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# CARE AND CONTROL

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## Exploring the gendering of emotion management tasks among uniformed police

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy in Sociology

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# Abstract

This study of uniformed police constables highlights the emotion management tasks undertaken as part of the caring and controlling interventions of 'front line' police. In particular, it considers the ways in which the integration of women into patrol work has coincided with a more newly developed emphasis on the caring and responsive veneer of the police organisation. This latter endeavour has been most significant with respect to changing police work styles and practices in responding to incidents of domestic violence and it is in these areas that the convergence of these two changes is most apparent. The result has been the re-emergence of a systematically gendered specialisation of policing tasks. Under this informal system of task segregation, female constables have come to assume responsibility for modern 'care' provision whilst male constables maintain their historic responsibility for 'control'. This pattern of differential deployment significantly contravenes an espoused commitment to equality of opportunity and treatment at the same time as its persistence works to compromise much championed commitments to re-orientating police work styles and police responses to the public. The findings of this study suggest that the police organisation may be able to improve both the quality of work life of its incumbents and the way in which it delivers critical services to the public by more seriously embracing policies of equal employment opportunity.

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## CHAPTER ONE

# Setting the Scene

It is ten past nine on a winter's Monday night. The briefing of the relieving uniformed police section has just been completed when the first emergency call of the new shift is received. Upon direction from the radio controller, the Incident ('I') car crew snatch a set of car keys and walk quickly from the central city police station to the car park. Uniformed police constable Laura[1] seats herself behind the wheel. Constable Tony enters the passenger side.

With the lights flashing atop of the marked police vehicle, the constables proceed at high speed to an residential address. The pace of travel through stealthily frosting city streets is alarming. A leather brief case resting on the rear seat slides precariously as the momentum of the hurtling vehicle flings it left, then right. As intersections are neared, Laura slows the police vehicle momentarily and allows the sound of the siren to pierce the night. Tony leans forward in his seat and searches the adjourning left hand streets intently before reporting "left, clear". The officers are tense and focused. Only brief conversation is entered into. Contact is made intermittently with the station via the radio. Little information is gleaned as to the number of occupants or possibility of weapons within the dwelling.

Nearing the address, Laura overshoots the turn-off. With a screech of brakes, she abruptly halts, reverses and swings the vehicle into the desired street. Parking directly out front of the premises, the officers proceed from the police car. A second marked police car arrives upon the scene and the 'I' crew are joined by two additional constables.

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[1] All names are pseudonyms

The modest house with its unadorned but tidy front garden stands silently in darkness. As one constable hammers on the front door, the remaining three walk intently around the side of the house to the rear of the premises. Two dogs immediately begin a chorus of aggressive barking. Tony speculates on the possibility that the dogs are unleashed. "Oh well, they would have bloody well eaten us by now", he muses.

The back door is struck upon and opened. Without delay, the constables enter the premises and file through a neat kitchen and dining area and proceed to the lounge room at the heart of the dwelling. The room is softly lightened by the flickering glow of an open fire. Upon a mattress lain on the floor are a man and woman who, draped in woollen blankets, are holding one another. Two young children gaze up at the uniform clad officers entering their home. A toddler swathed in coloured quilt sleeps on oblivious to the distraction of the intruders.

Without ado, the constables separate the adults. Under the direction of Laura, the woman occupant moves slowly and hesitatingly from the warmth of the lounge to the shadows of the hallway. Here, Laura proceeds to engage the woman in conversation while, behind the closed door of the lounge, Tony converses with the male occupant. Standing with arms firmly interlocked across her chest, her gaze directed downward to her bare feet, the woman appears anxious. Laura moves close to the woman, bending her neck so as to look into the woman's face, and begins to ask softly, "Is everything alright?". Against the woman's assurances that all is well, Laura explains in a calm and equable tone that they, the police, are responding to an emergency call advising them of a disturbance on the premises. The woman concedes reciprocally that she and her partner had indeed had a fight but that it was over trivial matters and had since been resolved. Constable Laura continues her gentle questioning: Had her partner struck her? Was she afraid of him? The woman denies all such suggestions and begins to share with Laura selected details of the quarrel. As she narrates her experience, her face relaxes more frequently into a smile; she laughs reservedly. Raising her head to eye level now, the woman seems to grow somewhat in confidence. As she continues her story, she routinely seeks eye contact with Laura as she enfolds her in her account. Laura listens patiently as the women explains the nature of various family pressures to her and, without being effusive or patronising, offers various cues to signal concern and

understanding: nods of the head, traces of a smile, and verbal gestures of empathy like "yes", "I understand", "that must be difficult".

Having recorded rudimentary details of the two house dwellers (names, addresses, dates of birth and so forth) into standard issue leather clad note books, Tony and Laura decide after consultation with each other to leave the premises.

* * *

At 9.35pm, the 'I' car crew retrace their path at speed to the same address. Less than half an hour has passed since the initial call-out. In the police vehicle, the constables express unequivocally their frustration at having been called back to the premises. "Domestics" are "frustrating", Tony seethes, because despite the considerable effort and time invested by the police in primarily attempting to remove the violent partner from a particular dwelling, "the women keep going back again". The constables are unsurprised to learn that the 'priors' attributed to the male occupant of the premises to which they are returning include domestic violence related offences. "Domestics," Laura surmises, are "all a big game".

Upon reaching and entering the premises, Laura speaks with the female occupant inside the home while Tony invites the male occupant to join him outside. Tony is joined by two constables of another police patrol car. While the latter position themselves some four foot abreast of the male, Tony stands directly in front of the man and commences dialogue with him. During the course of this interview, Laura emerges from inside the dwelling and informs the male occupant that a complaint of assault has been levelled at him by the female occupant.

Tony escorts the male occupant back into the home where he converges with Laura and the woman complainant in the hallway. The constables direct the exchange, requesting first that the woman repeat her allegations in front of the accused male and themselves. As the accused interjects, attempting to lessen the severity of each purported assault, he is asked to remain silent until it is his turn to speak. The constables' gentle but persistent attempts to mediate the simmering conflict are largely successful: the man responds to Laura's requests for calm by lowering his voice and focusing his complaints to briefer and better

articulated defences. At the end of the dialogue, the woman is swiftly escorted by Laura back into the comfort of the lounge whilst the man returns with Tony to the winter's chill outside.

Once outside, Tony requests that the accused take a seat on a wood box next to the back porch. Amid the ensuing wait, the man grows noticeably more agitated, rising from his seated position, pacing resolutely and drawing deeply from his cigarette. The pungent scent of stale alcohol taints his breath. Tony moves to the man's left and, keeping his gaze focused on the accused, discreetly sweeps pieces of cut timber away from the scene with his boot clad foot. The man becomes more tense as the waiting continues overseen by three silent constables. His pacing is erratic now, his voice raises in volume as he repeatedly declares his intention to enter the house and speak to the woman within. Tony restates his refusal to allow the man admission to his home and advises him to resume his seated position. The accused starts suddenly for the door. The three constables react in unison. The man is asked to accompany the officers to the station for further questioning. Unwilling, the male again attempts to re-enter the dwelling. Tony entertains him with the options of compliance or arrest. The man's body loosens, his voice lowers and his gaze drops as he resignedly accompanies the officer to the awaiting police vehicles.

* * *

Inside the home, constable Laura is seated upon the couch as the woman coils her bare legs beneath herself and, cross-legged, lights another cigarette. The eldest of the children slips from the room and returns presently with a chipped china tea cup half filled with milk which she offers to the police constable. Laura declines: later, she offers mirthfully that "you never drink anything offered from places like that. You don't know what you'll catch".

Laura proceeds to elicit a statement from the woman, writing the woman's story into her notebook in longhand. Intermittently, she halts the flow of dialogue and paraphrases the details back to the narrator. The woman has much she wishes to share. Laura grows impatient as she struggles to extract specific detail and to realign the interview to an official trail. The children grew verbally and physically more distracting: the cup of milk is spilt; a fight ensues over the relative merits of having the television set on or off. One child brings a certificate down from its esteemed position in the center of the mantelpiece for

Laura to inspect. Laura duly congratulates her achievements. The child smiles shyly. Laura persists with her questioning, raising her voice slightly over the furore in an attempt to bring the complainant's attention back to the task at hand. Laura checks her watch and continues.

Once the statement is completed, Laura asks the woman to read its contents to check for accuracy. Abruptly, she halts her verbal request and inquires as to whether the woman can read. Upon being informed that she is not proficient at this, Laura requests that she sit next to her on the couch and, once settled, begins to read the statement to the woman, tracing her pen across the written words as she proceeds through the text. Concluding the exercise, the woman signs the document.

Laura is anxious to leave. Upon farewelling the family, she waits on the street for a patrol car to retrieve her. Twice she radios the station controller and enquires into the whereabouts and current business of each patrol vehicle. She prophesies resignedly, "He'll be back tomorrow; she'll have him". Contemptuously she speaks of the woman having also earlier assaulted both the accused male and his brother.

* * *

It is ten to one in the morning. The 'I' crew are called back to the premises earlier attended. One of the children has rung the emergency number to report that her mother was stuck in the wood shed. The constables are incredulous: "Not again!"

Reaching the premises, the back door is promptly opened. The eldest child peers wide-eyed from the darkness of the kitchen. She is scantily dressed in a cotton skirt and short sleeved Tee shirt. Her feet are bare. It is very cold. "Mum is stuck in the toilet", she tells constables Laura and Tony. Laura steps inside the premises and is followed by Tony who grimaces and comments repeatedly, "Oh God", "Oh God". Laura knocks upon the bathroom door and enters. The woman is seated dishevelled on the floor. Laura asks how she is doing and then requests that she "finish up" and come out.

Shortly, the woman emerges. She appears intoxicated: her eyes are red ringed and blurry, her speech slurred; her movements slow and clumsy. The back of

her skirt is wet and soiled. Tony finds an almost empty bottle of spirits in the lounge and drains the remaining contents into the kitchen sink.

Congregating in the lounge, the constables' attention turns to the children: "Shouldn't you be in bed?"; "Do you have school tomorrow?" The children are very tired. In front of the dying embers of the fire, the older two huddle close, propping one another up as they stare wide eyed at the constables. Despite the coldness of the winter's night, they each wore no jerseys, no shoes nor socks. The younger infant is asleep on the couch. When the mother awkwardly rests herself on the couch next to him, Tony stealthily removes the child and places him into the awaiting police car ("before you sat on him" he informs her later). The woman appears oblivious to the situation.

The constables notify the section sergeant and together await his arrival. Arrangements have been hastily made for the children to go into social welfare custody for the night. It is put to the woman that she is too drunk to provide adequate care for her children on this night. She remains adamant that friends have been notified before the arrival of the police and that they are on their way. Tony attempts to contact these 'friends' on the telephone. The woman appears unable or unwilling to give the constables their names, telephone number or address. Tony is fast losing patience with the woman, who grows progressively more confrontational. She hollers at Laura, "Are you saying I'm a bad mother?". The constables insist that their concern rests solely with the children. They repeatedly advise the woman of their intention to wait awhile until her 'friends' arrive. Tony repeats his laborious attempts to get the woman to contact these people by telephone. The woman is unable to dial the number. The constables wait. The woman grows more excited. Her speech is slurred as her shrills fluctuate from, "You're not taking my kids away from me"; "Are you calling me a liar?", to "Go on, take them then. Take them if that's what you want". Tony's patience is severely curtailed. His voice is strained as he snaps, "Did I say that?, did I say that?". He leaves the room and pulls the door partially closed whilst he speaks to operations on his hand radio.

The sergeant arrives some fifteen minutes later. His manner is brisk as he declares outright, "You're drunk" and begins what sours to a heated argument with the woman concerning her ability to care for her children in her present state. As the woman defends her capability, the sergeant grows terser, his

contempt more visible as he rages about how close the children are standing to the fire place.

A decision is made to take the children and their mother to the residence of friends. The woman can not recall the street address but implores upon the sergeant that she can direct them to the location. Constable Laura directs the children to dress up warm in woollen jerseys, socks and shoes, although one child apparently has none of the latter. The mother is incensed when, looking for her son, she is informed that he has already been placed into the police vehicle. Incessantly, she gives vent to her indignation at being labelled "a bad mother". The sergeant is firm but no longer aggressive as he retorts: "Did I say that?"; "My concern is for the children"; "You're not listening to me". As the group prepares to vacate the premises, the woman suddenly turns on Laura and viciously accuses her of aiding her earlier but maliciously conspiring against her now. Her friends, she continues raucously, will not come to her home as a result of her "pig" presence: "They won't come because you're here"; "They'll see your car". As she moves closer to Laura's body, gesturing wildly and prodding her arm, it appears for a brief moment that she might strike the constable. The sergeant moves into the physical space between the women and urges the mother to get ready to leave the premises.

Swathed in woollen blankets, the children and their mother are placed in the rear of the "I" car. The sergeant trails the "I" crew and their passengers as they weave their way through the quiet city streets. Following a false turn, the police vehicles pull up outside a residential address. The constables carry the sleepy children inside the home. The woman follows gracelessly. While Tony converses with the occupants, Laura brings the infant's bottle to the sergeant waiting outside in his police vehicle. Layering the vague scent of coke is that of alcohol. Laura confides that the children had been sipping the bottle's contents on the journey. Enraged, the sergeant hastens from the police car and moves purposely toward the house. Flinging the sliding door and curtain covering aside, he confronts the mother with his discovery. Denying alcoholic content, the woman insists that the bottle contains "only coke". The sergeant retorts vehemently that eighteen-month old infants should not be drinking coke anyway and passes the offending bottle to the male occupant. As he too denies smelling a rum content, the sergeant makes to leave.

Taking a few steps away from the door, the sergeant suddenly declares, "I'm not happy with this" and, for a second time, prises the door open as he informs the occupants of his intent to "take" the children. Immediately, the children begin screaming. Swiftly, the middle child is seized by constable Laura. Grasping her under her arms, the child is brought outside. She struggles ferociously, kicking her legs mercilessly against the police constable, her tear strained face contorted as she wails for her mother.

Emerging from the house, constable Tony informs Laura that the children are now to stay in the premise. A woman occupant had apparently entered the scene, bringing, as she did, a certain sense of calm and responsibility to which the attending sergeant was immediately responsive. Released from the constables grip, the seized child runs like a recoiled spring back inside the home. The mother curses the police and flings the nib of the bottle at their retreating figures. Later, she will again ring the station and bellow about leaving the nib in the car. The constables will receive news of this call with some mirth: in no way do they wish to deal again with this family during the current shift. The sergeant seethes on the return journey to the police station. The woman had sorely tested his patience. He vows to fill in a report for Social Welfare about the night's misdoings and dismisses the incident.

* * *

Social behaviour, Goffman (1959) argues, involves a great deal of deliberate deception. Impressions of selves must be constantly created and governed for various others; displays of emotion judiciously managed, certain feelings publicly presented in order to shape a countenance that fosters the desired response in others. In service occupations where the level of customer or client contact is high, it is these arts of social performance and expressive control that become crucial to worker's successful fulfilment of job tasks. Following Hochschild (1979, 1983), it can be seen that police, like other service providers, are expected, indeed paid, to at least publicly display certain emotions during encounters with the public. For workers such as the police constables described above, the management of emotion and expression become often artful performances engaged in routinely during the course of their duties. The work performed, however, is not left to individual discretion but is, to varying degrees, largely conceptualised, managed and ultimately regulated by the

organisation. In setting the rules of emotional expression, the police organisation and culture seeks to capture and transform the private realm of emotion in line with the image it seeks to project.

The present study considers the work of emotion management expected of uniformed police officers. In many respects, the emotion management work of police may be seen in terms of a crude division of policing roles. As is most evident in those areas of police work such as domestic violence, police take on dual roles as the 'controllers' of offenders and the 'carers' of victims or complainants (Stephens and Becker, 1994). Equally, it is in these same areas that the intrusion of policing management into personal experiences and public displays of feeling become especially apparent.

## THE CASE OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Over the past decade, it is in the area of interpersonal violence in particular that police management have endeavoured to put in place an improved response to women as 'victims' of crime. In the context of domestic or family violence, with which the present research deals, considerable pressure has been placed upon the policing administration to handle incidents of domestic violence more firmly and effectively (Carbonatto, 1994). Amidst an increasing awareness and concern over the prevalence of women's experiences of violence, threat to violence, sexual assault and harassment, the role of police in responding to calls for help and in policing men's violence against women has become a focus of sustained attention and criticism over the past three decades. Researchers active in the area of domestic violence have voiced grave concerns over the perceived unsympathetic nature of police attitudes and the failure of police to apply the law in the same manner which it is applied in cases of 'stranger' violence (for a review see Busch, Robertson and Lapsley, 1992).

The low priority accorded 'domestics' by police and its traditional consignment to the category of 'rubbish' work has been documented by research undertaken on the police in both New Zealand and overseas (Punch, 1979a; Holdaway, 1983; Smith and Gray, 1983; Reiner, 1985; Bourlet, 1990). In their extensive study of family violence, Busch, Robertson and Lapsley (1992) found that effective policing of domestic violence was tarnished by a persistent dismissal of it as not 'real' police work and by the misogynist attitudes of some police

officers. Many police researchers have noted the contamination of the occupational culture of the lower policing ranks with images and expectations of a 'macho-style' masculinity (Hunt, 1984; Martin, 1980, 1989; Smith and Gray, 1983). Stanko (1989: 52) notes how, as a consequence, police attitudes towards interpersonal crimes such as rape, sexual assault, and domestic violence "include assumptions about male rights and female blame". Thus some police officers participating in the Victims Tasks Force study (Busch, Robertson and Lapsley, 1992) were found to harbour a degree of sympathy with abusers whose actions were regarded as understandable responses to female provocation. Other officers further believed that women often use the police presence and powers vindictively. In addition, belief in the old adage 'A man's home is his castle' upheld perceptions of the sacred privacy of the home and its affairs, and in the inappropriateness of police intervention (Long, 1986; Radford, 1987; Edwards, 1990; Ferraro and Pope, 1993).

The research literature examining the outcomes of police intervention yields equally grim results. As traditional police practice favoured a minimal intervention approach aimed at restoring order, when police did attend incidents of domestic violence, arrest rates were low (Church and Church, 1981; Long, 1986; Busch, Robertson and Lapsley, 1992). Moreover, researchers have observed that any protection offered to women victims is conditional upon women meeting police notions of 'deservedness' and the circumstances of the crime meeting their definition of 'crime' (Hanmer, Radford, and Stanko, 1989). While the victim's reluctance for an arrest to occur is the most significant factor that makes an arrest unlikely, other factors include cohabitation of the involved parties, the woman being drunk or aggressive, and the women belonging to a minority group viewed by police to be immersed in a culture of violence (Ferraro, 1989a, 1989b; Busch, Robertson, and Lapsley, 1992; Ferraro and Pope, 1993).

The response of police to men's violence in the home is a subject of debate. Studies in other countries such as Australia (Hatty 1987, Hatty and Sutton, 1986) and England (Edwards, 1986, 1990, 1994; Hanmer and Maynard, 1987) have roundly criticised police response to domestic violence and have called on police to cease their benign stance towards interpersonal violence. Pressure to arrest more frequently was in many countries enhanced by the so-called "Minneapolis Experiment" in which the arrest of violent family offenders was

found to be the most effective police intervention in reducing violence over a six-month follow-up period (Sherman and Berk, 1984). In New Zealand, this study was followed by the research project of police sergeant and psychologist Greg Ford (1986), which investigated the introduction of an experimental mandatory arrest policy in the Hamilton area. This experiment led to a recommendation that the arrest option be more frequently used.

In 1987, the New Zealand police introduced what has become known as the arrest policy for domestic violence (confirmed in 1993). Accompanied by major media campaigns defining family violence as a crime, this policy required police to arrest and charge offenders whenever evidence of an assault existed, if the victim was in any danger, or if a breach of a court order had occurred. As opposed to past accusations of inconsistent response that often worked against the protection and safety of victims levelled at police and other agencies (Busch, Robertson and Lapsley, 1992), this interventionist approach has mandated a course of decisive action which strips away much of police discretion and thus, theoretically, much of the reluctance, frustration and ambiguity surrounding the appropriate course of action to be taken (Ferraro, 1989; Busch and Robertson, 1994). Where the onus of a decision to initiate complaints and give evidence against their abusers was traditionally placed largely with the victim, the arrest policy urges that, where possible, the victim not be asked to assume responsibility for arrest and/or testimony. Rather, police are directed to lay criminal charges when there is reasonable and probable grounds that an assault has taken place and further, to sustain a prosecution through successful investigation and the use of strategies to gather admissible evidence from victims. The practice described in the opening narrative of having the complainant repeat their allegations in the presence of the alleged offender, for instance, is a recommended way of traversing the hearsay rule. In addition, police are instructed to refer victims to agencies, such as a women's refuge, for ongoing support. Coupled with this policy designed to produce 'results', have been the more recent changes to domestic violence legislation. This legislation widens both the definitions of domestic violence and domestic relationships.

Implicit in this espousal of a 'positive' change in police policy and practice then, has been a concern for both the adoption of a tougher 'crime-orientated' approach to domestic violence and the positive recognition of the service

function of the police and, more particularly, for the treatment of women as the consumers of a public service (Dominick, Gray and Weeink, 1995). As is mandated by the Victims of Offences Act 1987, the police have a particular role to play in providing information to the victims of crime and in assisting them to receive appropriate services. The provision of services, education and support to victims was a key feature of the Hamilton Abuse Intervention Pilot Project (HAIPP) launched in July 1991 (Busch and Robertson, 1994). Here, reliability and speed of response, attitudes towards the victim, provision of practical support and advice were identified as important aspects of the police response (Dominick, 1995).

While recent attempts by police to reform police policy and practice in relation to women as the victims of men's violence have in part centred on policies that emphasis service and care, paradoxically, it is the emotion management tasks of nurturance and support integral to this role of 'care' that have traditionally been derided by the 'front line'[2] constables charged with the provision of these duties (Holdaway, 1983; Smith and Gray, 1983; Reiner, 1985; Edwards, 1994). Although the above discussion has focused on the policy response to domestic violence, the concern of the present study is to examine the implementation of these policies. This is because while the senior policing ranks may place improved service responses to women as the consumers of police services at the centre of their reforms, it is the lower ranks of the police hierarchy that translate managerial intentions into outcomes.

More specifically, this study seeks to explore 'who' in the police has acquired the major responsibility for the delivery of these policies. Indeed, what is perhaps most evident in the narrative recounted above is the 'gendering' of the different police functions of 'control' and 'care'. Whilst policing involves both control and care, these roles are in practice accorded differently to those officers attending incidents on the basis of gender. In what follows, consideration is given to the ways in which the integration of women into uniformed patrol has coincided with a more newly developed emphasis on the 'caring' and supportive face of the police organisation. The result, as the present study will show, has been the re-emergence of a systematically gendered

[2] Adapted by police from military usage, 'front line' is used to mean the foremost line of contact and activity.

specialisation of policing tasks. Under this informal system of task segregation, female constables have come to assume responsibility for the provision of 'care' whilst male constables resume their historic responsibility for 'control'.

This study is an analysis of the nature and consequences of this gendered division of emotion management tasks for women, both as the providers and consumers of police services. The following chapters outline the findings of a qualitative study of police constables undertaken by the author in a large New Zealand metropolitan city. Chapter Two delves into the current burgeoning literature concerned with the emotional labour performed by incumbents of service positions. It explores the emergence of a specialised marketplace in contemporary Western society such that men and women are called upon to perform different emotional tasks. In particular, it examines the ways in which, as a consequence of their own 'innate' emotionality, the 'naturally' superior skills of women in dealing with the feeling's of others secured their admission into that most traditionally 'masculine' of all Western occupations: the police. How far women's role and participation in law enforcement has altered from their historical entry is considered, alongside a brief discussion of some of the influences that determine, and have determined, women's careers as police officers. These include the much debated topics of the occupational subculture of policing and the appropriate role of the police as fighters of crime or providers of public service.

Chapter Three describes the research setting within which the study takes place, elucidating some of the methodological concerns and processes that impact upon, and underpin, the research process and product. In particular, the impact of gender on fieldwork relations is discussed, as well as some of the moral and ethical difficulties of being an 'observer' in the actual research setting.

The presentation of a picture of the activities and nature of sectional police work, from the organisation of police coverage to the intricacies of each shift worked, is the primary task of Chapter Four. Central to this discussion is the consideration of an informal hierarchy of status and importance attached to different incidents dealt with by rank-and-file officers. Following from this, Chapter Five picks up on the issues raised in the opening narrative, exploring in some detail the emotional labour constables undertake in dealing with the offenders and victims of crime. It highlights the paradoxical set of emotions

experienced by constables undertaking these policing tasks: while interaction with often abusive and obstructive suspects or criminals is experienced by many officers as stress producing, it provides constables with a deep source of personal gratification also. Conversely, it highlights the low value and status attached to those nurturing and supportive tasks historically associated with mere 'housewive's', rather than 'crime-fighter's', skills. Performed within an organisation in which the central norms and values upheld by the lower ranks frequently contradict those required in working with the victims of crime, the emotion management tasks required by their 'caring' duties remain a considerable source of stress for the predominantly female officers deployed to undertake them.

Chapter Six presents an analysis of the nature and consequences of the division of policing tasks in an organisation where integration and equality of gender has apparently been secured through legal process. This Chapter suggests that, given the predominance of a strongly 'masculine' policing culture, this gendering of unequally valued policing tasks is problematic both for women as police service providers and women as police service consumers.

In conclusion, Chapter Seven provides a summary of the arguments presented and suggests working solutions to help dismantle barriers to change within the front line policing ranks.

## CHAPTER 2

# Policing Emotion

The role of emotion in organisational life has been a persistent theme in much of the recent theoretical and empirical literature on workplaces and behaviour (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987, 1989; Van Maanen and Kunda, 1990; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). The present discussion focuses on the concept of emotional labour (Hochschild, 1979, 1983), that is, the act of expressing 'appropriate' emotions during service or work encounters, and looks at the emotion management tasks of police constables performing sectional duties. While the introductory chapter considered recent policy developments in respect of policing domestic violence and highlighted the attempts by police to adopt victim-centred policies that emphasis service and care, the ensuing discussion goes on to consider just *who* in the police have historically acquired responsibility for delivering these policies.

To this end, the following discussion is organised into three sections. The first section examines emotion management theory as espoused by Hochschild (1983) and elaborated by her critics. Through consideration of the way in which women have come to be associated with emotions and emotional life, the second section deals with the perpetuation of a gendered division of emotional labour in the 'public' work sphere. The third section briefly considers women's historic role as police officers and charts how far women's role and participation in the New Zealand police has altered from their initial entry in the late 1800's. Highly germane to considerations of women's position in policing are the debates and conclusions surrounding both the nature and occupational culture of policing (Heidensohn, 1992). While the topic of women's experiences as the 'consumers' of the policing system was considered in the previous chapter, it is the experience and progress of women *in* policing that is of interest here. Succinctly, it is argued that, *as a result of the specialised*

*emotional marketplace, women have both forged entry into the stereotypically 'masculine' occupation of policing and have come to bear that more sympathetic and supportive 'face' of policing stereotypically associated with women.*

## EMOTION MANAGEMENT THEORY: MANAGING EMOTIONS ON THE JOB

### Hochschild's Conception Of Emotion Management

In recent years, much attention has been given by scholars to the expansion of the service industry in many Western economies. In particular, sociologists and organisational theorists have devoted considerable attention to those 'front line' occupations and jobs directly involved in the delivery of service (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987, 1990, 1991; Rafaeli, 1989; Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989; Sutton, 1991; Parkinson, 1991; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Wharton, 1993; Tolich, 1993). Inspired by Hochschild's (1979, 1983) writings on emotional labour, these writers have been concerned to investigate demands on the emotion management of people working in such positions. It is to a consideration of Hochschild's (1979, 1983) insights that we now focus.

#### *Emotion management*

Following Hochschild, 'work' in the world of feelings consists primarily of learning and maintaining the appropriate affective tone. Hochschild uses the term 'emotion management' to refer to the act of "creat[ing] a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (Hochschild, 1983: 7). By wilful management of gesture, appearance, words and deeds, feelings are rendered contextually 'appropriate' in respect of social guidelines. Hochschild (1979) terms these social scripts for directing emotional response 'display' or 'feeling' rules, where the former refers to the norms about which emotions individuals should express and the latter to norms about which emotions individuals ought to experience or feel in various situations. Concerning the appropriate range, intensity, duration and targets of private feelings, it is these 'rules' that are used to judge the emotional presentations of ourselves and others.

*Emotional labour*

Hochschild (1983) uses the term 'emotional labour' to refer to these cultivated activities of mood management when they are done for a wage in the 'public' sphere. She argues that a central requirement of service occupations is that workers take the arts of emotion management and control that characterise the intimate aspects of human relationships and emotional life and utilise them according to the feeling and display rules laid down by the organisation. Commodified in the public arena of work, the once 'private' act of emotion work becomes the property of the organisation and is managed on its behalf.

A clear example of the intrusion of organisations into the personal realm is found in the situation of workers such as the flight attendants convincingly documented by Hochschild (1983). For flight attendants, social performance is an integral part of the job. Faced with irate and sexist passengers and poor working conditions, the flight attendant is expected, indeed paid, to manage their feelings in order to appear "nice", "sincere", "unaffected", "modest but friendly" - in sum, to project an air of pleasant hospitality whilst concealing any negative feelings behind a deferent expression and poised composure. The rules of how to feel and display that feeling are set by the airline management and detailed instructions on expressive techniques are provided in company manuals for employees. Applicants are rigorously screened to ensure that recruited flight attendants are sufficiently emotionally "animated" (Hochschild, 1983: 96-7) whilst socialisation processes aim to speed the internalisation of company display rules.

Like the airline hostess who is paid to manage her feelings in order to appear friendly (Hochschild, 1983), the police attempt to shape their organisational image by directing and monitoring the emotions that their ranks convey. Professional police conduct norms dictate, for instance, that officers mask their underlying feelings from the public and maintain a degree of social distance from them (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991). Like doctors, police officers are expected to treat all persons and situations in a 'neutral' manner, suspending personal emotions that might interfere with the objective and consistent exercise of law enforcement. As Smith and Kleinman (1989) have argued, it is this expectation of professionals to have an "affective neutrality" with clients that reinforces the professionals' power by helping prohibit clients from challenging their authority. In this way, such norms of emotional display serve

to achieve instrumental goals. Through compliance with particular norms of appropriately controlled affect, officers preserve social distance with the public, allowing them to maintain the professional poised stance expected of them by both the public and their fellow officers so as to be able to handle critical situations in an objective manner (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991).

Working under conditions in which the inner emotional experience is systematically suppressed and distorted, the demands of emotional labour thus pose challenges to workers individual sense of self. It was Hochschild's (1983) concern to understand the consequences of emotional labour for '*The Managed Heart*'. Central to her approach was that, in as far as effective performance of emotional labour requires that the worker exhibit emotions that they may not necessarily feel, this form of labour is potentially psychologically damaging. Co-opted to achieve instrumental ends and organisational goals, the intimate feelings of the flight attendant, for instance, become merely estranged public 'shows' performed for a wage and controlled by others. Displays of graciousness and good cheer cease to indicate well-being but become merely part 'of the job'. As Ferguson (1984: 53) puts it, "The flight attendant's smile is like her make-up; it is on her, not of her". It is this segmentation of feelings from physical displays that creates, according to Hochschild (1983), an emotional dissonance: a splitting of the 'real' inner self from the public, or 'false', self that is gazed upon and evaluated by others. Denied the right to choose who he or she will be and which emotions he or she will express, the emotional estrangement experienced by the worker manifests itself in feelings of insincerity or hypocrisy or even an inability to feel emotion. In stripping away individual experience, the performance of emotional labour can ultimately lead to personal and work-related maladjustment, such as poor self-esteem, depression, cynicism, and alienation from work. Lack of control over the conditions of work and, as in Hochschild's study, the 'speeding up' of industries which imposes severe limitations on the delivery of emotional labour as available contact time between workers and clients is drastically shortened, serves merely to aggravate the problem of adjusting self to work role (Hochschild, 1983).

Hochschild's analysis of the work of flight attendants illustrates the way in which a highly public form of emotional labour is directly appropriated for commercial purposes. Yet keeping the customer happy does not necessarily

imply that the employee is happy. For Hochschild, the costs to personal identity in commodifying the most personal of feelings, attitudes and moods are enormous. In her words, "it affects the degree to which we listen to feeling and sometimes our very capacity to feel" (Hochschild, 1983: 7). Yet despite these assertions, there exists only limited empirical evidence evaluating the consequences of emotional labour and the risk to the workers who perform it of experiencing various emotion-related stresses. The following section considers some of the themes raised by Hochschild as elaborated by others.

## Other Views Of Emotional Labour

Hochschild's analysis of emotional labour in the airline industry has inspired numerous qualitative case studies of particular front line service occupations. Explorations of the work demanded of medical students (Smith and Kleinman, 1989), hairdressers (Parkinson, 1991), bill collectors (Sutton, 1991), supermarket clerks (Rafaeli, 1989; Tolich, 1993), amusement park employees (Van Maanen and Kunda, 1989), detectives (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989) and police officers (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991) have each provided illuminating insights into the demands of emotional labour in service-orientated work. Although the occupational focus of these studies varies, many share Hochschild's approach to understanding first, the ways in which organisations attempt to capture and transform the private realm of emotion and second, the consequences of emotional labour for those who perform it.

However, despite the insightfulness of Hochschild's thesis, a number of difficulties remain and many of her assertions have come under criticism from several sources (Wouters, 1989; Tolich, 1993; Wharton, 1993; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). For instance, Wouters (1989) is critical of the "artificial constructions" built into Hochschild's work, particularly those which dichotomise a rather dubious pre-institutionalised 'private' self with a thoroughly institutionalised 'public' self (but see Hochschild, 1989). Wouters suggests that this distinction is maintained by a crude simplification of each binary: 'private' emotional life is largely abstracted from those institutions which impact on it (the family, the church, schools and so forth) whilst public life is reduced to a simplistic Marxist formulation in which power is theorised structurally as existing only at 'the top'. In this way, her account tends to lose sight of the multiplicity and diversity of modern power relations. The neglected

consideration of human agency and resistance frequently culminates in the tendency to view individual workers as not effective agents in their own right but merely as the hapless victims of wider social forces or, as Wouters puts it, "as perfect company robots" (1989: 100).

The depiction of workers blindly and passively following the emotion rules of the organisation in which they work in many ways serves to disguise the possibility of a dialectic between active and creative subjects and the organisation of their activities by management. Indeed, central to the critique postulated by many theorists commenting on Hochschild's work is a rejection of the claim that institutionally regulated emotion management necessarily has uniformly negative consequences for workers. For instance, the examination of differences in investigative detective's emotional labour with criminals and with victims conducted by Stenross and Kleinman (1989) revealed how various emotional labour tasks are experienced differently by workers even in the same occupation. While the detectives found their performances of emotional labour with criminals deeply challenging and hence rewarding, their engagements with the victims or complainants of crime were rather less satisfying. Similarly, Wouters' (1989: 116) cursory study of flight attendants yields what he considers to be qualitative evidence of "the joy the job may bring". Further, the results of a quantitative examination of the effects of emotional labour on workers employed in the banking and hospital industries suggest that certain workers experience front line service jobs as emotionally exhausting whilst for other workers such tasks are a source of satisfaction (Wharton, 1993).

Subsequent to the lack of support proffered for Hochschild's argument concerning the negative consequences of emotional labour has been a call for greater attention to the factors that may mediate the effects of emotional labour. Thus Parkinson's study of trainee hairdressers lead him to propose that workers who "assimilat[e] their expressive performance to their own identity and rat[e] their interaction as undeceptive sho[w] lower levels of psychological symptoms and higher job satisfaction" (1991: 431). In other words, the psychological effects of emotional labour depend on the internalisation of norms about acting and feeling. Parallels may be drawn between this idea and Rafaeli and Sutton's (1987: 32) notion of "faking in good faith" whereby workers come to see their work-roles as necessarily involving the expression of emotion, be it spontaneous or feigned. Similarly, Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) maintain

that some of the negative effects of emotional labour on the well-being of the labourer are moderated by identification with the role, or the values or norms of the role, in question. Drawing on social identity theory, they propose that the greater the identification, the weaker the negative effects of emotional labour and the stronger the positive effects. In their view then, identification may render emotional labour enjoyable and enhance well-being.

Alternately, Tolich (1993) notes the centrality of 'worker autonomy' in understanding emotion at work. During his qualitative investigation of the performance of customer service by supermarket clerks, Tolich found that while clerks managed their display of emotion as regulated by management, in performing privately conceived special services for ('their') customers, they were able also to give 'something of themselves' and obtained tremendous enjoyment in doing so. Tolich suggests that a conceptual distinction between 'genuine' and 'supervised' emotion management is useful in helping to explain how the performance of customer service could be at once a source of satisfaction and alienation. In focusing on the controller, rather than owner, of the performance of emotion management, Tolich proposes the utility of this new dichotomy in replacing the problematic distinction of 'private' emotion work and 'public' sphere emotional labour and the accompanying presumption of emotional estrangement. Similarly, the findings of Wharton (1993) lead her to suggest that job satisfaction is positively related to job autonomy. That is, workers whose performance of emotional labour occurs under relatively autonomous conditions are less negatively affected and derive greater satisfaction from their work than workers who perform this labour under more restricted conditions. Thus Wharton's research implies that emotional labour may be psychologically damaging only under certain conditions. In particular, she finds that emotional exhaustion is highest amongst those emotional labourers with low job autonomy, longer job tenure, and who work longer hours.

Despite the varied occupational focus of many of the studies cited, each shares with Hochschild a concern to understand the consequences of emotional labour for those who perform it. These critiques call for a closer evaluation of some of the issues unexplored in Hochschild's work and reveal that the costs of emotional labour fall more heavily on some workers than others. Next,

consideration is given to one group identified by Hochschild (1979, 1983) as being more vulnerable to the negative effects of emotional labour: women.

## GENDERING EMOTIONAL LABOUR

Central to Hochschild's (1983) theory is the premise that the management of emotion has become an added qualification for female participation in the labour force. Women, she suggests, are significantly more likely to be employed in jobs requiring emotional labour than men. She estimates that of the one-third of jobs in the United States that require the performance of emotional labour, over half of employed women hold such positions compared to one quarter of men. Further, underlying Hochschild's thesis is the suggestion that there are at least two emotional marketplaces at work in contemporary Western society. The 'managed heart' it would seem, is twisted and distorted in the commercial setting to fit the dominant social construction of femininity and masculinity in public places. "Women", Hochschild writes (1983: 163):

> are more likely to be presented with the task of mastering anger and aggression in the service of "being nice". To men, the socially assigned task of aggressing against those that break rules of various sorts creates the private task of mastering fear and vulnerability.

Different capacities become vulnerable to commercial exploitation and, according to Hochschild (1983), it is these specialised private tasks enlisted by the organisation that male and female workers are likely to feel estranged from.

### Separating Emotion By Gender

For Hochschild then, emotional labour has come to be specialised in the market place such that men and women are called upon to perform different emotional tasks. Clearly, the gendered nature and specialisation of emotional labour tasks in the paid work place is partially constructed through, and firmly entwined with, prevalent and often deeply ingrained ideas about masculinity, femininity and emotion; about the 'women's sphere' and the roles they have traditionally performed in society. Central among these is the equation of the 'female' with virtues of nurturing, relatedness and community. Indeed, according to Graham (1983), it is the experience of 'caring' that defines both the activity of women and the identity or what it feels like to be a women in male dominated and

capitalist societies. That is, caring and being cared for is intimately bound up with the way women define themselves and their social relations. Consequently, women are regarded as better able to handle roles requiring empathy and attentiveness and as having a greater propensity to seek these roles out (Chodorow, 1974, 1978; Gilligan, 1982).

At the same time, women are deemed to be 'naturally' adroit in dealing with other people's emotions, because they are themselves 'naturally' emotional. Indeed, 'emotionality' has come to be added to that list of characteristics that define the 'female' in opposition to the 'male' (Lutz, 1986, 1990; Jaggar, 1989). This association of 'femininity' with 'emotionality' is consistent with the classic mind/body duality in which men are constituted as mind, that is, as reason, order, objectivity and ultimately domination and power, while women are constituted as body, that is, as reproductive agents devoid of rational intellect and weakened by emotion and subjectivity (Jaggar, 1983; Hekman, 1990; Gatens, 1991). In bringing to bear the emotional, the personal, the subjective, the weak and the irrational, 'femininity' represents the opposite of that cluster of characteristics that has come to be linked with 'masculinity': Thus, while women are seen to be controlled by sentiment and emotion, men are seen as rational, logical and better able to control their emotions. This does not mean, of course, that men are in fact 'rational' or that women are prey to 'emotional inflictions'. Rather, it is to suggest that men and women learn to recognise themselves in these conceptions.

In gender-divided societies like New Zealand, it is the implications for women of 'caring' and managing emotion that have particularly concerned feminist authors writing in the area. For instance, the predominance of women amongst informal carers means that women can easily become caught in a 'caring cycle' (Ungerson, 1983; Cull, 1992), taking on responsibility for the emotional and material needs of those around them. Alternately, the association of emotion with weakness, bias, danger and irrationality (see Lutz, 1986; 1990) would seem to provide a pervasive justification for the exclusion of those social and cultural members defined as experiencing greater emotionality from positions of power as well as serving to legitimise their material disadvantage. The person who "falls apart", for instance, is unable to function effectively or forcefully; the person who falls prey to the tides of emotion sweeping the body falls victim to biased subjectivity and so on. Prominent amongst those

subordinated groups in Western society are women, peoples of colour, gay men and children (Jaggar, 1989; Stanley and Wise, 1993).

Rather than comprising the result of biological sex differences, the association of women with caring labour and emotion is thought to be an outcome of the sexual division of labour in which men are held responsible for bringing in a household income while women have responsibility for the routine running of the home and the provision of childcare (Zaretsky, 1976). As James (1989) points out, it is through this gender division of labour which assumes women's natural place within the private, domestic sphere that women come to carry the prime responsibility for emotions and emotional life. As a result, women have come to be associated with emotional life and personal feelings, "undertaking... necessary regulation of emotional expression and protecting others from the demands of 'emotion'" (James, 1989: 24).

While this discourse of 'separate spheres' for men and women does not necessarily reflect the lived reality of most New Zealand women (Novitz, 1987), it has been used to explain not just women's greater responsibility for domestic labour but the further division of public sphere work by gender. That is, women's paid employment reflects the roles and tasks women traditionally undertake in the home. Not only is this work characterised by the utilisation of domestic 'housewives' skills, the qualities associated with being a women (physical attractiveness, caring for others, being willing to please, compliance and so forth) "have become integrated into the occupational requirements of many traditional jobs" (Hadjifotiou, 1983: 40). Thus, as Connell (1987) argues, because femininity is associated with domesticity and sexuality, traditional women's work is characterised by the provision of personal services and sexual attractiveness. Indeed, in 1990, over fifty percent of New Zealand women were found in traditionally female occupations: clerical work, sales, nursing, teaching and service related work (Department of Statistics, 1990).

While this division of labour relegates the responsibility of caring for the emotional and material needs of others to women in both the home and workplace, what is common to the distinction of women's work across these two spheres is the stigmatisation of the forms of social service and emotional labour intensive tasks that characterise women's labours as of lowly status and lowly skilled (James, 1989). Dex (1985) noted that the skills and labour

involved in the array of social servicing jobs performed by women are generally not recognised as skills by either the employers, society or often the women themselves. According to Beechey (1987), women's work has seldom been defined as skilled because women have neither acquired skills through conventional educational programs nor obtained skill designations through collective bargaining. Thus while employers have traditionally taken advantage of the social and emotional labour skills acquired by women through their work in the home and have deployed women in tasks involving nurturing and emotional labour, women are given little or no credit for these skills. Consequently, the emotion work performed by women remains an ill-defined and largely invisible part of their work within the home whilst the forms of social service and emotional labour intensive employment that characterise women's paid labours remain poorly paid, perceived as low status, 'natural', 'unskilled', women's work (Dex, 1985; James, 1989).

Consequently, in their study of lawyers, Spencer and Podmore (1987) found that the characterisation of women as more 'emotional', sensitive and less pragmatic than men is persistently advanced as a justification for keeping women practicing law within those areas of work deemed most 'appropriate' for them (for example, divorce work, family court work and so forth). However, while the profession remains strongly 'masculine', this women 'appropriate' work "tends to be of lower status, less financially rewarding, less demanding, and less 'visible'" (Spencer and Podmore, 1987: 127). Even in more task orientated work, such as that of supermarket clerks, where women have the same job descriptions as their male co-workers, women have been found to perform unequal proportions of customer service work (Tolich and Briar, 1996). Spared from the demands of emotion management in the checkstand, male clerks where able to enjoy the more desirable, varied and less closely supervised 'floor work' that significantly enhanced their promotional opportunities and quality of work life. Similar occurrences of intra occupational segregation have been recently observed in the care giving and medical professions (James, 1989; Witz, 1988; 1992) as in teaching (Crompton and Sanderson, 1990).

Given the association of women with caring labour and the gender specialisation of emotional labour, the 'gendering' of police functions of 'control' and 'care' is an unsurprisingly persistent feature of New Zealand's

policing history. Indeed, it is largely as a result of this specialisation of emotional marketplaces that women have managed to infiltrate this most stereotypically 'masculine' of all occupations in our society. It is this struggle for women's acceptance in policing that, moreover, in many ways parallels the struggle among women to be accepted into the labour force in general.

## GENDERING POLICING

Since its inception in the early nineteenth century, policing has been and remains a male dominated occupation, closely associated with masculinity. As Martin (1980: 19) notes, "the assignment of the policing role exclusively to men was a logical extension of the existing division of labour in society". Thus while women have been employed in the New Zealand police as early as the 1860's (Thomson and Neilson, 1989), they have predominantly been placed in roles deemed suitable for female employment, especially those associated with care-giving, emotionality, clerical skills, and subservience (Kanter, 1977).

### The Entry of Women Into Policing

Initially, women entered the field of policing only in roles subordinate to those of men. In the years prior to the First World War, for instance, women served as paid or unpaid auxiliary workers who carried out specified matron or searcher duties (McMorran, 1986; Hill, 1986; Cherrett, 1989). Many such women were in fact constable's wives. As an extension of women's traditional roles as mothers, guardians of children and protectors of public morals, their particular duties entailed searching and escorting incarcerated women to and from jail, keeping charge of their lock-up keys, cooking for prisoners and policemen, and washing and cleaning duties (Thomson and Neilson, 1989: 305).

It was not until 1914, that early reformers made significant inroads in their quest to introduce women into the police in more than marginalised positions. Visionaries, such as British activist Margaret Maner Dawson, saw that women could play a much more complex role in police work, and women's groups strenuously lobbied the New Zealand Government to employ women on a full-time basis. At the heart of the so-called 'first wave' feminist campaigns seeking women's active participation in many such New Zealand organisations was an

explicit acknowledgment of innate sexual difference and of the need for society to be permeated by 'feminine' virtues, values and patterns of behaviour. Tennant (1992) suggests that the issue of sexual difference heralded a major ideological shift in nineteenth century feminism. Where the previous influence of liberal individualism had prompted many liberal feminists to argue for women's (and other's) emancipation on the basis of ideals of equal rights, individual potential and equality of opportunity, by the end of the nineteenth century, the inherent presumption of sexual similarity was discarded in favour of that of the 'female difference'. Thus, according to Tennant (1992: 22) "feminists not only accepted the notion of innate sexual difference but made it the basis of their demands". In particular, amidst a wild and often brutal, male-dominated frontier society, Pakeha women were believed to be more maternal, sensitive, morally righteous and sober than men (Dalziel, 1986; Evans, 1977). Constructed popularly as the guardians of society's morals, as more conservative than men and therefore as harbouring a more intensive interest in social order, women were to become "the cleaners and purifiers of the private world of the home and of the public world" (James and Saville-Smith, 1989: 32).

Given the ready acceptance of notions of women's innate difference from men, it is little wonder that organisations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) agitated for the full social mobilisation of women's special virtues and talents. Alongside the appointment of women as inspectors of asylums, factories, child welfare institutions and other 'benevolent institutions' (charitable homes, hospital boards) (Tennant, 1992), policing was but one area of public activity seen as needing the participation of women. The call of the National Council of Women and others for the appointment of women to counterbalance the influence of men and to act in the interests of other women and children was further buttressed by the innovations of overseas police departments. By 1914, most American and many European countries had already appointed women constables and these recruits were reported to be effectively undertaking specific 'feminine' enforcement and surveillance activities.

The main thrust of the campaign for the inclusion of women in the New Zealand police centred then, on the need for 'separate spheres' of policing, with the law enforcement work of policemen supplemented by the specialist duties of policewomen in protecting the 'virtues' of vulnerable women and children

whilst 'guarding' those of bourgeois morality. Yet despite the flurry of submissions and histrionic outbursts lamenting the excesses of the 'wayward' and the crumbling of society's moral mortar amply documented by Hill (1995), it was not until 1938 that Minister of Police Peter Fraser announced the long anticipated amendment to the 1913 Police Force Act that would permit the inclusion of women as members of the New Zealand Police. Although this legislative change opened the way for women police officers, recruitment was delayed until 1941 when the Second World War both severely exacerbated staffing shortages and brought an influx of United States servicemen into the sleepy backwater that was New Zealand. With the changing attitudes to sex, liquor and general behaviour that accompanied the American's came renewed demands for policewomen (*Bulletin*, November, 1980).

From 150 applicants garnered, the first ten policewomen were personally selected by the then Commissioner D.J. Cummings. Candidates for appointment had to be between 25 and 40 years of age and either unmarried or widowed. They received three month's training in legal subjects, particularly as it related to women and children, and general police duties at Wellington South Training School in 1941.

On graduating, they were sent to the four main centres: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. As was the policy at the time, all trainees were posted to districts other than where they joined. Unlike their British counterparts, the pioneering policewomen wore plain clothes. Unable to be deployed for preventative policing, some policewomen found themselves working on special inquiries and Vice Squad duties. Their duties included searching female prisoners; dealing with psychiatrically disturbed women and with the numerous vagrant and 'disorderly' women who frequented ships, street corners and bars; venereal disease inquiries; apprehending backstreet abortionists by posing as patients, working undercover laying bets with bookies and visiting illegal fortune tellers for tea cup readings; infiltrating sly grogging (selling liquor without a license) rings, and assisting the CIB with inquiries involving women and children and so forth (Hill, 1986; Cherrett, 1989; Thomson and Neilson, 1989; *Dominion Sunday Times*, January 28 1990). In his annual report to Parliament, Commissioner D.J. Cummings appraised women police as being "an outstanding success and an acquisition to the service". "They", he wrote,

> are doing excellent work among women, young girls, and children, and are particularly active in detecting offences at night clubs, where young girls not under proper control are prone to go
> (Annual Reports of the New Zealand Police, 1944: 3).

Most policewomen, however, were assigned duties of a more mundane and innocuous nature. Even though they had the same legal powers as men, the women found their scope of duty severely restricted. Paid at a lower rate and regarded essentially as the "*Mistress of the Menial Task*" (Thomson and Neilson, 1989: 307), many new female recruits were treated as typists and clerks and were shielded from tasks deemed to be arduous or demanding (*Bulletin*, November 1980; Cherrett, 1989). Such treatment severely irked the women: as one of the first ten New Zealand policewomen commented many years later, "I didn't join the police to sit behind a ruddy typewriter" (Edna Pearce, quoted in *The Dominion Sunday Times* (Wellington), January 28, 1990: 13).

By 1945, the number of policewomen had risen to 33 and in 1952 the first uniforms were assigned to female officers. With the advent of a uniform, women's duties became more varied. Despite this, the protective attitude towards policewomen continued and they were still not permitted to work after 10.30pm (Hill, 1986; Cherrett, 1989). Identified as being a 'threat' "to the last bastion of the uniformed mono-sex services" (Thomson and Neilson, 1989: 307) the women were virtually confined to work with women and children in designated "Women's Divisions". Essentially, their overall position had remained relatively unchanged - women were the nurturing, sympathetic social workers of the police department. Yet, unlike British policewomen's divisions, New Zealand policewomen could not achieve the autonomy of their own hierarchy, supervision or discipline (*Bulletin*, November, 1980).

If emphasis on the moral and maternal 'difference' of women enabled women's entry into traditionally male domains of public life, its continued espousal was to become increasingly repressive, effectively stranding women in 'separate spheres' of activity seen as appropriately 'feminine'. Perceived as mere 'women's work', of low skill and attributed limited status and value, these tasks were thus recompensed accordingly, that is, less than men's (Dex, 1985; James, 1989). While the issues of equality and difference remained, and continues to remain,

fundamental to feminist debates, in light of continued marginalising and discriminatory employment practices, questions of sexual difference were to become increasingly down played in the interests of equity.

## The Modern Context

Changes in the general legal, economic, social and political roles of women have contributed to the changing role of women police officers. Indeed, over the past three decades, notions of social equity have become particularly significant ideals in legislative and social policy in New Zealand. These ideals are indicated, for example, in Acts such as the 1971 Race Relations Act, the Human Rights Commission Acts of 1977 and 1993, as well as in legislation pertaining to EEO and pay equity (Government Services Equal Pay Act 1960; Equal Pay Act 1973; State Sector Act 1988; Employment Equity Act 1990, later repealed). The equal opportunities policies that flow from these pieces of legislation centre on breaking down both the *vertical segregation* which confines certain groups to low paid, supposedly low-skilled jobs by preventing their progress to higher positions in organisational hierarchies and the *horizontal segregation* of certain groups in the labour force into a narrow range of 'traditional' occupations (Briar, 1994). It is the opening of opportunities to progress within the organisation and to venture into areas of non-traditional employment that is, according to Cockburn (1991: 46), an essential item for positive action in any organisation.

How far have these legislative and other attempts to integrate and allow access to policing of identified EEO groups been successful in New Zealand? While equal pay legislation was passed in 1960, it was not put into the Police Amendment Act until 1965 and it was 1966 by the time policewomen received equal pay. In the same year Commissioner Carl Spencer disbanded the separate Women's Division and decreed that sex was no longer a relevant factor in detailing policemen and women for duties. Despite this directive, many police districts remained tenaciously reluctant to employ women in the full spectrum of police duties (Hill, 1986; Thomson and Neilson, 1989). For instance, while policewomen commenced working night-shift (11pm to 7am), they were generally restricted to working in the office (Cherrett, 1989). The results of a study of the policewomen's role conducted in 1973 (cited in Horne, 1980: 19) uncovered continuing discrimination in terms of task segregation and an

inequality of status with her male peers. This resulted, according to Horne (1980: 19), "in *de facto* segregation of the police force". As a consequence of these findings, in 1973 Commissioner W. H. Angus Sharp issued a memorandum directing that policewomen be given the same opportunities as men on job assignments, promotion and work experience. The one exception to this rule was that female police were not to be assigned to solo-patrol work between the hours of 11pm and 7am.

Despite these executive steps taken to guarantee equal employment opportunities, there had been no great increase in the employment of women in the police. Indeed, according to Dunstall (1994: 308), New Zealand recruitment policy has been shaped "both by a traditional conception of order maintenance as fundamental to policing, and by enduring assumptions regarding the skills and limitations of female officers". Implicit within many of the assumptions underlying the traditionally differential deployment of women officers on front-line duties has been a perception of policing as involving aggressive behaviour, danger, physical strength and male solidarity together with doubt about the physical and emotional capability of women both to perform the job in high risk situations and to cope with violent situations (Remmington, 1983; Jones, 1986). While police work can be interpreted as a wide range of tasks - law enforcement, crime prevention, social service, clerical work and so forth - it is often narrowly defined by the situations in which police officers are required to use physical force to keep the peace. It is these (and other) elements of the job that require "masculine qualities" and "masculine traits" that are valued for their symbolic significance and for their reinforcement of the notion that officers are doing "men's work" (Martin, 1980, 1989; McElhinny, 1994). As a result, many police officials believe that women would be not only ineffective in police work, but also a hindrance and danger to the men in that they would require extra protection (Jones, 1986; 1987).

The tenacious resistance of male officers to accept women into their ranks contradicted a veritable plethora of empirical studies undertaken in the USA during the 1970's and early 1980's, the vast majority of which concluded that women performed patrol duties comparably to their male counterparts (Bloch and Anderson, 1974; Sherman, 1975). Nevertheless, as permitted by section 16 of the Human Rights Commission Act 1977 which allows for greater numbers of men to be recruited for "the purposes of dealing with situations involving

violence or the threat of violence", an informal quota has been maintained by the New Zealand police in areas of recruitment. In the late 1970's and early 1980's, the proportion of female officers remained at about 4 percent of the service, their need "implicitly assessed by male police administrators in terms of their traditional role as auxiliaries to male police" (Dunstall, 1994: 308).

While the ratio of women police began to climb in 1984, reaching 6.35 percent by 1989, notions concerning the irrelevancy of gender in the performance of policing were not, according to Dunstall (1994), fully accepted before 1990. It was in 1990 that, in line with the legislative requirement for state service departments to be "equal opportunity employers", an Equal Employment Management Plan was adopted by the New Zealand police. While it might be too early to assess these legislative changes, overseas examinations of EEO in policing suggest that despite the very real gains in legislative guarantee, women are not entering the criminal justice system in equal numbers, nor are they advancing in the various sub-systems (the British studies of Jones (1986, 1987); Coffey, Brown and Savage (1992); Heidensohn (1992); and McKenzie (1993); and the American studies of Flynn (1982); Pogrebin (1986); Martin (1989)). According to the latest available statistics (1996) women make up 13.67 percent of New Zealand police compared to 5.42 percent ten years prior (1986). No senior posts above that of Inspector are, however, occupied by women and women are concentrated in the lowest echelons of the organisation. According to figures for July 1996, women make up 1.4 percent of Inspector ranks (3); 2.4 percent of Senior Sergeant ranks (9); 4.2 percent of Sergeant ranks (41); 16.7 percent of constable ranks (829) and 29 percent of recruits (31). In addition, although there are no official statistical figures, in line with overseas trends one would expect policewomen to be under-represented in many specialist departments (armed offenders, for example) and/or absent from others (diving squads, police launch, sole charge stations and dog handlers).

## THE QUESTION OF 'CARE'

The rest of this study examines male and female policing tasks in terms of emotion. While women can no longer be excluded from the police organisation because of their gender, the current use and deployment of women constables is explored, particularly in relation to the tasks of emotion management and the status equivalency of these assigned duties.

To wit, this chapter has discussed the notion of emotional labour first elaborated by Hochschild (1979, 1983). In so far as the routine duties of uniformed police require that they, in compliance with particular display rules, deliberately direct expressive displays toward others in order to facilitate task effectiveness, emotional labour becomes an integral part of the successful fulfilment of the policing role. Traditional associations of 'the female' with 'care' and with 'emotionality' have led to women's predominance in those areas of home life and paid labour which deal with the emotions and emotional well-being of others. Presumptions of women's inherent maternalism and skill in dealing with the emotions of others similarly contributed to their historic employment within the police in specialist matron roles.

While this current chapter concluded with a cursory sketch of the entry, roles and participation of women in the policing organisation, the next chapter sets out a description of the research setting within which the study took place. In discussing the research process and project, it expounds some of the methodological concerns and processes underpinning the study, particularly as they relate to the impact of gender on fieldwork relations and on the production of ethnography.

## CHAPTER 3

# Research Design and Methodology

While traditional approaches (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Feldman, 1981; and Lofland and Lofland, 1995) to research have often underplayed, if not ignored entirely, the extent to which factors such as gender, age and ethnicity influence the researcher's role, an increasing number of studies (Ely et al, 1991; Bell and Roberts, 1984) reveal a pronounced interest in understanding how the actual conduct of research and success in the field is affected by the personal biography of the researcher. Feminist researchers (Easterday et al. 1977; Oakley, 1981; Stanley and Wise, 1983; Mies, 1983; Finch, 1984; Hunt, 1984; Gurney, 1985; Warren, 1988; Gelsthorpe and Morris, 1988; Fonow and Cook, 1991; Reinharz, 1992) in particular have sought to attend to the significance of gender in influencing the research role and the negotiation of field relations in different research situations. In contrast to the myth of the neutral inquirer, a myriad of factors (gender, age and ethnicity, for example) are thought to have a material impact on qualitative research in general, affecting the quality of relationships developed in the field as well as the quality and type of data gathered. Referring to gender as a "key organising device in all cultures", Warren (1988: 6), for example, argues that "male and female researchers will always be treated differently by those they study and thus they will come to know different aspects of the cultures they investigate".

The intention of this chapter is threefold. First, the research setting within which the study took place is discussed, together with the methods of data collection employed in the study. Second, consideration is given to some of the methodological concerns and processes that have impacted on, and underpinned, the research process. Third, while feminist research provided both a framework and invaluable guide for the research process, it was not, as will be shown, used uncritically. In the course of meeting these objectives, the myth

of the researcher as any person who, without gender, interests or historical location, would objectively produce the same findings as any other person is explored. Personal identities and life experiences shape the political and ideological stances taken in research and filter understandings. As Fee (1988: 53) argued, "the idea of a pure knowing mind outside history is simply an epistemological conceit". While the following discussion focuses more specifically on one aspect of this epistemological challenge - the impact of gender on fieldwork relations and the production of ethnography - other obvious influences of social class, race, and ethnicity are equally deserving of further attention. The point of this exercise is not to warm the reader with confessional tales (Van Maanen, 1988) of research adventures nor to purge oneself of methodological transgressions. Rather, the intention is to suggest that the process of research and data collection and the positioning of the researcher comprises not a supplement to the 'real' objective story of analysis, but is in fact endemic to the whole story and as such, should be equally open to critical scrutiny.

The present study of police constables germinated from an interest in the demands of emotional labour in service-orientated work. The initial goal of the study was to explore how police constables control their own and other's emotions in different policing situations (see Appendix A). In particular, the study was to focus on two contrasting situations. First, the techniques of emotion management used by individual officers when responding to situations of heightened danger involving, for instance, threats to personal safety or violence. Second, incidents of grief or human tragedy, for example, informing persons of the death of loved ones. However, as characteristic of qualitative inquiry (Ely et al, 1991; Tolich and Davidson, forthcoming), the original questions shifted and changed as other fruitful avenues of inquiry were thought about, analysed and pursued.

As the study evolved, for instance, the pervasive gendered division of emotional labour in policing and the differential status attached to various kinds of emotional labour emerged as having a special relevance to the study of emotional labour in policing. In a manner quite different to positivist research then, in which questions are posed at the beginning of the study and actively pursued throughout the process, qualitative research involves a more cyclical process of reflection and revision. In attempting to relinquish worries about

what should, or could, be happening, the researcher frequently abandons original specific questions in favour of different ones that provide further direction for the study. Moreover, as a feminist, as a white middle class woman and as an academic, I obviously have an investment in certain ideas rather than others. To pretend these have not shaped what I have 'seen', asked and interpreted would be dishonest 'objectivism'. As Harding (1987: 9) has most persuasively argued, the cultural values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of feminist researchers influence and shape the entire research process, from the formulation of the research questions, through the data-collection stage, to the ways in which the data is analysed and theoretically explained, "no less than do those of sexist and androcentric researchers".

## RESEARCH SETTING AND METHODS

Data was collected during a two month long ethnographic study of a large sized metropolitan police department in New Zealand using observation and interview techniques. The individuals studied were police officers from two uniformed 'sections' (see below).

### Access

Permission to undertake the proposed research in the area was sought from District Headquarters through written contact. The initial correspondence described in brief the drafted topic and methods of study, who was conducting the research, and offered ethical assurances of participants' confidentiality and rights of refusal to partake of the research (see Appendix A). A meeting to discuss the proposal in person was further requested and duly received. Following this meeting, approval for the study was granted on the understanding that, first, police accept no responsibility for damage or injury that could or might occur; second, that the direction of officers accompanied is at all times accepted; third, that all matters involved with or observed are treated with the strictest confidentiality; and fourth, that no costs are to be incurred by police. In addition, it was undertaken to at all times dress and behave unobtrusively and to give, where possible, an honest account of my presence as a police 'guest' undertaking an independent study to those whom may be encountered during the research process. Finally, it was proposed to furnish the police with a full copy of the research findings when completed.

In respect of the third point, confidentiality was assured on the understanding that, while it was inevitable that the researcher would be able to identify given persons involved in observed occurrences, she would not do so publicly. To this end, all names and special characteristics that could lead to the identification of individuals have been altered. At the same time, we live in a small country. Inevitably, therefore, as researchers we are constrained in our choices of research data for presentation. Because of the wish to do no harm to, or to potentially harm, our participants, some data has had to be omitted due to its sensitive nature. Further, given the statistical minority of women in the police department, it has been necessary to extensively paraphrase much of what female informants disclosed during the course of the research. Given that female officers remain "tokens" according to Kanter's (1977) definition, in that the group is numerically skewed and women easily identified as different from their male colleagues, to rigidly adhere to popular conventions of letting informants "speak for themselves" would be, in this case, ethically naive.

## Setting

The police department in which the research was undertaken is located in a large New Zealand metropolitan city. During the study the researcher was attached to uniformed patrol. Police patrols are typically organised to ensure that the available officers are equally divided so as to provide continuous 'cover' throughout the twenty four hours of the day. In the research region, the majority of police constables are divided into sections. Each section comprises a senior sergeant, a sergeant and, in theory, eight constables. The ideal strength of sections is, however, often depleted by a number of factors, including accrued or sick leave, training courses or temporary specialist duties. Section staff are rostered on a five week rotational shift-system which divides responsibility along a temporal dimension, in eight hour turns. The timing of the four shifts are as follows:

| Early | Late | Night | Swing |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 am. - 1 pm. | 1 pm. - 9 pm. | 9 pm. - 5 am. | 6 pm. - 2 am. |

During the five week period, each section works in turn a continuous seven day week of night shifts. The remaining shifts are worked in a non-continuous cycle interspersed with one day of training and eight rest days over the five week period.

As the research goal was descriptive, concerned with officer's performance and personal experience of emotional labour, qualitative methods were deemed to be the most appropriate. Data collection included the ongoing review of relevant literature and the examination of documentary information such as police training manuals, current and historic national police recruitment and promotional statistics.

'Ride-along' observations of officer's performance of emotional labour in routine police activities were also undertaken, alongside informal conversation and unstructured interviews with six individual officers. The number of persons observed and interviewed was inevitably small and, as will be discussed below, the data collection process was to some extent fraught with problems which influenced both the rapport between the observer and participants and the nature of data acquired. Nevertheless, as will be shown throughout this text, the work of other sociologists offers support for many observations. The methods used are described below.

## Observational Work

The observation stage of the research involved the experiencing and observing of police constable's performances of emotional labour in routine activities and covered a period of approximately three weeks. During these observations, jotted notes were collected. This time was devoted evenly to two different uniformed sections. In order to capture the range of front-line police work in various settings, I observed the entire period of each shift. On average, section constables were accompanied on three or four shifts a week. While the observations were spread fairly evenly between the days of the week, there was some bias towards what police advised as being the 'busier' times of the week (Thursday, Friday and Saturday's) and, given the largely nocturnal nature of police patrol activity, considerable bias towards the late shift. In all, a total of nine eight-hour shifts were covered which included eight night shifts (9pm to 5am) and one early shift (5am to 1pm).

Most of the research was carried out by accompanying section officers during "I" (incident) car or "Q" (non-urgent query) car patrol activity (see chapter 5). A typical shift would proceed as follows: at the conclusion of the pre-shift briefing session, the researcher was attached to a patrol car by the section

sergeant. In general, the entire eight hour shift was spent with the assigned pair of officers or individual officer, although I would often intermittently accompany other officers, including the sergeants, on various duties for one reason or another. For instance, when, on occasion, the officers to which I was attached were busy completing or 'catching up' on paper work, I was often invited by other officers to accompany them to a certain job, observe the execution of a particular station-based duty or to simply "go for a ride" as the nights stretched to morning and the city was quiet.

As a result of the flexibility and willingness of participating constables to have a 'rookie' researcher who was inexperienced in police duties trail them, the work of police constables was able to be observed in many different settings. Whilst accompanying officers on patrol, for example, a variety of activities were observed and scant notes intermittently recorded in a pocket note book. These included routine mobile pro-active patrols and other preventative activity (such as the conducting of "turnovers", that is, street questioning and searches), reactive policing duties consisting of largely responding to dispatched calls and attending 'after the fact' inquiries, as well as a range of miscellaneous tasks and activities (escort duties, mortuary procedures, and so forth). Considerable time was also spent inside the police station without being attached to any particular member of the shift. Here, both administrative and operational tasks were able to be observed in the locations of the briefing, operations and interview rooms, at the switchboard and in the watchhouse. No official token of identification (such as a 'visitors' badge) was provided by police and personal introductions were predominantly initiated by myself. Given the opportunity of the researcher to freely wander about the 'private' backstage spaces of the police station unhindered and unsupervised, particular care was taken to frequent the more 'public' of those spaces (the operations room, for instance) and to make the acquaintance of those persons who regularly inhabited them.

While the research cannot technically be described as 'participant observation' in the sense that I was not employed by the New Zealand police nor bestowed any powers of arrest and so forth, I did in fact become embroiled in many of the events attended in both a physical and emotional capacity. Succinctly, while I endeavoured to enter the field as an observer, it was extraordinarily difficult to be a non-participant in the actual fieldwork situation.

My involvement in the research took a number of forms. Members of the public often mistook me as an 'under cover cop' and I became involved in a number of police duties in various ways. These ranged from miscellaneous tasks such as carrying various objects for officers (papers, briefcases, tyres, and flashlights, for example, to "make yourself look useful", as one constable cajoled), to witnessing statements and testimony, to assisting in the preparation of bodies for identification, and returning patrol cars unescorted to the station in the case of arrests. Other, more subjective involvements, are harder to classify, such as listening to, empathising with and reassuring different persons.

If the object was ever to assume a role of non-participant then, the practice of this role was severely and frequently curtailed in ways and by occurrences that were out of my control. For instance, in many encounters with the public, my presence served rather as providing the audience for individual's emotional performances in ways that precluded my non-involvement in unfolding events. On one occasion whilst accompanying a police constable on random patrol of the inner city, a young man was picked up for failing an EBA (evidential breath analysis) test. Believing he was subject to police 'harassment' as a targeted minority group, the man was particularly stroppy and uncooperative with the male constable. Advising the officer "Don't play with me and I won't play with you", the man directed a stream of abuse at the police constable ("You fuck your mother" and so forth), and appeared adamant that the constable was being heavy handed to impress the (female) researcher, claiming, "You're just trying to be fucking staunch to get into her pants".

On another occasion, whilst observing the processing of two young male prisoners, the pair appeared curiously eager to rile the attending male constables with a barrage of personalised abuse and to make their task as difficult as possible. One prisoner in particular appeared to be having fun with the constables, toying with them as they searched him and attempted to gleam his basic details. During the course of these events, the young man, grinning mischievously, frequently looked over to where I stood in the corner, perhaps to see whether the only non-uniformed and female person in the room was engaging in and enjoying his performance. After a time I silently retreated, as my presence appeared to be encouraging the man.

While, during the course of all observational fieldwork, I dressed and behaved as unobtrusively as possible so as not to overtly influence events or impede police procedures, the above examples are illustrative, to paraphrase Wolcott (1988: 193), of the precarious nexus between the facets of 'participant' and 'observer' in the actual research setting (and of the dilemmas of how each facet is played out in the actual research setting.) Moreover, they raise a series of serious moral and ethical issues and dilemmas, of which perhaps the most acute are those related to informed consent and privacy. Thus while I tried to provide an honest account of my presence as a researcher interested in police, rather than public, behaviour, considerations of informed consent were practically unworkable in some contexts. These dilemmas are all the more acute because, as Punch (1994: 84) notes, they "often have to be solved *situationally*, and even often spontaneously".

Punch's point about the practical difficulties in obtaining informed consent is just as pertinent in respect of members of the public encountered in the course of the research as to the individual police officers who, in various ways, engaged in the research. While no one should be forced to participate, this norm is far easier to accept in theory than to apply in practice (Babbie, 1995: 449). While every effort was made to disseminate verbal or written (see Appendix A) information to individual officers concerning the research objectives and their rights if they consented to participate, considerations of informed consent were not always workable in practice. For instance, it was not always possible to give constables from different shifts who were, albeit fleetingly, encountered during the course of various events the opportunity to volunteer or refuse to participate. In all cases these other officers have been excluded from the study. Equally, all details of the public mentioned in the text have been changed to such an extent as to provide anonymity.

## Qualitative interviews

The observations were supplemented by informal conversations snatched during the observational phase and by unstructured interviews of six police constables drawn from both sections. The latter were conducted following the conclusion of the observational stage of the research. The importance of the first observational stage for the subsequent interviews and research endeavour in general can not be overstated. For one, this method of data collection served as

an excellent form of "conversational interviewing" (Martin, 1980) during the long periods of time spent on uneventful patrol that are characteristic of police patrol work. While facilitating acquaintance with the unfamiliar work of police constables, their practices and informal social world, the observational stage also served to shift and guide the research questions whilst further assisting in the process of establishing the rapport that made the later interviews possible. A similar process has been observed by both Cain (1973) and Martin (1980).

While opportunities to engage in conversation with, and be engaged by, police and unsworn staff presented themselves regularly throughout the research process in many different locations, interviews with officers were conducted in private in the station interview rooms. With the exception of one constable who was officially off duty, all interviews were conducted during officer's shift hours. The selection of participants was largely haphazard and access to them depended both upon their willingness and work commitment during different shifts. The ages of interview participants was varied, as was their tenure as police officers. Half were women. All engagements of constables during shift hours were approved by senior section officers and every endeavour was made to fit interviews in with section work schedules and inclinations. This meant that more than once, the intention to conduct interviews with constables was abandoned when, on arriving at the police station for a particular shift as arranged previously with senior section sergeants, the particular police section was discovered to be too busy to detain any particular member. Each participant was provided with an "Information Sheet" (see Appendix B) that outlined the topic of study, the basic interview process, who was conducting the study, the rights of participating persons, and the anticipated usage of the study results.

A number of important feminist research principles informed the form and process of the interviews. As part of its critique of the androcentricity of traditional science, feminist scholars have for some time presented many challenges to conventional approaches to research and accompanying methodologies. For instance, in trying to move beyond research *on* women to research *for* women (Duelli Klein, 1983: 90), some feminist writers have been concerned to modify existing research practices into line with feminist values. Work by feminists such as Roberts (1981), Stanley and Wise (1983), Oakley (1981) and Graham (1984) has considered the power relations inherent in the standard interview where researchers allocate 'the researched' an objectified

function as data. As a means to overcome this artificial object/subject split between researcher and researched, such writers have argued that the research process should be based on reciprocity. Feminist writers such as Oakley (1981), Mies (1983), Reinharz (1983) and Acker et al (1991) have each been concerned with creating more participative and equal relationships between researcher and the researched based on co-operation, collaboration and mutual respect. Such a strategy is quite at odds with what Reinharz has referred to as the 'research as rape' model in which "the researcher take, hit and run" (Reinharz, 1983: 80).

Commitment to adopting such an interactive methodology in which the 'object' of research enters into the process as an active subject took a variety of forms in the present research. For example, many feminist researchers argue that the best way to find out about people is to 'survey through stories' (Graham, 1984), that is, to encourage people to tell you about their lives in their own way. In order to gain the participants' trust and to generate the feeling that they were 'in control' of the interview process, I attempted to adhere to a strategy of encouraging the informant to dictate or to take the lead in deciding what they wished to talk about. Thus although I had a brief agenda of topics I was interested in pursuing in the interviews, I tried not to impose my own ideas about what I thought was important. Concerned principally with understanding police officers personal experiences as emotional labourers, cursory details of the informant's employment history and career as a police officer were delved for, as were descriptions of typical, memorable and forgettable shifts. Some understanding of constables relationships with, and perceptions of, the general policed populace and behaviours were also sought. This latter interest included possible inquiry into the types of verbal and physical emotional displays used when dealing with suspects, victims and witnesses; strategies used to gain confessions; how strategies were matched to different types of persons; and how officers dealt with the emotional impact on themselves of criminals and victims reactions. While the motivation and participation levels of the informant determined the exact length of the interview, each typically lasted fifty to ninety minutes. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

## FIELDWORK: PROCEDURES, ISSUES AND RESULTS

### Traditional Female Role Assignment

In continuing to overlook gender differences in fieldwork, much instructional literature on qualitative research fails to offer pertinent guidance to the novice female researcher. For example, while the didactic methodological literature (for example, Lofland and Lofland, 1995) focuses on somewhat proscriptive discussions of role-taking (overt to secretive) and role-stance (from mute observer to full participant), it neglects to engage with the way in which, as Warren suggests, "role taking in fieldwork is subsumed by a more interactive process in which respondents assign the fieldworker to what they see as his or her proper place in the social order" (1988: 19). Thus while I actively attempted to cultivate a number of non-threatening attributes as a means to gain and maintain trust and rapport with both the upper and lower police echelons, this pursuit unwittingly appeared to enable my informants to tentatively fit me into certain roles with which they were comfortable. As the following will show, in addition to hampering my transition to a role of credible competency (Gurney, 1985), such placement affectively closed some avenues of inquiry whilst, however, inadvertently opening others.

*Taking on the role of 'daughter'*

Reception by a host society is a reflection of the cultural contextualisation of the fieldworker's particular characteristics, which include age, physical appearance, marital status, racial or class differences as well as gender. Whilst varied and historically specific, Warren (1988) suggests that the social roles which the researcher, either involuntarily or by choice, is assigned during the research process range from 'spy' to 'surrogate daughter'. In line with a male imposed definition of femininity, Easterday et al (1977) note that the female researcher often finds herself assigned to the subordinated roles of 'Gofers' or mascots. Similarly, Gurney (1985) reports being cast into a variety of traditionally subordinated roles, such as that of 'cheerleader' or clerk-secretary, while Horowitz (1986; 1989) discusses how the gang members she studied evaluated her as a 'lady'.

From the beginning of my fieldwork with the police, I too was assigned to a number of traditionally subordinated roles. One such role was that of a helpless

and guileless 'daughter', non-menacing or threatening, and in need of protection. Assignment to this role was especially evident during negotiations of permission to undertake the study, where, for example, several senior police officers appeared overtly anxious over my welfare. One senior officer, for instance, used the interesting analogy of venturing into "the swamp" on a Friday or Saturday night and combating "the alligators" as he mused as to how I would handle entering a tavern "full with drunks" and a scenario he painted for me of the arrest of a twenty stone drunkard and his subsequent placement next to me in the back of the 'I' car. On another occasion during this process of access negotiation, a different senior officer was particularly solicitous in forewarning me of the fact that, in his estimation, some of the officers were likely to "show off" and to behave very "macho". He also made a point to telling me that I might be party to some very bad language, but insisted that I could always ask the offending officers to curb it and that some might oblige. In addition, a number of senior officers appeared mindful to pair me with a section and section controller that would not exhibit the above behaviours.

My positioning in the role of daughter was also apparent in certain exchanges with officers whilst conducting my fieldwork. For example, whilst waiting in the station for the male constable I was accompanying on one particular night shift, I was asked to step into a side room by the acting sergeant so that we might speak in private. Once inside, he started somewhat awkwardly to inform me of how police duties also included dealing with accident victims, sudden deaths and the like. He continued by telling that there had been a fatal accident that night and that the constable I was accompanying would be attending the body to carry out police mortuary procedures. He then explained that I might not wish to attend, but if I chose to do so I could always retreat to the nearby chapel if I was 'overcome'.

It is this paternalistic approach to female researchers that characterises, according to Easterday et al (1982: 65), the adoption of a father-daughter relationship, "offer[ing] older males... threatened by young women or unable to interact with young women as peers - a safe, predefined interactional context". While I found many such attitudes inappropriate and, on occasion, somewhat offensive, I experienced considerable pressure to conform to the imposed definition of femininity in order to establish access for my research. Thus I felt a response of friendly accord was necessary in order to establish some rapport

and trust with the 'keyholders' of the establishment. In other words, I accepted a measure of "interactional shitwork" (Reinharz, 1992). Being placed into a role of helpless and virtuous femininity was not, however, entirely negative. Foster (1994) and others (Roberts, 1981; Gurney, 1985) have noted how prevalent stereotypes of women often operate in the female researcher's favour. For instance, as has been suggested, during the process of access negotiation, senior officers appeared rather less concerned with what research I proposed to undertake than with how I was going to going to handle the bawdy behaviour of male police and certain police duties. Further, as will be shown later, the primary response of participants to me as 'a women' and only secondary as 'a researcher' enabled me to maintain a degree of distance and legitimacy as a women and to gain some insight into the ways in which male officers in particular viewed themselves and the job of policing.

*Femininity, morality and the issue of trustworthiness*

In addition to playing the role of the vulnerable and naive female, I was also, at times, relegated to the role of spy. As Manning (1972: 248) has noted, upon initial entry into a police setting, a field-worker is commonly viewed as a "stranger whose loyalty and trustworthiness are suspect". Alternately, the researcher is perceived as a "social critic" who seeks to compromise the police by penetrating the code of secrecy which enmeshes police work in order that they might then disclose intimate details of their occupational life (Van Maanen, 1978b: 316). In addition to the researcher's formal orientation, gender is considered by some to be one of the features of the fieldworker the elaborates the role of spy. According to Hunt (1984) for example, the juxtapose of her identity as a researcher and a woman posed a pervasive threat to the police because the role of spy is consistent, in her view, with the identity of a moral and civilian women. In contrast to the association of the male with the corrupt public world of politics and violence, the symbolic equation of the moral female with the domestic sphere renders women untrustworthy, their superior 'feminine' virtue potentially dangerous. The relationship between gender and suspicion of spying would appear, however, to be a complex one (Warren, 1988:23-4) and as Gelsthorpe surmises from her role as a researcher in a project on prisons, suspicion of her and her female co-researchers as women "was hard to distinguish from suspicion of us as researchers" (1990: 96).

My positioning into the role of spy was also evident during the observation phase of my research. During this period, a field diary was kept into which information was recorded. However, a number of the constables appeared anxious to ascertain whether I recorded "words said in jest" and whether I "thought [they] were all cowboys".

*Negotiating identities*

Positioned as a 'spy', the accompanying hypervisibility of my presence in the field thus posed difficulties in attempting to establish trust with the lowest ranking of police officers. Consequently, as the continuous activity of recording was thought to conflict with the desire to facilitate some degree of acceptance and trust, only scant notes were recorded of both idiosyncratic and mundane incidents and were then written up as soon as possible after the shift. This often meant that, following an eight hour shift, the next two or so hours would be spent furiously sketching an outline of events and conversations. The following morning, this skeletal construction would be padded with details, a task that, despite increasing proficiency at recalling events and conversations, remained both laborious, exhausting yet revealing.

In addition to the decision to be circumspect with note taking, a further resolution to partake in 'natural' conversation arising from events as they unfolded was also a deliberate one. For while the opportunities to engage in more informal interviews were presented relatively continually, my attempts to do so were, initially at least, rather poorly received. For instance, an early query as to whether some encounters with the public were enjoyed rather more so than others was answered with the short retort that "students always think that police beat people up to gain confessions", despite the fact that this reading of the question was not the one intended. In light of such 'interpretative conflict', it was thought that informal conversation which followed the lead of the officers accompanied may help facilitate ease amongst them. This is not to suggest that I did not at times pilot conversation to matters in which she had a special interest and indeed, officers were more forthcoming as the process continued. This was largely dictated by the rhythms of the shift (amount of work, stresses and so on) and by the prompting of the officers to ask of them "anything I wanted to know".

As was noted previously, similar strategies aimed at gaining trust and generating the feeling that informants were 'in control' of the research process were also pursued in the interviews. The strategy of encouraging participants to tell their stories in their own way was not, however, wholly successful. Some of the interviewees seemed anxious that I ask them 'pointed' questions so that they could then give, presumably, the 'right' response, whatever that may have been. Alternately, some of the younger female constables in particular appeared, initially at least, uneasy about directing the interview as they felt that they had nothing to say that would be of interest to me. Subsequently, part of the process of attempting to put the informant at ease in order to talk about their own experiences pivoted around my attempts to present myself as a learner, a listener, rather than a researcher.

A similar strategy often evoked by female researchers hinges on the special place commonly assigned to women based on their general social place as communicators, emotion managers and nurturers. While the traditional nurturing role of women has enabled them to penetrate traditional male bastions such as policing, it has similarly often been touted as securing them a particular contribution to the fieldwork enterprise, allowing female fieldworkers to appear "at once less threatening and more open to emotional communication than men" (Whitehead and Conaway, 1986: 44). In listening to, emphasising with and attempting to reassure different persons, I became implicated in the social processes of dealing with other people's feelings. For example, at the conclusion of various routine police duties, female constables in particular would often share with me their frustrations borne of discriminatory and sexist treatment by the citizens attended to or the tasks to which they were directed. While their perhaps plainly unaware male partners appeared unsympathetic or unwilling to discuss such occurrences, I frequently found myself a participatory audience to outpourings of angry displeasure at the perceived injustice of it all. In various encounters with the public I became, on occasion, similarly engaged in the process of managing emotion. As I observed the execution of various police tasks, others at the scene would often approach me, rather than other similarly idle (male) constables, and converse. While I was quick to highlight my non-police status, this fact was apparently less compelling than my positioning as a women and thus, as supposedly more attuned and responsive to the demands of feelings. It was through my positioning as a sympathetic listener

that I was able to secure, I believe, a particular invaluable role that helped formulate some sense of rapport between myself and other participants.

A further part of the process of attempting to alleviate officer's suspicions of the research enterprise and of renegotiating my identity as an 'outsider' and a 'spy' involved attempts to 'fit in' with the policing culture, laughing when expected in joking exchanges or sharing the humour in particular stories or events recounted to me. As Holdaway (1983) also noted from his own participant observations with British police, this process was sometimes stressful as I did not always share the implicit values and assumptions about policing and some joking banter was personally distasteful but I learned to tolerate any discomfiture. Similarly, I experienced some pressure to 'perform' in situations where I felt I was being 'tested' by constables: for example, in dealing with death and corpses, in social drinking rituals and in (friendly) verbal abuse. Much of this pressure came from the acknowledgment of the high priority placed upon group solidarity within the policing culture as illustrated, for instance, though the rituals and ceremonies imposed on outsiders wishing to join the group (Smith and Gray, 1983) and of the perceived necessity of transcending the role within which I had been placed. Moreover, I was extremely grateful to the constables for allowing me to explore their work conditions, to share and understand their world, for, without their goodwill, my task would have been impossible.

The deliberate construction of the afore-mentioned interpersonal strategies designed to alleviate anxiety about having an observer in their midst combined with my youthful appearance and the fact I am a women no doubt helped to cultivate the impression that I was relatively non-threatening and naive (Gurney, 1985; Wax, 1971; Lofland, 1971). With time, my presence was apparently accepted by some officers. Constables frequently behaved in ways which were not particularly flattering to themselves (and that reflected rather badly on their occupation) and infracted all kinds of rules in my presence. Candid in sharing with me their negative feelings towards the general public, victims and perpetrators, as Remmington (1983) similarly observed during her fieldwork, their "public relations" face was often hastily retracted at the conclusion of calls and constables often joked about the individuals involved. One Section invited me to take part in their post-shift social festivities and the regular jesting and ribbing amongst officers often took me in. For example, after I had accompanied one section on a number of night shifts, some section

members would repeat some of my earlier questions by way of making fun of my perceived ignorance in, as Kornblum (1989: 3) puts it, "questioning behaviour that everyone else takes for granted".

Another reason for assuming that my presence was excepted by the female officers at least stems from our seemingly shared assumptions about women and their subordinated place in society and their ready identification with many of the areas I wished to pursue in my research and their own place in them. For example, despite our different positioning in the research process, the female constables often drew on the perceived commonalities between us as an articulative resource. For example, in response to some of my probes in discussions of the police culture, equal opportunity and sexism, the female constables would sometimes remark "you know" (or "don't you hate that"). That I did "know" (and "hated" it) was a foregone conclusion and hence required no further elaboration or reflection on the constables' part. Clearly, this mutual recognition and acknowledgment of common experience is an advantage for the researcher. For instance, the co-operation and participation of many female constables in the research process was not difficult to obtain because the developing themes of the study seemed to touch a cord, making explicit explanations unnecessary and making possible a taken-for-granted element in the research.

Identities then, as Horowitz (1989) notes, are not fixed but rather are affirmed or continually changing. As Reinharz (1992: 64) suggests, "the critical issue... is not the particular role the researcher is compelled to adopt, but whether she is able to negotiate the role after she adopts it". Despite my attempts to modify different roles attributed to myself on the basis of gender in order to gain access within different policing worlds, my transition from that of 'helpless daughter' or 'untrustworthy spy' was not entirely successful. For instance, while the former may have allowed me to 'get in', it did little to assist my 'getting by'. In down-playing competency and presenting myself as a non-threatening listener and learner, several of the male officers in particular continued to not treat me seriously and persisted in sloughing me off with somewhat superficial 'by the book' responses. Moreover, in contrast to the female constables, whose gendered subjectivities had assumed a far greater salience, gender was for the male officers a decidedly "unmarked category" (Personal Narratives Group, 1989).

More significantly, in contrast to Jones' (1992: 38) contention that during her fieldwork "it was the case that constables 'did what they normally do'", it was felt that my continued positioning by some officers as a untrustworthy and moral women caused them to modify their usual behaviour in various ways. For instance, my own research experience indicated that the presence of an observer had something of a restraining influence of language and joking. Racist slurs, for instance, were hastily retracted as soon as they were uttered and obscenities were frequently apologised for, despite the fact that I strenuously resisted commenting upon such expression. Further, reflecting upon their own research experience with British officers, Smith and Gray (1983) suggest that the influence of the observer is largely dependent upon the activity performed and the situation within which it is performed. Thus while they argue that the observer's influence may be minimal within a defined situation (such as the interrogation of a particular person), the observer is likely to have more of an influence when officer's have a choice of pursuing certain activities or refraining from them. Whether my transition to another role that may have enabled me to pierce this veneer of suspicious closure would have been aided with time is debatable, but it seems likely that prolonged engagement at the site would at least have counted my exotic status as well as "facilitating further immersing [my]self in and understanding the contexts' culture" (Guba and Lincoln, 1989: 237)

## Is Gender Only A Factor for Women?

While the emphasis of the current chapter has to date rested on the dynamics of gender in conducting fieldwork from a feminist perspective, this is not to suggest that gender is considered to be a factor in ethnographic research for women exclusively (Wax, 1979; Gurney, 1985; Foster, 1994). Equally important, although rather less well documented, are the problems which men experience in the field. For instance, in predominantly masculine domains, a male researcher is likely to experience a different set of pressures and 'tests' before being given a measure of acceptance amongst a close-knit group of male members. Describing a number of initiation rituals to which they, like all other police recruits, were subjected by their police respondents, Smith and Gray (1983: 73-4) highlight the further dynamic of age which was to assume a particular salience throughout their fieldwork with the police:

> Like police officers, the researchers were tested out before being given a measure of acceptance. Because he belonged to the same age group as the PCs, JG was much more fully subjected to these tests than was DJS. One whole set of tests relates to death, corpses, gory injuries and horrifying violence. Every opportunity is taken to see if new entrants can be shocked or shaken by any of these things.... On three separate occasions DJS on his first introduction to a group of police officers was immediately shown horrifying photographs of victims who in two cases has been raped then murdered (very messily) and in the third, burnt to death... Otherwise the most common forms of initiation are trail by alcohol, physical contests and verbal attack. The three were combined in an evening and all-night session that JG spent with Terry (a PC) and some of his friends.

The different experiences of the two male researchers involved in this study highlight the benefits of having two researchers who may obtain different perspectives on the same data. Equally, they demonstrate the material impact of gender and other factors (age, ethnicity and so on) on the quality of relationships developed in the field as well as the quality and type of data gathered.

*Women researching women*

The ease of rapport and empathy of gender experienced between the researcher and female participants was noted earlier. Inevitably, these insights together with the issue of the kinds of gendered identities individuals bring to the research situation raise the question of whether it is more practical or desirable for women to study women and men to study men. Feminist researching as translated into field practice has introduced new procedures and sponsored a new epistemology in stressing the value of women researching women. Finch (1984) notes that, from an instrumentalist point of view, there can be great advantages to be gained from capitalising on one's shared experiences as women. She suggests that, in respect of her experiences in a study of playgroups, being a women interviewer meant that the young mothers divulged material to her that they would never have told a man. Whilst acknowledging that men can also make good interviewers, she goes on to suggest that it "is a necessarily and additional dimension when the interviewer is also a women because both parties share a subordinate structural position by virtue of their gender" (ibid: 76). Similarly, according to Mies (1983: 121), because of

women's personal experience of oppression they "are better equipped than their male counterparts to make a comprehensive study of the exploited groups".

Equally, there are areas of men's social lives that might be extraordinarily difficult for a women researcher to gain access to. For example, in her study of women in policing, Martin (1980) found that she could neither penetrate the world of the policeman's locker room nor out-of-work socialising. Similarly, Hunt (1984) realised that she was operating in a culture where several features of her identity - white, female, educated outsider - were impediments to developing trust and rapport with different categories of the police. In the present study, the process of gaining the trust of male informants was also one fraught with difficulty. In addition, as noted previously, given the massive weight of the taken-for-granted, it was often difficult to get men to talk about issues of gender.

Further, the inclusion of men in feminist researching does have its problems, particularly in terms of implementing an 'interactive methodology' with male participants whose knowledges may not be sympathetic nor compatible with that of the researcher. Women researchers may also feel uncomfortable with male informants who try to 'control' the interview (and interviewer). This point serves to illustrate, I think, the difficulties of dismantling power differentials between female researchers and 'the researched' and attempts to pursue the greater involvement of the researched, particularly when the researched are men.

While advocacy of a "sociology for women" could be interpreted as insisting on research exclusively on women, many feminists collude with Morgan's (1981) argument that "taking gender seriously" means considering the social construction of *both* femininity and masculinity. Writers in the field of criminology such as Cain (1986), Gelsthorpe and Morris (1988), for example, are among those who argue that men can not be excluded from the research enterprise because so much of the system of labelling, offending and sentencing revolves around men. Alternately, Stanley and Wise (1983: 124) argue that much can be learned about sexism and listening to sexist talk if men are allowed to be subjects in feminist research.

In other words, research *for* women is not necessarily *on* women, as gender is a relational concept. Yet, according to Cain (1986: 263), involving men does not necessarily mean they are "entitled" to be full participatory subjects in the same sense as "*those whose standpoint the researcher shares*". For my own part, the incompatibility of knowledges with male informants prefigured the necessity of 'negotiating' the research focus and methods depending on the informant. Oakley (1981), for instance, believes that the interviewer should invest her own identity in the research relationship by sharing knowledge and experiences. Thus, for instance, as the female participants and myself grew more comfortable with the research process, our expectations and one another, I tried to share with them some of my own experiences drawn from my observations as well as some of the thoughts, ideas and interpretations I had been pursuing. Seeking to replace the dubious "value-free objective" of traditional sociology (Hammersby and Atkinson, 1995), this approach of "conscious subjectivity" (Duelli-Klein, 1983) aims to be more honest. According to Cotterill and Letherby (1994: 109),

> by explaining how they [the researcher] feels about the research, making it clear that their experiences have affected the research and admitting that the "results" are their interpretations of other people's lives and experiences, researchers make themselves much more vulnerable.

Given the different relationship developed with male officers, such a strategy would have been difficult to implement and would perhaps have further hampered my attempts to re-negotiate my assigned role to that of a 'competent' researcher.

The former discussion does much to reaffirm that strong theme within feminist researching that suggests that women's experience and perspective can only be understood by another women. However, despite the attractiveness of an assumption of 'sisterhood', given the multiplicity of the female subject, it is not immediately clear that all women really do occupy the same standpoint. Difference of class, ethnicity, sexual orientation and so forth would all seem to undercut the assumption that common experiences as women create identities capable of providing the grounds for a distinctive epistemology and appropriate politics. Further, as Chandler (1990: 128) argues, in claiming a "special place" for women researching women "without noting the specific intents and characteristics of the researcher" one draws perilously close to "reproducing

femininity and female personality". The stress on women's superior communicative and intuitive sensibilities seems to represent yet another attempt to construct an essentialist female personality which serves only to imply that gender is an "unbridgeable gap in human understanding" (Chandler, 1990: 123).

In addition, despite the opportunities afforded feminist research through a purported sharing of experience, the easily established identification and, by extension, trust between women can, however, mask the very real exploitative potential in such relationships. For instance, while rapport was easily established with most, although not all, of the female informants in the sense of there being an easy flow and truthfulness in their cooperation, this did not mean that the relationship was "in effect, an easy intimate relationship between two women" (Finch, 1984: 74). As Chandler has argued (1990: 129), the acquaintance of researcher and participant arose in the context of a research project, the purposes of which were "not transformed by gender". Chandler (1990: 129) writes of her experience of collecting the marital histories of naval wives:

> The event was still an interview... the discussion was structured, purposeful conversation and I was structuring and, therefore, controlling it. The women's questioning of me was minimal compared to my questioning of them and their questions were different from the questions I asked. They looked for perfunctory biographical detail or sought reassurance on the normality of their feelings and experiences... I did not seek reassurance from them. Although the women asked me questions, they were not as interested in me as I was in them... I recorded the words of the interview while none of the women that I interviewed were, to my knowledge, recording me. The women I were interviewing were opening personal life to scrutiny and I was not...... [A]lthough the interviews were friendly, they stopped well short of friendship.

Rather than comprising an effect of putative friendship or 'sisterhood', the ability of female informants to talk freely with the researcher is attributable more to the lack of close friendship and to the researchers positioning as a 'sympathetic stranger'. Clearly, there exists in the feminist model of interviewer as 'friend' a danger in glossing over the actual differences of power existing in the research process in favour of a rather dubious assumption of shared experience and egalitarianism. As Fonow and Cook warn, the emphasis on

friendship, empathy and "collaboration between researcher and researched masks the real power of the researcher, who has much greater control over the research process and product" (1991: 9).

Further to this, one cannot, and should not, assume that the women informants who participate in another's research necessarily share their politics (Acker et al, 1991). To assume that one's understanding and interpretation of another's world and world view, as an outsider onlooker, will be uncritically accepted and assumed by the owner of the experience and the narrator of the particular tale is patently optimistic and unlikely. Moreover, Gelsthorpe's (1990: 92) argument that the researcher's interpretation may not only be different but "potentially threatening and disruptive to the subject's world view" is a pervasive one. This is not to suggest that moves toward 'egalitarian research' be abandoned but that they are questioned, rather than simply and uncritically adopted as a new orthodoxy. In this respect, an acceptance of the essentially inegalitarian aspects of research is surely more desirable than its concealment and mystification in appeals for sisterhood. Given the different positionings and political views of the researcher and research participants, perhaps the most that one could aspire to is that the participants recognise that the researcher's view is but one limited interpretation among a plurality of possible interpretations, and that she or he has behaved ethically.

To recap then, many of the methodological issues discussed have been concerned with the impact of gender on the research process and product. While the preceding discussion centred on a consideration of issues and problems experienced by the female fieldworker, it is considered highly likely that the male researcher would also experience difficulties 'getting in' and 'getting along' (Lofland and Lofland, 1995). Yet rather than claiming a special gendered place for researchers in the lives of female or male informants, it was suggested that presumptions of 'natural' rapport and understanding embedded in gender serves merely to conceal yet another essentialist argument. Conscious recognition of the ways in which gender materially impacts upon the research process, affecting the quality of relationships developed with informants and the data thus obtained would seem to legitimate cross-gender study as much as it legitimates study of ones own gender. All this is to say that, studying social worlds of which we are a part is never easy.

While this chapter has outlined the research setting and methods used in the present study, in order to detail what constables actually 'do' in the course of their shifts, the following chapter moves on to present a picture of 'policing in action'.

# CHAPTER 4

# Policing in Action

What do police officers do? While police-work may be seen to be characterised by the formal directives of the law, departmental policy and the like, what the revealing studies of Manning (1977), Cain (1973), Rubenstein (1973), Punch (1979a), Holdaway (1983) and others have most usefully stressed is that policing is in fact "essentially what the lower ranks do in their day-to-day work on the streets and in police stations" (Holdaway, 1988: 106). In attempting to probe beneath the often sanitised imagery gleamed from formal accounts and the habitually sensationalised depiction of policing presented in popular accounts, the aim of this chapter is to demystify police practice by describing 'policing in action' (Smith and Gray, 1983). In particular, it seeks to further explore the clandestine power of police officers performing sectional duties to make important decisions on the basis of a culture that can create a de facto unofficial policing 'policy' noted in the introductory chapters. Such a description will help construct and make comprehensible the more detailed analysis of police as emotional labourers that is the focus of the following chapter.

## THE FORMAL SYSTEM AND PATTERN OF WORK

The expansion of policing in modern times has, to a large extent, been focused around the provision of uniformed officers on a twenty-four hour basis. Indeed, for many people, the visibility and behaviour of blue-clad officers provide the most tangible evidence that policing is being done. The underlying reason for this allocation of resources has remained the same as that shared by London's New Police of 1829. The architects of the English policing tradition, Sir Robert Peel, Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne, recognised quite clearly that public acceptance of the New Police depended upon the construction and presentation

of an image of police as a preventive, professional and legally accountable organisation (Reiner, 1985). The practical implementation of the principle of prevention over detection of crime entailed the concentration of the organisation's power on uniform patrol of regular beats in full and open public view. Though the technology used to implement this strategy has changed considerably in recent years, the notion of regular uniformed patrol as the essential bedrock of the police remains a fundamental philosophy of modern policing. Despite the fact that, until twenty years ago, there was only scant empirical evidence by which to assess these claims, the major part of police resources in New Zealand has been allocated to mobile patrols and their immediate support staff (Dunstall, 1994).

## Deployment of Front line Constables

As was outlined in the previous chapter, the basic unit of the uniformed division is the section. Each section has a permanent senior sergeant and sergeant and, in theory, eight constables. In the research region, several sections work a somewhat complicated, overlapping system of four different shifts: early, late, night and swing. Officers begin each shift with a briefing conducted by the sergeant or acting sergeant. The briefing is typically concerned with the dissemination of information (reported offences or incidents, persons wanted by the police and so forth) and other administrative matters, and with the allocation of duties. Constables will be assigned to either station or patrol duty.

### *Station duties*

For any given shift, a number of section members must be posted to the station to work as station officer (watch house keeper) or as staff for the communications room (controller). The watch house keeper is responsible both for the cells and prisoners and for dealing with members of the public who come to the front counter. The main tasks of the controller are to take and respond to incoming radio and telephone communications, allocate resources and disseminate information to patrolling officers.

In addition to these inside postings, the regular duties of the section senior sergeant also typically confine them to the station. Here, their responsibilities include overseeing the functions of the operations room and watch house and supervising the general running of the station and patrol and the deployment of

resources. Outside of standard day-time office hours, the senior sergeant is normally the highest ranking police officer available in the station. As head of each section, the section sergeant divide their time between performing administrative functions in the police station and patrol supervision. Supervision by each of the sergeants may be exercised directly by, for example, attending incidents in person, assessing the quality of officer's work and offering advice and direction as required. Alternately, supervision may be indirect, exercised through contact with constables by way of personal radio, for instance. In practice, it is more typical for sergeants to go out on patrol excursions than the senior sergeant. Given current staffing shortages, however, police sergeants often end up performing the roles of extra constables rather than supervisors whilst on patrol and thus merely supplement the presence provided by their constables.

*Incident car patrolling*

While duties of selected officers confine them to the station, following the briefing, the remaining officers leave the station to take up their various duties on mobile patrol and, more rarely, on foot. In line with other urban centres, police in the research region are heavily dependent upon vehicles and the majority of patrol work is undertaken by double-crewed Incident ('I') cars. As first-response vehicles, they are designed to ensure an efficient response to grave and urgent matters, such as emergencies or crimes in progress. Essentially, their role is to provide initial assessment of incidents, make preliminary investigations and then either make an immediate arrest or file a report for further action if necessary. Indeed, the great majority of incidents the 'I' cars handle arise when a member of the public telephones the police and the controller sends a patrol car to deal with the situation. Consequently, as will be shown, the crews of the 'I' cars become implicated in a veritable potpourri of human troubles and incidents, most not of their own choosing, and many of which have little or nothing to do with criminal law enforcement (Banton, 1964; Wilson, 1968; Bittner, 1970; Reiss, 1971; Black, 1971).

When not at the station or responding to call-outs, sectional police officers are deployed to rove the streets on random and unsystematic patrol, acting on their initiative without direction from the station and waiting to be dispatched to calls for assistance. In New Zealand, as in other countries, the utility of random mobile patrol has been most often linked with its supposed effects of reassuring

the public and deterring potential offenders from committing crimes (Schell, et al, 1976). In daylight hours, constables generally patrol alone and use the non-urgent query ("Q") car system. In the evenings when resources allow, single-crewed 'Q' cars serve to provide an extra patrol and response vehicle for less urgent matters, as well as on occasion following up on preliminary reports and carrying out more extensive inquiries on incidents from the 'I' car. While mobile patrol is more likely to be undertaken in the evening and night than during the day, the amount of time spent on this type of activity nevertheless far exceeds the time spent by officers on other activities. For example, in their study of Incident car patrolling in the Wellington region, Robinson and Hutton (1989) found that of the time spent on various patrol activities, 'I' crews spend on average between a quarter and a third of an eight hour shift 'free and mobile' on routine patrol.

**The Pattern Of Work**

While the two strategies of rapid response and preventative patrol described above combine to make up the work of patrolling, the rhythms of each shift are largely determined by the frequency of call-outs. Consequently, the nature of constable's shiftwork is relatively predicability patterned (Grimshaw and Jefferson, 1897; Robinson and Hutton, 1989; Jones, 1992). Characterised by a slower tempo and infrequent call-outs, constables may spent much of the earlier shifts and weekdays embroiled in a variety of tasks. These include undertaking correspondence generated by attendance at incidents and consequent court hearings, following up on previously gathered intelligence, making inquiries about offences or suspected offences in the pursuit of gathering evidence for court appearances, undertaking court duty and so forth. Their response to shoplifting incidents is also inevitable during the week. During the weekend and night shifts, aside from self-initiated activity such as 'turnovers' of persons and vehicles, hotel checks, inspecting insecure premises and so forth while on mobile patrol, most patrol activity is essentially reactive, dealing with a wide range of incidents reported by the public.

As opposed to being confined to the station, most constables enjoy the freedom of patrol. High on the list of merits accorded to patrolling is the variety of the work which "gets the adrenalin going when you're going from job to job". Station bound duties, on the other hand, are considered somewhat less

desirable. While this may in part stem from the greater supervision of 'inside' workers as compared to the high discretion of those freely roaming the streets, constables commonly cite boredom as the chief reason for their dislike of station postings:

> I don't like sitting around in the station all the time. Like, you've got the watch house, which a lot of the time you're just sitting there and there's nothing to do unless you're either got prisoners to look after or there's people at the counter. And quite often when you're doing watch house, there's neither.

While station postings are perceived disdainfully by some, the unpredictability and 'hustle' of work on the street are key attractions of the job for most constables. Hunt (1984, 1990) expresses this opposition in terms of female-male dichotomies. In the ideologically constructed reality of police, the station house represents, on the one hand, the inside domain of low status administrative and intellectual labours, social relations and formal rules that are seen as 'feminine'. In contrast, the street "represents the outside domains which contain policemen engaged in high status "men's work" such as crime fighting and rescue" (Hunt, 1984: 287).

It is these elements of action, expediency and risk perceived as intrinsically 'male' that combine to make up the seductive allure of 'front-line' policing (Holdaway, 1983; 1988). For instance, having "... already been in a nine-to-five job", one constable expresses his job satisfaction in terms of the continuing interest borne of not "know[ing] what's gonna happen next ... [and] you know, action as well". For many constables then, it is the 'real' work of policing occurring out on the street as opposed to the safety of 'inside' paper and administrative work that maintains their job's appeal:

> "Its all of the excitement too... You don't know what to expect when you come to work each day and you don't know all sorts of things that come your way. You just never know. I think that keeps your interest and it, you know, keeps you willing to come to work and doing what you do... And the fact that you're not sitting behind a desk all day long.

Given that a good deal of what police officers do is initiated by the public according to their definition of police-appropriateness, is it hardly surprising

that the work of constables is varied. As Waddington (1993) has argued, a precise statement of what police *do* is perhaps less instructive in formulating a definition of police because what they *do* is almost anything. This, of course is due to their availability. What police *are* is a "twenty four hour, fully mobile emergency service" (Punch and Naylor, 1973), available to deal with any situation members of the public define as intolerable and in which they are unable to cope. Yet while constables may be justified in citing the variety of their tasks as an appealing feature of their work, research into mobile patrols in New Zealand appears to collude rather more readily with the conclusions drawn from overseas studies concerning the essential mundanity of routine patrol work rather than with assertions of 'action'.

In contrast to the often sensationalised imagery of crime-fighting that permeates the public stereotype of police work, the central finding of this research is that the policing 'front line' is not as busy as may have been thought. In their Wellington observational study, Robinson and Hutton (1989) found that, for an Incident car, calls for service averaged only three on early and night shifts and five on late shifts. Moreover, the proportion of time spent in response to calls for service was well below twenty percent of the total shift. 'I' car crews were found, on average, to make arrests once every four or five days and the great bulk of all patrol time (nearly half) was spent on correspondence, meal breaks, travel, inquiry work, and personal jobs. Further to this, although police may reproduce order, they have little effect on crime. Since the 1970's, a growing body of literature has begun to question many of the assumptions upon which mobile patrol is based and a number of studies have cast lengthening shadows upon the purported success of mobile patrols in achieving their stated objectives. For instance, despite their popular championship by police and public alike, there appears to be clear evidence that traditional 'preventative patrol' has little ability to suppress and deter criminal activity (see Robinson, Young and Cameron, 1989 for a comprehensive review of this work).

The equation of 'real police work' with crime fighting or law enforcement is problematic then, because it significantly contradicts the routine nature of police patrol work. In reality, 'real police work' is "pedestrian and somewhat monotonous and the police organisation appears to be a rather dull and ineffective instrument of social control" (Punch, 1979a: 38). Despite the creation of policing as an exciting, fast moving activity, most police work is in

fact reactive. In the absence of calls from the public, police constables spent the bulk of their time patrolling where frequently they are doing little more than waiting for something to happen. Thus while the frequent mundanity of work in the watchhouse has already been acknowledged, according to one constable, it is the case too that on patrol:

> Quite often you can drive around for ages and you can't find anything wrong. And so, you know, you're just going around and you get pretty bored.

Indeed, despite police insistence on the utility of routine mobile patrol, some researchers have been rather more scathing in their descriptions of this activity. According to Waddington (1993: 178), for example, "patrol means that officers wander aimlessly about, irrespective of whether there is anything they could profitably do". In the following extract, one constable reiterates the dilemma suggested by Canadian researcher Ericson (1982: 206) when he describes the greater part of patrol officers' shifts as being spent "... doing nothing other than consuming the petrochemical energy required to run an automobile and the physic energy required to deal with the boredom of it all". The officer notes how:

> Night shift quite often is really quiet on say, Monday and Tuesday. Well, that's really quiet! That's when it can be hard to stay awake and there's no cars about, there's no people and its really boring [laughter]. So everybody just wants to go home and [laughter] go to bed. You know, that's not a very good shift .

To recap, this section has suggested that there is widespread discrepancy between popular dramatic representations of policing provided by the visual media and by many officers themselves and the often uneventful and nebulous nature of daily police work. In the remains of this chapter, the object is to show the ways in which much of the commonsense reality of police derives from the exceptional rather than the daily routine. The following consideration of the every-day realities of police work is pre-empted by a brief note concerning a number of key features of the police occupational sub-culture. This is in order to highlight the ways in which rank-and-file officers construct and reconstruct their daily realities, enforced and controlled by peer sanctions.

## THE INFORMAL SYSTEM

The existence and development of some kind of sustaining sub-culture amongst the lower echelons is a commonly observed feature of any organisation (Van Maanen and Kunda, 1990; Collinson, 1992). The distinctive occupational culture of police has been an abiding preoccupation of much academic research on the police and has, as Holdaway has noted (1987: 55), "found reference points in virtually every publication about policing". Recruits to the police, it has been observed, are socialised into the unofficial world of policing, adopting perceptions, values and attitudes held by organisational members as to what is proper and improper behaviour and emotional expression in the workplace. While there has been no systematic study of the New Zealand policing 'front lines' as an occupational subculture, impressionistic evidence suggests that this group shares some characteristics of a police occupational community with their overseas counterparts as identified in American and British (Smith and Gray, 1983; Holdaway, 1983; Fielding, 1988) studies (Dunstall, 1994).

Given the mass of research and writing on the occupational culture of policing, particularly that of the lower ranks, for the purposes of this discussion, the focus will rest on two central elements of the lower ranks occupational orientation: the constable's definition and control over their work environment and their assessments of police competence and job satisfaction. This discussion should also help make comprehensible the more detailed discussion of the police emotional labour tasks of 'care' and 'control' contained within the next chapter.

### Defining 'Good' Work

As was suggested in earlier chapters, the attitudes to and practice of police work is, for the lower ranks, very much influenced by their predilection for 'real' police work. What is considered to be 'good work' is defined by the informal norms of the occupational culture as well as by wider notions of 'criminality': for instance, 'punch-ups' on the rugby sports fields have not popularly been viewed as common assault; men's violence towards women within the 'private' sphere has, as was noted in chapter two, been considered 'normal' by ordinary citizens, the police and the courts (Stanko, 1985; Hanmer, Radford, and Stanko (eds.), 1989). Punch (1979a: 45) suggests that the

hierarchy of status accorded to various incidents police are called to attend "is posited almost unanimously on the symbolic rites of chase, search and arrest". Differentiated first as either 'good' or 'bad' jobs, incidents dealt with by sectional police are variously graded as follows: the 'baton job'; the 'nice piece of work'; the 'short and sweet'; the 'you can go' jobs; service call-outs and 'domestics'.

*The 'baton job'*

Though they represent but a fraction of actual police work, incidents involving the promise of some action - a violent disturbance, the containment of an individual, or even the opportunity to drive fast in a patrol car - have often a magnetic attraction for patrol constables (Holdaway, 1983; Smith and Gray, 1983; Fielding, 1988). There is strong competition to respond to calls from the public that sound interesting or exciting and instances of multiple police response to such calls are common, often without direction from Control. During one night shift, for instance, comments made by the two-women crew of the 'Q' car over what they saw as the puzzling reticence of senior officers to pair women officers were quickly attested to. Their unanimous observations that, "others are never far away if you need a big boy, are they" and that, "they usually turn up anyway" were made apparent when the constables were directed to an residential address in which a man was apparently breaching a non-molestation order. Within seconds of receiving the call over the radio, another constable came over the air to advise that the man in question was "a nasty piece of work". This third constable was subsequently directed to the address. Upon arrival of the 'Q' car, four constables were already in attendance.

Of course, what counts as interesting appears to hinge both on how bored the officers are and on the amount of competition to be the first crew to respond. Further, as Fielding (1988) has noted, part of the excitement experienced in receiving such calls would appear to be self-generated. For example, Smith and Gray (1983: 51) demonstrate how, "a considerable amount of police behaviour [is]... best understood as a search for some interest, excitement or sensation". Describing why "working the streets" is regarded as "fun", one constable noted the camaraderie of the individual sections and how:

> You have fun in between [jobs]. You have fun going to jobs. [*how so?*] Driving [laughter].

During one night shift, for example, the "I" car crew were directed to a domestic dispute in a outlying township. As they commenced to drive out of the city, operations relayed to the constables that the man involved was apparently beating up his wife and had now apparently started to strangle his fourteen year old step-son. "Choice!", the "I" car driver exclaimed, stepping on the accelerator as he did, causing the vehicle to lurch forward violently, the G-force pinning the occupants deep within their seats. The distance between cars travelling the stretch of road before the patrol car was greedily eaten. Members of the public reticent in making room for the hurtling light show were theatrically cursed by the driver as he swung the police vehicle onto the centre strip to pass them. As more details filtered over the radio, he continued to speak excitedly: "Might be a baton job". Later at the police station whilst joining the constable for dinner, he grinned over his take-out meal and inquired as to whether I had ever driven at that speed before. Assuring him that I had not, he laughed gleefully as he volunteered that the speed was a good way to "get gee-ed up", to get oneself "pumped up", "to get the adrenalin flowing" so as to be "as hyped up as the people at the scene". Interesting, in respect of the incident recounted, the "I" crew accompanied were the second of three vehicles to attend an incident that was surprisingly subdued upon arrival.

Given that much of the routine activity of police constables is mundane, monotonous and often devoid of any sort of call-out at all, incidents of police 'over-kill' such as those described above are perhaps understandable. Appreciation of the characteristic pedestrian nature of much police patrol work, the banal monotony of report writing and the rarity of 'good' crime calls makes it, moreover, almost predictable that officers spend much of their shift attempting to convert boredom into interest. Of course, while there are times in which "I" car officers rush straight from one call to another, this pattern of activity is overall unusual except perhaps on certain shifts and days of the week. The practice of 'making work' (Fielding, 1988) by, for example, conducting turnovers in the hope of discovering offences or, more simply, for something to do has been observed by many commentators (Smith and Gray, 1983; Robinson and Hutton, 1989; Jones, 1992). In the absence of any police work or even vehicles or persons on the street, officers frequently amuse themselves by, for example 'window shopping', perusing car yards or attempting to "make your own fun" by squeezing their vehicles through bicycle paths,

hunting out "good rabbit spots", driving through big puddles and intermittently launching the police vehicle into short bursts of accelerated speed.

Despite limited opportunities to practice their much revered crime-fighting skills on 'good' criminals, constables anticipate the possibility and work in hope of encountering 'one' in the course of their duties. Van Maanen (1978a: 304) notes that "it is precisely the opportunity to exercise his (sic) perceived police role that gives meaning to the occupational identity of patrolmen (sic)". As many officers continue to interpret 'real' police work in terms of the criminal law, their seeming ineffectiveness in preventing most crimes is an ongoing frustration that serves to make their rare crime-related activities all that more enjoyable. Thus, while their capability of combating crime is understood by many officers as limited, the anticipation of it nevertheless keeps some hungry. In lamenting the apparent powerlessness of police to tackle common crime, constables note how even the smallest victory against what is perceived as a burgeoning criminal population reinforces the 'front-line's' perception of themselves as 'crime-fighters'. It is from this role that they derive considerable feelings of satisfaction, status, power and prestige (Bonifacio, 1991). According to one constable:

> To me, I liken it [the job] to catching rabbits. Like, just eradicating them but you know you'll never do it... But just that satisfaction of getting a few is really good. It's really good satisfaction to get one and you come out and you think, "Yes, I got the burglar". Or even when other members of the shift get burglars, I think, "Yes!". You know, "We got one". .... You just go to so many reporting burglaries and its just good to catch one every so often.

In general then, it is the exceptional and the rare that are relished by sectional police constables as 'good jobs'. Events encompassing the revered elements of action, hedonism and excitement are often glorified through elaborate story telling and humour (Holdaway, 1983, 1988; Pogrebin and Poole, 1988). Constructing a world of fast-moving fun, of challenge and action, such tales preserve, according to Holdaway (1983: 138) "the traditions of the occupational culture, sustaining it against the odds of experience".

*The 'nice piece of work'*

If the value of the 'the baton job' lies in its rarity, the strength of a 'nice piece of work' rests with demonstration of initiative or 'skill' by the constables concerned (Punch, 1979a). The skills relevant here include a healthy dose of suspicion of mismatched persons, times and places and a 'sense' of the unusual. A constable describes one such incidence in which an offender was apprehended during a random patrol of the city. This arrest occurred, he suggests, as a result of the "I" car crew intuitively 'sensing' the man's unease and investigating further:

> ... just through patrolling we caught a guy who'd stolen a car. That hadn't been reported stolen. It was just through us looking at him and deciding that he looked suspicious and we stopped him and, you know, carrying out inquiries that we actually established that the car was stolen. ... That was satisfying.

Alternately, the other most often cited examples of a 'nice piece of work' is the detection of drunk drivers. For many officers, this:

> is sort of how its meant to work. Us out there. High profile and catching baddies as well. Actually out there doing our patrolling and, as a result of that patrolling, is how we got the catches. It was actually though us being out there and looking for them. And not by being given them on a plate or whatever.

Given the satisfaction that derives from any opportunity to engage in their highly-valued crime-control function, some officers are particularly vigilant and watchful for signs or behaviour signalling the occurrence of crime, or potential crime, in progress. One constable accompanied was, for example, particularly insistent on having his driver's window wound down, despite the bitter coldness of the winter's night, the rain stealthily blowing into the moving vehicle and the constant flurry of protest from his numbed partner. In reply to the later, the officer insisted that, "If I have the window up, I won't be able to hear anyone screaming will I".

That the stereo remained turned on for the entire evening seems, however, to lend support to the view of Punch (1979a) that such 'intuitive' police work is accompanied rather more by coincidence or luck than by skill or good management. In contrast to the above officer's vigilant endeavours, the idea of a motivated offender, a suitable target and a diligent police constable arriving in unison at the same location appears, in fact, patently optimistic if not more than a little myopic. Indeed, existing research into the likelihood of passing police

patrols intercepting a crime in progress have not been favourable. The Kansas City Patrol Experiment (Kelling, Pate, Dieckman and Brown, 1974) discovered that there was no relationship between the manner in which police patrolled parts of the city and the crime and arrest rate. Alternately, Morris and Heal (1981) calculated that, given optimal conditions, the average beat patrol could expect to pass within 100 metres of a burglary in progress every 11 years, and then not necessarily be aware that it was occurring. In the United States it has been found that a police officer will arrive at a felony in progress once every 14 years (Rubenstein, 1973).

Patrols observed in the current study stumbled haphazardly across only two offences (public urination) and one minor traffic accident. Similarly, Robinson and Hutton (1989) found that constables discover few indictable offences as a result of routine patrol work and only slightly more offences directly as a result of their own initiated activities. The bulk of this proactive work done by patrolling officers involves the conducting of computer checks and "turnovers" of vehicles, drivers and, more rarely, persons (Robinson and Hutton, 1989). Classified by police as preventative, such activity is frequently justified by police as an important means of detecting offences and offenders and gathering information about people and activities. At the same time, however, such "bald confrontations" between the state and a citizen can be highly intrusive (Black, 1971) whilst producing relatively few arrests (Robinson and Hutton, 1989). While police policy espouses the making of 'selective field contacts' only when deemed justifiable, this directive is in practice redefined by the subordinates of such policy directives who, ironically, have the greatest degree of discretion (Rubenstein, 1973; Manning, 1977; Muir, 1977; Black, 1980; Ericson, 1982).

Given the practical autonomy of the lower policing ranks, there is, as Walker (1994: 36) notes, "considerable opportunity for working officers to depart from the official institutional script, or to add their own particular gloss where the authoritative text is unclear or ambiguous". According to Robinson and Hutton (1989), 'reasonable cause' is interpreted by patrolling constables to include certain criteria including the time of day, geographical area and offender stereotypes. More turnovers, for instance, are conducted on late and night shifts. Amidst the relative quiet of the night or early hours, virtually any person or vehicle remaining on the streets may be stopped. While this may stem partly from the assumption that only the deviant, intoxicated or drug carrier will be

wandering the streets at these times, as was noted above, officers are also rather desperate for something to do (Fielding, 1988). For instance, during the early hours of a quiet Tuesday morning, the constables accompanied noticed a young male skateboarding down a residential street. Having not observed any persons on the city streets for some time, the constables decided that they would stop the individual and find out "why someone would be skateboarding at two-thirty in the morning". Similarly, perusing the city streets in the early hours of a quiet week day, the "I" car driver accompanied explained matter-of-factly that he was looking for "cars on the road". Because few vehicles were on the streets, any vehicle detected seemed 'suspicious'.

Also significant in determining a person's likelihood of being stopped are a number of visual clues, such as the vehicle condition, age of the driver and so forth, which are deemed to fit the criminal stereotype. Thus drivers are more likely to be stopped if they are known offenders, are driving old cars or are young males, particularly gang members:

> On observing a large rusting vehicle, the "I" car driver exclaimed, "Look at this horrible car. Better tip them out for a chat".
>
> Noting an old, large and rust infested vehicle devoid of one tail light halted at an intersection, the driver commented that it appeared "rough". The occupants were Maori. Upon following its progress, radioing in for a vehicle check and learning the car was registered to an address in an outlying township, the constables exclaimed that the occupants would be "scroats"[1]. The car was thus subsequently pulled over.
>
> On defending the turnover of a large vehicle driving in front of the patrol car, the constable accompanied explained that "it looked like a shit heap".

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[1] Abbreviated from scrotum, "Scroats", according to one constable, are:

> Shitbags. Just all the guys basically that cause you trouble. The disgustingly dirty and smelly and people that don't look after themselves and that are gross to deal with and mouthy.

Conversely, for other officers the frequently bantered term is used to describe someone who "Is a shithead", which is "a criminal" or, according to another constable, a person who adorns themselves exclusively in black.

In the view of critics, such police exercise of discretion (or the lack of it) has been prejudicial and antagonistic to Maori and other minority groups (Jackson, 1987; 1988). At the same time as contributing to a climate of suspicion which sours police/Maori relations, such practices of street policing yield relatively few significant criminal apprehensions (Robinson and Hutton, 1989).

*The 'short and sweet'*

While a 'nice piece of work' might, in the absence of more 'interesting' crime calls, be praised by patrol officers, its occurrence is seldom. As has been pointed out, the great bulk of tasks undertaken by the policing 'front-line' are reactive, instigated by the public rather than by the police. While constables may seek to undertake their often lengthy periods on 'free and mobile' patrol productively, as mentioned above, boredom frequently encroaches upon their better intentions.

When the hope of observing anything suspicious or extraordinary in the current shift dwindles, constables look forward to an exciting call over the radio. In addition to those call-outs that offer the prospect of a fast travel and, at the end, an encounter with a criminal, calls that are 'short and sweet' are particularly enjoyed. In part, this enjoyment stems from the speedy resumption to being 'out and about' (Jones, 1992) that follows prompt resolution of the 'short and sweet' call and thus, to be free to await the esteemed call they so seldom receive. Hence calls to attend incidents such as a sudden death are met with a resounding "oh no", because "they can hold a car up for an hour or so".

At the same time, the code of practice for most police is to "get the job done with a minimum of fuss" (Waddington, 1993). Indeed, having a "clean slate" at the end of a shift is treated as a matter of pride by many constables. Most, for example, evaluate the value of a shift in terms of providing "plenty of... interesting jobs generating minimal paper work". As so much of their work has no visible end-product, it is little wonder that constables speak highly of jobs that are successfully terminated without ambiguity or loose ends (Punch, 1979a). In this sense then, the 'good shift' alluded to in the above quote involves those tasks that are swiftly resolvable, unambiguous yet interesting at the same time:

> Motor vehicle accidents can be quite interesting... Not a lot of paper work gets generated from accidents. Even the most fatal

> ones... If you're gonna deal with a shoplifter, we prefer to deal with adult shoplifters as opposed to juveniles, cause at least you get a result for it at the end of the day... That's not too much paper work... [I]f you're gonna deal with offences, offences where they're easily proved. You know, like either the person admits to it or there are witnesses to collaborate what we thinks gone on. And that, in a sense can generate not so much paper work for us.

In sum then, such 'short and sweet' jobs are looked upon favourably. Combined, they contribute to the making of a satisfactory shift where "at the end of the day there's nothing outstanding... Its all tidied up so that you start the [next] day afresh".

Call-outs that allow for a successful conclusion in minimal time can be described then, as the third prong of incidents from which constables derive some sort of satisfaction, if not hedonistic enjoyment. However, not all tasks expected of sectional policing staff are looked upon as favourably. The final section of this chapter examines the types and kinds of incidents considered by the lower ranks to be, at best, of low status and at worse, worthless.

## Defining 'Bad' Jobs

### *The 'you can go' jobs*

> No one will fight for twenty one hundreds [burglary] or thief from cars or anything like that [laughter]. Its usually, "you can go".

On a rather quiet Monday night around 11pm, the "I" crew had just finished attending a domestic-related call-out. As the constables were about to radio operations to let them know that they were free, details of a domestic burglary filtered through the channel with the request that a unit attend the scene to take note of stolen property. The officers expressed immediate disgust about having to attend such an incident at night, the implication being that they would be held up from attending the ever illusive more important or exciting incident, and mused over waiting a few minutes before '10.3ing' (advising that were free). The call for assistance was picked up by another patrol crew.

On another evening, a different "I" car crew were advised by operations of a call received from an elderly woman reporting a 'suspicious' person seen

walking on the pavement outside her flat. The 'suspicious person' was described as being dressed in black with white sneakers. One constable expressed some reluctance to attend to caller, joking about "PR work" and "little old ladies" and imitating an envisaged conversation with the caller in which he explains (sarcastically) that, "the man is out walking because he is going to see a friend; he is wearing a black hat and jersey because it is cold..." Upon arriving at the premises, the above constable spoke with the elderly woman on the door step of her unit. Her front door was adorned with security and community watch stickers; she had twisted two locks before peering at the constables through a crack in the door, held fast by a security chain. As she repeated her information to the officer, he smiled at her and offered reassurances that he and his partner had patrolled the immediate neighbourhood before speaking with her and could see no person resembling her description. As the woman spoke of her nervousness borne of living alone, the constable sympathised and suggested that perhaps the person she had seen was waiting for a friend or visiting in the neighbourhood. The woman thanked the constables several times before bidding them goodnight and re-fortifying her unit. Seated in the patrol car, the male officer laughed as he reported, "I feel all warm and fuzzy now".

It is call-outs such as those described above which are typically considered of low status (Punch, 1979a; Holdaway, 1983; Smith and Gray, 1983). Also included among the 'you can go' call-outs are a myriad of after-the-fact duties: taking complaints of unsolvable crimes (the routine burglary, car theft or stolen wallets), the identification of abandoned automobiles, report writing on minor automobile accidents, checking commercial alarms and so forth, as well as extra duties, such as watching crime or disaster scenes. Other 'nasty' jobs to which constables may be reticent in responding include the recovery of bodies and accompanying mortuary procedures, conveying messages of death to relatives and so forth. While the latter can take an emotional toll on officers, what seems to characterise this grade of incident as a whole is the perceived pointlessness, the failure of such tasks to lead to any discernible 'results', and the almost degrading nature of some call-outs that do little to reaffirm constables sense of themselves as independent 'law enforcers'. Ranking lowly in the formal and informal reward system, these types of calls are often seen as preventing officers from performing 'real' police work. As the following male constable makes plain, such 'trivial' intrusions can significantly infringe upon their already scant opportunities to "catch baddies":

> It might even be that we were so busy that offenders don't get caught because we can't get there. [Be]cause we're tried up at other jobs... And that might be a more frustrating side [of patrol work]. [Be]cause we all like catching baddies. Yeah. The opportunity doesn't present itself that often that you can catch them.

*Service jobs*

While officers may enjoy their dealings with "crooks", police spend a relatively low percentage of their time on criminally related matters. Black (1971) notes how the daily round of the patrol officer infrequently involves arrest or even contact with a criminal. More typically police are required to perform a myriad of social service tasks and may spend much time in the resolution of social issues that can bear little relationship to the law or catching criminals. Consequently, Punch (1979b) suggests that the police are really a 'secret social service'. Making up the bulk of reactive police work, such citizen calls for assistance relate most often to disputes between neighbours, between husbands and wives, parents and unruly children and so forth.

If miscellaneous calls for traffic, investigative or 'social work' duties are not always looked upon favourably by officers, service chores are often regarded as being as frustrating as shifts with no call-outs (Reiner, 1985). Describing what she would consider to comprise a less than attractive shift, one constable explains:

> A bad shift could be one that I find boring [laughter]. Where nothing much happens and... even if you do your jobs, if they're petty little dumb things that you get so sick of. [*Like?*] Neighbours fighting. Just little complaints that can't go anywhere because you've got nothing to go on.

For this constable then, service type call-outs are seen as matters in which police are required to deal with but which offer little satisfaction or reward to attending officers. Like the former type of 'bad job', these types of incidents do not typically produce any clear 'results'.

Further, unlike the brevity with which other calls may be dealt with in order that officers can resume patrolling, calls for service often embroil constables in the complex and messy emotional lives of persons for whom there is no clear and decisive course of action to take (Ferraro and Pope, 1993). Most disputes

are more wearisome or 'griefy' than exciting and, occurring frequently in the privacy of domestic dwellings, largely obliterate any prospect of demonstrating police control. Consequently, this kind of task can be immensely problematic for police. As this constable notes below, to deal with such persons in a perfunctory manner in order that they might then resume with 'real' police work is often difficult:

> I try to resolve them [disputes] and help them but, they're very frustrating... The problem I've found with the ones I've been to is that neither person is willing to listen. They're so tied up in their viewpoint that they won't stop to see the other one... They were just at each other. There wasn't a lot we could do. You need to show them that you're interested and that it is of concern and that you do care what happens... But you can only help to a certain point and sometimes you know you walk away and it may be resolved for two days or something and they'll be back at it again.

The handling of such disputes is recognised as being stressful on officers, provoking anxiety and a feeling of lack of control (Dutton, 1981; Kroes, 1985). While most officers reluctantly accept that such calls for assistance are a part of police work, many feel that they never produce clear-cut results and thus are viewed as frustrating and ambiguous. Unlike Punch's (1979a: 110) vivid account of "a confrontation with an armed gangster" which "promises an unambiguous situation where the policeman [sic] comes into his own, where he can feel the adrenalin, and where he may end up with a nicely rounded piece of work - a prisoner, the weapon, and evidence of an open and shut crime that society can decry", the arbitration of domestic disputes such as those that began this thesis offer no such promises.

According to Kemp, Norris and Fielding (1992), it is therefore unsurprising that the culture of the lower ranks regard the low priority service call-out with disdain. A number of commentators (Westley, 1970; Van Maanen, 1978a; Pogrebin and Poole, 1988; Bayley and Bittner, 1989; Bonifacio, 1991) have spoken of how police develop seemingly anti-public attitudes. As Remmington (1983) notes, a large percentage of calls bring officers into contact with lifestyles alien from their own cultural experience. Often distraught, distressed and unable to cope, the police see the public at their very worst. Indeed, calling the police in such circumstances is often viewed as a sign of social incompetence, which is not always looked upon favourably (Waddington, 1993). According to Bonifacio (1991: 47), 'street cops' come to view the public

as less knowledgable and less self-reliant and regard civilians who ask for assistance as being too weak or lazy to handle their own problems. Similarly, in the present study, constables were at times observed to rapidly tire of the public for being, to their mind, "stupid" and for calling the police for no apparent reason. Often constables believe the public should solve their problems themselves. It is these sorts of "petty" dealings that constitute:

> a non existent job basically. They [the public] want advice or something. And the thing that they're asking for advice on is so petty or minuscule. Or so simple to answer you think in their own brain they must be able to see what's black and what's white and what is and what's not, sort of thing. And... at the end of it you feel so exasperated cause they're so thick. How did they manage for forty years in this world if this is what's worrying you, or if this is your question in life?

Typical also of police in New Zealand as elsewhere is the use of backstage humour to poke fun at encounters with the public viewed as wasteful or trivial and the transformation of citizens into stereotyped police groups. Both Manning (1977: 264) and Pogrebin and Poole (1988: 195) note the derogatory slang and humour used by police to both manage distasteful situations and to describe and belittle the creators of this 'dirty work'. Manning argues elsewhere that people are seen by the police officer as "stupid, fallible, greedy, lustful, immoral and hysterical" and notes how "such views provide policemen (sic) with resources for hours of stories and jokes" (1973: 26, cited in Punch, 1979a: 62). It is the "distinctive argot" of police, Dunstall (1994: 359) suggests, that helps maintain the dichotomy between police and outsiders at the same time as revealing "an informal code, attitudes and practices which can shape front line police work".

The above points are illustrated in the following incident. In the early evening, the "I" car crew where called to a dispute in a domestic dwelling in which two daughters were apparently attacking their mother. On the way to the location, one constable volunteers: "I hate these calls". Upon arriving at the address, the constables commented among themselves as to the state of its contents: the grounds were cluttered and wildly overgrown; the house was dirty and unkempt, every observable surface cluttered, the floors and contents grimy. Holes gaped in the exterior and interior walls where fists or feet had assailed them. One constable introduced herself and her partner to the obviously

distraught mother. The woman explained how she had arranged to go out to a barbecue that evening and how her daughter had given 'approval' for her to do so. Noting how she seldom went out, the woman continued to relate how, as she readied herself to leave, her daughter had become upset, growing verbally and physically aggressive. After quietly listening to her story, the constable inquired of the woman: "What do you want us to do tonight?" The woman again explained her difficulties in controlling her daughter's behaviour, seeking sympathy from the constables. When the officer asked where the daughter was, the mother motioned to a room off the passage way in which they were standing. As the constable entered the room, the teenager within immediately starting screaming violently and smashing an object (the telephone) aggressively. The officer remained in the room but a few seconds before backing out to ask the mother if the daughter had any psychological problems. After listening to her response, the constable went on to explain that there was little they, the police, could do that evening because of the state of the daughter. She suggested taking the daughter back to the psychologist she had previously seen and the possibility of programmes such as "tough love". When the woman stared blankly at the officer, she explained briefly the nature of the programme. Reassuring the woman that if she needed to speak to the police again that evening, she should feel free to do so, the constables left the premise.

In the patrol car, the officers immediately commenced a chorus of riotous joking about "inbreds", the appalling state of their housekeeping and about the curious relationship between the mother and daughter. "Good example of inbreeding there", one constable commented and the humour this incident generated continued for some time. Amidst the laughter, the constables expressed too considerable discomfort at such call-outs. "Hate those. What do you do?", commented the other.

*'Domestics'*

The low priority accorded such 'domestics' by police and its traditional consignment to the category of 'rubbish' work has already been noted. This consignment appears, however, paradoxical given that police involvement in incidents of 'domestic' violence frequently compels officers to take on the kinds of potentially dangerous work tasks glorified by the informal front-line culture. As Jermier, Gaines and McIntosh (1989) and others (Skolnick, 1966; Cain, 1973; Holdaway, 1977, 1983) have argued, in providing officers with the

opportunity to use their more highly valued crime-fighting skills while delivering critical services to the community, dangerous or potentially dangerous job assignments are viewed by police as more meaningful. In this way, job danger is paradoxically transformed into a source of occupational gratification which infuses an otherwise monotonous job with a modicum of exhilaration, drama and excitement. "Danger", Fielding (1988: 42) suggests, "is a source of excitement, and the successful resolution of dangerous situations hold high salience in the officer's role concept".

The adoption and implementation of a tougher 'crime-orientated' approach to incidents of 'domestic' violence has effectively mandated opportunities for police to use their more highly valued crime-fighting skills. Yet the constables required to attend such 'domestic' incidents seldom regard their assignment as 'meaningful', nor are resultant arrests particularly valued (Smith and Gray, 1983; Hanmer, Radford and Stanko, 1989). As has been suggested, among the rank-and-file of the police, an arrest serves the function of not only asserting a legal solution to restore public order, but further, it provides officers with a tangible 'product' that brings status and prestige within the police organisation. An 'arrest' in a 'domestic' is, it has been argued, not afforded a great deal of prestige by most police officers peers or supervisors (Ferraro and Pope, 1993). This is evident in the often reluctance of constables to make an arrest which is, in turn, often attributed to the large amount of paper work (inside, women's work) involved. In particular, the amount of police time involved in making an arrest and prosecution, especially if the latter is doubtful, is considered a disincentive for those officers coming to the end of their eight hour shifts (Ferraro and Pope, 1993; Busch, Robertson and Lapsley, 1992).

The reticence of some constables to arrest is further increased by the seeming utility of their efforts to successfully 'solve' a violent domestic situation. In the following extract, the constable expresses considerable frustration over time and efforts perceived as "wasted":

> Sometimes you find that you've heard it all before. And quite often they'll tell you that this isn't the first time its happened... And the female quite often will say, "but I love him". I've never been in that situation so, you know, I can't relate to how hard it might be for them to leave... [Its] really hard cause you know that you'll be going back there and it will be the same thing... Or they lay charges and then they're there to meet them on court day. You

> know, they're waiting outside for them or in the court room. You know, "hey honey" [laughter]. And like, its just a waste of time or what. Cause they just keep going back [laughter]. They don't know what they want to do.

It is experiences such as these, of returning repeatedly to the same address, witnessing 'reconciliations' between the assailant and his victim, experiencing the complacency of the court and of "intervening in violence which is supported by ... economic and emotional dependence" that Stanko (1989: 61) argues, "take their toll on the possibility for police to achieve job satisfaction from their work in battering situations". There is much to suggest that this toll on officers will not significantly abate in the future.

Indeed, despite the flurry of criminal justice initiatives concerning domestic violence in most Western countries and the widespread adoption of control strategies in cases of abuse, the impact and effectiveness of these responses is difficult to establish. While, in New Zealand, there is some encouraging data suggesting the positive impact of intervention projects for individual abusers and victims (Robertson et al. 1992; Busch and Robertson, 1994; Dominick, 1995), there remains too an expressed ambivalence over current criminal justice reforms (Carbonatto, 1995). This arises principally from the lack of agreement over definitions of "successful" intervention and the inconclusiveness of evidence concerning the supposed deterrent effect of arrest (Mederer and Gelles, 1989; Sherman, 1992). At the same time, many commentators are beginning to question the value of legal remedies in helping to eradicate men's violence and empower victims (Ferraro 1989a, 1989b; Hanmer, Radford and Stanko, 1989; Sherman, 1992; Gray, 1994). These critics remain wary of the potential of "patronising" mandatory arrest policies to ignore the victim's wishes whilst effectively "transferring the power of the individual batterer in the private sphere to institutions in the public sphere" (Carbonatto, 1994: 25). Further, it is suggested that such control approaches ultimately do little to address the underlaying societal, cultural and family power imbalances that are regarded as the generative sources of men's violence towards women (Dobash and Dobash, 1979, 1992; Mederer and Gelles, 1989; Ferraro, 1989b). McLeod (1985: 374) suggests that the current impetuous to criminalise domestic violence may in fact, be "providing governments with a convenient, safe and popular way to respond to demands for greater equality for women without seriously tampering with the institutions which perpetuate inequality". While

resolution of these issues is beyond this thesis, they do significantly affect police work.

In addition, despite the clear 'control' directives prescribed in "presumptive" or mandatory arrest policies, research findings from overseas have highlighted the problem of official reluctance of police and courts to act in incidents of domestic violence. For example, despite having such a policy in place for five years, Ferraro and Pope (1993) found that arrest occurred in Phoenix, Arizona in only 18 percent of cases of spousal abuse. Although training stressing the criminal nature of abuse was provided, as is the case in New Zealand, many Phoenix officers either did not remember it or evaluated it negatively.

While 'real' police work is considered by many such officers to involve the solving of crimes and the apprehension of criminals, 'domestic' arrests are not accorded a high value by constables (Hanmer, Radford and Stanko, 1989; Ferraro and Pope, 1993). In addition, the arrested offenders are sometimes considered as 'not real prisoners', 'not real criminals'. As was discussed in the opening chapter, in some instances, officers have a degree of sympathy with the abusers, believing that victims sometimes provoke violence and are as guilty as the assailant. Often this idea rests on, and reproduces, the view of women as more emotional, of emotions as dangerous and hence of women as in need of control. This attitude is evident in the following extract. In describing what he considers to be the emotional volatility of women and their often vindictive use of the police in domestic disputes, this constable discloses a popularly held belief in the superior rationality and emotional control of men. Further, the officer reveals an alarming advocacy for the sanctioning of certain forms of emotional expression, in particular, that of men's 'reasoned' violence against provoking and unruly women:

> Each ['domestic' is] different... Quite often its the person you'd least expect. He or she is the one whose done the dirty... I've been to quite a few where she's rung up, but what it turns out after you've heard the full story, she's ended up having a go at him and he's stopped her and then she's still nutted off and then said, "well you've hit me so I'm going to call up". But, quite often its actually the female that's ah, cause they are quite often a lot more aggressive than the male... what it may turn out to is she's been sitting there whacking the shit out him and throwing stuff at him and the only way he's been able to stop her is to hit her... Its

> different if he sits there and keeps on hitting her. *But if he's only just hit her once to stop it, then there hasn't really been an assault.*

## VALUING POLICE TASKS

Routine police work, then, involves a vast array of sometimes conflicting tasks and responsibilities, few of which are directly related to the enforcement of criminal law. Indeed, as this chapter has argued, despite the popular myth of the police as primarily a crime-fighting, deterring and investigating agency, considerable research undertaken since 1950 has bolstered the argument that only a small proportion of public demands on the police are directly and unambiguously related to crime. Yet while police officers spend most of their time spasmodically embroiled in 'peacekeeping' or 'police social work' and a relatively low percentage of their time on crime-related matters, the centrality of crime work and impending disorder is nevertheless upheld in the course of routine police work, the definition of policing as routinely involving 'crime-fighting' is constructed and sustained by the lower ranks.

Although the average call-out is seldom crime related, this chapter has suggested that many officers see the 'crime fighting' component of their work as both the most important and the most attractive component. As one constable frankly put it:

> Everybody enjoys locking up the arseholes [laughter]. Ah, everybody enjoys that.

Indeed, it is in response to those calls from the public which offer at least the veiled possibility of an encounter with a 'criminal', an arrest or the laying of charges that the apparently tranquil nature of normal police work is swiftly displaced. For many of the lower ranks, the central act of 'good policing' is the investigation of crime and the arrest of offenders and constables generally gain greater satisfaction from their involvement in such work than from anything else. Orientated largely to 'real' policing, that is, crime-fighting, calls for service are often seen as trivial or unfounded, the nurturance of others regarded as a frustrating aside to their real role as law enforcers. While a 'good arrest' or a 'good result' might be one demonstrating skill, determination or physical strength against a worthy antagonist or successful criminal, service calls are

typically seen as matters in which police are required to deal with but which don't result in an arrest or at least one that is valued.

It is this distinction between 'valued' and 'devalued', 'worthy' and 'worthless' tasks that leads to the focus of the next chapter: an examination of police encounters with the public and of the emotional labour police undertake in dealing with 'criminals' and crime 'victims' respectively. More specifically, the following chapter seeks to further develop arguments concerning the 'gendering' of these labours. Following the work of Stenross and Kleinman (1989) and others, it considers the ways in which those (male) constables deployed to deal with 'criminals' are able to significantly redefine the emotional labour involved as higher status mental labour and thus, to make their sometimes unpleasant work tasks more tolerable and personally satisfying. Conversely, consideration is given to the way in which conflicts between the norms and values upheld, on the one hand, by the lower ranks and the values required, on the other hand, in their 'caring' labours place the female officers typically deployed to perform caring emotional labour under considerable stress. As the current chapter has shown, the dominant notions of policing as action, as challenge, as concerned with 'public' crime and disorder would seem to profoundly conflict with ideas about giving service to, and nurturing care of, the victims of crime. Given the traditional denigration of the tasks of victim support and its labelling as 'rubbish' work by police alongside the limited value attached to the tasks and skills of emotional labour, the following raises the question of how seriously the female officers typically deployed in this area can both take their own duties and encourage their male counterparts to.

## CHAPTER 5

# Performing Emotion

The summarised picture of the activities and nature of police work contained within the previous chapter provides the rubric upon which the present chapter can now examine in more detail police encounters with the public. Other studies of emotion in social life (Hochschild, 1983; Loseke and Cahill, 1986; Pogrebin and Poole, 1988, 1991; Smith and Kleinman, 1989; Sutton, 1991; Parkinson, 1991; Wharton, 1993; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993) have focused attention on how individuals manage their own and others emotions in particular service occupations. This chapter seeks to also explore the interpersonal and intersubjective elements of emotional labour by looking at how police manage the emotions of others. In particular, this chapter focuses on the emotional labour constables undertake in dealing with criminals (or suspects) and victims (or witnesses) respectively and examines the effects of such emotional labour on constables. It suggests that, rather than experiencing their performance of emotional labour with such persons as wholly alienating, police constables view the public as both sources of stress and satisfaction.

Following the work of Stenross and Kleinman (1989) and others, the first part of this chapter considers the forms of emotion management undertaken by constables as part of their 'control' function. It suggests that the development of an informal discourse of 'gameplaying' amongst officers significantly enhances their ability to maintain the detached demeanour and cool facade of authority required of them. At the same, by redefining the emotional labour required of them, constables come to look forward and are energised by their dealings with criminals. In the second section, attention is given to the kinds of emotional labour tasks undertaken by constables when dealing with the victims, or complainants, of crime. It is suggested that, on top of the low profile and low status historically attributed to the these kinds of caring labours, the difficult

emotion management tasks involved in dealing with the often distressed and emotionally volatile victim contribute to the negative evaluation of this form of labour by patrol constables. Finally, the third segment of this chapter explores the contradictions that arise from conflicting emotion management requirements in 'front line' policing. Constables, it is argued, experience conflict between the personal, sympathetic approach required in dealing with victims and the depersonalised, detached approach of the organisation. As is further expounded in the next chapter, the resulting contradictions place the predominantly female constables deployed to perform this caring work under considerable stress. This in turn, affects how such constables deliver care to the consumers of their services.

## WORKING CRIMINALS: PLAYING THE GAME

Although police work has been shown to involve a variety of tasks, the previous chapter suggested that the arrest of a criminal or the questioning and search of a suspect is for many of the lower ranks the quintessential act of 'real' policework and the most eagerly anticipated. Yet, 'criminals' or suspected 'criminals' rarely make the constables' tasks easy for them. As Van Maanen and Manning (1978) note, while the police enter into a citizen encounter fully embracing their role as a law enforcement officer, the citizen participant may be under acute stress, may be an irregular performer in such an interaction or reluctant to participate at all. Consequently, such persons can be major sources of stress in the officers' world. At times, prisoners or suspected persons break down under police scrutiny, weeping uncontrollably or becoming hysterical as their panic and fear overwhelms them. Alternately, criminal suspects may recalcitrantly refuse to say anything at all. More commonly, criminals or suspects profanely and pugnaciously curse at, heckle and insolently abuse officers as part of a fervid attempt to publicly humiliate them.

Officers are keenly aware of what types of situations and persons with whom they are expected to deal are likely to cause them trouble (Westley, 1970; Punch, 1979a). According to Holdaway (1983), from the police perspective, the crucial social divisions in the policed population are the potential of persons to assist or frustrate police activities and the degree to which they enhance the excitement and challenge of police work. For example, in the previous chapter, the typically disparaging classification of troublesome persons by police

constables as "scroats", "inbreds" or "scumbags" was noted. It is this rather broad category that comprises those characters with which the police work and who, at some level, challenge the police officer's 'moral' convictions or sensibilities. In addition to creating a crude taxonomy of the public, their troubles and foibles, constables have been further noted to construct a ranking of criminals with accompanying levels of importance and value for arresting officers (Smith and Gray, 1983). While incompetent or occasional law breakers count as a lesser success for officers, the arrest and successful prosecution of 'hardened' crooks is a cause for much celebration in, for example, pre-shift briefings.

While the hierarchy of policed characters and associated personal rewards derived from official dealings with them noted above cannot hope to reveal the full complexity of categories with which officers work, the employment of such social typologies is nevertheless indicative, according to Mennerick (1974), of dire conflict in the worker-client relationship. Alongside providing officers with the opportunity to perform what they consider to be 'real' police work, the attempts of such categories of persons to hinder or frustrate officers' performance of duties makes them a source of stress for officers. This is perhaps most acute for those young and often inexperienced constables on the 'front-line' who routinely deal with the public. In the following extract, one such constable points to some of the personal dilemmas experienced in interacting with persons held to be spontaneously and volubly adverse to the authority of blue-clad police officers:

> Its really frustrating when you get people that just are anti, almost anti just to the blue uniform. You know, just the sight of it is enough to set some people off. It wears you down. Really wears you down... Its really draining [laughter]. Listening to people just go off at you [laughter].

In such encounters, maintenance of the expected standards of emotional management is demanding. In dealing with even the most stubborn or difficult of persons, officers are well aware of their profession requirements (both formally and informally) to remain in control of both the interaction and the information to be processed. According to McElhinny (1994: 165), in order to maintain the professional detached stance required of them, officers "learn to act like 'tough cops' who limit their conversation to the formalities of the

investigation because increased interaction offers further opportunities for excuses, arguments, complaints, reprimands, fights or worse".

For less experienced officers, compliance to the rules of display may be sought more typically through surface acting (Hochschild, 1979; 1983). A form of impression management (Goffman, 1959), surface acting involves attempting to simulate the emotion that one wishes to display. Through careful presentation of self, and judicious management of feeling, the individual feigns emotions that are not actually experienced. For example, in describing the particular presence she attempts to cultivate when confronting less receptive participants in official police interaction, the following constable describes how she attempts to suppress certain reactions and feign emotional displays that she does not feel.

> [*What sort of emotions are you trying to convey?*] Hopefully that you're not scared [laughter]. I try and hide it. I sort of try and act confident... [I] don't get into arguments with them when you're still out there, beating the point. *[Why would you avoid arguments?*] Because I get flustered [laughter]. You know. I sort of do what I have to do and that's it... To me its just a matter of having to do it than anything and so *you sort of put on that front and go in there.*

In line with Hochschild's (1979; 1983) predictions, it is just such performances of emotional labour would seem to lead to some degree of self-estrangement among offices. Emotion, in the above extract, is abstracted from individual experience and reduced to mere bodily displays to achieve instrumental goals in exchange for recompense. This commodification of personal feelings bears heavily, according to Hochschild (1983), on personal identity and well-being.

## Reinventing Emotional Labour

While some members of the public may be viewed by newly recruited constables in particular as sources of considerable stress, for more experienced uniformed officers interaction with them is seen simultaneously as a source of satisfaction. No matter how much such persons challenge the legitimacy of police, pursuing the seasoned or recalcitrant criminal is seen by such officers as worthwhile, challenging and rewarding; indeed, as the quintessential 'mission' of policing. In sustaining this sense of their work as a worthwhile enterprise and not just another job, experienced police constables are able to overlook the

mundane, often boring, petty, and venal reality of everyday policing (Reiner, 1985). Indeed, although at times tiresome, this central mission of policing is regarded as an enthralling 'game' to be engaged in uninhabitably because it is seen as worthwhile. One constable surmises reflectively:

> ... the job that we have is just a big game really. And its just a big game where we [are] the goodies versus the badies a lot of the time when it comes to the prolific burglars and gang members and things like that. Its a big game. And its a game for them and its a game for us. They commit crime and just catching them is like a game. To us and them. Even though we take it very seriously...

In the general discourse developed here, the performance of emotional labour required in the pursuit and interrogation of criminal offenders or suspects is transformed into a fun challenge, a ritualised game of wits and skill in which officers can engage both their specialised knowledge of crime and criminals and their skills in acting and impression management in battle with a knowing opponent. These elements of contest and challenge were apparent when, nearing midnight on a Monday evening, the "I" car crew accompanied joined two other patrolling crews who had 'turned over' and were questioning three young males. The youths were wanted in relation to an earlier incident involving the attempted arson of a vehicle. In the observed encounter, upon requesting the name, address and date of birth of one of the suspected trio, the least experienced constable on the section appeared to falter in her line of questioning. At this point, a more senior constable interceded and preceded to conduct the interview. In contrast to the former constable who stood directly in front of and a 'normal' distance away from the youth, during his questioning the intervening constable progressed closer and closer to the male such that, at one point, he stood slightly to the side of the youth and so close that their arms were touching. Moreover, unlike the more regular 'question and answer' performance enacted by the first constable, in which questions were offered, responses listened to and noted while eye contact was routinely sought and received, the second constable appeared, for a time at least, more relaxed and almost disinterested in his questioning style. Altering his dialectic, he spoke with a pronounced accent and selected idioms that imitated the speech of the youth: "so you've just been out with the bro's, eh?"; "just cruising around man?". As he spoke, he glanced around, focusing on nothing in particular, shuffling his feet

and resting his body weight on first one leg and then the other and softly swaying back and forth from the hips. In response, the youth replied principally with an impartial "yeh", and adopted the same meandering gaze, glancing up and down the street.

As the encounter progressed, the constable became more directive, inquiring into the abandoned car and their intentions towards it. The youth seemed unfazed, perhaps used to such encounters and continued with a steady stream of calm denials and disavowals of any knowledge. Standing closer and looking into his face more regularly now, the officer began a routine of surly interruptions: "I don't believe you"; "Don't bullshit us". Continuing the challenge, he alternated tacts between statements like "Don't bullshit us"; "You know the score"; "You know how it goes"; and (noting his discomfort in the chill of the evening) "We get paid to stand out here all night" with: "Are you gonna let your mates take the rap", motioning to his acquaintances who were still being questioned by other officers. The employed dialectic grew thicker as the baiting continued, as did appeals to his supposed finely attuned understanding of "the score". Inconsistencies in his stories were quickly and astutely seized upon and, almost humorously, pointed out to the youth as if they were bonuses in the game each sought to win. More than once did the slightest flicker of a grin pass across the face of the youth as he was caught out, his uncovered fictions acknowledged. Requests to turn out pockets and clothing were negotiated, the search producing two lighters on discovery of which the officer jokingly mussed: "Two lighters, no cigarettes, eh". Retaining his close position next to the youth, the heckle continued: "Come on man, play the game" he urged; "Come on, tell me what happened". Eye contact was now eagerly sought by the constable, to the point of following the detained youth's maundering line of vision so that he was always in his view. Seemingly keen to impress to him that he maintained the edge, the constable reminded him: "we know more than you think we know".

Suddenly, the encounter was over: details had been recorded, license plates followed up, a warning given. During the drive back to the station the constables commented on "the bullshit" just given to them, of the multiple stories told and of the fact that probably none of them were true, proposing resignedly "its all a big game, just a bloody game". Though frequently frustrating, this is a complex and ever-transforming challenge of emotional

management and presentation that is seemingly enjoyed by those who participate in it.

## Elements of the Game

Punch (1979a: 86) has suggested that the staple of police patrol work is the "controlling and manipulating" of encounters with citizens. Given the dynamic and emergent quality of social interaction, effective participation in such interaction hinges on the ability of constables to govern and control their own emotional expression and presentation of self and to spontaneously and reflexively refine their behavioural and interactional style. Largely through trial and error, the police constable must learn to develop a feeling for the appropriate presentation of self and feeling in order to shape the desired response in different types of publics. Given the "individual alchemy" (Punch, 1979a: 132) that comprises the unique development of the interaction and the characteristics of the participants, according to Irving and Hilgendorf (1980: 45-60) the affective investigative officer must be able to:

> receive and interpret the movements, expressions, gesture, posture and verbal behaviour of the suspect. He (sic) must be able to glean information from modes of dress, manner of speech and intonation... and he (sic) must be able to know what acts (either verbal or non-verbal) on his (sic) own part will produce a given effect on the other... (quoted in Poole and Pogrebin, 1989: 133)

Such a change in delivery and in the particular emotional expressions conveyed is an integral part of the gamesmanship of successful interviewing. As each encounter is regarded as beginning afresh, embracing new actors and impromptu lines, according to one constable:

> You just gotta play and you've really got to be able to read how somebody will [respond]... what they're like as a person.

Like Stenross and Kleinman's (1989) detectives, it is this development of a collective discourse of intellectual 'game-playing' and of 'gamesmanship' (sic) that enables the officers to transform the emotional labour involved in dealing with offenders into more engaging work. In the general discourse developed here, interactions with criminals become not stressful enactments of emotional regulation but challenging mental games in which officers use a variety of techniques to glean particular information from their audience. As the following

constable explains, the skills involved in managing one's own emotion and expression and controlling the most precarious of social interactions with criminals combine to make-up the gratifying yet at times deeply frustrating challenge of police work:

> Its a real challenge for me interviewing someone. And I really enjoy it because it is a real challenge... But its really hard sometimes. Its really frustrating.... [At times] you just leave the room and you just bang your head against the wall... Especially when you're ninety nine percent sure that someone's guilty.

A number of approaches which can be used during any interview or interrogation are suggested by police training manuals. These strategies include 'the egotistical', 'the friendly', 'the sympathetic', 'the repetitive', the indignant' and 'the indifferent' approaches (Police Integrated Programme, Module Inv. 142). Such interrogation techniques are an example of Goffman's (1969) 'control moves' that influence the actions of others.

Using '<u>sympathetic</u>' approaches, for instance, officers will feign warm-hearted compassion in order to put the person at ease and encourage them to tell about their problems and confess to criminal misdoings. For example, following an incident in which a man was arrested for the possession of a knife, the arresting constable described the interviewing approach taken:

> .... the obvious fact was that he was probably gonna do a hold up. So I tried to interview him as to what he was going to do with the knife. And so, I tried to play the game. Like be sympathetic and empathise with the fact that he had no smokes or he had no money... and, did he lose his nerve ... Just become really sympathetic towards him.

Often officers will attempt to assume a '<u>friendly</u>' tact with suspects in order to establish some kind of rapport with them. Many officers find that they "get more out of a person by just being down to earth with them". Another experienced constable suggests:

> When I interview people I tend to sort of interview them with a real sort of relaxed sort of persona and, if anything, I guess, especially when you know that they're lying, quite often I'll portray a sort of image to them as if I believe [th]em. You sort of carry them along. And I do that with the goal of him maybe getting sloppy or letting his guard down.

On failing to deliver the kind of response required however, officers are quick to change their tact. As this next constable explains:

> ... then a lot of the time if [your approach is] not working you'll think, "OK, I'll change my strategy here". And you'll start saying things like, "Are you too wimpish to admit to what you did?".. And that gets their back up and they think, "No I'm not". And they will [reveal all]....

The utilisation of a 'good cop, bad cop' performance, in which tangible displays of contrasting positive and negative emotions are enacted by an individual officer or by a pair of officers, is an effective interview strategy. In creating a perceptual contrast, the positiveness of displayed friendly, sympathetic or respectful emotions are accentuated, as are the coldness or menace of displayed negative emotions (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1991). Describing the power of such emotional contrast strategies, this constable goes on to note how:

> ... a good cop, bad cop will work. Like one cop will come in and be really staunch and really hard on the person. And the another cop will come in and be really nice. And the criminal, the offender will think, "Well, this person's really cool", because they've just been blasted by another cop. And [the "cop's"] been a real arsehole towards him. And they'll tell the other cop everything.

## Redefining Emotion

Though cynical, the development of a discourse of ritualised gameplaying is entirely functional for police. By regarding their combatants in crime as 'gamesman' (sic) who are likely to 'play' with the same understandings as police, officers are able to defend much of the anger and scorn directed against them. As Stenross and Kleinman (1989: 440) have suggested, in interpreting such expressions as provocative display moves in a game, "as feigned rather genuine", police officers are then able to dismiss them. Performances of 'villains' are reinterpreted as elaborate moves designed to shake the officers composure. The offending audience is viewed as one who will deceitfully present any verbal or nonverbal cue in order to further their cause. By discounting offenders or suspects emotional outbursts as merely displays faked for instrumental purposes (attention, leniency, sympathy and so forth), officers are then able to deny responsibility for dealing with the emotions of the

offender. In this way, officers are able to depersonalise inappropriately personal behaviour towards them and to reconceive of it as part of a challenge. Officers are thereby able to reduce the anxiety that such emotional outbursts may otherwise induce and to maintain dignity and control in situations that at times deny both.

Although they may derive some satisfaction from it, police officers are fully aware of the regulated nature of their work with criminals and suspects. Whatever goal their performance of emotional labour is aimed to achieve, be it attempting to obtain intelligence about criminal activity, elicit a explanation, establish criminal intent or collaborate facts gleaned from witnesses, such labour is always carried out in respect of the various legal and administrative rules of the police organisation as well as the social 'rules' implicit in the occupational culture(s) of sectional police constables. While Stenross and Kleinman (1989: 441) note how the detectives in their study work through various means to "con those whose business is conning", they neglect to acknowledge how this labour is shrouded within the restraining influence of formal and informal rules and procedures. As the following constable explains:

> The more hardened [offenders] and the offenders that are known to us, the more they'll probably try to have you on and try not to give things away. I guess its... not so much a game but more sort of a challenge. You know what you want from the interview and its your job to try and get it. Through fair means of course, [be]cause we're bound obviously by the laws. By the evidence act and that. So we can't use duress or promise of favour or whatever to get it out of them. You've just got to do it by trying to highlight their inconsistencies so they either drop themselves in it or quite often they just get tired with trying to lie and they just roll over and tell all.

While some aspects of emotion management prove to be emotionally exhausting to the individual, several characteristics would seem to mediate the threat of emotional estrangement to the well-being of the individual. Following Rafaeli and Sutton (1987), the effects of emotional labour would seem to depend in part on the worker's beliefs about presenting feeling for the consumption of others, be they spontaneous or fake. In the present study, the officers felt little or no falsity in playing emotion games with suspects or criminals because their opponents emotional displays were viewed as

unauthentic and thus are largely discounted. As can be seen in the following extracts, deliberately deceptive expressive performances are understood to be integral to successfully playing the 'game' of policing:

> It is a big game. Like a lot of the time you've just gotta be really sympathetic towards them [offenders] and like, you've got no sympathy at all towards this prick. But you've gotta show sympathy and.. its just, yeah, it is just a game. And you just do anything to get them to fall into liking you and to telling you everything.

Another constable, for instance, prided himself on his ability to present displays of positive and emotion negative, noting "I can turn it on and off like a tap". To the extent that police believe that the feigned expression of emotion should be part of the job of dealing with criminal elements, these constables may be seen to be "faking in good faith" (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987). By internalising the cultural norms of 'gameplaying' and acting, officers come to see their work-roles as necessarily involving "putting on an act" or "playing a game". This identification with the norms and values of the work-role and accompanying internalisation of norms about acting and presenting feeling would seem then to mediate the pernicious effects of emotional labour on the well-being of the labourer and to heighten job satisfaction (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987; Parkinson, 1991; Wharton, 1993; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993).

In addition, it has been suggested that the more control workers have over their performance of emotional labour, the less problematic emotion management becomes for individuals (Wharton, 1993; Tolich, 1993). As has been shown, while regulated to fulfil organisational goals and the criminal law, officers' paid emotion management with criminals or suspects is nonetheless performed relatively autonomously and largely without supervision. Through the construction of discourses of 'gameplaying', officers come to understand themselves as autonomous persons in charge of their own emotional management and it is this understanding that contributes to their ability to enjoy the emotion tasks required of them. In regarding their 'combat' with villains as a fun game, playing a 'winning' hand provides officers with not only a sense of public service but also personal satisfaction. Referring the successful conclusion of an interview with a suspect, this constable noted how:

> You do feel good... You feel like you've done your job. Cause its our job to get the truth. You feel satisfied. And happy because

> you know you're going to get a good result from it. Cause at the end of the day our job is not only to catch baddies but to see it right through. To get a good result in court. So, a good interview, a good successful interview pays well for it going well in court.

In sum, while interactions with criminals or suspected offenders may be emotionally stressful for officers, the development of a discourse of gameplaying enables constables to sustain a sense of personal worth by allowing them a degree of emotional detachment from even the most difficult of persons. By regarding criminals as knowing, rational opponents who actively play their hand using deceptive strategies, constables were able to overcome any uncomfortable feelings induced by their often volatile emotional displays. Moreover, by treating encounters with such persons as mental games of wits and skills, constables are able to reframe their interactions with them as challenging intellectual duels which require an inventive and polished performance of emotional labour. In this way, the police constables transformed the emotional labour they are expected to perform as higher status mental labour (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989) and it is this redefinition that serves to make their working tasks more tolerable, enjoyable and personally satisfying.

## WORK WITH VICTIMS: THE COMPENSATORY GLOSS

Under Section 3 of the Victims of Offences Act (1987), the victims of criminal offences are to be treated "with courtesy, compassion and respect for their personal dignity and privacy" by police and other judicial personnel. More pragmatically, it is recognised by police that, the better the support and understanding given to victims, the better witnesses victims make. This in turn, leads to more offender convictions for the police. The juxtapose of these two points has prompted senior police to urge both reflection upon "the reason for our organisations existence" and how "each member of police, sworn and non-sworn, must make a positive effort to sensitively and humanely deal with each [crime victim's] situation to the best extent possible" (Commissioner J. A. Jamieson, New Zealand Police, 1991/2: 5).

It is in respect of the present thrust towards a new professional service orientated style of policing together with the legalistic compulsion noted above, that considerable New Zealand police training efforts have been devoted to

developing the knowledge and skills necessary to communicate and work with the victims of crime. The major emotional labour tasks involved in this work are identified by police as making the victim feel safe, calming and comforting the victim whilst allowing them to (verbally) vent their feelings and to validate these expressions by assuring them of their normalcy. In order to improve communications between police and its consumers, particularly its women consumers, the importance of modifying existing attitudes, especially those which distinguish between 'deserving' and 'undeserving' victims of crime, are emphasised. In addition, constables are expected to help victims 'predict and prepare' for the future through provision of practical advise, information and assistance regarding, for instance, further police inquiries, the mechanics of the Court system, practical crime prevention measures or the kinds of support services available to them (Police Integrated Programme: Module 162 Victim Support).

Although the ethics of caring service-style policing may be espoused by administrators, the thrust of the argument to date has been that it is the lower echelons whom create the policing that the public receive. While a significant part of a police officer's role involves providing services and support to the victims of crime, it is these activities that are treated with a certain amount of reluctance. As was suggested in the previous chapter, certain service or after-the-fact call-outs (burglary, car thieft, alarm checks and so forth) are considered to be low status tasks because they do not lead to any discernible 'results', are largely futile and non-consequential, irritatingly detaining constables from attending to the 'real' police work of catching criminal culprits. While constables have a certain sense of urgency in relation to 'domestics', on the whole this kind of police work is unpopular. Constables often feel that they have limited or no control over the outcome of their interventions in typically turbid interpersonal disputes. At the same time, despite investment of time and the expenditure of personal feeling, the persons attended are perceived to be often thankless and unwilling to help themselves. Constables' work with victims of crime become perceived then as fruitless efforts because they feel many such people 'let them down'. Emotionally laden and volatile, such incidents are, furthermore, often unpleasantly personal for attending constables, intervention in the turbulent and often tortured lives of others awkward, difficult and at times plain embarrassing for the typically young and inexperienced patrol constable.

Given the difficulties involved in dealing with the victims or complainants of crime, it is unsurprising that the culture of the lower ranks regard the service call-out with disdain. While officers have been shown to be able to transform their encounters with criminals or suspects into 'fun', they are seldom able to reinvent the emotional labour involved in dealing with victims into more engaging work. As Stenross and Kleinman (1989) have suggested, while criminals' and suspects' emotional displays are looked upon by police as mere 'strategic interaction' (Goffman, 1969), the emotional displays of victims are regarded as typically genuine, even justified, expressions of feelings. In addition, officers feel that the public expects, indeed demands, that they behave in a concerned and sympathetic manner and that they take citizen's complaints seriously. The rhetoric of public service is captured in the following constable's words:

> .... [O]ur job is to serve the public... And the public pay us through their taxes... [O]ur job isn't a job as to whether we want to do whatever. Its what the public wants us to do. And that's what the public perceive as what they think that we should be doing. And that's how we should be working.

Consequently, constables think that they should feel or at least display sympathy for crime victims even though crime is routine for them in. Although they feel pressured by public expectation to comply with certain norms of emotional display, officers are generally supportive of the 'public relations' emphasis of the police. This is due largely to their realisation that, without the cooperation of the public and their provision of a steady flow of information, the police are powerless to do anything about crime (Kinsey et al, 1986). Thus, even though the performance of emotional labour expected of them by the public may be irksome, constables know that their failure to act convincingly may critically impair their more highly valued crime-control function. This dilemma is captured by the following constable when it is acknowledged that:

> we [police] work for the public really. So when you go to a burglary.. or you're going to a domestic, that person expects you to show concern about what's happened. And a lot of the time you think, "Ohh God. I can't really be bothered doing area enquires" or.. Because no one would have seen anything. But you just do [it] because that's what they expect. And at least then they can go away thinking, "Well, the police have", you know, "done their best". Or, "They showed concern about what's happened".

> ...[Be]cause in the end the public are our eyes and ears. And if you don't show concern, when it comes to them helping you one day when they know something, they'll just think, "Well, flag it". "They didn't worry about us.

While incidents such as domestic burglaries or even "domestics" are acknowledged to be uniquely stressful for the citizen participants, police accept them as normal, everyday events that they are largely incapable of combating, let alone 'solving' post-facto. Moreover, given the unspectacular nature of the petty and typically unsophisticated and crude domestic burglary or the private, emotionally messy nature of the domestic incident and, as was suggested earlier, the low ranking of both offences on the constable's criminal hierarchy, the incentive of attending officers to "bother" carrying out extensive enquires on behalf of often demanding victims is low.

In this respect then, the emotional labour required in appeasing the complainants of such crimes comes to be understood as a compensatory gloss for the constables' inability, perhaps even unwillingness, to do more. In contrast to the high value placed on the emotional labour tasks with criminal offenders, the delivery of caring labour becomes then, merely a 'public relations' exercise for those who call upon them to handle their trouble (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989; Bonifacio, 1991). Referring to attending burglaries, the following experienced constable notes how, as for workers in other service occupations, the manipulation and control of expressions of care is an integral part of the job of policing and to the image the 'front-line' are expected to project to the public who pay their salaries:

> Its part of your job. Its part of your job to act like that. Its like... going to burglaries. You've still gotta show concern but you couldn't give a shit! Its just a part of life these days. But to most people its really devastating that they've been burgled. But to us, its just "Oh gee. Another burglary". But you've still gotta go in there and go, "Oh yeah. Its horrible". You've still gotta go in there and show real concern.

Similarly with sudden deaths. The informant goes on to note how:

> You're got to show sorrow. You don't know this person from a bar of soap, so it doesn't worry you if they're dead. They've died. That's life. Unlucky, but you've still got to sit down and like, "I'm really sorry" and blah, blah, blah.

The reticence of the above constable in performing 'customer service' under relatively restricted conditions is apparent. Citizens are perceived as indirect supervisors who scrutinise their performance of emotional labour. Because control of the required emotional displays with victims of crime rests largely with others, officers find aspects of their emotion management with victims stressful (Tolich, 1993; Wharton, 1993). As a consequence of public and police intrusions into the constable's performance of emotional labour with victims, some officers feel that they are 'prostituting' their feelings in the service of a public relations image creation exercise that has little to do with the 'front line's' idea of 'real' policing. While work with criminals is deemed by constables to incorporate high levels of professional competency and technical skills, work with victims is equated with emotionality, subservience, and low status care-taking or nurturance. In short, it is these latter tasks that are, as has been shown, regarded as unskilled 'women's work'. It is this distinction between policing tasks that is supported, moreover, by the strong masculine ethic of policing.

## ROUTINE CRISIS: "JUST ANOTHER DOMESTIC"

Emotional labour, James (1989: 26) argues, exists not in isolation from the circumstances in which it takes place but rather these conditions "influence the content and form of emotional labour", its attributed status and value. Despite recent moves to improve police response to victims of crime, compliance with the revamped rules and norms sanctioning 'appropriate' emotional presentations and identification with the role of care would seem to conflict with the entrenched views of the 'rank-and-file' with whom the implementation of any such initiative rests. Attributed with lesser value and levels of skill, it is the tasks of performing caring emotional labour that have been traditionally derided by the 'masculinist' police occupational culture. Hence while, as was suggested above, constables find their interactions with victims of crime emotionally taxing, the demands of caring emotional labour which is part of this work are particularly stressful for the officers who perform it because it is an activity that is fraught with contradiction. This contradiction derives in part from conflicts between the working norms and values upheld by the lower policing ranks and the values required in their 'caring' labours.

For instance, in as far as constables are unable to readily discount the emotional outbursts of victims, interactions with victims of crime become emotionally

taxing experiences, the emotional displays of victims awkward to watch and difficult to respond to. Such interaction often demands that the labourer gives a personal, not just routine, response (James, 1989). In different circumstances, emotional displays of comfort, humour, empathy or action may be each be appropriate responses. It is these demands for 'involvement' that would seem to contradict the police culture which views emotional responses towards either victims or suspects as potentially status-threatening, as undermining the professional-client status hierarchy and thus as undesirable and unprofessional behaviour (Manning, 1980; Hunt, 1984; Pogrebin and Poole, 1991). Pogrebin and Poole (1991: 399) suggest, for example, that in as far as it conflicts with professional police conduct rules that dictate the preservation of social distance and the maintenance of a detached and dispassionate exterior, "sympathetic or nurturing behaviour... is regarded [by police] as professionally demeaning".

There is, therefore, a seemingly insidious contradiction between the specific qualities associated with the provision of 'care' (emotionality, nurturance) and the qualities stereotypically associated with being a successful, professional police officer (objectivity, detachment, pragmatism). This contradiction is most acute for those constables who are expected to support victims or complainants of crime in the routine course of police work. The conflicts between the discursive construction of the 'care-giver' and the 'objective, professional officer' are evident below. In discussing whether or not she uses any kinds of physical strategies when dealing with victims of crime, this constable suggests some of the dilemmas experienced in being caught up in the conflicting efforts of the police to both care for victims of crime by responding to their apparent needs and wishes and to control offenders by 'objectively' enforcing the criminal law:

> I don't think I touch people... I don't know why that is. Probably because most people we deal with we put the gloves on to search them sort of thing... I think you can't get involved too much. ...I mean, we don't mind being there, if they haven't got anyone. We can sit with them. ... But, I think you're trying to get yourself to stay professional. Don't get too involved in it. You'd probably become biased. I always take the victim's side.

For at the same time as dealing with the feeling's of victims or complainants and providing support for their future well-being, the police constable has a job

to do in securing the best possible evidence for a successful prosecution. While at times these dual roles of 'care' and 'control' complement one another, at other times they co-exist rather more awkwardly (Edwards, 1994). These conflicts were illustrated in a conversation with a female constable in which she shared the difficulty she experiences in having "to sit down for five hours and take a rape statement". Such dealings, she suggested, can be mentally and emotionally demanding and time consuming; the necessary task of collecting intimate yet explicitly detailed evidence from the victim making it one of the most difficult and personally uncomfortable aspects of the job:

> A lot of the times, you'd rather deal with exhibits... Just [be]cause I'm a police officer doesn't mean that I'm comfortable about talking to a complete stranger about, you know, their sex life (sic)... Its quite hard and you've gotta overcome that and at the same time you're, you're thinking, "Well, how am I gonna get around this". Because you're not that comfortable about talking about it yourself. And they're really uncomfortable obviously, about talking about it. And you're trying to console them and you're [thinking] "Well, I've gotta get down everything". Trying to not to miss out anything in the interview. And it takes just so lonnnng. And then they have these blanks and sometimes I've had to walk out of rape interviews and [laughter] just calm down. Just like, take some deep breaths and go and just calm down. [Be]cause I've started to get mad with them. The victim. Because she can't remember and you just feel like saying, "Just, just remember. Just tell me". You know what I mean? Its just really, really, really a hard thing.

While officers find some satisfaction in 'playing' with criminals' emotions and gaining interactional control over them, they feel, by comparison, largely subordinated in their encounters with victims of crime. In practice it is often difficult to juggle the needs of the victim with the investigatory and prosecutorial role of the police, even though the former is quintessential in terms of the latter. Despite this complexity, Martin, Mckean and Veltkamp (1986) have noted the curious dearth in police stress literature mentioning the stress of working with victims. James (1989: 37) suggests that the emotional labour component of this caring work remains largely unrecognised in the public domain because "emotions belong at home, they are women's work and unskilled". Yet, as is evident in the former extract, the arduous and demanding nature of these emotional management tasks would seem to significantly

contradict the low skill level and low status historically attributed to the management of both crisis and day to day emotion.

The elements of emotional labour required in dealing with victims of crime would, furthermore, seem to sit rather awkwardly with the constructed image and discourses of police-work as an exciting, fast-moving activity. 'Real police work' is seen as speedy work involving prompt, rational decision making. Yet the performance of emotional labour with the victims of crime requires an approach quite at odds with these working values of speed and efficiency (James, 1989). The support of rape victims or victims of sexual abuse, for instance, are particularly labour intensive specialised tasks. As is evident in the above extract, the demand of emotional labour - of giving personal attention, warmth, involvement, and empathic understanding, of listening, of just 'being' there - places pressure on the officers working with victims because it is an activity that does not fit well with ideas of efficiency and, in respect of the officers' (male) partner, of availability for more 'exciting' calls. As the following extracts make plain, it is the consequent 'speeding up' of the performance of emotional labour in order to meet the working values of 'front-line' officers that would seem to contradict with the ideology of 'public service':

> Like attending a death? Yeah, that's quite straining sometimes. With the family and that. Because.. you're there to do a job and it seems so cruel and horrible at the time. Like, you were there the other night when I was [attending a sudden death identification]. It does seem quite cruel. Shoving paper under their nose and saying, you know, "can you tell me this", "can you tell me that". But, yeah, you have to do it.

> Taking the statement is probably a lot harder. Its just the time thing. And the time is always on you in this job. And its always time, time, time. You know, "How long are you gonna be?" "Do you know when you'll be finished there?" And suddenly you say, "Gee. Thanks for that. I'm out of here". And they're sort of left sitting there. And to a lot of people its just such a horrendous thing that's happened in their lives. Like its just absolutely horrendous. But to us, its *just another domestic* [laughter].

As opposed to working with 'real' criminals or suspected offenders, constables find little enjoyment in enacting performances of emotional labour with the victims of crime. Given the contradictory expectations, emotion norms and attendant values of the formal and informal cultures of the policing

organisation, constables find their dealing with victims particularly stressful affairs. As the next extract shows, it is the emotion exhaustion and inherent frustration that come to characterise police interaction with victims that has dire consequences for the careful, effective and sympathetic handling of incidents such as that of domestic violence. In this extract, the informant explains the frustrations experienced in dealing with the victims of crime:

> Especially when you're busy. Really busy. And they're pissing around. And they won't make [laughter] a decision as to whether they want to make a statement. And you just feel like saying, "Look!". Its really hard to show genuine concern. And a lot of the time you've just gotta leave the room. And go out, to your partner, and just go, "Fuck!". You know. Like just really let rip and then go in and go, "Well. What are you going to do?", "You know this is the story and" blah, blah blah. That is really hard... Most of the time I can show sort of reasonable concern. But when its someone that's been smashed over and its happened time and time again and they're still humming and haring as to whether they want to make a complaint, you think, "Well. Why did you call us?" "What do you want us to do?"

Clearly, the above constable's statement is contradictory in terms of the police pro-arrest policy. At the same time, it points to the limited status attached to police handling of crime victims and complainants and the attendant frustrations that such interaction engenders.

And so is the curious paradox of emotional labour in police work (see Tolich, 1993). While performance of emotion management tasks with members of the public is experienced by constables as stress producing, it also provides a deep source of personal gratification. Through the construction of discourses of 'gameplaying', constables were able to transform those stressful or potentially stigmatic features of their emotion work with suspects or criminals and to redefine their emotional labour as relevant to the law enforcement and crime fighting tasks they value the most. In constructing their clients as oppositional 'gamesman', constables are able to redefine their emotional labour as intellectual or mental work, as a chance to pit their wits, efficacious tactics and skills at acting and manipulation with an opponent. By deliberately increasing the dramatic appeal to their work tasks, these constables were able to make the often difficult nature of their work tolerable and rewarding. Conversely, in their dealings with victims of crime, the police constables described above seemed

unable to transform the supportive or nurturing emotional labour expected of them into anything more satisfying. The attribution of a limited value and a secondary status to victim care work persists despite the fact that support for the victim is vital for their more highly valued crime control function.

While this chapter has explored the emotional labour tasks of 'control' and 'care' in policing, it is the gendered division of these duties that forms the focus of the following chapter. While the modern police organisation may be developing policies that emphasise 'service and care' rather that 'force and control' as key notes of their work, this chapter has discussed how these ideas remain in tension with many of the values of the lower ranks' occupational culture. Here, socially constructed notions of policing as action, as challenge, as concerned with crime and crime control retain some prominence. By contrast, because of its equation with emotionality, subservience and care-taking or nurturance, the 'caring' function of the police is attributed a lower status than the police 'control' function. As the following chapter will show, the ideological segregation of 'valued' and 'undervalued' emotional labour tasks identified here is significant for not only the kinds of experiences women as the predominant consumers of the service have of policing but also what women constables have of policing. In particular, while their perceived greater 'natural' nurturant abilities has historically provided female police officers with a special place in the organisation, it is these very attributes which form a powerful device through which domination proceeds.

## CHAPTER 6

# Caring and Controlling

Although women can no longer be excluded from the police organisation because of their gender, there remains a host of discriminatory stereotypes about the ability of women officers that can and do translate into practice. Despite the seeming equality of men and women employed on uniform patrol - in that they hold the same rank, are paid the same salary, are equipped with the same attire and so on - many female constables are not deployed on equivalent tasks to their male colleagues. While male constables typically perform the more highly valued controlling tasks of the police, female constables perform more of the lower status caring and service functions.

The main concern of the present chapter is to provide an analysis of the nature and consequences of this division of emotional labour tasks by gender in 'front-line' policing. Central to this discussion is the basic premise that for women, as for men, the nature, meaning and practice of their paid work is partially constructed through prevalent ideas about femininity and masculinity as well as those concerning emotion and emotionality. This chapter begins by exploring further some of the emotional requirements of policing and the gendering of these tasks. Upon considering the responses of male and female constables to these gender divisions, it goes on to examine the emergence of a gendered rationale for the allocation of emotional labour tasks within the police according to where it is that male and female officers are considered to perform most effectively. In the general discourse developed, women are seen as unproblematically linked to the provision of caring labour. The second half of the chapter explores some of the consequences of this task segregation (Tolich and Briar, 1991) in terms of the kinds of experiences women constables have of policing and that women as police consumers have of policing. Succinctly, it suggests that, contrary to a legalistic compulsion to equal opportunity, the use

and deployment of women constables in this way serves to re-constitute the 'separate spheres' of activity that characterised women's involvement in police prior to integration. This reproduction leaves the 'real' work of policing to men at the same time as abstracting women's issues from what counts as 'real' policework.

## GENDERED POLICING?

The specialised nature of emotional labour in both the so-called 'public' and 'private' spheres is evident in the contrasting emotional tasks that men and women are most often called upon to perform (Hochschild, 1983). As the following extracts from female constables show, it is this gendered division of emotional labour that, in policing, is translated into a series of informal work practices which limit both the extent and nature of deployment for women (and men) employed on uniform patrol (Jones, 1987; Brown, Maidment and Bull, 1993). When male constables are required to do emotional labour, it is most often those tasks associated with the policing function of 'control': the projection of negative emotion or of affectlessness, of rationality or impersonality:

> Even sometimes if its a female offender, unless they're quite calm about it, then the guys will deal her. If they're fiery ones, the guys will be dealing with it. They go in with the attitude that that's what they're gonna do

Conversely, female constables are more likely to be presented with and to perform the 'caring' emotional labour tasks: victim statement taking; support work; dealing with the feelings of victims and so forth:

> Usually, being female, you're put with the victim, rather than dealing with the offender... Usually the female's with the victim doing the emotional side of it.

Although nominally assigned to the same occupational role, there are thus significant differences in the range of emotional labour tasks within this role to which constables are delegated. The association of women with the provision of caring labour and the consequent importance ascribed to gender in determining the distribution of policing tasks is, of course, not unique to the unofficial operational policy of the police. As was noted in Chapter Two, the identification of women with emotion and emotional life has had, and continues

to have, particular material, political and social consequences for women. Women both predominant amongst informal carers and remain over-represented in the occupations and at the levels at which emotional labour takes place. Even where, as in the case of uniformed patrol, men and women are 'equally' associated with emotional labour in the same occupation, it is the skills in the management of emotion learned by women in the domestic domain as part of their "long apprenticeship" (Oakley, 1974) that are typically employed to 'do the work' of caring (Hearn, 1987; James, 1989). Yet despite the skills involved in the labour of managing emotion and its importance to the successful running and fulfilment of both home-life and job tasks, the bulk of this work is carried out "unrecognised, unrecorded, low paid, and usually by women" (James, 1989: 37-8).

In as far then, as women continue to carry the prime responsibility for emotion and emotional life in the home, the quality and nature of women's work experience in the paid labour force is inevitably affected to some degree by their association with emotionality and personal feeling (James, 1989). Women police officers have been shown to be differentially treated by virtue of their perceived physical and emotional suitabilities. It is this informal segregation of policing tasks that serves to both frustrate expectations of police work and to dishearten constables keen to participate in all aspects of their occupational role. Disappointment was disclosed by one such constable when she noted:

> What I find really frustrating as a female [constable] is that people tend to want the male. And what I've found with going to domestics and stuff like that is you always get the weepy female and the guys always get the offender

Though an important and necessary part of their policing role, nurturance of "the weepy female" is, as has been shown, a task that is both demanding and stress producing yet one that is seen by many in the police as a less exciting and informally rewarded function than is dealing with a criminal offender. Equated with subservience, emotionality and nurturance, attributed a lower status than the police 'control' function, the perceived tedium of these kinds of 'caring' tasks typically results in the kind of resentment among those routinely assigned to them evident below:

> You [female police] still get sent, you know, like if you go to a domestic, you still get the women, *nine times out of ten you get lumbered with the woman*

Despite the apparent equality of opportunity and treatment of women police officers, particularly as it is embodied in legislation, male and female constables are routinely employed on different, and differentially valued, policing tasks. Female constables express considerable frustration and disenchantment with their policing careers as a result of such differential deployment practices. Below, consideration is given to how the police constables themselves explain the existence and persistence of these gendered 'caring' and 'control' tasks.

## Explaining Gendered Policing

While, in the present study, the constable's explanations of divisions between 'men's' and 'women's' emotional labour tasks were varied, in general references to the gender of officers two contradictory notions emerge. First, explanations proffered inferred implicitly that the gender of the attending constable makes little or no significant difference within the 'caring' or 'control' roles. The differential task assignments of constables responding to incidents was attributed largely to chance. The second notion that emerged during the course of the research was that male and female constables are 'essentially' different in the traits perceived to be the most significant in terms of these dual roles. The universal nuances of human biology (or deliberate socialisation patterns) make women police constables 'naturally' better at dealing with other people's emotions because they are themselves 'naturally' emotional. Women constables are thus inherently better suited to the kinds of nurturing emotional tasks demanded of the police 'caring' function while men are better suited by nature to the demands implicit in the role of 'control'.

### *"It just happens"*

For many constables, the existence of task segregation within policing was an unpremeditated and fortuitous phenomenon attributable only to luck. While this attitude was expressed by both male and female constables, only the latter disclosed accompanying frustration over the monotony of their assigned duties and concern over the consequences of systematic task segregation. According to this female constable, the different deployment experiences of uniformed women police officers is "just what happens". She stated:

> [Be]cause what if there was two females in a car?... But its always "you deal with the female and I'll have the offender". And

> I find that really frustrating [be]cause I need practice myself with offenders and interviewing them... I always get the complainant and you get so used to taking statements. You can always still learn but a bit of variety would be nice... I don't mind dealing with the complainants and... I don't have a problem with relating to them and what's happening and being able to comfort them. But you do get a little bit sick of it sometimes, when you don't get to deal with the offender

While some male constables similarly understood their task assignments at particular incidents occurring as the result of chance, they were much less interested in the long term consequences of this system. In their study of gendered task segregation amongst supermarket employees in the United States, Tolich and Briar (1996) document a similar reticence by the male clerks to question the benefits reaped through the existence and perpetuation of this 'fortuitous' yet unequal job rotation. For instance, in the following extract, while apparently previously unmindful of any kind of task segregation in 'front-line' policing, the experienced constable concedes with some reluctance that "out of interests sake" the segregation of emotional labour tasks could be reversed:

> It really depends on the situation I think. I guess I've never really thought about what happens. Its just what happens.... Could try it the other way one day and see what happens. Just out of interests sake.

While for some informants, the restriction of constables into a narrow range of tasks is a curious phenomena that "just happens", for others, differential deployment practices are the logical outcome of innate emotional and physical differences between men and women.

*The 'essential' difference*

For some constables in the study, the greater use of female officers in relation to victims of alleged crime and the provision of 'caring' emotional labour was attributed to the 'fact' that women are 'naturally' more suited or indeed more capable in respect of these functions than men. As has been shown, the history of women in the police has been characterised by assumptions about their innate skill in dealing with the feeling's of others, their caring and nurturant qualities and the application of these to appropriate groups such as juveniles, women and victims. Likewise, biological sex differences make men better able to perform the police 'control' functions and thus to carry out the kinds of

emotional labour tasks required in dealing with offenders. A male constable surmises this observation as follows:

> I suppose through experience we've found that with the victim, and invariably its the female, that she'll relate easier to a female than to a male. Especially if its just been a male that's been giving her a hard time. Also, I suppose its a physical thing as well in that, like especially on our section, the size of our police woman... You tend to find [that].. if we had a pub fight, its almost like guys of similar size tend to gravitate towards each other. You know, cops to the offenders. The big guys tend to sort of go to the bigger guys and that. Its [gendered policing] just sort-a something that's done I guess.

In earlier chapters, the importance of control (of oneself and others) and physical prowess in policemen's images of themselves and their labours was noted. Clearly, beliefs about the need for physical skills have an impact on deployment decisions. As the constable suggested above, some deployment decisions are undoubtably based on gallant attempts to protect the so called 'weaker sex'. A different constable reiterates this concern when he notes how, when attending incidents of domestic violence, differential deployment practices operate:

> ... basically for the shear size of things too. Like, physically a female's smaller than a male. And if the male [offender] decided to go off at the female officer, and she was dealing with him then, there's more chance that she's gonna get hurt.

A similar perception of women's physical inferiority is expressed in the following extract. In this excerpt, the constable goes on to argue that, with the increased recruitment of women into the 'front-lines' of policing, women police officers have unwittingly relinquished their highly visible token symbol status (Kanter, 1977) whilst at the same time becoming "liabilities" for the men with whom the 'real' tasks of policing rest:

> I don't think [increased numbers of women police officers have] improved matters. When I joined the job... there was only one police woman in the station. One female! And we looked up to her in a round about way, as a goddess if you like. Cause you are. You're one of a kind... But now you've two or three on the section, you don't look at them as a goddess because they become more of a worker. And I'd have to say, in some respects, that they've become a liability. And I don't denigrate women at all.

> Like, [the other day] when I came to work, [there were] four women to go on the street. And that was it! You know, they did a damned fine job. No problems. But its just if there's one case where the shit did hit the fan, what does one do? And what were the bosses doing by putting four females on the street together? With no males. You know, its ridiculous.

Though chivalrous, such arguments favouring differential deployment practices contradict more compelling evidence which denies the appropriateness of conceptions of policework as inherently dangerous; of policing as based on strength (Jermier, Gaines and McIntosh, 1989; Fielding, 1988; Smith and Gray, 1983; Brown, Maidment, and Bull, 1993; Brown and Campbell, 1994; Heidensohn, 1992; 1994). Moreover, as Bell (1982) has suggested, the relentless and obsessive interest in examining the physical competency of policewomen (Charles, 1981) serves to obscure examination of the wider range of skills necessary for patrol tasks. Morash and Greene (1986) have noted how women officers are often evaluated on criteria unrelated to police performance and in situations unrepresentative of police work - those involving displays of physical strength to the exclusion of skills of conciliation, mediation and emotion management. In addition, Bell (1982) suggests that criticisms of female police officers are unsubstantiated as there is no existing research to show that strength is related to an individual's ability to successfully manage a dangerous situation.

## Identifying Competence As Masculine

The above discussion appears merely to reiterate the proposal offered by Hunt (1984; 1990) and others (Balkin, 1988; Martin, 1989) that the resistance and resentment expressed by male police officers to women entering their ranks derives primarily from a fear of the exposure and 'demythologisation' of the police profession. In Chapter Four it was suggested that the popular effigy of police work as involving crime, action and challenge is imbued with a particular symbolic significance for those who primarily invest in its construction. In exposing the fact that the daily reality of policing involves not that asset of physical superiority regarded as unique to men, the entry of women into uniformed patrol is seen by some commentators to place men on the defence occupationally by asking what roles they are best suited to play (van Wormer, 1981; Heidensohn, 1992). That is, if policing principally involves the skills of

emotional labour stereotypically associated with, and seen as innate to, women, then it is women who can most readily fulfil the policing functions.

However, as Reiner (1985: 216) has expressed it, "the police world remains aggressively a man's world". Because male officers are the majority gender within the organisation and are dominant within it, their ability to define the nature and value of the profession and the skills of it incumbents is considerable. It is this occupational world that reproduces expectations and structures work practices which require "masculine qualities" and "masculine traits", form which male officers obtain central aspects of their status (Hunt, 1984, 1990; Sampson et al, 1991).

The prevailing 'cult of masculinity' is, however, not static. With the growth of the modern bureaucratic state, for instance, changes in the normative pattern of masculinity have taken place. Specifically, an emphasis on physical aggressiveness has evolved to an emphasis on technical rationality and calculation (Connell, 1987: 130-1). Yet, while accompanying changes in the interpretation and organisation of workplaces, including the police, has enabled the inclusion of women, as McElhinny (1994: 162) argues, the workplace remains 'masculine' because rationality and emotional control are in our culture gendered masculine.

Thus, in the previous chapter the constructed discourse of police work with criminals as involving a form of high status mental labour was discussed. This highly skilled "game" of emotion management requires the officer to set personality and feelings aside whilst judiciously managing the presentation of self and feeling for the consumption of others. Constables most successful at "playing the game" therefore are those who, in the sense of maintaining proper detachment from the persons or case in question, are objective, rational and pragmatic. According to Cohen and Freyberg (1991:60) for example,

> the more objective and detached the officer, the more credibly he or she fills the role. The more emotional and personal the officer, the less the officer will seem like a referee.

The attributes of objectivity, rationality and detachment are those most clearly linked to the 'masculine' stereotype. Thus competence with criminals is identified with masculinity.

It is easy to see the ideological function of this myth of the 'dispassionate observer' or 'investigator'. The corresponding identification of women with emotionality, subjectivity, irrationality and, by extension, uncontrollability amounts to saying that women are 'unprofessional' or at least not as professional as men because of their tendency to become 'emotionally involved' with their work. Paradoxically, it is the perceived innate tendency of women for greater emotional involvement that appears on the surface to be rather more sympathetic to women officers (Spencer and Podmore, 1987). After all, it is the greater 'emotional involvement' of women constables that supposedly enables them to more easily strike a rapport with victims and thus to fulfil the 'caring' function central to the re-orientation of the policing role. Yet, while the traditional linkage of women with emotion and the management of feeling appears to be advantageous for women, it is just this association that has seen them channelled into certain tasks and into certain areas of work deemed 'appropriate' for them. At the same time, it is these areas of work that have been traditionally denigrated by police whilst the emotional labour tasks necessary to their undertaking have been stigmatised as natural 'women's work', of lowly status and of low skill.

In the general discourse developed here, the traits and qualities identified as 'essential' to the identities of men align with the image of a police 'force' as a crime- and disorder- controlling, mission orientated, dispassionate and tough body of men. Despite appearing in tension with the care and service-function of the policing organisation, the essential male characteristics are portrayed as necessary for successful policing in accordance with the relatively conscious and explicit set of assumptions or stereotypes held about the nature of the work. Alternately, women officers are professionally marginalised: fixed into a certain place, with a certain set of characteristics and are seen as relatively unproblematically linked to the provision of caring labour. The central outcome of these processes results, according to Walklate (1996: 199), "in the reproduction of police forces prior to integration" where "Police Women's Departments are re-constituted in all but name". As has been suggested, it is this 'gender-appropriate' work that tends to be accorded lesser status, visibility and hence personal and professional reward by the male-dominated occupational group.

In many respects then, the differential deployment of women constables on patrol would seem to contradict the espoused legalistic, if not moral, commitment to equality of opportunity and treatment. Yet at the same time, the tacit condonation of such deployment practices on the pragmatic grounds of 'risk' and 'natural' suitability as expressed by informants above appears to generate acceptance for them.

### In Defence of Equal Opportunity

The underpinning justification for the different deployment of constables described above is built around a kind of essentialism which locates the roots of gender difference in biology. As is evident in the above extracts, most informants develop an essentialist model of gender and in doing so, reproduce a humanist discourse which supposes a unique, fixed and coherent identity at the centre of self. Thus male and female individuals are ascribed a fixed personality, distinguished by a set of gender-specific abilities, traits and temperaments largely removed from social influence. From these descriptions emerge a largely shared consensus about gender traits. Female constables (and women in general) are variously described as 'naturally' more caring, sympathetic and patient, more nurturing and more in touch with their emotions. Conversely, male constables (and men more generally) are seen as, at times, 'brainwashed' with a macho ("Americanised") image and yet as both physically and emotionally stronger and more stable than women and, by extension, as possessing greater common sense and logic by virtue of being unfettered by the emotionalism inflicting women.

Appeals to human biology to explain social phenomenon are, however, inevitably essentialist in that they project onto all women and men qualities that develop under historically specific conditions. Throughout this work, for instance, it has been argued that the connection of women with emotionality and care is an outcome not of some inherent biological difference impervious to change but rather from the sexual division of labour in both the 'public' and 'private' spheres. Rather than there existing an essential or natural femininity or masculinity that is fixed, the qualities of femininity and masculinity are socially constructed like all other aspects of our selves. This perspective is deeply at odds with humanist theorisations of gender and subjectivity which treats gender

and feelings of self as if they originated from as essential 'self' deep in the heart of each individual.

Nevertheless, claims of 'essential difference' are supported by many male and female constables alike. Following Henriques et al (1984) and others (Weedon, 1987), such definitions of masculinity and femininity are not simply imposed upon the individual. Individual men and women each negotiate the social meanings of femininity and masculinity, share in their construction or have 'investments', some emotional satisfaction or reward, in particular constructions of masculinity and femininity. In this respect, the different emotional labour tasks undertaken by male and female constables are for some constables not so much the result of coercion but of 'choice'. Matthaei (1982: 194), for example, suggests that a pivotal force behind the deepening of occupational segregation are "the workers' desires to assert and reaffirm their manhood or womanhood and hence their difference from the opposite sex". The predominance of women constables amongst formal police victim support work may, therefore, in part be attributable to constable's personal evaluations of the superiority of their skills in nurturant emotional labour and of their 'natural' desire to perform the 'caring' as opposed to the 'control' functions required of the police. Commenting on the apparent 'feminising' of the police 'care' functions, a female constable suggested that:

> I think the female's main priority really would be the victim. Whereas guys probably don't see it like that.... (*How do you feel about that?)* I think I probably deal with the victims better. I know the guys are good. They can be really sympathetic and really good. But... I know that I can be really sympathetic with them [victims of crime]. So I don't mind going to the victim. Cause I'd hate someone to go to them and make things worse. Or, you know, upset them.

Similarly, drawing on an essentialist depiction of women's 'special virtues', this female constable explains why she gravitates to those specialised emotional labour tasks comprising the 'caring' functions of policing:

> I prefer to do rape things rather than someone else do them. [Be]Cause I've done a few rape complaints now... I think being a female too, you're more sympathetic towards them [complainants]. I'd rather volunteer myself to do it rather [than have a male constable "do it"]. I know that some of the guys

> would handle it really well. But, just for a comfort thing for a female.

It is just such self-selection processes that, according to Walklate (1996: 198) allow the police organisation to defend their equal opportunity policies and to uphold "the complacent belief that equal opportunity issues have been attended to". While the deployment of individuals according to their merits is inherently palatable, seen alongside the insidious effects of a persistent cop culture, the implicit acceptance of women's deployment into areas defined as low status or as not 'real' police work would seen to leave the question of commitment to genuine equal opportunity and treatment unanswered. Further, if women's issues have become "ghettoised" and the 'real' work of policing left to men (Walklate, 1996), how far have statements of positive police response to the policing of domestic violence and to the sensitive and supportive response to women in violent relationships been embraced by all members of the organisation? Far from being re-orientated in terms of both style and service delivery, it appears that sectional police work and the delivery of service remain thoroughly divided along the axes of both gender *and* 'care' and 'control'.

## EXPERIENCING CONTRADICTION

The predominance of the 'cult of masculinity' that pervades 'cop culture' places women constables in an ambiguous position within their own organisation. The stereotypic attitudes concerning both the nature of the occupation and women's abilities to perform within it have been frequently recited as leaving women little choice but to either embrace this male culture or fulfil the more traditional expectations associated with the 'feminine' role and to conform to a traditional behaviour pattern which emphasises the emotional, subjective, nurturant, sympathetic and so forth (Kanter, 1977; Martin, 1980; Berg and Budnick, 1986).

Yet by treating 'the masculine' as the norm from which to conform or deviate, women workers find themselves subordinated by either "choice". As Martin has put it, "either way, she is not he" (cited in Pringle, 1992: 193). Women who refuse to emphasis their femininity by being, for instance, subordinate to men, are often labelled 'unnatural' women, as "butch" or as "man-haters" (Hunt, 1984; 1990; Berg and Budnick, 1986). Because they do not fit the appropriate

model of women-worker, they often end up isolated (Hadjifotiou, 1983). Alternately, in taking up traditional subject positions based on traditional images of 'appropriateness', women may more readily crave a niche for themselves within the occupation. By projecting their 'femininity' and adopting a 'feminine' work style as, for example, confidante, counsellor and supporter of peers, women may find it easier to get along with male colleagues but risk their skills and abilities going unrecognised. In acting in a supporting role for men, women may, for instance, risk losing promotional opportunities because they are spending less time on those activities that gain promotion for men (Hadjifotiou, 1983).

While the adoption of traditional female roles may negate the need to confront the power structure of the organisation, there is danger that women working within a 'female niche' will confine themselves to a personally comfortable but marginalised position that impairs challenging existing values and practices (Pringle, 1992). For example, the placement of women constables within the limited areas of 'front-line' police duties socially sanctioned and approved as 'appropriate' for women has obvious consequences for their promotional prospects. Informed by discourses of femininity which emphasis the greater caring, subservience and emotionality of women, this tacit restriction of occupational roles and duties for women constables serves primarily to severely curtail the amount and quality of experience that women are able to gain.

Further, while conformity to such discourses allows women to enter into an occupation unsympathetic to employing women on patrol, at the same time, restrictions on the chances of women officers to obtain practical experience and policing skills in a variety of deployment situations serves to reinforce arguments about female ability (Jones, 1986, 1987). For while the culturally constructed greater capacity for emotionality, care and involvement is, according to Lutz (1990: 77), both the "the source of women's value [and] their expertise in lieu of rationality", it is at the same "the origin of their unsuitability for broader social tasks..." As has been suggested, given the common-sense association of emotion with weakness, bias and irrationality (Lutz, 1986; Jaggar, 1989), it is these very capacities that help construct the female self as emotionally volatile, uncontrollable and hence as potentially dangerous. Given the norms of emotional presentation and interaction dictated by police

(impersonality, objectivity, rationality), this association is particularly challenging for women police officers.

Consequent frustration of opportunity and expectation of patrol work induce in turn, feelings of disillusionment and disheartenment amongst women police constables. In her study of men and women employed in corporations, Kanter (1977) observed that placement in powerless and low mobility situations leads to a lowering of aspirations and limited motivation. This observation is emphasised by the following constable when she recounts how her frustrated expectations of patrol work have contributed to a decrease in personal initiative to:

> go in and be the one making contact with the offenders rather than sitting back. Like, I know I'd almost got used to the idea and sitting back and that. I go to the victim cause that's what I'm used to doing now.

The lowering of confidence and commitment amongst women constables as a result of the kinds of unequal deployment practices described thus creates further obstacles in grasping opportunities to acquire other relevant skills.

The widespread and systematic differential treatment of women on routine patrol serves then, to significantly restrict the kinds of policing experience and skills obtained by the patrol constable. As has been shown, fears about female ability provide one powerful rationale for differential deployment which lead, in turn, to a lack of relevant experience, a decrease in confidence and commitment and thus fewer promotional opportunities for women officers. This sets in motion a downward cycle of deprivation and discouragement which feeds into and reinforces male stereotypes about the lesser ability, suitability and ambition of women (Jones, 1986, 1987). In this way, the confinement of women to working within marginalised yet infinitely suitable female 'niches' is thus successfully 'negotiated'.

In many ways the gender segregation of emotional labour in policing appears to represent a return of women as visibly gendered police officers. Thus far, this chapter has considered some of the consequences of this division of task by gender. In particular, the ideological segregation of 'valued' and 'undervalued' emotional labour tasks by a 'masculinist' policing culture have been identified as being of particular significance for women constables. Yet, this construction of

policing duties is significant not only for the experiences women officers have of policing but also what women as police customers have of policing.

**Re-orientating Police Response to the Victims of Crime?**

Recent attempts by police to reform police practice in relation to women as the victims of men's violence and to promulgate policies that promote an emphasis on service rather than force have resulted, according to Brown et al (1993: 122) in a "perceptible shift from the tough cop mentality and punitive authoritarianism to a new humanistic service orientation". Parallel to this apparent shift in emphasis in the style of policing has been the evolution of policewomen's role and function in the police organisation. Central to the present study has been an analysis of how these two changes have coincided and how it is that women constables in the policing vanguard have come to bear that more sympathetic and supportive 'face' of policing.

Succinctly, the argument is as follows: while tacit condonation by the police organisation of such differential deployment practices would seem to significantly contravene a legalistic obligation to equal opportunity, tacit delegation of responsibility for delivering police initiatives concerning public service and care for the victims of criminal misdoings to women constables would not appear to guarantee their practical implementation. For while it is that compassionate veneer of policing stereotypically associated with women that may be demanded by the public as consumers of the police service, its actual delivery is not guaranteed merely by the fact of police officers in women's bodies (Hanmer, Radford and Stanko, 1989; Walklate, 1996). Rather, the day-to-day context of police practice and the masculinist stance of the rank-and-file occupational culture have been shown to be greater determinants of how policy is translated into practice. Indeed, as Bourlet (1990: 71) has pointed out, "without the commitment of the officer to follow the policy line, the policy might just as well have not been created".

A number of studies express ambivalence to the idea that, by virtue of their gender, women officers will be more 'naturally' supportive to the victims of crime than their male counterparts. Kemp, Norris and Fielding (1992) note that many of the values embedded within the police "canteen culture" are so persuasive that they apparently effect female officers themselves. Contributors

to a book documenting women's experience of the police (Dunhill, 1988) for example, suggest that women officers can be just as aggressive as the men in dealing with female disputants, particularly in domestic disputes, where female officers appeared to blame them for breaking the conscientious, law abiding citizen female stereotype. A female constable in the present study suggests, for instance, how:

> It can be really frustrating at times when you know [the female complainant is] getting beaten up and yet they still want to be with [the perpetrator]. Its hard to comfort [the victim] sometimes because you don't know all the details behind it [the assault] which is often quite alot. [There is] often a lot more to it...

Similarly, the findings of Remmington's (1983) police study suggest that the women officers had been acculturated into the behaviour and attitudes characteristic of the male police group. Specifically, she suggests that, "females emulate the male officer's ethos and behaviour", expressing increased cynicism and distrust of the public and adopting an "abrupt behaviour style and unsympathetic attitude toward the public" in routine encounters with them (Remmington, 1983: 127).

Given the contradictory expectations, emotion norms and attendant values of the informal culture of the policing organisation, constables' dealings with the victims of crime have, in the present study, been shown to be particularly stressful affairs. Like Remmington's (1983) officers, some constables appear to insulate themselves from the stresses of this caring role by developing a 'protective shell', becoming more suspicious and distrustful of those persons into whose lives they momentarily intervene. This often makes it difficult for them to extend sympathy to the plight of the majority of victims whom they encounter and increases the tendency to become cynical. In detailing her encounter with a particular rape complainant, this female constable shares the development of a certain sense of captious reserve in her dealings with crime victims:

> I was really nice to her and explained everything... [A]nd it turned around that she was making a false complaint and got locked up for making a false statement. So that really annoyed ya eh. *[Did you feel it was wasted emotion?]* I was really pissed off that she could take all that sympathy and be lying the whole time. I was pissed off that I'd worked four hours overtime for her. And I was pissed off that she had stuffed it up for her[self]. That she

> made me sort of more cynical about other complaints that I might get. Like, that was my first rape complaint and the next person that came along could have been a very legitimate rape and I'd probably not be as sympathetic and be less trusting. Because of what she'd done.

Cynicism, as this constable duly suggests, can lead to under-involvement. Appeals for help become intrusions on time.

These reactions are further reinforced by the feelings of inability expressed by many of the constables in this study to personally 'solve' the particular situation with which they are confronted with. Incapacity to remedy incidents of domestic violence, to mediate ongoing conflicts, to mollify the fears of a public alarmed by the impression of an escalating crime crisis, to deal with the effects of high unemployment, social deprivation, the unravelling of the welfare state and so on, in turn lead to acute frustration. Calling the police, as has been shown, often comes to be seen as a sign of social incompetence. Encounters with the public viewed as wasteful or trivial become the source of much humour amongst constables. Constables grow to feel "lumbered" with the victims of crime who are often perceived as thankless or unwilling to help themselves. In recounting the perceived futility of expended efforts in attempting to productively handle incidents of domestic violence, this constable suggests that:

> The hardest thing is that a lot of the time you've gotta really elicit a complaint out of them. Really try and pull a statement out of them... Because you don't want the person getting away with what they have done. And then they [the victim] won't make a complaint and you've gotta sit there and make [them]. But they just want him out... And in the end, a lot of the time its all your power just to say, "Well, if you're not gonna help us, you can get stuffed!" But you can't say that because they do still need your help but they don't want to help themselves a lot of the time... You become really cynical and a lot of the time you just think, "Why do I bother?" "Why do I bother?"... I used to say to women, "Well. Next time it happens, ring us"... "Cause it will!", I used to say, "Next time it happens, cause it will!" and get really sarcastic with them. "Just ring us again, cause we'll come back around", you know [laughter].

In the future, it is argued (Brown and Campbell, 1994), this kind of stress on police will only increase as they are asked with increasing frequency to deal

with problems of deepening recession, economic inequality and urban unrest. At the same time, political pressure continues to spearhead significant reductions in personnel.

Numerous studies have identified the occupational culture of the police rank-and-file as one of the main impediments to change within the police service (Skolnick, 1966; Bittner, 1967; Manning, 1977). It is within this 'masculinist' culture that all policy and practice is moulded to accord with what is regarded by officers as their common-sense. Thus, it has been argued that, in as far as policing remains, both numerically and ideologically, a male bastion which reinforces a gendered 'male' view of policing and of men and women, the support and protection it offers women from violent men remains as rhetoric (Hanmer, Radford, and Stanko, 1989). For while the modern police organisation may be asking their officers to take the policing of the so called 'private' sphere more seriously and to be more sensitive and supportive in their response to the victims of crime, many of these ideas remain in tension with the values of the lower ranks' occupational culture. Without accompanying change in the dominant assumptions of police 'common-sense' ideas of action, this study suggests that it is women officers whom are being touted as the public face of a caring service image that has not yet endeared itself with the lower (male) policing ranks.

This chapter has suggested the integration of women into police and the re-evaluation of what counts as police work and the delivery of that service have coincided and resulted in a widespread and systematic gendered specialisation of policing tasks. Women constables, as a result, have come to carry the supportive, sympathetic and nurturing posture of policing whilst both men's tasks and conceptions of what policing is about have remained intact. This gendered task specialisation has special consequences for female constables. While their perceived greater 'natural' nurturant abilities provides them with a special place in the police organisation, it is these very attributes which form a powerful device through which domination proceeds. Serving to justify their marginalisation, women's constructed emotionality works to channel female constables into those stressful areas of work which are, nevertheless, accorded less value, status and visibility than gendered 'male' tasks of 'control'. Contrarily, the presence of women on patrol is being exploited to improve the public image of police, particularly in relation to the policing of men's violence

against women and the provision of care for the public. However, despite the recent promulgation of policies promoting the service orientated face of policing, given the robustness of the masculinist policing subculture, it remains immensely difficult for those deployed within such areas to derive either occupational satisfaction or reward from their duties of victim support and caring emotional labour.

## CHAPTER 7

# Policing the Future

Within the last thirty years, many factors have contributed to changing the composition and work style of the New Zealand police. In particular, this study has considered the ways in which the integration of women into all facets of uniformed patrol work has coincided with a more newly developed emphasis on the 'caring' and responsive face of the police organisation. This latter endeavour has been perhaps most significant in respect of changing police work styles and practices in responding to incidents of rape and domestic violence. It is in these areas that the convergence of these two changes is most apparent. The result, as the present study has shown, has been the re-emergence of a systematically gendered specialisation of policing tasks. Under this informal system of task segregation, female constables have come to assume responsibility for modern 'care' provision whilst male constables resume their historic responsibility for 'control'.

The object of this concluding chapter is not only to revisit and recount the central arguments already presented but to highlight working solutions to the affective implementation of equal opportunities policy. Committed embracement of equal employment opportunities has the potential to significantly improve the quality of work life for individual police incumbents, their internal relationships with one another and also their relationships with members of the general public. Finally, a number of future research possibilities that became apparent during the course of this exploratory work are noted.

### REVISITING THE ARGUMENT

The main concern of this study was to provide an analysis of the nature and consequences of the gendered division of emotional labour tasks in 'front-line'

policing for women, both as members of the public and as police officers. In many respects, the current position of women constables in the police organisation is analogous to that of their predecessors who, in serving the national police organisation, undertook the specifically 'feminine' policing duties noted in Chapter Three: juvenile work, the processing of women offenders, assisting male officers in dealing with offences involving women and children, clerical work and so forth. For many individuals, then as now, this spatially separated and specialised division of tasks is understood to be an equitable distribution of police duties to those to whom they are best suited.

In Chapter Six, for instance, the most popular explanation of task segregation advanced by constables was that concerning the differential biological suitability of incumbents. It was argued that, from a popular belief in some kind of essential gendered difference has emerged a persuasive justification for the allocation of emotional labour tasks within the police according to where it is that male and female officers are considered to perform most effectively. Where men are seen as 'naturally' more dominating and controlling, as objective, logical and pragmatic, women are perceived as being innately gentler, more caring, and as more emotional than men. By extension, women are considered to be inherently more attuned to people's emotional needs and better at dealing with their feelings. In the general discourse developed then, women are seen as unproblematically linked to the provision of caring labour. As a result, women constables on the policing front lines have come to be most prominently associated with that more sensitive and supportive policing visage symbolic of recent initiatives to re-orientate and improve police-public relations. Conversely, men are regarded as being infinitely more suitable for the kinds of 'controlling' roles perceived as demanded of police.

And so is assumed the familiar posture of "equal but different". Effectively reviving the historic impetus to visibly gendered officers, constables have been shown to be informally channelled and indeed channel themselves into those areas of policing in which it is assumed they will be most affective by virtue of their gender. In addition, this position tacitly endorses the popular, though defective, view of routine patrol work as too dangerous for women and of women as vulnerable to being conned by (male) perpetrators. Appeals to human biology to explain social phenomenon are, however, inevitably essentialist and ahistoric. Assumptions about women's 'special nature' have been shown to

comprehensively derive from the kinds of unpaid domestic servicing activities traditionally undertaken by home in the home. Equally, throughout this study popular conceptions of policework as inherently dangerous, of policing as based on strength have been questioned and shown to derive less from reality than from a sustained resistance by male police to women entering their ranks and piercing the veil of mystique that has shrouded 'their' profession (Hunt, 1984, 1990; Balkin, 1988; Martin, 1989).

Given the predominance of a strongly 'masculine' culture in the police, the above presumption of "equivalency" is hence more than a little myopic. Specifically, the two police duties of 'caring' and 'controlling' are not accorded equal value nor status. Constables' dealings with suspects or criminals are seen as involving highly developed skills of emotion management and presentation. In addition, it is this type of work that is most readily defined by constables as highly relevant to the crime control and law enforcement functions deemed to make up the core of policework. In an area of policework traditionally derided as "rubbish" (Reiner, 1985), work with the victims of crime is, on the other hand, equated with subservience and low status nurturing work. Often labour intensive and yielding few visible and immediate results, it is this type of 'women's' work that is too often seen as obstructing deployed constables from performing the 'real' work of policing.

Throughout the current work, it is this ideological segregation of 'valued' and 'undervalued' emotional labour tasks by a strongly 'masculine' occupational culture that has been identified as being of particular significance for women, both as the providers and consumers of police services. For instance, while the perceived greater 'natural' nurturant abilities of women has provided them with a special, and specialised, "female niche" (Pringle, 1992) in the police organisation, these very attributes have also served to justify their marginalisation to those stressful areas of victim support work considered peripheral to the core policing tasks of 'control'. Despite the recent promulgation of policies promoting the service orientation of policing, given the strength and persistent of a 'masculinist' cop culture for whom 'real' police work continues to encompass only the work of criminal law enforcement, those deployed within the areas of 'care' derive little professional satisfaction or personal satisfaction from their supportive duties. Informal limits to the type and quality of the work available to female constables limit, in consequence,

their promotional prospects, opportunities and expectations. Such frustration induces feelings of disillusionment and disenchantment amongst women constables which in turn impedes upon the effective delivery of care.

Contrary to the dismantling of occupational segregation and the continuing legalistic compulsion to equal opportunity enshrined in law, the use and deployment of women constables in this way does little to support the present espousal of equal opportunity rhetoric and improved responses to women as the victims of crime. Rather, it suggests a modern-day reproduction of 'separate spheres' of policing for men and women which effectively isolates women constables from the work and reward of 'real' (men's) policework. Furthermore, at the same time as women constables are experiencing systematic discrimination, women consumers of the police service may not be receiving the kind of response they demand or deserve. While the practical implementation of police policies of public care may have been tacitly delegated to women police constables, without an accompanying shift in the day-to-day rank-and-file conceptions of what policing is really about, there is no guarantee that women constables are any more supportive of a public-service emphasis than male constables. Rather, this study has added support to the many others (Smith and Gray, 1983; Holdaway, 1983; Reiner, 1985; Hunt, 1990) who have documented the low priority given to these kinds of supportive emotion management tasks by the powerfully masculine sub-culture of policing. Such labour intensive nurturance tasks have been shown to perilously contradict with the lower ranks constructed image of policing as reverberating around the much heralded elements of action, chase and capture (Holdaway, 1983). 'Real' policework is seen as exciting, speedy work involving action and prompt decision making, the exercise of control and physical strength. It is too these prevailing values and attitudes of the police sub-culture that many female constables have been acculturated.

## PRACTICING POLICING POLICY

In line with government policy, an Equal Employment Management Plan has been in operation in the New Zealand police since its adoption in 1990. Policies, however, rely on people to implement them and people are inevitably influenced by the working culture that surrounds them. Certain patterns of behaviour are accepted as the 'norm' and become, quite simply, the way things

are done. Further, many of the male constables in this study were shown to have serious misgivings about the 'modern' integrated role of women police officers and were open in disclosing the influence of these attitudes on deployment decisions. Indeed, one of the most disturbing finding of this study was the implicit condonation of unequal deployment decisions by male supervisory and management ranks. By their failure to intervene, these practices are legitimised. In doing so the tasks undertaken by women constable's and the concerns of women and the public remain separated from the 'real', essentially 'male' work of policing.

The introduction and implementation of equal opportunities programmes is a direct attempt to influence the organisational culture. This study suggested that, if taken seriously, policies of equal opportunity have the potential to significantly effect barriers to change within the 'front line' police ranks, to fundamentally challenge conceptions of what constitutes policework and, by extension, to significantly improve service to the public. In other words, commitment to genuine equality of opportunity and treatment has the potential to radically change the whole ethos of the organisation (Walklate, 1996). Rather than excepting an essentialised 'male' pattern as the norm to which women either 'fit in' or maintain their difference from in marginalised and subordinated "female niches" (Pringle, 1992), this norm is itself challenged. This can occur on a number of ways. For instance, the more an organisation is differently peopled, the more diversity the cultural experience and values in the workforce. It is from this greater diversity that arises the greater likelihood of modification in the occupational values of the work group. Further, once an organisation seriously embraces the equal opportunity and treatment of its workers, the appropriateness of its tasks and services and the way in which it delivers these are immediately placed under the spotlight of attention (Walklate, 1996).

Several courses of action suggest themselves. As McKenzie (1993) has elaborated, while the elimination of unacceptable attitudes and values is the long term objective, in the short term the more humble aim might be to control these insidious features of the 'cop culture' by modifying behaviour. To this end, and in order to ensue a better use of valuable existing and potential human resources, conscious efforts to halt the discriminatory deployment practices described here must be made. In order to ensure that any equal employment opportunity policy is effected, management and supervisory staff must be fully

aware of their role in its implementation and enforcement (Jones, 1987). Sectional sergeants and senior sergeants, for instance, must not only check to ensure that files are correct and complete, they must ensure that everyone achieves the level of job experiences that ensures a competent police service. Allowing, or tolerating, discriminatory police practices undermines and limits the full development of police constables. This limitation on competence negatively impacts on men as well as women. Further guidelines should be included in supervisory and management training of the effects of discriminatory and differential behaviours and practices, of legislative (and moral) compulsions to equal opportunities and of the not insignificant role of managerial and supervisory ranks in its implementation and monitoring. Similarly, training in equal opportunity issues as they relate to women and to other minority groups in the police organisation could be usefully incorporated into all police officers professional training. The effectuated changes in women's role in front line policing should have accompanying changes in women's self-esteem and, in turn, in their male counterparts' belief in their competency.

A second category of training provisions recommended includes a sustained commitment to the practical training of both men and women in the areas of victim care and support. Part of this training would, of necessity, involve acknowledgment of the emotional labour and maintenance of appropriate emotional expression necessary to these tasks as to those involving offenders.

The policing organisation too, must be committed to the areas of victim care work. What this study has suggested is that the daily rigours of front line policing must be flexible enough to accommodate both the criminal 'control' duties and the 'care' giving and support providing tasks expected of constables undertaking sectional duties. It is these latter emotional labour tasks undertaken in dealing with the victims or complainants of crime that have been shown to be particularly labour intensive as well as at times mentally and emotionally exhausting for those who perform them. Yet it is these duties which are currently slotted in as a extra component within the 'real' tasks of crime 'controlling'. To be thoroughly accommodated, the emotional labour tasks of victim care and support must be seen as important and as central to the definition of constables' work: as primary, not secondary or supplementary to the main purposes of efficient, effective policing.

Gendered policing is a fertile ground for research. Women constables have been shown to be commonly deployed in the areas victim support, care of complainants of crime and so forth not because of proven skill or aptitude in these tasks but merely because they are women. As the present study was exploratory in nature, involving somewhat limited research sources, further work involving a larger police sample group from another region would be useful in ascertaining the reflectiveness of the findings to the New Zealand police as a whole.

While it might be convenient to attribute the exclusion of women from other policing tasks to the assumed prejudice of the public, there exists only limited empirical knowledge of the kind of policing the public wants (Walklate, 1992) and whether this is to necessarily take the form of the visibly gendered policing described here. Indeed, although women constables have been readily accepted by the police as being suitable to deliver the kind of service that the public, or more specifically women, want, many male participants in this study were identified by peers and were identifiable as capable of delivering the quality of support stereotypically associated with women. These issues are worthy of future exploration.

In addition, while this study focused on issues relating to equal opportunities and the question of equal treatment for women, an examination of these issues in relation to people from ethnic minorities and to people of a different sexual orientation should also prove valuable. What, in other words, would a thoroughly "racialised" (Holdaway, 1996) and 'sexualised' police look and be like in New Zealand?

The present study explored the nature and consequences of the gendered specialisation of emotional labour tasks identified as occurring in police patrol work. This pattern of differential deployment significantly contravenes an espoused commitment to equality of opportunity and treatment at the same time as its persistence works to compromise much championed commitments to re-orientating police work styles and police responses to the public. The findings of this study suggest that the police organisation may be able to improve both the quality of work life of its incumbents and the way in which critical services are delivered to the public by more seriously embracing policies of equal employment opportunity. At the same time, further research is necessary to

ascertain the generalisability of these findings and additional areas of potential interest germinated by this work.

# Appendix A

### INFORMATION SHEET
### MANAGING EMOTIONS IN POLICING

#### What is the study about

As a consequence of growth in the service sector, increasing numbers of New Zealanders hold jobs that require them to manage their own and other's feelings. Emotion management becomes a part of the work police officers do as they face the emotional displays of suspects, victims and witnesses. Like other sets of social actors, police officers have special interest in managing appearances and events such that desired emotional responses from others may be generated. Emotions become objects that police officers, and others, learn to govern and control. The ability to "get tough", "to not let it get to you", "to have an iron gut", "to be warm (or cold)", "to show concern for others" become artful performances that are crucial to successful fulfilment of the policing role.

#### Objectives

The goal of this present study is to explore how police constables learn to govern and control their own and others' emotions in different policing situations. How do officers learn to manage their 'unprofessional' or inappropriate feelings in highly charged emotional situations? In particular, I want to focus on two contrasting situations. First, the techniques of emotion management used by individual police officers when responding to situations of heightened danger involving, for instance, threats to personal safety or violence. Second, incidents of grief and human tragedy, for example, informing persons of the death of loved ones.

In addition to the above issues, I also wish to investigate the effects of emotion work on individual police officers. What (if any) are the costs or consequences of emotion management strategies? How does the job requirement to control mind and feelings affect police officers socially and emotionally?

**Method**

The proposed study involves a threefold exploration of emotion management in policing. The first part will examine police training with a particular emphasis on cataloguing attempts to train officer's emotional reactions in grief and violent situations. The second part will involve the experiencing and observing of officer's performance of emotion work in routine activities. The third part will involve interviewing individual officers with a view to understanding police officers personal experiences as 'emotion workers'.

**What the study will entail**

*1) Observations:*

It is envisaged that the observational stage of the fieldwork will cover a three week period. In this time, the researcher would like to 'ride along' with front-line officers in the routine course of their work. Ideally, the researcher would like to accompany section staff on both day and night shifts.

Any observational 'ride-alongs' with officers would be conducted with the understanding that, at all times, the researcher will dress and behave unobtrusively so as not to influence events or impede police procedure. In encounters with citizens, the researcher will give an honest account of her presence as a 'guest' researcher conducting a study.

*2) Interviews:*

The researcher proposes to collect oral data by conducting interviews with ten to twelve officers. Provided participants are agreeable, they will be asked to meet with the researcher for one interview of about one hour. The interview will take place at a time and place convenient to the participant. The interview will be tape recorded and will be conducted in private.

During the course of the interview, participants will be asked about their career as a police officer and their relationships or encounters with suspects, victims and witnesses. What types of verbal and physical emotional displays do they use when dealing with victims or suspects? Are some situations more difficult to control emotional reactions? How do they handle any feelings of embarrassment or discomfiture when faced with highly charged emotional situations? How do they deal with the emotional impact on themselves of criminals and victims reactions? What are the effects of this constant emotional control?

Any interviews with police officers would be conducted on the understanding that information provided therein would remain completely confidential to the researcher. Participants may refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time. Participants will not be able to be identified in any reports prepared from the study.

**Who is conducting the research?**

The research project is being carried out by Diana Adams, a Masterate student in the Sociology Department at Massey University. The research being supervised by Dr Martin Tolich, a Lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Massey University, and Mr David Burns, the Director of Police Studies at Massey University.

**Worth of Investigation**

While the primary beneficiary of the study will be the researcher, it is believed that the proposed research may be of some benefit to the police as well. That is, the research will be a contribution to knowledge around issues of emotion management in different policing situations and duties, and, as such, may inform such areas as police training and routine practice. The researcher proposes to provide feedback on the outcome of the research for police perusal in the form of a comprehensive review and summary of the main findings of the study.

## Ethical Considerations

The research will be conducted in accordance with the guidelines and requirements of Massey University's Ethics Committee on human subjects. This includes the requirements to:

(a) comply fully with requirements concerning informed consent.

(b) maintain strict confidentiality of all information generated.
Confidentiality will be kept through the following measures:
  (i) all names and special characteristics that could lead to the identification of individuals will be changed
  (ii) interview tapes and field notes will only be listened to or read by the researcher

# Appendix B

## INFORMATION SHEET
## MANAGING EMOTIONS IN POLICING

### What is the study about

As a consequence of growth in the service sector, increasing numbers of New Zealanders hold jobs that require them to manage their own and other's feelings. Emotion management becomes a part of the work police officers do as they face the emotional displays of suspects, victims and witnesses. Like other sets of social actors, police officers have special interest in managing appearances and events such that desired emotional responses from others may be generated. Emotions become objects that police officers, and others, learn to govern and control. The ability to "get tough", "to not let it get to you", "to have an iron gut", "to be warm (or cold)", "to show concern for others" become artful performances that are crucial to successful fulfilment of the policing role.

### Objectives

The goal of this present study is to explore how police constables learn to govern and control their own and others' emotions in different policing situations. How do officers learn to manage their 'unprofessional' or inappropriate feelings in highly charged emotional situations? In particular, I want to focus on two contrasting situations. First, the techniques of emotion management used by individual police officers when responding to situations of heightened danger involving, for instance, threats to personal safety or violence. Second, incidents of grief and human tragedy, for example, informing persons of the death of loved ones.

In addition to the above issues, I also wish to investigate the effects of emotion work on individual police officers. What (if any) are the costs or consequences of emotion management strategies? How does the job requirement to control mind and feelings affect police officers socially and emotionally?

## Method

The proposed study involves a threefold exploration of emotion management in policing. The first part will examine police training with a particular emphasis on cataloguing attempts to train officer's emotional reactions in grief and violent situations. The second part will involve the experiencing and observing of officer's performance of emotion work in routine activities. The third part will involve interviewing individual officers with a view to understanding police officers personal experiences as 'emotion workers'.

## What will you have to do?

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to meet with Diana Adams for one interview of about 45 minutes. This interview will take place at a time and place convenient to the participant. The interview will be tape recorded and will be conducted in private.

During the course of the interview, you will be asked about your career as a police officer and your relationships or encounters with criminals, suspects and victims. What types of verbal and physical emotional displays do you use when dealing with victims or suspects? Are some situations more difficult to control emotional reactions? How do you deal with the emotional impact on yourself of criminals and victims reactions? What are the effects of this constant emotional control?

## Who is conducting the research?

The research project is being carried out by Diana Adams, a Masterate student in the Sociology Department at Massey University. The research being supervised by Dr Martin Tolich, a Lecturer in the Department of Sociology at Massey University, and Mr David Burns, the Director of Police Studies at Massey University.

## Your rights

If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

(a) refuse to answer any particular question, and to withdraw from the study at any time.

(b) ask any further questions about the study that occur to you during your participation.

(c) provide information on the understanding that it is completely confidential to the researcher. Confidentiality will be kept through the following measures:

  (i) all names and special characteristics that could lead to identification of participants will be altered;

  (ii) interview tapes will only be listened to by Diana Adams. The recordings will be transcribed by the researcher and erased immediately after use.

## Results of the study

The research findings will be used to create a final Masterate thesis. While the primary beneficiary of the study will be the researcher, it is believed that the proposed research may be of some benefit to the police as well. That is, the research will be a contribution to knowledge around issues of emotion management in different policing situations and duties, and, as such, may inform such areas as police training and routine practice. The researcher proposes to provide feedback on the outcome of the research for police perusal in the form of a comprehensive review and summary of the main findings of the study.

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