeit office as a result of the recall petition, he ultimately lost the bid to change the city's charter so he could run for reelection. Not only was his popularity declining in the black and liberal neighborhoods but also in areas populated by white ethnic groups who previously provided support. The fact that many police officers had signed the recall petition indicated that there was dissidence within the department as well as among the general population. Thus, for the first time in its history, an anti-mayoral candidate was elected as president of the Fraternal Order of Police. It appeared that increasing numbers of young white and black policemen with few ties to the patronage regime were becoming disillusioned. As they also viewed the women as symbols of federal subversion and professionalism, these dissidents supported the new

female recruits. One young, white policeman commented, "I'd like the women to make it because I want to see the Mayor and the Commissioner eat their words."

On the other hand, then, the issue of women was tied to the subversion of the informal patronage elite by federal advocates of police professionalism. At the same time, the introduction of the real woman into the masculine realm of policing symbolized a kind of internal political housekeeping. These moral women would purify man's world. They would extend their housekeeping duties to the street and wash man's dirty linen in public. Given the political climate, the exposure of the informal world implicit in feminization became associated with the subversion of the patronage elite whose power was based on violence and corruption.

There was a revolution brewing within the police force and women had become its symbols. Rebellious young men discarded the clean cut military appearance associated with the Mayor's troops and began to adopt a "feminine look." A few wore an earring in one ear while others risked formal reprimand by growing longer hair or mustaches. One officer, known for his opposition to the elite, commented, "If they can show a relation between the length of my mustache and the quality of my policework, I'll gladly shave it off."

In order to avoid feminine contamination and the spread of revolution to the rank and file, the elite tried to limit the contact between men and women officers. Males and females were not allowed to ride together in patrol cars. The code of moral turpitude was enforced in instances involving association between men and women officers.

Even minimal contact between sexes was discouraged. One supervisor for example, was extremely upset when he learned that a male officer had brought a cup of coffee to a female rookie. The veteran drove the patrol car by the rookie and handed her the cup through the window. The event was performed quickly because the policeman feared he might be cited for "idle conversation" or "moral turpitude" if he prolonged the interaction. Subsequently, the supervisor reprimanded his squad in rollcall and instructed them to "stop playing house." Apparently, the reversal of roles involved in men bringing women coffee implied the domestication of masculinity. Ultimately, the men might begin to keep house on the street and join the women in political subversion.

Ultimately, the department did lose its battle against the women. The Justice Department won its suit at the same time that a new Mayor was elected to office. He appointed a new Police Commissioner who immediately began to institute major reforms. According to a report in the Metro City newspaper, a policeman commented,

The Police Department has become the whipping boys for the whole damned city. It's like the days under (a reform Mayor). (The Commissioner) is part of a new regime. They're cleaning house and starting with the police.
(Local newspaper)

Although the Commissioner did not confront the corruption problem, he did institute new policies regarding the use of deadly force which restricted the occasions in which a policeman could use his gun. At the same time, he began to reorient the department along social service lines. He stated,

My goal. . .is to professionalize the (Metro City) Police Department and deliver more service to the (Metro City) community.

I would like to make the department acceptable to all segments of the community. I want to wet the cultures, so they can do a better job. I want to broaden them. You can be 7 feet tall, 400 pounds, physically strong and have a doctorate and several masters degrees. But if you don't have community support you can't have a good police department. (Local newspaper)

Finally, the Commissioner opened up the department to women who became eligible for promotions and transfers to previously all male combat and crimefighting units such as stakeout, anticrime and homicide. At the same time, he made public statements declaring that homosexuality was legal among police and that homosexuals were welcome to join the force.

Symbolically, then, the new professionalism constituted a synthesis of public and domestic spheres. Women entered spheres previously viewed as masculine and homosexuals were encouraged to become cops. It also involved the redefinition of policing along feminine lines. The Commissioner took away the policeman's gun and limited his power by reforming the rules of deadly force. The feminine activities associated with social work assumed equal priority with the crime fighting and combat activities traditionally associated with real police work in the outside sphere of the street. Thus, the feminization of policing was associated with the discovery that the police were inadequate men who could not win the fight against crime or rescue its victims. With a sense of resignation rather than victory, the real men of Metro City rank and file acknowledged that the women had won the battle but lost the war against crime. As one officer phrased it, "Women are like niggers, they're here to stay."

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