An anthropology of the police: semantic constructs of social order

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AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE POLICE: SEMANTIC CONSTRUCTS OF SOCIAL ORDER

BY

MALCOLM YOUNG. B.A.

Thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Durham, Department of Social Anthropology, 1986.
The police play an increasing role in the public construction of order and control. This thesis explores the modes of thought by which police practices are generated in pursuit of this control. A publicly proclaimed approval of social research is not supported by the analysis and academic enquiry is shown to be a binary opposite to a preferred 'practical mastery'. This suggests the police maintain structural invisibility while appearing to be massively accessible to society.

The 'insider/anthropologist' operates in a kind of extended liminality, with the potential to illuminate such hidden beliefs by a seditious interpretation. Reflexive participant observation therefore threatens and creates anti-structural possibilities for a society obsessed with conserving known and inculcated practice. This analysis of manufactured reality reveals a dramatic creation of 'real' and marginal policemen and villains, where the use of extreme metaphor, language and masculine symbols of status translate thought into action.

Intrusion of women into this ideal world creates structural anomaly, for the world of 'crime' is dramatised to reinforce traditional belief in a masculine criminal justice system. An exploration of ambiguity caused by policewomen illustrates their incorrect place in the world of 'street-visible crime control'. Archetypes of feminine susceptibility are invoked, just as the archetype of 'hero' is attributed to the detective, 'fighting his war against crime'.

However, analysis explodes the mythology surrounding the idea of 'crime', showing it to be an arbitrary police construct directed against the 'dangerous classes', manipulated and produced as a social drama. The revelation that this major structuring principle is used to preserve a known social etiquette is impossible to acknowledge and explains how research or academic enquiry into philosophies of power must be resisted. The police world has a public face, but a well-concealed private reality which this semantic exploration makes apparent.
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PREFACE

The experience of reading anthropology at Durham University at a point half-way through a police career, was, in effect a turning point. The theoretical teaching in social anthropology from such as Judith Okely, Nick Allen, Anne Sutherland, and the stimulation provided by the extended lectures of my tutor, David Brooks, revealed to me a new way of looking at the social condition and what it means to be human.

I had become increasingly involved in the assessment and analysis of the philosophies and practices of control and order in my police career, as the thesis outlines, yet sociological thought and criminology often failed, in my opinion, to get to the bones of the matter. I discovered that the anthropological mode provided the exact analytic tools to enable the whole complexity of policing to fall into place as a structured pattern, and I am therefore grateful to the Home Office who provided the scholarship, which allowed me this reflexive period and the serendipitous nature of the anthropological experience to occur.

I am, above all, indebted to the hundreds of policemen and women in Northumbria Police, who, along with the 'villains', have subsequently provided me with the most extensive field experience possible. Many of these had no idea they were contributing to the 'thick description' that provides the basis for this work, and I acknowledge their 'practical mastery' in living what is always a tense, dramatic and charged existence. The extremes of human experience occur for 'real policemen' at street level and this deserves to be recognised, for they constantly walk a tight-robe in their always inexact social conflicts with offenders and criminals; and their own administrations.

Working full-time in the 'real world' and pursuing academic research is a conflicting and paradoxical existence. Life with a foot in both worlds is not easy and the experience of continually living with the field-work is uncommon in anthropology.
From day to day over eight years I have moved between the two camps of the practical police world and the academic universe. This has become a part of my anthropological experience and I am thankful to have had the friendship and support of many anthropologists who have recognised the tensions this can create. To my fellow post-graduates for their inspiration and help over these years I am indebted. They produced an enthusiasm for the subject and Allison James, Marie Johnson, Jenny Hockey, Brendan Quale, Bob Simpson, Tom Holman, Ian Whitelaw, Joan Knowles, Jane Szurek and many others were part of an active and stimulating group of post-graduate anthropologists who made my split-existence more tenable. This 'Durham School of anthropology' were in the vanguard of semantic and symbolic studies and helped considerably to coax this thesis towards completion.

To David Brooks, my tutor, I am especially grateful, for he pushed my researches much further and into areas I might not have otherwise pursued. He stimulated and encouraged me to develop research papers and seminar material which led me to publish articles and papers with might otherwise have remained unwritten. To the many individuals and academic institutions who have, over the years, invited me to give papers I give thanks, for they helped me explore and refine ideas which I might otherwise not have developed. I am especially grateful to Shirley Ardener and the members of the Oxford Cross Cultural Centre for Research on Women, who have been particularly encouraging.

Finally in the production of this thesis I am indebted to Maz my typist for her ability to decipher the anthropological language. To my wife, who pushed, threatened and cajoled the completed text out of me; who proof read the various drafts on many occasions and suffered what she describes as the whole 'eight year pregnancy of thesis creation' I dedicate the result. She is an instinctive anthropologist and knew all along what has taken me years to decipher and compile!
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Notes on the Form of Presentation.

(i) When extracts from field-notes are used in the text these are signified by the use of double quotation marks and their collection as a field-note is recorded.

(ii) Case studies taken direct from the recorded field-notes are used to illustrate meaning and language. Names of criminals and offenders have been changed to avoid identification.

(iii) Examples of police jargon, phrases used as metaphors, as well as language with significant meaning or special import has been enclosed by single quotation marks throughout, to emphasise the special status attributed. The great majority of these are described, analysed and evaluated for derivation and/or meaning.

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CHAPTER 1: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION: A REFLEXIVE INTERPRETATION OF THE POLICE.

(i) THE STUDY OF A POWER SYSTEM.

For over a century the control of certain aspects of British social life has rested in the hands of the Police Forces of England and Wales. These increasingly centralised and efficient units have, however, only enforced a narrow range of social behaviour.

This system of power and control is basically aimed at socially unacceptable behaviour of a very specific nature, relating to a narrow range of symbolically public or 'street visible' acts of disorder. These have been concerned primarily with protection of property, assaults on the individual and the control of those who would publicly demonstrate against the state, and its organisations of control. These acts are commonly given the generic title 'crimes' but are variously attributed with status and symbolic import by the police, as will be demonstrated.

Cohen (1971) explored a recent period of this social history and described how certain of these public crimes generate 'moral panics' directed to 'folk devils' or scapegoat groups. Pearson (1983) has also shown there is a perception of these 'dangerous classes' or 'folk devils' that manifests itself as a continuing historical phenomena. He traces this to the early 17th Century and points out it is always:

"... those crimes that are associated with the materially disadvantaged underclass, which have provided the continuing thread within this history of respectable fears ..."

The control of this disadvantaged underclass, before the police were established, was the responsibility of the Army working for monarch or Government. Foucault (1980) describes the change from Army control to that of the civil police and how a judicial control system emerged. He suggests the Army could no longer be used to drain off
the unemployable proletariat by conscription into their units. Nor could the newly independent colonies be used to dump the troublesome and disordered of society.

The new penal and criminal systems were aimed at the socially 'dangerous classes' because of their potential for contesting the power of the state or those in control, and Foucault (ibid: 17) describes how:

"...the bourgeoisie erected an ideological barrier around those who went to prison...
(an ideology about crime, criminals, theft, the mob, degenerates, 'animals') which was in part linked with racialism. But look what's happened; no overt form of colonisations is possible any longer. The Army can't play the same role as it used to. As a result we have a reinforcement of the police and an overloading of the penal system..."

Foucault further argues that the bourgeoisie have always used sections from within the 'dangerous classes' to control those who are overtly troublesome, perhaps following the maxim that, 'it takes a thief to catch a thief'. He suggests:

"...for one and a half centuries, the bourgeoisie offered the following choices: you can go to prison or join the Army, you can go to prison or go to the colonies, you can go to prison or you can join the police..."

(ibid: 23)

Foucault's interpretation is somewhat idiosyncratic and is coloured by the specificities of French history, yet it is possible to suggest the modern British police, increasingly centralised and uniform in operation, are still being used by the few with real power and wealth in their contests with dissenting workers and political radicals.

Foucault poses the possibility that we are in an epoch that has historically seen the end of the construct of the homogeneity of man, and contends that this construct was a politically and socially created entity, the product of a special political climate. Leach (1982:57) argues that if this is correct, the demise of this philosophical view will undoubtedly enhance the separation of man, by man, into categories of 'inhuman', 'sub-human' and 'animal'. Such
a social format will undoubtedly enhance ideological barriers and present opportunities for the powerful to pursue authoritarian measures in their contests with the 'dangerous classes'.

If such a discontinuity in philosophical morality is occurring we have an example before us that will allow us to explore the way that power is maintained. It should be possible to research the ways in which this discontinuity is managed. Any binary separation of man by his contemporaries into these non-human categories is the very stuff that anthropological studies are made of. And if this format is pursued by the police in order to control their fellows, it seems essential it is reported. How then can one study the police and research such a unit of state control? Foucault is correct in asserting the judicial system is becoming an increasingly important state apparatus, with the police arm of its organisation wielding increasing socio/political power, and this I suggest, needs to be scrutinised.

The whole structure of police organization is one of power, primarily concerned with keeping control over a materially disadvantaged underclass. The 'dangerous classes' in Britain have willingly entered into the game of power with their controllers and in doing so have deflected attention away from their lack of privilege and focussed onto the ideological assessment of themselves as being less than human and therefore needing further control and discipline.¹

¹. Thorpe (1980) uses the term 'the dangerous classes' (as does Foucault). He contends: "...the law weighs most heavily upon the most defenceless and is hardly brought to bear against the illegalities of the powerful and well-connected..." Even so, the 'dangerous classes' in Britain have not shown the same propensity as the French for revolution, rather they have entered into a complex ritualisation of the legal process that are encompassed by the criminal justice system.
The police system is basically a socio-political tool of state and government and is generated and sustained by an intimate knowledge of its enemy - the 'dangerous classes'. They have made exemplary use of this knowledge to produce the means, both technological and structural, for the continuity of this system of power. When the British police declare that they are non-political or are an a-political body, this cannot be so. They are now one of the mainstays of the existing socio-political system and continue to maintain the direction of the implementation of the law towards the 'dangerous classes'. Whenever the police expand their area of operation to include the middle classes, as in recent measures to control some drug use, or the drink and drive laws, they have found their previously unchallenged systems have been put under public scrutiny and subjected to criticism and control by these new deviants, who previously had no perception of themselves as belonging to the troublesome classes.

If the police are to continue to control the 'dangerous classes', it seems essential they avoid having their systems analysed. To have them exposed might present to those whom the controls were aimed, the potential for gaining knowledge on how to contest the system. It is really one of the foundations of any power system that it maintains control and secrecy of its activities to avoid its antagonists subsuming that power. Hannah Arendt, in 'The Origins of Totalitarianism' (1958), suggests that the more public a group, the less power it is likely to have. Real power, she contends, begins where secrecy exists.

Detailed ethnographic research into police structures is therefore antithetical to the philosophy of control by which they operate, but in a democracy such a declaration cannot really be supported and the opposite must be proclaimed. To carry out participant observation into the daily details of police practices might therefore be theoretically approved.

1. See for example, Irene Wilson's essay (1981), where the political nature of the police is demonstrated. Other examples occur throughout this thesis.
in the public statement made for general consumption, but in practice will likely be thwarted even as it is being agreed. We will therefore find the police will make statements welcoming research and open enquiry, while at the same time systems are deployed and structured to negate any critical assessment.

As anthropological participant observation is perhaps the most intensive methodology of carrying out social research and one that requires total involvement and understanding of those who are being researched, it should come as no surprise to find the use of participant observation for social enquiry into police systems is almost unknown, or when used is rejected or denied a scientific basis.¹

The next chapters show some of the ambiguities and problems of carrying out research into the police; consider police beliefs about research and academic constructs; and illustrate some of the problems the policeman/anthropologist faces when he sets out to describe and evaluate police systems.

1. The 1983 Policy Studies Institute Report, 'Police and People in London' was widely acclaimed by those interested in criminology and police studies. Robert Lustig, writing in the Observer on 20.11.83, said:

"...it is the most detailed examination of the relationships between police and public ever conducted. Every statement is based on observation; every conclusion is supported by evidence; every judgement is carefully weighed. Two of the institutes researchers spent the best part of two years observing..."

Yet the Metropolitan Police commissioner, to whom the report was presented, candidly admitted that he would not have commissioned the study in the first place; while Police Magazine, the official magazine of the Police Federation (Vol.XVI. No.4, Dec.1983) concluded in an editorial:

"...the Report is certainly not a definitive and unchallengeable portrait of the Metropolitan Police. In later, calmer moments, those conclusions which are not based on published research material need to be contested... There is a world of difference between research findings based on safe academic principles and methodology, and those produced, with graphic literary phrases, but based upon anecdotal heresay, recorded by listeners blessed with total recall..."
(ii) ANTHROPOLOGY FOR THE POLICE.

It seems relevant that Anthropology should make some exploration into the world of the Police at this time, with the other disciplines of the Social Sciences who have contributed to the debate on law, justice and the application of authority in society. Since the Police Act of 1964, the activities and social and political accountability of the British Police have come under increasing scrutiny. Radical sociology has been especially critical, but somewhat ineffective and it has often been left to the investigative journalist to redress unacceptable social action by the police, thus calling attention to the whole question of police power and how a society is controlled. The enquiry carried out by the Times newspaper into Metropolitan Police corruption in 1969 is one example of how effective this can be. Concern continues to be expressed over the increasingly authoritarian methodology of police operations and the exercise of extensive powers without sufficient public accountability.

The newly amalgamated Police Forces, with their occasionally very autocratic Chief Officers (who constantly deny their autocracy and spell out their public accountability) have specifically determined perceptions of what it is they consider to be disordered and what needs to be controlled.


3. E.P. THOMPSON has warned of the danger that could arise from the growth of a strong Police autocracy. ("Writing by Candlelight", Merlin Press, 1980).
This perception of reality produces police control systems which enforce power differentially at a functional level from Force to Force. At a structural level however, police power over the 'dangerous classes' is pursued through a homogenous system of beliefs and ideology.

Public disquiet about 'deaths in police custody', for example, or critical declamation about the use of Special Patrol groups and the differential police pursuit of marginal crimes such as pornography and homosexuality might be distorted by political bias of those dedicated to the urgent overthrow of the existing political system, but it also exists outside of those virulent anti-Police groups who envisage a utopia without controls.

If there does exist a genuine public expression of concern about the way the Police operate and are organised, then this cannot just be dismissed as being a result of the fears of the lunatic fringe. A mood of enquiry has existed now for a decade or more in relation to police practices and seems to stem from the uncertainties that have been created by recent social and administrative changes within the Police and which mirror uncertainties elsewhere within society. Nowhere is this uncertainty more apparent than in the autonomous amalgamated police units which are now served by an increasing complexity of centralised computerised intelligence systems and mechanical and technical aids. This expansion, it can be argued, has taken away an

1. The Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, James Anderton, pursued a drive against pornography in 1978 and 1979 that was not paralleled in other Forces. At a structural level, it can be argued that this is because of marginality. Like homosexual offences and other sexual matters, 'pornography' is an ambiguous 'crime' in police terms.

2. Dr. John Black in a letter to the Guardian (13.5.80) argued that most deaths are from the effects of alcoholic poisoning and vomit inhalation. My experience suggests that this is correct. He suggests that, "it is unfair to expect the police to be in charge of people who are seriously ill..." I would agree, but the history of legal controls suggests that 'drunken dossers' are not seen to be ill, but are classified as being public social 'dirt', and as such are therefore within a Police framework, requiring control and removal from the public vision.
understanding of his Police Force from the man in the street, while at the same time he is fed a daily input of violent news and television items that reinforce the drama inherent in ritually re-stated definitions of social order, and its antithesis social chaos. These categories of good and evil, right and wrong and the resulting binaries they produce were once the prime concern of the Church and its priests. However, as the acceptance of a secular interpretation of moral activity has superseded that of established religion, so the activities of the social controllers have become increasingly important. It is no accident that the opinion of the Police officer and Chief Constable is now sought out on a variety of matters where once the judgement on moral ideology would have come from the Archbishop or his clergy.

An analysis of Police structures from an anthropological perspective is therefore particularly valid. The theoretical application of anthropological techniques in an extended field study can reveal the deep structure that determines police social reality and practices. These, I would argue, are governed by a programme of 'structural transformations' (to use Levi-Strauss' term), creating homologies in the underlying modes of thought and inculcated conceptual codes that produce these operational police systems. These practices are determined by a definitive, but rarely acknowledged semantic system that is obsessionally concerned with classification. As Crick (1976:123) has argued:

"...criminology (is) largely concerned with systems of classification..."

This mode of thought builds up a total system, which, for the police, is the product of specific and very extreme social experience, and is massively over-determined, regenerative and self-enforcing. The police world is conceptualised to dramatically contend with the experience of dealing with highly emotive personal conflicts at street level. These practices inevitably suffer a reduction to enable a charged and emotional situation to be handled more easily; so the action becomes defined by previously determined categories of perception. Such a reduction to a carefully managed logic
allows the Police to quickly deal with what are often very intensely charged physical and symbolically dangerous situations, which must be resolved with the minimum amount of introspection.

The anthropological analysis of these social practics can add a crucial dimension often missing from the criminological or sociological analysis, which too often has relied on the statistical extrapolation of a limited reality culled from official statistics or obtained by questionnaire technique. Such abstracted analyses will always fail to reveal the range of meanings that exist behind an alleged statistical norm.1 Many social enquiries into the Police, for example, have ignored or have been led away from the meanings that are implicit within statistical sample. Furthermore, there has been a tendency to present the responses given to the social enquirer as being totally objective and scientifically valid truths. Yet more often than not these responses have been part of a defensive strategy set up by the police to deny the social researcher an inside awareness of the structures of meanings that sustain police systems.

Sociology, which has held the prime position in exploring modern technological society and its categories of order, control and deviance has, to my mind, often been dogged by these methodological systems and their limitations. 2.

1. Jason DITTON (1979), for example, is a sociologist who argues against the use of criminal statistics as being a useful research tool. He contends that some sociologists have:

"...an almost religious belief in the ability of the official statistics to reveal information about criminals..."

2. See MAGUIRE Michael, "Criminology & Social Anthropology", in JASO, 5. 109-117. 1974. MAGUIRE argues against positivistic sociology and for a semantic, interpretive ethnography of police systems and criminals, while DITTON (op.cit. 1979) is alleged to have carried out "a unique situational ethnography", for his book "Contrology.

In effect he only re-discovers participant observation (which he undertakes for only a limited period). Strangely enough "Street Corner Society" F.W.Whyte, Chicago.1943, was an early sociological classic that depended on participant observation rather than on statistical samples. Its basic formula has infrequently been followed in sociology, however.
This has often been allied to a reformatory zealouslyness, which sets out to apply sociology in action to the social class structure by attacking those who symbolise the existing order, and has led the police to use their understandings of power to negate the reforming sociologist, and keep them as 'outsiders' beyond the system.

The social sciences are therefore seen to belong to those arbiters of change who would totally amend the system and perhaps dispense with the Police and their processes. While I was reading anthropology as an undergraduate/Policeman, with over 16 years service in the police, I was continually asked what subject I was reading. I was then usually challenged as to why I was not reading Law, which was seen to be the proper subject for a police officer. I even described the discipline of Anthropology to my colleagues as:

"the study of old bones, prehistory you know, David Attenborough and all that."

They were satisfied, although would have preferred that I was reading Law, and one said;

"...as long as you're not reading that bloody sociology..." (from fieldnotes).

At the National Police College, I had listened to the lists of degrees achieved by police officers who had been awarded scholarships from the college. The majority were for Law and were approved. However the names of those who had read social sciences and especially sociology were greeted with an undercurrent of denigration. Greenhill (1981) discusses this history of police/sociology antagonism in detail. He describes how the tendency for each side to discredit the other has resulted in a situation where:

"...the number of published British texts and research studies specifically on the sociology of the police maybe numbered on the fingers of both hands..."

The use of binary classification in this police/sociology antagonism enhances the concept of order and negates such categories as 'social research'. This separation is promoted by the police, producing a dichotomised vision of left wing,
suspect, radical sociological reformists, set against 'Britain's traditionally wonderful police'.

This tendency even made the liberal political candidate and ex-Chief Constable, John Alderson describe the writer E.P. Thompson as being:

"...an unfair critic of the Police..."

(Public Office, Granada T.V. 20.6.80)

Although considered by policemen to be antagonistic, Thompson (op. cit. 1980.) had recently suggested most policemen are:

"...ordinary blokes, and no society could do without them in dealing with many of its sordid realities..."

Sordid behaviour does exist and complex social formations are often arranged around it, and even without the labelling techniques of the police and other classifiers of deviant behaviour these activities would not simply cease to exist. Thompson (ibid. 1980) has suggested these analyses often have:

"...the soppy notion that all crime is some kind of displaced revolutionary activity..."

He contends this perspective is a particularly sociological construct that implies criminal activity is in fact some kind of pure, moralistic behaviour, and I would argue that such a presentation of criminal reality is as simplistic as many of the images of social reality the police create and promulgate, when they contend that society is under continual attack from criminal enemies they define and only they (it follows) can fight off and control. ¹

¹. Police language is full of metaphorlic references to warfare, of fighting and defeating enemies. Terms like vandals, assault and crime-fighting, build up the military image and support the idea that secrecy is necessary to ensure the defeat of an enemy. LAKOFF & JOHNSON (1980) explore these metaphors of warfare in some depth, and argue persuasively such use of metaphor is central rather than peripheral to human thought and experience. Anne SALMOND (1982) in 'Semantic Anthropology' (ed. Parkin) has a similarly useful essay in which she considers the structural value metaphorical language contains.
There is a need to look beyond the police presentation of reality, whether this is in the form of the press handout or in the annual statistics Chief Constables distribute to show measurements of local disorder and success in defending society from the disordered. There is a need to look behind the public utterance which is often dressed up in the metaphors of battle and seek the structural form that determines the constraints and ideologies by which the police operate. It is here the anthropological methodology of participant observation is essential, for it allows the semantics of a system to be lived with and known. It becomes the prime method of social research, for as Holdaway (1979 ed) comments:

"...There is a lack of impetus within contemporary sociology to spend lengthy periods of observation in what may be uncomfortable research situations (with the police)...."

Here the problem begins, for the anthropological field study should seek beyond the 'folk explanation' and statistics and show how these are often part of a well constructed formula used to support the ideology by which the system is sustained and reinforced. Immediately the policeman/anthropologist undertakes research he is forced to confront the moral dilemma which exists when the 'insider' reveals the other meanings of a closed and secretive society to the outside. Notwithstanding this problem, I suggest there is a place now for an anthropological theorist (who is also an insider) to use anthropological methodology and concepts, and to combine 'action anthropology', 'applied anthropology' and 'pure anthropology', into a 'semantic anthropology' of policing. Such a study, I contend, can encompass a truly dynamic interpretation of police systems and replace what Kuper (1975: 238) has called:

"...the prissy sterility of much of the methodological or reformist sociology...."

Of course home-based anthropology is rare and McCabe and
Sutcliffe (1978) have shown how difficult it is to interpret social behaviour in your own society. In trying to unravel police decisions on the classification of criminal acts, they point out that as outsiders, they were usually not quick enough or aware of the nuances of what was taking place before them and they suggest that where complex 'insider' activities are being carried out, in a sub-language designed to exclude the uninformed, the best ethnography will be carried out by the insider/ethnographer. That this will require some radical action on the behalf of the 'insider/anthropologist' is apparent, though it is unlikely his or her revelations will be welcomed.

Official research into Police affairs is conducted by the Home Office Research Unit, while the Universities monopolise criminology. Roy Lewis (1976) argues that British administrative and academic elites have obliquely indicated to the police they do not consider them fit to be given such a role.

However an anthropology of the police has to contend with the whole anti-intellectual bias in police thinking which permeates all of the levels of rank system and is something peculiarly British. As Lewis (ibid: 183) says:

"...There is a deep feeling that academic training gets between a policeman and his knowing and getting the respect of the crude masses of a very crude, very egalitarian and very anti-intellectual European race... the police have indeed a general belief that they know more psychology than academics..."

The Superintendents Association has similarly denied any intellectual usefulness for its members and decided:

"...It's time to end the service's love affair with education..."

(Superintendents Assoc. Conference. comment. - 1974).

iii) AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE SELF

An increasingly common problem anthropologists have to face is where the researcher achieves a consciousness of the structure of the society he or she is studying and must come
to terms with the difficulties of living with this consciousness; of revealing this knowledge to others who may use it for their own ends; of understanding systems that one has previously accepted without question, and of living with this knowledge. These uncomfortable situations will be especially problematic when the society studied is your own, and has supported the researcher for a number of years.

By using what Geerzt (1975) has called the anthropological pursuit of "thick description", the analyst has the potential for incorporating the transformations that occur from one conceptual realm to the next, and more importantly when the society is one's own, for giving the analysis an extra dimension by introducing the concept of the 'self'. This is an aspect many ethnographers ignore. The subjective 'I' inevitably creates problems for the 'inside' researcher who is at home with his 'natives' and cannot leave his fieldwork to produce an ethnography with the 'self' neatly excluded.

The potential political nature of all social analysis inevitably creates problems for the analyst who is part of the system he studies. Objective explication of the rituals and symbols that surround and mystify police work can be tantamount to the treasonable act. James Anderton, the Chief Constable of Greater Manchester described the greatest threat to 'law and order' stemming from:

"...the seditionists... interested groups who do not have the well-being of this country at heart and who mean to undermine democracy...". 1.

In 1977, the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolitan area, Sir David McNee, in his Annual Report, urged:

"...the libertarian should beware..."

Anderton (1982) has also rejected any internal evaluation that might look at the philosophies of policing:

1. Quoted in "Law & Order & the Police" E.P. Thompson, in New Society, 15.11.79. p.380
"...There is simply no room in the management and organisation of police operations for vague, academic dissertations..."

(POLICE REVIEW: Vol.90.4684.19.11.82)

Sir Kenneth Newman (1983), who succeeded Sir David McNee in the Met., echoes James Anderton's feelings:

"...policemen must remember that they are practitioners, not crusaders; their's is to do, not to righteously philosophise..."

(POLICE JOURNAL: Vol.LVI.No.1)

Such pronouncements acknowledge police structures to be a constructed logic upon which rationalisations, justifications and practices are built up. To reveal these is to peel back a curtain and admit this is only one version of social reality and is a continually manipulated experience. For the anthropologist/insider, it seems his exploration of the secular rituals and constructs which govern much police activity, will hold what Moore and Myerhoff (1977:18) have described as:

"...the possibility that we will encounter ourselves making up conceptions of the world, society, our very selves. We may slip into that fatal perspective of recognising culture as our construct, arbitrary, conventional, invented by mortals..."

The incorporation of the self into the analysis is not something socio/legal studies have managed, or often attempted. Neither have they explored the semantic or cognitive beliefs that determine police practices to any extent.¹ This omission occurs, I suspect, because the researcher has been excluded from the actual field material. Many of the British

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¹ G.L.Kirkham (1974) in his article "From Professor to Patrolman" describes his own particular understandings of meanings and values and how these were peculiarly amended by six months participation with the police. The paper has been criticised for polemicism and Kirkham for having identified with his subject of study. Of course in his situation the researcher knows that his immersion into the 'field' is of a temporary nature!
studies that explore police procedures have been carried out from the 'outside' and end up as little more than functionally descriptive assessments, while the deeper levels of structural and cognitive modes of thought remain concealed.

The 'insider' is strategically poised to use anthropological concepts of structural binarism, symbolic duality and metaphoric assessment and in police activities can find clear parallels with a matrix of order and disorder, good and evil, dirt and discipline, purity and danger, which build up into a paradigm of control and power. I have found these anthropological tools to be invaluable in exploring the world of police classificatory practices, for as Abner Cohen (1969) suggests:

"...In social anthropology we are interested in symbols in so far as they affect and are affected by power relations..." (...They are an under-utilised methodological tool and...) "...should be of value to political science in the contemporary scene as well as forming an essential constituent of social anthropology..."

Symbolic evaluation inevitably links together the various police beliefs in a correct state of dress, behaviour and posture with concepts of bodily control, cleanliness, spatial and temporal status and ties in with a resultant language of control and order. These build up into an inculcated and almost unconscious 'objectified logic' (Bourdieu: 1977)

The emphasis on a duality of good and evil, right and wrong, cops and robbers, clearly underwrites the way the police system of operating is defined and built up. Yet such concepts have an inherent instability in action and the marginal and ambiguous aspects of a binary opposition constantly create structural anomaly. The insider/anthropologist is able to use these basic analytic tools to separate the ambiguous policeman, the ambiguous villain, or the ambivalent socio/legal activity which doesn't fit into the classic binary framework.

These binary classifications contain ambiguities which intrude constantly, so that there are 'real policemen' and what I
have chosen to call 'ambiguous' policemen; there is 'real policework' and 'marginal policework'; and concomitantly there are 'real prigs' (or villains)\(^1\) and ambiguous categories of offender.

As a policeman/anthropologist, who had worked for some years in a Drug Squad (an area of very marginal and ambiguous police activity), I became what Mary Douglas (1966) calls 'matter out of place'. I moved out of Police society altogether and on a scholarship to University I read Anthropology and not the usual degree in Law that it is expected most Policemen will take. This rejection of Law is a threat, as is any move across the periphery of the Police structure into the outside world. The student therefore logically becomes an 'outsider' and enhances the potential threat.

An academic-policeman-insider who has moved to the margins can of course, become something of a shaman to his own society, acting as its interpreter. The shamanistic role is one that anthropology has recognised as being filled with danger. Mary Douglas has suggested external boundaries, margins and unstructured areas are possessed of energy (ibid: 137). Those who inhabit these areas in their own society are always the possessors of power and are therefore potentially dangerous. The explicator of a society sits astride the boundary between acceptance and rejection. The shaman - or prophet, to use Burridge's (1969) term, is:

"...an outsider, an odd one, extraordinary..."

He is able to transfer:

"...ambience or awareness...from one symbolic code or map to another, from one social order to another... and this (transference) entails widening comprehensions and an accretion of intellectual powers..."

(1969: 164)

1. 'Prigs' is a local, historical term meaning villain and is used exclusively in the field area. Local slang is discussed throughout this thesis and the use and the derivation of the term 'prig' is considered at length below.
This revelation of the gestaltian whole of police structure, once laid bare, produces a further consciousness and awareness for the 'insider/anthropologist'. The return from University to a grounding into the central constructs of police activity is essentially a 'rite de passage', creating a process of re-structuring and allowing special insight into police logic. This knowledge, in turn reveals how the ideology of police thinking structures past perceptions. Once the illusion of a 'natural' system has been swept aside, then the recognition of possible alternatives to this reality can never not be seen.

There then begins the never-ending problem of knowing and being known. This consciousness of seeing connections - which seems specifically peculiar to anthropology - engenders the classic journey of having to live daily with the knowledge of one's own possibilities; of writing not just about a system or social structure, but also about the possibility that the system itself will be shown its own warts and its own subjectivity, its own constrictions and its own limitations!

The police of course cannot welcome such explication, for they have a system which is set up to deny reform, and is geared to operate at a level of instant, charged and intense action. A symmetry of social organization contained in police presentations of the self to the outside supports their understandings of how things should ideally be. This is essential in conflict situation on the streets, where action needs to be instantaneous, and later on needs to be supported during the eventual legal process that follows in the Courts.

The insider/anthropologist can step beyond the reality served up by the police to the 'outsider' and the social scientist, and reveal the asymmetry concealed behind the rigid and amplified sets of extreme metaphors and symbols by which the system is articulated. An intense knowledge of police practices and modes of thought allows a 'thick description' that can take anthropology from the primitive and into the complex technological society. For as Mary Douglas (1973: 15) points out:
"...if we cannot bring the argument back from tribal ethnography to ourselves, there is little point in starting it at all..."

I therefore see a potential for a police anthropology which incorporates the richer fields of symbolic and semantic anthropology. This can be further enhanced by the inclusion of the construct of the 'self' and extends upon the 'anthropology' which Kuper (op.cit.1973) has termed 'neo-structural'. This interpretive or semantic exploration, carried out from inside the police system, it can be argued, becomes a 'liminoid phenomena' in its own right. 1. The analysis, delving beneath surface phenomena, will reveal unconscious categories and transformational operations that lie between the dual poles and exclusive categories, such as cops and robbers. It might then have, as Terence Turner (1977) suggests, a generative formulation which cannot easily be controlled. Such domains of potentially dangerous power, lying between functionally recognized systems of control and disorder, are, as Victor Turner (1977:45) reminds us:

"...not merely reversive, they are often subversive, representing radical critiques of the central structures..."

An inside analysis will inevitably encompass aspects of the 'liminoid', presenting a radical critique merely because it reveals the system to the outside. The effect of living with ambiguity, marginality and the raising of consciousness that occurs for the anthropologist/insider, gives him perhaps his most effective methodological tool. He is uniquely situated to move across the interfaces of the society of which he is part. He is qualified to think the unthinkable and pose those questions that in normal circumstances would go unasked. Because of his understanding of the hegemonic aspects of the police system, he can show how these are maintained and propose alternative models merely by presenting this knowledge. As Gramsci pointed out:

"...Hegemony...is not universal and 'given' to the continuing rule of a particular class. It has to be won, reproduced and sustained..." 1.

Bourdieu (op.cit.1977: 95) has much to say on the way that this social reproduction is maintained. He contends that:

"...the whole trick of pedagogic reason lies precisely in the way it extorts the essential while seeming to demand the insignificant; in obtaining the respect for forms and forms of respect which constitute the most visible and at the same time, the best hidden (because most 'natural') manifestations of submission to the established order..."

The way the police exercise this social reproduction to maintain their established hegemonies becomes apparent to the researcher and he in turn then stands revealed. To have survived for years within the system means he must have also been involved in the social reproduction of specific modes of thought and action that manufacture a constricted cultural experience. The participant must have been involved in the amplification of this specific system of control; in the application of this peculiar kind of power and in the creation of the categories of order and disorder that are built upon very narrow and specific activities within police society.

It is this special knowledge or gnosis that can make the anthropological work so illuminating. Burridge (op.cit.1969) has written on the effects of fieldwork on the anthropologist, as has Powermaker (1967). Burridge describes the prophetic effect fieldwork can produce, and of course the act of consciousness raising he describes can present an even greater problem for the 'insider' who cannot leave the field.

The insider/anthropologist now can see as if he had scales removed from his eyes, but cannot escape the results of this illumination and move away. The traditional anthropologist may never have had to face these problems on returning from fieldwork, away from his natives, in to the cloistered realms of the academic world.

1. Quoted in HEBDIDGE, (1979:16) "Subculture: The Meaning of Style", Methuen,
In anthropological writings, the subjective results of the fieldwork experience and the concept of self have often been eliminated, so the account remains unaccountably flat and functional. What is required is what Geertz (1976) described as, "an inward conceptual rhythm", between the particular and the general, using the creativity that can exist between the experiential inside view, and the observational outside view of a cultural system. This, he contends, means the analysis can become:

"...a continuous dialectical, tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to bring them into simultaneous view..." (ibid: 235) 1.

For the policeman/anthropologist, the presentation of the self in an analysis can be most difficult and even somewhat dangerous. It is difficult to face self-identity and it is dangerous to reveal the bare-bones of a system that is not willing to even have its surface activities made public. Anticipated hostility, the encompassing Police discipline codes, Police Regulations and career considerations all help to maintain this secrecy and control any dissident publication. Furthermore the understanding of these police rituals and symbols of concealment lead to a further dilemma for the anthropologist. Police colleagues and senior officers will anticipate and expect that any ethnography will not disturb the maintenance of the system; while his associates within the anthropological world will press for this knowledge to be used as a potential for 'action anthropology'.

It is not just how the knowledge is used that produces the problems of handling this new-found wisdom; it is the very acquisition of the knowledge itself that makes the concept

1. Geertz (1976) suggests the publication of Malinowski's diary raised the question of the methodological problem of the experiential inside view, versus the observational outside view of a culture. The fact remains that even in the 'outside view', the subjective 'I' is still present, but is only just being acknowledged for the first time by many anthropologists.
of the 'self' so important and dynamic. This structural awareness can be as hard to handle as the decision as to whether to publish. What has happened in the insiders past; what is expected now from the policeman/anthropologist, and particularly the way in which the police system is constrained to present a restricted image for outside consumption, becomes uncomfortably apparent. All is opened up in a revelatory manner and the vice of being caught up within a hegemonic system which classifies and delineates controls aimed primarily at the 'dangerous classes' becomes morally unsupportable.

That which had been so familiar and accepted, now takes on a new and almost foreign aspect, so that for the ethnographer/policeman, his own tribe becomes as bizarre and in some ways as foreign as for those anthropologists who have gone off to study in the primitive, pre-industrial society.

Once the semantics behind the operation of the structure of the police system is revealed, any exposition means one has the never ending problem of knowing and being known, so that the description of a police system of control is more than just an ethnographic exercise. It is also about the means of revealing secrets to others. It is about creating the opportunity for the system to even become aware of its own subjectivity; but also for it to then use the analysis to implement further control, especially if the way the structures are laid down and operated is clearly demonstrated. 1.

iv) RESEARCH INTO THE POLICE EQUALS SUBVERSION

Any articulated analysis or research that reveals police organisation to be culture-specific and arbitrarily

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1. Colleagues within the police service who have read versions of papers I have written agreed that they have, in turn, been forced to see themselves and their practices through different eyes. All cautioned against the presentation of such information and knowledge to 'outsiders', saying that to make such material available to the outside was wrong. Many were curious to know how 'the bosses' would react to any publication.
maintained will certainly alarm the system. To suggest powerful ideologies of control are ephemeral or relate specifically to very narrow areas of behaviour will almost certainly lead to rejection by the controllers. In consequence any critical evaluation of policing tends to be denigrated or be reduced in import by denial of its validity.

If the analysis is made from an observational, outside view it is easy to reject the findings of the social researcher or sociologists. They are likely to be given the classification of 'enemy', to be destroyed or at least to be denied. Chatterton, has written:

"...On more than one occasion...senior-ranking officers have made no bones about the fact that they attribute many of the problems of contemporary police work to the pernicious influence of the media and sociology! Such people are radically opposed to the idea of sociologists conducting research on the police and long for a return to a 'golden age' when the proverbial veil of secrecy surrounded police work..."

(1973: 107)

When the research is experiential carried out by an insider, the revelation can be too emotive for publication and problematic for the author. Usually policemen play safe. Templeton (1980) suggests:

"...When you read in Police Review that an officer has been awarded an M.A. after postgraduate study, it will probably be in a "safe" subject such as business management. Few officers who continue their academic studies ever consider sociological study of their own job. Serving officers who attempt constructive and informed criticism of the police, risk being labelled traitors and putting their promotion prospects in jeopardy. If internal criticism is unwelcome, the views of outsiders are even more likely to be seen as hostile and derogatory..."

This risk to promotion chances is well understood. In my Force a Sergeant in the introduction to his M.Phil. thesis
on 'Communications in a Disciplined Society', explained he had chosen the Royal Navy for his research:

"...because (I) considered incompatible a progressive career within the police force, and the implications of carrying out research within that organisation..."

(1978: 6)

In other words, he agreed to compromise in order to enhance his career opportunities, rather than present any challenge to the system.

Internal disaffection poses a serious challenge to the Police, and the Official Secrets Act with its defined offences of unauthorised publication of official information threatens those who would make a critical statement. The Police are not really geared successfully to incorporate challenges to their existing order, preferring the symbols and practices of the existing status quo. It would be paradoxical for them to be in advance of social change when they are, as Templeton (op.cit. 1980) points out:

"...there to preserve the structure; to uphold the state of play..."

Even then there are a few, such as Templeton, who are challenging this, for they accept, as Whitaker (op.cit. 1979: 312) urged:

"...that Police thinking would profit if it more often came out of its shell and concerned itself with wider questions about the role of the Police and human relations..."

In order to carry on with my anthropological studies after my undergraduate degree, I applied to my Chief Constable for financial assistance for part-time study. There is a Home

1. WILSON, B. (1978) Unpublished. "Communications in a Disciplined Society". Durham University School of Business Management. Sgt. Wilson (who has since left the Police) was concerned to explore whether discipline assisted or hindered communication. He need not have worried about his thesis, or its implications. It was channelled to me because I was known to be "doing some research", and in the following 3 years lay on my desk unconsidered by anyone else. Any critical content was negated by neglect.
Office scheme to assist research by police officers studying in their own time.1 The subjects considered suitable are varied, and are carefully listed. They include 'public administration, management studies, economics, law, Criminology, social sciences, youth work, English Language and literature and relevant modern languages'. The circular points out this list is not exhaustive and suggests other courses may be appropriate.

I had just spent three years reading anthropology, on a scholarship from the Home Office, and had applied to carry out full-time research into the Police, following on from my initial degree course, but this had been turned down by my Chief. I had been told, however, I might apply for part-time research assistance and 'this would almost certainly be approved, in view of the policy of encouraging officers to extend their educational qualifications'. I then found that my application for financial assistance was rejected, because:

"... anthropology is not on the approved list of subjects..."  
(Memo. of 1977)

I was eventually able to convince my senior officers anthropology was a social science, asking why if anthropology was not approved, had I been allowed a scholarship to read the subject on full pay and allowances? 2. A year later, at a 'Staff Appraisal interview' with my Chief Constable, he asked me how I had found my Law course at the local Polytechnic? I pointed out I had not been to

1. Home Office Circular 29/74 to Chief Constable's sets out the criteria for financial assistance for part-time study. The idea had been formulated in 1972 by the Home Secretary after consultation with local authorities and police associations.

2. The Bramshill Police College Scholarship scheme is discussed at some length in the Police Journal, April 1978 "The Bramshill Scholar: An Assessment", by Colin Smith, Assistant Chief Constable, Thames Valley. He found scholars, by and large, do not reach senior rank, but opt for personal job satisfaction.
the Polytechnic \(^{1}\) but had been to University on a scholarship. \(^{2}\) I was then asked how I had found the Law degree course at University and what difference was there in a Law degree at Polytechnic and Law at University? This assumption that policemen should study Law becomes self-evident. It was apparent as Smith calculates (op.cit. 1978: 152), that the cost of the Scholarship to the tax-payer had been about £27,000, yet little or no acknowledgement of the investment had been made. \(^{3}\) The tendency to totally ignore those who are on scholarships is also discussed by Smith (ibid: 154). He tells how:

"...with one exception, all (those scholars) contacted have expressed strongly that the Service did not appear to see the practical relevance of university training, did not know how to exploit the benefits gained by the individual, and in many cases showed noticeable coolness to those who were part of it..."

This last assertion is borne out by the experience of many scholars I have talked with. An Inspector reading Humanities at Oxford told me that:

"...I felt cut off, with no contact back at work. No one wished to know me, I was away and forgotten..."

Another Inspector from Liverpool, reading Social Studies told how:

"...I felt isolated, not just ignored, but socially dead..."

(personal communication.)

Smith also touches on the crucial aspect of the feeling of potentiality that the University experience can produce and which is generally unacknowledged by the Police. The graduate,

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1. Many Forces have local arrangements to allow officers three years paid leave of absence to read Law. My own force has a number of places booked each year at the local Polytechnic. Smith (op.cit.1978:147-8) discusses these local schemes.

2. Mine was the second scholarship the Force had been awarded. The latest scholar to return to work in my force re-iterates the difficulties in perceiving how the degree can be used, and the almost total lack of interest in his qualification that the service displays.

3. This figure quoted in 1978, is almost certainly higher now. The evaluated cost of an Inspector over 3 years is perhaps £100,000.
having probably been of high calibre to acquire the offer of the Scholarship in the first place returns stimulated by the experience. Smith recounts: (op.cit. 1978:157)

"...The greatest problem with the current working of the Scheme appears to relate to "re-entry" into the Service from University by the Scholars. The impact upon the personality expectations and way of life on a mature Scholar by the University experience is not appreciated by many in the police...It is, therefore difficult for him to appreciate the general view of the Service that, on his return from University, he must re-establish his professional standing, even though a few years earlier the Service had sent him to University because he had proved himself to be a good practical policeman with the potential to reach the highest posts in the police..."

For those who go on to read post-graduate studies there is the further problem of publishing any research findings. As Templeton suggests, the research will probably be made in a "safe subject", and a police graduate attending a seminar held into research into the Police, wrote:

"...there are always strong moves to keep studies under wraps. There is a tendency for senior officers to want to suppress research work and to advise those who see it as useful and important, to desist. Usually career coercion will suffice to ensure that any troublesome thesis stays unpublished and out of the public eye..."

(personal communication.)

Research by the insider can be nullified by merely denying it a voice, while research by the outsider can be deflected or denied and a restricted version of reality be fed to the researcher, for:

"...the police fear that if you have a better understanding of society you are in a better position to change it - the very exercise the police are reluctant to engage in..."

(Templeton: op.cit.1980:904)

1. "Contemporary Issues and Research on the Police" - University of Surrey, Sociology Dept. 27.9.80.

2. At the seminar mentioned above in fn.1, I was told of a Chief Inspector who had his 1979 PhD thesis on "Factors Affecting Police Decision Making" placed "under wraps" by his senior officers.
Those who do make a public statement are likely to risk being labelled traitors. Even the ex-Chief Constable of West Yorkshire Ronald Gregory, who said nothing new in his 1983 series of newspaper articles on 'The Yorkshire Ripper', was castigated by Police Review. They published a picture of Mr. Gregory standing next to what is described as a "prophetic picture taken in 1979, when loyalty to his own force was unquestioned". (Police Review: 1.7.83) This 'prophetic picture' shows Gregory with a contemporary poster asking whether to give information on the Ripper would have been 'disloyal'.

The ex-Chief Constable of Devon & Cornwall was similarly taken to task in a highly emotive article in Police Review (18.2.83) for having had the temerity to retire and then become a public person. The article is full of metaphoric language illustrating this ideology of 'traitors to the service'. John Alderson is described by Superintendent B. Hawthorn as:

"...poor old John Alderson...who has gone off the rails (and is) shacked up with the liberal party...(and is) an intellectual liberal reformer with radical ideas (whose) philosophical mumbo jumbo, often incomprehensible, and not very original did nothing to impress..."

The reader is also told "...there have been questions about his loyalty..." because he had the temerity to caution the service about its apparent drift towards paramilitarism.¹

The Police service publicly commends higher education, seeks out the graduate entrant and spends large sums on the issue of scholarships and access to degree courses, while at the same time the private inner world of police practice more

¹. CRICK, (op.cit: 1976) has suggested that everyday language is the most social of all institutions and provides the anthropologist with a firm basis for understanding any field situation. Here Alderson has metaphorically gone off the straight & narrow, "off the rails". He is "shacked up" with liberals - the enemy who practise "philosophical mumbo jumbo". The denigration of those 'insiders' who 'squeal' and go public is vividly presented here in everyday language.
often than not negates such pursuits. The realisation of this state has even affected those to whom Bramshill scholarships have been offered, and they have turned the scholarship down. Whitaker (op.cit.1979: 229) illustrates this rejection of the idea of higher education which occurs at a basic level within the police:

"...at present good recruits often 'have to be chased' to Bramshill, because chief constables are not anxious to spare able men, and officers themselves are reluctant to be separated from their families and homes as well as having a fear that they might lose from being 'out of sight, out of mind' for promotion..."

I have discussed this with a number of Inspectors who have either got degrees or have been offered scholarships and I find there is a growing tendency to refuse a Bramshill scholarship because time spent away from the Force was time spent in a structural limbo from a career point of view. All that was required, it was argued, was the offer of the scholarship. This suggests the potential exists, but reduced the need to spend time away, or to prove oneself all over again on re-entry, and risk being labelled with the derogatory term 'academic'. It is easy to illustrate this denigration of the 'academic' and although the service spends considerable amounts on advertising for graduates to join the service, a quick glance at the two popular journals for police officers (the Police Review and especially the Police Federation magazine 'Police') shows the constant derisory references made to the academics and especially sociologists.

Those in the service who undertake post-graduate social science research can expect to become marginal in the extreme, perceived with great suspicion. There are parallels for the insider/anthropologist with the position of the marginal anthropologist described by Levi-Strauss (1973: 67) as being:

"...psychologically speaking maimed, an amputee..."

1. On a 1982 Promotion Board, the first question to me from my Deputy Chief Constable was, "Does it worry you that you are considered to be something of an academic?"
Francis Huxley (1970: 62) discussing Levi-Strauss' point compares the anthropologist to:

"...a mutilated man...in a curious revolt against his own society..."

Only two percent of the police service are graduates, and even fewer are social researchers.1. No doubt many are able to read the hostility that exists towards them in such derisory references as the one carried in 'Police' (September 1980) under the heading 'University Challenge', where a full page of cartoons on University graduate candidates for the Police depicts them as being long-haired, (a binary opposite to the approved short, back and sides); lazy; untidy; immoral creatures. They are consistently bespectacled, implying that they're physically less than perfect; they slouch, lie prone or lean against props and are inevitably long-haired and bearded. These techniques of the body reveal major structuring principles by which the police operate, and which contain important symbolic aspects of order and its antithesis. The clothes of the potential graduate recruits are always shown to be dishevelled, incongruent or uncontrolled. These cartoons contain a microcosmic presentation of Police structural values; such presentations in society Bourdieu suggests are: (op.cit.1977: 94-95)

"...embodied... and achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy, capable of instilling a whole cosmology, an ethic, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as "stand up straight"..."

It seems therefore ironic when the Police are striving to present a greater public image of professionalism and are unashamedly using graduate recruitment and in-service degree courses to promote this impression, they should constantly deny the viability of sociological, academic research and set out to denigrate those graduates they might be hoping to attract.

Should a social science graduate for example, pick up the 'Police Review' for 18.3.83 and read 'Parker's Beat' he will

find a Sergeant telling a recruit:

"...When you take away all the sociological clap trap which is fashionable in some circles, policing is all about dealing with folk. At the end of every day we must concern ourselves with the practicalities and not philosophies of dealing with everyday problems..."

Almost every issue to the 'Police' has some story illustrating their antipathy to the social sciences and their great enemy and structural antagonist, 'the social worker'. In an article denigrating 'Body Language', 'Police' (9.581) tells its readers:

"...now it has to be dressed up with a lot of sociological clap trap and paraded as some marvellous new technique, aimed at revolutionising police relations with the general public. If you believe that, not only will you believe anything, you'll probably end up as a Doctor of Philosophy..."

This magazine consistently links sociology with the term 'clap trap'.

Such a paradoxical situation can be anticipated, for the police are essentially a 'quasi-totalitarian' institution (Goffman: 1961) preferring to operate pragmatic systems derived from established precedent. Any exploratory enquiry which is antithetical to power systems confronts those inculcated practices. Bourdieu (op.cit.1977: 94-95) has described such challenges as possessing:

"...lateral possibilities (or alternatives)..." (containing)... the most visible and at the same time the best hidden manifestations of submission to the established order..."

The anthropologist/policeman making a relevant sociological statement about the relationships of action between those who control and that which they control, both inside and outside the system, becomes subjectively aware of how the system is geared to create and operate through such paradoxical situations. He comes to understand why the 'academic' must always stand structurally on the margins, despite protests or attempts at incorporation. For it is one of the dictums
of the discipline that:

"...the anthropologist is committed not simply to description, but to analysing and questioning the definitions and assumptions on which social groups base their existence and predicate their activities and to unveiling that which may be concealed or unrecognised. This makes the anthropologist at the least an uncomfortable associate, at the worst seem 'dirty', 'dangerous' or even 'subversive'...

(Ackeroyd. 1980:6)

'Marginality' poses problems for the institutions of any society and the insider who has become marginalised to the central tenets of the police system, will as Grillo (1980:3) suggests, find his anthropological conclusions might be:

"...frequently uncomfortable. The findings... may well challenge the assumptions of the institutions. Anthropological knowledge can seem, and often is, dangerous and subversive - not because we are good at digging up dirt (we are), nor simply because we document 'what actually happens' rather than what is supposed to happen, but because our ways of defining situations and problems often raise questions in our minds about the fundamental assumptions on which an institution bases its own definitions, and indeed the assumptions on which it rests as an institution. They get far more than they bargain for..."

For the insider/anthropologist to turn inwards and study the central structural formations from a position in the margins, means that structure has become inverted, with anti-structure presenting a version of how reality is really instituted.

The insider/anthropologist who sets out to explore the deep structure through the compilation of 'thick description' will be faced with the problem of recording the material. The classic use of an 'anthropological informant' should not be necessary, rather it will be a case of the researcher finding a means of recording the vast mass of information continually bombarding him at all times, then finding time to translate the empirical data into structures and systems of meaning. This should produce a massively linked symbolic
and metaphoric programme which can, as Levi-Strauss (1976: 80) argues:

"...reveal properties not immediately accessible to the (empirical) observation..."

The presentation of these results for the insider will, as I have previously argued, always be difficult. Sean Collins (1980) has observed:

"...often our work can seem 'political' rather than scientific..."

Because of this I found I automatically chose to record my field notes surreptitiously and with much burning of the midnight oil. I knew the strength of the boundaries that separate 'insiderness' from those excluded from police society and knew the suspicion that would be aroused if I introduced questions of an academic nature. Like Powdermaker (op.cit. 1967) who recorded field notes in Mississippi only when she was away from her field data, I found I could only take notes at the time, if I was willing to risk castigation and questions about what I was going to do with the facts I was writing down. Webb (1966: 72) has suggested that such:

"unobtrusive measures have found favour in field-work..."

The problem remains one of revealing the structural warts of the system while somehow suggesting this need not be seditious, mutinous or even insubordinate. Or to show that such a revelation may be necessary so the structures and practices can be re-assessed, or seen in an alternative light. Then it might even be accepted that a little cosmetic surgery would be useful and not prove fatal.

So far, however, the response to a request for a more open attitude to research seems to have been one of pure defensiveness. Those who question the system of gross perceptions which define police practices join the other deviants who contest the system openly by breaking its rules and regulations. Challengers to the mutually reinforcing police system that defines order in almost zenophobic terms
must, it seems, be paving the way for the destruction of the system as it exists. The criminal and the law breaker are therefore joined by the criminologist and the social analyst. For all such outsiders are to some extent 'the enemy' and a potential hazard to the known status-quo and police power system. 1.

Robert Rainer (1978a) has shown how the training and class aspirations of police officers makes them firm supporters of the status-quo. It is possible to suggest that the increasingly costly police budgets, which now consume well over £2,500 million each year, will be used in part to maintain and defend this hegemony, for who within the police service will be willing to dismantle or even challenge these power systems now they have been set up? There seems to be a danger that the preservation of the police status-quo will cause it to take on an increasingly socio/political role, so that sedition or other disaffection could well acquire new status as a deviance and even the 'espionage' of objective but critical research could become actionable!

The current situation, as Punch (1979) found, is that research within a British Police Force is not easy. In a Police Review article, he comments:

"...I think it would be more difficult to gain access and get (a British Police Force's) co-operation. Also there is more hostility towards academics than in Holland where their status is higher. In the U.K. academics tend to be denigrated...In practice some areas of police work are unresearchable...but in principle they shouldn't be. If...research can be done in Holland and..."

1. In 'The Police and the Public', Police Journal, Oct.-Dec. 1980, Sarah McCabe expresses concern that one organisation would be increasingly entrusted with the control of crime, law and order and social assistance, especially when:

"...there is some disagreement about the use of the criminal law - unease about control of the streets...(and which suggests we should ask) who will be controlled or assisted..."(p.365).

Greenhill (op.cit.1981:98), describes in detail how several senior police officers set out to discredit McCabe who had given "a thoughtful and moderate examination of the police role", in seminar.
"...the USA I don't see why it shouldn't be done in Britain, except I suspect that some British police forces are just hostile to outsiders. I think this is probably true of the Metropolitan Police; they have never really allowed any fundamental research on any sensitive issue. You get people like Belson who was only allowed to do a survey research of public opinion. Few people have been allowed to do any extensive fieldwork..." 1.

This inability to incorporate research and its findings tends to support McCabe's contention (op.cit.1980) that we should ask who is to be controlled? E.P. Thompson (op.cit.1980) similarly worries that the increase in police power might make for a less democratic society. He contends he has:

"...Known of no period in which the police have had such a loud and didactic public presence, and when they have offered themselves as a distinct interest, as one of the great 'institutions' and perhaps the first in the realm..."

In such a climate it is all the more necessary for there to be a critical insider/anthropology of the police and some have recognised this. The past commandant of the Police College 2. at Bramshill suggested:

"...it would seem desirable to encourage individual police officers to come to (the college) to do research on their own account. The Staff College should be a place where serving officers have the opportunity to contemplate society as a whole and in particular to study and consider those liberal and humane values which are central to our Society. The College should have as its prime concern the nurture of ethics and integrity; they are the core of any profession and especially of the Police under a community under the rule of law..."

Another ex-Police College staff member, John Stead (1980), has (somewhat surprisingly) written a paper attacking the amalgamated, expensive giant police forces that have grown up in the past two decades. Stead is worried the appetite for power these immense Forces have the potential for may lead to a national police system, with an apex which can only be a political minister of the central government. He suggests only constant enquiry - for which one can read anthropological research - can prevent such unacceptable trends.

Such demands for research present the means of setting up an alternative viewpoint and help check any decline in accountability or increases in unnecessary police powers. These demands by Stead are, however, made from a central Police institution, which in itself displays many of the Police symbols and metaphors of power that any anthropological police research could be expected to question.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the academics at the Police College who are likely to pursue research, are removed from what is affectionately known in police circles as 'the real world of policing on the ground'. In a review of a book produced by the staff at the college (Pope & Weiner: op.cit: 1981) an anonymous reviewer in the Police Journal (1982) tells us:

"...the editors see it first as a rebuttal of an accusation that research at the Police Staff College has not resulted in a major project on the police..."

The reviewer however concludes:

"...There is a consistent air of frustration in the writings of some of the social scientist contributors; it is almost as though they wish they were in closer touch with the operational side of the service. Certainly the absence of contact is noticeable..."

"...if the Police Staff College is to fulfil this task with any credibility it must encourage its academic staff to go out into the field to study policing first hand..."

This direct challenge to researchers to pursue a participant observation of the police is echoed occasionally in other journals:
"...questions were being raised about what the police were doing, what they ought to be doing and how they ought to be organized and accountable. The fact that these questions are being raised has significance for the authority of the police...and it is the single most important determinant of the style of policing. Thus we need to explore in more concrete terms the operational aspects of the questions and the dilemmas they produce..."

(Manning and Butler.1982: 338)

But if attempts to produce this concrete research are doomed to the neglect and derision I have described, then what can be achieved? One of the most powerful books on police organization in recent years was by Mervyn Jones (1980), a Chief Inspector in a southern force. It is the type of work which should be more widely known and acted upon, but presents uncomfortable findings.

Jones was critical about the way status is appointed in the police system. His thesis was that 'beat patrol work', while acclaimed as the basis of all good policework, is something from which the young officer should escape at the first opportunity. Jones clearly shows that 'beat officers' risk being classified as unambitious 'no hopers' at an early career stage if they do not indicate a desire to specialisation, so that uniformed patrol work had become synonymous with failure and punishment. Everyone knew this, but few had cared to admit it formally in print.

This book was in my Force library, but few officers had even heard of it, although it had good reviews; and although Jones has never been given credit within police circles (as far as I am aware) for having stated a difficult truth, it is interesting to note his cry for the status of the beat patrol officer has become commonplace in the 'community' oriented systems currently evolving.

1. In the section on 'Crime' I describe how detectives are sometimes threatened by a return to uniform patrol duties; a metaphoric and actual punishment.
The problem is that such research and publication reveals facts and modes of thought and practice which are well known, but concealed; and who inside the system needs to be told what is already well understood and maintained? Silence sustains the disciplined hegemony, so that it is little wonder:

"...there has been hardly any research on the police, compared with the large output of critical scholarship on industry, commerce, the civil service, the health service and education...

...what little direct research there has been on the police has emerged in the past decade, and has scarcely begun to question such fundamental questions as what is the police force, and what is it doing?..."

(Times Higher Ed. Supp.)  
25.6.82).

This point is made in describing how a new research centre at Strathclyde University for Police Studies is:

"...to ask whether anyone is doing research on the police, what degree of co-operation they have met...and...to encourage research by the police themselves..."

In the same issue John Alderson 2 tells Paul Flather there is a serious lack of substantial literature on the subject of Policing and a dearth of police graduates.

The Home Office Research Unit does provide some research material for those who seek it out. Its bulletin 3 is its primary source, but is not widely circulated outside of the top echelons of the service. In my last Sub-Division I never saw a copy, and outside of H.Q's, the availability of specialised police material is minimal. The Home Office Circular (op.cit. 194/78) which describes the various research

1. "A new Research Centre is Set Up", in T.H.E.S. 25.6.82 by Olga Wojtas.

2. "Police Studies: the discipline of the future", T.H.E.S. by Paul Flather, 25.6.82. These articles are headed "Two views on the need for more academic interest in policing and how to encourage it."

3. H.O. Circular 194/78, "Research Information and the Police" describes those Home Office research bodies that obviously are little known and which the circular is attempting to advertise.
bodies and journals containing British and American Police research is an apologetic document. By paragraph four it admits:

"...the implications of attempting to establish a central research information centre to give advice to chief officers about research findings, collect, collate, and distribute research of interest to the police service, and maintain an up-to-date index of research would be very considerable. There are no plans to establish such a centre..."

The existing Home Office Research Unit seems even to be under threat. A 1981 newspaper report suggests the Home Office Researchers, who had gained a reputation for their work on criminology, were facing staff cuts and a narrower brief. The Unit Head was reported to acknowledge the potentially damaging effect of his plan for the reduction in research facilities:

"...because it will give the impression ...that the Home Office is not really interested in research as an aid to the problems that beset the criminal justice system and is content to see a diminution of effort in this regard..." 1.

In my own Force, we have looked at the possibility of reducing the numbers of those allowed to go to University or Polytechnics on 3 year secondments. We have approximately 120 graduate members, or ~2% of our staff of policemen and civilians. At a recent Conference I attended, one Assistant Chief Constable said:

"...with future recruitment, the number of graduates will increase..."

In this he was echoing Alderson, (quoted in Flather, op.cit. 1982), who pointed out:

"...few graduates even consider the option (of joining the police), although this is changing as jobs elsewhere shrink..."

I see no evidence, however, that our percentage of graduates or researchers will rise. Graduates are still very much in the minority and research, in academic terms, is a rare event.

1. "Smaller role for Crime Researchers", The Guardian. 11.5.81.
The conference was told that as an alternative to the expense of sending officers to University, it was proposed to:

"...direct officers to research a particular problem..."

The emphasis on 'direction' is mine, and for this they would be:

"...given a short period to carry out intensive research..."

This of course could be shown favourably in a budget as a saving over an extended degree course and furthermore would control and negate any unprogrammatic research an individual might himself consider important, but which might be critical of the system. The emphasis of this directed (or controlled?) research is to be on pragmatic, problem-solving enquiries (i.e. policy oriented research), which the Assistant Chief explained:

"...would be of advantage to the service..."

The cost of University scholarships, mentioned above, is a matter I discussed with my Assistant Chief Constable when I asked to carry out research after my University secondment. I had mentioned the non-quantifiable aspects of public relations each police under-graduate can generate if he or she is fully involved in University life, and suggested that the intangible aspects of the many hundred contacts I had made during my degree course could not easily be costed or even assessed as a fiscal exercise. His response (and that of others since) was to describe University secondment as an 'escape' from real police work. This common idea of an 'escape' which exists in relation to secondment, is part of the same ideological pedagogy that defensively maintains police boundaries against the outsider or the researcher and participant observer who might produce a critical analysis.

At the same interview, the Assistant Chief criticised a social scientist allowed research facilities in a Merseyside Force. He described disparagingly how this man had come in, taken material he was given and then had written:
"...a childish and critical book on the Police, out of which he got a Ph.D."

Again we have a metaphorical breach of the boundary by an enemy, who makes a gain at the expense of the powerful integrity of the inside.

It is this logic of practice that effectively negates research and which is perhaps the main reason not one of my research papers I have compiled has been looked at by my senior officers. Neglect is of course a certain means of obtaining silence, and silence protects the power structures as Arendt (op.cit.1958) suggested.

I have given readings of these papers at various academic institutions, including the Universities of Oxford, Durham, Edinburgh, Essex, Manchester, Lancaster, Newcastle and at the University of East Anglia. On more than one occasion I have given a list of them when submitting a curriculum vitae to my Senior Command. So far the Police Service seems, however, not to want to hear from the insider who is able to present the unconscious in police culture and show by 'thick description' that the whole multi-variant police world is in fact a coherent, holistic, self-sustaining system of relationships, with specifically created internal values and power structures. The whole intricate Police system is, to paraphrase Levi-Strauss (1967):

"...an immense disorder (which) is organized in the form of a grammar..."

There has been, however, little or no place for anthropological participant observation to unravel this disorder, nor can I

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1. These have included papers published in University journals (Young: 1979a, and 1979b.), but it was only in late 1984 when I informed my current hierarchy that a paper I had given at Oxford University was to be published in a book (Ardener & Callan, eds. 1984) that I was requested to submit a copy. University journals of course are a somewhat confined medium which only rarely reach a wider audience. A book (and one which I informed them had been reviewed in New Society and the Times Literary Supplement) is a much more public document and could reveal and open up the system. The book was returned without comment, but with the paper on 'police wives' well thumbed and obviously read by more than one person.
envisage a social system concerned to maintain power willingly allowing anyone to show how this 'immense disorder' is constructed.

Participant observation is a personal activity requiring intensive commitment. When the anthropologist is the subject and his society is the object of the analysis, and that society rejects research and perceives such activity as sedition or even 'espionage', then the request Pocock (1973) made for a 'personal anthropology' becomes somewhat redundant. Pocock urged the anthropologist retain both his humanity and that of the people under scrutiny and thus immediately produced a separation between the subject population and the analyst. For the insider/anthropologist this cannot exist. Judith Okely (1975) pursued the problem of how the discipline of anthropology will come to terms with the subjective that is obviously within us all. She wrote:

"...I would agree with Levi-Strauss (in 'Tristes Tropiques') that the anthropologist who is critic at home and conformist elsewhere is therefore in a contradictory position. But I disagree with his suggestion that the anthropologist should take no action in his own society for fear of adopting a partisan position..."

Such an ideal objectivity, she suggests, is falsified:

"...since acceptance of the status-quo is as much a subjective stance as intervention..."

In effect it is this dilemma and the paradoxical nature of anthropology and participant observation within one's own society which produces structural conflict for the Policeman/anthropologist. He is part of a system epitomising the desire in man for a world of control, a known order, a given direction, and the elimination of ambiguity and the unclassifiable. He is also in a unique position to understand the contradictions caused by the increasing demand for these practices to be put under the analytic microscope and why this causes structural conflict.
The demand for even a partial say in the way order is defined and maintained may seem logical in a society where democratic social change is supposedly a normal diachronic process; yet such a demand to a system geared to predetermine the constructs of public order and control will always be problematic. Social enquiry presents a challenge and academic enquiry will pose a potential threat. This situation leads to the paradox described above, where intellectualism and graduate recruitment becomes a prized commodity, simultaneously sought after yet denigrated. Research is charged with structural ambiguity because of its potential for a non-group 'outsider' to bring in challenging concepts.

This also is the position of the police practitioner who becomes an anthropologist, possessed of something which can only be described as "special knowledge". On the one hand he can pragmatically maintain inculcated practices, sustaining the often biased and irrational pedagogy mentioned above. Or he can suggest the system is the product of a specific mode of thought which is arbitrary, and only one possibility from among many. The participant observer knows, however, that any antagonistic or critical assessment of police power is unwelcome. Coming from an insider it will smell of blasphemy, subversion and is akin to treason.

Any assertion other than uncritical acceptance is a direct challenge to the idea that the known police system is the best one for sustaining order and control over those who need to be controlled. Any alternative reading of the system smacks of insurrection, for surely it can be argued, the understanding of what is order and discipline has long been well defined and practised on those who are to be controlled.

Participant observation, presented to the public and showing the police 'warts', will probably stand in breach of the Police Discipline code which is set out in Police Regulations. The presentation of my research papers in seminars and the creation of this thesis could, I suggest, place me in breach of Regulation 6, which reads:
"...Improper disclosure of information, which offence is committed where a member of a police force -

(a) without proper authority communicates to any person, any information which he has in his possession as a member of a police force..."

The ultimate punishment under the Regulations is expulsion or dismissal from Police Society, forfeiture of financial reward, and of course true outsiderhood.
(i) THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVOLVEMENT: THE SUBJECTIVE FACTOR.

Pocock (op.cit.1973) in his valuable article, sets out parameters for a personal anthropology. He suggested that personal meanings as well as the cultural roots and the history of the personal equation inevitably mean any true translation of the field experience cannot avoid including a personal interpretation. Inevitably this leads to the question of subjectivity and the alleged problem the inclusion of the subjective can produce. Okely (op.cit.1975) has shown subjective material can be a positive factor. She suggests:

"...the participant observer does have a problem of subjectivity. This cannot be resolved by distancing, repression and short cuts...the specificity and individuality of the observer are ever present and must therefore be acknowledged, explored and put to creative use (my emphasis)...."

One cannot leave oneself out, especially when the personal analysis of police practices I will be describing is inextricably part of my own past, as well as my present. The potentialities for including the personal for many anthropologists is unlike the personal in this account. Throughout most anthropological monographs or the criminological/sociological research into deviance and police strategy, there is little research where the anthropologist or analyst is the subject as well as the researcher; or where the fieldwork is not just episodic, or is made from an external position as an outsiders assessment of the social order studied. In my case, I suggest the fieldwork is both empirical, continuous and therefore diachronically active and retrospective, taking in the historical with the contemporary.

In his preface to the 'Anthropology of the Body', John Blacking (1977:vii) points out:
"...The social sciences are inevitably more subjective than the natural sciences; no matter how much anthropologists may seek objectivity, or claim to analyse only the actors' views and explanations of their world, anthropological research may reveal more about anthropologists and their own societies than it does about the societies they study... For those who...hold that an important aim of research is to help us to change our own societies more effectively, this subjectivity is not a serious disadvantage...

...one solution (to the problem of subjectivity that many anthropologists who seek to present a totally objective explanation of social interaction struggle with) is to use subjectivity rather than try to push it aside... and so (it) might well be included in analyses and used consciously as a research tool. If I understood him correctly, this is an aspect of what David Pocock described at the 1973 ASA Conference as Personal Anthropology..."

Since the 1960's, a few anthropologists have published accounts using an autobiographical style, but as Okely (op. cit.1975) suggests, some authors conveniently omit any assessment of the self or the subjective, which inevitably occurs. 1.

This study of an institution - the police - its symbols and metaphors of control, its expressions of meaning and ideologies based on concepts of order and illegalities, discipline and pollution, are grounded in the depths of the group and individual consciousness. It is therefore a study from the inside, by an insider, who has lived with these concepts as if they were natural, almost biologically given social formations and which its new recruits are required to quickly assimilate.

The analysis is, however, also the result of the insider crossing a boundary and training as an Anthropologist; and the paradox produced when the disciplined policeman trained

1. Okely is particularly critical of Chagnon (1974) and Turnbull (1974) for their lack of reflexivity.
to respond to belief systems he has grown up with, is then expected to enquire and probe beneath the surface explanation in an anthropological manner. This is by definition a structurally dangerous situation and presents the model of reality with alternative possibilities and can produce disjunction. Transition across a boundary in anthropological terms can be dangerous. The policeman who moves out to the margins where every activity and situation is not pre-determined and who enters a world where every social interaction is to be analysed and explained, will on return, tend to bring contaminating ideas with him. Such transitions are potentially polluting and most definitely liminal in character. 1.

One can begin to understand how research is antagonistic to police systems and why, when I applied for financial assistance to read for a higher degree in anthropology, I was refused on the grounds that, "anthropology was not an approved subject."

Even my under-graduate degree is recorded on my computerised personal record at Police Headquarters as a 'Code 083 B.A. General' and not as B.A. Hons. Anthropology. The simple reason is the esotericism of a degree in anthropology was never anticipated and the computer was never programmed to take such a marginal subject.

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1. By defining the three years I spent at University as a 'liminal period' I extend on the Turnerian concept of liminality, (1974), to include those post-tribal periods where the human situation requires a well-defined individual to change classificatory status and move into an unstructured and therefore very ambiguous state, before returning to structure. Here the transition is Policeman → student → Policeman. Some of the best criminological studies have been by those insiders who have stood apart or who have moved into a kind of liminality. Genet's 'Thieves Journal' (1967) and Jimmy Boyles 'A Sense of Freedom' (1977) are subjective accounts that surpass many well researched analyses of crime and criminality. It is crucially important to note how Society finds difficulty in accepting the change of status and social classification that the Boyles' achieve when they give up a criminal mode and 'go straight'. This suggests evil can become its antithesis and implies the reverse is not only possible but likely.
I am writing therefore sometimes retrospectively and conceptually about an institution I lived with as a 'natural entity' and my perception of which has irrevocably altered as a result of the move across the boundary into academic training.

In the ethnography I play all the parts. I am the central institutional member as well as the marginally moving player, the anthropological analyst and the potential outgroup mover, separated and re-incorporated with a potential for obtaining a kind of knowledge Burridge (op.cit.1979) has suggested is the privilege and the province of the anthropologist. He writes:

"...Every anthropologist has experienced 'culture shock': a temporary inability, when moving from one culture to another, to grasp and act and think in terms of the assumptions upon which the newly entered culture is based. Not only is this shock experienced in fieldwork, while one learns the ways of a new culture, but it is experienced even more disconcertingly when one returns to one's own culture...two different worlds have met in the same person. One alternative is insanity. Another is to comprehend one world in the terms of the other...In this restricted sense every anthropologist has some share in the experience of a prophet..." 1.

By revealing my own personal anthropology as a part of the thesis I am necessarily extending the analysis to reveal my understandings of the institution of the Police as one of its members in variously ranked situations, in differently evaluated areas of work, over a span of time; when technology and communication techniques have transformed its outward face. I am also one of its members who has stood outside the boundaries of the police 'us' and become one of 'them', better able to assess, understand and evaluate the nuances and specific realities because of what Bourdieu (op.cit.1977) has called 'practical mastery', built upon 'objectivist knowledge'.

1. The section of the book (pp.153 - 164) which contains the quotation is a very persuasive description of the gnosis that anthropological awareness can produce.
The practices of the police revolve around a ferocious and constant classificatory system concerned with the maintenance of a range of social and physical boundaries which are determinants of the system and its oppositions. These are based on an overarching conceptual system of symbolic purity and behavioural correctness, and with the concomitant reversals of pollution and disorder. These concepts are realised in a carefully graded scale which is built up with great complexity, often exhibiting paradox and contradiction when diachronic ambiguity affects change in perceptual values of such intangibles as purity and pollution.

In consequence the pragmatic discipline, rules and orders which direct police systems are determined by semantic patterns concerned with the maintenance of power and control. This requires knowledge of the metaphors and the symbolic capital by which the constantly changing gradations of disorder, order, ethics, morality, crime and social sin are defined. The ability of the insider to move casually and knowledgeably within this system, should allow the anthropological appreciation of its complexities to become more apparent.

(ii) IN THE PAST: THE PERSONAL EXPERIENCE.

During the period 1958 - 1978, I was moved across classificatory police boundaries on more than one occasion. I have used the terms 'real polises' and 'real polising' (Young. op. cit. 1979a) and it is useful to outline moves which took me from areas perceived to be where 'real polising is done', into marginal and ambiguous areas of police work.1 Anthropological concepts of centrality, dominant structures, marginality and the transition across real and symbolic boundaries become crucial in describing the ways such factors are perceived and dealt with in a police system and allow us to more easily assess the structural load placed upon such activities. These are revealed in the language, symbols and metaphors applied to police practice and actions. Descriptions of my various

1. The terms 'polises' and 'polising' relates to the activities of those constables at ground or base level. It is derived from the Scottish term for 'the police' and the first syllable rhymes with 'doll'.
activities and roles over time and space in the police, and their prestigious or derogatory status, provides a basis for an understanding of the detailed ethnography that follows this personal account.

From 1958 to 1963, I underwent the initiation rites and training necessary for newly recruited constables. This consisted of an apprenticeship in 'practical polising' in Newcastle upon Tyne, which is a large, industrial northern city. During this time, as a uniform constable, my boundaries were very clearly demarcated. My peers in my City Police Force set out to define my social reality for me. Geographically, socially, morally, physically - in a bodily sense - and in ideological and metaphorical terms, I quickly became aware of what a 'real polis' was and more importantly what the boundaries were one had to cross to cease being real and in effect become unreal, inauspicious and inhuman. The phrase, "Oh he's not a real polis, because..." was constantly used and quickly set out parameters that defined who was one of us and who was not. Douglas (op.cit.1966 and 1970) has suggested how the boundaries which lie between the structure and antistructure of pollution and holiness are potentially powerful and are always the source of emotive reaction. Such relative positions are set out for the 'real polises' in a massive chain of metaphors and symbols concerned with the body, the social and the moral space. Each is an expression of a perceived correct behaviour and an ideology or order which in turn determines social action. Any rigidly defined boundary image of inside and outside makes us more aware and, as Leach (1976: 61) proposes:

"(more) conscious...of dirt that has ambiguously got onto the wrong side of the frontier..."

This desire to create a clearly defined order derives from an understanding that all power systems relating to control of social behaviour, will be immediately surrounded by ambivalence. Power can be used for good or evil, or as an instrument of oppression or release. Anthropologists such as Geertz, Leinhardt, Tambiah, Burridge, Turner and Ardener, along with Leach and Douglas, have all written persuasively
about the interpretation and cognition of power and have all indicated the potential for reversal inherent in any system of power and ideology, where the sacred and the profane have the possibility of turning upon the other at every conjunction.

Knowledge of the reality of a police system of order and control therefore requires the analysis to examine both sides of the coin, and, as Turner might have suggested, to also explore how anti-structure defines structure and then in turn re-defines and motivates the anti-structural elements in a cultural system. The anti-structural experience in a social system such as the police, is often difficult to observe. It can make the constraints of the structural norm bearable, but usually will be suppressed or concealed by structure. Traditional analyses of police systems rarely reveal the tacit expressions of disorder many societies incorporate. These are often well developed, with inversions of structure built into their rituals; and it requires different analytic tools and perceptual abilities to reveal the diffuse character of the anti-structural side of a system which demands that only the explicit be examined. To reveal the totality of a police reality therefore requires not only the explicit statement of what is ordered and central to the ideology be explored, but in addition requires the margins and boundaries of what is the edge of pollution and profanity be understood as well.

The moves an individual makes in this journey through police time/space can provide this self-knowledge, incorporating an understanding of both the conscious and unconscious modes of practice. The latter Jung (1964) saw as being creatively generative, dangerous in confrontation and difficult if not impossible to harness.

In my early career I fulfilled the main classificatory role necessary for assessment as a 'real polis'. I was centred within my social formation with few opportunities to exhibit or flirt with any form of marginality. I was in a numbered uniform of massive symbolic importance which defined our
bodily and social identity and gave meaning to the group of 'real polises' we were certain we were. This uniform of dark blue serge represented an institution and immediately separated us from the 'civvies' - the remaining public. The structural invisibility the police uniform wearer has is strange to experience. You become no-one in relation to the public. Those who know you will walk past without recognition. Yet the uniform itself is apparent and is a cultural barrier which expresses in a forceful manner the separation of the controller from the controlled.

It is used as a boundary marker like systems of rank and other non-verbal devices, and maintains the cultural perception of how the institution is built up and maintained. Uniform has an extremely high symbolic content, and like all symbols is multivocal. Just as Doctors in hospitals in their white coats, symbolise the clean purifying nature of the healer, so the dark uniform of the Police symbolises the presence of the avenger, purifying through retribution rather than through cure. The black uniform with polished cap brim and reflective boots are the colours of death and darkness. They are light absorbent, non-reflective and socially invisible. It is therefore a most suitable colour for controllers, who allegedly operate not as individuals with the random choice of individuals, but as anonymous upholders of the abstract concepts of law.

1. The margins and boundaries and the use of the uniform to separate 'civvies' from 'real polises' has not changed. In 1977 on my return from secondment to University, I found the same classificatory systems in use. The same unconscious linguistic separators and metaphors were being applied as in 1958, perhaps with even more emphasis; and this emphasis in itself is an indicator of the diachronic process. It reflects the increasing separation between the 'real polis' and the public and the rapidity of change occurring across society. Civvies outside the system now challenge and ask questions, while the increasing 'civilianisation' processes in police forces presents another perceived threat; so that chaos is seen to threaten from inside the system and from without. A known system of ritualised order is having to come to terms with a social reality. The police have been unable to check this alleged decline in order, are therefore defensive and increasingly separated from those they are traditionally expected to support and defend.
An attempt in the 1980's to remove the individualising shoulder numerals was publicly rejected. It was correctly assessed as a move to greater anonymity and as Reiner (1980) suggests, the riot gear the police are increasingly seen in, with its shields, visors, riot helmets, knee length boots enhances their avenging like appearance. 1. The result of the riot uniform, I would argue, has been that in the early 1980's, the police (under political manoeuvering) have taken on an increasing resemblance to the black-clothed enemies of goodness who sprinkle the popular films, such as 'Star Wars', 'Flash Gordon', 'Superman' and 'Lord of the Rings'. In these epics of mass culture, the concepts of 'good' and 'evil' are effectively dichotomised by the use of highly symbolic black and white uniforms.

Within the police system itself, uniform was always used by 'real polises' to produce a boundary from which they could assess other uniform wearers and with whom they dealt as if they were ambiguous, unreal and therefore, slightly less than human. Peter Evans, the Times Home Affairs Correspondent (10.1.77) accurately described the 'tribal nature' of the police. In the small forces of the late 60's this separation was enhanced and men in the adjacent forces were essentially 'from another tribe'. Even today in the large amalgamated Forces this structuring principle holds good and many of the older hands still refer to the 'real Police Forces', meaning their original small force of the late 60's. Often the divisional boundaries within a large Force are coterminous with the old smaller Police boundaries and men still define themselves in relation to their early experience with either a busy City, a large town police style, or in the framework of a more rural situation, then denigrate their opposite numbers for not doing 'real police work'.

1. In 1985 Terence Morris, the criminologist, argued this avenging figure of retribution in his riot gear was damaging the police image and might best be separated from the traditional police role. He suggested the time might be ripe for a separate public order unit; and I have heard the same suggestion voiced many times within the police.
The tribalism of the small pre-amalgamated Forces produced a perception of reality very forcibly attached to concepts related to spatial movement generated by social and geographical containment. 1. The Police operate on a well-determined system of historically defined Divisions, Sub-Divisions, beats and patrols and each small Force although mirroring its neighbour, had its own command and localised systems. Fig. 1 shows the existing Northumbria Police area in which the ethnography detailed in this thesis was collected. This Force is an amalgam of some nine small, often 'tribal' units which went into a melting pot in the late 60's and mid-1970's to form one unit. It is consistently argued by those who have to work this giant unit, that the amalgamated Force owes more to local and national politics than it does to any operational logic. These amalgamations have standardised the uniform and many of the systems and idiosyncratic small-scale practices, but have usually failed to eliminate localised beliefs and modes of thought which made many of the local systems suitable at one location yet totally impracticable at the next.

In 1958 I was a member of what we were certain was the premier Force in the area. Newcastle City Police was geographically small, with the external boundaries of the adjacent Forces very much the threshold or beginning of what Mary Douglas (op.cit. 1966: 137) has called 'new status'. This clearly perceived new status of the adjacent police units was enhanced by the use of several different symbolic practices and forms. The nuances of minor differences between our respective uniforms built up a classificatory taxonomy of meaning used to maintain our in-group or tribal

1. It is difficult to record in fieldnotes the many references made about this spatial aspect of police reality. Continually men deride those in another division or section. Always they consider their villains to be the toughest and their section tasks to be the most arduous. This ideological separation into smaller units within one amalgamated area is illustrated by the senior officer who, (in April 1981, some seven years after the last amalgamation) laughing told me that one of his sections was 'thinking of declaring U.D.I. from its Divisional Headquarters, never mind the Force structure'.
Fig. 1  Northumbria Police - The Ethnographic Field.
knowledge of ourselves. Uniformity in a uniform system, is, as the language infers, a prime essential for a system concerned with concepts of order and discipline. As Douglas (op. cit. 1970:16) suggests:

"... the more value people set on social constraints, the more value they set on symbols of bodily control..."

Helmets, for example, were not worn in the City Force but were part of the apparel of the adjacent Northumberland County Force, whose boundary was only 3 miles from any part of our area of operations. This County Force policed the rural areas and the small towns and villages to the north of our City. It was an underpopulated area with numerous small villages, tracts of moorland and sheep farms and their men were moved around the County regularly, while we were static in the City and could never move more than a mile or two to undertake our real policing or 'City work'. We had to be 5'10" in height and most were 6'0" or more. They could be accepted at 5'8" and were said to need the helmets to help them appear big enough.

A further range of localised differences were exaggerated to suggest they were 'the other' and not us. We could purchase our own houses, while they were denied this privilege until they had some 15 years service in, and after an 8 hour shift we went home - off duty - while they went back to their police houses, always available for 'discretionary duties', at the call of the system and their officers. We were independent; they, we felt, 'were slaves'. All of these social differences were encapsulated into the symbol of uniform and our well-cut belted tunics and flat caps set-up at the front to emulate the guards officer made us different. Helmets and unbelted tunics were for the despised 'County men', and belonged to the 'sheepdippers from up the road in the sticks'. These 'country cousins' were continually used as a means of defining our status as 'real polises'.

To the south, across the dividing river joined by its systems of bridges, lay Gateshead Borough Police Force. This had
less manpower, less finance and consequently fewer resources than our City on the North bank. They also wore helmets and had a less modern style tunic. These Borough Policemen and the similarly attired British Transport Police at the Central Railway Station, (who were and still are despised as being 'unreal')\(^1\) were also used to further sustain a perception of ourselves as pre-eminent.

To me and my contemporaries at this time a helmet was of therefore/immense symbolic importance. It was a totemic object, tabooed and filled with a spirit of otherness. Eventually when I became a City Detective we again used clothing to mark our separation from our neighbours. Ragged tramps seen shuffling slowly down to the hostel near the main river bridge crossing would be joked about:

"...look there's a Detective from Gateshead hurrying off on the scent..."

Again Douglas (op.cit.1966:138) has suggested there is a liaison which exists between the body physical and the body social, so one becomes a paradigm of the other:

"...the (human) body is a model which can stand for any bounded system..."

It should therefore be no surprise to find a controlled and extremely well disciplined human body, with clearly defined parameters of correctness, will provide a symbolic mirror of the preferred police social formation in which the human condition is enacted. We can also expect any discrepancy in the preferred social formation will be reflected and transferred to the physical body. Consequently the ambiguous or ambivalent social aspect will also be evident in the

1. The Police will always publicly deny Special Constables, the British Transport Police and other similar organisations are denigrated. However, in the columns of the Police Review over the years, there has been a series of letters where the validity of such groups has been constantly maintained, challenged or denied. In these letters the wholesale castigation which is the norm in the Police Station Refreshment room or Charge Office is only tempered by the need to maintain public decorum; but the belief systems are manifestly evident for all to consider and examples given throughout the thesis.
physical form. The adjacent police forces were physically aberrant in their style and carried out alternative practices we deemed to be socially incorrect. In a disciplined system, their metaphorical indiscipline created marginality, for as Foucault (1977:25) has suggested discipline revolves around control of the physical body. He contends:

"...discipline (still) proceeds from the distribution of individuals in space... it is always the body that is at issue - the body and its forces, their utility and their docility, their distribution and their punishment..."

The disposition of the body and a socially graded system of correctness reflecting the distribution of individuals is therefore a major structuring principle for a police system. As 'real polises' we were correctly distributed in space and were properly turned out. They were in the wrong space and wore the wrong symbols of identification. Such modes of thought are so deeply embedded in the unconscious that even 10 years after the first amalgamations, when a new Chief Constable replaced the flat cap and issued the amalgamated force with helmets, a number of the old City men couldn't discuss the impending change without shuddering visibly or using verbal metaphors of destruction. Conversely those men in the amalgamated force who had previously worn helmets and had been moved into flat caps, welcomed the return to 'natural' apparel.

The 1958 edition of Standing Orders for Northumberland County Police lays out all the disciplining modes by which the police operate. The section on 'Dress and Deportment' illustrates how the helmet and uniform effect bodily control reflecting their preferred social formation, and which is docile to the authoritative order from above. The angle of the helmet is defined and the instruction ends with the order that:

"...the strap will be worn under the point of the chin, but during the summer months the strap maybe tucked inside the helmet..."

At the other end of the body, the instruction in paragraph 32, is that;
"...Trousers will be worn with the bottoms of the trouser legs, at the front, just touching the boot instep."

Twenty five years later, as a newly promoted Superintendent, I listened as my peers discussed an agreement that officers might discard the tie in hot weather. For over an hour the Association Meeting wrestled with a problem which the administrative order had not clarified; no one had specified that only one shirt button could be undone and fear of uncontrollable disorder was manifest should more than one button be opened revealing chest hair.

The first major structuring principles of my early police experience in relation to categories of reality and ambiguity were therefore determined by a perception of spatial distance in social and physical terms between the 'us' and the 'them'. These can be cast into a binary model for analytical purposes and suggest a polarity of:

| Real, local, properly uniformed, socially situated, tall, City polises (who by analogy were) purity, humanity, clean, us. | ambiguous, distanced, variously dressed, small, socially aberrant, pseudo or unreal policemen (they, by analogy, were) disorder, marginally polluted, inhuman, them. |

This spatial fixation is deliberately used in many other areas within the Police and in other total institutions. Hospitals, the Army and other similar occupational groups, which compare most easily with the Police, have spatial and bodily constructs built into their systems of control and classification.

The Police, we will find, also use concepts of space in relation to their dealings and 'capture' of the local villain or 'prig' and the same structuring principles which determine 'real polises' are brought to bear. In any street-visible confrontation, assessment has to be quickly made and the 'polis' immediately sets out to fix his adversary, 'the prig', into rigid spatial and temporal categories. The behaviour the 'real polis' continually deals with has
been traditionally classified as disordered or uncontrolled and is action which has to be stopped, curtailed, disciplined and contained in time and space. Action is of course movement and movement is an immediately ambiguous activity and prevents classification. As many anthropologists have shown, movement is a wandering, nomadic principle and has proved problematic for the dominant political law enforcer in any static or domiciled hierarchy. Action and movement in the social context are therefore synonymous with social change and are obviously antithetical to conservatism. This means that social change is similarly antagonistic to Police modes of thought and it is no surprise to find the control of social action and movement is paralleled with the concepts of control of the movement of the physical body. Metaphors of the human body are used constantly to effect the necessary order and control of the social corpse of society. Movement of the body, both physical and social becomes anathema for the 'real polis' and defeats the fixed understanding of place which maintains a bounded, disciplined, known world. Yet movement in the Police system occurs all the time, creating 'rites de passage' and problems for those who become too marginal; they must be re-incorporated eventually, referred back to ground level where it is said 'real work' is occurring.

Movement out is therefore actual but produces a dilemma, for although lip service is still paid to street patrol as a basis for all police work, only a few remain in this role for their full length of service. Those who do remain view those who move out, or upwards into hierarchical administration, as those who have 'sold out'. Yet most aspire to get out of 'real polis work', away from the conflicts and danger of the street action; out of the grinding shift changes which sees 'real policemen' getting out of bed at 5 a.m. one week to start work, and onto nightshift on the following seven days.

Such severe physical constraint produces overloaded and fiercely reinforced experiential practices loaded with classificatory signifiers of what it is to be a 'real polis'. And this allows few within this framework the ability to
view colleagues who make an exceptional move into police marginality with anything other than deep suspicion. Immediately, then, structural conflict is created. This paradox inflicts its toll and within the service it is tacitly acknowledged there is always a public and a private reality. There is no single police absolute, for the truth is always required to be multivocal to allow paradox to be resolved.

(iii) MARGINAL POLICE MOVEMENT - RITES OF SEPARATION.

Van Gennep's concept of 'rites of separation' (1960) is useful for interpreting the social and spatial movement of the analyst as policeman, moving from a position of centrality described above, through separation and into a transitional stage of liminality. It is also possible to analyse the post liminal rites the police system demands and the ceremonies of re-incorporation undertaken by the marginal mover as he is re-structured.

Social movement by a 'real polis' from the central work of uniformed control over the impurity of the 'real prig' at street level, can achieve an amended view of the world for the liminal journeyman and even provide a period for introspective analysis. Such introspection can show how police reality is only one way of viewing the world and even conjure up visions of an alternative mode of action and belief. This is rarely achieved however because movement is usually restricted to transfer into other areas of police work structured by the same social constructs. If, however, the move is severe enough, both physically and conceptually, it can allow the insider to become marginal and undergo a rite of separation. Then almost as an outsider, separated in a marginal state and able to achieve greater manoeuvrability, the liminal mover is able to experience a greater humanity than the system of discipline would normally allow. In this structural role the norms of action and modes of thought can often be negated or experienced in alternative forms. In other words movement becomes social and physical, but more importantly, also may occur at an ideological level.
This form of movement is illuminative and movement to the margins of policework takes the 'real polis' across new thresholds where he literally takes on images of new status. He has the potentiality of becoming the antithesis to his former state by almost becoming 'a prig'. In his marginality and armed with his insiders knowledge, the liminal mover has the underlying ideology revealed in ways which were not possible previously; and has a potentiality for social disruption. It is therefore not surprising that the pursuit of 'social research' by an insider will not be encouraged, for it allows a negation of the concepts of order and obedience on which the system is predicated. The absolute binary transfer occurs for those who move totally to the other side and become criminal by definition. Then again there are those 'polises' who move into other areas of the control system, such as into probation work or the legal profession. In such instances the philosophical transition often defies police understandings and I know of two ex-policemen probation officers who became suspect 'prigs', because the ferociously inculcated beliefs taken on during early ground-based experience reinforce static modes of structural thought and lessen the ability to comprehend social mobility or accept such ideological change.

Always there are reminders that movement is antithetical to 'real polising'. Even those who stay in 'the job' yet achieve success in one of the accelerated promotion schemes have to accept they will be tagged with a negatively charged linguistic title of 'high flyer'. Those who move very quickly to high rank are despised by the rank and file. Quick movers defy a structure which assigns status to stasis and immobility, governed by an understood order, the known place, the measured progression through the system.

During my own personal history, between 1958 and 1977, I

1. A young Assistant Chief Constable was said to be 'in the fast lane', on his way to his next promotion.
moved from the fixed and central role of uniformed, city centre 'polis', into areas of ambiguity, which caused contradiction because of this police preference for a neat and logical shorthand of categories of action and participant. Initially I moved out into what 'real polises' could well classify as marginal areas of police work, across boundaries in which, as Frank Burton (1980) suggests:

"...the use of power and exercise of authority are based in ambiguity and particular interpretations of poorly-framed legislation..."

From 1963 to 1966, I was engaged in run-of-the-mill C.I.D. work as a Detective Constable pursuing the control of city centre crime activities, with clients for a narrow range of deviancies such as theft, shopbreaking, burglary, petty fraud and the like.

At the time I moved into the C.I.D., I joined a group who fixed their classification of disorder by reference to those who attacked property or the physical body. Since the amassing of property by the individual is a declared primary aim of society, the support of this principle becomes a major structuring factor for the police. The result is that the 'war against crime' becomes a symbolic re-enactment of the conflict between those who have material power and those who are dispossessed. Whether the logic of the system is valid is not one the Police usually question, and, as I have already suggested, they make a continual point of emphasising their political neutrality; by which they mean their ideological non-involvement. This neutrality is of course complicated by social change, and structural conflict can occur for the police when amended values are placed upon certain kinds of behaviour. Leach (1977) has shown how ephemeral these values placed upon classifications of crimes, offences and private delicts can be. Their import waxes and wanes over time and it is this movement which confounds. The changing value attributed to our own private delicts, such as divorce, slander, debt, libel, blasphemy, obedience to church and family, for example, are matters governed by social and philosophical movement and have turned 'crimes' into non-police matters over time.
The importance to the police of the categories of public offences against property and the individual body is maintained by the C.I.D. and reinforced by the politics of materialism. Their statistical value in supporting the contention that more rather than less control is necessary, is a major social factor and this quantitative element is continually emphasised by the C.I.D. at the expense of the qualitative aspects of social order and harmony. I will expand upon this in Chapter 5 on 'crime' and statistics, but I would argue the chase for numerical detections detectives are immersed in, moves them across a conceptual boundary away from the 'real polises' world, where the central classifier in their conflict with the 'prig' mirrors what Foucault (op.cit.1977) describes as a power struggle over the body.

There is no doubt the uniformed 'polises' perceive their one-time associates who move to the C.I.D. to have crossed into a kind of marginality and to have become somewhat ambiguous. The uniformed branch, in a number of ways and in a variety of linguistic forms, disparagingly refer to the uncontrolled nature of C.I.D. men and to their freedom of movement. Moreover, they know that the actual ability to go out and detect crime is limited! The manipulation of the statistical detection rate for crimes, which I will describe, means that quantity of detections obtained from 'offences taken into consideration' and the like, has become supremely important and conflicts with the quality of 'capture' which is often said to be the major aim. Again the truth is multivocal! The paradox of behaviour demands it.

The uniformed 'polis' is less constrained by the detection rate and is more concerned with the nature of the incident, its enactment and its resolution. The C.I.D. talk continually about their special knowledge and in turn despise the uniform 'wollies', for they also need to justify their place in police society and because of the media and public obsession with apparent crime waves see themselves as the basis of a successful police force. However, as David Steer (1980)
...the great majority of crime detections involve little of what the public would perceive as real detective ability...

Detectives are often to be found manipulating the statistical return, rather than out-and-about capturing the villain. The uniformed 'polis' often effects the 'capture' and the detective comes in to 'squeeze him dry'. They have therefore moved away from the physical role of body control and onto the paper exercise. Furthermore, they are not in the symbolic uniform of control, order and institution. They are in civilian clothes, although there are strict rules about what is ordered and acceptable dress (suits and ties) and what is abnormal and therefore disordered (jeans, T-shirts, sandshoes and the like). In the late 1950's I saw a Detective Sergeant ordered home to change from Harris tweed jacket and grey flannels into 'proper clothing' - a dark suit! By 1964 things had eased, but my Detective Inspector railed against my red-lined corduroy, three-quarter-length car-coat. He fondly recalled his own early days when each Detective had to wear a dark striped three piece suit, Anthony Eden homburg and a watch chain at the correct angle.

Today the Crime Squads, shoplifting squads, burglary teams and the like are casual, but still clean and ordered. But it is at the C.I.D. gatherings that the overall style of the detective makes its presence felt. To walk into one of the many C.I.D. social functions sprinkled throughout the year, (especially at Christmas and on promotions) and find two or three hundred detectives in their 'uniform' of suits and ties, neat haircuts and the currently fashionable moustache, is to be visibly reminded there is a very narrow range of bodily symbolism within which policemen can properly operate. Even in this uniformity, I suggest, the C.I.D. are moving away from the 'polises' concept of correctness. They are becoming human because they are wearing 'civvy clothing'.

Detectives, of course, continue to lay emphasis on the 'big job' and the arrest of the professional 'prig' who commits the
large scale burglary or robbery; and not on the daily influx of petty criminals and successfully detected trivia which make up the major part of their world. The 'uniformed polis', in contrast, feels he is primarily dealing at first hand with the 'prig' or villain. He may be described as a 'collar feeler', which is another good example of metaphorical language use. It is a phrase used to exemplify a thief-catcher, who is said to be a good 'collar-feeler', involved in the real body activity of 'capturing' those who transgress. Unlike the detective, the uniformed 'polis' is not just a statistical manipulator of 'prigs', and I have constantly heard it suggested that 'quality of prig' has been forsaken and replaced by 'quantity'.

This quantitative aspect is achieved by a well-established system of maximising, manipulating and wheeler-dealing with both the crimes recorded, their eventual classification and the negotiation that necessarily accompanies most arrests for classifiable 'crimes'. Quality not quantitative measure is a construct of the work experience which produces self-value for the individual in a system. Qualitative value, as Pirsig (1979:277) correctly perceives:

"...is the predecessor of structure. It's the preintellectual awareness that gives rise to it. Our structural reality is preselected on the basis of value, and really to understand structured reality requires an understanding of the value source from which it is derived..."

The consequence of attributing pre-eminence to quantity in relation to crimes and their detection means the 'prig' who 'clears his slate' (admits offences no matter how trivial) is a prized catch in that he helps the detection rate. Yet his arrest often is initially made by a uniform 'polis' and is dealt with in the traditional way of 'handling minor prigs',

1. Terms like 'first hand' reflect the physicality of 'real police work' in that they are constantly used in relation to body touching, which is the important first action in all police control activity, as is 'collar feeling'.
which revolves around bodily control, categories of separation, elimination of dirt and spatial containment. The detectives, because they are dealing primarily in statistics, are therefore constrained to reduce the separation which the 'real polis' erects when he deals with 'the dirty, prig opposition'. This structural separation in terms of space and symbolic categories of language divide 'them' from 'us'. They are necessary for the 'real polis' to maintain his structural purity. By negotiating with the 'dirt' and reducing the social distance between the ordered law and the uncontrolled 'prig', the detective can be said to have attributed a degree of humanity to the 'prig' which the 'collar feeler' in uniform is always structured to deny. The lowly 'polis' without power in the system, deplores this situation and complains this has developed rapidly over the past few years, but acknowledges the primary power struggle within the C.I.D. system depends largely upon this ability to maintain the statistical norm and manipulate detections.

John Stead (op.cit.1980) like Mervyn Jones (op.cit.1980), has pointed out that Police structure attributes low status to uniform beat work and treats those who remain there in a detrimental fashion. He asks the service to re-consider the value of patrol officers:

"...I would enter a plea that I have often made...that the street officer's authority...and discretion should be given better recognition. It has always seemed to me rather sad that almost any move from beat duty is regarded as a promotion..."

(1980: 305).

For the uniformed 'real polises', any movement into the C.I.D. can therefore be seen to be a marginal movement, a rite of

1. The 'real polises' are obsessed with the actual and symbolic dirt of 'the prig'. It is worth noting that one criminal slang term for the Police is 'the filth'. The opposing sides use similar linguistic polarities to maintain their value systems and meanings of reality in their opposition to each other. The structural content of such language and its symbolic import is essential to the thesis.
separation into an area where 'juggling with statistics and figures' (and note that juggling is sleight of hand or movement personified) is diametrically opposed to the constantly voiced uniform efforts to 'nail the prig down'.

In effect, this is the quintessential uniformed statement about the value of structural stasis, containment and spatial control. The use of such vividly metaphoric language epitomises the ultimate truth and value about the 'polises' world. Those who move across the margin into C.I.D. work have therefore produced the first structural crack in the model and created conflict.

(iv) FURTHER INTO LIMBO

In 1966 I moved further out from the world of 'real polising' into areas of operational marginality which were to hopelessly confound clearly delineated police practices and experience. I was detailed to deal with the very new and ambiguous, anomalous 'prig', the drug user. I made up half of the first full-time drug squad in any Police Force in the North-East of England. This squad was set up to deal with the new social aberration of 'flower power', 'the counter culture' and the 'psychedelic trip'. This was the era when phrases such as 'turning on', 'dropping out', 'scoring shit' and the 'hippie trail to Katmandu' moved into the language.

Victor Turner (op.cit.1969 and 1974) has explored facets of such periods of anti-structure, liminality and communitas in modern society. He developed these from Van Genneps (op.cit. 1960) earlier work on rites de passage, and has recently suggested he would prefer to restrict the concept of 'liminality' to those ritual periods in small scale societies which all must pass through; and would prefer to use the term 'liminoid' for the anti-structural periods the drug-culture

1. I have written elsewhere about the creation of this new category of 'disorder' at this time, and especially the media, government and police reaction to this somewhat awkward, unclassifiable, new form of deviance. "An examination of some aspects of the developing perceptions in a local community, to non-medical drug use as marginal, anti-structural, deviant behaviour." (Unpub. B.A. diss. Durham University Anthropology Dept.)1977.
Be that as it may, I find the concept of movement into a period of liminality to be very useful when considering the police officer who is moved to the margins of his experience and practice, and who has to take on and grapple with new social forms. Transformations across experiential boundaries can allow the individual to break out from culturally defined, ascribed roles. Turner's contribution to the assessment of such alternative periods in a society and his suggestions for potential studies of such reversals have been invaluable in explaining what Evans-Pritchard (1951) suggested might be called an 'anthropological history', or in this case my personal anthropological history.

Turner has stressed there is a potentially subversive character to the betwixt and between state of liminality which can be useful in assessing and explaining the drives, the inversions, the models and paradigms of a counter-cultural form. But just as importantly it can assist in the explication of the reactions of the dominant ideology in relation to a counter-culture, which is opposed to and challenging the existing status quo. It can help explain the reactions and defences of the established order even as they are in turn being questioned. In the liminal phase, Turner (op.cit.1969:155-156) argues:

"...one often finds a simplification, even elimination of social structure in the British sense and an amplification of structure in Levi-Strauss' sense. We find social relationships simplified, while myth and ritual are elaborated... if liminality is regarded as a time and place of withdrawal from normal modes of social action, it can be seen as potentially a period of scrutinization of the central values and axioms of the culture in which it occurs..."

Marginal movement from a central role of 'real policing' via C.I.D., into the fringe activity of Drug Squad work eliminates central police structural forms and is in effect, a period of withdrawal from normal modes of social action. In my own
personal anthropology this period became extended, and in a way mirrors the experiences of those we were setting out to control, who were similarly standing apart from their previous understanding of culturally determined status. For the hippies of the mid 1960's such a time occurred when, as Turner (ibid:99-100) records:

"...In modern western society, the values of communitas are strikingly present in the literature and behaviour of what came to be known as the "beat generation", who were succeeded by the "hippies"...who 'opt out' of the status-bound social order and acquire the stigmata of the lowly...The hippie emphasis on spontaneity, immediacy and 'existence' throws into relief one of the senses in which communitas contrasts with structure. Communitas is of the now; structure is rooted in the past and extends into the future through language, law and custom..."

I am certain that the profound effects of this liminal experience extended to those of us in police structure who moved into limbo. We had moved both physically and philosophically to the margins of our system and came to recognise, almost implicitly, that the 'foundation metaphors' (to use another phrase Turner applies to such periods of transformation) of these liminal periods were paradigmatically making statements about our cultural format and the potentialities for alternatives. We were forced to see that what we had taken as almost a natural state of things was in fact only one model of society, a single framework for social action, conventional and man-made, to which there was often a logical and realistic alternative.

With marginal police status as Drug Squad officers my colleagues and I were pitched into new conceptual structures amplified in their significance by such non-verbal sign-systems as gestures, clothing, and the mode of hippie life. These reflected beliefs which were alien to our experience. As a result, our dress, deferential rank acknowledgements, our clearly demarcated terms of address, our exact time keeping patterns, rigid shift systems and previous spatial constraints - in both geographical and philosophical terms - were amended.
Controls were loosened and we became less institutionalised and more able to function in an individual manner. 1.

There was no precedent and no pre-determined police model for our behaviour or that of our clients. There was no previous social experience which could direct our modes of thought and action towards what we found among the new counter-cultural drug users. There was nothing to allow us to easily slot him or his behaviour into a comfortable classificatory niche. Unlike the skins and punks who followed, or the teddy boys who preceded this era, many of the hippie fraternity were non-violent, were constructive and not destructive, and exhibited a positively creative side to their existence. It was often difficult to dislike the drug users we met and this undermined the pre-ordained logic we had operated in relation to our 'prig' clients. The pressure to produce a one-dimensional model of policeman and villain could not be maintained. And although we fastened onto such classificatory facets as their frequently unwashed state, they could rarely be 'real prigs'.

We became aberrant policemen dealing with an aberrant activity which was not programmed by previous experiences and habit. The Squad I ran became what can only be described anthropologically as more 'disordered' and 'polluted' than had been the accepted norm for previous Police groups and it exhibited many verbal and non-verbal symbols of its divergent nature. Our clothes became less rigidified and our hair became long and wild. The response this symbol of disorder evoked in the Police confirms Hallpikes (1969:260) suggestion that:

1. It would be an interesting exercise to trace the careers and attitudes of those of us who were able to spend some time in this formative, marginal period, when a new form of ambiguous control was being developed by trial and error. The communitas we experienced in this liminal field and the alternatives we saw made reincorporation into the central, structural roles of police work often difficult or painful to undertake. Often the gnosis afforded by the marginal period has resulted in the outsider accepting he will sacrifice career enhancement in order to maintain something of the self-determination that the liminal period afforded, rather than submit to the restrictions of subservience to the central structural forms.
"...the action of cutting hair equals social control..."

The police still demand a style for the hair that sets them aside for sub-cultural identification and I noted in my fieldnotes how a young constable was recommended to shave off his mandarin 'tash before his first probationary appraisal with his commander. This recommendation eventually became an order from his Inspector, which he could only defy if he was prepared to take on a senior officer. In a similar vein, a cartoon in the monthly magazine 'Police' (vol.XII. 5.1.81:5) shows a bald, senior officer pulling the hair of a uniformed constable, telling him:

"...if God had intended Policemen to have hair - he wouldn't have created barbers..."

This use of hair to express concepts of social disorder reflects Jonathon Benthall's (1976) contention that the obsessive interest in the body, which is currently prevalent, is a result of people turning to the body as a medium of expression, because of their individual inability to shape technological and bureaucratic society. I suspect, however, that the use of the body as an appropriate framework for cultural and ideological expression is a continuing process, for the body is an ideal vehicle for expressing coherent models within which to organise experience. To understand the symbolic role and function of the body it is necessary to explore its relationships to the social context. Mauss (1935), Mary Douglas (op.cit. 1973) and other anthropologists have demonstrated how the symbolic signifiers conveyed by the body are in fact about society itself. In the police, the symbol of disordered hair is a constant signifier of social beliefs, and is illustrated by the examples above and in an article by Ralph Fusco (Police Review: 11.7.80. 1449) who pleaded for men to be returned to beat patrol ('real police work') and away from community involvement projects. These projects were, he admitted:

"...an admirable aspiration, until one starts to notice that community involvement officers come to work to spend much of their time in track suits or jeans and tee shirts and some grow longer hair and beards to mix with the locals..."
If the locals wear track suits and jeans and have longer hair and beards, it might seem appropriate for their police force to exhibit similar traits, for the police are constantly said to represent and be drawn from the community. But inevitably the cultural style acceptable for the police body is different from that found in the population. A large illustrated poster in my Force Training Dept., orders that male hair will be 'clear of the collar' and commands the 'sideburns will not extend below the centre of the ear'. Faris (1968) in an exploration of symbols which represent complex conceptual domains, coined the phrase 'symbols of high-meaning capacity'; and I suggest hair and its correct state is just such a symbol. Hair is used to define ideology in most social systems; its use as a symbol of social containment and rightful order or sensual uncontrol may even by universal in 'control organisations' such as the police and the army where it seems to be given immense metaphoric import as a statement of correct social reality.¹

Joseph Wambaugh (1976) uses it in his humouresque novel, 'The Choirboys'. In this he illustrates the dysfunction between 'real' Los Angeles cops and their incompetent, corrupt and inept hierarchy, who constantly harrass and set out to divisively oppose the 'front line troops on the streets'. Wambaugh, who himself is an ex-cop, writes:

"...Lieutenant Treadwell (a figure of fun and contempt to the real cops, who has previously been described as a spineless jellyfish) after his hair started falling out in tufts, earned his way back into Commander Moss' good graces by authoring that portion of the Los Angeles Police Department manual which reads:

1. Female hair is even more tightly controlled and the subject of concern. In the section on the place of women in police structure, I will expand on concepts of looseness and indiscipline which long, female hair symbolizes, and how this looseness extends overtly to a concept of preventable sensuality deemed prevalent in women. I suggest here that controlled sensuality in hair restraint exists equally for men within the police thought processes.
Sideburns:
Sideburns shall not extend below the bottom of the outer ear opening (the top of the earlobe) and shall end in a clean-shaven horizontal line. The flare (terminal portion of the sideburn) shall not exceed the width of the main portion of the sideburn by more than one-fourth on the unflared width.

Moustaches:
A short neatly trimmed moustache of natural colour may be worn. Moustaches shall not extend below the vermilion border of the upper lip or the corners of the mouth and may not extend to the side more than one-quarter inch beyond the corners of the mouth..."

This importance of the correct state for hair is part of the overarching obsession with bodily cleanliness, control and discipline, and I will say more about this when I discuss the ideology of being a real polis.

In 1977, when I returned to the police and was writing up my daily fieldnotes on events and impressions as a participant observer, I noted the following hirsute exchange:

"...we are obsessed with the tiny nuances of order and style. 'Hair' really offends my contemporaries and associates. A constable on my shift has a full beard and a moustache and this earns him constant derision and criticism. This is usually made in a jocular fashion, but amounts to a total denouncement and rejection of this physical form. One of his colleagues on the shift laughingly asks him, "Why grow all that fur around your face, when it grows wild around your arse?" The language used supports the ideologies - and is very significant. Hair equals fur, i.e. it is animal, it is wild and should be hidden. 'Polises' in direct opposition are public and are human, and in consequence should be smooth, clean and hairless..."

Simon Bush, a Devon social worker, writing in the 'Police Review' (3.8.79:1223) on a staff exchange with two police sergeants, describes how:

"...we were surprised at what appeared to be the high degree of importance attached by Police officers to external standards (such as dress and general appearance) in assessing people..."
These few examples indicate how the body is used as a metaphor to reflect a correct view of police society. They illustrate the conceptual challenge our appearance presented to our associates and to our senior officers in the late 1960's, when we broke out from the accepted range of bodily styles. Our denim jeans, the psychedelic clothing and the tee shirts were all enhanced by the aberrant nature of our long hair. The vibrant use of colour employed contrasted markedly with the accepted 'plain clothes' styles of the detectives and the casual nature of Drug Squad apparel created structural anomaly. The photograph of the author, taken in the early 1970's indicates this bodily symbol of social relaxation, and still evokes surprise when shown in police circles. (Fig.2). In effect we were potentially undisciplined in a system where the subject of 'discipline' has its import spelled out continually. Section 5 of Force Standing Orders on the 'Maintenance of Discipline', at paragraph 14 contends:

"...Discipline is the foundation of the Force and means not only the performance of specific orders but implies a willing and prompt obedience, proper respect to senior officers and loyalty to the service..."

Senior officers used our social and bodily indiscipline to constantly restate to uniformed patrol constables just what was acceptable. Our anti-structural bodily forms and apparently disorganised work systems were in direct contradiction to the known and understood systematic code. We must have seemed to deny obedience and proper respect for senior officers whom we obviously did not emulate, and to present a vision of impurity existing right inside the body of the police. On more than one occasion I caught senior management using our disorder to dress down their young constables. One Superintendent, obsessed with short hair, used to shout at his young officers:

"...are you trying to get a bloody transfer to join those long-haired yobs in the drug squad..."

An Assistant Chief Constable once asked me half jokingly, but at the same time re-stating police concepts of bodily order:

"...tell me Sergeant, do we pay you a plain clothes allowance?..."
We had few terms of reference for our operations and in effect defined our own 'real work' and those activities we felt should be given priority. Initially we had to find our drug user and once we had, found we were being drawn into more complex social fields of activity than we would meet in a straightforward 'cops and robbers' situation. Many of our 'clients' were from a section of society who had few previous dealings or contacts with the police.

A proportion of our work concerned our availability to act as
an unacknowledged arm of the welfare services to drug users in crisis situations. We were in the streets, the pubs and clubs and in the public areas frequented by the new 'alternative society'. Much of our daily work was ten years in advance of the official police community involvement programmes and yet our operations were really only an extension of those socio/welfare activities the police have been continually involved in for generations, but which are rarely acknowledged in the light of the organisational emphasis placed upon arrests, crime detections and statistical returns.

These newly classified deviants were generally articulate and often presented very plausible discussions on the morality, ethics and philosophies of control relating to victimless 'crimes'; or linked their drug use to related ideologies concerned with an alternative religious belief and perceptions of an alternative social possibility. Many of these members of the 'counter-culture' at this period of social history were making a journey towards spiritual growth, which Furlong (1973:106) suggests, resulted in the controllers making:

"...a puritan attack...directed at the drug taking of the (underground) movement, and since the drug-scene is complex and confused, and we have little time in which to develop a reliable folk-lore about drugs and how to take them (as we have long ago done about alcohol), they have been particularly successful in fostering anxiety among teachers, parents and establishment figures..."

Our part in this 'puritan attack' consisted in making occasional arrests, which were always 100% detections, though the obsession with a statistical truth meant we were constantly asked to estimate how many out there were actually using 'the weed', or were 'dropping acid'?

During the first three years of full time Drug Squad activity, 1966 - 1968, our arrests totalled some 64 persons - less than 2 per month. In this same period I saw many hundreds of users who never featured in the arrest tables and I took many to hospital, acted as an unofficial welfare officer for others and spent untold hours merely listening to their struggle to
achieve the 'counter cultural' vision of a new heaven on earth. Apart from the offences of 'possessing drugs', these 64 arrests included some for the traditional offences of burglary (of chemists shops) or forgery (of prescriptions), and it was towards this new 'drug fiend' (to use the language coined by the deviance theorist Stanley Cohen (op. cit. 1973), that an almost manic media reaction was directed. The moral entrepreneurs of society began to press the police towards more fervent control of these newly classified acts of deviance, probably as Furlong (op. cit. 1973) suggests, because they were confused about activities for which they had no historical model to use as a comparison; and they focussed onto the 'fiends' sexuality and its changing style, their music and its social content, as well as bodily symbols such as disordered clothes and hair.

As a consequence, even as the police were forced to act against the 'alternative society' and took part in fostering the anxiety Furlong (ibid. 1973) mentions, some of us who were working at a face-to-face level with the 'counter culture' realised we were only controlling one small aspect of the total behaviour of the 'underground'. Their journey was, in some ways, equivalent to ours. They, like some of us, were merely experiencing a new reality outside of a known and tested social etiquette. The youth of the time were merely pursuing what has been an essential and perennial theme of history, of man's journey as 'hero'; seeking a new spiritual awareness through the exploration of a set of transforming experiences, to achieve a new sense of what it is to be truly human. This is basically the journey Levi-Strauss pursues in 'Tristes Tropiques' (op. cit. 1973), and to which the psychologist Jung has devoted his life and work.

The forces produced in the individual by what Jung (op. cit. 1964)
calls 'the journey of individuation', manifested themselves in the 'alternative society' in a number of very persuasive ways, and led to radical reassessment of the existing moral, philosophic, political, and aesthetic order. These have been likened to a journey to a new faith, compelled, as Jacobi (1967) contends, by an integration of the ego and the unconscious, and by a vision demanding more than the acceptable satisfactions. The 'counter culture' was inimical to settled society and had millenarian or religious elements. These often owed little to the existing moralities, philosophies, social forms or aesthetics which have dominated our thinking and systems in the recent past. One notable effect was the assault upon the senses which occurred at a pragmatic level. No-one who was around in the late 1960's at the time the 'underground' sprang to the fore, can have avoided the changes in dress, sexual codes, food styles, vocabulary, language and slang, or the new youth based music and the insistent bodily symbols of change. These have now enveloped all corners of Society and have influenced even those who would deny them their significance.

As Turner (op.cit.1974) has shown in his essay, 'Passages, Margins, and Poverty', the hippie philosophy epitomised the concept of movement, as a rite de passage into liminality and a communitas that was essentially perceived as being dangerous to structure. He records (1974:245):

1. In "Memories, Dreams and Reflections", Fontana. 1967, and "The Integration of the Personality", Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1940, Jung explores the journey necessary to link the conscious ego with the unconscious, and by which man achieves a total potential for humanity. Strangely this seems to be analagous to the anthropological experience of seeing meanings and structural forms unfold, when the precepts by which a society is sustained are laid bare. The ultimate anthropological experience is perhaps self-revelation and it is this fact that links the anthropological experience with psycho-analysis in so many instances. Nor can it be an accident that the term 'hero', for the anthropological journeyman, should have been used to describe Levi-Strauss in "The Anthropologist as Hero", ed. Hayes & Hayes. 1970. Francis Huxley's essay in that book reminds us Levi-Strauss was on a quest for the ideal in his structural explorations, while 'Tristes Tropiques' is the 'hero's' journey to self analysis in the field, with the journey - not the arrival - as the most important aspect.
"...There is no doubt that from the perspective of incumbents in positions of command or maintenance in structure, communitas - even when it becomes normative - represents a real danger and indeed, that for all those, including even political leaders, who spend much of their lives in structural role playing, it represents a temptation...

Of course not all politicians, or, in this case - policemen, are always totally in positions of command. Some, such as my Squad at this point in social history, were in what I would call 'ritual liminality'. From an external viewpoint no doubt we would appear to fulfill all the conditions of being centrally placed within structure, yet such persons can be liminally situated. As Turner (ibid:241) again tells us:

"...men who are heavily involved in jural-political, overt, and conscious structure are not free to meditate and speculate on the combinations and oppositions of thought; they are themselves too crucially involved in the combinations and oppositions of social and political structure and stratification. They are in the heat of the battle, in the "arena", competing for office, participating in feuds, factions and coalitions. This involvement entails such affects as anxiety, aggression, envy, fear, exultation, an emotional flooding which does not encourage either rational or wise reflection. But in ritual liminality they are placed, so to speak, outside the total system...transiently, they become men apart..."

I would assert that because of our ambiguous place in Police structure and because of our new experiential special knowledge, we were thrust into a position that equates to 'ritual liminality', able to assess this process of movement towards a new spiritual and social salvation that many were pursuing, and to emulate anything in it which we found tempting.

While not necessarily following the same processes as the 'alternative society' in achieving a more personal meaning from our experiences, we were, in a way, in close proximity to the idea of the 'hero's journey' to an alternative and more human
relationship. The resulting path to individuation means that the conscious and unconscious polarity within an individual becomes joined in the 'anthropological hero', and a kind of crisis occurs at some point. As Jacobi (op.cit.1967: 22) says:

"...To look such truths in the eye is a test of courage. It demands insight into the necessity of growing old, and the courage to renounce what is no longer compatible with it. For only when one is able to discriminate between what must be discarded and what still remains as a valuable task for the future will one also be able to decide whether one is ready to strike out in the new direction consciously and positively..."

Such a movement can be described in retrospect as an unconscious journey towards a self-gnosis, and was pragmatically influenced by exposure to all the aspects of the 'alternative society'. Furlong (op.cit.1973) describes these expansively while exploring the concept of the journey to wholeness which man has taken in religion, mythology, art and drama. Like Turner, Furlong shows the congruence of new ideas in music, philosophy, art, literature, fable, yoga, eastern concepts, new christianity and zen, with the anthropological understanding of liminality or standing apart and re-assessment of the central core of beliefs.

These can sometimes break through the constraints of structure and the controlling systems of power, albeit in an unprogrammatic and fragmented manner. I suspect aspects of the 'counter culture' influenced some of us beyond the outward forms of symbolic change, so that over a period of time and working daily in the 'underground culture' I was eventually forced to acknowledge the complex factors which often accompanied some drug use. I was made to grapple with problems of ethics and questions of morality as I set out to draw into a police framework the new deviancies which the many acts of
parliament of the late 1960's tried to encompass. 1.
Reading for the lectures I gave as a 'drugs expert' to a wide
range of audiences and professional bodies also generated
questions about 'victimless crimes', and the problems of
confidentiality and interference in private acts. Experience
over a number of years and reading detailed research papers 2.
meant that evidence I gave to the Advisory Council on Drug
Abuse (chaired by Baroness Wooton) on the use of cannabis,
was perhaps more inclined to dwell on the symbolic dangers
attributed to its use than on the alleged medical harm. This
provided another way for the institutionalised public voice
to be counterbalanced from within, and perhaps created, as
Jacobi (op.cit.1967) has suggested:

"...the courage to renounce what is no
longer compatible..."

Again this reflexive quality which marginality produces is
one of the basic strengths of the anthropological enquiry,
and of necessity creates a paradoxical situation for the
policeman who is now questioning his previous version of
reality. The ambivalence produced was such, that at the time
one of the Squad (who was particularly responsive to the
effects of the media) created an emblem in heraldic style

1. The fear of new social behaviour Furlong (op.cit.1973)
describes is perhaps best reflected by the plethora of
drugs legislation enacted during the 'swinging sixties'.
Dangerous Drugs Acts had been passed in 1920 and 1950
(following similar moral panics produced by the social
change the two world wars engendered) and between 1964
and 1971 were replaced by and expanded upon by The Drugs
(Prevention of Misuse) Act 1964, and amendments in 1966
which controlled amphetamines in the first instance and
hallucinogenics two years later. New Dangerous Drugs Acts
were passed in 1965 and 1967, with Dangerous Drugs
Regulations created in 1964. Supplies to Addicts and
Notification of Addicts were controlled by Regulations of
1968 and in 1971 the Misuse of Drugs Act consolidated these
into one piece of legislation.

2. For example, the First Report of the National Commission on
Marihuana and Drug Abuse, 'Marihuana: a signal of
misunderstanding' (1972), produced by a Presidential Commission
and published by the U.S. Dept., of Justice, tried to
"demythologize it...desymbolize it...(and in a Final Comment
(p.167) concluded)...considering the range of social
concerns in contemporary America, marihuana does not, in
our considered judgement, rank very high. We would
deeaphasize marihuana as a problem..." I read this report
after 6 years Drug Squad experience and was obliged to
agree with its conclusion.
with crossed hypodermic syringes and the motto 'Bodies in the cells names in the papers', reinforcing our 'capture' of bodies philosophy, I simultaneously compiled a paper for presentation at a B.M.A. police surgeons conference. No doubt they came to hear about our cannabis-taking 'drug fiends'; but the paper concluded:

"...it would seem that the economics of the virtually uncontrolled tobacco industry and the vast alcohol industry means that we have to accept 42,000 deaths from cigarettes annually and 50,000 alcoholics. These drug casualties are the price of minimal control and freedom to use drugs. It seems that we must similarly accept the 3,000 poisoning deaths and 100,000 hospitalisations per year from barbiturates because of the £168 million that barbiturate exports bring in annually.

We, the 'wise', to quote Erving Goffman (1963) however are allowed increasing manpower to pursue the cannabis/hallucinogenic 'folk devil' and to present the inept and the incompetent among the hippie element to the courts and the public for their solace; and to assure them that drug taking is being stamped out..."

(Lecture to Police Surgeons Conference. Gosforth. 1973)

Such emotive material indicates the new beliefs and modes of thought we were facing. A new semantic understanding was tied to the changing epiphenomena of dress, hair and all the other body symbols I have mentioned, and also to the structure of ideology, belief and new experience. I would agree, therefore, with the Levi-Straussian idea that structure cannot change unless all the elements within are amended, and I suspect my inculcated police structure was irreversibly replaced by one which was more personally acceptable. I had moved outside of the norms of the police system, where control is usually presented as a simple matter of enforcing the rules as they stand. Yet this move out of 'structure' into 'anti-structure' (to further modify Victor Turner's definition) was merely a beginning. There were further moves to be made.

The unconventional, non-authoritarian line I had pursued with
some drug-takers and the knowledge I had acquired was rewarded in 1972 by an invitation to attend the United Nations Social Affairs Division in Geneva. 'Experts' from various agencies across Europe were to discuss cross-cultural attitudes to drug-taking among young people. During this period the qualitative question was constantly asked at the expense of the quantitative, for 'the wise' who were present knew that the statistical analysis often gives a skewed appraisal of complex social events. The statistical truths I was having to pursue in my life as a drug squad policeman were of little or no value when the semantics and modes of thought of those who were using drugs was under assessment; although they spoke volumes about the way our systems of control are generated and maintained.

(v) FROM LIMBO TO THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

Following this time spent exploring social attitudes towards drug taking, I attended a middle management course at the National Police College at Bramshill in Hampshire. Bramshill is a fine Jacobean house standing in beautiful grounds. It functions on one level as Whitaker (op.cit.1979) suggests:

"...as a police university for England and Wales..."

Each year courses are held for policemen of middle and senior rank, to expand management skills and enhance their social awareness. Fewer middle managers now attend the College than in 1973 when I went as an Inspector on the 10 week course, which was openly described as trying to widen the tunnel vision many police officers have. As Whitaker (ibid:228) points out:

"...Knowledge of the social sciences can help police work as well as criminology and penology; and psychology can give a recruit not only insight into the nature of some of the problems he will encounter, but also - perhaps more importantly - some understanding of his own reactions to those situations... It is no use confining such wider perspectives to a few, mainly more senior ranks at Bramshill... 90% of policemen never see inside the police college..."

A handful of the 560 Inspectors who attended the college then
each year were awarded what is called a 'Bramshill Scholarship'. This is a College and Home Office sponsorship to apply for a place at University to read a degree in a subject of the applicant's choice.

Two weeks after my course terminated I received notification I had been awarded the second scholarship my Force had received. My predecessor had read law and had achieved a First. I chose to read Anthropology for the pleasure or love of the subject, rather than take the more usual degree in law. The police perception that law is 'correct' is generated by the view that the social sciences are soft, non-objective subjects, which excuse criminal behaviour, and results in the idea that:

"...educational 'book learning' and even a degree are too often still suspect as incompatible with the traditional idea of being a 'practical' policeman..."

(Whitaker: ibid:212)

Simon Holdaway (1977), a former police officer, points out the prejudices and traditional views of the older, lower-ranked officers are often contrary to new policies taught at Bramshill and as a result there is structural conflict and a built in resistance to change and modern ideas. As I have shown above, there is constant dismissal of the social sciences and few researchers are allowed close enough to ever experience the furious hatred and outright denigration which is the normal response to them at 'ground level'. In consequence it seems fair to suggest that the police officer who elects to take one of the social sciences, is knowingly placing himself into the position of structural outsider. The rejection of law, as an area of study is incomprehensible to many and I was constantly asked about my apparently inexplicable choice:

"...Why study, what is it called - Anthropology? What's wrong with law? Surely as a policeman it would be more useful for you to take a law degree. It's your duty to take law I would have thought..."

(Detective Sergeant. 10 years service).
The move to academia and into the world of social sciences is a move across a further boundary, another act of rite de passage across conceptual time and space, almost to the total outside. Such a move can be likened to becoming 'them' and no longer being 'us' in the preferred police binary model of reality. I had further increased my distance from the working life of the 'real polis' and had moved outside their conceptual world. If few go to Bramshill, still fewer go to University and I became separated not only in spatial thoughts and beliefs. Logically I became an 'outsider', a liminal mover.

While at University, I met up with a colleague in the street outside the Department of Sociology. He asked, somewhat tentatively, what subject I was reading. I told him that I was reading Anthropology and briefly explained the courses I was then taking (Religion, Symbolism & Myth, Middle Eastern Cultures). Looking somewhat apprehensively over his shoulder at the Sociology building, he said:

"...Well thank goodness your not taking that bloody sociology with all those left wing bastards who hate the polis..." 1.

(Sergeant, 8 years service).

Few of my colleagues had any knowledge of what anthropology was and all academic study was seen by many 'on the ground' to be something they were keen for their children to pursue, but to have 'nothing to do with a real polises life' (field-notes).

The 'polises' do acknowledge academics are involved in socio-legal areas of criminology, but it is repeated constantly to the point it has become axiomatic that they can:

"...never be successfully involved at the sharp end, or pointy end, dealing with angry men on the cold, hard streets..."

(from fieldnotes).

1. I find it significant that at University - and at others I have since visited - the anti-police graffitti and verse in the toilets in departments of sociology suggests they need the police as binary antagonists (at ground level) just as much as the police appear to need them; for as Leach (op.cit.1976) has argued: "...a symbol only acquires meaning when it is discriminated from some other contrary sign or symbol..."
Academics are stereotyped as being men and women in ivory towers who need protection from the 'real world'. The stories and mythologies I have collected about 'academics' in my fieldnotes confirm that they are necessarily perceived in a simplified way, as being 'absent minded' and not of this world. For example, a story of how a local academic had come into the Police Station to report his car missing because he had forgotten where he had parked it was repeated with relish. On my return to the police world, after University, I mentioned a story about a noted professor, who epitomised the cartoon image of intellectual brilliance but practical ineptitude. He had been spotted at a tutorial wearing one red and one green sock and was described by his students as being a brilliant man, who needed help to cross a road safely. A detective listening to this story nodded gravely for it confirmed his belief that academics cannot operate in 'the cut and thrust of the real world'. (from fieldnotes).

The term 'college man' or 'academic' given by the Police to one of their colleagues is therefore usually derogatory. It is generally used to deny an ability to operate at a pragmatic, street level and often defines those who achieve accelerated promotion after being selected as constables for the 'Special Course' at Bramshill. Whitaker (op.cit.1979:229) records how they are described sardonically at police station level, as:

"...plastic men - ones who know all about how to hold a knife and fork, but nothing about how to catch villains..."

One of these 'academic high flyers', during a short sojourn in our Force, remained implacably 'not us', and was described as:

"...one of them educated bastards who wouldn't know his arse from his elbow on a Friday night in the Bigg Market..."

(from fieldnotes).

This 'high flyer', still in his 30's, had been in one of the armed services before joining the Police Force and had been at Bramshill on the 'Special Course'. He had returned to the College for the Inspectors Course and then attended University for three years and had on his return to the Police, read for
an M.Phil. He was alleged to have been in one of the despised 'office jobs' in his previous Force. The men at ground level joked that he must have joined the Forces when he was 3½ and the Police Force when he was seven. They laughingly told me they had inside information - he had once had an arrest - because he kept telling anyone who would listen all about it.

'College Men' and 'Academics' are seen by the men on the ground to be potentially dangerous and polluting. They are dangerous because of their limited knowledge of the 'real world', for they have never experienced the depth and complex range of activities which teach the 'real polises'. Consequently they are said to be suitable only for Administrative jobs, the despised Training Departments, or for eventual Senior Management levels. These are the departments the 'non-combatants' are said to have fled too. Many discussions occurred during the time I was recording fieldnotes about such individuals who had retreated into the offices, after a short sojourn in the 'real world'. At this level one of the unspoken aspects of any discussion on any individual is his past record and his ability to deal with 'sharp-end work'. 'Non-combatant' and other 'Esso' positions (ESSO = Every Saturday and Sunday Off) are despised by the 'real polises' on the ground, and as a consequence of my eight years on a Drug Squad, with visits to the U.N., followed by the Police College and the Course in Anthropology at University, I was in real danger of being irrevocably cast into the mould of being an academic - one of them and not one of us.

Given that the Police have no real love of the intellectual stance, nor any real regard for the academic - regardless of the lip-service paid to the Police College, the 'Special Course', or the University scholarship - it was inevitable that Police hierarchy should eventually decide to pull in the marginal, peripheral mover, for there is a boundary beyond which the pilgrim cannot be allowed to stray, and in all legends and tales of journeys to knowledge and self-awareness the liminal mover returns to the centre, re-instituted into the system. My application to continue full-time studies was therefore
logically refused, and I was ordered to return to uniformed duties in a section of police society epitomising the central beliefs in control and order, and where restricted movement is applied to instil police ideology and modes of thought.

(vii) RE-INCORPORATION - SETTING THE SCENE

The police hierarchy decided I should best be brought in from the boundary of police society, fixed back into structure and re-induced into the basic work that best represents essential police thinking. I was to be 'centred' and the pilgrimage into liminality was to be concluded. This experience, after the marginal period is somewhat analogous to a movement through yet another 'rite de passage'; and with the rank of Inspector, and 19 years service, any eventual acceptance into the controlling hierarchy required this 'rite' of 'getting one's feet back on the ground' be undertaken. This positive statement of belief in a 'real world' of policing illustrates the logic of getting an initiate to once again know and live the social experience and accept the structural reality of a system.

The process of undergoing re-incorporation is illustrated in this section by focusing onto the translation and interpretation of the behaviour and social attitudes of those who class themselves as 'real polises', working in the real world. The analysis is designed to penetrate the internal consciousness of police collectivity and to reveal the meanings which determine the operational practices. Perceptions of order and disorder, crime/non-crime and policemen/'prigs' are constructed through the strict application of a system of extreme metaphors. At 'ground level', in the 'real world', the articulation of such metaphors provides a way of coping with the various problems, tensions and ambiguities which are encountered during the daily activity of law enforcement. They constantly reinforce implicit police ideology which is built on conceptions of order and disorder, controllers and the controlled.

Exploration of the conceptual system by which this legal institution operates through crisis and conflict, suggests the
overall framework is based on and supported by a dualistic system of polarities which are continually simplified in an attempt to deal with the paradox and stress that ambiguity constantly creates. An exploration of symbolism and metaphor in the everyday language used indicates the strengths and logic of this binary reality. Everyday language is the most social of institutions and provides the anthropologist with a firm basis for the interpretation of such a field situation. Some of the metaphors and symbols contained in the everyday language of 'real polises' have already been explored. This is a vital area for a semantic analysis. It is essential to see that phrases used in connection with my 'rite de passage' back into police society, such as 'getting your feet back on the ground again', or, 'getting back to basic coppering', are simply expressions of categories of action perceived to be socially auspicious for a 'real polis'. They identify pure areas of activity. To be 'on the ground' is in opposition to the suspect and potentially polluting activity of 'academic high flying', which I have shown is negatively perceived. The phrase 'basic coppering' should, of course, have been 'real polising', and further reveals aspects of pollution and contamination. The user, who had transferred to our force is an intruder, and of course was an administrator and manager. His geographical separateness adds another dimension to the polarity of 'insider/outsiderness'. Using geographical space homologously—to concepts of order and insiderness ensures spatial separation and otherness is acquired by distance. Those who are not of our genus, 'real polises', must become tinged with the possibility of being the other - 'real prigs' — the binary opposite. To a group of local policemen encouraged to define identity by reference to those in the adjacent Force, the stranger from down South will always be ambiguous, and although still a policeman — like those in the adjacent forces — will be analagous to the 'prig'.

Police reality can therefore be seen to be constantly concerned with place, with locality and with categories of time and its

1. In West Mercia Police these men from outside are negatively described as 'imports'.
uses, and with forms of action. The body is constantly used to define these beliefs and the order from an Assistant Chief to 'ground' the 'high flyer' is merely a transformation of the same binary dualities 'real polises' use to sustain their concepts of order. Movement is antagonistic, and 'grounding' a 'flyer' makes good sense. It fixes the unclassifiable both literally and linguistically in time and space. Using the same linguistic and spatial principles it is possible to show how an identical ideological belief is used by the police in dealing with 'the real prig'. The same institutionalised perceptions are grossly oversimplified to create a polarity of 'real prigs' and what I choose to call 'ambiguous or marginal prigs'.

Back on the ground, wearing my first police uniform in years, I was re-introduced to the pre-occupying police activity of classifying who should be 'fixed' and who best can be 'nailed down'. The categorisation is dependent on the most minute of distinctions. Long practical mastery enables the classification and resulting control of the 'prig' to be made with the minimum of analysis or introspection. Such classifications are, as Maguire (op.cit.1974) suggests, the basis of criminology and all legal systems, while Crick (op. cit.1976:122) proposes that:

"...in any analysis of the semantics of such legal areas...the exploration of the rich structures of ordinary language (necessitates) detailed conceptual enquiry..."

Maguire (op.cit.1974) suggests much of modern criminology lacks this linguistic perspective which Crick argues for. Needham (1963) has also stressed the value of the analysis of the structures of ordinary language. In his introduction to 'Primitive Classification' (1963.viii) he refers to Evans Pritchard's point, that:

"...the investigation of classification (is the) prime and fundamental concern of social anthropology..."

Evans Pritchard (1951:79) links this classificatory task to the interpretation of language and the symbols it creates. He argues:
"...the anthropologist must learn the language... for to understand a people's thought one has to think in their symbols... in learning the language one learns the culture and the social systems which are conceptualized in the language..."

Consequently much of my interpretation and explanation of police structure is concerned with the content, meaning and semantics of ordinary language, for its symbolic and metaphoric content reveals what it is to be a 'real polis'.

Linguistically the derivation of the term 'polis' is apparent and I have described its origins above (f.n. p.49). For the 'prig', the 'polis' is the 'filth' - especially in fiction, the media, and on celluloid; the clean becomes inverted into dirt or disorder. This phrase is not in common use in the north, but terms I have heard used by villains include 'the horny' or 'hornies', 'the finger', and the common phrase 'pigs', which was revived in the 1960's in the U.S.A.

'Prig' logic is merely a reflection of that which governs police perceptions. It is a transformation of the simplified and easily manageable categories which the 'real polises' use and includes the non-human, animalistic classifications and bodily references the 'polis' uses to define the 'prig'. It seems that the 'prig' uses the same reduction of experience to define and create a semantic conception of his enemy, 'the polis'. This stands revealed as almost self-evident when we see that 'horny' is defined as 'stiff, unbending, hard, rigid, or firm' in most dictionaries. We can therefore say that for the 'prig' the police are also symbolically inhuman, animalistic, dirty pigs, hornies or polises - unbending in their blue constraining uniforms, with collars, ties and big shiny boots, fixed rigidly in time and space, and these metaphors of control are in direct opposition to the 'prigs' own assessment of his freedom from discipline and temporal constraint.

These qualities in turn are reversed by the 'polises' and become their ideals of an undoubted superiority and humanity. Cleanliness, smartness and discipline are categories epitomising
the self-perception of the 'real polis', as does an ability to 'finger' a thief (and so earn the title from the 'prig'); and which is significantly defined as 'to touch, handle, thumb, paw, fumble or grope'. I noted in my fieldnotes an occasion when a young 'prig' expressed astonishment at how stupid he had been before his arrest. He told me:

"...I wondered for a minute if he was a finger and then I thought, Nah, he's just a normal feller...he doesn't look like a finger does he...but I'll not forget his face now..."

This ability to 'finger' supports the belief that 'real polises' are those who are renowned thief-takers or 'collar feelers' - who 'feel a lot of bodies'. The polis necessarily has to touch, handle, fumble, grope or finger these 'bodies' or 'prigs', who then are best classified as being 'inhuman'. In a conflict situation where such contact can be problematic, and is always charged with tension or involves physicality, it is more suitable if your perceptions allow you to deal with 'meat' or 'animals' and not human beings.

Furthermore, because 'real polises' are also 'hornies' and are stiff, erect and unbending, the sexual analogy is not hard to miss. It is little wonder that policewomen can never aspire to become 'real polises'. They can never become stiff, hard, unbending or erect! In the male/female binary, which parallels the logic of the 'police/prigs' system, males are hard, tough, stiff, rigid and firm; while females necessarily are attributed the style and status which pervades the larger social system and are expected to exhibit softness, litheness and pliability. 1.

The derivation of the term 'prig' is less apparent than the local northern term 'polis'. There is the somewhat outmoded meaning of affection of mannerism, foppery; used as a disdainful opinion of some charlatan in society. A man of such qualities was a bit of a prig! In the North-East of England,

1. I will say more of this structural classification of women police when I discuss structural ambiguity in depth in Chapter 4.
however, there is a linguistic hangover, where the term 'prig' is used by the police to refer to a well-known villain. This use is now confined to a relatively small geographical area and apparently derives from the old English meaning of 'prig', as in the verb 'to prigg - to steal', or in the noun 'a prig, or prigg - a petty thief'.

In the police world this has been extended so there are now 'real prigs', 'prig vehicles' (typical thieves' motor cars), 'prig solicitors' (those lawyers who specialise in representing well-known 'prigs'), 'prigs-ville' (areas in the City where prigs live), and other manipulations of the adjective which can be applied to some object or activity to describe its association with known thieves.

As has been suggested, in this social context where conflict has to be urgently resolved, the use of dual systems of symbolic classification is extensively employed. Hertz (1973: xxii) considered such oppositional classification to be 'inherent in primitive thought' and argued that although they may be universal properties:

"...each symbolic contrast has to be established by the ethnographic record... oppositions must be demonstrated..."

In the ethnographic exploration of the 'pig' and 'prig' these binary-schemes of symbolically created categories will be represented in a two column form so the various contextual dualisms and the metaphors of polarity can be illustrated to reveal the structural and ideological whole. The terms in either column, Needham (1973:xxv) tells us are not actual categories that exist per se, rather they:

"...stand for collective representations, i.e. conventional modes of speech and action and unless there is a specific ethnography evident to such effect it cannot be assumed that the participants themselves think of their symbolism at..."

1. Prig or Prigg = tinker - 16th C. use; Rowlands 1610. prig = thief; prig = low slang for thief; 19th C. prig = petty thief; Partridge (1972).
"...all, let alone that they think of the matters denoted by the terms in any unifying order..."

Such an order becomes 'self evident' as Mary Douglas (1972) suggested, and I do not claim 'polises' are consciously aware of the dualistic forms they maintain to structure their lives; but they understand these mental techniques when they are pointed out and readily confirm their existence. Such an inculcated and unconscious use of a mode of thought reflects a process which is universal. As Levi-Strauss (1966) argues, man sets out unconsciously to put order and pattern into his world by taking his cultural phenomena and setting it against an opposition of natural categories and the cultural facets of those he takes on as his antagonists. With these he forges a semantic algebra of his social reality. The 'polises' cultural phenomena, (or Levi-Straussian 'bricolage'), includes symbols, metaphors and totems which support his perception of himself as fully human and different from others; especially 'the prig'.

A binary scheme therefore gives us a set of categories, one of which is the transformation of the other. Some of these have already been clearly demonstrated, while others will be shown to be an integral part of the beliefs that govern the self perception of the polises and which are used to contrast them with the prig:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Real Polises</th>
<th>The &quot;other&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Uniformed, stiff, rigid</td>
<td>Disarrayed, slack, limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firm, straight, hard</td>
<td>soft, bent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stasis of the body,</td>
<td>Social and physical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>control, centred, fixed,</td>
<td>uncontrolled movement,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regulated, on the ground.</td>
<td>'flying'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uniformed neatness, clean,</td>
<td>Slovenely, dirty, unkempt,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smart, polished, short-haired,</td>
<td>undisciplined, long haired,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disciplined order.</td>
<td>disordered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us, humans, real polises.</td>
<td>Others, animals, bodies, meat,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>real prigs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Once their structural bricolage is pointed out the polises quickly join in the interpretation of their own structure and see how it is built up in a series of transformations. I was warned by one, 'not to let anyone 'outside' get to know about this'. Knowledge is dangerous and might threaten the system.
As Levi-Strauss (ibid:55) tells us, in these symbolic codes, the binary terms or categories themselves:

"...never have any intrinsic significance. Their meaning is one of 'position', a function of the history and cultural context on the one hand and of the structural system in which they are called to appear on the other..."

Roger Poole (1969:54) emphasises this point in the introduction to 'Totemism'. He contends there is:

"...literally no end to the changes which might have been rung in the various systems. Levi-Strauss gives many examples, but one of the most striking is the use of opposed colours... (creating) the diversity of 'semantic loads' which can be achieved by the classificatory function of opposition. Red, white, black, these do not mean anything in themselves. It is only as members of pairs of significant oppositions that they take on meaning..."

These arbitrary oppositions are the basis for the police social division of themselves from their antagonists. They are statements about the police world and the individuals place within that world. These, again as Levi-Strauss asserts, are coherent systems of classification which are:

"...codes suitable for conveying messages which can be transposed into other codes...

(1966: 75)

He also re-affirms Hertz contention that these codes and transformations must be demonstrated and:

"...can only be discovered a posteriori by ethnographic investigation...

(1966: 58)

The differences which exist between men of different cultures and those between man and animals, which man extracts from nature and transfers into culture, are used to create classificatory differences between himself and other men. Levi-Strauss tells us this is because:

"...man does not want to imply recognition of a 'common nature' with other men...

(1966: 108)
Differences created by the use of symbolic opposition is therefore an attempt to deny the unity that exists within mankind, which Levi-Strauss conceptualises as 'l'esprit humain.' By decoding the symbolic pairs which make up the identity of 'pigs' and 'prigs' the anthropologist is looking at the apparatus of conceptual sets, which, Levi-Strauss suggests:

"...filters unity through multiplicity, multiplicity through unity, diversity through identity, and identity through diversity..."  
(1966: 153)

This diversity in unity, where man denies his animal nature is parodied in the final lines of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1951), where:

"...The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man; but already it was impossible to say which was which..."

In the ethnography of life on the 'ground' in the Bridewell, which follows, it is possible to separate the diverse ways men are differentiated from 'pigs' and to assess the validity of the dualistic model as a means of understanding the processes of police practice.

The Euler model of social organisation (Fig. 4) (from Leach. op.cit.1977:17) includes the marginal interfaces of ambiguous activity and thought which I have shown exists within the police system. This breaks down the dualistic rigidity reproduced above in the binary lists (Fig. 3) and allows the analysis to include interstitial categories of persons who fall into neither polarity and who therefore represent ambiguous categories of 'polis' and 'prig'.

The anomalous persons in this overlapping area belong to neither 'real' category and immediately become set apart from the ordinary. No 'real' classification exists here: there is neither the 'real prig' nor the 'real polis'. This the area for those who have slipped across the border of the understood structure and into marginality; who can pollute from the inside and make the 'real world' an impure complex. Here we will find those 'unreal polises' the controllers, the administrators, the hierarchy, the ESSO men, the academics, the non-combatants: and also those such as the social worker, who is part of the criminal justice system, but is negatively perceived as a 'do-gooder' by the 'polises'. Logically social workers and their like should be in the category Entity 'A' in the Euler diagram of order/disorder; however, they are inexorably perceived to also be partially 'not A' and therefore destroy the unity of the system. Inevitably we also find the ambiguous 'prig', who does not quite fit into the entity 'not A' and confounds classification, producing conflict within the preferred polarity which then becomes indefinable and inoperable.

The law seeks to eliminate this ambiguity. In effect it says who must submit to whom in each case and what context the submission must take. The 'real polis' represents law and therefore requires submission to this power but always has to contend with the ambiguity and conflict produced by marginal activity. These nuances of anti-structure and the anomalies
created allows us to further demonstrate a structural understanding of how the police system is maintained, or is altered when conflict of category becomes too intense.

In my new blue uniform I moved back into Police society, aware that I was on trial. Some of my colleagues had been my companions a dozen years previously as beat policemen in the same Division. They welcomed me back, but let me know I was something of a puzzle who would be assessed to see if I was still a 'real polis' or someone who had 'sold out to the opposition' (whatever section of the opposition that might be). Although something of an 'outsider' I was an 'ex-real polis' and felt I had some advantage over the anthropologist who moves off to carry out field-work in a society he or she has perhaps only read about. Participant observation is essentially concerned with what Powdermaker (op.cit.1967:172-3) has described as a concentrated immersion into a society, so one gets the feel of it in 'one's bones'. I knew already the strength of the boundaries separating 'insiderness' from those excluded from police society and knew the suspicion that would be aroused if I suggested I was carrying out any analysis of the practices and statements which were being made. Doing fieldwork within your own society is increasingly going to be a moral problem for anthropologists whose ethnographic accounts may be read by those who are the subject of the monograph.

On one occasion when I was scribbling notes in the Bridewell to record the exact language used in a specific situation, a colleague looked hard at me and asked:

"...you're not writing all of this down for some bloody academic essay are you? I wouldn't like to see this sort of thing becoming available in paperback..."

Anthropological research within a police society is equivalent to the 'prig' getting inside, having access to the knowledge and understanding of how he is controlled. It pollutes and endangers by its very act of intrusion. Shortly after I returned from University into the field, I recorded in my notes just such an instance, when a sociologist from a local University was allowed 'inside'. He was given limited
access to the Charge Sheets for those persons who had been charged with offences and crimes in the previous 12 months in the centre of Newcastle upon Tyne. He was allowed to note the sex and the age of the accused and the classification of the offence(s) listed against 3,500 who had been charged. The academic left after two weeks, delighted with the information he had been allowed to record. I noted in my fieldnotes he was uncertain whether he could call this 'warm research' (equal to participant observation in the field?), and that we had a discussion on the relative merits of 'warm research' and 'cold, hard data'.

The 'real polises' in the Bridewell were quite happy with what he had been allowed to see and the information he had been given. The despised-academic-sociologist was said to have got nowhere near to the truth, nor to the real meat of what goes on. In the room provided, adjacent to the main Bridewell rooms, where he counted up his statistical males, females, juveniles, ages, and numbers of thefts, burglaries, drunks and the like, he was said to have 'heard nowt that would tell him what really happens', (from fieldnotes). The true meanings of police structure had not been revealed and the 'potential prig' had been defeated, while thinking he had won. Pollution had been averted and the purity of the system had been maintained.

The discussion I had with this sociologist about his uncertainties as to whether what he was collecting was 'warm research' or 'hard data' is interesting. It reveals another binary or symbolic means of splitting up reality. Until recently criminological sociology has tended to rely excessively on the officially produced statistic and only accept what has been called 'hard data' or 'cold research' as being objective and scientific. I have touched on this dichotomy between objective and subjective material previously. Crick (op.cit.1976) and Ardener (1975) are among those in anthropology who have removed the misconception that 'soft data' is unscientific and non-objective. They show how any tendency to quantify a conceptual system into statistical units destroys the nature of the facts that should be investigated.
and inevitably excludes whole dimensions of what it is to be human.

As an anthropologist I am familiar with and understand the wealth of information that 'soft data' contains, yet as a policeman I see my society becoming more and more obsessed with computers, with quantitative data and hard facts, with statistical returns of crimes and offences, with response times plotted for even more management studies and with manpower graphs computerised to show an alleged optimum use of available resources. Yet these inevitably have the 'human' or meaningful element missing and those 'on the ground', who deal with people, consistently use the 'soft data' which has always presented them with knowledge in a form reflecting the Geertzian style of 'thick description'.

Because the use of 'thick description' over a long period seemed to be the only way to reveal the true reality of the local 'polises' world, I recorded my fieldnotes and my 'warm research' away from my 'natives'. I knew they would have been deeply suspicious of any written records made in their presence and would have considered them to be further evidence that academic research is a potential threat to their social world, especially when it is carried out by one of 'the wise' with 'inside knowledge'. And of course they are correct to have these fears. The negation of research which I have shown to be deeply imbued in the police psyche stems from the knowledge that to reveal the means by which power is maintained is to give the opportunity to others to reduce the base on which that power is grounded. As Diamond (1964:133) suggests:

"...in a spiritual sense, anthropologists are double agents. Anthropology is a scholarly discipline, but is also a kind of secretly structured revolt, a search for human possibilities..."

This spiritual sense of doing fieldwork therefore returns us to the analogy I have used previously, relating to the Turnerian pilgrimage. The search by the participant observer, inside his own 'insiders' world is not only a search across the face of
human possibilities that exist and are always crucially dynamic in a control system, but is also a journedy to self-definition by the pilgrim as he is made to face the structural realities and the anomalies of his system.
CHAPTER 3 THE ETHNOGRAPHIC RECORD.

(i) IN THE FIELD: THE BRIDEWELL EXPERIENCE.

By 1977 when my re-incorporation into police society commenced and my fieldwork began, the nine small, autonomous police forces I have previously described as 'tribal' units had amalgamated into one large Force - Northumbria Police. This amalgamated giant stretched from the Scottish border, north of Berwick on Tweed, to Sunderland and Wearside in the South. Fig. 5 shows the police area, incorporating the Tyne and Wear Metropolitan conurbation and the hill villages and rural hinterland of Northumberland. The population for the area is given in the Chief Constable's Annual Report for 1977 as 1,471,000 while the Police establishment is recorded as 3,248 officers.

Fig. 6 shows the Divisions and Sub-Divisions surrounding the centre of the City of Newcastle upon Tyne where I was posted to the Bridewell as uniform Inspector. The Bridewell, in the centre of Newcastle, is responsible for the reception, control, care and classification of 12,000 prisoners who are brought into the Station each year for a variety of alleged offences, crimes and breaches of the social code around which the law is woven. In addition it processes prisoners from H.M. Prisons and Remand Centres appearing at Courts situated above the Bridewell complex. Up to seven courts ran on most days and the field area therefore also contained streams of solicitors, probation officers, social workers, relatives and friends of the accused, as well as interpreters, childrens officers, magistrates clerks staff, and of course the police witnesses, store detectives, C.I.D. officers and other sections of the criminal justice system who had an interest in the prisoners we logged and controlled. This constant flow of those who make up the legal system provided the human spectrum to the ethnography. Recently it has been suggested some 20,000 persons come through the Bridewell each year, and this estimate does not include police officers. This is a remarkable figure when we consider the physical restrictions and difficulties the limitations of the building places upon those who work there.
Fig. 5 Northumbria Police area, showing the Metropolitan and Rural Divisional boundaries. 1977.
Fig. 6. Northumbria Police showing Divisional and Sub-Divisional boundaries within the Tyne and Wear Metropolitan County, 1977.
I was one of five inspectors on a shift rota posted to the Bridewell accompanied by a team of 'jailers', who were generally long-service Constable's. Each Inspector had his own jailer who worked with him whatever the shift i.e., 6a.m. - 2p.m.; 2p.m. - 10p.m.; 10p.m. - 6 a.m. Another six or eight jailers worked day-shifts and ferried prisoners up and down to the Courts or off to prison as escort. They supervised visits by relatives and logged property belonging to the prisoners. The place was a constant bustle of men in uniforms, with keys for cells and detention rooms constantly being jangled, with prisoners shouting, swearing and arguing, with laughter ringing out as the inhumanity of the place was made bearable by those forced to spend at least eight hours per day inside its confines. Looking back, it is possible to see the Bridewell as a grim, inhospitable place in which to spend a working life; but my memories are surrounded by the humour which constantly made the hardness of the place seem acceptable.

Every Police Force has its 'punishment' postings, and ours is no exception. Over the years different sub-divisions have been identified as the punishment spot. In 1982 my Chief Superintendent reminisced about 'when you were sent to Wallsend for punishment'. In 1977, when I returned from University, it was generally acknowledged the Bridewell in Newcastle was a 'punishment posting'. My contemporaries were said to be there because of transgressions against Police Regulations or breaches of discipline, or because of some conflict with the hierarchy. One Inspector had twice been breathylised and after being fined at Court had been reduced in rank and sent to the Bridewell. Another was nick-named 'the Thief' by the constables and Sergeants, and was reputed to have committed some excellent shopliftings. When the Director of Public Prosecutions finally recommended no charges be brought, 'the Thief' declined to resign and was sent to the Bridewell as the only punishment the system still retained. He never talked about his arrest or suspension from duty and the exact details of this agreement to resign (said to have been made with the senior management) exists only among the stories and mythologies which had accrued; but reflect the
beliefs prevalent among staff in the Bridewell.

It was ironic to watch a well-known store detective bring in thieves and be asked by 'the Thief' to describe what had happened. She never failed to look disgusted and on more than one occasion complained to me she wanted to reply:

"...they did just what you did; they came in, weighed everything up, walked around then took what they were after and then slipped out with the stuff well hidden..." (from fieldnotes).

Yet another of my associate Inspectors in the Bridewell was reputed to be in disgrace because of his domestic and marital troubles. He had allegedly caused something of an embarrassment to the administration. The consensus of opinion said he was reaping his reward by serving what was one of the longest postings to the Bridewell in recent years.

The logic is clear. Those who transgress have to be reminded of the basic tenets of police society and have to relearn the ground rules at a point where they are most apparent. A Superintendent, writing in 1982 about the system, concluded:

"...Inspectors posted to the Bridewell generally accept the posting with reluctance. Reasons put forward are the type and place of work. I am of the opinion that the main reason is that this posting has been used as a 'punishment' station and as a result the job has lost status..."


Punishment was therefore included for those who had to learn from their mistakes, as well as for those who returned from the margins of the outside world to be re-incorporated into the system. Since 1977 the Bridewell has also been used as a place to train newly promoted Inspectors who may not have experienced the hurly-burly of 'life on the ground' to the extent presented by the Bridewell situation. The training is thereby built up by experience and the Inspector is thrown in at the deep end and expected to cope and survive. The Superintendent's report (quoted above in respect of this being a 'punishment' station)
is critical that Inspectors are merely moved in and start a shift which might bring a range of problems, yet have no training of any kind for what is to come.

The Bridewell is situated in the centre of Newcastle and has been in its present position and more or less in its present form since it was built and opened in 1931. Its spatial settings and its furnishings in 1977 were rough and spartan, as photographs (Fig. 7) show. A hard, somewhat severe feeling pervades the place, but the staff quickly come to term with this and accept it as normal. It is enclosed within a larger Police and Court building, set apart and deliberately made into a 'prisoner area' to exclude the outsider. Access is through an arch into an enclosed yard from which a set of stone steps lead to a locked door with spy hole. A further large wooden door then gives access to the Charge Room itself. This is the scene of furious activity on most days, with police gaolers, detectives, prisoners, lawyers and others milling around in what looks like chaos. Yet there is always a pattern to the activity in this 20' square room.

The Inspector sits on a high stool at an enormous brass edged desk of considerable proportions. This is 'the charge desk' and it plays a central part in the Bridewell activity. It is scarred and marked from 50 years of continuous use. Charge sheets, bail records and the Record Book for every detainee lie across its surfaces. The desk is the central symbol in the Charge Room and with its two sloping surfaces and central flattened area for pens, rulers and books forms a suitable place for those who come through the Bridewell to lean on and discuss recent arrests, the 'great days of policing', the latest stories about colleagues and the politics of 'the job'.

Two other desks and a table of doubtful age, (which are 25 years old to my knowledge, and the worse for wear) make up the other furniture in the room across from the charge desk. A further ancient table, even more scarred and battered, is propped against the charge desk. This is the 'property table' on which all the possessions of the client are placed for recording. The floor is
Fig. 7. Photographs of the Bridewell, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1977.

(a) Constable John Minto awaits arrivals at the Bridewell entrance.

(b) Constable Wanless and Doris, the Matron, at the Charge desk.
Fig. 7 continued...

(c) Across the Charge desk – the grill gate to the Cell block

(d) The 'property table' beside the Charge desk
(e) Along the cell corridors and through the grill gates into the gloom.

(f) Joan Knowles, an anthropologist, pays a visit to me in the field and tests out 'the cage'.
(g) The Matron escorts Joan along the 'female' cell corridor.

(h) The 'prisoner' is bedded down on the wooden bench, in the tiled cell. Previous occupants have left a wealth of grafitti.
dull grey vinyl, while a wooden bench for the clients to sit on is screwed to one wall, alongside a dozen dull, green, worn and institutionalized staff lockers. Some of these - the majority - are also over 20 years old.

In the corner a cooker is squeezed next to a broken sink unit and a kettle continuously heats water for tea which is drunk from white china pint mugs. The cooker and the sink unit are the only new things since I first saw the place in 1955, when I had been a cadet in the same Charge Room. Then the cooker had been a typical 1930's model and the kettle I'd had to fill to make the endless pots of tea had been a huge, black, cast-iron beast; now the kettle is aluminium.

There are two rooms off the Charge Room, one known as the 'Doctor's Room' and the other the 'Detention Room'. The former room planned and supposedly used for medical examinations is rarely used by a Doctor or Police surgeon for anything other than the most minor medical matter or the uncomplicated breathyliser case, because of its unsuitability, its poor lighting and its complete lack of hygiene. It is continually used to store prisoners until they can be processed, or to interview juveniles with their parents. Because it is only partially secure it is only used to hold or interview clients who are assessed as being less villainous. Such classification of the difficulty of the client is made almost within seconds of his arrival, as we shall see, and is rarely misjudged.

The Detention Room has a loose table and chairs, but barred windows and lockable door. It is used to house the slightly more contentious case, such as the juvenile, who because of his non-adult classification is marginal and consequently difficult to categorise. Because the juvenile client is ambiguous, his place of detention is never in the depths of the cell complex, but like the client, is always situated on the margins. The Detention Room is never identified as being as 'hard' as a cell, though the door is 'softer' and less formidable; but in every other respect it is similar to a cell. This room is also used to house the adult who is not easily defined as a 'real prig', and who has perhaps never been into an arrest situation before.
Some of these offenders are very difficult to place within our inculcated classificatory categories. They therefore are treated like juveniles, as marginal to the machinery of action which sets out to deal with the clients as if the binary of 'prigs' and 'polises' was a perfectable reality.

If the client is more easily defined as a 'real prig', so the ability to control him in temporal and spatial terms becomes more definitive and is more easily understood. Essentially the Bridewell is the central point in a very busy city where the conflict over street-level social order occurs. It is the basic point where the power conflict between 'prig' and 'polis' is played out. It is the immediate follow-up to the street occurrence where the arrest is defined.

The 'real prig' or 'body' brought into the Bridewell is controlled by a series of actions designed to closely confine him and control his movement. As his classification becomes more clearly revealed and ambiguity to the system is removed, he is subjected to deeper containment in a spatial sense. i.e., deeper within the Bridewell's cell area. Control in terms of movement, access to friends, access to legal assistance, and over his personal belongings is intensified.

On one side of the Charge Room a barred gate gives access to a staircase of stone and white glazed brick. This staircase leads to the Courts above and the cells below. (See Fig. 7).

The upward flight is broken by another system of barred gates and a stone landing where prisoners sit while waiting their call to the Courts above. In the late afternoons and evenings, when the areas available for ambiguous clients are filled to capacity, these stairs and the landing are used to house the overspill of arrested persons who are not going to remain in the Bridewell for a long period. Short stay 'prigs' who are to be bailed might be sat on the stairs behind the locked and barred gate leading from the Charge Room. They are then contained, still within sight so their actions can be monitored. They are not in the cells and in effect are not subject to what I have chosen to call 'hard confinement'. 
On Saturday afternoons when the flood of juvenile shoplifters is such that the detention room no longer can comfortably house those waiting the arrival of parents, guardians or social services then accommodation to the rules is necessary. Often their variable demeanour, sex and age difference, as well as their identification as 'potential prig' or 'silly kid' makes their adjacent confinement impossible. All of the areas described then become temporary homes for the juvenile offenders, provided they are free from use by 'real prigs'.

Halfway between the landing and the door to the Court dock is an area of bars and white tiled brick known as 'the cage' (Fig. 7). This is set off from the staircase above the tiled and barred landing described above. 'The cage' is the most austere holding area within the Bridewell, consisting of white glazed brick, metal bars, and a barred gate. All the Bridewell gates have automatic locks which slam shut and fasten. 'The cage' is the last resort for 'the animal', who cannot be constrained by being placed in a cell.

During the time I was in the Bridewell 'the cage' was used more as a threat than an actual lodging. One berserk, drunken young man, who smashed up an accident ward at the local hospital then tore his clothes to ribbons and started to wreck a cell, was placed in 'the cage'. This youth was problematic for us on that nightshift, for he shook the bars of 'the cage' and screamed continually. Yet we knew he wasn't a 'real prig' and that when he sobered up from his obvious severe binge he would probably be apologetic. Because of his demeanour and his wildness, (which meant the hospital had declined to handle him - although he was more ill than criminal), it was to our benefit to have him in 'the cage' rather than in a cell. His proximity to the Charge Room meant we were constantly aware by his noise just what stage his drunkeness had reached. 'The cage' then was the ultimate sanction we had for the absolutely wild animal; usually a cell sufficed.

The cells are identical for males and females, with terrazzo
floors, walls and ceilings, hard wood slab beds and wooden fixed pillows. Each cell has its own toilet basin, flushed by means of a press-button system. The corridors to both sets of cells are bar-gated and set between them is a room occupied by the female matron who maintains the security of the female prisoners. Often a civilian matron might be unavailable and this position would be taken by a policewoman.

Male prisoners to be kept for any length of time and not dealt with in the Doctors room, the detention room, or the landing or on the stairs, are all afforded the same treatment in the cell block. However 'softer enforcement' might be given to certain categories of female prisoner detained overnight. Sometimes the matron will leave the cell door open and allow a female detainee to come out of her cell and walk the length of the 30' corridor and sit on the loose seats behind the grill gate. From there she can talk to the matron through the gate or exchange a word with the gaolers going to the male cell corridor opposite. Such relaxation of the usual 'hard enforcement' depends on how many others are being dealt with. If the Bridewell is busy then such small gestures are impractical. Furthermore such a privilege can only be given to a female who is not a 'prig'. Such a female prisoner might be given more than one blanket or even be given tea by the matron when she brews up for the Inspector and the gaolers above.

None of these small indicators of different status or 'soft enforcement' is ever afforded to male adult prisoners. All are locked up in a cell. None is ever allowed to wander the cell corridor unescorted - although this is also because the design of the male block has created a corridor on three sides and a prisoner could be out of sight. The female corridor, only some 30' long and a cul-de-sac, means they can always be observed. However there is an asymmetry in the containment of males and females.

In addition to being where the 'bodies' are brought subsequent to their arrest in the City centre of Newcastle, the Bridewell is the transit point for the 'bodies' arrested and detained for
Court in the surrounding Sub-Divisions of City West, Gosforth, Newburn and City East areas (see Fig. 6). It is also the transit point for those convicted and sentenced by Courts to the north of Newcastle, such as Berwick and Morpeth. The central collection point is the Bridewell, for the onward transmission to Durham Prison some 15 miles to the south. Linguistically these 'prigs' are always referred to as 'bodies'. There is a 'body count', to ensure the numbers are correct and none have escaped; there are 'Body Receipt Books' for those en-transit to Durham Prison. They are not human, rather they are animals or cattle, or even just meat! As I have already suggested, the body is a symbolic means of representing the social condition and ideology. The history of discipline and control of the body, as Foucault (op.cit.1977: 24 - 31) shows, reflects how those involved in systems of control and punishment in our society have always understood it is the body that is being controlled, distributed, utilised and manipulated. This use of course is not confined to the Police. In a Times report (20.6.80) the legal director of MIND is reported as saying:

"...there was a monstrous body-swapping exercise which resulted in patients not needing secure conditions being sent to special hospitals..."

Patients therefore become bodies, as Goffman (op.cit.1961) shows in his essays on mental hospitals, and such 'total institutions' contain a range of methods for dealing with the control of people. To translate people into non-human terms allows those in control to short circuit the normal rules of interaction that pertain in normal society. It allows conflict and difficulties created between humans in such a situation to be resolved more easily. This reduction of prisoners to 'bodies' is linguistically portrayed by the 'capture' of the 'body'. The link between a perception of the anonymous 'bodies' and the animal world is made. To 'real polises' and detectives, the 'body' is always 'captured' just like an animal, and the language used is redolent of the hunt for wild beasts. For example..."we've captured three bodies, but one got away..." (from fieldnotes).
A marginal 'polis' can reveal his lack of insiders knowledge by failing to understand the realities of the use of the body as metaphor. A story of how the ex-county 'polis', (the 'sheep-dipper from the sticks') revealed his true colours as an administrator was repeated on more than one occasion during the time I was in the Bridewell. On the amalgamation this man had been placed in the City Centre to administrate the 'collar feelers and fingerers of bodies'. One of his new subordinates had 'phoned and told him:

"...I'm at the West End with a body."
The 'sheepdipper' had retorted with horror:
"A body! What did it die of?..."

The roars of laughter this story always produced strengthened the structures and modes of thought of the real polises on the 'ground'. Here was reinforcement of the dual classification of 'us' and 'them' existing within the Force organisation. Knowledge of the harsh realities of how 'prigs' or 'bodies' are lodged and an understanding of the nuances of control suggests further binary refinements can be made from the language used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>real polises</th>
<th>ambiguous or marginal polises</th>
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<tr>
<td>collar feelers,</td>
<td>administrators, the hierarchy,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fingers, body</td>
<td>non-combatants, Esso men.</td>
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<td>snatchers.</td>
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<td>on the ground</td>
<td>high flyers</td>
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<tr>
<td>capture machines</td>
<td>those who've never seen an angry man</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tough, crime</td>
<td>country men, sheep dippers,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fighting city men</td>
<td>village yokels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in prig areas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a similar vein comments on the Toxteth riots and events in the smouldering inner cities of the summer of 1981, have been used to polarise styles that exist in policing in differing parts of the country. A Devon and Cornwall officer who questioned the Merseyside style of Policing, (Police Review: 22.1.82) was firmly put in his place by P.C. Bill Bird, in the Police Review letters column (12.2.82). He reminded Terry Jenkins of Devon and Cornwall:

"...Yet again we have another community policeman expressing his views on the riots in various parts of the country..."
"...As usual the officer concerned is a village 'bobby' from some remote part of the country, where the community is close knit and every one knows everybody's business. This time the officer is Terry Jenkins of Cornwall who looks after the villages of Beacon...and Penegon (whose population) added together would equal the total number of residents in one street in Toxeth...

It is necessary for each section of police society (and most other societies) to constantly set out these parameters of belief and action. Thus the construction of a cultural identity and the creation of a concept of self are psycho/social terrains whose existence is mostly taken for granted and are unplanned, yet built up in a complex series of logical oppositions which must be learned to achieve practical mastery.

In a similar way the body of the 'prig' is a carrier of semantic messages about structural forms. Its definition and use as a metaphor for disorder and potential chaos is essential to those on the ground who are forced by the crucial dynamism of conflict to be always in command of a situation.

This fieldwork revolves around how these conflicts are resolved in respect of the 12,000 brought into the Bridewell and who are logged, searched, questioned, haggled over, harrassed, sympathised with, manipulated, negotiated with, transported, fought with, occasionally shackled, always controlled or 'nailed', laughed with or at, fed and watered, charged, bailed, remanded, reluctantly released or eagerly got rid of. All of these clients are short stay visitors to the Police Bridewell. Only a handful are with us for longer than two days; most are bailed. Only weekend prisoners are in for two days until the Monday morning courts and we only rarely have someone for more than two days. These streams of prisoners arrested for everything from disorderly behaviour to murder are the province of a constant stream of 'real' and ambiguous controllers.

These customers, or 'bodies' in the Newcastle Bridewell form the basis of my first collected fieldwork. The term Bridewell is derived from a palace near St. Bride's well in London, which was
used as a house of correction, a jail. It is at the point of control, where a dynamic tension of order is laid out, and is therefore a place of power. It is a place where a particular point of contact/separation is used to create boundaries of action between the 'polises' and their antagonists. The Charge Room in the Bridewell is a place which is itself charged with special meanings for those involved in the power struggle. 1.

General categories of 'police' and 'public' in such a situation are too vague and imprecisely demarcated. The situation, as I have said, is one charged with social and psychological dynamism, contained within the activity of maintaining basic power over 'the disordered classes' at street level. Classifications therefore are collapsed into tightly defined and particular categories of specific policemen (e.g., 'real polises; sheep dipper etc.,') and varying classifications of the public (e.g., 'real prigs, animals, just-a-daft-lad, almost human'). We are therefore dealing with an imprisoned perception, constrained by severe social and spatial practice laid down by generations of 'real polises' to maintain their rigid defence of a whole complex of ideological boundaries.

The bodily contact situation in the Charge Room, between the institution of law enforcement and the alleged offender, results in the inequalities Leach says will always exist between the categories 'entity A' and 'entity not A', in the Euler diagram (Fig. 4.). As Leach reminds us, there is a tendency for the dominance between the categories to always run from the institution to the individual, with power exerted by the former

1. I do not believe it is accidental that the language of 'charging' has crucial meanings for the participants in the system. The idea of 'charging' someone with an offence, in the 'charged' atmosphere of the 'Charge Room' occurs because these semantics of language have long ago been made to fit logically into the structural package. Francis Huxley (1976) has explored these 'accidental parallels of language' and shows how the structural logic existing within the use of such terms can be made explicit. Can it also be accidental that the Charge Room telephone extension just happens to be 252, the same number as a 'charge' under Army discipline? Perhaps some telephone engineer, having experienced army discipline and knowing to be put 'on a 252' meant being put on a charge, chose this extension for this room in a completely logical manner!
over the latter. In the Charge Room and the Bridewell the purpose of the institution of law is to take others and bend them to the will of those charged with its implementation. This is expressed in symbolic, legal or bureaucratic language. For instance, in the Bridewell, we hear constantly expressed the desire to 'straighten him out', or 'nail him down'. Such devices are converted into action, so the prized and most highly valued activities are those that take the 'prig' and subvert him to the belief that order equals stasis; while disorder is equivalent to uncontrolled movement which is countered by the activities of labelling, categorising, imprisoning or converting. All are expressions of dominance, energy, power and control.

To have the dominance run in a counter direction, i.e., from the 'prig' to the 'polis' is inconceivable. This would be chaos and social disaster. It is energy without order; a reversible world. Any attack on the 'polis', whether this be verbal or physical, is a challenge to the symbols of known order within police society. In an ideal world the symbols of dominance would be sacrosanct. Any such breach of the external boundary or to the purity of the symbol of the law is an attack on the concept of society, which results in a furious defensiveness by the 'polis'. To be brought into the Bridewell is therefore to be brought into the initial place of purification through a complex set of symbolic procedures concerned with re-structuring a social defaulter. It is a beginning of conversion from crooked and bent, to straight and in-line, via punishment. For, as Mary Douglas (op.cit.1966:191) suggests:

"...the yearning for rigidity is in us all. It is part of our human condition to long for hard lines and clear concepts..."

(ii) IN THE FIELD - FIRST IMPRESSIONS

The returning prodigal son may have an awareness of no longer fitting, which comes from within. The reflexive quality of the anthropological experience may require him to work out new social obligations, to experience new world views, to create new definitions of the self, seek new aspirations, and interpret
a new consciousness which arises particularly out of the contextual interaction.

The culture shock the anthropologist experiences when he returns to his own society, which Burridge (1969:160) describes graphically was as great for me as if I had been away in some exotic 'field' for years. I had moved to the margins of police society and out spatically to a University and finally had returned. It was as if I had never seen such a place as the Bridewell before in my life. Yet nothing had changed, as I have shown. The specificity of the experience is revealed in my fieldnotes. These vividly display the experience of moving back from academia, across a boundary and back into structure as a neophyte:

Case Study 1.

Fieldnotes - Day 1 - Wednesday 2pm. In the Bridewell - first impressions - how austere it all is. The surroundings have not changed in 22 years. Furniture - large, grim, battered and Victorian. The charge desk is enormous and is best written at standing up...there is a high stool provided. Sitting on the stool raises one above the client and so one maintains status. Fluorescent light overhead. Windows are dull, opaque glass blocks and let in little light. The room is about 20' square. I have been allocated a dull green locker, about 7' high and 1' wide and deep. There is no key and it is locked so I can't use it. These have been here since 1955 when I was first in this place. The sink unit and the cooker in the corner are changed, although not new. The grill gate at the top of the stairs down to the cells has changed colour. The bars are now a hideous orange. They used to be dull green. Have the swinging '60's had an effect on 'insititutional green paint'? The overall impression is a grim, harsh, miserable, unlovely place, dirty and seedy.

The place is bustling with the 'jailers' - i.e. the resident 'polises' who work in the Bridewell, and with the prisoners and the visiting 'polises' from the courts, the adjacent divisions and the C.I.D. The half dozen or so regular jailers run the place and the transit of the 'prigs' to and from the six courts that are sitting upstairs above us. The jailers log the movements of the 'prigs' - e.g., 'To court - 2.15pm; from Court to cells - 3 p.m,' and so on. They list the 'prigs' property onto records called 'body receipts' to be returned with the 'body' to the Prison, when the Courts have all finished. They also mark up all the decisions of the Court on the charge sheets piled up on the charge desk, and show the movement and decisions made for each 'body'. e.g., remanded in custody; bailed by
the court to (date); or, sentenced to 3 months imprisonment, etc. They ferry the 'bodies' up from the cells, back to the cells, out into the prison van - 'two by two, like the animals in the ark', and the grill gates slam and the automatic deadlocks clash as they close into place. There are several sets of master keys, which we all keep with us and with which we can open any door. Every jailer has his own set.

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It is Wednesday and it is a 'crime day' in Court. The half dozen courts above have been dealing with some 200 cases during the day, all classified as 'crime' cases. Traffic cases are on Tuesday and Friday. Over 20 'prigs' have been brought from Prison this morning on remand. Most of them will be further remanded during the day until the case is ready to be heard. The odd one will be sentenced, but most will return back to Prison and an odd extra one newly remanded or sentenced to imprisonment will join them and go off in the prison van at about 4p.m. The progress of the law is inexorably slow and always there are records and signatures for each prisoner, over and over again. Each 'prig' means entries in a maze of books and always signatures to show all the regulations and rules have been followed. As the 'prigs' are ferried to and fro, they are handcuffed, because the corridors to the courts are not secure. The jailers treat me like an initiate and gently instruct me in the practices, which I should know because after all I am nominally in charge. The jailers warn me to watch the young 'uns, because they tend to be the runners and have to be watched closely. The regular 'prigs' all spar with the staff and try to get little favours such as cigarettes out of their property and visits from their friends. The regular staff deflect their requests with ease and deny them, because the practices, the situation, the chronically overcrowded space and the system says that is how it should be...

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From this first Case Study, which records only a tiny fraction of the activity of the first day we can see the clients are dealt with as if they were not human. They are bodies, who are ferried about and 'vanned up' like animals in Noah's ark. The premises are harsh and have little in the way of comfort. The noise of names being called, the constant comings and goings and the clash of the grill-gates and deadlocks make the analogy with a market place most appropriate. This is a meat-market where the clients are denied their potential humanity and are listed in 'Body Receipt' books.
The Bridewell is an extremely stark and inhuman place considering that in its relatively small area it handles several thousands of human interactions each year. But by an initial refusal to acknowledge the humanity of the customers, the need for human surroundings ceases. Furthermore, because the Inspectors are themselves 'in prison', in that they are in the Bridewell for punishment, and the jailers are all long-service constables who have no political power and rarely any hope for promotion or any perk from the system other than their 'day shift' job in the Bridewell, the possibility of them being given priority in the annual budget estimates for new furniture and facilities is not high.

Thus the 'prig' or 'body' is subjected to measures designed to enforce his social death and this perception of the inhumanity of the 'body' is constantly reinforced by the practices generated during the wheelings and dealings following his arrest. There is a progressive de-personalization of the individual. This must be carried out, I suggest, to remove the initial pollution the 'prig' inevitably possesses. The 'prig' is a prime social symbol of anti-structure. As Thorpe (op.cit.1980:42) suggests the main target of the law:

"...is still...as it was more explicitly in the nineteenth century, the 'dangerous classes' - unorganised labour or the unemployed, marginal, transient and easily stigmatised groups, the non-respectable workers and the undeserving poor..."

The redemption of the 'prig' therefore requires immediate action by the 'polises' to reduce this symbol of chaos and to create order out of potential disorder and danger. In consequence, a progressive de-personalisation of the individual 'prig' is instituted to remove this polluting potential. It is the commencement of his or her purification.

The client in the Bridewell is stripped of personal identity and commences a process of conversion. The name is taken and written down. It is 'nailed' or fixed to the charge sheet or the entry in the 'Record of Persons Brought to the Station' and is then numbered and indexed. The date of birth is assiduously sought and the physical description is removed and written down, so that the
height, colour of hair, scars, colour of eyes, birth marks etc., are all taken from the person, collected on written record and made stable and known.

The outer surface is transformed. In some instances the clothes of the 'prig' are removed. Always the tie and belt are taken in case the client decides to commit suicide and so once again takes his own destiny into his hands and removes it from those who should be in control. Cigarettes are also denied to maintain control over the 'prig', but may be used to make deals or negotiate with him. Items which maintain self-identification, such as watches, rings, charms, medallions, jewellery and the like are usually removed if at all possible. These are counted, listed, signed and countersigned and locked away. Explanations for this practice are concerned with safety. 'Real polises' are aware there exists a very small number who will try to kill themselves while in custody, or will mutilate themselves, attempt to slash their wrists or carry out some similar act of self-defacement. In the vast majority of cases this fear is un-justified, but the system demands that clients be treated equally: of course this never occurs. Those clients who are going to be with the Bridewell staff for a limited period, such as the motorist who has been breathylised and who is from the 'almost-human-non-prig' section of society might not have his watch taken or his tie removed. These clients rarely go into a cell to be left alone. Usually they are dealt with and released without experiencing what I have described as 'hard enforcement'.

The 'real prig', in contrast, will usually be stripped of all of these small signifiers of individuality. Some clients are stripped and washed or deloused because of their actual physical dirt, which openly denies purity and has the potential for immediate pollution. On my first day back in the Bridewell I noted in my fieldnotes just how often we washed after dealing with the 'prig' and his belongings. Once clean, stripped of personal possessions and fully recorded, the prisoner is moving to a preferred institutional uniformity.
Occasionally this need to depersonalise the 'prig' reaches excessive limits and fights arise as the client tries to maintain control over some item. I was usually willing to back down over items that were fastened to the skin and saw little point in having some physical conflict over such items as the increasingly prevalent nose studs the young punks were wearing. I suspect my reluctance to force the issue and remind the 'prig' just who was in control, was looked on by the jailers as a weakness. No doubt they believed this stemmed from my long absence from the 'front line'.

Occasionally the need to remove all potential weapons which might be used against us (or against the self) produces hilarity. One young punk, arrested for one of the 'hooligan offences', had a coat and trousers which were built up from separate pieces of denim, each carefully safety pinned together. To have stripped him would have meant unpinning him, because he was literally fastened into his clothes and we would have been left with some fifty or sixty safety pins and perhaps a dozen or more pieces of denim. He pleaded with us to leave him as he was. He quite rightly concluded that if he was undone he would be unlikely to get the pieces together again in order to leave the Bridewell as he arrived.

Other instances of removal of items are not so funny. They reinforce the observation that the whole thing is a symbolic action of stripping in order to deny identity. The Justice of the Peace magazine, (20.5.78: 303), under the heading 'Undignified and Unnecessary', reports:

"...I was astonished and repelled to read of the goings-on at a West Yorkshire police station recently when three policemen were used to restrain a 19 year old married woman while a fourth used soap to remove her wedding ring. The Bradford magistrates' court was told that it was standard police practice to..."

1. Thorpe, et al (ibid: 44) describe 'hooligan offences' as those which in practice are only offences if the police define them as such. They are offences without victims, such as breach of the peace, insulting behaviour or words, disorderly conduct and obstructing the police, where everything may depend on subjective judgement by the police, on context, on mood, on stereotypes and gut reactions.
"...remove all property which could be
taken away for safe keeping...

(The report continues that the police have
said wedding rings will no longer be forced
from hands. The Clerk of the Bradford Court
is said to be...

"...pleased to hear that the rule has been
changed. In future, rings will only be
removed if they are sharp or ornate or if
there are indications that they would be used
to cause injury or damage. Are there any
other police areas, where this archaic and
humiliating practice still goes on...

In freedom, the individual is personally clothed and named, and
though trends in fashion mean few are able to claim total
individuality, the nuances of style allow a personal
interpretation of humanity for each.

In control, the 'prig' takes on a numbered and negatively
perceived animalistic existence. His humanity is denied and
he is taken possession of, for his own well being. The prisoner
is to be totally taken care of, denied a free will and expected
likely to try to damage himself or the system. One of the
obsessions of Sub-Divisional commanders at some police stations
is the graffitti the 'prigs' still manage to impose onto the
cell doors, even without their rings and personal belongings.
As can be seen from the photographs (Fig.7), this is not
inconsiderable in some instances. It includes heavily incised
names, nicknames, dates of visits and remands, the particulars
of loved ones and sexual abilities; and inevitably encompasses
a hatred of the 'polises'. I have known Sub-Divisional
Superintendents so convulsed with anger at this denial of the
flow of control that they insist on each client being charged
with a further offence of criminal damage for the display of
graffitti. Needless to say it is not too difficult to find the
culprit who writes out his nickname and his remand date, e.g
'Tozza was here. Remanded to Durham 6.11.77'

There seems to be something of a compulsive nature to this
activity among constrained 'prigs' and there is no doubting the
often astounding ingenuity used to create graffitti in
circumstances where most personal items have been removed. One
prisoner had removed his trousers, used the metal zip-pull to scratch in his own personal message of identification then fastened his trousers again; confounding the Sergeant in charge as to how such a deeply gouged signature had been achieved.

My first clients on my first day back in the field all conform to the well understood stereotypes I have touched upon:

Case Study 2

Day 1 - 2.30 p.m. I look at the list of 20 or so who are in custody and find the three now going up to court are known to me. Not that I recall these individuals, but I see they are the 'family' names of 'prigs' who have been going through this process for generations. I note 3 young brothers are going up for robbery - a classifiably serious offence. They are aged between 18 and 21 years. This is statistically a 'mugging' but I note the charge concerns robbing a man of £5 and a jacket worth another fiver. I talk with them and discover that their elder brother is now 31. I have arrested him for warehousebreaking some 15 years previous when he was a teenager. The detective in this case growls and snarls hatred for the family, and mutters about the 'prig solicitor' who is representing them. I discover that the robbery is essentially an inter-familial dispute between half-cousins and that the injured person is an equally known 'prig' from a family of 'prigs'. None of this will be revealed by this statistic for robbery. I scan the charge sheets for the 20 or so who are in custody and who will probably be going to prison on remand. All are charged with offences that in reality are 'small beans'. The largest (in quantifiable terms) concerns criminal damage and burglary totalling just over £200. I recall that as a C.I.D. officer these families were major targets. The jailers once again relate to my three years at University and eight years on the drug squad, when they re-instruct me in their realities and point out which among the 20 on remand are 'real prigs'. All are from 'famous families'. I note that a seedy, rather pathetic looking man who is going back to prison on remand is set apart by the jailers and also by the other prisoners. He is 'a consenting gross indecency in public' and he stands slightly apart from the burglars and thieves as the prison van is loaded. There is a hierarchy of prisoners and all of the 'real prigs' are in age, family and status groups.

Two detectives from another Division visit the Bridewell to see one of the prisoners. They look through the court lists for the day. One, who has been in the East End Division for a number of years, reminisces over the 'family names' he recognises. He asks me, 'Is old H... still coming in, I remember locking him up years ago'. Then he realises from the dates of birth on the sheets that the particulars of the arrest and charge are for old H....'s son.
Of the 200 cases at Court on any day, it is these regulars who are of prime interest, these 'real prigs' from the 'prig families'. Their fate, their relationships, their capture, their deeds and exploits and their defeats are discussed when other prisoners and incidents are long forgotten.

Case Study 3

Day 1. 5 p.m. Of the 21 who are returned to Prison at 5 p.m., all but the odd one have famous family names. All are young men of between 18 and 22. They are all familiar with the procedures; much more so than I am. They line in two's behind the grill gate that leads down to the cells, sorting out their own relationships and creating their own order. The jailer who goes for them, mentions lining them up for the ark in two's. I note the reference to animal metaphor when dealing with the 'prigs'. There are enquiries about property left by families and good humoured jousting with the jailers about the chances of getting cigarettes, which are all deflected. I am struck by the numbers of lurid and colourful tattoos and mutilations I see amongst the 21. Most of the 'prigs' have arm tattoos and some have face and forehead symbols that set them off from the clean, shiny polises. Body symbolism is rife! I had forgotten about the tattoos in this area of police work. University students don't go in for them much and neither did the drug clients I had for eight years, although they were concerned with bodily symbolism in relation to hair and clothing. But these young 'prigs' are covered and I am very aware of them; they strike you very forcibly.

Another sentenced man comes from Court with a jailer just before the van leaves. He knows the ropes and before anyone says anything, he turns out all of his property onto the table next to the charge desk for listing. He asks for his cigarettes as do nearly all those from whom they are taken, but is told these will be listed and will travel with him. He accepts this totally without complaint, obviously through familiarity. It is fascinating to watch these clients co-operating in their own containment.

The removal of personal possessions; the signatures required from the 'prig' to attest to such removal; the denial of the visit from friends; the identification of the 'prig' as a 'body' over which power to dictate movement is maintained, are all signifiers. The action and dominion maintained by the
'polises', even to the point of loading prisoners like 'animals into Noah's ark - two by two', as Goffman (op.cit. 1961:47) contends, is intended to:

"...disrupt precisely those actions that in civil society have the role of attesting to the actor and those in his presence that he has some command over his world - that he is a person with...self determination, autonomy and freedom of action..."

These processes Goffman (ibid:50) describes as 'mortifying'. They are, he contends, essentially generated by:

"...efforts to manage the daily activity of a large number of persons in a restricted space, with a small expenditure of resources..."

This is true in the Bridewell. There is restricted space and a large number of persons are dealt with inside that space. However this is more than just a Goffmanesque 'effort to manage' a difficult situation. This is a hermeneutic interpretation of classifiably disordered clients, rendered docile and constrained. This is a system of using pre-determined categories of inhumanity to institute an initial process of re-intergration. Analogies with religious concepts of sinners being reclaimed through punishment and self-denial are apparent in dealings within the Bridewell.

In this interpretation of a correct social order, the oppositions defining 'prigs' as 'them - the enemy' are products of the same systems of symbols and metaphor that generate logically positive qualities assigned to 'us' - the good guys! The 'polises' own bodily order and uniformed smartness described above, is contrasted with the 'dirt' negatively attributed to 'them'. 'Dirt' in its literal and metaphorical aspect is a constant theme in the Bridewell. In many anthropological analyses of taboo and conceptual dirt, the attribution of 'uncleanliness' has often to be shown by analogy. In the Bridewell, real dirt and those who are dirty abound! Yet actual dirt is not an absolute indicator that we have a 'prig', as the following cases from the first day of fieldnotes show:
Case Study 4

Day 1. 3p.m. An elderly drunk is brought in. I think I recognize him from years back. Everyone knows him and greets him with cries of, 'not again Willie'. But the admonition is accompanied by smiles and rueful shakes of the head. There is not the aggravation and overt hatred. the 'prig' has received. Through a haze of cheap wine, meths and cider the old drunk grumbles about the inconvenience of the searching and logging procedures and tells us to 'give us a lie doon'. The search is spasmodic and is carried out tentatively because old Willie smells abominably. Warrant officers hurry off to check any outstanding unpaid fines. A jailer instructs me old Willie likes to spend the cold weather inside (prison) and that outstanding warrants are usually put into effect after the summer.

Willie's arrival sparks off a list of stories about famous winos and dossers. 'OMO' and 'DAZ', two famous tramps of the late 1950's are recalled. There are apparently current dossers called 'OMO' and 'DAZ', although the washing powder 'OMO' after which he was named, has been off the shelves for years now. One jailer recalls being sent to a burglary where 2 dossers have grumbled they have had to wait for an hour and a half trying to break into a shop before anyone had called the Police. They had to ensure that they would be inside for their Christmas dinner.

None of these clients are 'prigs'. They are affectionately discussed and the general feeling is they 'shouldn't be in prison, although where else would you put them'. Most of the staff accept there is a section of society that is institutionalised and we - in the Bridewell - are their families and only friends. Indeed we have to fight off the dossers over the winter weeks I recall, or be swamped by those who want the warmth of a cell for the night.

A young man is arrested for theft from a shop. He is quiet and undemonstrative, unlike many others. But it is his body that causes comment. He is slim, and beautifully dressed, in complete contrast to Willie (see above). He is clean and beautifully perfumed with male deodorants and in fact has stolen more perfumes. The jailers and constables extract enormous fun from the situation using typically cartoon type stereotypes, exaggerated considerably. The detective in the case goes in to interview him in the detention room and jokes; 'if I'm not out in half an hour come in armed with a corkscrew'. There are a lot of jokes and limp-wristed pantomiming. The prisoner's overt homosexuality is used to define the actions that we have with him before he is bailed, and re-assert exactly what defines 'us' as opposed to 'them'.
Although this man was absolutely clean in the literal sense, like 'Willie the drunk' he is impure. In this case it is because of his classificatory disordered sexuality. He is similarly perceived to be dirt, impurity and potentially polluting. The 'polises' dealing with classificatory dirt are society's scavengers. I often hear it said that we are 'refuse collectors', or are 'sweeping up the human dross'.

'Real polises' symbolically must be hard, tough, masculine, heterosexual, and in sweeping up human dross risk possible contamination. The homosexual is therefore a creature to be ridiculed, for virile heterosexualty must be defended and the possibilities of a bi-sexual nature of man be denied; for if this macho image is threatened then the system is at risk.

During my Drug Squad days it became apparent that rigid gender roles were not something we could depend upon. Our clients not only challenged constructs about how the mind might be altered by the use of various substances, but often denied rigid sexual classification. One, who was homosexual and used the name 'Fiona', informed me he'd 'had three policemen' and asked if I was surprised. I wasn't, but the Superintendent to whom I related the story was appalled. We had no names and no proof, but the breach of social purity, although only a possibility, was as problematic as if we had found policemen in the very act. This potential pollution is a very real threat, though in itself 'dirt' does not define the 'prig', even though all 'prigs' are entitled 'dirty animals'. The homosexual is not necessarily a 'prig' and neither is the really dirty individual, as the following Case Study shows:

**Case Study 5.**

*Day 1 - It is early evening on the first day. Another client is brought in 'simple drunk'. She is 54 years old and is rough, very dirty and smelly, stinking of wine and cider. She has a strong almost incomprehensible Scots 1.*

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1. Hence the term 'pig' increasingly applied to the police seems also to be structurally correct, for the pig is an animal that is interstitial (Leach, 1967) perfectly situated between the domestic ordered world and the wild, (criminal world). The 'house-pig' was a common feature of the Victorian scene, a family animal, used to clear up the dross and the refuse. It became almost a pet, but finally was killed and eaten by those who had given it a peculiar place in domestic society (see Harrison 1982). The 'police-pig' is similarly placed; needed yet denied, necessary but unwanted.
accent. She swears prolifically at everyone and leaps to her feet threatening violence to anyone near at hand, invoking the name of Celtic football club as she does so. Her property is removed and listed with difficulty and a scarf tightly knotted around her neck is fought over by the policewoman. The accused snarls and threatens violence to her. She tells the policewoman it is her 'tinkers scarf' and that her mother was a 'gypsy'.

Lots of fun is evoked about her smell and much amusement follows when the contents of her old, scruffy, pink plastic handbag are tipped out. Inside is an ornate box with a tablet of perfumed soap valued at over 50p and a large bottle of Faberge men's perfume. The price tags are still in place. This is an obvious and regular sign of shoplifting, but no one pursues this deviancy; yet many of the prigs who have gone to prison on remand just two hours ago are in for property theft which is equal to the value of these items. The staff discuss the possibility of her pleading guilty to theft of these items or telling us where she got them from. There is little likelihood of her telling us anything. We would have to charge her on circumstantial evidence alone and the decision made is based on the observation that it would be more trouble than it is worth. The property is listed and returned to the handbag amidst laughter at the idea that this rather dirty and grubby woman had stolen expensive soap and perfume. Both drunks today have been arrested in response to calls from the public, who have phoned in to report alarm at the drunken state of Willie and this woman.

The fact that the public have reported these drunks causes the staff to grumble that we have to deal with dossers. It is said:

"...if the bloody silly public who have no idea about how the world operates would only mind their own business, then we wouldn't have to deal with half of this rubbish..."

(from fieldnotes)

The misdeameanours of these dossers are merely something to fill in time between the real work relating to 'prigs'. The arrest of a dosser during a busy period when the place is filled with 'prigs' is often the signal for a deal of grumbling or admonition for an arresting officer who has caused such inconvenience. Even with stolen soap and perfume the female dosser above (Case Study 5) was never perceived as being a 'real prig'.

We can see from these few case studies recorded in the first few hours of the first day, how simplified, over-determined
categories of social action are preferred by the 'polises'. There is a constant short-hand of logic which is used to maintain their structure and their control in a real-life conflict situation. They use the control of space to set out what Shirley Ardener (1981.14) has called, 'ground rules and social maps', and use taboo and concepts of impurity continually without ever referring to these ideas by name. They operate through an inculcation which allows them to quickly take on precepts as if they were self-evident concepts, inherited by birth. Just as initial training in the Army is programmed to remove a personal perception from the individual soldier and cause him to function without recourse to any self-analysis, so the 'polises' are similarly constrained.

Even on this first day in the field, it is apparent there is a category of what I have called the 'ambiguous prig' and in consequence the basic dichotomy begins to fall apart. The introduction of this anomalous category produces a tension that would be missing if the ideal duality did in fact exist, and it is the resolution of this tension which introduces a dynamism to the situation. We are, therefore, experiencing the semantic perceptions of the largest, but generally silent or unheard sections of police society. It is rarely the voice of the powerless which achieves a stage for its activities; this is usually reserved for the privileged and in police organisational terms the Inspectors and the 'collarfeelers' at this basic point of police work cannot be centrally important in the perceptions of those senior officers who ultimately control their fortunes. Those senior men must view their own role and their own climb through the ranks as being central to the system. They must, as Mervyn Jones (op.cit.1980) suggests, view these subordinates negatively, yet at the same time proclaim for public benefit, that such men are the 'backbone of the service'. In the Euler diagram (Fig. 4) and in the case studies we are observing structure from the point of view of the Bridewell staff and those 'real polises' on the ground. To them the bosses, the police administrative hierarchy at Headquarters, with all the other ESSO men, constitute an enemy, marginal to their real world of practice. These 'admin' men are therefore structurally equivalent to the 'ambiguous prig'; both exist between Entity 'A' and Entity not-'A' in the model proposed by Leach.
The structures and concepts displayed to me in the Bridewell on this first day were a re-iteration of processes I had experienced as a novice some years previously; they were a first corrective lesson in the place of correction and were necessary if the marginal-mover was to ever gain acceptance into the hierarchy.

The transformation was logically consistent. I was made to face an inversion of experience in the most direct and crucial manner. I had moved from the constructive world of University with its positive qualities and was required almost immediately to undergo the ritualised experience of handling, controlling and manipulating negatively perceived 'animals'.

The symbolic distance from 'real life' experienced in the soft, cloistered ivory-tower of University life was directly inverted in the uncomfortable situation presented by the Bridewell. The student existence is, of course, a kind of liminality where communitas reigns. It is physically and metaphysically outside of society, often with suspended rules of conduct allowing the student to ritually invert and upturn some well established practices of society. University life often has some real physical detachment from the mainstream of society; set outside of towns and cities its students can be said to be neophytes on a pilgrimage or journey from childhood to adulthood on an extended rite de passage. Students in the main, are positively perceived, because of their potential for the future of society; whereas most of us in the Bridewell were in a negatively classified position. The Bridewell experience was therefore a negative repeat of my student situation and one, from which, it is possible to emerge transformed from marginality to a position closer to the centre of power; just as one can move out from University into the central avenues of industry, the military, commerce and politics, on a route to the top echelons of power.

Fieldwork in such a situation, is therefore on-going and takes on a continually reflexive and retrospective framework, as one moves across new social boundaries, from one margin to the next. The anthropologist uses this total history of inculcated practice, of which he is master. This allows him to complete what Ricoeur
(1981:23) has called 'the hermeneutical circle', where explanation and understanding creates interpretation; and where:

"...understanding and self-understanding of comprehension and commitment (becomes) an ineliminable aspect of social scientific knowledge..."

Such involvement is uncomfortable, not the least because it is never possible to leave the field, but because it also means the anthropologist has brought the fieldwork centrally and continually into his life. It is going beyond the experience Mary Douglas (op.cit.1975) envisaged, when she pleaded for anthropology to be seen as relevant in every daily discourse. It is to become subject and object and to incorporate and live an awareness of the unconscious process which the structuralist theorists insist are the basis of the social experience. It is the knowledge of a never-ending theory of practice, for as Thompson (1981:16) suggests in his introduction to a critique of Ricoeur:

"...human action, no less than literary texts, displays a sense as well as a reference; it possesses an internal structure as well as projecting a possible world, a potential mode of human existence which can be unfolded through the process of interpretation..."

These initial impressions on the first day back in the Bridewell are therefore concerned with comprehension, commitment, understanding and above all, with an interpretation of the thought, action and human experience which social practice contains.

(iii) IN THE BRIDEWELL - THE 'REAL PRIG' OR VILLAIN.

There is a constant effort by the 'polises' in the Bridewell to pull every client into a black and white binary. The need to classify is all pervading and a desire for clear-cut categories is uppermost. As Foucault (op.cit.1977:98) shows, the system insists that:

"...for penal semiotics to cover the whole field of illegalities that one wishes to eliminate, all offences must be defined;..."
"...they must be classified and collected into species from which none of them can escape...and this code must be sufficiently precise for each type of offence to be clearly presented...defining crimes and fixing penalties..."

Such a system is an ideal the 'polises' would prefer. In reality the field of illegalities slips and slides continually, while social practice built up around the collection and definition of crimes is also in a dynamic state; and (as we shall see in the section on 'crime') the myth of a clearly definable order of disorder is only poorly maintained at the best of times.

It is not just behaviour and illegalities however that need to be defined. There is a perceptual criteria which constrains and classifies 'the prig' in the same over-determined manner. This over-riding need to fix categories includes those who commit the illegalities. 'Prigs', like the illegalities are inauspiciously and negatively viewed. Ideally they should be eliminated. The need to define sin also extends to the sinner. What then is a 'real prig'? How is he classified? What acts and semiotic indicators are associated with the 'real prig' to set him off from the 'ambiguous prig'? What are the relationships embodied and inculcated into police culture which set up a tangible taxonomic logic of who is a 'real prig' and who is not? Rarely is it just the nature of the offence committed that causes the classification to be attributed. There are other factors at work. Some are obvious, others are less apparent yet are loaded with significance.

Usually the offence would include some public category crime such as theft, burglary or assault. But the value of the property involved can often be quite trivial. As we have seen in the first day of fieldnotes (Case Study 2) the three for robbery of £5 and a jacket were 'real prigs'. Yet within a few days I noted in my fieldnotes that a rapist is perceived as 'a despicable and almost unreal entity...but is not a prig'. Similarly, an awkward client who was arrested after being breathylised, and because of a surfeit of drink, fought the system and all the staff during the whole of his stay in the early hours of one morning, was hated and grumbled over by the 'polises'
dealing with the incident, but was never considered to be a 'real prig'.

Leach (1970:40) describes homologies the English use to classify and distinguish men and creatures, and the categorisation of 'real prigs' follows these constructs. 'Prigs' are hated; they are 'inhuman'. The 'prig' is an animal, he is 'vermin'; the 'scum of the earth'. He is the epitomy of enemies. Delight is shown on his arrival and great pleasure is expressed should he get 'sent down' by the Court. In effect he is someone who is known. He, or his kin have 'been in before'. His assessment as a classificatory species is swift, made immediately upon his arrival. Usually within the first 20 seconds the client is assessed. This almost unconscious process is decided by a number of semiotic pointers.

If the client brought into the Bridewell goes straight to the left of the big charge desk and starts to tip his property out onto the old battered table beside it, he is on the way to being a 'real prig'. Knowledge of the rules helps to classify him and if this understanding is compounded by other acts or items of information, then the signs are quickly interpreted and he can then be 'fixed and nailed down firmly' according to historical precedents for dealing with the traditional enemy. If he is a 'regular' from one of the famous criminal families and comes through the door shouting, 'Aa'mm sayin' nowt, and I want ***** down here at once', then he is a 'real prig', a 'real animal'. To make a request by name for ***** is to show understanding of the system, and by making a request for one of the small group of 'prig solicitors' the client declares himself 'a real prig'. This category of despised individuals, 'the prig solicitor', are those who fight for the 'prig' even when the truth of his guilt is allegedly apparent. They are perceived to be that small group of 'bent lawyers' Sir Robert Mark (1977) complained of. Requests for the services of these men support the perception that the accused is someone who knows the logic of the system and has been here before.

If the client is aggressive this will enhance the speed of the classification, but fighting or aggression in itself does not define 'the prig'. The aggressive or difficult drunken youth
on a Friday night, fresh from the late night licensed disco, will probably be assessed as a 'daft lad with fighting man's beer on board'. Such a client does not exhibit any of the other classificatory signifiers that would put him into the 'prig' category. The main taxonomic classifiers are genealogy allied to regularity. The following Case Study taken from one of many similar in my fieldnotes shows how these two themes come together. The incident concerns two brothers, sons of a 'famous father of the 1950's'. They are also the brothers of a famous prostitute, a 'cow' of some accomplishment - in that she is said to be able to 'perform more tricks per night than the rest of her team put together' (from fieldnotes). This family qualify as 'prigs' both from a genealogical and frequency criteria. In addition, they live in what are known as the 'african villages' which lie in certain parts of the suburbs, where residents are said to be all Bridewell regulars and therefore classify immediately as 'prigs'. (I will say more on this residential classification later).

Case Study 6.

Fieldnotes - Day 123 - During the morning, the C.I.D. came in with M... (yet again!!) ... this is 13 times in the past 5 months. He is the top class, A.I. 'prig' opposition. He has been brought in with O..., who is known but who is not classed as fiercely as a 'prig'. They have been brought in for screwing one of the shops in the town two nights previously when goods valued £1500 have been stolen. Part has been recovered, but most has gone. Within 5 minutes of their arrival it is predicted that **** (prig solicitor) will be on the phone and sure enough the prediction of the detectives and the polises works and it is 4 minutes after their arrival that he calls. At M's house, his mother has called him Colin. His brother K... and his sister C... had stalled and pretended that M... was called Colin, and it has almost worked apparently because the CID men who had gone hadn't known M... by sight. However the uniform man who had gone as 'back up' had come into the house as the sparring had gone on, and told the two CID men that Colin in fact was M... M... is surly and arrogant and is disagreeable during the whole of his stay in the Bridewell and he attempts to threaten and cajole which reinforces his classification as a 'real prig'. Then he tells one of the detectives that the stolen goods have gone to a Pakistani shop owner. There is a warrant to search hurriedly sworn out, but too late the premises are empty... but it doesn't matter, two have been arrested, part property has been recovered so the crime is 'statistically detected' and as one of the detectives says, 'Now we know that black git is taking stuff, he'll come into the frame eventually'. The two will be charged with burglary and the injured persons will have no difficulty in claiming on the insurance...
M...'s appearance in the Bridewell has been greeted by the jailers and the passing 'polises' with delight. He is already on bail 4 or 5 times for various thefts. He is considered to be spinning out the time to put off the day of sentencing, when everyone is certain he will get time. One of the 'polises' who watches the negotiations and manipulations in the case grumbles and growls about M... and he says of his arrest, 'we should just exterminate these bloody animals when we get them'. There is grim satisfaction that M..., the 'real prig' has been captured, dead to rights.

The oppositions in this Case Study, reveal the logic of the system and build up into structural models, echoing the concepts of Levi-Strauss. His contention that the universalistic concern of man is to identify himself as auspiciously cultured and human rather than of nature and therefore animal, is exemplified here. By perceiving 'prigs' as negative 'animals' in a classificatory sense, the 'polis' transforms a variety of wild animals categories from speech into action. These are repeated and lived so continuously they become inculcated as objective structures and are then "reproduced consistently in the form of durable dispositions which are unitary and systematic" (Bourdieu op.cit.1977:85)

Levi-Strauss' assertion that "animals are good to think with", is also used by the 'polises' to promote a further durable disposition embodied in the notion that "Hell is in others" (Levi-Strauss, 1968:422). This fear of the impurity of foreign things and people is realised by the real and symbolic assessment of the 'prig' as a 'wild animal', belonging to untamed nature and not of culture. By extension we find that if the polis = human :: prig = animal, there are whole chains of dualistic homologies contained in the everyday language and actions. When we see that M... and his family and kin live in one of the 'african villages' we can see how a further dualistic self-confirming system is built up and extended, so that:

1. In all the extracts from fieldnotes the names have been amended or omitted. In addition the type of shop and goods stolen have been removed to avoid possible identification.
Always the 'prig' is 'captured', just as 'wild animals' are, and like the actual wild animals of the jungle the 'prig' lives in and around one of the 'african villages' which house families of 'prigs'. The 'african villages' are groups of streets or areas to the West and East of the City centre where the 'prig' families live and are said to 'spawn further generations of dirty little prigs' (from fieldnotes). 'Dirt' in its symbolic and actual sense of the word is again how the 'polis' views the 'african villages', as the following case studies show:

Case Study 7

Fieldnotes - Day 121 From S... Grove in the 'African villages' we have Rosemary T... During the past few months we have had many of the occupants of the houses in S... Grove and like M... Avenue in the East End of the City, the men reckon we could go through the books in the Bridewell and find that we'd had the greater part of the street in at one time or another. These streets, given as an address by the new arrival immediately classify a 'real prig'.

Rosemary T... has been bailed on 3 charges - petty crime - she has failed to appear at Court and has 'gone to earth'. She is brought in snarling and snorting and is greeted with remarks such as 'Hello Rosemary, nice to see you, hope you are prepared for a bed in Durham (prison) tonight'. Rosemary is not yet 20 and is described by all as being 'as hard as the hobbs of hell'. All of the visiting detectives from the East and polises remark on R's large tits, but are certain that no one in his right mind could get sexually involved with her, because 'what state will her knickers be in? She's from the 'sticky mat' houses in the 'african village, ugh!!!' Officers from 'Summons and warrants' tell me her mother and father might try to visit her. She is a 'prig' from 'prigland', and so I ask the usual; 'Do you want us to be too busy to allow time for a visit?' 'No', the summons officer replies with a huge grin on his face, 'let them in, both of them are wanted as well'. It is accepted that because they are 'prigs' they will have shielded her during the 3 months she has been 'off the side'. Mother arrives and is ushered in and is then presented with a warrant for £50 fine or 21 days. She hasn't the money and so has to take the 21 days. Within 2 days the cash is found and she is out).
Fieldnotes - Day 128. Rosemary (see Day 121) appears on remand and applies for bail. Her mother goes before the Court and offers to stand as surety. She is believed to have hidden R... for the 3 months she was 'off the side', and now says to the Court that 'she has never been trouble for years', and therefore is a suitable surety. The prosecuting solicitor asks her, 'isn't it true you were convicted here in December of theft, failed to pay the fine and have just, in the last few days, spent time in prison as an alternative?' Mrs. T... agrees that this was so, but that she had forgotten about it. So she is said to be 'no good as a surety' and her sister is accepted. It is said, by the men, to be 'one big farce'. Obviously any sister of Mrs. T... must be a 'prig' as well and therefore could never be a suitable surety because 'they have no respect for law, they're just bloody animals'. The whole family are said to be the epitomy of 'prigs' and should never get bail. The father has been arrested in the past week and so 3 of the family have been inside within a week.

Rosemary's thefts and fiddles total less than £50. 'Prigs' therefore are not defined by the amount of goods obtained, although it is accepted they steal far more than they are caught for. Rather it is who they are, who their family is, where they live, how often they are brought in, what their attitude is to order and control, and how many brothers, sisters, mothers, fathers - step or real; uncles, aunts, common-law spouses, wives or husbands they have had who are known and similarly identified.

Fieldnotes - Day 110 - 2p.m. A boy of about 13 is brought in for shoplifting. One of the jailers says 'I can almost smell the african village on him'. His style and all his actions are of one who is already very conversant with the system and its rules. As he comes through the door he is taking his property out for listing and he tells me immediately that he is not giving his name or address or saying anything, but that he will give a telephone number for his mother and 'fuck all else'.

The store detective pantomimes behind his back and that she would like to kick him fiercely and the staff smile and classify him as a 'real prig' and treat him with a curt and brusque verbal manner. The telephone number is an East End number, and odds are laid that it will be in a certain area of the 'african village'. The juvenile prig is given a seat in detention and directory enquiries are phoned to come up with the subscriber as T... of No.2 Y... Court. There are roars of delight in the room when the name and address is read out. 'This is the younger brother of ..., and the son of old ..., the bastard'. The youth is brought from detention and is told his name and address and the particulars of his last court appearance are read out to him. He says 'I'm saying fuck all 'til me mother arrives', and turns and walks away to the detention room. A weeping juvenile is brought in, a female, and so we cannot lodge T... with someone who is perceived to be 'non-prig'. We take him downstairs to harsher confinement. Mrs. T. arrives and tells us that
her son has been advised never to give his name and address to the Police'. The detective who has been assigned to the case, and who has worked in the East End for some years and knows the family well snaps back that the Police have had some 'bad times with her family', and that 'if her son didn't go stealing consistently then he wouldn't have bad times'. The detective questions young T.... in the presence of his mother and he denies the theft and alleges the two store detectives are total liars. He gives a story about the stolen property concealed up his jacket sleeves which, the detectives say, 'would have taxed the imagination of Hans Christian Andersen'.

The staff hate him! He is the 'juvenile prig par excellence' who will be the adult 'prig' of tomorrow. This is the prime opposition, 'the bastard T....s, who cannot even tell the truth when they are caught'. The T....s, whose mother says, 'if that's what my lad says happened then that's what happened because my lad doesn't tell lies'.

The detective sits and drinks coffee after they have gone and grumbles to me, 'if only all the clients were T....s or their cousins from the other criminal families, and we could exclude the social workers, the solicitors and the like we could really nail the bastards down.'

As 'real prigs' are 'animals' and are therefore non-human, they are subjected to what I have called 'hard enforcement' as opposed to 'soft enforcement'; hard physical confinement as opposed to soft confinement and in describing the physical confines of the Bridewell I have described how these spatial categories are equated to the category of customer. The real 'prig' is also subject to aggressive verbal directives as opposed to soft. By using instances from the numerous field examples, the homologies of language, thought, and action can be shown to reveal an overall conceptual system. As I have said, we find that 'real prigs = animals = non-humans = nature = wildness', and as a consequence get 'captured'. These captures are always in terms of 'bodies' (living), which being inhuman, are equated with 'meat' (dead).

Once 'captured', the prig is 'caged' or 'bedded down for the night', just like any other animal and is unwillingly given blankets for his sojourn. There is grumbling dissent from the staff about this prescribed facility, which is seen to eminate from the machinations of the 'soft do-gooders' in society. The blankets are only occasionally cleaned, but then their
recipients are always perceived as 'dirt', and the blankets are said to be 'full of animals', which will keep the 'animals we bring in company'. The logic of the system is apparent. We can understand why the inhuman 'prig' is never perceived to really need a blanket, for in nature wild animals seldom use blankets. Blankets are not a regular feature of the houses in the 'african villages' where the prig lives when not in captivity. Constant comment is made by 'polises' who have had to go to the houses in these areas, about the lack of blankets on the beds or their substitution by old coats and dirty rags. These houses are 'sticky mat houses' where a 'polis' sits down with trepidation on sticky furniture and where the smell of ingrained dirt is achieved after some considerable time. In 1983, The Guardian reported a visit to a house by an NSPCC Inspector to a typical 'claggy-mat house' that any detective or 'real polis' will have regular experience of:

"...The Inspector reported: "My feet were sticking to the carpet as I made my way through the litter of derelict furniture. I realised that the floor was covered with dog and cat excreta...The kitchen floor was strewn with dirty smelling clothing and empty tins, there was no food in house... The bathroom was unusable... everywhere the smell was overpowering..."

(The Guardian:28.6.83)

The prig is therefore total 'dirt' and like dirt must be removed to affect an ordered society and you only search his socks and underclothes for stolen property at your peril, for his polluting ability is powerful.

At meal times in the Bridewell the food is delivered on cardboard plates with plastic spoons from a nearby cafe, in a none-too-careful manner. The jailers always 'go down to feed and water them' and so further reinforce their negative perceptions of 'the prig' as being animalistic. The quality of the food leaves a lot to be desired and a change of cafe during the time I was in the Bridewell and a slight raising of the standard of the food was deplored; it equated to 'soft enforcement'. Even when

1. Another phrase used in the North-East is 'claggy mat houses'. 'Claggy = clarts = muddy = sticky dirt'.
breakfast is a rubbery lukewarm egg, it is said to be still 'much too good for 'em'.

The 'prig' is represented by a 'prig solicitor', or 'a dog' who 'barks' for him and is often informed of his arrest within minutes of his arrival in the Bridewell by the 'jungle telegraph'. When the 'prig' is wanted for some offence he is said to be 'on the run', or has 'gone to earth', like the animal he is seen to be. Or he is, 'off the side', as opposed to being straight in line - like the straight, unbending, inflexible, rigid, smart, clean 'polis'. The female 'prig' is always said to be 'a right hard little bitch' - or 'cow'. This feminine animalism is inversely structured; a reverse perception of the female as 'hard', and not the soft and pliable creature often valued in Western society, in the 'bunny girl, the turtle dove', etc. We are witnessing a double inversion which maintains the logic of police practices.

The 'prig' is 'crooked'. He is a 'crook', which by definition means bent or twisted, as opposed to being straight. In addition 'crook' also means illness or death, as opposed to health and life. The 'crooked prig' therefore is bent or of death, as opposed to being straight or of life. (It is interesting to note, as an aside, that 'straights' in drugs parlance are tobacco cigarettes and are therefore of culture, while 'joints' - or 'bents or crookeds' we might suggest - are made from cannabis, and therefore are of nature and negative to Society.

The 'prig', as I have illustrated, is to be nailed down' or 'fixed' in both time and space. He is perceived as movement and his fixture is therefore analagous to imposing social control. Purce (1974:21) contends stasis equals death, and anything:

"...which prevents and obstructs (movement), by imposing rest and immobility, is the death principle..."

Foucault (op.cit.1977:218) writes:

"...one of the primary objects of discipline is to fix; it is an anti-nomadic technique..."
Once 'nailed' or fixed, the 'prig' becomes disciplined and his pollution becomes neutralised. Okely (1975) has shown in gypsy society, how movement and stasis are primary structuring principles. The control of movement for a gypsy is logically equated with social death and makes visible the gypsy to non-gypsy society. It is not surprising the 'prig' is often said to be descended from gypsies and some of the most famous families on Tyneside are said by the 'polises' to be 'second generation gypsy horse-thieves'.

The 'prig' is always said to be a 'right bastard', with the flattened northern 'A' of bastard emphasised with vehemence. It maybe this is just a useful expletive, but in its repetition it seems to reveal metaphoric and semiological importance. The 'real polises' who refer to 'prigs' as 'real bastards' are from an institutionally ordered world where regulations demand every facet of social life be declared for approval. A discipline code controls vast areas of police activity which most citizens would feel was their private concern. For instance written permission to live where one does is still necessary. An ordered, respectable address is required, so an 'african village' address would fail; and it is only 20 years since a potential spouse had to be offered for examination of social acceptability.¹ A 'real bastard' then to these policemen, I suspect is more than just someone to whom one might address an expletive. He is classificatory disorder - he is 'matter out of place' in conventional marriage - for in inhuman animalism conventional marriage cannot be achieved, and the 'bastard' becomes inevitably the body-unsocial. Like the term 'prig' I suspect 'real bastard' might be a linguistic conservatism denoting more than it would initially suggest.

The hated 'prig' can also be 'scum', 'the dross' or the 'dregs of society'. Such straightforward, real 'dirt' ideally needs removing to renew the disorder that dirt produces. The control of the 'prig' and his social death, by confinement or literally by his physical demise is the primary objective. Total power

¹. See Young (op.cit.1984) re. 'acceptable wives' for policemen.
over the body is the ultimate achievement. 'If only we could use the humane killer on them', I hear on more than one occasion. The humane killer is a gun which fires a bolt and is used to dispose of dogs seriously injured in road accidents. How fitting that this means of disposing of useless animals should be seen as the ideal way of dealing with that useless animal, the 'real prig'.

The death of a 'real prig' in a road accident and another when a burglar fell from the top of a building he was attacking, created great happiness in the Bridewell among the real 'polises'; while the death of C.... noted in the 'Deaths' columns of the local evening paper set off a series of recollections and reminiscence about the fortuitous death of 'real prigs' which had occurred over the years. In death, the 'prig' is finally controlled and 'nailed down'.

We are therefore observing a logical shorthand of category manufacture where 'polises' use verbal and non-verbal modes of expression in a combination of boundary making and maintaining devices, designed to separate 'them' from 'us'. It is a conceptual system where the various means of categorising 'them' are always abusive and have negative values. We use animal classification frequently in our culture, but in this context the animalism is always derogatory and destructive. All the cognitive modes of thought and expression here enhance the progressive removal of the 'real prig' from humanity.

The 'prig' is the embodiment of peripheral 'dirt' or marginality, but unlike other marginal forms can never be creatively perceived. In the defence of the boundary, the 'dirt' must always be rejected, controlled by hard enforcement, treated with aggression and purified or be removed totally and exterminated.

Since the death penalty is no longer used, and because incineration - which is the best way to purify dirt - is socially unacceptable, incarceration is now the method by which 'prig' extermination is achieved. Minimum mobility results in the social death of 'dirt' and the 'prig' alike. Thus all the Bridewell measures used to purify and depersonalize the body of the 'prig' are modes of achieving his social death slowly in the 'cooler'
and are a modern day transformation of the fast, hot, physical death sought in purification by incineration.

(iv) TATTOOS AND THE REAL PRIG.

The 'real prig' in his 'african village' is not as free and uncontrolled as the 'polis' believes. He is as constrained in thought and action as the 'polis'. He is usually ill-educated, socially deprived and often in prison for long periods of his life. He is usually from the lower socio/economic classes and is often physically and mentally undernourished living in squalid and undistinguished social surroundings, existing on what is said to be his regular diet of 'brown ale and chips'. Contrary to the movement and freedom the wild animal has, or is believed to have, the 'prig' is almost always oppressed and not infrequently physically constrained. His apparently wild and undisciplined natural life is therefore illusory. It might be more easily seen as a dull and sombre world of control and limitation.

To offset this he uses a conceptual sign system which metaphorically expresses his inner freedom and humanity. This negates those negative perceptions of inhumanity which are presented continually to him by his society and his captors. The 'prig' uses his body, or rather he illustrates his body symbolically and uses the 'prig tattoo' to state his own perception of reality. The 'prig', to echo Levi-Strauss (1969), also finds animals are 'goods to think with'. He draws them and their perceived freedom all over his body. This use of animal categories, for him, is a positive statement of their value.

In his war with the 'polis', the 'prig' uses the tattoo as a structuring system that no institutional ordering can remove. Even with his name and address taken, his clothing and personal property removed, his human identity stripped and de-personalized

1. See Leach (op.cit.1970:121) on the translation of 'bonnes a penser' which he equates with categories (totemic) rather than 'good' as in valued.
inside the 'total institution' of the Bridewell, the 'prig' still can maintain his identity. He has his freedom and his movement and his life and humanity and therefore his individualism illustrated all over his body. He uses tattoos to deny the direction of the power, which as I have said must flow from the legal institution and control the individual. When the 'prig' clenches his fist and has the initials A.C.A.B. tattooed on his fingers, he is continually assaulting the institution of law by proclaiming 'All Coppers Are Bastards'.

The semiotics of tattoos have occasionally been denied and their design merely written off as being of a 'decorative nature'. Levi-Strauss in 'Tristes Tropiques' (1973:239-256) recognised that body painting often has unconsciously understood sociological meanings. Geertz (1975:351) suggested that Levi-Strauss, in his interpretations of the Caduveo body tattoo and elaborate designs:

"...thought he could see a formal representation of their aboriginal social organization..."

I do not suggest the tattoos on the 'prig' reveal his whole social organization, but it seems they reveal more than the 'prig' himself attributes to them. When asked about them he usually replies, 'Well everybody has them', or 'It's the thing to do - all me mates have got them'. But it would appear even a brief analysis suggests that in the tattoo the 'prig' makes use of a whole unspoken language. They seem to be a perfect indicator of his semantic and structural reality and define for the 'prig' who is 'us' and who is 'them'. It can hardly be accidental that the forms they always take and the animals represented, express an inner human freedom which can never be totally controlled; even when the 'prig' is in the prison and is denied an identity in human terms. For not only do they symbolise the wild, free, untamed animals of the world, they also represent a re-statement of the 'prigs' name, his girl friend or wife, his mother and father, his allegiances.

The 'polis' of course recognises this structural indicator and
further uses the 'prig tattoo' to define who the 'real prig' is. 1. In the police world where short hair and scrubbed body are equated with cleanliness, culture and correctness, the animals on the 'prig tattoo' support the contention that he is dirt, polluted, bodily impure, wild and uncultured. Consequently, to effect further control, the tattoo is used to identify, and although it cannot be removed in the de-humanising process, it is recorded and collated. For the 'polis' the 'tattoo = prig', but for the 'prig' we can examine a few of the many dozens of examples I collected and see how the tattoo = identity, humanity, and a corresponding individuality that is made manifest on the body:

Case Study 8

Fieldnotes - Day 88 - ...the first 13 are brought in from prison on remand. I log them in and record their property. Of the 13, eight have extensive tattoos -
David D... has an eagle's head tattooed on his left thigh.
Frank E... has a girl, flowers, Red Indians, daggers, scrolls, his parents and his girl friend's name. He has hearts and initials on his hands, arms and chest.
H... has a splendid technicolour scorpion right across the back of his right hand, seated in the joint between thumb and forefinger, with claws extended across the back of the hand.
J... has multiple tattoos on face, arms and body. On his face and earlobes he has stars. He has the often-seen borstal spot on his cheek and on his fingers. 2. On each hand between thumb and fore-finger he has large deadly looking blue/black spiders. He tells me, 'A lotta people don't like them'.

Day 127 Fieldnotes - 2 young men are brought in for committing Criminal Damage. They are both covered in 'prig tattoos'. I ask about them. They have had them done professionally and can give no reasons for them. They give the inarticulate, grunted replies 'me mates have gorrem',

1. D.R. Smith (1981) in an unpublished thesis assessed the various non-verbal cues policemen considered to be indicators of criminality. Tattoos were 'rated highly amongst the single cue, static factors' (p.84) and among the incidence of tattoos that Smith (a Merseyside policeman) quotes, are tables of data in respect of Borstal trainees for 1976 which show 64.4% of 6796 subjects to be tattooed. Unfortunately in the pages of analysis (pp 84-94) priority is given to the incidence of tattoos and only slight attention paid to the content, which is broken down into simplistic categories of 'non-obscene and non-facial; non-obscene and facial; obscene and facial; obscene and non-facial'.

2. A blue spot tattooed on the cheek or a series of spots on the knuckles is an indicator that the wearer is an ex-resident of Borstal or similar institution.
and 'we've all gorrem, it what yi do'.

S.... O.... has a peacock, a shark and a butterfly on his right arm. They are all in glorious colour, reds, greens, yellow and blue. He also has his nickname initialled onto his arm and on his left arm from wrist to elbow he has a lightly clad cowgirl with bare bum, stetson and six guns. He also has a bulldog with a fierce face and boxing gloves on, and a dagger with a hideous snake coiled around it. On his arm he has N.K.A.B. which stands for North Kenton Aggro Boys.

His mate has Jesus on a cross on his chest in full colour along with the initials INRI which he tells me he understands means 'Jesus King of the Jews'. I ask him why he has had this done (I have seen it four or five times recently) and he tells me he had it done because he is 'a bit religious'. He also has scrolls and flowers, daggers and snakes; and coming out from his navel is a wriggling pink worm with a passing swallow catching the worm in its beak...

Day 82 Fieldnotes - R.... R.... comes in (again). He has a panther tattooed on his forehead in red, green, blue and black. He has the professionally done Red Indians, naked women, hearts with scrolls and Mam and Dad on his arms. He also has some self-inflicted ones and on each finger he has the letters l.o.v.e. and h.a.t.e. and above each knuckle a small matchstick man with a halo like the Saint emblem; one of these has been given an enormous prick and has the word 'sexy' tattooed below. On the right thigh he has a professionally tattooed Christ on the Cross and on the other - (the left and inauspicious of course) - he has the devil.

James M.... is in for robbery. He has tattooed flames coming from his anus and on one side of his bottom - the left cheek - he has the devil stoking the flames, while on the right he has an angel tattooed blowing out the flames. He tells us of his cell mate in prison who has a full hunting scene tattooed over his body. The huntsmen on horses gallop up his shoulder and down his back. But too late, the fox disappears up his arse hole and only the tattooed brush sticks out.

Fieldnotes - Day 129 - One of the 3 who has been hit by the pick-axe handles... has some splendid tattoos, performed, he tells me, by Ossie - a professional. He has the 'cowgirl with the bare bum and stetson' who looks coyly over one shoulder. This is a regular. He also has the cartoon from the McEwans beer advert and the words 'I'm a geordie' on the other arm. He has 2 large colourful swallows and hearts on his chest and his name and his girl's name in each of the hearts. He is examined by the doctor and we find that he has an eye tattooed on each cheek of his arse. He tells us that 'Aah just got the idea in me mind and so aah went to Os.
and had it done. He lass just laughed when aahh told her
aa'd had it done'. The two eyes, staring out as he bends
down, cost £4 at the tattooist.

Fieldnotes - Day 109 - N... F... ('Benny') is in with his new
wife. He is 26 and she is 17. They have been stopped in
a stolen car, which he has borrowed from 'a friend'. (It
turns out it has been dumped in the 'african village'
every night since it has been stolen and if there on the
next day is used by anyone who wants a car.) They have been
married only a few days and while 'Benny' is interviewed
we talk to her. 'Benny' writes her out of the incident on
his statement and takes all the responsibility. No one
believes in her innocence but it is convenient to accept it.

He has hoardes of tattoos with swallows, hearts, daggers,
scrolls, 'death before dishonour', l.o.v.e. and h.a.t.e.
and ACAB (all coppers are bastards). He has had
professionally done Red Indians, birds and women. On his
chest he has a mountain with a snow capped peak and a large
eagle's head above it with a curved beak and sharp eye. On
his back he has two eyes, one on each shoulder blade, and in
between these he has an eagle with curved beak and talons
extended. I ask about the widely spread eyes and he tells
me, 'They're so I can see anyone coming up from behind me
and then the bird will scratch their eyes oot'.

Fieldnotes - Day 140 - M... has tattoos all over his arms,
his hands, his chest, and his stomach. He has lots of
birds, Red Indians, animals, eagles. Around his neck he
has a carefully drawn linked chain around which swallows
are flitting.

Fieldnotes - Day 75 - 'Spider' H... has been caught climbing
into a house through a first floor window. But his name
is not only derived by his ability to scuttle up drainpipes.
He has a huge triangular spider's web tattooed on his neck,
covering the V shape where any open-necked shirt would fall.
Sitting in the centre of the web is a huge, fat, dark blue/
black spider.

Many of these tattoos are superbly illustrated in 'Skin
and Polhemus (1975:32) have also suggested the body is a
premier medium of expression and that:

"...scarification and tattooing - the
permanent body arts - are aggressively
conservative and unfashionable, for
typically they are the bodily expression
of small, social enclaves which are being
swallowed up in the overall wave of
social change...""

1. See also Hambly (1925); Schilder (1950); Spiegel and
Machotka (1974) for accounts and illustrations of tattooing
and images on the body.
In a footnote, Polhemus (ibid:32) tells us:

"... Tattooing and scarification... are interesting because they are extremely social and extremely anti-social at one and the same time... Tattoos and scarification are a kind of declaration of belief in the permanence of a particular small social group, be it a group of prisoners, soldiers or the members of an isolated Indian village..."

Burma (1965:274) argued there may be a relationship between the self concepts related to delinquency and those related to self-tattooing, but considers that the delinquent subjects studied usually were unconcerned with the symbolism of their tattoos. Ross and McKay (1980) take a more semantic approach to their examination of adolescent girls in Borstal in Canada who pursue self-mutilation and scarification. They argue that carving the body was the girl's way of expressing independence, autonomy and personal freedom by declaring:

"... it's my body and I can do anything I want with it. It's mine - it's the only thing I control completely. I'm its boss. The staff, the kids, or you and your rules can't stop me from doing anything I want to do to it. If I want to carve, I can - you can't stop me..."

I would suggest the tattooed 'prig' is making a personal, psychological statement but also is indicating his semantic position in the social organisation of criminals on Tyneside. The self-tattooing in his juvenile life becomes more professional, just as his petty thieving becomes more adept and structured. Animal tattoos are therefore reflections of the opinions, values, feelings and meanings the 'prigs' attach to their lives. They are further non-verbal responses which provide a clue to the underlying logic of the 'prigs' objective structure and reveal much about his modes of thought and the nature of valued categories of action.

To the 'polis', the 'prigs' are merely animals, circulating from the wild 'african villages' into prison, into caged domestication and back again. Domesticated birds in our society are those that are collected, caged and trained especially if they talk or sing. They are therefore like the 'prig' who is
incarcerated, caged and must do his 'bird' and if possible be trained to betray his nature and 'sing like a canary'.

Leach (op.cit.1964) has revealed the mediating role that ambiguous animals can play for some societies, while Tambiah (1969), Bulmer (1967) and Douglas (1957) have all shown how animal categories such as 'wild', 'domesticated and interstitial' can often be shown to be related to a conceptual understanding of social structures and categories within the human section of the society.

The 'prig', as might be expected, portrays on his body all the wild animals and especially the wild birds. Inevitably these animals and birds are unconstrained and can locomote in a variety of ways, but consistently can be classified as free. As a category the thing these mammals, insects, birds and reptiles have in common is their refusal to be controlled, tamed, domesticated or caged. Consequently these mediators of reality are eagles, swallows, flies and spider, scorpions, crabs, foxes, snakes, butterflies, tigers, peacocks and other untameable equivalents. If you can think of a free ranging animal then you will find it represented in 'prig' tattoos, of which the examples above are only a few from the dozens collected.

The 'polis', by using body cleanliness as a prime separating symbol of identity to maintain distance from the 'prig', is precluded from using body mutilation or painting. Nails must be cut, hair kept short and neat. Moustaches are clipped and military, rather than long and sensual. Tattoos, which are a cultural device used by an opposed section of society, are obviously negatively perceived. They are indicative of 'dirt'. Consequently any aberration must be cleaned up and 'purified'. We therefore find that when a 'polis' is tattooed, it causes disquiet:

Case Study 9. Police Tattoos

Fieldnotes - Day 138 - One of the P.Cs. is interested in my collection of 'prig tattoos'. He is an ex-submariner, about 30 years old; a cheerful man who is extremely neat with a carefully cultivated neat moustache and clean militarily maintained uniform. He has been on submarines for some years and tells tales of being 'locked away in the can',
which seems to have close analogies to the life of the regular 'prig'. He has been locked away for months at a time with an all male crew, then was released for short periods of leave and then went 'back inside the can'. He has now joined another closed and disciplined male order.

He has animal tattoos on his legs and arms and tells me that he has a spider tattooed on his toes. He grins as he shows them to me and I note that they are all homologous to those the 'prigs' have. They are the animals of the uncontrolled kind. But here, or rather when they were put on, they were perceived in a positive light...

Because the 'polis' cannot wear tattoos and needs to maximise the perception of animal tattooing as being negatively concomitant with the 'real prig', this 'polis' necessarily felt obliged to remove the two tattooed swallows which he has had on the back of his hands. This had been done after he joined the Police. The barriers which culturally express this separation between positive 'polis' and negative 'prig' must be maintained. Anomaly in such a situation can never be auspicious. The severe social constraints of the embodiment of law, order, rigidity and control make for intolerance of ambiguity. Police-men with tattoos are socially constrained to perceive them as matter very much out of place:

Fieldnotes - In H.Q.'s

A sergeant who is ambitious and has every prospect of reaching a relatively high rank in due course has a panther tattooed on his arm and is very conscious of it and constantly apologises for it. He has had it done when he was only thirteen and lived in an area which, as he puts it, 'produced a high percentage of prigs... tattoos were the thing to do'. He intends to have it removed by plastic surgery.

(v) AMBIGUOUS 'PRIGS' AND 'POLISES'.

In the charged, contact situations of the Bridewell, the 'prigs', as we have seen, are controlled by a total, all-encompassing structural logic. This defines them as criminal, dirty 'animals' who 'know the ropes' and therefore must be 'prigs'. They are categorised because of their genealogy, regularity, residential and other classificatory nuances. These produce gross perceptions which engender the proof of the correctness of the self-confirming and closed system for the 'polises' involved in it.
These men are consoled by repetition and are consequently disturbed by the unknown and the ambiguous. The awkward category that fails to fit easily into the known and understood classifications confounds, and is said to be on the increase.

For the 'real polis' - the 'finger', the 'collar feeler', the 'prig hunter', the 'prig puller', the 'body snatcher', the 'capture machine' - there was an era which, anthropologically, can be equated to something like an Australian 'Dream Time'; a time before the fall from Eden and from grace; a time that is mythological, a golden age when the duality of 'prig' and 'polis' was said to be the only factor in the game. This was a time when it is said the two sides existed in isolation and the 'animals could be dealt with as animals'. Tales are continually told of this epoch when 'prigs' were 'nailed' without recourse to, or cognisance taken of, the social administration machine. A time without interference from the swelling Police hierarchies who have moved out of the central conflict of bodily power into an alternative world of power politics and promotion. It is emphasised this was an era when the media was pro-Police and the critical article was unheard of; when the do-gooder, the social worker, the publicity-hungry M.P., the hated socialist or the 'lefties' on the National Council for Civil Liberties had little or no credence. This was an era, the mythology repeats, when the 'prig' stole or assaulted and the 'polis' locked him up by force.

Now the classification of crime is less straightforward and the non-polis or non-controller intrudes. This decidedly ambiguous polis doesn't 'feel collars' and may not even be clean, uniformed and have shiny boots or wear a C.I.D. suit and tie. He may be dealing with such marginal crime as homosexuality, gaming, prostitution, drugs, fraud, political deviancy or licensing offences; or he may not be dealing with crime at all however ambiguous. He may be in a Training Department, in the Community Relations Department, or he may be a juvenile liaison officer, an administrator, or in charge of some Traffic wardens. He may be a 'non-polis', a boss, or one of what the 'real polises' describe as the 'dreaded British Transport Police'. He may even be 'a special constable', which is always said with
a note of horror and dread in the voice. 1. This ambiguity confounds and destroys the idealistic dualism of 'them - v - us', for we now have 'unreal polises' and 'unreal prigs'.

Who is the controller now? In the Dream Time it was 'us - v - them', while everyone else was perceived to be from the uninformed outside. There is, of course, the Court and its decisions, but that part of power comes into effect long after the real control has been applied and manipulated on the ground; after reality has been negotiated by the 'polis' in the power struggle to maintain the continuity of the closed system at street level. In Court the rules of evidence are peculiarly invoked so that the real truth is rarely established and the hearing is seen by the 'polises' as only the final act in a ritualised war which involves two sides. It is seen to have little or no bearing on reality. 2.

Today, both the illegal behaviour and the perpetrator includes phenomena from the margins that is not easily categorised and classifiable. It includes people and activities not easily identified as posing a threat to either the body physical or the body social. Many of the anomalous acts carried out by the literate and vociferous are supported by powerful rather than the recognisable powerless and underprivileged sections of Society. Moreover, the behaviour and its practitioners are often analogous to other private and individual acts approved and applauded by Society in other contexts and which are even advertised and procured. For instance, some drug-taking is respectable and promulgated, yet seems at times to be as visibly harmful as similar acts which are harried and pursued.

1. I have mentioned the ambiguity that attaches to the 'special constabulary' previously. In a similar vein the various 'private' police forces such as the 'British Transport Police', Parks police and Docks police constantly proclaim their validity in the columns of 'Police Review', and just as regularl articles and letters appear that deny then central status. Such marginality must be expected if my thesis is correct.

2. Baldwin & McConville (1977) have shown the theatrical, ritualised negotiations of High Court proceedings, and earned the displeasure of the lawyers as a result.
As Robert Reiner (1978.b) indicates, cops and robbers films reflect the growing feeling that the policeman no longer knows where he is. Having evolved a system intolerant of ambiguity and which confirms its well-defined boundaries at every turn, the modern 'polis' finds the new movement - new crimes, new criminals, new 'prigs' - to be uncontrollable phenomena that cannot be fitted into known categories. Reiner (ibid) writing about the wave of Police films, considers that:

"...the emergence of the cop as hero cannot simply be explained by growing fear of crime in the streets and public preoccupation with law and order... I think the new blue-coated heroes signify a growing doubt about the meaning and possibility of "law and order"... In the recent cop films (the) optimism has gone. But the reason is not just that the sheer volume of crime has increased. What actually prevents the crime being cleared up in the first reel are the own goals scored against the hero by people nominally on his own team... In the conservative kind of movie, like "Dirty Harry", the people who shackle the cop are liberal do-gooders who are "more for the criminal than the victim". In the liberal variety like "Serpico"...the problem is corruption within the police department, or fatal flaws within the cop personality, as in "Electra Glide in Blue..."

These new ambiguities are seen by polises in the Bridewell to be made much of by those who are metaphorically the 'ambiguous prigs' of the control industry. These social workers, M.P.'s, do-gooders, probation officers, investigative journalists, sociologists, academics and prig solicitors, although within the criminal justice or control-industry, are considered to be from a criminal opposition that denies the 'polises' their freedom to 'nail the prigs' in the manner the 'man in the street' is said to want to occur. These liberal antagonists opposed to the conservatism of the 'polises' cause the 'polises'

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1. I have noted on visits to Polytechnics that Social Work Departments reluctantly have to accept they are part of the 'control industry', and of course the 'prigs' have few illusions and call their social workers 'soft cops'. I particularly like the point that 'prigs' use the binaries of 'hard' and 'soft' in their classification of their own oppositions in the ritualised world of 'cops and robbers'.
to further re-inforce their beliefs and their constructs, so they cut out and post up newspaper headlines in the Bridewell which back up the practices they support:

"...Sick Society blamed on do-gooders..."
Daily Mail. 12.4.77.

"...How I'd wipe the smirk off the face of Juvenile Crime - William Whitelaw, M.P., the next Home Secretary'. Daily Mail. 18.7.77..."

"...Misguided Judges - Lord Denning apart, so many have gone soft' Daily Mail, 14.10.77...
(from fieldnotes)

Such declarations redress the balance for the 'polises' who feel that radical responses to crime have gone too far and consider these 'ambiguous controllers' have moved far too far away from the temporal and spatial discipline contained in rigidly classified categories of crime and punishment. Reiner (1978.c:22-23) also describes a Police Federation Conference and the antipathies displayed:

"...They (the Police) doubt the commitment to "law and order" of a government which is more interested in "releasing from prison pimps, perverts and bombers, than it is in the Police Force", in a phrase used by a loudly applauded speaker. Not that they place much trust in the Conservatives either...although it seems that most Policemen would have more faith in the Tories.... In non-party political terms too, the Police remain profoundly conservative. Targets like homosexuals or race relations organizations are subject to ridicule and abuse... Organizations for prisoners' rights and Radical Alternatives to Prison were condemned...
"There's one alternative to prison - going straight..."

This conservatism causes the 'real polis' to reject the socio/medical models of penal discipline which have been developed. The 'polis' denies well-meaning attempts at social rehabilitation and while recognising that pulling out finger nails is now not possible he insists that the treatment or redemption of the offender is a utopian dream. It is considered to be an ineffective as was the previous punishment model, when inflicting physical pain was the norm.
Because of his daily involvement in the contact/conflict situation, the 'real polis' seems intrinsically to understand Foucault's argument that regardless of whether one is involved in treatment or punishment of the offender, the eventual objective is to obtain power over a fellow being. The 'polises' are instruments of a policy conditioned by their own predilections for a penal system which promotes their own ideological beliefs. The politics of the 'polises' are invariably conservative, tending to veer to the extreme right of the spectrum in matters concerning crime and punishment. They follow the style of the Tory party, which Leslie James (1978:144-145) has said:

"...tends to take satisfaction in a brittle, punitive, retributive stance... law and order (for the Conservative) are essentially a means of enforcing conformity..."

In practice the 'polises' argue that soft options, such as those incorporated in the treatment model, cannot work with an enemy who has his own style and structures engendered from birth. They will tacitly acknowledge there is a whole meritocratic philosophy applied to education, industry, commerce and the law which is heavily weighted against those born into the dispossessed section of society. However they argue further that if 'treatment' and social reclamation doesn't work, then we should revert to punishment, and I have heard it argued on many occasions that we should think of the 'injured persons' and lock these 'prig' bastards up, for 'if they are locked up then they can't go out committing more crimes'. 'Real polises' usually tend to complain about prison education, about attempts to humanise the penal system or to introduce better welfare measures for prisoners. Consistently they argue for retribution and the imposition of pain and penalties.

What can the 'polis' do when newly emergent egalitarian ideas intrude and demand some form of social change? What is the reaction of the 'polis' when ambiguity is created and the anomalous crime, the undefinable 'polis' and the variable controllers split the binary of 'them and us' wide open? The answer is that the 'polis' defends! And this defensiveness
draws the 'real polis' and his peers even more closely into a structured group, resisting the outside, denying that which cannot be easily be fitted into an acceptable category. Meanwhile he blames the police system, the hierarchy, the social administrators, the politicians and their like for destroying the what I have called/ 'Dream Time'. This defensiveness, I contend, is expanding and extending. It is being reproduced and strengthened into a systematic disposition, as the equivocal act or incident increasingly becomes the province of a stream of ambiguous 'polises' and 'prigs'. It is, for instance, observable in the following Case Studies. In the first of these we have the ambiguous Crime and the marginal criminal:

**Case Study 10**

Fieldnotes - Day 66 - There is an interesting client in. He is a young, quiet man who has never previously been arrested. He has been brought in after a woman has 'phoned in complaining of an 'indecent exposure' in a Park at 8 p.m. She has been walking past the Park in the dusk, when the young man has appeared from the bushes proudly waving what she describes as 'his weapon' in front of him. The size of it is remarked upon by the woman in her statement to a policewoman. The penis protruding from the trousers however, is a simulated one, some 10" - 12" long and made very realistically from a piece of nylon stocking stuffed with cotton wool. The complaint of 'indecently exposing the person' cannot therefore be classifiably fixed. 'Flashers' are required in law to have 'exposed the person', and in so doing have 'insulted a female'. We may have one insulted female, but 'we haven't got a real prick', so what is the offence? A Sergeant, an Acting Inspector and the 'polis' search diligently through the reference books to fix the behaviour within the boundaries of disorder, but of course it is all too bizarre to be anticipated and is not catered for. So they fall back onto the tried and trusted 'insulting behaviour whereby a breach of the peace can be anticipated'. It really is unclassificatory behaviour, but the men search to make it fit an offence and manipulate the categories to fit. One of them jests half seriously, 'Do you think he would plead guilty to drunk and disorderly'.

Here we have behaviour which cannot be easily classified, nor is the offender easily defined. As Leach (op.cit.1977:23) has shown:

"...the law concerning offences against sexual morality...(in all the urbanised, police controlled, civilisations of the West)...is ambiguous...and the police are reluctant to do anything about such matters..."
The sex offender however is always seen in a somewhat disparaging light, whereas there are other ambiguous crimes where the incident is allied to really anomalous 'prigs'. The resulting enigma produces great difficulties for 'the polises', as they set out to reduce the incident to the simplified and easily understood categories usually employed to structure the social experience. For example:

**Case Study 11**

**Day 116 - Fieldnotes** ...There are a couple of interesting clients, 3 young detectives from the Drug Squad, the jailer, the odd constable and the matron. I am greeted by name by the two clients and have known them for some nine or ten years. The two are charged with manufacturing amphetamine. They are original 'flower' children and have been into drugs and the associated counter-culture philosophy since the mid-60's. They still have the styles of that time with long flowing hair, full beards, flower-gear, fringed caftans, and purses with symbols stitched on hanging around their necks. Both M... and H... would have made research chemists, but only work as laboratory assistants because their researches have taken them towards the manufacture of hallucinogenics and amphetamine by-products. They tell me enthusiastically about their current piece of research which has been into the side chains of the molecular structure of an amphetamine like substance. It has been difficult, I am told, for the Forensic scientists to unravel their work and this pleases them greatly. They are charged by the drugs officers who leave, seemingly perplexed by them both. M... and H... talk about Cannabis and the philosophy of its use. M... tells me that he is certain the control of Cannabis is all a vast plot by the big industrial drug companies.

M... and H... stay some time in the Bridewell chatting about their philosophy and they urge me to call around to expand on the symbolism of Cannabis.\(^1\) After they go the jailer talks about them. He discusses their invitation to me to call and discuss issues and points out how this is only possible in what he calls the 'bizarre areas of Police work'. He says, 'You could never do that with a 'prig' but really those two aren't 'prigs'. If drugs hadn't been offences I don't suppose those two would ever have come into the frame'. I note that he fits them precisely into the margins of ambiguity and says 'They are very nearly the general public'. Another P.C. who has watched and said very little, and who is a much more rigid and formal character than the jailer, merely remarks on their 'funny clothes and their awful freaky hair'. He has ignored the

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1. I was writing a paper on the symbolic aspects of Cannabis at this time. (Young.op.cit.1979.b)
the conversation and decides that they are just a 'couple of scruffy junkies'. I point out that they are, in fact, very clean, not scruffy. He dismisses this and says as far as he is concerned they are a couple of 'long-haired yobs'.

This 'real polis' used all the rigid perceptions engendered by the self-confirming system I have spoken of above. He has fixed on the long hair and hippie appearance which he has equated with dirt and disorder. The jailer has seen they are peripheral, on the boundary of humanity - they are almost human or of 'the general public'. He therefore decided that had the current classifications of public offences not included the once private delict of drug taking, then these two would never have come into 'the frame'. (In passing, it is worth noting that this phrase and the idea of framing is concerned with the language of encapsulating, surrounding with borders, or caging the 'real prig' - see also Goffman (1975.Ch.8) - framing - the anchoring of activity).

In these ambiguous areas definitive boundaries slip and slide around. Those who should be controlling and be on the side of order are seen by the 'polises' to have crossed the boundaries and become something akin to 'ambiguous prigs'. In many cases ambiguous social controllers become subject to the same terms of abuse and to the negative animal categories usually reserved for the 'real prig'. As defensive exclusion devices they are used to define and separate the 'real prig' and place him beyond the limits of acceptable humanity. When the 'prig solicitor' is scathingly defined as 'the dog who barks for the prig', he is similarly classified in a negatively and inhuman manner. He is less than the 'prig' in that he is the 'prig's dog' or slave.

The same logic is applied to 'unreal polises' and in the next case study, we find the British Transport Police to be 'mad hatters' - another animal ambiguity. While the client - the Scots 'prig' - is just the 'animal' that all Scots or foreign criminals are said to be.
Case Study 12

Fieldnotes - Day 105 - The British Transport Policeman who last week was described as being as 'mad as a hatter' comes in with another client and a story that makes staff groan at the typicality of a Transport Police case. It is 2.10 a.m. and a 4' 10" 'animal'! has been taken off an Aberdeen to London train travelling on a concessionary ticket obtained in London by presentation of a British Rail employee's pass entitling the holder to cheap fares. The Scotsman tells us that he found the pass in Clapham, bought a return ticket to Dundee and is on his way back South after Christmas. Now some astute ticket Inspector has spotted an alteration in the dates on the concessionary rail card and the man is in our nick with the 'mad B.T.P. Sergeant' who is thinking up all sorts of offences contrary to the British Rail Acts, which are both unknown and of no interest to us at all.

We wearily set out to 'fix' the Scotsman. The first consideration is the possible theft of the pass in Clapham. But we cannot prove it was stolen: the millions of passes issued are not well recorded and so we cannot find an owner; and our Magistrates Clerk will not be happy to hear a case which might have occurred in Clapham. The Metropolitan Police will similarly not be interested in an offence that only might have occurred. So we move onto obtaining the ticket at Kings Cross. This is easier - it is a fraud or deception of obtaining a ticket at a much reduced price by posing as being the person named in the pass. But once again this occurred in Kings Cross and so we eventually settle for the offence of 'Railway Fraud', or travelling by rail without paying the correct fare, which can be tried wherever the culprit is caught. I note the next night that the man was fined £20. His ticket had cost £9 and the fare was £36 and of course he is of 'No fixed abode' so no one ever expects to see the fine, but the activity has been fixed, dragged into a classifiable category of disorder in spite of the difficulties.

The 'prig' here is anomalous. He is an 'animal', midget, Scotsman, with no fixed address and is therefore not our 'prig' and not a regular from our 'african villages'. He is committing offences which are not ours, which are moving offences - in time and space - and cannot easily be 'nailed or fixed', defined and classified. The perception of the Bridewell staff is that this is a dramatic farce, with two lots of inhuman players. There is the 'mad Sergeant' and the 'animal Scotsman'. The incident stretches over four hours and everyone is unhappy with it, except the 'mad Sergeant'. He is said to have this problem all the time. His 'prigs' are always moving, and, as the Bridewell staff say:
"...only the mad hatters in the Transport Police would take on the job of controlling them..."

(from fieldnotes)

Such cases afford the 'real polis' a clear opportunity to define once again who are the family, residential, regular 'real prigs'. The classifications are defended for they also restate who are the 'collar feelers' and who are the anomalous law enforcers; where our space and time starts and ends and where  

No place and Nowhere starts. Such shades of grey continually re-enforce the black and white polarities and show us where our structural boundaries lie. One of the 'real polises' in the Bridewell, who had watched the difficulties experienced in defining this incident, seemed to speak for all and emphasised his dissatisfaction with ambiguity. Unwittingly he paralleled Foucault's idea that discipline is an anti-nomadic technique, and said of the Scots traveller: "If only we could nail these fucking nomads down".

As this perceived ambiguity of the 'prig' increases, we eventually reach those Bridewell clients who are merely described as 'one off clients' and who are forgotten almost as soon as they leave. These are the 'almost-human' offenders, who fail to exhibit any of the classifying distinctions that would exclude them from humanity and make them into 'prigs' or animals.

These clients with a non-prig classification, who brush with the legal system are often assisted by 'controllers' who are seen by the 'polis' to completely outclass the client in 'prigishness'. In the following Case Study the client acquires status and humanity after initially being suspect; while the do-gooders who come to his assistance, become the 'animal prigs' who epitomise classificatory dirt that has crossed the boundary and moved onto the wrong side. They become the enemy:

Case Study 13

Fieldnotes - Day 114 - We have 'Mustapha' .... with us on a deportation order. He has stayed beyond his permitted time and has been served with notice to quit Britain, but has failed to do so and now has been detained prior to deportation on a warrant signed by the Home Secretary.
He is an illegal immigrant. He is treated with 'soft confinement'; he has lots of visitors. We send out to an Indian restaurant for suitable food, although I note when this is obtained for him, it is still said 'to be much too good for him'. But he is a 'wog' and is still seen to be less than human because of his foreign origin. Then from his mass of property we find out that he has a Doctorate and he immediately becomes an 'acceptable wog'. The men question the wisdom of deporting 'such a brain'. Only minutes earlier he had been less than human. Then we hear that he has, in fact, been dealing in cheap goods from a market stall and has not been working at engineering in which he has his degree. He loses ground again and his 'human' rating slips back to 'that illegal wog'. But during his stay of a few days he is never a 'real prig'.

Although foreign, and not 'us', he is on the borders of perceived humanity - especially with his Doctorate - and his treatment has been soft as opposed to hard - it is varied rather than rigid. Several of the jailers during the few days he was with us say, 'Poor sod he shouldn't be in here at all'.

Then the fieldnotes I note move away from the client and the whole focus of the incident shifts to the:

(Day 114 continued)... army of 'do-gooders' who have taken up M's case. They become the target for the spleen of the staff. We have constant phone calls from the press and interested groups who the staff growl about. We have well known names from politics both local and national and the staff moan about these people who 'feel they should be involved and who climb onto the bandwagon'. The Home Office are phoning continually and the detective who has merely collected 'M' on the warrant for his detention, sits by the phone while a half-day of calls between London and the Bridewell ensues. He snarls and growls about the 'do-gooders' who want a slice of the action. We are informed of several well-known liberal people, whose names are household words, who are said to be 'interested in the case'. The staff growl hatred for them and their interference.

One officer complains, 'If we got into any sort of bother in Bangladesh, do you think any of these fucking do-gooders would move a muscle to help us? Would they fuck'.

There is raging contempt for the M.P.'s who have become involved. They are said to 'play their socialist politics, while the polis gets the brunt of having to enforce the law'.

We now have a local 'prig solicitor' who has been acquired to assist 'M' and the media is on from all over the country asking whether he is to be charged and with what
offence and if not when are we going to let him go.

The T.V. news shows groups with placards outside
Durham prison denouncing the fascist Police for holding
other similar illegal immigrants and the local M.P.'s
are interviewed and say they are 'worried because they
cannot find out how Q..., in Prison, is being held
without being charged with any offence'. M.P.'s are
backed up be a multiplicity of organisations asking, what
are the police up to?

A discussion on this case goes on all day in the Bridewell
with anyone who comes in. Detectives and a 'polis' growl,
'Do the bastards want control or not? If these bloody
do-gooders and socialists look up the bloody laws that
they have passed they will find that their parliament has
ordered a man can be detained until deported if he is
found to be an illegal immigrant. Now the bastards
cannot make up their minds. Either these bloody prigs
want us to act on their detention orders or they don't'

(vi) PRIGS OR POLISES: THE BINARY EXPLODED.

The nefarious controllers have now been assessed and equated
to 'bloody prigs' and 'bastards'. They are simply controllers
who do not control. They are failing to maintain the rigidity,
the law, the order and the legalised bureaucratic labelling
devices which confirm the cultural perception of who is 'us'
and what is 'them'. The 'us' in this case is fast becoming
'them', for these controllers are not constrained by the same
perceptions that define the 'real polis' and determine his actions.

I recorded in my fieldnotes how the 'polis' considers he is
attacked from both sides:

Case Study 14

Day 19 - fieldnotes - ... there is a resigned exclamation
of how frustrated the 'polises' are at their impotency
in dealing with Crime and prigs. There is fury with the
magistrates and Crown Courts who are seen to have gone
over to being 'hopelessly soft'. This frustration doubles
whenever there is any mention of any social reclamation
attempt made by the Social Services or the Probation
Services. The men talk of an era when 'prigs' could be
dealt with according to their own style, i.e. hard force.
They despair that the 'polis' now has no aces left up his
sleeve and the 'prig' has a vast army of 'do-gooders' to
assist him, whereas the 'polis' has no-one and even has
to fight his own hierarchy. They moan about the senior
administration in the Force and the constant cry is, 'They
should get off their arses in their offices and come down
on a weekend and see how it is now at ground level'. The
officers and administrators are seen as being akin to the Social Worker and the Probation Officer. But contempt for them is enhanced, and is, if anything, even more dismissive; they are seen to be men who have been 'on the ground' but have opted out and now live in 'ivory towers'; men who will never again have to face 'an angry man' ...1.

We are witnessing the concern of an exclusively hegemonic group who expect to have their specifically erected boundaries attacked from within and without. Their self-justifying, self-vindicating modes of thought are translated into a complete containing action aimed to fend off potential threat of social and physical pollution from the 'prig'. This is exacerbated now by the ambiguous controller, who must structurally be analogous to the 'prig' and therefore is defined by the same perceptions and criteria. All of these condensed metaphors of reality build into a multiple, mutually reinforcing logic concerned with maintaining distance and is essentially defensive.

The antagonisms revealed above support further the oft-voiced opinion that do-gooders and social administrators are not as competent as the 'real polis' who is always sharper and therefore in actual control:

Case Study 15

Day 10 - Fieldnotes - ...3 youths are brought in for theft of clothing from shops. They are aged 15 to 17 and are covered in tattoos. They use monosyllabic speech and are

1. These 'ivory towers', in which the senior hierarchy are said to hide from the reality on the ground, are epitomised in the various Force Headquarters around the country. These are inevitably given nick-names by the 'real polises' reflecting the view that they are distanced from the real world, containing 'bosses' or 'ESSO' men who have little knowledge of who have forgotten what the 'real world' was like. In Northumbria at this time, the Force Headquarters was called 'The Glass Palace'. In 1981 when a new Headquarters complex was acquired it quickly was given the name 'Fantasy Island'. Those going to Headquarters on courses said that they were 'off on holiday, going to Fantasy Island for a week'. The Chief Constable, Mr. S. Bailey even denied the nick-name in the local press in 1982. Elsewhere in the country I have heard men refer to their own Headquarters buildings as 'The Big House', 'The Kremlin', 'The Palace of Varieties' or 'The Crystal Palace'. Always the nick-name inverts the image of the headquarters complex into a mythological binary of the alleged grim reality that exists at the bottom end, 'on the ground'.
obviously not too bright...the 17 year old is searched and he takes off his shoes and socks and the smell nearly bowls us over. We open the doors and windows. He is urged to steal some soap if he must steal, and he grins sheepishly while the 'polises' berate him for his dirty feet which he says he last washed about 3 weeks ago. All 3 are under 'supervision'. This produces the usual derision of the jailers and 'polises' at the 'ineffectual nature of supervision' and the waste of money in having social workers'. The sharpest of the three is asked about his Probation Officer and he tells us, 'He's aall heart, but 'ee knows nown'. The staff are delighted with this confirmatory information...

The whole perception of the 'prigs - v - polises' duality is considered to be becoming more difficult to maintain because known boundaries have been eroded and 'dirt' has been allowed to infiltrate. This is a narrowly conceived world, thought to be the rightful concern of only certain specific groups. Real clients are 'prigs', animals, scum, the dross, the dregs of society, and this same society should, it is argued, support its police as it deals with and maintains the separation. The real clients, 'the prigs', are always known, they know the 'polises', know the rules, and know how to break them; the 'polis' knows the 'prigs', knows the rules and how to bend them! Interference by the Social worker, the politician, the do-gooder, the 'prig' solicitor, the press, the magistrate, the Judge, television commentators, the Special Constable, the Administrator, the Chief Superintendent in his 'ivory tower' far removed from the ground, and the others who come into the picture after the event, can only be perceived to be a threat. These groups and individuals throw the 'polis' onto the defensive and this defensiveness produces this concept of potential 'prigs' who scavenge a living from the only two sides in the conflict who are said to understand the whole thing. These outsiders intrude and pollute the purity of a semantic conceptual framework.

In this intrusion the increasing power of the social worker is a main bone of contention. They are considered to be the ultimate in 'do-goodery'. It is said they,'would let everyone off if they could' (from fieldnotes). Their defeat is a triumph, for example:
Case Study 16

Day 68 - fieldnotes - Shortly after I start at 6 a.m. an awkward drunken young woman who has been truculent, aggressive and described as a 'right bloody workie-ticket' is brought up to be bailed. She has urinated on her clothing and smells rather strongly. She has been recorded as 'Civil Servant'. When it is discovered that she is a 'social worker' there is the greatest pleasure and glee apparent among the 'polises' present - the ambiguous controller is 'dirt'. She has 'peed herself' - she is an 'animal' - logically she is a 'prig'.

In exactly the same way, a detective who left the Police to take a course in Social Administration was said to be almost 'insane' and of course is seen as a potential enemy. This is especially the case if he takes up a post in the Social Services on completion of his course. He has crossed an unacceptable boundary and changed status. And of course those policemen who take law degrees and go on to join the legal profession, and especially those few who join the ranks of the 'prig solicitors' are especially loathed. They have left one group of controllers to become the antithesis. They transform into doubly dangerous 'prigs' having moved from the inside possessing 'insiders' knowledge. This power has overtones that ex-polises who merely move into unimportant areas of ordinary life never project, and the ex-polis-'prig solicitors' who were regularly asked for by the clients in the Bridewell have moved to the other side of the coin. They have crossed an ideological boundary symbolically on the side of evil.

The defensiveness the 'polises' exhibit in their dealings with ambiguous 'prigs', anomalous controllers and variable 'polises' is consistently thwarted as the preferred organisational binary principle fails to materialise. The simplicity of a black and white duality is inevitably exploded and fragmented by the pluralism of modern social formations, where multivocal behaviour and phenomena intrude, and is not easily fitted into a single referent of them - v - us, good versus evil, or 'prig' and 'polis'.

Antagonistic M.P.'s, some Probation Officers, Journalists and Social Workers are controllers and should logically be ambiguous 'polises'; but they can also be 'prigs'. When these controllers are found to also need control they quickly become the 'prigs'
that real 'polises' have always known they were, both symbolically and actually. When T.Dan Smith, and Councillor Andrew Cunningham (who held a position on a local Police Authority) were caught up in the disclosures and manipulations from the Poulson affair and went to prison, the 'polises' expressed satisfaction. In their eyes local North-East politicians had been found to be 'prigs'. When John Stonehouse, the M.P. who went missing and was then found and imprisoned, the Bridewell staff followed the events with quiet satisfaction. Whenever other administrators (who are also controllers) were arrested or fell from grace the 'polises' knew that their knowledge of the world had been justified. When a Senior Social Worker was shown to be a 'prig' and convicted of fraud involving the misappropriation of funds to help the underprivileged, this evoked something close to delirium in the Bridewell, and the newspaper accounts were relished.

The line between good and evil, between 'pigs' and 'prigs' continues to be finely drawn. The Police have increasingly been asked to justify their actions and show them to be accountable, humanitarian and ethical. Long-standing practices have been challenged and radical society has indicated that many police procedures should be unacceptable in a democratic, civilized society. Concern is increasing that the controllers also need control.

Accounts in newspapers of the Metropolitan Police corruption trials and dismissals from the Force (see Cox, Shirley and Short, op.cit.1977) were also read with satisfaction, for the Metropolitan Police are consistently seen as 'bogeymen' by the provincial forces. Once again the 'polises' were the 'prigs'. Then the fall of the Chief Constable of Lancashire, Stanley Parr, made further 'happy reading' for the Bridewell polises. Accounts in the media of how he had apparently shown favour to friends and misused Police transport were devoured with delight. Here was the hierarchy fallen! The hated Administrators, the 'ESSO' men, the non-combatant, the administrative oppressor of the rank and file 'polises' was shown to be analagous to the 'prig'. None of the men knew Stanley Parr of course, but the antagonism
that existed in relation to their own hierarchy was transferred to this symbol of power.

The spate of well-publicised cases of Police corruption and offences committed by officers seems to be a reflection of the fact that 'crime' is relative. Ditton (1977) Mars (1983) and Henry (1978) have all shown that fiddling, pilfering, theft and white-collar crime is the province of all, and 'polises' are not exempt! It is not only the Chief Constable of Lancashire who misuses his power, the criminal abuse of power and prestige is also the province of the M.P., the do-gooder and the real 'polis'. The 'prig' is also the 'polis' and the model perhaps takes on a quadratic form, as the dualistic principles fall apart. So that the complimentarity of Polis - v - Prig becomes a less clearly defined paradigm necessarily including the anomalous:

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ambiguous polis
   real polis
   real prig
   ambiguous prig
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But even this paradigm is too simplistic; the 'Dream Time' for the 'polis' is over for the present and the idealistic dualism becomes increasingly difficult to maintain. The 'polis' is surrounded by ambiguous categories of both policemen and criminals, with continual transformations from one category to another that suggest the model of reality should be circular, continually turning and spiralling, as law and order, controller and controlled turn in on themselves. Fig. 9 is an attempt to show this incorporated world of criminal justice, where the binary contained within the central parameters explodes and the other actors and crimes in the drama are shown to be moving to or from their potential ideal place in an ideal world.
The outside world - 'civvies'

Minor offenders; breath test clients; arrests from domestic disputes; dossers and drunks; flashers, fine warrant arrests; drug users; homosexuals; non-professional shoplifters; traffic offenders; juveniles - petty thieves, etc.

Special Constables; bouncers; Docks police; British Transport police; 'sheep dippers'; policewomen; civilian employees; juvenile liaison departments; non-combatants; traffic depts; Training Department, Community Service Depts; Vice/Clubs/ Drugs/Scientific Aids Squads; Fraud Squads; C.I.D. men detectives, etc.

Real PRIGS; Robbers; bodies; animals; criminal families; African villages; tattoos, dirty, bent crooks; scum; dross, disordered inhuman, etc.

Real POLISES; Cops, collar feelers; thief catchers; fingers; body snatchers;... on the ground; firm; unbending, clean and disciplined; uniformed; straight; human; etc.

Social Workers; welfare officers; do-gooders; lawyers; probation officers; politicians; M.P.'s; local councillors; The Media; Prig solicitors;... sociologists; judges; magistrates, etc.

Admin. H.Q's staff; Divisional senior officers; Chief officers and A.C.P.O. hierarchy; Discipline departments; Research and Planning staff; 'ESSO' men; Academics; College Men; Special Course and Graduate entry men, etc.

The outside world - 'civvies'

In 1979, for the 'polises' in the Bridewell who make up the 'thick description' of this fieldwork, the Conservative election programme promise of a return to law and order made the party leader, Margaret Thatcher, carry the mantle of a previous masculine heroine, Joan of Arc. The new Iron Lady had arrived with a promise of straightforward methods of dealing with...
villainy and criminals. To continue the cinematic metaphor used by Reiner (op.cit.1978.b), she had arrived in the High Street at High Noon, come to save the day in the last reel. For as Reiner tells us:

"...in the classic western...outlaws threaten the very basis of a peaceful, ordered existence. But these films ended optimistically with the sheriff saving the town for the decent folk..."
CHAPTER 4 WOMEN IN THE POLICE - A CASE OF STRUCTURAL MARGINALITY

(i) Introduction

The police social organisation I have described so far can be defined as primarily forming a masculine domain. Metaphors of hunting and warfare predominate. Categories of prestige, power and status are allocated to manful acts of crime-fighting and thief-taking. The tensions and their resolution experienced by the police in conflicts with antagonists, inside and external to their world, has helped create rigidified, defensive, male dominated structures, which produces the cultural style I have described.

The oppositions by which the police lend meaning to their 'habitus' or 'collective representations', (to use Durkheims term for symbolic patterns of universal significance) reproduce an exaggerated duality at every turn; with categories of superiority and inferiority clearly delineated. These asymmetric collective representations form part of what Edwin Ardener (1973, 1975) has conceptualised as 'world structures', and elaborate on the universal symbolic patterns Hertz (op.cit. 1973) described. Inevitably the resulting asymmetry creates what Ortener & Whitehead (1981: 13 - 21) have described as 'prestige structures'.

The status contained within 'prestige structures' has been especially useful to the police as an organizational principle giving gender valuation a specifically significant place within the ideology. 'Prestige structures', as Ortener & Whitehead (ibid: 14) tell us, are:

"...always supported by, indeed they appear as direct expressions of, definite beliefs and symbolic associations that make sensible and compelling the ordering of human relations into patterns of deference and condescension, respect and disregard, and in many cases command and obedience. These beliefs and symbolic associations may be looked on as a legitimating ideology..."

The masculine police world has always preferred to allocate respect to male categories and symbols and has found it
difficult to contend with any ambiguity in gender differentiation. A police world formed on known male constructs is deferred too and understood. The example of the ambiguous homosexual 'prig', outlined in Case Study 4 above, illustrates how real 'polises' experience anxiety when gender classification confounds. Such dominant values held by the police make it effectively a male cultural preserve. Smith and Gray (1983:91) have reported these values to be:

"...in many ways those of an all-male institution such as a rugby club or boys' school..."

They go on to describe attitudes among policemen which stress drinking as a test of manliness, the importance given to physical courage and the glamour attached to violence. They consider these amount to a 'cult of masculinity' within the police, which of course is the expression of gender used as a 'prestige structure', and in the course of which women are denigrated or given low status and denied social value.

Women, as shown in Figure 9, can never be real 'polises', and indeed the symbolic associations attributed to women in the police cultural system follow the larger social pattern and ascribe them to 'nature' in a nature/culture opposition. This binary is not created from an equally weighted system of logical complimentarities, as might be the case; but supports Ortner (1972), who suggested such asymmetry occurs generally because men control the spheres of wider social co-ordination in a system, which encompass sub-units associated with females. Extending this idea, Ortner and Whitehead (op.cit.1981:7) show these universal gender oppositions of nature/culture, domestic/public, self-interest/social good, consistently produce a differentially valued place for women in 'prestige structures' and it is therefore not surprising that in a police system which actively pursues the 'cult of

1. See Smith & Grey (ibid.1983: 92 - 93) for other examples of the anxiety that ambiguity in gender roles creates for masculine police structures.
masculinity' we will find the social value and classification attributed to women will be of a marginal nature; or that those cultural aspects which are commonly considered to be the rightful province of the female gender (such as softness, vulnerability, and physical weakness) will be negated, given low status or be denied within the police. We should, however, find these same categories are sought in women external to the police system, and this results in an ideal structural place for women outside of the service. Those women who do breach the boundary to penetrate the masculine world often have to take on some male characteristics but ideally they are best returned outside the system, married to policemen and re-instituted into the domestic sphere, outside of 'the job'. With experience of its specific peculiarities they are then able to provide a relatively unacknowledged, but extremely important role as a 'police wife'.

Those who remain in 'the job', and even those who stay for only a short period, I suggest, are always ambiguous, marginal 'polises' who take on a very difficult task, and in the following sections I briefly explore the history of the subordination of women in the masculine dominated police service and analyse what can almost be described as, the pollution caused by the intrusion of women into male police society. An accepted social control of the female body and rejection of a place for female activity in the criminal justice world has led to a suppression of a feminine identity in the police. This produces a pseudo-male role and demeanour for the few who are tolerated almost as honorary men. This organisational principle and the low cultural value of women is, I suggest, determined by the use of the structural opposition between a male public sphere and a female domestic sphere (Rosaldo. 1974:41) which in the police world is enhanced.

The maintenance of such an exaggerated dualistic perception

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1. I have outlined the incorporation 'police wives' can undertake in their husbands occupational activities, in Callan & Ardener (eds) (op.cit. 1984).
is supported by fears of the anomalous public woman, so that the intruding female is considered not only to be dangerous, but weak and also to need protection, and is not suited for that work concerning public control. The idea/women should be restricted to an extension of a perceived ideal domestic role. pervades the male structures and becomes almost self-evident, even in the face of contrary research findings.

This containing male logic dominates police thinking and consequently precludes acceptance of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. I suppose it would be optimistic to anticipate one new Act of Parliament could change a whole range of deeply ingrained attitudes and perceptions which are dedicated to maintain existing structures and social formations. An Act of law which, by pragmatic directive, sets out to change the social order, can never within its formal sections and regulations hope to change a deeply inculcated logic which has been imbued through generations of reproductive social practice; unless Society has shown itself ready to make the change.

An epistemological break has not been generated by the 1975 Act, and a new social formation has not emerged to produce radical change. The Act has produced some organisational amendment which I will explore. On the surface these seem to be profound and the women appear, at first glance, to have been integrated with the men into all aspects of what has always been considered to be 'men's work'. On closer inspection, we shall see nothing has really changed. There has been administrative payment of equal wages and the allocation to women of equivalent shifts and hours of work. But the structural and perceptual attitudes to women remain unchanged. The dominant, male-oriented bias against women in the public sector of life continues. This, of course, conforms to the typical situation prevalent throughout wider society.

The police, to an extent, have even rejected the Act of Parliament, which in itself, is a further indication of ideological stance. The Chief Constables and the Police Federation (which represents ranks from Constable to Chief.
Inspector), as well as the Superintendents Association, have all called for exemption from its provisions. This is depressing, for the Act mirrors a growing awareness that modern technological society has the know-how to afford women equal status with men, no longer requiring biological difference to be translated into what has inevitably been promoted as a 'natural asymmetry'.

Feminist anthropology has been stimulated by the women's movements and has shown how the dominant public models in society are consistently expressed in male terms. In some ways a new order is demanded and new social practices are being explored, for which a new semantic logic will be necessary. The demand for this new order, however, has come mainly from women, and as I have shown above, ideas which violate the sense of order a society has developed, will often symbolically be seen to be disordered, threatening or even seditious. Little wonder then that a new semantic order has not emerged, for it has largely been pursued by women, who are already disordered, asymmetric and marginal to the dominant male.

Much of British male society has remained relatively silent about the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975. The Police, in contrast, have been most vocal. A vehement call for a rejection of the Act and a desire for exemption from its regulations says much about the fiercely male structures of Police ideology and practice, and even more about their inability to easily amend their perceptions.

1. There is an increasing literature on the 'anthropology of women' e.g., Rosaldo & Lamphere (op.cit.1974), Reiter, R. (1975), Ardener, S. (op.cit.1975:1978:1981), Hutter & Williams (1981). References to a comprehensive literature on women can be found in these volumes which all indicate that sexual asymmetry is not a necessary condition of human societies, but is a cultural product which is open to social change. In an exploration of some of the writings focussing on women, Milton (1979) usefully reminds us that male-bias in a society cannot be treated as axiomatic. She denies the value of the concepts of male dominance and female subordination in many of the essays on women, stating they will only have analytic value if they can be established in any given situation. (ibid:49). I argue that in Police society they are well demonstrated.
Rejection of the Act suggests the Police are aware of the overall resistance to such semantic change and are in tune with the implacibility of male-structured society. Yet this is a time when the need to be able to take on new constructs and amend an ideology is at a premium. Policing systems are under the most intensive appreciation they have had to face since their troubled 19th Century origins and if a radical alteration to the male/female asymmetry is required because of this scrutiny, then it is perhaps unfortunate that the masculine Police society should not have been able to anticipate this need; but it is not surprising. To expect the cautious, defensive, conservative Police social etiquette to come out and encourage, organize and struggle for women's rights, is to hold out the view that the police will move into the vanguard of social change and opt for a revolutionary, humanistic, caring concern for female equality.

If the Police are 'of' Society and reflect existing Society - which remains steadfastly male biased - can we expect them to promote such social change? This question, as I have explored in the section on 'Research' above, is being taken up much more often by those outside: the Police service than by those inside it, but we need to consider whether the police have tried or if they can develop new perceptions of women, when their present defensive introspection makes them resistant to criticism and reform. This is part of a plea for a system of Policing with a human face and requires an enormous structural and conceptual alteration in ideological attitude.

By exploring a short history and ethnography of policewomen and the stereotypical perception that women should be a 'caring, child-protecting creature', the logic of the control of the female in social action and bodily expression in the police service can be demonstrated. The history, the social place, the roles and constraints on the women are determined by an overwhelming male perception that women are weak yet sensually
dangerous creatures. In consequence they have tended to enter Police society only as 'one of the boys'. I suggest this basic structural perception of women has not been altered by the Sex Discrimination Act, although some cosmetic changes have occurred to satisfy the provisions of the legislation.

(ii) THE ORIGINS OF THE WOMEN POLICE

The history of women in the Police Service has been described as a 'depressing one of apathy and prejudice', (Critchley, 1967:215), with only eventual 'grudging acceptance'. (May, 1979:358). This eventual acceptance, I suggest, has only been achieved by having women accept a structural dependency and inferiority which assigns them to a suppressed or muted position in Police society. Where integration does appear to have been achieved it is generally accompanied by a symbolic transference of gender, which temporarily ascribes the female with male categories.

In 1914 the National Union of Women Workers reached agreement with the Metropolitan Police Commissioner to set up women patrols in the Metropolitan area to carry out what was known as 'preventive work' among women and girls in the vicinity of military camps, munition factories and the parks. The Union

1. Consistently throughout my fieldnotes and during my police career the weakness of policewomen has been referred to as an actual hindrance to their ability. This physical weakness in body size and strength is allied to an alleged or inferred mental weakness in which the women (in accord with beliefs prevalent in the wider society) are said to be 'illogical', or 'emotional', i.e., they are negatively considered to be irrationally subjective, in contrast to the positively objective and coldly logical beings that men consider themselves to be. The sensually dangerous nature of women in Western society (which may even be a universal concept) is demonstrated throughout the Christian religion, starting with the creation of original sin through the sensuality of Eve and has been replicated since in thousands of extensions upon this origin myth. Policewomen, as we shall see, are similarly considered to be afflicted by a sensuality and an uncontrollable appetite for passion.
trained over 4,000 women during the First World War for this work, which was primarily concerned with a fear for female morality. This work was seen to be essential. Dorothy Peto, the first Woman Police Staff Officer, recorded in her memoirs:

"...as men left the Police to join the Services the need for Women Police increased as ...problems of order and decency in public places cried out for urgent solutions..."

(quoted by D. May. ibid.1979)

From this initial move to control decency emerged the carefully restricted role policewomen were prescribed, which concentrated on sexual morality. These unpaid patrolling women, wearing an armband to indicate their membership of a controlling organisation, were:

"...to deal with stray girls, begging children...amorous couples in public places, and all the other situations incidental to an evening beat in wartime..."

(Peto, quoted in D. May.ibid.1979)

This care for children and the role of maintaining the sexual morality of young girls became 'women's work'.

In 1914, the sister-in-law of the City of London Police Commissioner, a Mrs. Nott-Bower, (who was also a member of the British Womens Temperence Association) addressed a meeting of the Association on the need for further legislation to suppress the white slave traffic. According to reports the 'white slave traffic' seems to have produced great alarm; it was advocated that:

"...it would be an enormous help to social workers and to the moral purity of the community if there were women police officials..."

(quoted in D. May. ibid.1979)

In 1917, Mrs. Nott-Bower outlined the correct role for the Women Police:

"...The first point is the necessity of having a woman to take statements from and receive the complaints of women and girls with reference to sexual offences...

...There are other strong reasons for the..."
"...appointment of Women Police in work outside the Police court. Few people realise the scandalous indecency involved by sending young (male?) officers to collect information in such cases as concealment of birth, or abortion, or cases of similar nature that involve intimate personal investigation.

...The need for women to patrol streets, parks, open spaces and railway stations has been so long recognised by philanthropic societies that many have for years privately employed women workers for this purpose...

At the present time there are certainly special reasons for desiring the immediate employment of women in the Police force (e.g.)

...The great increase of women workers, many far away from their homes, often obliged to be out late in the evenings on account of their work or having no other possible time for fresh air, exercise or amusement. These girls often run into danger and not infrequently come to grief just for the want of the friendly help and counsel of a member of their own sex..."

(quoted in D. May. ibid.1979)

This threat posed to society by its uncontrolled women is similar to those outlined in recent anthropological analyses concerned with the structural place of women in different societies. The capacity women are reputed to have for alleged uncontrollable sensuality has often created for them a restricted public role and allowed an unquestioned social acceptance of their close control. The Islamic concept that attributes a potentially devastating animalism to woman, for example, has led to social practices designed to prevent chaos, by the act of constraining the female. In Western society, at the turn of this century, we can see a similar fear of female sexuality leading to an analogous structural containment.

Sir Leonard Dunning, an Inspector of Constabulary, revealed these fears, when in 1921, he called for a 'definite place for women in the police force'. He suggested that:

"...a woman by advice and personal influence can do more than a man to protect a girl from the temptations of her own nature..."

Sir Leonard spelled out what these temptations of a feminine nature were:
"...Principally owing to the decay of parental influence, the girl of today does not attach so much value to chastity, while modern knowledge has deprived the fear of natural consequences of its value as a protection..."

(quoted in May. ibid. 1979)

The direction women's work took in the police service was logically concerned for the maintenance of well established male perceptions of order and disorder. Women were only to be used in that dangerously ambiguous area concerned with the control of their own disordered natures and subsequently with the natural results of disordered temptation - the undisciplined child.

The implicit and self-evident statement of structural order here seems to be contained in the maxim, 'it takes a thief to catch a thief'. It seems a patrolling woman, because of her potential sexuality and vulnerable nature could best spot the potential feminine 'fall from grace' occurring at some munition factory gate or in some park. Feminine susceptibility produced further problems though, for the patrolling policewomen had also to be protected from themselves and their own susceptibilities; and so the first women police patrols in 1919 were closely followed by two attested male constables to protect them and keep them in sight. This perceived inability of women to avoid the pitfalls of their own sensual helplessness and their feminine animalism has consistently been used to deny policewomen access to certain areas of the dominant male structure. In the early days, the constitution of the Metropolitan Police did not provide for female detectives and in 1916 a Scotland Yard spokesman explained:

"...Women are particularly adapted for work which comes outside the scope of the ordinary detective, but unfortunately it is sometimes unsafe to trust a woman with an important investigation where young men are concerned. They are swayed by emotion. They can't help it: it is their nature, and they have been known to fall in love with the man they have been sent to watch..."

(quoted in May. ibid. 1979)
We therefore had a situation where the Women's Union were patrolling London and elsewhere, yet were not Constables and had no powers of arrest, nor the authority of the male constables. They were restricted to what was seen as a low status role of looking after women and girls of perceived bad character. Yet even this partial intrusion into male structures caused provocation and unease among the men. It seems they implicitly interpreted it (correctly I suggest) as a move towards structural ambiguity - which occurs when any new and unacceptable breach of a well-defined public social space is made. As a consequence and to avoid having to come to terms with ambiguity, the men dismissed the possibility that women could be employed as fully attested Constables. In 1917 a Scotland Yard spokesman, when asked if such a situation could occur, replied 'No, not even if the war lasts 50 years...'

In a similar vein, a reader of Police Review at the time defended the male preserve in a vigorous letter to the magazine:

"...To have women in the Police Offices where business and correspondence of a most private and confidential character is being carried on day and night; sending them out at night to tackle the burglar, etc; lying out in the fences at night to catch the thief and the poacher; dealing with the thousands of soldiers and bad characters who will be roaming about after the war, many of them maddened by drink; and carrying out the scores of complicated Acts of Parliament; if these are what the Women Police are agitating for, all I can say is 'Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil..."

(quoted in May. ibid. 1979)

However, the first one hundred officially recognised policewomen were recruited by the Metropolitan Police Commissioner in late 1918.

In 1920 the Baird Committee reviewed the question of the employment of policewomen and produced fairly revolutionary proposals for the time. They suggested among other things that
the women should be highly trained and form an integral part of the Police force. As Critchley (op. cit. 1967: 216) recounts 'these forward looking proposals had little effect'; and indeed in 1922, in the face of a call for economic cut-backs, the number of women police in London was reduced from 112 to 24. By 1924 in the Metropolitan area and in County and Borough forces there were just 110 women. Most of the County and Borough forces had none. For example, when the question of the employment of women police was raised at a meeting of the Cardiff Watch Committee in 1935, Mr. Wilson, the Chief Constable, said they had excellent women probation officers in Cardiff, and these could be called out in special circumstances. Mr. Wilson told the Committee:

"...Police work in uniform was not a woman's job. The idea of Women Police filled him with nausea..."

(Police Review, 22.11.35)

A second inquiry, the Bridgeman Committee, in 1924 reached similar conclusions to the first and advocated women in the police service. But there remained a strong feeling in most Constabularies that the work policewomen were doing could be better done by the voluntary organisations, and the Police Federation consistently opposed the introduction of women into a male occupation and expressed hostility to them. As we shall see, hostility to women from the Federation has been maintained over the years. Lilian Wyles (1952: 12) one of the first 25 women police on the London streets in 1919, has written how at times she faced:

"...the downright malice and vindictive spirit shown by some of the men..."

A third inquiry, part of the 1929 Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure, again proclaimed the value of women police. Their availability to take statements from young girls and children in sexual cases was deemed especially important. The potential limitation of female intrusion into male space was made once again and was directed to a narrow range of social options considered suitable for women. In 1930 the Home Office raised the matter of policewomen's employment with an apathetic
Police Council and laid down regulations for women. These standardised pay and conditions of service and proposed their main duties were to include patrolling, duties in connection with women and children reported missing, found ill, destitute or homeless, or in immoral surroundings, taking statements from women and children, and dealing with women prisoners. Yet by 1939 only 45 out of 183 Police forces in England and Wales were employing policewomen.

For the next thirty years policewomen did take an increasing, though always minimal part in the policing of this country, but were invariably contained within their specialist role dealing with women and children, operating out of specialist women's departments, working shorter shifts and paid less than the men. Occasionally the odd one managed to struggle to high rank or into an area not considered 'natural' for women, but until the 1970's the situation had changed little from the 1930's.

In 1955 when I joined my first City Force as a cadet there was one woman Chief Inspector in a Force with an establishment of nearly 500. By the '80's my amalgamated Force of 3,500 had one woman Superintendent and two Chief Inspectors. In my current Force with an establishment of 2,000 there is only one woman Chief Inspector. 1

Integration of women into the male preserves challenges the structural logic of the system which is built upon and allocates prestige, status and pride to 'real polises'. Those in charge of Police Forces have come through and succeeded in this system by using the traditional masculine images and style, which then channels women into restricted operational arenas.

1. There are no women Superintendents, or Chief Superintendents in the Force. This single post is one-eighthieth of the senior management. A G.L.C. Police Committee report (1984) on the Metropolitan Police said, "few women reach senior positions...Of 227 Superintendents two are women, just four women are Chief Superintendents out of 211 and there is only one woman among the 57 commanders..."
This male assumption of 'place' is strategically reinforced at every turn, so that however women manoeuvre they remain marginal. This practical logic by which the structure is determined forms such a cornerstone in the legitimating ideology that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to dislodge.

(iii) THE CONTAINED WOMAN

As Shirley Ardener (op.cit.1978:33) suggests, there are English parallels to the Islamic concept which requires women in the public sphere to be made structurally invisible, hidden behind veils. Women are now reluctantly being allowed to move into male police space, but only when certain containing conditions prevail. Such containment is of course not confined only to English and Islamic societies, and the veils the policewomen wear are metaphorical ones. The female in male space is structurally provocative and offensive and their liberation into male areas presents more than material problems or difficulties with role identification. The feminist movement has produced something of a spiritual problem for police 'prestige structures'. The asymmetric model of police society which pertained before the 1975 Act remains intact, although at a superstructural level it is occasionally purported that women enjoy a full and equal involvement in the social order. But on many occasions a rejection of an equal place for women in police society has been unequivocal, and forcibly made.

The maintenance of structural control has been achieved by male police society in two ways. Firstly it has been pursued by controlling the physical body of the women. Secondly, it has been operated by controlling the social arena in which the women have been allowed to manoeuvre in. Both of these result from the structural evaluation that is inculcated as a logical

1. A woman detective Constable on a career appraisal asked about her chances of becoming the first woman detective sergeant in the force. A tentative enquiry was made and I was told by a Det. Chief Inspector that the Force might be ready for a woman D.S. in about 10 years (when he will be retired). In this Force there are no women Detective Sergeants in the C.I.D., which has an establishment of about 300.
precept throughout male police society and which supports the view that women are possessed of a natural animality and sexual vulnerability. This sensuality must be guarded and guarded against. This logic contains women physically and socially within parameters which depend on defensive and introverted stereotypes of the kind I have described above when considering 'real polises'.

By exploring these two organisational principles, it is possible to show that the perceptions of yesteryear, when the first women police were subjected to the vindictive malice of the men, still predominates. As an anonymous author in the 'Police' magazine suggested in 1970:

"...the prejudice against policewomen is still deep rooted..."

The author (or more likely the authoress) considered the separate role maintained for policewomen occurred only because of 'male pride'.

The means of maintaining structural control depends upon continually overlapping organisational principles. The control of the physical body of policewomen is consistently linked to those forbidden areas of social action which are denied the female in police society. These in turn are proscribed by the archetypal belief that women are possessed of feminine qualities producing the extremes of the rampant medusa-like figure on the one hand, and a shy, wilting violet style on the other; thus necessitating her control, repression or protection by the men who apportion these characteristics.

a) THE CLOTHED WOMAN AND HER PHYSICAL STATE

The control of the body of the policewoman is first obtained by ordering its demeanour and its carriage. It is verbally abused and is clothed into a state of subjugation; the body of the women is discussed, described, measured and is constrained into a repressed sexual state. Mauss (op.cit.1935) has discussed the social and psychological variations that occur in the control of bodily activities in different societies. He shows these are often determined by a preconceived understanding of what is
biologically correct and is considered to be 'natural'. This 'natural' state in police society requires women to be physically bigger than is normal for the rest of society. The setting of a minimum height restriction (although lower than for men) means a proportion of women in the service are large ladies. 

In a media controversy which followed an increase in the numbers of policewomen recruits after the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, their lack of inches was used continually, and was linked to an alleged inability to deal with violent public behaviour because of a lack of physical strength. This presumed weakness was further used as a major defensive strategy by male police structure in its solidarity against women recruits, and was vociferously promoted in the press and in Police publications.

In some instances the women have then fallen into this male trap and joined in the use of body size and physicality as a means of defining the social value of women to the police. Inevitably the masculine service has used these constructs to their own advantage, so that women will always be too big (unfeminine) or too small (too weak). Sergeant Janet Curtis wrote to the Police Review and told her predominantly male audience:

"...I have had experience of all the arduous duties quoted as being the province of male officers alone and there is nothing unusual about me. I am but 5'6" tall and weigh 9 stone..."

(Police Review.6.10.72)

At the 1978 Police Federation Conference, a policewoman defending her ability to do a man's work, told the audience she was the tallest and heaviest constable on her shift. She was rewarded when the patriarchal daily newspapers took up the story of this 'amazon' (as she was described), and showed her on street patrol. It is always the women who are measured and

1. In August 1979 West Yorkshire Constabulary raised the minimum height for women recruits to 5'6" because they now had to tackle the same jobs as the men; but the Federation were reported to 'still be against an equal role for women'.

(Daily Mirror, 3.8.79.)
weighed, even though there are some very small and thin, or excessively fat male officers. But, as Coward (1984) has indicated, men's bodies and sexuality are taken for granted, whereas women's bodies are extensively defined, so that sexual and social meanings are imposed upon them.

During my police service I have heard little change in the repetitive remarks about larger ladies. They are discussed by the men, who comment of their bulk or ugliness, joke about their unfeminine form or marvel at the continuous preponderance of heavy-bodied recruits who apply for the service. These consistently disparaging comments are usually couched in the same vein as traditional jokes about the 'mother-in-law' and they explicitly repeat the belief that the female who enters male police society necessarily rejects the accepted definition of femininity which exists for the rest of society. In doing so, however, the woman is still denigrated and still denied full acceptance into the male world.

If the policewoman is petite, slim, shapely and feminine, she runs the risk of being defined as too small to be effective and because her sensuality is a potential challenge to a masculine model of sexual aggression she risks being labelled either an icy virgin or as something akin to a whore. She is in a double bind and cannot win, for she is a woman who is loose inside an extremely male dominated society.

The terms of reference the men use to describe the allegedly 'lumpen creatures' who join the service are traditional. I have heard over 25 years that we prefer to recruit women with 'upside down legs'. Some are said to be 'built battleship style'. I have been told, 'you must know X she has a fine moustache', or, 'have you seen the new policewoman, she's got a face like a bag of chisels'. A sergeant who read a draft of a seminar paper I prepared on the subject, was convinced

1. The only time that male size is discussed in the weekly Police Review or in the Police Magazine seems to be when the non-Home Office Police Forces, such as the British Transport Police, the Docks police or the Ministry of Defence Police are being discussed and the perennial argument about their 'reality' as policemen is under assessment.
that 'at one time the women had to be butch to be acceptable'. (from fieldnotes). These butch creatures have to defy those stereotypes the rest of society has of its ideal females. This demands women are patient, compassionate, passive, obedient, clean, quiet, tender, non-achievers who look like some glossy painted creature out of the advertising world. Furthermore, this ideal creature should possess the subjectively illusive characteristic which is often called 'feminine instinct and illogicality'.

These attributes are denied and rejected by the masculine police culture because status is conferred on a 'hard - male - control' ideology, which denies 'soft - female - caring' constructs. It is this dichotomy which is producing problems for the police as they struggle to change from a Police 'Force' to a Police 'Service'.

The butch policewoman, allegedly 'built like the store-horse', with a 'face like a burglar's dog' will always be only partially acceptable, even if she denies an ideal femininity, severs any soft image and takes on a hard masculine form and achieves metaphoric invisibility by 'drinking pints like one of the boys'. She may be a six-footer with a 'face like a Victorian door-knocker' or look just like a 'cathedral gargoyle' (all phrases collected in fieldnotes) but she is still a woman and is therefore structurally marginal.

The uniform that covers the powerful bodies of these 'butch' creatures often seems to have been designed to allow her to more easily become a surrogate man, by denying her feminine form. Lilian Wyles (op.cit.1952) describing her 1919 uniform, said:

"...the uniform was unspeakable...designed surely by men who had a spite against us...
When, at last, I stood before the mirror..."

1. Creer (1971:99-103) describes the repression of women's intrinsic mental abilities by the male dominated social process. This enhances the differentiated abilities of the sexes and results in the eventual low achievement of women in the public sphere. Ortner (op.cit.1972) relates this universalistic secondary status of women to the correlation that women have with nature, as opposed to culture which has artificially, symbolically, and psychically been ascribed to men.
"...clad from head to feet in police provided clothing, I shuddered, and for the first time regretted my choice of career..."

There has been little change to the basic design of the uniform since that time. The uniforms have, for the most part, been designed by men and have reflected that considered suitable for men, with box jacket - sometimes with a large leather belt, and a cap or hat that has been a parody of the male helmet or peaked military style cap. The jacket usually hid the bust, while the hat or cap hid the hair, which had to be worn no longer than collar length. If it was longer it had to be pinned up or rolled into a bun to maintain it above the collar, and a written order confirmed this control. In many Forces there were usually career women who had adopted a total masculine style and wore their hair cropped. The hair style, the uniform and their build earned them a right to manoeuvre in male social space and in their demeanour they quickly adopted the aggressive, confident manner of the men. These 'amazons' were women who were not to be trifled with and some I recall were never the subject of the sexual innuendo which pertains between men and women in many sections of society.

Okely has written of girls boarding school uniform (1978: 130-131) as a:

"...denial of an identity which asserted the dangerous consciousness of sexuality (necessary) to oppose the notion of sexuality in the world outside..."

The various garments and fashions used to effect this neutralization in the boarding school are paralleled in the police service. The preference for the male short back and sides; the black flat-heeled laced shoes; the female curves concealed beneath the military style uniform; the continuing demand for women to wear a collar and tie; the thick black stockings which enhance the 'upside down legs', and an abhorrence of excessive make-up, are all bodily controls which deny women the usual conception of the self available to their peers in society.
C.S.S. Kerswell-Gooch (1980), a sergeant in Cambridge Constabulary, tackled what the Police Review (12.12.80: 2500) described as:

"...The vexed question of the impracticality of many women police uniforms..."

Her findings were that short, tight skirts, handbags, capes and soft, unprotective hats were handicaps women police could do without. Sergeant Kerswell-Gooch claimed that to do a police officer's job effectively, trousers were essential and should be regular issue and not just optional as in some forces. They should be wearable at all times, and not just at the dictate of some senior officer who would order skirts for some occasions and trousers for others. The Sergeant reported it was "too bad if some women don't look good in trousers - fat policemen don't either". There was also mention of the endless re-designing of the uniform and the resultant air-hostess-type gear, which a North-East Policewoman is reputed to have said was:

"...an absolute misery for wearing to work in a town centre beat in January - pitifully inadequate to ward off the cold even with three pairs of tights, boots and a concealed woollen jumper..."

On the 6th January 1978, a policewoman in Devon and Cornwall wrote to the Police Review:

"...it came to me in a blinding flash... culottes! That's what we emancipated policewomen should be wearing in these modern times. They combine the smartness and femininity of a well-cut skirt with the practicality of slacks, in which, lets face it, the majority of female forms look less than elegant..."

The Police Review (24.3.78. No.4445) responded and W.P.C. Glover of Surrey became a cover girl in culottes. (Fig.10). The illustration cannot be said to depict femininity in the elegant smartness of a well-cut skirt. Rather it produced a creature who perfectly restates the unspoken social order that a woman
FIG. 10 Police Review Cover 24.3.78 showing W.P.C. Glover in culottes.

This week: Freemasonry—the facts Road test—
the Peugeot 504 TI Saloon The police and the
in male police society must be 'invisible' and a surrogate man. This woman stands with her legs wide apart in her long-short trousers showing how, in such a garment, any possible feminine exposure is non-existent. It is very difficult to imagine these trousers having the 'smartness and femininity of a well-cut skirt', rather they compare with the school shorts described by Okely (op.cit.1978:130). These, she tells us, were garments which:

"...concealed the existence of a split between the thighs. Two deep pleats in front and back made them like a skirt, but one which did not lift to reveal the thighs or buttocks...The lower abdomen retained its mystery..."

The legs of this Policewoman (Fig. 10) are clothed in black and are desexualised; her shoes are laced and flat; her tunic is buttoned in regulation form and uses the male model of collar and a tie with its large knot. Her hair is short and masculine and reveals both ears.

The autobiography of the ex-Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir Robert Mark (1978), has only two short items on policewomen in its 320 pages. There is one related to their perceived sexual potentialities, which I shall refer to later on. The other concerns women's clothing (ibid.90). Sir Robert, while praised for being the first to effect male and female integration some three years before the Sexual Discrimination Act, cannot write about women without making weak jokes about their biology. He recalls:

"...The last change I made as assistant commissioner 'D' related to women. This does not imply any need for alarm. I had always recognized that women were biologically necessary for the continuance of the force and were better able than men to persuade the public of our virtues as a service. In Leicester I had boldly ignored all the various Home Office exhortations and equipped them with court shoes, short skirts, air hostess tunics and shoulder bags. The effect was electric... our recruitment rocketed. So, alas, did our matrimonial rate of wastage. My predecessor in the Met had asked Norman Hartnell to do something similar for the women and we had a special Press showing of the result. It took time to bite, but gradually had an effect on recruitment..."
Sir Robert may have ignored Home Office exhortations and pursued short skirts and air-hostess type tunics, but seems to have also 'boldly' ignored the practical knowledge of those, who like the North-East policewoman quoted above, deplored the impracticability that resulted from male opinion. This Hartnell creation for the Met. women was only one of many attempts to find a proper uniform for the integrated woman. In December 1977 the Police Review previewed a 'New Uniform for Met. Ladies', in its cover illustration. This was created by the design team of 'Mansfield Originals' and the hat by Mme. Simone Mirman the Royal milliner. The Review (9.12.77;1703) reported:

"...the women will be able to mix 'n match their garments to suit themselves, their duties and the weather conditions. The jacket is designed to be worn with skirt or trousers and outer garments include a double-breasted coat, a straight cut raincoat and a three quarter length coat. Officers can choose between long or short sleeved white tailored shirts and a cravat replaces the tie..."

The cover illustration of a 'New Uniform for the Met. Ladies' shows it replicated on the same woman some seven times, creating an image of a cloned creature marching towards us, controlled and ordered. This reveals another aspect of the body and its regulation, which reflects the social experience of being a policewoman in a man's world, where the ideology demonstrated in these uniformed activities welds the principles of ordering together, entwining the social and the cultural with the biological. The containment generated by uniform is allied to a preferred carriage of the body, prescribed by the male hierarchies and instilled through the discipline of posture and the use of drill. From its reception into the male police world the female body is made to regulate its deportment. Drill at the initial Training School is mandatory, with marching, saluting, parades and inspection by the police equivalent of an R.S.M. Wyles (op.cit.1952:20) tells how, in the early '20's:

"...I...enjoyed...immensely the First Aid and drill...We went to Wellington Barracks where under the strict eye of our drill Sergeant, we were taught to march..."
The March 1978 cover of 'Police' Magazine (Vol.X. No.7.) shows a modern police equivalent of Wyles' drill Sergeant. This shaven-headed 'drill-pig' has a row of medal ribbons and sports a swagger stick, modelled on a military formulae. He leans forward and scrutinizes a rigidly immobile girl cadet who has short hair, wears a collar and tie (no cravat for her yet), tunic and epaulettes. At this time, when Society was making overtures for a softer police image with greater community involvement and links to external peer groups, it is noticeable this young girl, of perhaps 18 years, is totally without make-up and symbolises styles and attitudes increasingly being shunned by the rest of youthful society in what was the height of the punk era.

Make-up was banned for years in many forces by written order. A touch of lipstick might have been acceptable, but even in the permissive '60's a heavily made-up policewoman in my force was derogatively nicknamed 'the painted lady'. Another who wore liberal quantities of a rather strongly pervasive perfume and visibly dyed hair, was generally dismissed by the men in their conversations as being 'an empty headed whore'. In 1919 Wyles (op.cit.1952:44) found:

"...All make-up had been strictly forbidden, and hair had to be severely dressed, in fact,..."

1. The term 'drill-pig' is another symbolic use of animal metaphor in language, used to make a statement about ideology. The drill sergeant is traditionally caricatured as an unthinking, brutish creature, who dominates not because of logic or reason, but because of power and an ability to control by threat of force. Ideally he should have a red, shiny visage like his animal counterpart and have bristles rather than hair. The use of the pig as a metaphor of human behaviour and especially for those employed in the control industries is an important indicator of perceived attitudes to these systems.

2. Allison James (1979) has considered the structural significance of nicknames at some length. In the Police service, the use of nicknames is considerable and they are used to obscure and conceal. The secrecy that the use of nicknames provides is consistent with the 'defensiveness' I have described and allows the lower ranks to talk about each other and to denigrate their senior officers with impunity. I have collected hundreds of nicknames and find those used as terms of reference are generally derogatory and are names applied usually to senior officers or those in command of the user. Terms of address are descriptive, derogatory on occasions, humorous and often very fitting.
"...not an atom, not even a stray end showed itself from beneath the close-fitting helmet, which looked so much like an inverted soup plate upon the head..."

The 1960 Northumberland Constabulary Force Order, Section 6 details the conditions of service and instructions for Police-women linking them with Cadets, Police Reservists and Special Constables. This further reinforces my point that policewomen, linked with outsiders, are considered ambiguous to categories of 'real polises'. The establishment of 15 women is directed:

"...the following instructions regarding dress apply...
(a) black shoes and stockings must always be worn with uniform
(b) cosmetics must be used in moderation
(c) hair must be neatly arranged and must not fall below the top of the collar of the jacket nor show under the peak of the cap
(d) jewellery will not be worn with uniform except a plain wrist watch, a metal identity wristlet, a plain gold ring or simple dress or engagement ring. If the two rings are worn they must be both on the same finger..."

In 1980 the Orders of the amalgamated Northumbria Force were re-appraised. Not a lot had changed in the subsequent 20 years. The new Orders, Section 2, Para. 27 set out the instructions relating to Policewomen's dress:

"... (a) Cosmetics may be used in moderation
(b) Hair must be neatly arranged and must not fall below the top of the collar of the jacket nor show under the front of the hat
(c) Jewellery will not be worn with uniform except a plain wristlet watch, wedding ring, engagement ring or simple dress ring. Ear-rings will not be worn..."

Female Police hair has to be kept short. The preferred social order requires hair is in its most constrained form. I have described when I was in a Drug Squad, how our aberrant hair was problematic to senior officers and quoted Hallpike (op.cit. 1969), who argued the action of cutting hair equates to social control. Cutting female hair allows women to operate as surrogate men within the defensive walls of the police system. This contrasts forcibly with the outside world, where long hair and unrestraint are linked as organising principles and are attributed to men and women who symbolise disorder,
rebellion and dissent. (see Firth: 1973: 262 - 298). Hair, as Leach (1958), Polhemus (ed.1978) and Greer (op.cit.1971: 37 - 38) have all shown, is often elaborately woven into systems and styles supporting socially approved beliefs and action. Alternatively hair can be used as an extremely visible form of symbolic anti-structure, and in modern Western society long female hair symbolises an idealised femininity and sells a lot of shampoo!

Finally, in this section on the control of the female body, I wish to make mention of the voice. The concept that woman is to be silent and therefore doubly invisible in the male public sphere is embodied in police thinking and is one further structural reason that women rarely reach the top echelons of police society. In many strongly male oriented societies ethnographies show the men have total control of the public discourse. The woman is often said to 'cluck like an old hen', especially when she is among the girls, and is not expected to produce a rational voice in the public sphere. This belief is prevalent in British Society and is not restricted to the police service. For example, only 44 of the 3218 University professors in 1978 were women; none of the 44 Vice chancellors was a woman and of the 36,000 members of the Institute of Directors, only about one fortieth were women. The female public voice is muted in the hierarchies and suppressed in the individual.

In 1978 I had a number of policewomen under my command. One was young and well educated with a science degree. She was brash, articulate and exhibited the self-confidence of youth. This produced a range of conflicts which disturbed the woman herself and also the men with whom she worked on the shift. Her University degree was the subject of the usual denigration and I often heard the men asking 'why has this bloody educated woman come into the Police Force'. Education is perhaps the only way of changing entrenched ideology and of releasing women from the proscriptions of cultural containment, and these grumbles indicate the emotive nature female education still arouses in male society. This policewoman suffered conflict because of her unwillingness to accept the usual
structural restrictions and she became increasingly voluble, denying the implicit restraints placed upon females. The men in turn became increasingly dismissive of her loquaciousness and bestowed her the nickname, 'Gatling Gob'. By using the structural content of the nickname the men were redressing what to them was a social malformation. This attempt to silence the provocation caused by the uncontrollable female, and the nature of the nickname, restates the unspoken structural asymmetry in police society.

Individual nicknames given to policewomen further illustrate the modes of masculine thought and re-inforce my proposal that women will always be marginal, because of structuring principles assigning them to the boundaries of male activity. 'Giant Haystack' (a very large blonde policewoman) was named after an all-in wrestler and repeats the belief that women should be petite and demure. 'Glenda Jackson', a look-alike who was as professional and outspoken as her namesake is in the theatre, was always treated warily by the men and was said to be lesbian. 'The melted Wellie' literally was reputed to have a face like a melted wellington boot (this is another version of 'the burglar's dog') and the 'Double bagger' was another 'ugly' indicator, for a common male joke is to refer to some ugly woman and say they could only manage (sex) if she had a bag over her head. A 'Double bagger' is therefore another statement that women must be pretty in the commonly adopted cultural sense to be acceptable. The 'Principal Boy' was another male/female character on the shift at this time.

Helen Calloway, having read an early draft of this section of the thesis, commented on the unusual personal psychology of women who would willingly take on this ambiguous role. The early policewomen seem to have had the almost missionary zeal their class origins promoted, but the current woman in the police service is an altogether different type, though their personal psychology is similarly worth considering. For example, the most recent female probationary recruit I have on the shift, astounded the men recently when she proposed to join the territorial army as a hobby, even though she was not

finding her first policing activities easy to assimilate.

b) A WOMAN'S PLACE

In outlining the history of women in the police, I have mentioned the social arenas in which these de-feminized creatures were allowed to operate. As I have suggested, these duties were restricted quite rigidly to areas considered suitable for women. Both Lilian WYLES (op.cit.1952) and Dorothy PETO (Police Review 9.3.79) describe the development of these specialist areas in their memoirs, which reflect the order and control expected of women. Their books are full of anecdotes about the anomalous and ambiguous of society. They write of prostitutes, who epitomise dirt and disorder:

"...those most wretched of women, outcast from all decent society... accosting and suggesting, plying their abominable profession, to all appearances unashamedly and without restraint..."

(Wyles. op.cit.1952:31)

Both authors engage us with anecdotes about brothels, venereal diseases, incest, girls missing from home or in grave sexual and moral danger. It was a particular type of crusading woman who opted to deal with these activities and the idea of salvation and firm moral and religious discipline often arises in the texts as the criteria for action. WYLES' (ibid: 204) horror and description of 'incest', and the invisibility it maintained is interesting to an anthropological audience. It vividly shows the social naivety of women recruited to the Police in the early days and gives an indication how they were directed to

1. The Police Review (9.3.79. No.4494; 363-65) has two photographs of Superintendent Dorothy Peto, whose memoirs cover the years 1922-30. In the first she sits behind a desk looking at the camera. Only the name beneath the photograph indicates this is a woman. The hair is cropped and reveals the ears. In the Police Review of 28.8.81 in the Section 'For Women Police Officers' there is a photograph of four women police arriving in Cologne in 1923. All four are in uniform caps, long great coats, leather knee-length boots, and have short back and sides revealing the ears. Only the names given indicate that these are women.
specialised areas dealing with women, children and juveniles:

"...Of all my duties... the most repugnant was dealing with cases of incest. This revolting crime, the intimacy between blood relations... has always been to me the one crime I could never understand. I must have dealt with as many cases of incest as any woman in this country ever has, but I have never reconciled myself to their cause or to their effect. Leading psychiatrists and psychologists have held long discussions and conferences with me on this bestial, and to me inexplicable crime. I never felt impressed by any of the learned conclusions they arrived at which always appeared to me to be lacking in perspicuity...

...Incest is not a subject for polite society - the word is heard but rarely. Many people have never heard the word at all and would not understand its meaning: if they did. Perhaps it is as well that they are ignorant of what is horrible in this world; as to the sensitive, the knowledge might bring with it depression and sorrow and most certainly disgust.

I myself knew nothing of this particular crime when I joined the police. It came as a profound shock to me to know that a girl was going to have a baby by her own father. Quite a time elapsed before I really grasped what was going to happen..."

The over-riding concept of correct women's work was of care and welfare for women in trouble, and children at risk. The emphasis was always on the 'care and welfare!' aspect rather than on the control - which remained the province of the men. Wyles (ibid. 18) reports how:

"...as the years passed I was to introduce into the machinery of the Metropolitan Police a system of welfare and after-care... Some high ranking (male) officers would remark caustically that it was police officers who were needed...not welfare workers..."

So even though women had been channelled into 'care' and 'welfare' and the men left to pursue their thieves and 'prigs' by the use of force and control, still their presence was a structural thorn in the masculine organisational side. The 'binary of 'cops' and 'robbers' (or 'polises' and 'prigs') has taken on another parameter to the known duality, so that 'care' and
'welfare' have been added, and 'service' came to be set against 'force'. This dichotomy over 'care or control' has been a constant structural problem now for some years, caused primarily by the rigid use of gender to separate a posited 'real world' of thought and action, from a marginal one in which women and the alleged problems they engender were contained.

In the late 50's and early 60's when I first experienced police society, the policewomen's departments were a separate entity in all Police forces, with the women directed to those areas outlined above. There was the occasional female equivalent of the 'honorary black' in certain areas, such as in the C.I.D., but they were mostly time-served veterans with the stature of veterans. Most policewomen were confined to their specialist department and were called upon when a woman or child was brought in. They dealt with shoplifters - the female ones, took statements from the victims of indecent assault and rape, and maintained the Missing Persons indices and made the enquiries into this area of 'social activity' which many felt was of little or no police interest. And of course they typed and made gallons of tea.

There was in my Force an early morning patrol affectionately called 'the netty patrol', which was manned by policewomen. On this patrol, female absconders from care hostels and approved schools were sought out in toilets at 'bus stations, railway stations and in the parks where they might have sought shelter. Two women on this patrol started at 6.30 a.m. On nightshift, one policewoman was needed to deal with any female prisoner who had to be searched, lodged and interviewed. If there were no women prisoners, she typed, made the tea, answered phones, but never went out on patrol. The night was too dangerous. Even after the Sex Discrimination Act, the concept of women working the night patrol has still to overcome obstacles.

Policewomen in their specialist departments worked shorter hours than the men and were paid only seven-eighths of the male salary. They had their own rank structure and there were official limitations to the percentage of women allowed in the
police establishments. As Lewis (op.cit.1976:176) points out, the separate rank structure for women:

"...meant that even in a large force women P.C's had the limited promotion possibilities of a small force; while in a small force they had few or none. They took the same exams but had a set quota of ranks, and promotion was by selection. The career girl was discouraged..."

Of course selection for promotion was also affected by a further obstacle in that it was within the province of the senior men to appoint and promote.

By the late 1960's in my Force, the policewomen had their department on the first floor in the main Station with their own rooms, rest rooms and command. I suspect it was an unconscious structural decision that placed them on the same floor as the civilian typists, female telephonists, and with the coroners officer, the aliens section, the drug squad and the dog section. Civilians as I have shown, are always being reminded that they are not police officers and there is a constant tendency to use the word in a derogatory manner. The female telephonists were civilians and the drug squad were out on the periphery of police society, dealing with a new social aberration and with illness, rather than straightforward crime and control. The ambiguous men in the Drug Squad often had their hair longer than the crop-headed women across the corridor in the policewomen's department. The police dogs and their handlers were structurally in an ambiguous position in police society. ¹. The Coroner's clients had ceased to be human,

1. The place of the dogs relationship to human society has been explored by Leach (op.cit.1964) and Kolig (1978), among others. In the U.K., the dog holds a peculiar interstitial place between human and animal society. It is an animal, but it is not edible and is definitely not 'meat'. The dog has a special place in many cultures and Kolig (ibid:109) quotes Eliade (1958, 1960) and Turner (op. cit. 1969) in placing the structural domain of the aboriginal dog. He concludes they are 'liminal personae' and I would venture to suggest the same holds good for the police dog and his handler. They entertain at carnivals, and fetes and are heavily involved in Community Affairs. They therefore can rarely be centrally situated in a structural binary of 'cops and robbers'.
while the Aliens officers (who were housed with the Coroner) shared a marginality with their clients who were foreign and therefore 'not us'. The place for the women police at this time was clearly understood to be correctly situated among the civilians and the ambiguous, away from areas frequented by 'real polises'.

During the 1960's an emergent self-consciousness did affect some women and they began to spread slowly into previously exclusively male domains, and then wrote about the difficulties inherent in such activity. Jennifer Hilton (1976) then a woman Chief Inspector, wrote:

"...the danger is that because by custom certain tasks are almost invariably performed by women, they are likely to be identified with these tasks alone and so the role of women in the police service will continue to be seen as specialist rather than generic..."

Hilton, it should be noted, refers to a 'service' and not a 'force' and seems unsure how women will operate, for she concludes in this essay (which won her the Queens Police Gold Medal) that, although there should be more equal opportunities for women:

"...the police service should probably continue to have a preponderance of men and not only for their strength and weight but also for their 'hard' image... it is important that the police service does not drift into having a soft social therapy image, blurring 'right and wrong', as it might if women... came to equal policemen in numbers..."

I am unsure where Hilton's sympathies truly lie, for this assertion repeats a belief in a 'soft' women's role and a 'hard' male society, but in 1983 her unusual place in a man's world caused some amusement and a swift rejoinder from her when a commentator wrongly attributed her with male gender. W.P.C. Wendy de Launy had won a civil decision against the Metropolitan Police Commissioner over sex discrimination. In two subsequent articles on discrimination, (The Guardian: 28/29 Dec. 1983), Malcolm Dean looked at bias against women in the Metropolitan
Police and quoted from Hilton's paper (op.cit.1976), saying of Hilton:

"...He concluded that..."

Hilton, by this time a Chief Superintendent in the Metropolitan Police, replied that she was:

"...amused to discover, in an article on sex discrimination in the police service, the writer's assumption that I am a man..."

W.P.C. de LAUNY had been refused permission to double-crew a traffic patrol car with a married male colleague, even though she had passed the necessary driving courses with very high marks. Her Chief Superintendent believed a partnership between an attractive woman and a married male officer could create problems. He admitted he would not have imposed the ban if she had "a face like the back of a bus". The Equal Opportunities Commission said of the case:

"...Her misfortune is to be both good looking and intelligent, a combination her employers don't seem to be able to cope with..." 1.

Bloch and Anderson (1974), in an American study on the relative capabilities of male and female patrol officers, concluded women performed generally in a similar manner to men and could be used on patrol work on the same basis. Sherman (1975) concluded, from his own and other research, that the capabilities of policewomen could be taken as being equally comparable to those of policemen. These research findings have consistently been ignored. In 1933, The Times newspaper had commented on the first female appointment to the C.I.D. in the Metropolitan Police. It was reported 2 that:

1. The various press reports of the incidents can be read in The Guardian: 22.12.83; The Sunday Times: 18.12.83. W.P.C. de Launy's 'married male colleague' was subsequently disciplined for giving evidence to the tribunal without formally seeking authority. A Guardian Leader of 28.12.83 quite correctly, I suggest, considers that the situation is 'unhealthy'; with the Metropolitan Police claiming the right to decide whether a key witness against themselves should have the right to appear with their authority.

2. Quoted in Gornall (1975:40)
"...the women who have now become detectives have proved that they can be employed with confidence in almost every type of crime detection. The contention that criminals would treat women detectives with scant respect has been found to be without foundation..."

Other police societies viewed such a role for women in a different light, and it was not until 1963 that a policewoman in New York City was appointed to the C.I.D. At the same time American policewomen won the right, at least in New York, to take the examination for Sergeant for the first time, but only after a law suit forced the change through. 1.

The Equal Pay Act of 1971 decreed that in Britain there would be equal pay for women by 1974. It did not direct that they would receive equal pay for equal work, but rather would be entitled to equal pay for work of equal value. The contentious argument over what is 'work of equal value' means that today many women are still paid less for what might well be described as equal work. In the Police Service, Sir Robert Mark was quick to pioneer the integration of men and women with equal salaries. In his 1973 Annual report he wrote:

"...There is no longer a separate rank structure for women. They are able to compete for promotion by examination and before selection boards on equal terms with men and are being employed on any duty for which their individual qualities fit them..." 2.

Sir Robert's appreciation of political change was taken up by Chief Officers in the provinces and they belatedly followed suit, although some were less than happy with the idea of male and female integration. A letter of 30.12.75 to Chief Constables from the Secretary of State, ordered that authorised police establishments of permitted police officers should cease to

1. Some of the legal battles that American policewomen have undertaken to achieve equality and enhanced status are described in Mishkin (1981) & Gornall (op.cit.1975).

2. Some 10 years after this statement, W.P.C. De Launy showed that discrimination against women being employed on equal terms was still the norm. Two years after that, in a provincial force, (as I have recounted above), the possibility of women Sergeants getting into the C.I.D. is still perhaps some 10 years off.
provide separately for men and women police officers. Women officers were to be fully integrated throughout the country as a result of the Sex Discrimination Act, although at least 16 Forces returned to or never dismantled their separate womens departments. (Sullivan: 1979:341).

Some highly reputable books on the Police published since 1975 suggest that a whole new social order has been achieved by this one Act of Parliament. Lewis, (op.cit.1976:176), for example, writes that women:

"...now not only share promotion and career structure, but can and do command men... the women's role has steadily evolved from specialising in women and children, sex offences, searches of females, domestic disputes, and a certain amount of quasi-routine, in R/T for example... the general mood has increasingly enabled them to operate as all-round police officers, capable of any assignment... They moved into the... C.I.D. early on; ...now they not only excel in traffic work but form invaluable components in teams and task forces like the Special Patrol Group, regional crime squads and the like..."

Yet within a year of the Act, Chief Officers and the Police Federation were seeking limitations on the numbers of women recruits, urging their restriction to certain activities that would return women to their specialist departments; and pursuing exemption for the Police from the requirements of the Sex Discrimination Act. The reasons put forward for this were contained in those constantly reiterated beliefs that repeated the prestigious male police ideology. Claims that feminine fragility made for an inability to deal with the violent situation were widely made in Police journals and magazines. Sullivan (op.cit.1979:338) wrote:

"...the men after clamouring for years for women to work nights if they were getting equal pay, suddenly decided that it was quite ridiculous for policewomen to be out on patrol at night and that women were going to be too much of a liability if involved in a fracas..."
The need for women to continue the specialist role they had developed, and the loss of expertise in dealing with women and children were common arguments for retaining the earlier status quo; as was the fear of a substantial increase in female recruits. An alleged increase in women police in 1976 and 1977 was claimed by the Police Federation to be a cheap and unsatisfactory way of filling vacancies with officers, who they argued, were only partially acceptable because of the inadequacies of their sex. A slight increase in the percentage of women officers at this time was a major factor in a Federation campaign for a wage increase, which they hoped would attract more men, and at their 1976 Annual Conference arguments for a return to the pre-Sex Discrimination Act structure for women were loaded with stereotypes repeating the view there was a correct 'women's place', where their fragility would not be subjected to the violent situation:

"...some girls have come to realise that working nights is not all its cracked up to be...." (Devon & Cornwall Fed. rep.)

"...we do not think they are physically able to cope with violence..." (attributed to a Welsh delegate: Police Magazine. June 1976).

The Superintendents Association also came out against female integration at their 1977 Conference and were reported in the Police Review (7.10.77) to be 'dismayed at the number of women entering the service'. The Federation representative in Northumbria Force in April 1978 argued:

"...we're not male chauvinist pigs - we're just trying to ensure the safety and protection of women..." (and urged a)... "return to the pre-Sex Act women police departments of two years ago, when the W.P.C's dealt mainly with women and children..." (Newcastle Journal. 8.4.78)

1. In 1960 women made up 3.16% of the total police establishment. By 1977 this had risen to 7.27%, although the figure reached 11% in some Forces. By the 1980's the figure for women was still below 10% with variations between 4.7% (Norfolk) and 11.5% (Greater Manchester) (See Southgate.1980).
These strident attempts to impose a restricted role on policewomen, as I have said above, ignore contradictory research evidence which has shown policewomen are equally adept as the men at most police tasks. They were necessary, however, because they support the ideology of a gender hierarchy. The men require women to be persuaded into the traditional role of wife/mother, caring for children and the elderly; or if allowed into the male world it must be on their terms, denied the accepted feminine role and taken on as a pseudo-male 'burglar's dog'. Packard (1960) showed how the media has been used by advertisers to quietly impress commodities and ideas upon us without our conscious agreement. In a similar manner, police magazines and publications since the Sex Discrimination Act have consistently set out to promote an image of women that ties them to the traditional role. In the five years after the Act, illustrations in the Police Review and Police Magazine continually imply policewomen should properly be employed with children, with other women, with caring situations and with those symbolically 'softer activities' attributed with female qualities.

The Police Review cover of 23.2.79, for example, shows a policewoman with a young female offender. The caption: 'Dealing with Juvenile Offenders' advertises an article on the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act and the work of the Metropolitan Police Juvenile Bureau. Nowhere in the article is it ever suggested that it is women who operate the bureau, yet the cover implies that policewomen and juveniles are synonymous. The Police Review of 8.12.78 has an item on Community Involvement in Dyfed Powys. The cover illustration shows a young policewoman talking to a group of very old men in a street. The nursing/caring/feminine role is obliquely suggested here, as it is on the cover of Police Magazine (Sept.1979:Vol.XII.No.1) when a policewoman is photographed with an elderly Chelsea Pensioner.
The 11th May 1979 Police Review cover illustrates an article entitled: 'A new role for women police', but shows the old roles, with a photograph of a P.W. searching a young female and another with the same police woman holding a child who wears the police hat and sucks a lolly. The implication is that the child is lost and is being cared for. The Review of 30th September 1977 cover shows a Policewoman holding a child who is said to be, 'one of the Covent Garden Festival's quota of lost children, who had chosen one of the Met's better looking constables as a refuge'. On the 3rd March 1978, the Police Review photographed 2000 keys being handed into a television, 'Blue Peter keynote appeal'. The keys had been collected by the whole of Suffolk Constabulary, but is is a policewoman and female cadet who are shown as the two best fitted to hand over the keys to a childrens programme.

A 'What Price Equality' cover on the Review of 12th May 1978, shows a smiling policewoman and child with icecream, above another photograph of a policewoman in a line of men at a demonstration. This girl looks understandably anxious - but then so do the men! However the inference is that equality is a bad business and the policewomen should have stuck to the children and icecream. In another article also headed 'What Price Equality' (Police Review: Vol.89.No.4596. 6.3.81), Doreen May reconsiders the demise of the Policewomen departments and quotes those women who either support or bemoan the loss of the specialist units. Under a photograph of a male police officer holding a small child and a feeding bottle, the caption asks: 'Who should hold the baby?', suggesting this is not a role for a man. On the opposite page, beneath a photograph of a group of officers at some public demonstration where the one female officer is shown with hat askew, the caption asks: 'Playing their part in public order. But is this the best way to use policewomen?'

The October 1977 issue of the 'Police' shows 3 policewomen at band practice. The article is headed 'Too many women recruits'. The Daily Mail of 7.11.78 asked, 'Why are there so many women
in the front line?' A photograph shows two women with guns at target practice, while underneath, the caption reads, 'But can girl recruits do a man's job?' The Scottish Police Federation were certain that girl recruits couldn't do the job and The Guardian (27.4.78) reported their Chairman's assertion that: 'women have their limitations', under a headline which read: 'Police work hampered by sex equality'. The Times reported the same item under the headline 'Recruitment of women - no answer to fall in Police Manpower', while the Daily Express (24.1.78) suggested that:

"...Petticoat police-power maybe attractive to the men in the street, but it is a distraction to the policeman on the beat, for while it is better for a woman to interview sexual assault victims, they fall from grace on such physical occasions as pub brawls ... (and the men have to) ... spend more time looking after them than arresting criminals ..."

Almost inevitably the women are stereotypically portrayed as 'falling from grace', needing masculine protection, yet distracting the men by their Medusan charms. Their presence in the wrong social space is indicated by all the symbols of feminine weakness which are invoked. Gill Pyrah in The Listener (25.1.79) reported one of the main objections voiced to women in the police was that:

"...they are not as strong and do not look as intimidating as their male colleagues..."

In my own Force, at this time, a Woman Chief Inspector collected internal reports from the various Divisional Commanders on this contentious issue and reported:

"...the (main theme) in the Divisional Commanders' reports is the natural lack of physical strength of policewomen, how policemen feel they have to protect them...

(from fieldnotes: 1978)

A large number of other Police Review covers from around this time, as well as newspaper items in my collection, show policewomen with abandoned babies, with found dogs and other animals, with flowers and in soft-focus glamour shots. These often seem
to be captioned: 'She's a bobby dazzler'.

To the anthropologist, the symbolic load that has been asymmetrically attributed to the gender activities and constraints imposed upon the women in police society are consistent with the concept of gender hierarchy (Cucchiara:1981). The examples all suggest a cultural world where symbolic thought and language are welded into reproducing a system which takes an extreme view of women who breach the boundaries, and rejects any attempts by them to subsume male activities. Consistently the image presented is of feminine weakness and unsuitability for the world of public control. This physical vulnerability (which also incorporates a sexual risk both to themselves and the men - as we shall see) is a constant danger to the male structures. Any open acceptance of an integrated, egalitarian system would require the male definition of self which dominates police social systems be dismantled or totally amended. To realign the feminine role and assert that such 'male' characteristics as aggression and ambition are equally possible to women would require a total conceptual change. Women would then be required to be assessed as rational rather than impetuous, or logical rather than incompetent. The whole cultural system (and not just the police model of social reality) would require a re-write. Such revolutionary ideas are not the daily diet of the police service.

As one might expect the patriarchal police system has consistently insisted women are physically unsuitable and even the women in the Police have fallen into the trap of arguing with the structural model, taking the existing form of police society as if it were a biological 'natural'. Hilton (op.cit. 1976:1167), for example, has suggested the social expectations in a society are such that women may be better at disarming a violent situation, and therefore, she argues, there is nothing to prevent women increasing their numbers in the system and satisfactorily controlling any crowd. Nothing so far suggests to me, however, that women will increase their intrusion into the male domain beyond the 10% they now maintain. When I suggested to a group of colleagues, while I was researching this section of the thesis, that there was no logical reason why the existing
male and female strengths could not be satisfactorily reversed, (i.e., c.10,000 men and 110,000 women), this was initially met with incomprehension and was followed by the exclamation: "...but it would mean changing the whole system around..." (from fieldnotes). Hilton's (op.cit.1976) plea 'that there is nothing to stop women increasing their numbers,' is, I suspect, in vain.

The principles and structural modes of the pre-integration period have been maintained, even though a supposed equality has been introduced. The women are now on patrol with the men, but are often protected on nightshift and used in Communications rooms, or other non-combatant areas whenever possible. Some who opt for the front line seem on occasions to be forced to over-react to situations and confirm Heilbrun (1979), who asserts women stay out of the male public sphere, or venture in only if they can function as pseudo-males. The butch 'burglars dog' featured heavily in cartoons during this period when the structural role of women was being re-defined and re-stated. Cathy Morrison (Police Review.22.10.82: 2034 - 2037) in a review of 'Cartoon Coppers' asserts:

"...The role assigned to policewomen in cartoon humour is in the safe area of caring for women and children, away from 'real' police work... Policewomen are either young, shapely sex-bombs or singularly unattractive spinsters..."  

One of these unattractive spinsters was featured on the winning entry in the 1979 Police Review Christmas Card competition (Fig.11). In 1984 another similar 'burglar's dog' was lampooned in Police Magazine. This cartoon 'amazon' towers over and brushes aside Arthur Scargill, while two watching policemen question the need for riot training for women, and their own role in watching over the 'weaker sex'. (Fig.12).
"Riot Training for policewomen is all very well, but we've enough on our hands without having to watch over the weaker sex!"
Hess and Mariner (1975) suggest cartoons may well be the most effective vehicle for expressing opinion. Cartoons use familiar symbols of cultural identity, and I believe the anthropologist who undertakes an ethnography of his own society should be aware of the structural insights and social beliefs that cartoons illustrate.

In the early '80's the increase in 'Community Affairs' activities across the various police forces was almost endemic. Specific departments were set up in almost every Force and in many the Senior posts were held by women. In the Police Review (17.7.81: 1399) Joan Lock wrote:

"...I think it's a shame ... but the highest female rank in Lancashire Constabulary is chief inspector and she, I believe, is chiefly concerned with welfare matters..."

In my Force, in 1980, the burgeoning Community Affairs Department was headed by a woman. Only one other woman was listed amongst the 71 senior ranked officers and she was seconded on a Home Office staff post concerned with the inspection and welfare of women officers. But, as I have described, 'community involvement' work is seen as 'work for women' (from fieldnotes) and not work that men should be best fitted for. Hilton (op. cit.1976:1170) feels it will be another 25 years before we can expect to find a woman Chief Constable. This, I believe, is because they tend to get hived off into the feminine, caring 'soft' posts in such areas as Community Involvement, or in the Juvenile Liaison Bureaux, and therefore lose out in competition with their male counterparts in the Operational areas, which are considered the best training ground for the ultimate ranks.

A constant complaint in recent years from 'real polises' is that too many men are being directed from operational duties into 'community affairs' without being replaced. It is conceded, however, that this loss has been minimised because those who are drafted out of the front line 1 are usually those men

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1. Again the use of the term 'the front line' - often quoted in police journals and magazines - indicates the metaphorical warfare 'real polises' undertake.
'with no bottle' (i.e., men who are frightened of the physicality of operational work), and in consequence are classified as unmasculine, or as being 'a bit of an old woman' (from fieldnotes). These 'old women' therefore join the policewomen, who are increasingly being directed into this new work and which often parallels and expands on the work of the Pre-Sex Discrimination Act policewomens' departmental activities. The only female Superintendent in my force at this time was therefore a woman, in charge of a number of teams of actual or classificatory women, perceived by the majority of police society to be in a women's place, doing woman's work.

This Superintendent gave me a considerable amount of literature she had collected on this subject and yet was severely traditionalist in her beliefs. One item fronted the lecture notes she used to tell audiences about Policewomens work, and was taken from the New English Version of the Bible, Corinthians I, Chapter 14, Verses 34 and 35. These sum up the constraints that history, religion and social ideologies impose on women:

"...As in all congregations of God's people, women shall not address the meeting. They have no licence to speak but should keep their place as the law directs.

If there is something they want to know, they can ask their own husbands at home. It is a shocking thing that a woman should address the congregation..."

This biblical directive encompasses deeply entrenched beliefs in a proper social strata, with ideological differences between the male and female set out as a 'natural division'. As Edholm, Harris & Young (1977) have argued, women do not naturally disappear from the public social space, rather their absence or disappearance is socially created and is constantly reaffirmed until it becomes natural. One policewoman under my command, when I was Sub.Divisional Chief Inspector, told me of the continuing pressures her male Sergeant created because he felt she should be at home with her children and not at work. I spoke with him about his constant sniping at this woman and he grumbled that 'women should be at home and men should work'. He appealed to me and asked me if I would allow my wife to work while I sat at home, and assured me he could never tolerate it
in his home. This woman's husband was unemployed and she was the breadwinner for the family. I am increasingly seeing this occur and now have 2 policewomen on my Sub-Division who operate this role reversal. In 1980 my Chief Constable chaired sessions at the Association of Teachers Management Conference at the University of Lancaster, on 'Social Trends in the next decade'. His notes for a section headed 'Female Role' are slight but include some indication that he expects the woman's presence in public space to wane:

"...Women will join the dole queues in greater numbers and will revert to the traditional maternal role..."

(iv) THE SENSUOUS POLICEWOMAN

I earlier alluded to the idea that women are sensually helpless, dangerous, sexual creatures when I outlined the history of the women police. The potential women are believed to have for creating social chaos through sensuality is widely believed in, and in the police is controlled, to an extent, by ensuring their bodies have been made invisible beneath the de-feminizing uniform. Restriction on their entry into male space has been maintained to preserve the essentially male concept of 'women's vulnerability' to their own sexual nature. The men, because of their monopoly of logical reasoning have dominated the public fields of action; and women, in the asymmetric system of gender expectations, cannot be successful in these same areas of action. An alleged vulnerability to their sexual nature must logically prevent it, and much of the police social structure is built up using these constructs as a basis. Accordingly the women who defies structural convention must move into male space on male terms and will be expected to become an honorary male. As I have shown, she often becomes the sexless butch creature with cropped hair and masculine mannerisms, taking

1. This Sergeant has since been promoted to Inspector and is no doubt still pursuing his belief that women should not operate in the public sphere. Another woman told me he ordered her into the patrol car on nightshift 'out of the cold', but was convinced his concern was over his inability to come to terms with women on patrol at night, rather than out of consideration for her comfort.
There are, however, two other classifiable sets of women who venture into the fiercely male police structure.

First there is the woman who continues to maintain the accepted female model of wife and mother and who slips briefly into police society and leaves after 3 to 4 years, when she takes up the more socially acceptable full-time role of homemaker, wife and mother. These short-term intruders are like the fire-fly, in that they flit in and out, scarcely disturbing the surface of the system. They are rarely remembered and will only be recalled after a year or two if they marry a policeman and continue to exist in terms of his place in the police structure. Once again the woman is defined in relation to the man in the system, as I have shown in 'Police Wives' (op. cit. 1984), where I outlined the unacknowledged role these women often play when they marry 'into the job'.

Secondly there are what I choose to call the 'new policewomen'. These are those self-contained, self-consciously feminine women who are not willing to play the role of home-maker, wife and mother, nor be turned into the 'butch burglar's dog' who is career successful, but who has to play the part of the surrogate male to succeed. These 'new policewomen' are overtly feminine and yet operate in male space without inhibition. They are professional and competent and in consequence are feared and revered. They have upturned the prescribed homogeneity of the male ideology which assigns women the clearly defined place they are expected to fulfill. These women acquire status; they are discussed continuously; they are avoided by the more faint-hearted of the men. They are treated as unusual because of their abilities to be in control of their own bodies and their own destiny. They are named and nick-named to ensure all are aware of their unusual status. They are often grudgingly admired for their self-possession, and because of their prowess the men who share their social companionship become the subject of gossip,

1. This is the average length of service before resignation for policewomen, which Sir Robert Mark (op. cit. 1978) denigrated.
speculation and curiosity. These women are often extremely capable and vocal, sensual and self-assured, beautiful and articulate.

An attractive woman who won a place on the Special Course for accelerated promotion at the National Police College epitomised this group. She combined professional ability with an easy femininity and thus was warily avoided by many of the traditionally minded men. A few of the younger women detectives are attractively feminine, extremely competent and are difficult to classify in traditional ways. They are definitely not willing to be considered as surrogate men. Such women are the subject of endless speculation and the gossip among the men always contains questions about their sensuality and sexual preferences. Their non-butch appearance allied to their competence is an unexpected and unusual new intrusion and I suspect the women who fulfill this role are those peculiar individuals who relish the specific tensions of living a marginal life.

There are 'new policewomen' in the specialist squads now and in the C.I.D. They openly defy traditional bodily strictures, rejecting the twin-sets and pearls, or costume and court shoes which were once necessary for plain clothes work. Nor do they have their hair cropped, but wear it with abandon. The bra-less women in jeans and cheese-cloth shirts in the shop-lifting squads caused endless difficulties for a rigid male hierarchy which was socialised to expect an unquestioning bodily conformity, carefully delineated and maintained.

The numbers of competent and feminine women are slowly increasing, although in a force of three and a half thousand their numbers are still minimal. But even in such small numbers the structural problems they present to the proponents of the ingrained and inculcated social formation is formidable; and their potentiality for bringing about social change is often only negated by the strength of the defensive ideology of the male domain. One of the main ways the status quo is maintained is by invoking an alleged sexual dangerousness affecting women. This is often posed in terms of potential physical danger to the
women who are said to need protection in the violent situation. At another level however, the danger is seen to be within the women themselves, for there is an implicit belief the women are sexually uncontrollable. As a result the male dominated structure directs action to effect their social and sexual control and to ensure that in their everyday activities they do not become analogically equated with 'loose women'.

This alleged unbridled sensual nature of women is used to identify the danger posed, but also to illustrate the desirability of the women - which of course must be controlled to be acceptable. An example of unacceptable, uncontrolled sensuality in women was demonstrated when a policewoman over-indulged what in other sections of Society might well have been considered a healthy sexual appetite. She was disciplined for conduct likely to bring discredit to the Force, (or discreditable conduct) and chose to resign. This young woman was nick-named 'the Station bike', because everyone rode her. More recently there has been a 'Miss Kronenbourg' (a pun on a television advert jingle). She, like the product, is said to 'have given more pleasure to more men across Europe than any other lager'. Then again there is 'Miss Martini', who, like the advert is 'the right one; any time, any place, anywhere', and 'Miss G.T. Knickers' - extremely fast at the off. In over 300 nick-names I took down during fieldnote collection, those relating to women almost always allude to some sexual aspect whereas those imposed on the men have various connotations.

1. An exploration of the language of containment would, I suggest, reveal a wealth of terms aligning women with the two conceptual areas of inside (house and home) and outside (the streets, looseness, street walkers). Bourdieu (1971) clearly demonstrates this idea of the danger attributed to female public activity and it seems that ideas of space and sexuality are linked concepts in most societies where the gender hierarchy operates.

2. Greer (op.cit.1971: 263-266) quotes many linguistic phrases of abuse towards females which indicate a fear of looseness, sex and disorder. This derogatory name, 'the Station Bike' is paralleled in a joke I heard in 1985 about a volatile and dynamic young policewoman: Q: What's the difference between X and the Blackpool Tower? A: Not everyone's been up the Blackpool Tower!
In one Division the perceived uncontrollable nature of women was used to maintain restricted areas for female action. The policewomen were kept from working nightshift and reverted to days when the normal shift rotation would have brought them onto night duty. It was explained that although no written order about this had been issued, (which in itself is unusual in a Service where every order is usually carefully annotated) the Divisional chief had decreed it was too dangerous for women to work nightshift. As there were few men on nightshift in this area, it was argued that women on nights created practical difficulties concerning the need to be chaperoned. It was also suggested that a situation could arise where a woman alone in the Station Office might have the responsibility for security of a male prisoner. These pragmatic difficulties, given as the primary reason for the shift pattern irregularities, were suddenly expanded upon and I was told there was also a fear that women on nightshift would produce some sort of sexual havoc; because the supervision on nightshift was limited. There had been an incident, some time previous, when men on night duty had been found to be 'entertained' by night nurses in the local hospital and it was considered obvious that a similar incident might now occur with the policewomen. (The men were not said to be responsible for this incident, rather it was the nurses who were uncontrollable). If, for some operational reason, a policewoman was needed during the night, one was to be called out, collected, taken to the Station, then taken home after the incident had been resolved. The reasons the women were not allowed to drive themselves to the Station was twofold. The first one was functional. It was said to me:

"...Had the P.W. used her own vehicle, she could have claimed travelling allowance and this might have alerted someone at H.Q's that the women in this area were not integrated (some 4 years after the Sex Discrimination Act), and 'the wheel might have come off'..."

The second and more revealing reason given was:

"...it is too dangerous for these young women to be driving through the night..."
The Police hostel where one of these women lived is always called, 'The Virgins' Retreat'. One wonders how the young policeman delegated to drive the senuous young woman back to the 'Retreat' after she had been called out, managed to avoid her unquenchable ardour.

These hostels for single male and female officers are also the subject of concern to senior male officers and have a code of conduct carefully prescribed. The concern of senior officers is not always for their functional facilities, their often inadequate kitchen equipment or domestic services; rather it is the opportunity they present for unbridled passion that these cautious men comment on. A very senior officer writing about a proposed merger of a male and female hostel in one building, ordered:

"...in this age of increasing promiscuity, I would expect the Divisional commander (in the area in which the hostel is situated) to control the hostel tightly..."


At the Training Schools for the initiate constables, which are often situated away from the centres of population, the hostels for recruits are also subject to strict control. To be found in a bedroom with someone of the opposite sex can be a punishable offence requiring resignation or resulting in dismissal. The Discipline Regulations set out to prevent looseness and attempt to anticipate every situation and govern it. As Whitaker (op.cit.1979:221) contends:

"...The restrictions - petty or otherwise - imposed on the off-duty private lives of policemen and women are unknown in virtually any other occupation... Police-men are expected to continue to observe a 19th century moral code, while daily being vividly aware of its rejection by the rest of society... In Portsmouth, an unmarried policewoman was put on a charge for kissing a married colleague..."

A policewoman in my Force was disciplined for having sex with a colleague while she was on sick leave with a broken bone.

1. See Okely (op.cit.1978:114) re. the secluded sites of boarding schools and gender control.
The fact that he was married led to a charge of 'discreditable conduct', while her late-night sex on the sick was classified as an offence of 'conduct detrimental to her recovery'. Their real 'offence' was said by most to be their 'stupidity for having been caught'. (from fieldnotes). I am unaware if the young woman was able to call any evidence to show sexual satisfaction might be beneficial to broken bones, however this incident gives some indication of how the constraints imposed on the police enhance the conservatively structured perceptions of its participants and reinforce the view of women as being sexually uncontrollable.

At a C.I.D. conference I attended in February 1980, the Senior Officer (who had urged tight control of the mixed sex hostel in 1979) reviewing a case of 'child abuse' where some administrative point had been missed by the officer in the case, told the assembled audience:

"...There are three areas where Police-men have trouble. They've always existed and I suppose they always will. They are 'policewomen', 'handling property' and 'dealing with children'..."

(from fieldnotes).

This fear of the sensuality of women is also illustrated in Sir Robert Mark's autobiography (op.cit.1978: 219). Like the item on uniform quoted above, this clearly indicates prevalent senior police attitudes towards women. These two isolated items on women suddenly appear in the book. They do not fit into any unfolding theme, but are set among general reminiscence. It is significant that this one appears in a chapter entitled, 'Civil Liberty and Public Order'. Mark writes:

"...About this time also I had given way to the blandishments of Henry Hunt, Assistant Commissioner (Personnel and Training), who had long wanted to introduce girls into our (cadet) corps. I was not easily persuaded because recruitment of women police was going well. They are an expensive investment, because on average, they serve under four years before leaving, usually on marriage, and I was a bit worried..."
"...at the prospect of 120 nubile young women at Hendon where the cadet school houses 500 young men, healthy, energetic and full of go. With a touch of the Valentines I enquired acidly if Henry had provided for a professional abortionist to be assigned a police house at Hendon, or was it that recruiting was so bad that we now had to breed our own, as we had already attempted to do with dogs and horses? Henry bore all this with his usual cheerful good humour and was, of course, proved to be right. We had 40 applications for every place and were able to pick and choose. The amusing and encouraging effect, which we did not expect was the noticeable improvement in the behaviour and manners of the boys. Incidentally, the girls consistently took the major share of academic prizes..."

Sir Robert humourously lumps the women with dogs and horses as potential breeding stock, needing to be aborted if recruitment is high, or perhaps until they marry 1. As he has previously dismissed women as an 'expensive investment', their academic abilities are something of an afterthought and in his words are 'incidental'. Okely (op.cit.1978) has discussed the low status given to academic achievement for women across society. The police view is that female academic ability is incidental to the structural need and will conflict with the dominant male model of reality. This parallels the dominant social model in society where female education is still considered unnecessary and poses a threat by the creation of a self-consciousness and a self-determination for women. Such a construct is antithetical to the behaviourist type reaction to orders and discipline required of policemen and its presence in structurally marginal women must be negated. Sexually dangerous and educated women are a double bind; they will logically have twice the power and ability to disrupt the system. So why train or educate them, when they will marry and fulfil the prophecies which insist and eventually prove that women are expensively unsuited to police work and are a transitory factor in the work situation?

1. And as I have suggested previously, they often tend to marry policemen.
These ideas have been vociferously pursued since the Sex Discrimination Act to negate the influence of the 'new policewomen' and to link this indiscriminate sensuality to an alleged risk of violence. Local press reports, fed with 'police thinking' by the P.R. departments, have implied women's 'soft femininity' made them especially unsuited to the dangers of police work. The implication is always that these women would have been better off in the traditional role of wife and sweetheart, accepted and pursued as pretty, sexual objects, rather than be exposed and endangered by conflicts occurring in the male public arena. In 1979, the Newcastle Evening Chronicle ran a short series on these women and how their careers had been cut short by violence. One is described as:

"...a bonny girl and full of life..." (and considered)
"...it was incongruous to hear the smiling beauty talk of her injuries..."

(Evening Chronicle 5.7.79.)

On two nights the paper ran front page headlines and photo-stories of policewomen who had been injured whilst involved in the daily round of policework. Southgate, (op.cit.1981:24) collating various research, points out:

"...violent involvements are actually quite rare in police work for officers of either sex..."

This is undoubtedly true, and Sullivan (op.cit.1979:341) makes the more important point that women officers are injured by women offenders:

"...The most important aspect of the figures for assaults, when relating them to the new role of women police since the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 is that over two-thirds of them have been committed by women prisoners and so would have occurred anyway even if the police force had been excluded from the Act..."

The system, however, requires aggression, public violence and injury should be a male preserve, while beauty and femininity
are binary opposites and should be kept in conceptually separate worlds. Women should therefore be excluded from the masculine bounded world of policing the public arena, for the idea of a policewomen as sex-objects is prevalent, as I have suggested above. I have often heard it said in police circles that the proper place for all policewomen is 'on their backs with their legs open'. Jane Jlewberry (1975) writing about American Police systems has suggested this type of perception of women has led to sexual harrassment with rewards for those who submit to male officers. She contends this is more common than might be supposed.

At the time the media was pursuing the incidence of violence mentioned above, the Police Review ran a competition to find 'the Prettiest Policewoman in the land'. Readers were invited to send in photographs of their favourite policewomen - in uniform - and between April and September 1979 the Review published many pages of their pictures. On 14.9.79, Lorraine Edser of Suffolk Police was chosen as the ultimate sensuous woman in uniform. Her professional abilities may complement her looks, but like Sir Robert Marks' assessment of cadets educational abilities, these will be incidental. Miss Edser received a half-page spread in the Daily Mail on 14.9.79, photographed in bikini on the beach and in uniform, under a 6" headline "Bobby Dazzler". The story in the Mail tells how she beat more than 100 contestants to win the title and that Lorraine:

"...whose arresting figure is often seen on the beaches near her home in Essex, weighs 8½ stone and stands 5'6" high..."

The Police Review, in announcing the early entries for the competition, claimed:

"...what we hadn't realised was in what high regard policewomen are held by their male colleagues. Not a chauvinist in sight. For all the entries so far have come from men and most of them are working alongside their choices..."

(Police Review: 13.4.79: 586)

This 'high regard' the men had for policewomen was not shared
by their wives. During this same period a lively correspondence occurred in the Police Review, which was taken up by the national press. Under the heading 'Passionate Affairs in a steamed-up Cortina', (Police Review: 24.8.79) the fear of sensuality of women was again made. It was suggested married constables were unable to resist the charms of their patrolling companion policewomen and were succumbing in the rear of their patrol cars. An anonymous Superintendent took the opportunity to again attack the Sex Discrimination Act and suggested the influx of women would soon mean there were no men left to have passionate affairs with; and also swiped at the Police College and academia in the same letter, (Police Review: 12.10.79). Many anonymous letters from 'police wives' were published, as were rejoinders from policewomen who denied tempting their colleagues. The Daily Mirror (24.10.79) summarised the increasing fears of the wives:

"...They say married policemen get so suffused with lust when pressed in close proximity into a steamed-up Panda car on night patrol with a buxom policewoman, they spend most of their duty having a cuddle on the back seat. Well I want any policeman patrolling the streets where I live to have a coldly alert, dispassionate mind. I want his attention totally dedicated to my property, not on the plunging regulation shirt on his lissom partner on patrol and I think we'd both be safer if he was on his own..."

Again the uniform of women is sexualised and the shirt somehow contrives to 'plunge' on the 'lissom' policewoman. Such sensual trivialisation occurs continually. It extends from the daily gossip about the sexual prowess of some current female recruit to the items on women in Sir Robert Marks book (op.cit.1978). It is emphasised in the campaign to find the 'prettiest policewoman' and is contained in the front cover of 'Brief', the Greater Manchester Police magazine (22.12.77), where 'shapely' policewoman Carol Mather was chosen by the Chief Constable, Mr. James Anderton, to 'boost the morale of his men' (Daily Mail: 22.12.77). Anderton, who had just been applauded for his actions in curtailing pornography and for raids against pornographic magazines dealers, chose Police-
woman Mather in a desk-top pose, with uniform skirt well up on the thigh, from a selection of pictures taken by Mail photographer, Barry Greenwood. The intention, the Mail tells us:

"...is to cheer policemen who will be 'on the beat' while the rest of us are tucking into turkey and plum pudding..."

The revelation of women's legs to 'cheer policemen' also occurs in the pages of Police Review (op.cit. 9.3.79). The trials and harassment of the early policewomen (which I have outlined above) is broken by a full page advert telling policewomen that: "Pretty Polly supports lovely legs" (p.361). The illustration shows a photograph of long, well-supported legs, with peep-toe sandals which would have the senior officers reaching for their copies of the discipline code should they ever be worn on duty. In a similar vein I found a 'portraits folder' in my H.Q. Press Office which contained only two photographs under the category 'policewomen'. One showed an attractive young woman in full uniform, while the second showed her sitting before a mirror applying make-up (creating a veil to conceal her true face from the public world?). The portrait re-creates the structural police reality, but does not accord with the fact that this woman is one of what I have chosen to call the 'new policewoman'. Since she joined in the early 1970's this officer has spent most of her time as a detective in the C.I.D. out of uniform and combines professionalism with an easy femininity.

(v) CONCLUSION

Practices the Police have developed over the past half century in relation to its women members are strongly determined by expectations of a natural asymmetric duality in male and female activities. Ethics, manners, vocabulary, clothing styles, leisure pursuits, the use of space, the expression of sexuality,

1. One of the judges of the 'prettiest policewoman' competition in September 1979 was London and S.E. sales manager for 'Pretty Polly' tights.
the presentation of personal physicality and other gender markers all conform to and exaggerate the limited socio/sexual role that women in wider Society have been expected to fulfill. That this situation is changing (or can change at all) is reluctantly accepted by only a few. Any structural change is resisted and can only be acceptable if its initial radicalism has had its sharper edges well worn and tested by the rest of Society.

The Sex Discrimination Act, 1975, should have created a ripple in the stream of social change merely by being a parliamentary measure, because police ideology tends to respond more swiftly to enforceable acts of parliament than to any moral exhortation. The Act, in theory, has upturned a well-developed structural dominance which no doubt has been partially responsible for the persistent 'hard' image which exists in relation to crime, criminals, discipline and punishment; and which many social commentators suggest has not been very successful and should be discarded. However, because of the world of policing has been fiercely structured around the concept of the protection of property, (which has its own history of male domination) and with controlling the public, street-visible activities of the predominantly male 'disordered classes', the female has to be logically excluded. Should she intrude she is marginalised and attributed with dangerous qualities. If she cannot be a 'real prig', because the world of petty criminals is as male-biased as the world of 'real polises', she can never become one of these 'real polises' for the same reason. There is no real place for women in this world, which excludes her by claiming she is a sensual, illogical creature, needing protection from her self and others.

If she is allowed across the boundary to enter the masculine world it will be under sufferance, and she is considered only really suitable when she has been domesticated and left to get married; preferably to a policeman. Then the secrets of the police world she has learned and experienced, and which her illogicality may still release, can be contained by the masculine world she has accepted as asymmetrically dominant. 1

1. If, as I have claimed in this thesis, the police are secretive and protective of information about their systems and structures, it is logical that those possessed of irrationality (women) should be excluded or enfolded totally within. The policewoman as an eventual wife to a policeman is structurally perfect.
(i) **INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter I wish to explore the constructs of 'crime' and 'offence' and examine the specific meanings each contains for the police. I am concerned with revealing various realities contained within the generic term 'crime' and describing some incongruent perceptions which exist in relation to these within police consciousness.

Individuals, groups, sections or classes within society usually have a personal idea of what 'crime' means to them. The human condition requires this to sustain an ordered understanding of where an individual stands in relation to his or her place in society, and to his neighbour. Yet anomalies and variations contained within the idea of 'crime' and 'criminals' means any reality will always tend to be multi-dimensional. A single model is rarely possible and time and social space greatly influence the contents of an idea of 'crime'.

To understand fully how the police think and operate it is necessary to explore what 'crime' means at any one time. Anthropological analysis of the way social belief structures the interpretation of 'crime' and in turn generates social practices, reveals how vital the multi-dimensional nature of 'crime' is to the police, and its importance as a major structuring principle. A diachronic examination of the police response to the idea of 'crime' is essential because of the peculiar position the construct holds in the police imagination. 'Crime' is a central tenet for police action. It sustains the ideology and pervades their thinking. An inculcated belief in the high status of 'real crime' activities and the low perceptual value attributed to marginal or ambiguous 'offences' determines most police activity and constructs a basic binary framework. The primary place 'crime' is allocated as a symbol for action in turn suggests how ambiguous areas of police work are generated and are then undertaken by those who practice low status activity. Policewomen, as I have described above, are essentially marginal because they are not masculine crimefighters, and my Drug Squad work was always
marginally located because of its 'non-crime' classification.

Just as the concept of 'crime' is multi-dimensional, so the apparently homogenous social category of 'policeman' contains many levels of meaning within the hierarchically bounded system. As I have detailed, the world of the police is pervaded with concepts of reality and 'real work', set against a series of denigrated and less highly valued jobs, roles, positions and activity. Constructs of disciplined force, control and power are elevated, while the binary opposites of philosophical enquiry, service and social accommodation are negated. 'Real polises', as I have shown, are hard men who control, pursue and 'capture' the 'real prigs' who commit 'real crime'. Those who are ambiguous or marginal in the police ideology of cops - v - robbers, or who are involved in less highly perceived police tasks than the symbolically and metaphorically important 'crime' activities are always likely to be assigned secondary status and be labelled as 'soft' and 'weak' or 'men with no bottle'. The police system strongly defines role structure and demands strong bodily control of its members as a symbolic expression of social control and the value placed upon formality in its social formations. 'Crime' is used to reflect these concepts. Those who commit it, as I have shown, are crooked, uncontrolled and bent. Those who defend are straight, clean and ordered.

Turner (1982), exploring the nature of social drama, quotes from Myerhoff and Moore (op.cit.1977) who suggest:

"...all collective ceremony can be interpreted as a cultural statement about cultural order as against a cultural void...

The police crime system is nothing if it is not dramatised and in pursuit of a perfect statement about cultural order. All police ceremony and ritual is a continual attempt to stave off social ambiguity, for as Myerhoff and Moore (ibid:16) declare:

"...ceremony is a declaration against indeterminancy..."

1. Mary Douglas (op.cit.1973: 99-100) sets out in two or three pages an equivalent of a symbolic police paradigm.
Turner sees in such dichotomised systems of formality the potential for the transformative experience of anti-structure, and in each ritually repeated expression of police belief there exists a struggle between order and the void, or chaos. The experience of criminal justice is based on form and formality, which, as Turner (op.cit.1982:83) affirms:

"...celebrates man-made meaning, the culturally determinate, the regulated, the named, and the explained. It banishes from consideration the basic question raised by the made-upness of culture, its malleability, its alternability..."

Yet behind this carefully cultivated social formation there exists an atom of anti-structure, and to negate this a fiercely macho image of an ordered warfare against a criminally disordered element is consistently promoted and reinforced. This is supported in the public consciousness by artificially elevating a stream of 'hard facts' and objectified 'crime' statistics, which deny social reality is fluid and indeterminate. Rather they suggest the supremacy of the existing social etiquette as a means of staving off social disaster. The implication is always made that social decline is imminent or even underway and only the police, who have mastery of the system, can prevent it. 1. These anti-structural elements lurking in the police social formation create tensions and hold the power of all boundaries. They have the potential to amend the system and contain a dynamism for drama which social change demands. Ideology, even in such a hegemonic system as the police, is not inviolate, for the marginal idea always struggles for ascendance. In consequence the practical mastery necessary to maintain the existing ideological determinancy requires that high-status activity and the modes of thought which support it be constantly repeated and promulgated. 'Crime' therefore needs to be endlessly dramatised by the police to render support for police practices.

1. Pearson (op.cit.1983) illustrates this belief in a social decline and the idea of a golden age only two decades in the past. Continuously in the past three centuries the forces of order and establishment have sought to enforce their power and position by creating what Pearson calls, a climate of 'respectable fears'. These have always identified the potential threat amongst the lower classes who were street visible and possessed of 'criminal' propensity.
As Hulsman (1977) contends:

"...Most people in our society participate most often in the criminal justice system in a way which we can compare best with the way we participate in a dramatic production..."

'Crime', as a result, has become a major moral preoccupation, dramatised to avoid the ambiguities and antagonisms inherent in most social behaviour. It allows policemen to create dramatised systems based on a Manichean perception of classificatory 'good' - v 'evil', with criminal mythologies nurtured by and using the classic symbols exemplify the right hand of goodness or the left hand of darkness; for as Hulsman (ibid.) also tells us:

"...The world (of the criminal justice system) is mainly structured by a transformation of elements of the 'literal' world of another time (the Middle Ages) and relies heavily on myths which were in that time part of the indirect experience of most people... This situation is not immediately visible because some words belonging to the reality of the Middle Ages have been replaced by others belonging to our own time. Thus the word "God" is replaced by the word "Society" (but) these changes in words did not generally change the structure of the drama..."

In the criminal justice system the themes of 'good' and 'evil' tend to suffer exaggeration or simplification, with 'evil' measured on a uni-dimensional scale of seriousness. This is then set against an equivalent system of punishment deemed necessary to restore order. Yet beneath the binary opposition of 'good' and 'evil' there exists a variety of levels of meaning, splitting the duality apart and revealing a hierarchy

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1. The use of punishment as a coercive means of creating systems of power is eloquently described by Foucault (op.cit.1977). Sheridan (1980:135-63) who teases out the ultimate strengths of Foucaults argument about the use of discipline and punishment, shows how the overwhelming incorporation which occurs allows for the eventual policing and examination of the whole population.
of beliefs and modes of thought. Several of these are homologously related. I have suggested already how male and female constructs are asymmetrically contained within the ideology of 'real polises' and their ambiguous counterparts, and these can also be set against ideas of gender contained within the concepts of crime, criminality and evil.

Metaphors of masculinity are embodied in images of tough, crime-fighting warfare, carried out by 'real policemen' doing real policework, and the world of criminals is a male world. There is a consistency to this emphasis on the masculinity of crime. Mallik (1972: 27) exploring West Bengali underworld language remarked:

"...the language of the criminal world (with some exceptions) is essentially a males' language."

The negated feminine side of the coin is concerned with 'care', as I have described above. This is another multi-dimensional construct, (like its binary opposite 'control') and incorporates concepts of the literary, the artistic, the musical, the sensual and the reflexive pursuit of a potential new order. This male and female asymmetry with the criminal justice system contains the germ of a further anti-structural possibility, and suggests why the feminine is rejected while the masculine is adulated and pursued. Germann (1977: 340-47) constructs a nightmare world where such a macho criminal justice system is pursued to its logical conclusion. He imagines a system evolving where:

"...Police assume, unilaterally, all decision making authority for social control and apply immediate, massive force in any situation where police are not awarded instant deference and obedience...

...The police continue their close affinity to conservative, ultra-conservative and very right-wing movements and philosophies. No radical changes are made in police organizations or in traditional police procedures. Sensitive and humanist members of the police establishments are even more ostracized, incoming recruits are more intensively screened to eliminate socially sensitive probationers and those who would..."
"...question traditional procedures or postures. Crime continues to increase in number... Citizens become ever more panicked and angry. The police, even more frustrated than ever, ask for more manpower, facilities and equipment, and suggest to the public that the 'war on crime' be intensified."

The preoccupation with 'crime' and the results of a mythologised 'war against crime' is therefore a crucial subject for anthropological analysis. I believe the recent history of police response to 'crime' is a significant attempt to shore up a social formation which is under enquiry, yet cannot be seen to be a product of man-made meaning. It is a dramatised mythology used to support and maintain power structures and hegemonies in their existing forms, because those at the top of police society have only succeeded by creating and maintaining a practical mastery of existing ideological etiquette. They have struggled to the top by living the prescriptions of police form and formality and which demands rigid adherence to a known and regulated practice and does not easily take on board new ideas or structural change. 1. 'Crime', I suspect, will therefore continue to dominate the modes of thought and language patterns of senior police officers, who, because of their fear of sedition and contradiction could well use their powers to generate even more disciplined structures than those existing at the moment, and in consequence extend the multi-dimensional nature of 'crime' beyond its current boundaries.

The hermeneutic exploration of the meaning of 'crime' will show how the police have used, ignored, developed, manipulated and entrapped it, to support their preferred binary world.

1. This supports my earlier contention that the police must be anti-academic. As Douglas (op.cit.1973:102) tells us: "...Artists and academics are potentially professions of comment and criticism on society..."

Policemen cannot logically therefore be identified either as artistic or academic. If they have academic qualification it is preferable it is not in a reflexive discipline. I have said little about the police view of art, but as might be imagined the role of artist is not revered, nor is the artistic performance or lifestyle commended or pursued.
Its dominance is so encompassing that even when there are increasing calls for social welfare to become part of the police framework and the community service side of police work might be expected to be achieving ascendance, 'crime' remains supreme. The 'community policing' model, although publicly proclaimed, contains few of the symbols of status to suggest it can hold a central place in police thinking. Those in Community Service departments always stand in the shadow of those who undertake 'real policing'; for power structures are created by those who are dramatically able to best manipulate the construct of 'crime', and in consequence the world of the criminal justice system continues to move nearer to the Orwellian vision described by Germann (op.cit. 1977:340), who suggested:

"...there is one peril that requires more than science and technology and concern: the peril of excessive social control..."

To meet this peril, and to prevent the expansion of the idea of 'crime' to incorporate claims and calls for social rights and liberties of speech, Germann (ibid.) suggests that:

"...we must re-think the goals and priorities of law enforcement, and we must re-direct our efforts in order to make it humane and effective..."

For the police to emancipate themselves from their prison-like social framework and beliefs, however, requires that the way these structures are determined be revealed. Such a task is not seditious, it is essential if the police are to be socially accountable and the reverse is not to become the primary mode.

(ii) CRIME DEFINED – THE NINETEENTH CENTURY MODEL.

'Crime' is a category of behaviour defined by the Home Office for the Police. In the main it reflects values and beliefs which supported the wealthy, the aristocrat and the property owning classes of the early and middle 19th Century. Publicly disordered acts committed against this elite class were then dealt with by a fairly harsh, if not barbaric system of punishments. These were designed to deter such activities as
the appropriation of the property, the cattle and other domestic animals of the landowner, and also controlled the misappropriation of the wild animals that might be found on his land, such as the deer and the rabbit. Even the illegal cutting of his beech woods by the lower orders or peasant class could result in deportation for up to seven years.

These constraints and classified controls had been developed over decades. Most derive from the feudal system of a landowning class and a subservient peasantry, and were consolidated in the 19th Century by a series of Acts of Parliament designed to provide a framework on which the newly created Police Forces could operate. The Larceny Act of 1861 recognised the previous control enjoyed by the property owning classes and protected rights in their estates and animals. It also took account of the property, the factories and the businesses the new industrial-aristocrats had acquired; and so in addition to protecting land, buildings, deer, rabbits, pheasants and other stock accumulated over the preceding centuries by the landed gentry, the Larceny Act additionally protected the shops, factories, warehouses, offices and stores of the Victorian entrepreneurs. Most senior police officers today were trained initially to pursue the 'crimes' it listed, and the 1861 Act continued to have effect until 1968, when the Theft Act replaced most of its provisions.

The villain was always from the 'dangerous classes' from the newly created working class, who became urbanised as the Industrial revolution gathered momentum. The actors in the social drama were therefore immediately defined, with the 'dangerous classes' threatening the possessions of the rich, or even the rich themselves.

Once the ruling classes had overcome their initial aversion to the newly created Police forces and had seen they were willing to be used to contain the working classes, the pattern was set. A stream of Acts of Parliament were passed in the middle of the 19th Century setting out a range of controlling directives and penalties for the 'criminal'. These effectively
determined police practices for the next century. The Larceny Act, The Offences Against the Persons Act and The Malicious Damage Act made up a trio of Acts in 1861 which covered most police work and countered many of the classifiably criminal acts of the 'dangerous classes'.

The courts were soon filled with increasing numbers of the 'inept, the insane and the inadequate'. As Germann (op.cit. 1977:341) points out:

"...I am inclined to believe that our police are really dealing with the unlucky, or inept or mentally retarded offender who represents that 10% (of those caught for committing crimes) and charged..."

Those 10% who committed the petty larcenies, the poaching, the warehousebreaking and the malicious damage, were also able to be counted and used statistically as a justification for further controlling practices. The 'evil' became objectified as hard data, even though its use as a controlling measure at that time was spasmodic and not well developed.

One of the two main tenets for police action was identified as 'the protection of property' and became all important to police ideology. From initial training the young recruit has legal constructs surrounding the control of the appropriation of property instilled. These concern a narrow range of easily stolen items initially defined by the 1861 Larceny Act and usually relate to easily transportable items that can be quickly sold or traded. The theft of such items has become a major part of the public construct of 'crime' and the prevention and detection of such thefts has become a cornerstone of police work.

1. Pearson (op.cit. 1983:126) describes the early 1860's as "... the culmination of the great modernising transformation of the criminal justice system..."

2. This phrase (from fieldnotes) was often used to describe our regulars in the Bridewell and indicates that the 'real polises' occasionally acknowledge they are dealing with a specific section of society.
The 1961 Larceny Act consolidated on the earlier legislation and focussed on the new towns and urban cities the Victorian Age had produced. It acknowledged the 'dangerous criminal classes' were now increasingly urbanised and that control of the countryside and the land was well established through legal and historical precedent.

The country policeman was often under the 'control and direction' of the local landowner, and in Shire counties this system of patronage endures as part of a hierarchy of influence. In the towns and boroughs the police concentrated on the visible acts of theft, shopbreaking, burglary, warehousebreaking and the street-visible acts of assault and robbery. Always the emphasis was on the public nature of the offence, so that concealed crime was relegated to low status and given a negligible response. Minor frauds were pursued, but in practice were reserved for those 'servants' who had defrauded their masters and who had committed 'Larceny as servant'. Rarely, if ever, was action directed to the large-scale fraud or the false pretences committed by those with power. Tobias (1967) in his exploration of Victorian criminality tells us that:

"...white collar crime was prevalent, but ignored..."

The specificity of police action and the avoidance of involvement in the 'crimes' of the well-connected can only be described as one of systematic class-bias. Fraud was never the province of the dispossessed 'dangerous classes' to any extent, rather it was the domain of the businessman and the entrepreneur and as a result its commission was ignored by the police. Ken Oxford, the Chief Constable of Merseyside, has pointed out that in the United Kingdom there was no fraud training for detectives until 1967. The criminal law, as it evolved during the 19th Century, was narrowly directed towards a specific sort of behaviour, committed by a specific section
of society. 1. Thorpe (op.cit.42) contends that nothing has changed:

"...the law is far from being an impartial mediator of social relations...instead it weighs most heavily upon the most defenceless and is hardly brought to bear against the illegalities of the powerful and well connected... The main target... as it was more explicitly in the nineteenth century (is) the dangerous classes - unorganised labour, or the unemployed, marginal, transient and easily stigmatised groups, the non-respectable workers and the undeserving poor..."

The 1916 Larceny Act reigned supreme as the basic text for policemen for over 50 years. The manuals on my initial police courses and on my Detective training emphasised the importance of this Act. We learned definitions of Larceny by heart and studied cases on which definitive Law had been stated. We were aware that our chances of dealing with a crime of 'Counterfeit Currency', or 'Perjury' or 'Bigamy' was limited. But we knew that larceny from gas meters, shopbreaking at the corner tobacconists, theft from parked cars, burglaries of houses, and the like were to be our bread and butter.

A central tenet from the Judeaeo/Christian tradition was therefore tied in with capitalist notions, producing a reverence for the idea of the inviolability of property. Around this the police built a range of formal actions, hierarchical status and a ritualised belief in the power of property as an indicator of success or failure or of the

1. Pearson (op.cit.1983: 153-155) illustrates this bias in the application of the law when he describes the actions of some well-connected young 'hooligans' and compares their treatment in court and their sentences with those imposed at the same time on a youth from the 'dangerous classes' who had committed similar offences. I have witnessed similar occasions when upper-middle class 'skylarking' would have been more severely pursued and perceived had its creators been from the wrong side of the tracks.
health and morality of society. As soon as we move beyond this simple construct, there are problems. Croft (1984:531), echoing Leach (op.cit.1977), points out:

"...historically, (the Criminal Law) is on less certain ground when it comes to forms of behaviour about which the social order is ambivalent or which are themselves subject to changes of attitude and indeed concept. Examples of the latter are sex, suicide, drink and acts such as pollution, where the victim and the perpetrator are less identifiable as private conflicts extinguishable or capable of solution by an objective criminal law..."

Although there has been a multiplicity of law designed to control sexuality and the intake of alcohol, the police have always approached their implementation in a culturally specific way. Both the Sexual Offences Acts and the drink laws have followed the dictum that police activity is aimed at the 'dangerous classes'. To a large extent the police have been concerned with anomaly and excess in these matters only when they could also be related to illicit notions of 'time' and 'space'. Legally correct times for the intake of alcohol; an age criteria in relation to drinking and to sexual activity; the public or private presentations of both activities have been evoked in a distinctly specific manner. Their ambivalence adds considerable meaning to the dramatic metaphor through which I contend the criminal mode is enacted, and in which a logical, temporal and spatial dimension can be plotted. For as Hulsman (op.cit.1977) points out:

"...A strong indication that the reality of the criminal justice system is for the most part a dramatic and not a literal one is found in the very unusual time dimensions which are applied in this criminal justice world. Those time dimensions are generally completely out of touch with normal time experience..."

1. The almost religious way in which the Police treat found and seized property would be incomprehensible to 'outsiders' and is an indication of the metaphorical value that the idea of 'property' contains. For example, the amount of time and money the police expend in disposing of abandoned scrap vehicles (often realising only £5 or £6 for weeks of administration) would be the material for either a television comedy show or a full anthropological assessment of 'property' as a symbol of importance.
When the police do get drawn into a public conflict involving victims or offenders from a powerful corporation, a commercial organisation or the state, the resulting complex scenario and social challenge is often too difficult and problematic to handle. As a result the police generally try to avoid involvement in those productions where allegations of sin or crime, merge and meld with activities carried out under the respectable umbrella of business practice, politics or commercial success. The police are never happy when they are called on to enquire into the grey areas surrounding respectability and prefer to avoid involvement in contests relating to sin or morality. Any calls for the decriminalisation of offences is not a matter the police eagerly join in.

The tranquil 'golden age' which I have described as mythological, is under attack. An increasing range of research is beginning to challenge the cherished beliefs on 'crime' which the police hold. 'Canteen stories' from 'the great days of policing' (from fieldnotes) are not sufficient to deny ideas seeping into the collective consciousness, and it is not unusual to find esoteric academic concepts regurgitated for popular consumption. Foucault's ideas on discipline and punishment are described now in periodicals, and just as Freudian ideas now pervade popular culture, so the beliefs in the value of stringent punishment and imprisonment, or in 'a criminal type' (a la Lombrosa) is questioned; yet policemen often still hold fiercely conservative views on punishment and tend to believe in genetically created 'criminals',

1. For a full discussion on crime and its meaning in relation to law, religion, morals and customs, see Hermann Mannheim (1965).

2. McCabe S., and Sutcliffe, F., (op.cit.1978) and Bottomley A.K. and Coleman, C.A. (1980) have questioned police effectiveness in relation to crime and its prevention and detection. And although most policemen I know have never heard of these well known 'radical criminologists', or read their books, the ideas they have generated have seeped out into the popular press, television and into the public mind.
vehemently rejecting ideas to the contrary.

Such social exploration causes tension and anxiety. The presentation of an alternative model to the existing police ideology demonstrates the anti-structural possibility with its potential for a liminally spontaneous period of the type Turner (op.cit.1974) has also linked to the dramatic mode. This atom of anti-structure has the potential for presenting the system with a highly charged and alternative possibility, yet my experience in 1977 on returning to the Bridewell was that nothing had changed since I had first seen the place some two decades previously. Today I still see the same structures of thought and practice firmly entrenched, so that even as 19th Century models of 'crime' and criminality and a simplified belief in an inherent criminal type have been challenged, so the state, its lawmakers, and the police, set out to reinforce the existing structural forms. In 1968, a new Theft Act re-defined the control of 'property' as a primary module for police action. The Larceny Acts of 1861 and 1961 were re-created with only minor modifications. The 'Counting Rules for Crime' (of which I will say more later) were issued and have been continually amended since by the Home Office. These effectively determine a growing industry concerned with counting, measuring and classifying relatively petty and minor criminal acts. They structure police activity along well-established lines with even greater management efficiency, and pervade police thinking about ideas of 'real work'.

The 19th Century model of reality is preferred, for radical social change is not something the police are designed to accommodate. The police world is programmed to conserve, and in the early stages of any social transformation those activities indicative of a new social morality will often be assigned to previously determined categories of disorder. For example, the student unrest of the 1960's, the social and political change suggested by C.N.D., the Peace Movement, the Greenham Common women are all indications of calls for social, political and moral change. The police are often scathing about such groups in the privacy of their Stations and canteens, and are
easily persuaded that these groups might be seditious or even treasonable.

In a similar manner, the dramatic occasion of the inner city riots of 1981 are multi-dimensional theatrical statements, demonstrating increasing dis-satisfaction with state and local politics, with corporate morality, and are an expression of individual despair. They have many parallels across British social history. The Scarman enquiry into the riots saw the police had some responsibility for the general dis-satisfaction and suggested changes designed to enhance community and police contacts.1 But it would have been idealistic to expect a radical amendment to a police culture not geared to programme structural change. Local liaison committees have been created and most forces have extended or set up Community Affairs departments, but they have also tested water-cannon, bought extensive amounts of riot equipment and are increasingly well-armed. They often seem set to extend their perception of the 'dangerous classes' to include those who exhibit what the then Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Sir David McNee described in his 1977 Annual Report as 'the increasing problem of political dissent'.

In 1984 the acts of theft, arson, assault and disorder in relation to the Miners strike were also publicly visible manifestations of changing social and political formations which the police are ill-equipped to handle. An attempt at community liaison or consultation was never really apparent and we were left with the spectacle of a conflict model of policing with mass arrests, mounted charges, roadblocks and an array of uniformed technology and equipment, portraying

1 SCARMAN: 'The Scarman Report: The Brixton Disorders 10 - 12 April 1981'. HMSO. 1981., (published in Pelican 1982). It is important to note that the recommendations Scarman made with regard to police practices have been pursued by Chief Officers, while the long list of specific suggestions he made on employment, housing, education and race relations have almost all been ignored. In this instance the police have been more diligent than the politicians in attempting to redress a recognisable problem.
the dramatic image of the battlefield, rather than one of serving the community. I find it ironic that for some nine months, the essentially working-class police expressed strong hatred for working-class miners, while politicians and those blessed with the role of leading the country through social change sat back totally unwilling to play a positive role. The police were left to apply their 19th Century model of 'crime' and criminality and were caught in another binary of their own making. They vigorously reinforced their preferred 'crime-fighting' image while their proclaimed new community service role all but disappeared. But, as I have shown, 'community service' is 'women's work' and has been described as merely a public relations exercise.\(^1\) Dr. G. Cumberbatch told the British Association in 1984:

"...the greatest myth (is) community policing... and it is not helpful for anyone to perpetuate this mythology by refusing to acknowledge that most experiments (in community policing) simply do not work in the sense of achieving anything other than a public relations exercise objective. Community policing projects had been stage-managed for the benefit of their architects and principal actors..."

(The Guardian. 13.9.84)

Again the metaphors are from the dramatic mode, with community policing projects 'stage-managed' for their architects and 'actors'. It is therefore not surprising that 'real work' is still perceived by the rank and file to be concerned with 'crime' as defined over a century ago. All the symbols of success are linked to the dramatic presentation of this as 'real work' and the public assertions of Chief Officers continually re-establish a belief in this formulae. 'Crime' is still preferably a matter of petty theft, burglary and the appropriation of property by known 'prigs'. 'Polises' and

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1. Superintendent D. Webb who set out to promote 'community policing' in Handsworth, Birmingham with a considerable vigour, announced his resignation from the Force a month before the Scarman report was published, because of lack of support for his work within the Force.
detectives are never happier than when a local villain is 'captured' and this will be even more satisfactory if, for example, he is:

"...on a bender but likely to clear his slate or take a few off the books when he goes down and gets settled..."

(from fieldnotes) 1.

(iii) CRIME OR OFFENCE: THE POLICE CLASSIFICATION OF DISORDER

There are crucial differences between the classifications of 'offence' and 'crime' within the police mind. 'Crime' is often defined in legal volumes and police instruction books as, "an act forbidden or punishable by criminal law". This can lead to calls for certain acts to be 'decriminalized' which the police do not think of as 'crimes', but attribute to a lesser category and classify as 'offences'.

The specificities of a police belief in two separate categories - 'crimes' and 'offences' - needs to be examined and revealed to illustrate how consequent modes of thought and ideology are translated into action. The way that the Larceny Acts and Theft Act have been used to determine disorder, while other socially untenable activities have been ignored or neglected needs to be understood. Chatterton (1976) pointed out it was important to understand why some laws were invoked on some occasions and not on others. He argued that

1. Again the language used indicates the dramatic mode both the 'real polis' and the 'dangerous classes' know and use as part of the theatricality surrounding petty, small-time crime. Recently I had an 'injured person' (the aggrieved party in a crime) complain of the complicity he had seen demonstrated by the detective in the case and the 'regular villain' who had been 'captured'. He, as a member of the innocent public, felt excluded and wondered if it 'was not just all one big game between the police and the villains!' The 'real prig' on a 'bender' (suspended sentence), willing to 'clear his slate' or 'take a few off the books' (admit crimes he has committed) when he 'gets settled' (is sentenced and is settled in prison after initial assessment by the prison authorities) is the central actor in a drama that the 'real polis' and he may have to re-enact again next year and the year after. The 'injured person' is an outsider who rarely understands the rules of the game, the style of the dramatic mode, or the peculiar spatial and temporal aspects of the production. No wonder he feels excluded, for aspects of the drama do not require and indeed positively exclude the audience of outsiders if at all possible.
it is necessary to explore the meanings built into the framework of charges used by policemen, and to fail to pursue the ideological factors on which these actions were based is to fall into the trap of making inferences about law from legislation or the legal books, which may have little, if any, relevance to the way control is directed in practice.

What, in Police terms, is a classificatory 'crime'? Has it always been so? At what point in historical and dramatic time does 'an offence' get upgraded to become a 'crime'? What was the reason and result of the change? The deviant acts which are classified as 'crimes' by the police are those which the criminologist often refers to as 'indictable'. But this again is a generic term referring to deviant acts which are tried at a High Court (rather than at the lower Magistrates Court).

'Crimes' defined by the Police are those which are now contained in a 'standard list' made under section 54 of the Police Act 1964, and published by the Home Office as 'Criminal Statistics: Counting Rules for Serious Offences'. The list, at the time of writing, contains some 63 categories of 'crime', but as Chatterton (op.cit.1976) correctly points out, it is necessary to explore what 'crimes' are socially important at specific times and those the police decline to pursue.

To show this changing semantic perception I have used a hypothetical criminal incident in seminars to link the 'offences' and 'crimes' described to the changing social milieux I have observed across my police career. And although I contend police belief systems and modes of thought are rooted in a conservative social experience and are handed down in deeply located concepts, it is possible to trace changes in what I would call the 'police objectified reality' and show how concepts based on experience come to be seen as 'natural' and create 'new crimes'.

In the 'created incident' described below, which is purely imaginary, a chain of social dramas is presented which relates
to street-visible activities the police might be expected to deal with. I have asked seminar audiences to classify the drama and to evaluate how many 'crimes' and how many 'offences' the police might have pursued in the 1950's and again in the 1980's, in the following incident:

"A man is walking along a street. He exposes his penis to a woman and pulls an axe from under his coat and waves it wildly around. The woman screams and runs off. He zips up his trousers, drops the axe and takes out a packet of cigarettes. He lights up and throws the empty packet and the box of matches on the ground, ignoring the litter bin only three feet away. He then urinates in the street in front of passing females and takes a nearby car parked with the ignition keys in. The man has no driving licence or insurance as he is already a disqualified driver. He has been drinking and is well above the prescribed blood/alcohol level. As he gets into the car, he tears off the windscreen wipers out of malice; damage is later estimated at £19.99. He drives carelessly without lights for a mile and knocks over a small child aged 7 yrs and breaks her leg, before ignoring a 'Give Way' sign at a major road, where he drives into the side of a passing car, injuring all 4 occupants slightly. He gets out of the damaged car and wanders off into a housing estate where a passing youth gives him a 'joint' of cannabis. Smoking this and slightly stoned, he wanders around the streets passing another 13 year old youth who is busy taking the milk tokens left out by housewives on their doorsteps for their next mornings milk. In all, this youth takes tokens each worth 25 pence from 50 doorsteps, while his 9-year old brother takes tokens from 25 doorsteps. The man is approached by a prostitute but he declines her offer and he later throws a brick through a house window causing £21's worth of damage. The woman of the house comes out to remonstrate with him and he forces her back into the house where he rapes her. Her husband is in a nearby public house where the manager is watering the beer,..."

1. Nigel Walker (1971), in his analysis of how criminal statistics are used, has also presented circumstances and social events as a methodology of asking how many crimes would have been recorded in certain situations.
"...fiddling his income tax and the Value Added Tax returns. The woman's husband falls down a cellar hatch the landlord has negligently left open and breaks his leg. At the time the landlord was busy selling a bottle of whisky and ten cigars to a 15 year old boy."

It may seem easy to classify the actions in this social drama and to delineate their structures of significance for the police. One might expect there would be a constant logic that would allow the analyst to assess which incident was perceived as the worst anti-social act and as a result of which, society would be shown to have an order of disorder. Deviance, however, is culture-specific and in a multi-variant society is not easy to determine in an ordered hierarchy. Only a close understanding and comprehensive knowledge of police practices and modes of cognition will reveal how their own objectified logic is constituted. What is classified as dangerous, undesirable and disordered under judeo-christian morality is often legally enshrined as a 'crime' and deeply felt within the general public conscience, but is not immutable. As Leach (1977: 23) points out:

"...the prototypical public (that is criminal) offences in all the urbanised, police controlled civilisations of the West are homicide and theft. Every citizen who discovers evidence of murder or burglary has an automatic duty to 'call the police'. This duty flows from the doctrine that any threat to the lives and property of the individual citizens constitutes a threat to the very fabric of society. By contrast, the law concerning offences against sexual morality, especially those in which there is collusion between the parties concerned, is ambiguous..."

At a functional level, the police sometimes operate as if they believed in a definitively ranked set of 'criminal' acts, and that this ranking was inherent. Yet to merely ascribe all 1. For example, noise abatement, although legislated for, has never been pursued with any vigour, and noise levels in a large metropolitan area which are accepted would never be considered tolerable in a small country village. 'Noise' offences, for example, are not 'crimes' in police terms.
of the actions in the hypothetical example to the 'criminal' sphere is to ignore nuances that exist within the category of 'crime' and to misunderstand variations that occur and ambiguities that arise as social changes present new structures of meaning.

Only a small number of the activities described in the incident are currently classified by the police as 'crimes', recordable under the 'Counting Rules for Serious Offences'. Some have recently changed status and have moved hierarchically upwards in classification from the more lowly status of 'offence' to become 'crimes', while others which the media and many criminologists seem to attribute as being equally important to the police, as say murder and robbery, are in reality given little attention and minimum kudos.

As Leach (ibid.) suggests, offences against sexual morality are ambiguous. For example, the control of 'adultery' originally delineated in the biblical commandment which forbade one should covet a neighbour's wife, was at one time translated into the 'criminal code'. Now it has dropped out of the 'criminal code' across most of the western world. In Britain, adultery might now be said to be a structural necessity - if television drama is a reflection of how beliefs and actions in society are transmitted - yet in the recent past 'adultery' was a 'crime' and therefore ranked somewhere alongside robbery and burglary. In effect this one example shows how the idea of 'crime' reflects current meanings and interpretations a society places upon behaviour. Such reversals indicate how the constant spiralling and circling that occurs in the human manipulation of meaning can invert an image, so that concepts of purity and disorder exchange places. This interchangeability has been discussed by Foucault (1967), in his study of madness. He asserts it is always possible for the saintly to become the reviled, while the denigrated becomes the adulated. He suggests further that the concept of madness is imposed by those who represent the idea of reason. This imposition of a judgemental quality relegated the once acceptable idea of folly to the arena of
denigration, exclusion and purification, where images of evil and disorder abound and reverse imagery is prevalent. It is just as valid, therefore, to see other aspects of 'crime' and 'criminality' as constructed categories, that can easily have changing values thrust upon them.

The incidents described in my hypothetical drama classified as 'crimes' are activities which, in most police forces in Britain, are the province of the detectives of the Criminal Investigation Department. 'Crimes' are always more highly perceived and achieve higher status and meaning than the 'offences'. The detective, who holds a highly symbolic place in the public imagination, seeks out the perpetrators of 'crime'; while the more lowly 'offences' are generally the province of the uniformed men, who are often derogatorily nick-named by the detectives. In the Metropolitan Police the uniformed men were generally known as 'wollies' and to hear the term in use is to understand the derision that can be put into one phrase. Sarah McCabe (op.cit.1980) describes the dichotomised situation this produces and how this perception can elevate often trivial crime work to an importance that it might not deserve. She writes:

"...most police officers, if you ask them or watch them operating, would say that 'crime' and its detection is the only real police work..."

Two of the acts described in my hypothetical drama have altered their conceptual value and status dramatically within the past 15 years. As a result, they have achieved a totally different response and place within the police imagination. These two 'crimes' have moved up the classificatory tree of disorder and have achieved the status of 'crime' after having spent long years recorded as 'offences'. The re-classification of malicious damage to 'criminal damage' and 'taking a car without consent', (which was a 'traffic offence', but is now the 'crime' of 'taking a conveyance') is described in detail below. One immediate effect of changing classification such as 'malicious damage' (offence) to 'criminal damage' (crime) is to suggest a crime wave is occurring; but the total reality
is much more complex and the signification and meaning that determine such changes creates multiple reactions in society at large.

Re-classification of these two categories of 'villainy' in the drama has meant in my police force alone we now have over 20,000 'crimes' recorded which were merely 'offences' some 10 - 15 years ago. So in the 1980's the police might (the emphasis is on the uncertainty) record 16 offences and 5 crimes from the mythical incident quoted above. Yet had it occurred only 20 years ago the statistical count would have certainly been much different for a multiplicity of reasons. Although two of the 'crimes' were then only classifiable 'offences', detectives in the early '60's could well have scooped over 70 detected 'crimes' for their annual returns.

I have tried out the 'game' on several of my police colleagues and of course none can give a definitive answer. Each had difficulty in making a judgement about what would happen in reality (i.e., their version of police reality). All agreed they would ignore all but the most 'serious' of the offences and had no difficulty in deciding what was a 'serious offence', nominating the careless driving (Under the Road Traffic Acts) which caused injury. Careless driving, reckless driving and most traffic irregularities are defined as 'offences' by the Home Office and are not 'crimes'.

Detectives listed the 'real crimes' first before they turned to the 'offences', and many dismissed the traffic aspects as not being worthy of their consideration. And one constable derided traffic men in giving me a classification of their status:

"...the difference between 'real polises' and 'traffic polises' is that 'real polises' have sandwiches for their 'bait' (refreshments/meal break), while traffic men drink blood..." (from fieldnotes).

The significance of this remark lies in the placing of traffic department policemen into the areas of ambivalence I have
discussed above. Traffic men are not dealing with 'real crime' committed by the 'dangerous classes', but are 'sucking the blood' or cannibalising a category of society who might otherwise support the police in their activities against the 'dangerous classes', i.e., the car-owning, silent majority who consider 'crime' is committed against them, rather than by them.

A careless driving offence or the reckless driving resulting in serious injury often has lower value and significance attached to it than a 'crime' of wounding, which might possible result in a lesser injury. Structurally the careless driving offence has always held an inferior position to the theft which is a 'crime'; though many policemen would publicly contest this allegation and invoke their originally defined function of 'protecting life (and property)', to support their protest.

Other offences in the hypothetical incident mirror activities I have illustrated when I described the 'ambiguous prig'. These lesser 'offences' such as the indecent exposure, the soliciting for prostitution, the waving of the axe in a wild manner, the urinating in the street, the litter dropped and the drunken driving are all 'offences' and not 'crimes'. All are the province of the uniformed officer, and some, such as the Litter Act offence, (like noise abatement legislation mentioned above) have been all but ignored by the police. The sale of whisky and cigars to the young boy, the fraud in relation to income tax and V.A.T., the negligence causing the broken leg, the watering down of the beer, are all matters the police have no mandate to be involved with. Few tax offence in Britain are police matters and this may account for the lack of fraud training for the police, which I

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1. A recent incident I was involved with concerned a road traffic matter where two young women and a child received terrible injuries when a young, uninsured driver raced another car on the public highway. The discussion on the incident focussed on how the culprit could not be treated as harshly or with such 'hard' enforcement as had the injuries been caused as a result of a 'criminal' assault.
mentioned above. 1.

Behaviour which does constitute high status 'crime' activity in the police imagination follows the categories Leach (op.cit.1977) mentions - i.e., assault on the person and assault on property. In the Home Office document 'Criminal Statistics, Counting Rules for Senior Offences', mentioned above, detailed counting rules are provided for three categories of offences (i.e. crimes):

"...VIOLENCE AGAINST THE PERSON
SEXUAL OFFENCES
OTHER OFFENCES
(including offences of burglary, robbery, theft and handling of stolen goods, fraud and forgery and criminal damage)...

The Home Office continues to produce conceptual difficulties by describing these 'crime' categories as 'offences' though each requires a police officer to make out a 'crime report', record a 'crime' committed and if possible, a 'crime' detected.

The narrowness of the classification of 'crime' ensures the police response to burglary, theft, criminal damage, rape and the like enhance their importance in the public imagination and diverts attention away from many areas which could be said to be as socially damaging. This is not to suggest murder, violent assault and burglary are activities which are not harmful or should be condoned. In burglary, for example, the property stolen may often be trivial, but the breach of personal space, the violation of the secure

1. Ditton and Williams (u.p. 22) argue that such fiddling is 'theft defined as trivial'. Ditton expands on Becker's (1963: 9) proposal that any deviance is a consequence of the application of rules and sanctions. Ditton suggests deviance is not just whether or not people react, but that 'triviality' (or import) determines its classification as 'fiddling' or otherwise. I would replace the word 'trivial' with 'meaningless', which indicates a lack of relevance. The non-involvement by the police in relation to such activities as tax evasion relates to their structural invisibility. They do not occur in the public place and are not really the province of the 'dangerous classes'. They are trivial or meaningless to the police precisely because they are not 'street visible'.

environment and the resulting feeling of despoilation and pollution may be intense and extremely harmful to the individual who has been visited by the burglar. It is not easy to evaluate the harm such an act causes. Social harm does not lend itself to easy calculation and statistical presentation, whereas property stolen and houses broken into and burgled are quantifiable and scientifically measurable.

There is much misunderstanding of what is a 'crime' and what is an 'offence' and the police pursuit of statistics has enhanced and emphasised the use of the concept for their own defensively structural purposes. As Bottomley and Coleman (op.cit.1980) point out, this emphasis means:

"... a clear-up rate of crimes committed... leads inevitably to a simplified, single-dimensional role for the police... based on a statistical measure of effectiveness that is totally flawed (and) leads to a conception of other aspects of police work being regarded as 'not real police work'..."

J. Mervyn JONES (op.cit. 1980) has shown that the police presentation of the uniformed beat man as being 'the backbone of police society' to be a convenient myth. The explorations of such metaphorical language is, in itself, a guide to perceptual value. Joseph Wambahurgh (op.cit. 1976) an ex-police officer, in his novel 'The Choirboys' writes about images of status in the police. He uses the same term 'backbone' to define his 'real policemen', and they in turn refer to their leaders as 'spineless jellyfish'.

Jones (op.cit.1980) goes on to show how the low value attached to uniformed police work is directly attributable to the unquantifiable nature of beat patrol work. Soft data on informal socio/welfare activities makes up the majority of the patrol officers work and is difficult to present to a public increasingly fed on media and televisual images of a crime-

1. Michael MAGUIRE (1980: 1982) has pursued the effects that house burglary can have on the victims. Even when the loss in financial terms has been negligible and the 'crime' has less credibility to the police, MAGUIRE shows how the house owner often describes the event in terms which indicate an equivalent perception to a rape, with concepts of violation, pollution and shame being expressed.
fighting police style. Quantitative arrest statistics, crime
detection figures, annual returns of crimes committed and
villains imprisoned, fined or convicted are presented as hard
data. This metaphorical language has been in the ascendancy
in recent years. It is no accident that the police use of
'hard' data has increased dramatically in the recent past and
is now a necessary support to claims for more expenditure
and more expensive hardware.

This 'crime-oriented' perception, as Jones (ibid.) suggests,
results in the uniformed beat patrols being constantly depleted
by secondments to specialist departments. If career success
is to be achieved an early rite de passage must be made out
of beat patrol work and into specialist areas. Long periods
of patrol work are considered to be synonymous with failure,
lack of ambition and with low status. Both the police and the
media contrast 'beat men' by using the title 'detective' as an
equivalent to promotion. The press consistently talk about
officers being 'promoted into the C.I.D.' even when the
officer has merely been transferred across the uniformed branch
at the same rank. 1. And of course a move in the opposite
direction, from C.I.D. to uniform, is considered to be a
demotion, as the following examples show:

"...If we are to believe what senior officers
tell the public (through the media), uniform
or 'section' officers are the cream of the
service and the foot patrol officer is king.
Who are they trying to fool? The uniform
officer, far from being the cream, is treated
as the poor relation. What happens, for
instance, to the detective constable who
fails to make the grade, or the traffic
officer who gets disciplined? Where are they
transferred? Uniformed working sections...
The public realise the situation. How often
have we heard a civilian say: 'Oh, he's/
she's done well getting promoted to detective..."

(Letter of Police Review 29.7.83)

1. In 1980, a policewoman in Gateshead, Maureen Martin, was
shot, shortly after transferring from uniform to C.I.D.
work. The media made much of the fact that she had recently
been 'promoted' to be a 'detective'.
"...In Liverpool instead of 'demoted' we say 'It's the Big Hat for you'! This expression has made strong men tremble...
I feel sure that if the 'demoted' detective is posted to a uniformed section like mine he would enjoy the kind of camaraderie and leg pulling that only the dreaded uniform men have. We are after all the very backbone of the police service..."

(Letter to Police Review. 12.2.82)

Over the years, I have heard detectives talk with horror of the fear of a return to uniformed work and at C.I.D. conferences I have heard very senior officers tell their middle managers to threaten those who were not pulling their weight. At one conference in 1980, a Detective Chief Inspector pointed out that 154 uniformed constables were now qualified as 'suitable for C.I.D.', having successfully completed their C.I.D. aides course. The C.I.D. Assistant Chief Constable in charge told Inspectors, Chief Inspectors and Superintendents present to:

"...have a look at men who are not contributing totally. The C.I.D. is not a sinecure - I would ask you to look to their performance and get rid of those who are not earning their corn. There has to be a certain competitiveness and the 'big heaveho' and return to uniform for those who are not working..."

(from fieldnotes)

This elitism in the Criminal Investigation Department is deep seated and is imbued in British thought, where the detective holds a special place in the collective imagination. In 1977, Sir Robert Mark, then commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, attempted to reverse this by creating a system of transfers between the C.I.D. and uniform. In 1982, Stanley Bailey, the Chief Constable of Northumbria, officially scrapped the title 'detective' which had prefixed the rank of constable, sergeant, inspector, chief inspector and superintendent. The media, the public and the detectives totally resisted the move however and still insist on using the title in conversations, in telephone calls and in newspaper reports.
I suspect Robert Mark's attempt to defuse the extraordinarily high esteem the C.I.D. hold was also in vain. Their perceptual status will be retained because other symbols and metaphors of their importance are maintained.

One of these statements of metaphorical importance is contained in the way 'crime' is given high symbolic status in the Annual reports of the various Chief Constables. 'Crime' is always described in detail near the front of these, while traffic matters and Community Affairs aspects are always relegated further back in the report. In the annual reports from my Force the 'Crime' section follows on immediately after the structure of the Force is described, and its importance in police ideology can be judged by its prime position and the graphics, by the statistical charts and accounts of the 'worst' crimes to have occurred. In my Force, the incidence of murder is around a dozen cases per year or less, yet each individual case is written up in the report.

In a 1983 Quarterly Report from a Midlands Force the same structural logic is presented. In his Introduction the Chief Constable complains that lurid reporting of a few specific cases by the media contributes to the 'fear of crime'. He then follows this by describing in detail a number of cases of murder, manslaughter, armed robbery, woundings and arson across five subsequent pages of the report. Although recognising the presentation of statistically rare events contributes to the 'fear of crime', he is unable to break out of the structural framework which necessitates that 'crime' comes first and is a dramatic event, while the 60 road traffic deaths occurring in the first two quarters of the year are mentioned many pages later in a list of statistics for fatal, injury and damage-only accidents. These are presented without any detail

1. The British Crime Survey, Home Office Research Study No. 76, showed just how rare crime is, in comparative statistical terms. The authors, Hough & Mayhew (1983), showed that the statistically average person could expect a robbery once every five centuries, an assault resulting in injury every century, a burglary to the home once every 40 years.
to the background of the accident being given.

Traffic fatalities are around 150 cases per year in my Force area and for the families of the deceased it is as devastating an event as the murder of a relative is in the dozen or so homicides we record in an average per year. Traffic fatalities however are of lower perceptual status than 'crimes' which result in deaths, and although a fatal accident is investigated thoroughly and a careful evaluation of the contributory causes is made, few traffic deaths are 'crimes'. Only the offence of 'Causing death by dangerous driving' is recorded as a 'crime' and classified as a subsidiary of manslaughter under the Home Office 'Counting Rules'. It is interesting to note in 1968 the police reported only 500 crimes of 'causing death by dangerous driving'. Apparently only 500 of the 7,000 deaths occurring on the roads that year could be attributed to dangerous driving. In the same year there were nearly 20,000 alleged cases of drunken driving and approximately 128,000 cases of alleged careless driving. Some of these were, no doubt, as trivial as the minor crimes that make up the vast majority of the 'Counting Rules for Serious Offences' 1, but many of these 150,000 incidents will have resulted in terrible injuries and mutilations. They incur considerable medical costs, social disruption, loss of earnings and anguish for families and friends. Yet such statistics are not the bread and butter of the daily newspaper and the man-in-the-street, nor are they the day-to-day facts the policemen has at his fingertips. Always it is the 'crime' return that is predominant, and most Sub. Divisional Superintendents will have weekly, monthly, quarterly and half-yearly 'crime' returns,

1. The emphasis on 'serious' offences is mine. 'Serious' offences are 'crimes' yet are often of a very trivial nature and in any consideration of harm to society must be low in priority, way below activities that are relatively more critical for the health of a society. In 1982 Vivien Stern, director of the National Association for the Care of Offenders and the Prevention of Crime was reported in the Police Review (19.11.82) reminding us that "publicity...often obscures the reality...that 95% of 'serious offences' are property offences and two-thirds of them involve less than £100..."
but be unable to say how many fatal accidents have occurred in their area.

As Radzinowicz and King (1977:164) have pointed out:

"... the elite in the eyes of both the police and public, are the detective branches... The police are to be seen as professional soldiers in a war against crime, to be organised and equipped as such... ... The crime detection role of the police gains further weight from the fact that it appears, at least superficially the easiest to evaluate in objective terms. It is possible to compare the crimes recorded and cleared up, the offenders brought to justice and convicted from one year to the next... detection rates becomes a touchstone in judging police activity..."

The symbolic role of these detectives playing the part of professional soldiers is a major structuring reason for giving traffic a subordinate place in police thinking, so that traffic matters remain as offences and the province of the uniformed branch. Major 'crimes' of murder and manslaughter, although less frequent and harmful in many ways continue to have a much greater position in the public imagination than the road accident fatality.

(iv) CRIME OR OFFENCE: THE WIDER MORAL AND SOCIAL ISSUE.

As my hypothetical example indicates the 'crimes' police are directed to pursue are those public, street-visible events which shade off in status as the activity become less visible. My example, of course, totally ignores the social harm and deprivation caused by invisible and unseen corporate crimes, which I contend the police are unable to perceive at all. The process of the criminal justice system operates so that it conceals the crimes of the powerful factions in society, but uses symbolic and metaphoric strategy to spotlight and
emphasise the 'crime' of the powerless, thus turning them into the major presentation in the drama of good versus evil.

It is only in the very recent past that the vast literature concerned with the criminological interpretation of 'crime' has moved from an almost positivistic belief in a knowable 'crime' rate towards the hermeneutic or philosophical position Winch (1958) argued for almost thirty years ago. He suggested the deterministic and functional search for a 'true' statistical knowledge should be abandoned, for, as he argued the issue which mattered:

"...is not an empirical one at all; it is conceptual. It is not a question of what empirical research may show to be the case, but of what philosophical analysis reveals about what it makes sense to say..."


Yet as recently as 1971, the criminologist Steven Box was writing:

"...crimes officially known to the police must be an unknown and unknowable proportion of total number of crimes committed... since the 'real' volume of crime remains unmeasured, and, given present research techniques and ethical limitations, unmeasurable, there is no possible method of estimating accurately the proportion that is officially recorded..."


There is a positivistic assumption behind such an idea that a 'real' figure for crime is there but is unknowable, and this has given an objectivity to the idea or concept of a 'dark figure' of unrecorded crime, which may or may not exist. The academic pursuit of an empirical reality of unrecorded 'crime' has led a whole school of labelling theorists to research the way 'crimes' are defined, counted or ignored. Jason Ditton (op.cit.1979:21) tried to move away from this formulae by asking the question (and supplying his own answer):
...How many crimes are there? As many as you want (to react to)...

How contends the positivistic criminologists and the deviance and labelling theorists of sociology have:

...an almost religious belief in the ability of official criminal statistics to reveal information about criminals... (There is) a tendency to pay introductory lip-service to the difficulties of bias, selectivity, and so on, but nevertheless. (they) blunder on to treat the figures 'as if' the difficulties were merely limiting rather than universal criticisms...

(ibtid: 23)

The 'new criminology' or 'critical criminology', Ditton suggests, is still limited in that it starts off with the concept of 'crime' almost as a 'given'. He suggests an alternative science of 'Controlology', which will be concerned with an exploration of the hegemonies in a society, how these structure meanings of certain activities and define 'crimes' and criminality at particular historical moments; Box (1983) has now joined him in calling for a semantic enquiry into the meanings and ideology attached to 'crimes' and which he argues supports the established in society at every turn. He tells us (ibid:6):

"...the official portrait of crime and criminals is highly selective, serving to conceal crimes of the powerful and hence shore up their interests, particularly the need to be legitimated through maintaining the appearance of respectability. At the same time, crimes of the powerless are revealed and exaggerated, and this serves the interest of the powerful because it legitimises their control agencies, such as the police... being strengthened materially, technologically and legally, so that their ability to survey, harass, deter... actual and potential resisters...is enhanced..."

The dramatic but illusory mode of the criminal justice system is only obliquely acknowledged here by Box, yet it is crucial in maintaining the theatricality surrounding the control of the behaviour of the 'dangerous classes' and attributing it an exaggerated symbolic position. The power and influence of privilege enjoyed by the well-connected and the controllers of society gives them a respectable role in this dramatic scenario. Control and punishment becomes justified, ensuring the continued imposition of sanctions and directs attention away from the 'crimes' of the well-connected. These go unrecognised and unannounced, become illusory and structurally invisible, to the extent they do not exist! Yet these 'crimes' are there and are understood by the 'dangerous classes'. They have always known of the 'crimes' of the powerful but have lacked a public voice to air their knowledge. Their only recourse has been to pursue a social revolution or to accept what is considered inevitable and dress it up with maxims, such as:

"...there's one law for the rich, and another for the poor..."

Occasionally the curtain is drawn back to reveal that the powerful, whilst holding the centre stage of respectability, are totally involved in the commission of what Box calls 'corporate crime'. In a graphic account (ibid: 16 - 79), he describes how the failure of corporations to maintain safety standards causes injury and death; how health hazards are caused by deliberate failure to conduct adequate research into new drug products; how design faults known and ignored lead to injury and death; how the vast appropriation of money from small shareholders, from tax payers and the public is achieved during bribery activities, price fixing, fraudulent advertising and through excess charges; and how economic deprivation is continually passed on to the powerless by swindles and evasions. The injury to the mass of society at large is endemic but is invisible and is kept carefully out of the public debate wherever possible:

"...Corporate crime is rendered invisible by its complex and sophisticated planning... by non-existent social and legal sanctions, which fail to reaffirm or reinforce collective sentiments on moral boundaries...

(ibid: 16)
Although the issue of 'corporate crime' is becoming apparent, (and Box quotes many research papers and articles on the subject) he shows how 'corporate crime' is poorly represented in the mainstream of sociological and criminological research because of its respectability and acceptance as a dominant form of social behaviour. The processes of making this evil invisible, he contends, is a form of mystification. This, of course, further strengthens my point that the enactment of the criminal justice system is perceived as a dramatic mode, for mystification is a central tenet of theatre and drama.

The cost of corporate crime in comparison to conventional crime is sobering. Box quotes Reiman (1979: 75), who estimates persons dying from occupational hazards, diseases and accidents in the U.S.A. is seven times the level of conventional homicide victims. Like the comparisons I have made above between road accident victims and homicides, the British pattern of deaths occurring from occupational accidents and diseases mirrors the American experience, with death from hazards seven times more likely than by conventional homicide. Even this estimate errs on the side of caution for the ability to classify many deaths from disease, as occupationally induced, is prevented by overt action on the part of the powerful corporate bodies who deter and deny such inference. What then is a 'crime'?

Many accidents at work, furthermore, are not pure accidents but are a consequence of the conditions created by the corporate pursuit of maximum profit with minimum of care and consideration for those workers who make the profit possible.

1. Box entitles his volume 'Power, Crime and Mystification' and in addition to corporate crime, explores police-crime and 'crimes' committed by and against that subordinate and muted section of society - women. In each case he clearly illustrates how reality is subjected to dramatic manipulation so that a process of mystification and invisibility to any alternative reality occurs.
These accidents are often avoidable and like work-induced illnesses and diseases are known, understood and documented. They continue to occur, however, and have a social acceptability that belies their terrible import. In 1976, for example, a letter from a member of parliament was published in _The Sunday Times_, under the heading:

"...Asbestos; no prosecutions in 30 years..."

At Acre Mill, where at least 40 former employees have died of asbestosis, and scores more ... are suffering the disease, no prosecution in connection with the asbestosis regulations was brought by the Factory Inspectorate during the 30 years the factory was processing asbestos..."

(Sunday Times. 30.5.76).

Again Box (op.cit.1983) indicts the asbestos industry of deliberately pursuing profit in the face of known dangers, suggesting that what they were doing by this policy was a criminal act. 1.

During my posting to the Bridewell, described above, when several hundreds of conventional criminals were sent to prison for mainly petty crimes causing relatively minor social harm, I attended a course at which the Factories Inspectorate gave a talk to serving policemen. At the time I was recording fieldnotes and on the one-day course I was made aware of the immense harm avoidable accidents and occupationally induced illnesses cause. The cost of an industrial accident, I noted, was estimated at approximately £10,000 and I have a record that there were many thousands of accidents recorded each year from 'falls at work!' 2. The statistical report made depressing

1. This indictment of the asbestos industry derives in part from two damning reports, which Box (ibid.27) describes. The asbestos industry, as Swartz (1975) contends are 'silent killers at work'. Once again silence is a structural method of maintaining invisibility.

2. I also noted that a 'classifiable accident' does not become such until the injured person has been off for 3 days or more. A 'two-day accident' apparently could not occur. Again statistics are illusory and without the semantic interpretation of their meaning merely add to the mystification of the drama.
listening, with accounts of innumerable 'accidental' burns, scalds, amputations, lacerations, mutilations, poisonings, explosions, electrocutions, drownings, asphyxiations and the like. A picture of an industrial scenario was painted in which the corporate urge for maximised profit offset any real desire to secure healthy or safe conditions for workers.

The Inspectorate of Factories, Mines and Quarries, like the other regulatory Inspectorates in Britain, have powers to institute prosecutions, but are primarily an administrative body. Contravention of Safety Regulations results in only 1700 - 1800 court cases per year across the whole country. In effect these administrative bodies are set up by the powerful to make occasional inspections and subsequent recommendations in the majority of cases, by what Box (op.cit. 1983) calls, 'polite correspondence'. This further ensures breaches of safety remain invisible and do not get the publicity or the moral stigmatisation that would result had these unlawful and dangerous practices been subject to the same response as conventional crime.

Thorpe (op.cit.1980:43) similarly points out:

"...there were only 17 prosecutions for false income tax returns (against some 80,000 cases settled without prosecution) (while) there were 12,000 prosecutions over the same period by the Department of Health and Social Security for fraudulent claims by its (largely working class) clients..."

Income tax fraud and other corporate tax evasion injures the population and society at large. The ability to fund education, the health service and other socially desirable items may well be considerably influenced by such 'crime'. Yet it is indicative of the bias occurring, that the amount recovered from the 12,000 cases of social security fraud quoted by Thorpe was less than 15% of the amount recovered from just 17 tax prosecutions, yet the term 'social security scoungers'.

1. Carson (1970) shows how few prosecutions occur. Safety Inspectorate files for one district of S.E. England for the years 1961 - 1966 show that of 3,800 offences committed, only 1.5% resulted in prosecutions and received an average fine of £50.
is continually promoted! In 1977 - 78 only 154 persons were prosecuted by the Inland Revenue, yet, in 1980, the Government felt it suitable to employ 1,000 new Inspectors to control Social Security fraud. The attention is continually directed to the 'dangerous classes' and measures such as this once again reinforce the direction of the dramatic strategy towards the powerless and away from the well-connected.

Attempts to estimate the harm caused to society by the cost of corporate crime have had to face the inherently difficult task of knowing what is actually going on. The invisibility of what is occurring ensures the task remains speculative, but there seems little doubt that the cost of corporate crime is enormous and deprives those who are most at risk and underprivileged of far more economic resources than the traditional 'crime' the 'real polises' in my ethnography prefer. Meanwhile the pursuit of the conventional criminal for minor acts of theft, burglary and assault, for the offence of being drunk, or being vagrant and causing a public nuisance swells the number of those who are classified as deviant and fit into known categories of disorder. Moreover we appear to be moving increasingly towards an authoritarianism promoted by what has popularly been called the 'law and order' brigade'. These calls for order, as Barthes (1983: 43) points out, always contain an indication of increased repression, and this repression and control has again been implemented by the well-connected and powerful upon the powerless, in a unilateral direction.

In recent years, despite legislation to reduce prison populations, the opposite effect has been achieved. Britain now has a larger prison population, pro-rata, than most other European countries. In 1981, almost a quarter of receptions into prisons, (some 20,000 persons) were committed for fine default. These 'inept' and 'inadequate' who commit conventional crimes and offences which initially were not considered to merit imprisonment, eventually were incarcerated. Prisons are bursting at the seams and are a disgrace. But as I have
described above in the chapter on The Bridewell, continuous streams of 'ambiguous prigs' were sent off each day for fine default, along with those 'real prigs' who had mainly committed 'real' but essentially trivial conventional crimes.

Meanwhile, even as the 'law and order' political campaigns of the 1980's were played out, the omissions and fraudulent activities of those committing 'corporate crime' seem even less likely to reach the central stage of the criminal world. Corporate criminals have few chances of becoming a thorn in the social conscience, for they are under less scrutiny than ever; as the following examples show:

"...They are currently only 565 factory inspectors carrying out the enforcement function with responsibility for an estimated 750,000 workplaces with 17 million employees. This compares with 660 so employed in April 1980, representing a loss of 105 posts or 16 percent in under three years... the current staffing levels represent a reduction of 24 percent below that considered necessary as late as July 1979 by Mr. P. Mayhew in Parliament..."

('The Disappearing Inspectors': Letter in The Guardian. 8.3.83.)

"...The City of London's 60 strong Fraud Squad is currently investigating 103 cases involving £115 million. Metropolitan officers are handling 443 cases involving £264 million..."

(Police Review: 28.9.84: 1959)

The first example merely shows how a very small part of the drama of the criminal justice system has been down-graded to become an even smaller side-show. The second needs to be considered in the light of the man-power of the two police forces mentioned and their other 'crime' activities. The City of London and the Metropolitan Police Forces have an establishment of well over 25,000 officers, while the latter recorded over 567,000 reported 'crimes' in 1978 and 681,000 in 1981. These statistical 'crime' numbers are used to justify and bolster up 'real police work' activities, which
then further guarantees their own reality. The 546 cases of fraud the combined Forces investigated were only one-thousandth of the crime reported, yet corporate economic crime is estimated to cause ten times the loss conventional crime causes (Conklin, 1977: 4), and towards which the vast majority of the manpower is directed.

Such an omission in the control of corporate criminal activity means the ethnography cannot just be concerned with an exploration of 'crime' as officially defined. If the objectified habitus of the police is to be fully understood, then the definition of 'crimes' and 'offences' must be explored to unveil that which has been concealed to show how police belief systems and modes of thought are laid down and reproduced over time. A narrow perception of 'crime' has played a major part, I contend, in determining the way control has been exerted, manipulated and negotiated over the years.

Control of behaviour is concerned with rituals, symbols and classification of social space, of movement, of action and of concepts of time, language and ideology at certain points in history. By exploring how 'crime' has been used as a structuring principle across my own personal history, it is possible to weld subjectivity and objectivity together into a reflexive interpretation, creating what Ricoeur (op.cit. 1981) has called the 'hermeneutical circle', so:

"...understanding and self-understanding, of comprehension and commitment (becomes) an eliminable aspect of social scientific knowledge..."

In pursuing the hermeneutic interpretation of how 'crime' has been manipulated and presented, the insider/anthropologist must lay bare the system, regardless of the seditious possibility, revealing what I now consider to be a 'dramatic mythology of crime'. This has been used as a structural means to maintain police hegemonies, supporting secretism and in-group elitism, which in turn engenders fear of criticism or investigation into philosophies of control. Such
conservatism, I contend, is a main reason for the negation of academic and social research, described above. It is also a reason for the increasing repression of those who would set out to illuminate the practices of those in power.¹

(v) CRIME MANIPULATION: THE 1950'S & 1960'S - A DRAMA OF NON-EXISTENCE.

In the late 1950's when I started my police career, Britain had small localised police forces. In 1960 there were well over 100 different forces in England and Wales, each with its own Chief Constable, its own uniform styling, its own identity and localised idiosyncracies. I have described some of these above.

Many small Forces were poorly financed and few had the specialist departments or the personnel existing today. ²

Some of the very small police units in the towns and boroughs operated on a shoestring and on an unquestioning acceptance of their systems presented to an essentially immobile public. The police reflected the structurally optimistic social view prevalent at the time. This concept of a static social reality and of social imutability derived from a vision which looked back to ideas and social forms holding sway before the Second World War.

Many of the small Police Forces still had the style, the manpower and the equipment they had used at that time. In the Northumberland County Constabulary Centennial handbook published in 1957 the establishment was given as 581 men and women and the 'Crime Department' was celebrating only its 20th

¹ The 1984 prosecutions of Sarah Tidsell and Clive Ponting under the Official Secrets Acts, for leaking government memoranda on political machinations are examples of the repressive practices of those in power. It is ironic how the revelation itself is the 'crime' and not the political machination; which of course is another dramatic stock-in-trade of the well-connected.

² In 1960 there were some 72,000 policemen in 125 forces in England and Wales. By 1980 there were approximately 115,000 men and an increasing number of civilians consolidated in 43 large Forces.
year of operation. By 1965 in my City Force, the C.I.D. establishment was 84 and the recorded 'crimes' were 13003. These had almost doubled in four years as the style of the 1950's was swept away by what was to become known as 'the swinging sixties'. The 84 detectives shared 7 motor vehicles and few other technological aids. The Chief Constable in his Annual Report for that year regrets:

"...A great disappointment has been the inability to equip each uniform officer with personal wireless... Twenty four sets have been acquired for use... and experiments were being tried at the end of the year..."

The existing amalgamated Force area now covers some 1,300,000 acres and has a population of one and a half million people. I have described in my exploration of 'real polises' how the various small forces in the 1960's went into the melting pot to create the amalgamated unit, and how these had their own self-identity. In the late 1950's each of the small police forces in my area were pursuing the 'dangerous classes' for the petty larcenies I have described and were using techniques that seemed to be unchanging. Men about to retire with 30 years service operated a style that had changed little since they joined; and the new recruit was assimilated into an unchanging framework. Police systems were well established, the administrative procedures were known and understood; change was unusual and stasis was the norm.

Our limited geographical sense of place and boundary had an important influence on our style. Much of the way the police organise their activities is concerned with the classification of space, broken up into Force area, Division, Sub-Division, Section and beats. In my own case, my division was considered to be the premier one of three in the City. We used this mode of thought to set ourselves off against our neighbours even within the City. We were, 'smart, City-centre 'polises' in the public eye', while men of 'C' Division were derisiorily called 'the forgotten men of the East'. In the City Centre the Chief Constable and his senior officers were housed on our Divisional
site and it seemed logical to us that the City Centre was 'A' Division, for we were the premier policemen dealing with 'real crime', in the best local Force. Here our sense of place tailed off, for we rarely looked beyond our boundaries to our immediate neighbours, except to denigrate them and their styles. This sense of place and the concept of personal space is still localised, even today when the amalgamations have reduced the numbers of police forces dramatically. It is a commonly expressed view in many Forces that each Division and each Sub-Division is still often a separate Force within a Force, with its own identity and style. This cognition has always had a specific influence on how 'crime' is perceived, reported and recorded.

In our self-contained 1950's police forces, a slow progression through the rank structure was the norm. The first step up the promotion ladder to Sergeant only occurred after a decade of beat patrol had been undertaken. No real academic prowess was required, for 'real police work' related to street incidents for which practical experience was the main criteria. Suppressing and controlling 'crimes' and 'offences' committed by the 'local prigs' with a rough and ready pragmatism was the daily round. The regular tools of our trade were the Larceny Acts, The 1930 Road Traffic Act, The Offences Against the Persons Act of 1861 and the 1872 Liquor Licensing Act.

1. This idea of space is one that could be examined further, for it is a construct which has an influential effect on police action. Ardener (op.cit.1981) has recently explored the idea of cognitive space in relation to female social roles and Ifeka (1983), in her review of Ardeners volume, has pointed out: "... 'space' is one relatively unexplored topic... which many of us seem to assume is tucked away in some inaccessible nook in the anthropological mansion... Every now and then though, a distinguished luminary (Durkheim & Mauss, Evans-Pritchard, Leach) opens the door, gives 'space' a quick dusting down and holds it up for a (too) rapid persual. (The Ardener volume) indicates not merely a newly awakened interest in the perceptual, physical and cognitive parameters that bound social life, but also some hard thinking amongst anthropologists and others about the kind of directions our enquiries might follow..."
The most recent change in technology related to an increasing use of the motor car, but the availability of vehicles was not widespread. In the main the 'polises' and 'the prigs' were immobile. Our Division was considered to be 'well off' in comparison to some of our neighbours and yet we only had one 'Divisional car' and one 'Divisional van'. The 'car driver' was always a time-served senior constable, whose main function was to chauffer the Inspector, and take out the van and pick up those who had been arrested by the foot patrols. The Inspector was often likened to God by his shift, while the Chief Inspector and divisional Superintendent were remote men, who rarely, if ever, deigned to speak to the lowly constable. Even by 1965 with the implementation of the Panda Car system, our City Centre Division, which was heavy with traffic and divided by a main arterial road, still only had two cars with wireless, and one van. This served an establishment of 152 constables, 19 Sergeants, 4 Inspectors, a Chief Inspector and a Superintendent. As I have mentioned above, the C.I.D. had a total of seven vehicles, but this was to cover the three divisions. 1. Our adversaries, 'the prigs' were similarly pedestrian. Few had vehicles. Those who did were known and documented as they moved around our small Force area. One of my early instructions from a renowned 'thief catcher' was:

"...if it moves after 2 a.m., it's bent, so stop it..." 2.

1. Derogatory and apocryphal stories were told about the unavailability of vehicles in neighbouring Forces. I later worked with an Inspector who described how in his Borough Force at this time the two patrol cars were locked up after midnight, and were unavailable to anyone without the Superintendents authority. Of course no one dare disturb his sleep to ask him to authorise their use.

2. Some twenty years after this, in 1980, in an ITV programme 'In evidence', Commander Mitchell of the Metropolitan police graphically illustrated this belief in movement and stasis as being structurally important to the ability to control public behaviour:

"...We move them on and break them up... It's inconvenient to other people to have groups of youths blocking the footpath...They should be at home at 11 or 12 o'clock at night. What are they planning? The police officer needs to be suspicious..."
Today this had changed and in 1983 my Sub-Division, which has a manpower of just over 150, has 19 vehicle types. Several of the personnel have vehicle allowances for their own cars and in consequence we have 27 vehicles available, and have access to Squad vehicles and other traffic cars.

In the 1950's and early 60's the majority of patrol officers walked the streets without radio or other sophisticated equipment to link them to the station. Their only contact was by hourly telephone call from a 'beat box'. These were sprinkled around the City outside the Railway Stations, the Bus depots, the main squares and markets and on prominent streets and thoroughfares. Many poorer forces avoided the expense involved in the provision of these 'beat boxes' which required telephone lines and maintenance. They used existing telephone boxes and a system of patrol points, where the constable was required to be at a certain box at an appointed time where he could be met or rung if needed for a task.

Scientific aids and specialist departments were in their infancy or were non-existent and the patrolling policeman was expected to deal with, manipulate or negotiate many of the trivial incidents and social conflicts that make up much of the regular daily round. Usually these petty street incidents (which still make up the major part of police work) were resolved by the beat policeman with no assistance from colleagues and without the Divisional Station knowing or recording the action.

The creation of statistics and 'hard data' was therefore not a high priority and no waves of 'crime' or disorder were reported or encouraged. A policing system was fully operational which mirrors Baldwin and McConville's (op.cit.1977) concept of

1. Radzinowicz & King (op.cit.1977:176) describe the vast amount of front line social work the police do which is not 'crime detection' and Whitaker (op.cit.1979) has listed a considerable number of police activities that are not crime-related, but impinge more upon the social.
'negotiated justice' which they describe in relation to undeclared plea bargaining in Crown Courts. Negotiation and resolution of trivial incidents and minor conflict was a common police style the recruit learned at an early stage, and was a necessary survival technique.

The means of acquiring the assistance necessary to stamp heavily on petty matters was rarely available. Many situations which today would generate a heavy response in the form of manpower and technology and result in conflict between the public and police, were then resolved without aid. On my first allocated beat, on the Quayside, there was one public house where trouble could be anticipated at the end of the evenings drinking. I quickly learned to 'see the pub out' and the patrons off home by methods which avoided conflict or the need to make arrests. My beat box was at the other end of the Quayside and assistance could only arrive after I had run 400 yards and telephoned for help. This technological gap helped generate a self-reliance and produced a style of policing which required the foot patrol to calm and dispel disorder, and created in the officer a certain reluctance to call for assistance. Calls for help suggested you were incapable of resolving local problems, so although the arrests of 'prigs' were justified, the gratuitous arrest of those who could have been 'talked into going home' was not always looked on favourably. Calls for 'the van' could seriously interfere with the activities of the Inspector, the Station Sergeant and the shift driver, who might well have a game of dominoes interrupted at an important point.

In effect there was a police style or image produced by the systems in the small forces which reflected the social, economic and structural etiquette of the time. This, I suggest, might be classified as being one of 'visible calm and containment'. Everything was geared to suggest all was well within society, that known disorder and calamity was contained within acceptable statistical terms, and the police were in command of the small amount of 'real crime' and evil that was abroad. Of course,
there was little opportunity in such a system for the isolated, patrolling police officer to present a tough, crime busting image, and furthermore the individual officer could do little to produce the hard data and statistical return that such an image demanded. For there was no need to produce information for computers when the 'crime recording register' was still a bound-book with carbon paper for the copies!

In addition, the patrolling officer was unskilled in the use of the media and was usually excluded from access to the local reported. The well established Press and public relations departments of today were then unimaginable, and only one designated senior officer in the Force was allowed to speak to the press. Local television was in its infancy and there was little opportunity for the media to scrutinise police practices; except in the Court proceeding, where the 'disorder' and 'crime' became officially visible. And of course by this time actual street practice had become distilled, so the legal presentation became a drama on an altogether different level from the original incident. I have often heard it said the Court hearing is 'a game played out by the two sides, with little or no relevance to what has happened in the street, in the Station or in 'the real world'. I was reminded of this 'game' when the Police Review, (in a series called 'Notes taken at the time') included a piece by an ex-Chief Inspector from West Yorkshire, who reveals activities many will recognise from this period. He describes a not uncommon drama played out in the Charge Room, Interview Room, or Medical Room of the Station, usually with an inebriated 'prig':

"...As a detective constable in a small force adjacent to Manchester before... 1960... I had never set much alight. That is until I teamed up with Walter Alcock, an ebullient figure of some 18 stones, with a voice to match... A man of many parts, he could entertain as well as he could interview. Many's the time I've seen him acting out the solicitor or playing the doctor...

(Police Review, 21.9.84: 1833)."
He moves on in his story leaving those who have never seen a detective playing the part of a solicitor or acting as a doctor perhaps wondering what on earth this throwaway remark signifies. In fact it was practice in my City (and apparently in Lancashire) for the local traffic-point white coat to be used to good effect as wardrobe, to convince the inebriated local villain he had seen a doctor; then again the detective in formal suit might take the part of the solicitor, soothing the inept and drunken burglar and perhaps urge him to tell the truth! This invisible theatre could never formally be acknowledged and further negated any single reality in the subsequent court proceeding, which became a visible manifestation of a totally different world to the one which had occurred on the street, in the charge room or interview room. Consistently I hear 'real polises' describe the Courts as restricted legal joust with little relevance to real police work.

Such practices were only possible while policing was largely invisible and the media were kept away from the police. Structural invisibility was able to be maintained when activities went unreported behind closed boundaries. The current situation, where television teams and reporters are given access to police Stations or patrol with officers, was then unthinkable; not the least because of their inability to move out from their fixed studios, for this was prior to the advent of the outside broadcast or the use of taped material. Structural invisibility is, however, still pursued today with the media, and I noted how the local press sat in the Bridewell in 1978 recording the events of a busy Friday night, while we amended our language, our behaviour and our modes of thought to suit the occasion using all of our practical mastery. In the late 50's and early 1960's the media took what the police prepared for them, and reproduced an image of low scale classificatory disorder. The manipulated reports of 'crimes' and detection rates reflected what the police considered to be socially acceptable and these were faithfully re-created by the press, for they were (and to a large extent still are) heavily dependent on the police for a great deal of their local material.
This low public visibility engendered a 'durable disposition', (to again use Bourdieu's idea: op.cit. 1977: 82 - 83) which fostered an image of security and well-being and which mirrored other social perceptions. At the time the structural form indicated a mood of optimism, growth and social stability across society. Such habitus of self-confidence allowed the young police recruit to be slowly inducted and inculcate the rules and practical masteries of 'the job' over a longer period than is now possible. There was no real need for the probationer to pursue objectives which relied on satisfactory 'crime statistics', or to produce formal lists of arrests and applications for summons throughout his/her first two years service to show ability and prowess. Yet even in those apparently placid times certain practices and incentives dramatically inflated certain statistics. In my City Force the high statistical return for the 'offences' of being 'simple drunk' or 'drunk and disorderly' was thought to reflect the hard drinking style of the local populace. It was however, as much a result of the way the police saw and dealt with the offence and manipulated it to their purposes. Our arrests for drunkeness usually topped a league table and were said by my colleagues

1. In the smaller forces the young probationer could be easily assessed by his hierarchy, but the modern amalgamated giants have difficulty in managing their administrations and require monthly, quarterly and other reports on recruits. These usually include a pen-portrait completed by administrators who have often had no training in personnel assessment, but rely on skills obtained in 'the university of hard knocks'. Assessments will almost always include some comment on 'work-rate' which are based on statistical records of arrests made and summons reports submitted. However, it would be wrong to deny that league tables never existed, but with the increasing use of statistics to justify higher budgets and manpower levels, they have taken on greater significance. A letter in the Police Review (6.2.81: 256) suggests that:

"...the volume of process (for summons) submitted is the most important measure of the probationer constable's ability..."

And the Police Magazine, Feb. 1976, Vol. 8 No.6 described:

"...the old and long established practice of senior officers keeping a league table of arrests and summons..."
to be a reflection of the strength of the local beer. This was affectionately known as 'lunatics broth' and later took on the name of a radio programme of the time - 'journey into space'. The media in turn reported the arrests, the Court cases and the statistics and reinforced the durability of this disposition, giving this one deviance a statistical prevalence that perhaps bore little relation to its activity.

Drunkenness is not a 'crime' in police terms and perhaps should not be featured here. However, the way this 'offence' and the systems and meanings directed towards it were enhanced, give a clue to how the police create systems of control for both 'offences' and 'crimes' when they are conceived to have significance. These in turn generate a habitus and are reproduced into a practical mastery. Drunkenness is the lower status 'offence' and is always work for the uniformed officer and not the detective. The main offences created by the 1872 Licensing Act were for being publicly drunk and disorderly, or of being publicly drunk and incapable (referred to as 'simple drunk'). In the City the constant turn-over of drunks were processed and appeared at Court on the following morning, or the Monday following a weekend revellery. Most of the drunks were arrested after 10.00 p.m.,¹ by the nightshift Constables, i.e., on 10p.m. - 6a.m. duty. The numbers arrested rose as the 'dangerous classes' came out to play after their weekly pay day, which was invariably Thursday or Friday at that time.² Once again this perception of disorder occurring at weekends supported the idea that it was the 'dangerous classes' who committed publicly visible offences and who needed to be controlled by a system of 'instant justice'.

1. Public houses closed at 10p.m. at that time, and licensed clubs selling intoxicants until 2a.m. were still an event for the future.

2. Salaries for the working classes were still almost always paid in cash on a weekly basis. The traditional nights out in the pubs were Thursday, Friday and Saturday, as they continue to be.
In the adjacent County Force a Court might only sit once a fortnight and the drunks would be dealt with by summons some weeks after the event, because the relative statis of the rural population meant a delayed system of justice could prevail. For reasons of speed and expediency, the result of drunkenness in the City was usually a fine which could be paid immediately, while in the village or small town the drunk (who would often be a known member of the community) was often summoned for 'breach of the peace', rather than for an offence under the 1872 Licensing Act. The reasons for this were twofold and show the practical mastery 'local polises' had for their own social regularities.

The first concerned the sentence, which, as I have said above, was usually a small fine in the City. In the County village or Borough the 'conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace' usually resulted in the offender being bound over for 12 months. A 'binding over to keep the peace' created a control or powerful threat to the miscreant for 12 months, and made it suitable for the rural constabulary to use in dealings with their regulars from the 'dangerous classes'. The binding over carried a risk that any future offence would incur punishment for the original event, should another court appearance occur within 12 months. This was used to keep the offender in his place (again the spatial metaphor is relevant); but was a threat which was all but useless to hang over the heads of the floating and unrecognisable population in a City. In the small town it was useful. practice, and in the early 1980's I found 'conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace' was usually still preferred to a 'drunkeness' charge.

I was somewhat bemused by this when I was posted to an ex-Borough area, and lacking practical mastery there, I queried the practice. The logic of the situation was clearly understood and a patrol Sergeant who had served all of his 20 years in that area explained:

"...a binding over in the sum of £100 keeps the buggers in order. You just have to go to a spot of bother at 'the Hill' when the animals are going wild, and say to one of them, "You're facing a £100 fine if you are brought in tonight..."
"...or in the next twelve months". That gets the little sods off quietly..."

(from fieldnotes).

Such a specific knowledge suits the style of policing in the small town where there is a regular clientele of known offenders. In consequence the high statistical figure for drunkenness in the City can begin to be seen to be skewed by differential meanings, not always apparent to an outside view.

The second reason for a quick Court appearance in the City concerned a 'reward' of 'time-off'. In the late 1950's and early 1960's the bulk of the drunks appeared at Court on Monday morning, along with the Constables who had made the arrests and who came to give their evidence.¹ These constables, who had been on nightshift, were compensated for attendance at Court by a system of time-off and were credited with 5½ hours in lieu. This 'time-off' was recorded on card-index² and some officers built up many hours through 'five and a quarters'; which they were allowed to take off when they wished, if manpower levels permitted and when it suited 'the job'. As 'drunks' were more easy to come-by than burglars, this most common arrest was used for building up 'time-off' quotas. A drunk was therefore called or referred to as 'a five and a quarter' and it was normal practice for the patrolling beat officer to ring the divisional station requesting them to 'send the van for a five and a quarter'.

As a result of this trading in 'time-off', drunkenness achieved a status beyond its importance in relation to other classificatory disorders. Although it was only an 'offence', and was often the province of the dosser or the youthfully inept

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1. Since those days Acts of Parliament have changed procedures. Now such offences can be heard without either the accused or the officer being present, unless the case is contested.

2. Paid overtime was still a future event. It was 1974 before such overtime could be recompensed by 'time-off' or cash.
it had meaning attributed that was not in accord with other hierarchical indicators. The relative ease it presented an officer the opportunity for creating a bank of 'time-off' led to a wilful inflation of the figures for drunkenness as a result, and seriously skewed the incidence of this 'offence' in one police area.

Certain officers were renowned for their capacity for such arrests and although denigrated by contemporaries for the methods employed, they acquired large amounts of 'time-off'. This was important at a time in police history when days-off were less generously allocated than today. I have heard it said of some shifts that:

"...with 'A' shift on duty you can be sure there'll be a bundle of five and a quarters. It's dangerous to have a smell of the barmaids apron when they're on... That shift are a right bunch of five and a quarter merchants, nobody's safe..."

This reproduced conversation shows how those who sought out these arrests were 'merchants', trading in 'time-off'. They were not 'real polises' arresting 'real prigs' for 'real crimes' by acceptable means. Their activities were not inconsiderable, however, and they made 'drunks' into a useful commodity, responsible for the wilful inflation of the figures and the City near the top of the league for such arrests for many years. I recently talked with a Superintendent, who started with me in the City in early 1958; he laughed when he acknowledged the phrase 'a five and a quarter' still presented a mental picture of an arrest for drunkenness.

Our statistical returns were therefore specifically variable and locally peculiar in respect of 'offences'; and this also occurred for 'crimes'. The incidence of disorder was always an idiosyncratic version of one reality, and continues even today. Drunks are still arrested in the City, while in adjacent Divisions the preferred course of action is to summons for 'breach of the peace'. The practices of city policemen still maintain an understanding that the floating population of drunks is dealt with by arrest, a quick Court
appearance and a fine; while the visibility of the small town offender to his local police maintains their belief he is best dealt with by the alternative action. Such practices are reproduced easily by new generations of police officers.¹

In the 1950's the blue uniformed social brokers and the detectives of the C.I.D. were directed by known and durable police practices towards traditional petty thieves and the drunk and disorderly. The 'crime' pursued was petty in scale and was the sort which irritates rather than destroys the social fabric of a society.

Always its visibility was a major criteria for its perception as actionable behaviour. Calls to the police to mediate in 'domestic disputes', for example, have always been unpopular for this reason. The dispute that erupts into the public eye often happens after years of hidden tension and aggression between husband and wife, or other family members. The police are well aware they can do little to resolve these problems in the long term and therefore only take action when the friction moves out from what I have heard described as, 'the semi-detached, suburban facade', or when the domestic assault requires hospital treatment. If the 'domestic' is unable to be contained behind the walls of 'the Englishman's castle', the tension can be resolved by tempting the often drunken husband or lover out into the street; then the police move into action, but always reluctantly.²

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1. Since the last amalgamation in 1974 one Division has dealt with all juvenile offenders by summoning them for all crimes, while the other half-dozen divisions have used a system of arrest, charge and bail for Court. Arrests are therefore also statistically skewed in relation to one area and make nonsense of attempts to compare such categories. Some Forces never 'arrest' and charge juveniles but always 'report and summons them'; and many Forces have varying responses to 'crimes' in different areas.

2. Jean Renvoize (1978) attests to the difficulty the police experience in dealing with domestic violence. In 1973 the Citizens Advice Bureaux received 25,000 enquiries relating to wife battering, and yet when the police try to get wives (who may have had limbs broken, jaws fractured or faces slashed or bruised), to make statements to support a charge, they often as not refuse to appear against their husbands. No wonder, she suggests, the police only reluctantly intervene in 'domestics', for they remain structurally 'invisible crimes'; and I contend that the police therefore 'do not see them'.
In the late '50's the general understanding was that 'crime' was statistically low; and the incidence of undetected and undetectable 'crime' was contained. This ensured the system did not become untenable. More crime would have suggested society was unstable and would have meant the police perception of a stable reality could not be maintained. Many studies suggest 'crime' has soared in the past 20 years and use reported statistics to support this contention. However, at any historical point in the analysis it is necessary to consider factors affecting the alleged incidence of 'crime'; such as whether the population bothers to report 'crime'; whether the police have the will or the administrative systems necessary to record 'crime'; how society, the police or the law classify certain actions as 'crimes' at different times; and how the police manipulate or negotiate categories to present a perception which suits the politicians or which society will find acceptable.

The presentation of 'crime' in the 1950's was one which matched the social milieux of the times, while the 1980's political and media obsession with 'crime' and statistics of villainy may well represent how modern society perceives its lack of well-being. In other words, 'crime' is possibly a 'root metaphor' (Turner, op.cit.1974: 23 - 59), an archetype, used to illustrate feelings of social confidence, or a lack of that commodity. Hough and Mayhew (op.cit. 1983), in the 'British Crime Survey', point out how the present unjustified 'fear of crime' is socially reproductive, as is the concept of social confidence. They suggest an optimistic social etiquette should be pursued of the kind I contend existed in the 1950's. No doubt constructs of social confidence and well-being are complex, multi-vocal qualities, influenced by considerations other than 'crime'; but if 'crime' is used extensively as a symbol or 'root metaphor' defining how a society feels, then the lack of media attention and the low public profile it enjoyed in the 1950's was perhaps a major factor in producing a perception of social comfort and security. Now the spotlight on 'crime' has been intensified and effectively prevents the
the maintenance of a low profile.

The day-to-day acts of 'crime' I investigated as a young constable and detective were committed, in the main, by 'the prig' on his own socio-economic class. The corner-end general dealers shop was where the young 'prig' learned his burglary trade, and its disappearance from the community means the 'prig' has had to look for his livelihood to other resources, such as the increased presence of the motor car and its contents. The new toughened steels and metal alloys and improved electronic alarm systems have virtually eliminated the once common safe-breaker using gelignite. In the 1950's there were a surprising number of Victorian safes that looked formidable, but were easily forced. This form of 'traditional' crime has been replaced by the street 'hoist' or 'blagging', and the 'tie-up merchants'. These characters take cash at its weakest point by attacking private homes where the occupants are known to hold cash - often from undeclared tax evasion - and which they are then forced to hand over under threat or by actual physical violence.

The lack of mobility I have mentioned above was a major factor in restraining the areas of operation open to 'the prig' and the detective. Even in an apparently fluid city where the populace was numerous, there were villages within villages and local knowledge on individuals was easily acquired. It was essentially a community for workers who went to bed when public houses shut at 10p.m. and rose early to arrive at the factory gates by 7.0a.m. Furthermore the pattern of female employment was very different to the late '70's and early 1980's. Many dwellings maintained at least one female member who stayed at home and in consequence there were whole streets where communities interacted during the daytime hours. In consequence the afternoon or early morning house-breaking which seems to be increasing now that many suburban streets of houses are deserted by working husbands and wives, was then a comparatively rare occurrence.

The relative ease with which detectives controlled this local 'crime' left them plenty of time to develop a strong interest in good social company! Detectives were time-served veterans,
having spent years in the uniformed branch before being admitted to the elite company. This move was always considered to be 'a promotion', as I have outlined above, and detectives were 'big men' in police society. The idea of the Detective has been used in fiction and by film and television writers, simply because oppositional characteristics of 'good' and 'evil' carry a heavy symbolic potential for the public. These binaries are basic to the structure and practices of society and in consequence those associated with them have an archetypal role to play. This incorporates extremes of dramatic fantasy and mythological power. The detective, the 'crimes' he pursues and the 'criminals' who commit those crimes have a metaphorical status that cannot be denied. As Jung (op.cit.1964) tells us:

"...The hero figure is an archetype, which has existed since time immemorial..."

"...archetypes have their own initiative and their own specific energy... These powers enable them both to produce a meaningful interpretation (in their own symbolic style) and to interfere in a given situation with their own impulses and their own thought formulations..."

The detectives of the 1950's I first encountered were archetypal, worldly-wise men, who considered the learning gained in 'the University of Life' totally prepared them for the extremes of public social behaviour they experienced. They were fully conversant with the nuances of local politics and the machinations of the local Police Committee. All of these detectives manipulated their 'crime' workload to ensure their formidable social life, and their understandings of police practice was not interfered with. They alone determined what was 'crime', what should be recorded and what should not. They were, in effect, determining the presentation of social order, acting as the conscience of popular integrity. My first instruction on my first day as a cadet in the C.I.D. office was given to me by a seasoned veteran. He told me:

"...remember kid; nothing is stolen - every thing is lost; unless we say so..."

This meant that innumerable thefts of property became 'lost'
property - unless of course there was a 'possible body'. By a straightforward omission in recording, the incidence of 'crime' was kept artificially low. The victim still reported the 'crime' and saw the particulars written down on a message pad or in the lost property book, or on some other document. How that report was then 'recorded' was considered immaterial to the injured person, but was crucial to detective. The eventual statistical classification was something the detectives did not consider to be a public matter. Whether the report was eventually counted as a 'crime' in the annual lists, or was omitted to present an acceptable level of social villainy was not of public concern. It was how things were!

The social presentation of an unchanging moral order by the controllers and detectives was reflected in a range of unchanging pre-war bodily symbols that reasserted this conservative mode of thought. The officers of the C.I.D. in the early 1960's, when fashion was undergoing cyclonic changes, were still required to wear three-piece suits in dark or formal colours. Some still wore a black 'Anthony Eden' homburg hat although a softer trilby was acceptable and to go bareheaded was unusual. Even when the counter-culture of the mid-1960's influenced the use of colour in male clothing and many constraints and conventions were being swept aside, the young detective wore his hair short and would almost certainly buy a dark suit and a trilby hat on his transfer to the C.I.D., just as I did in 1964. In the late 1950's, when I was learning that 'crime' could also be recorded as 'lost property', I recall a long serving Detective Sergeant being sent home to change into 'something suitable'. He had turned up for work wearing a Harris Tweed sports jacket and flannels and had then been unexpectedly required to go to High Court. For such an occasion this was the wrong dress. Even today when the rigid conventions on dress have been assaulted for two decades, the detective reflects a public demonstration of bodily control and conservative order and presents a style that allows him and his kind to be easily recognisable. For example, I attended a C.I.D. 'occasion' while I was at University wearing casual University style...
clothing and was intensely aware that my dress was visibly wrong and problematic to my companions; while I found the intense uniformity of their dark, formal suits to be almost overpowering.

The detective style is so well understood without ever being overtly discussed, it is only when the known rules are transgressed that comment will be made. A known and understood conformity to a model of acceptable dress and style makes for easy recognition of C.I.D. status, and detectives are often acknowledged to be identifiable to colleagues at Railway Stations when visits or escorts to other Forces are undertaken. The separate groups of detectives recognise each other merely by an acknowledged understanding of the nuances of 'style'.

Thieves can similarly recognise detectives and are aware of tiny details of dress, deportment and demeanour. I have heard arrested 'prigs' talk of occasions when they had spotted detectives and identified them merely from their 'style'. In the Bridewell I recorded the chagrin of a 'prig' who was most upset he had failed to spot he was under observation by a detective from the 'shoplifting squad'. He kept repeating, "He didn't look like a jack, did he?" Hebdidge (op.cit.1979), writing about youth cultures of the 1960's contends that those groups were defined by a specifically created 'style', which

1. In a humorous article in the Justice of the Peace (30.4.83), Eric Crowther discussed some of the rules and classifications expected by the Courts of Law in Britain; although these are never written down. In 'Dress and Modes of Address', he tells of a stipendiary magistrate in West London who refused to hear a solicitor because he was wearing brown suede shoes. "I cannot see you", the stipend declared, "your footwear is more suitable for the golf course". Crowther also recalls a passage from 'Smugglers Circuit' by Sir Denys Roberts (1954), where an inappropriately dressed barrister was also told, "Miss Lasalle, I cannot see you". Public visibility in many professions still depends to a large extent on dress and modes of address, and only then on professionalism and expertise. In the police and the legal profession, dress and presentation are important indicators of perceived reality.
gave meaning and an understanding of 'social place' to the individual group. In a similar manner the detectives, who are archetypes of structural power, have a specific, visible style that is as formidable as any presented by the alternative society. It is a direct statement about their reality and gives meaning to police activities in the demonstration of control. It is essential that bodily 'style' should reflect the careful presentation of order which is maintained in all other practices, and which sustains the belief that there is an acceptable mode of dress, hair length and physical form.¹ All of these nuances of style ritually repeat the structural binaries of cleanliness and dirt and link them with homologies of order and disorder which are embodied in the archetypal hero.

These specifically styled detectives of the 1950's made a satisfactory number of arrests without too much trouble, and these arrests of the inept 'dangerous classes' produced sufficient admissions and 'guilty pleas' to suggest to the outside observer that the detectives were in command of those recognisably anti-structural elements society agreed its police would control. The classificatory manipulation of 'crimes' was made on a regular, almost daily basis. The symbolic differences between 'crimes' and 'offences' was constantly used to re-create a version of reality suitable to the practitioners. Numbers of undetected 'crimes' could easily be reduced to 'offences' if the occasion demanded. What was eventually recorded as 'crime' was carefully controlled by detectives and ensured an acceptably low incidence of 'crime' was available for presentation to the public. There was

¹. As I have shown above in the section on Policewomen and life in the Bridewell, symbols of bodily correctness abound and constantly are available for analysis. On my first appearance at a Superintendents Conference I was introduced to my new colleagues by a reference to the red shirt I was wearing, with inference on its political significance being made. At the conference these senior men discussed at length a 'problem' a recent order could create where men had been allowed to discard their ties in summer weather. The order did not specify how many shirt buttons might be loosened and there were fears that some might undo more than one, revealing chest hair and even the currently fashionable gold medallions.
little scope for society to deny the figures they were provided with and so the police could amend and mould these to meet arrests and detections and present an image which followed the simple rule that 'crime was low, and detections were high!'.

Few C.I.D. chiefs could afford to create a 'crime wave' of undetected deviant acts. No extra finance would be available to the small Police Forces from the unchanging local budgets to deal with sudden waves of crime. Furthermore, any significant change to the pattern of low crime and high detection rates would suggest there had been a strategic change in the social face of a locality. This was unlikely to be reflected elsewhere within the society. In addition, any increase in 'crime' would have meant the style of the detectives would have become untenable. Their not-inconsiderable social life would have been seriously interfered with, and this social life was as much a reflection of the social milieu of the times as was their manipulation of reported 'crimes'. Had the manner of recording crimes suddenly changed, detectives, as the maxim puts it, 'would have had to run harder merely to remain in the same place'.

Nearly every Crime department I encountered at the time was engaged in the practice commonly known as 'cuffing'. This, in effect means hiding or eliminating the incidence of reported 'crime' from public scrutiny and record. The 'Crime' book was often locked away and only detectives allowed to record a 'crime', to stop uniformed 'wollies' putting in 'crimes' which could not be solved. Detectable 'crimes' were openly welcomed, while those which might result in 'a body', or concerned a crime against some 'important' local person would be recorded to 'avoid the wheel coming off'. Many run-of-the-mill minor crimes of larceny and petty theft were kept until it was apparent 'the wheel wasn't coming off', and then were 'entered in file 13'. Again the language, as Crick (op.cit. 1976) suggests, has a semantic structure and builds up the unconscious beliefs and modes of thought, revealing the ideologies of the users. In this case 'cuffing' derives from the magicians trick of concealing the truth up the sleeve or
cuff. The dramatic mode is once again invoked and it is significant that 'cuffing' is known to police hierarchies, who therefore acquiesce in trickery, just as we are aware of the magicians sleight of hand. 'To avoid the wheel coming off' is a graphic description of a social process going suddenly wrong, and policemen jousting with variable social events, need to take action continually to 'avoid the wheel coming off'. 'File 13', is of course the traditionally unlucky number transposed to represent the waste paper bin, where 'cuffed' items are placed as an alternative to the normal bureaucratic systems.

When I was an aide to the C.I.D. in 1963, my first boss used to occasionally declare 'a Queen's Birthday Amnesty' to 'file the blueys in the hot-house'. This instruction allowed detectives to burn some (blue) crime reports which could not be solved. These had been recorded, but could not be filed as 'dead' or unsolvable because our Superintendent (known as God) refused to accept further enquiries might not eventually produce a culprit. By this time my Force had started to 'crime' every report, to make claim for the typists, the new desks, more men and all the other facilities we now understood a burgeoning 'crime' rate could supply; but having recorded and swelled the crimes by 13,000 in 4 years (as I have reported above) the traditional need to pursue even 'dead' crimes had not changed, and sometimes we had to resort to disposing of unsolvable crime reports in the Station fireplace.

Between 1964 and 1970, when many Forces were amalgamating into larger units and visible social change was occurring, the

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1. A 'crime', having been recorded, numbered and committed to a 'Crime report' was submitted through the hierarchical machine to 'God', who then marked up the report for 'supplementary report' within another 14 days. Eventually after the detective constable had submitted three or four 'supplementary reports' outlining his enquiries, he hoped that it might be 'filed for reference' (often the 'crime' was considered to be 'dead' from the outset, i.e. unsolvable). At this point, when 'God' sent the Crime back for further enquiries and another supplementary report, the 'crime' could become a choice candidate for the 'hot-house'.

crime recording methodologies and techniques of many Forces were also completely amended. The semantic meaning attached to the symbol of 'crime' was often used to reflect the social uncertainty and detectives began almost over-night to record as much 'crime' as possible; while in others the influence of social change was less pronounced and 'cuffing' continued unabated.

During this period I visited other Forces and went on C.I.D. courses where I met contemporaries who still 'cuffed' a large proportion of the 'crimes' reported; who still published low incidences of 'crime' and maintained highly monthly detection rates. In a Borough Force I visited each detective had two separate baskets on his desk. One was for recorded crime and the other for those unrecorded items that lacked the crucial 'crime number' which would have turned it into a statistic. These 'crimes' would eventually disappear into 'file 13' if they continued to be 'undetected'. This Force, only a mile or so from my own, averaged 60% detections, while we used to have a celebratory drink if we managed to achieve a 30% monthly return. In the Borough, the 'Crime' book was still locked away each night to prevent the uniformed men recording 'silly' crimes. Each morning the detectives assessed overnight messages of 'crime' and recorded only those that fell into their understood categories of 'recordable crimes'.

These practices created bizarre and diffuse representations of reality and must have produced difficulties for criminologists who attempted to use them as objective statements of classifiable deviance. In 1966, on my first detective Training Course, I was billeted with a detective from a Borough Force on the Lancashire borders and with another officer from Leeds. Both were 'cuffing furiously' and the Lancastrian was required to maintain an 80% detection rate as a norm. He was aghast that we had now settled for a Force target (unacknowledged and unwritten of course) of

1. Even then our detections would be manipulated to achieve the 30%.
40%, and that in my City centre division we considered that 35% was a 'good month'.

The system in the 1950's and early 60's was therefore a non-existent, manipulated presentation of a mythological public reality which society seemed willing to accept. Within the police service it was accepted the way that this social drama was presented was suitable and tolerable, for no-one had stepped forward to seriously deny it. The transformation of an actual level of deviancy (which we all knew was unknowable) into another official perspective was part of how order was defined. And the support for this view stemmed from a self-generating, reproductive pragmatism essential to preserve the structures of police power, hierarchy and control.

Such an unquestioning acceptance of police practices is now far removed (see Clarge and Hough; 1980, who question the whole matter of police effectiveness), but there is still a need for the enquiry to break through the defensive structures and show how police practices, such as those described above, have been varied and handed on. Pauline Morris (1978), reviewing the literature on criminal procedure, questions how the police reconcile their legalistic framework with the paradoxically wider social involvement their activities encompass. She agrees with Chatterton (1976a, and op.cit. 1976) that the significance of 'crime' to the police and the social context of its commission needs deeper and urgent analysis. This is because, as she says:
"...in the past 20 years very little has emerged concerning the philosophy (as distinct from the technology) of law enforcement...") 1.

Changing social styles and emerging politicial and social awareness, together with the effects of the thrust of new technology, especially in the media, have meant such an idiosyncratic image of 'crime' could not be sustained. It is my belief that during the subsequent decade the idea of structural decline and social disintegration was massively symbolised by the use of 'crime' as a metaphor of increasing disorder, set against a presentation of earlier 'crime free' golden days. The police have had a major part to play in this and the mythological nature of 'crime' continues to be structured by the controllers to suit the style, the format and the social etiquette of the times.

(vi) MULTIPLYING CRIME: RECENT PRACTICE SOME REASONS AND RESULTS.

"...British Society as a whole is changing rapidly. The accepted order of things... is no longer so widely and so automatically accepted as in even the recent past. Many, consider some of our institutions archaic and in need of reform. This view is fuelled by the loss of Empire and poor showing in the list of advanced industrial societies. Disrespect for those in authority is already considerable and is increasing at an accelerating rate..."

1. An unsolicited new magazine, 'Law Enforcement Technology International' which arrived on my desk (Vol.1 No.1 May 1984) is, (I contend), a 70 page glossy publication which supports Morris' contention. It is crammed with pictures and articles promoting armoured vehicles, pistols, sub-machine guns, rifles, tactical lighting systems, night vision intensifiers, helicopters, ammunition, electronic communication systems, tracked robots and the like. Vol. 1. No. 2 has subjects and articles on explosives, fibre-optic surveillance systems, riot protection, tactical equipment for assault/entry in hostage situations and further developments on those areas introduced in issue no. 1. There is little on philosophy of law enforcement in such a publication, yet its contents have major philosophical implications.
This quote from an un-named civil servant (Knight. 1984: 299) repeats a perception echoed in the press and socio-legal writings. Disorder is allegedly rampant, with such phrases as 'steep rises in crime' or 'waves of crime since the last war', used to inculcate beliefs which in time become self-evident.

The police have used this idea of a 'disintegrating society' to expand their budgets and manpower, and since the early '70's have pursued a methodological formulae of using 'crime' to measure 'success' and imply 'busy-ness' on an ever increasing scale. The newly amalgamated giant forces and their increasingly professional management systems have used the 'declining nation' theory not only to justify only their power structures but also their very existence.

The symbolic role 'crime' plays in police thinking has been continually presented to the popular imagination, lending support to the many police organisationl changes which have occurred. A statistical increase in reports of 'crime' supports the proposal that the police service requires more manpower and technological assistance to combat an obvious structural decline. The promise implied is that this social decline can be fought off or reversed by the police, who would combat disorder through increased vigilance, but only if they had the staff and scientific weaponry to pursue the war against the expanding criminal population.

By the mid 1970's the smaller Forces had all disappeared in a series of amalgamations with their neighbours. Budgets had swelled to accommodate increased staffing, and Drug Squads, Fraud Squads, local Crime Squads, Vice Squads, and the like had proliferated; along with the computers to create the hard data necessary to justify the expansion. Every officer now had personal radio and immediate links to the Police National Computer. Sub-Divisional Stations increasingly had access through V.D.U's to local and national computerised systems and a vast infusion of transport into police forces meant foot patrol became almost a memory in some areas. All of these organisational and technological changes reflect the
uncertainty of society and were more easily justified if the police could present a need, determined by a perception of rampant 'crime', almost out of control.

The police therefore were largely responsible for enhancing 'crime' statistics merely by assiduously recording more; and then further causing social pressures by effectively feeding this symbol of disintegration to the public. The politics of power ensured this measurement of police success became the prime metaphor by which the newly amalgamated Forces were sustained. For as Finnimore (1982) points out:

"...Chief police officers continue to congratulate themselves on a small decrease of a particular type of crime (or a small increase in the clear-up rate), whilst the opposite trend is reported apologetically..."

Of course the use of such an arbitrary and variable category as 'crime' to structure expanding empires has brought problems for the police. To some extent they have unleashed a tiger they now find difficult to contain, and John Alderson, (1979: 7) then Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall, has warned that:

"...Trapped as they are in the world of criminal statistics as proof of their efficiency, the police need to break out and to seek other measurements of their success..."

By the 1970's the 'cuffing' of crimes had almost disappeared. Everything reported had to be recorded. Those 'crimes' previously hidden became visible and in consequence appeared to be escalating. Percentage detections dropped as 'undetectable crimes', which at one time would have been material for 'file 13', were 'put onto the books'. At the 'sharp end' the detectives grumbled about this increase in workload, but understood this was part of the change occurring, as the larger amalgamated forces began to meld into powerful units and the technology and transport was distributed. It was tacitly understood we were creating 'busy-ness' to prove we were under pressure, giving an impression of increased disorder to justify changes in systems merely to contain the expansion of 'crime' we had helped to create.
At this time of social change in society, the police combined with the media to project new images into the social consciousness. A range of television and cinema supercop-heroes merged with the real police, who became potential saviours, seen in the T.V. newscast stemming tides of lawlessness, and battling to maintain an understood way of life; while the militant, the striker, the criminal, the seditious and the do-gooders of society all combined to let a glorious past founder and dissolve. Again the dramatic mode of the criminal justice system is apparent.

It now seems, to some extent, that there is a specific move to purge evil by the use of even more exact systems of criminal classification. To my mind this stems from the expanding use of centralised systems of control for certain social behaviour. It is as if the police, who operate legal constraints created by politicians, are making secular attempts to realise a total symbolic world of good and evil. A clearly delineated heaven on earth, achieved by classifying and controlling an increasing number of unacceptable activities seems to be the objective. These attempts to create a millenium I suspect, may be mirror images of those religious messianic states promised by a variety of prophets over the ages, offering earthly paradise through the imposition of new controls based on belief. I doubt if it is merely accidental that in recent times we have seen an awesome kudos accorded to the judiciary, to some Chief Constables and to a host of mythological media detectives; or have witnessed their ascendance in the public mind over the previously omnipotent church and its bishops and archbishops.

This ascendance by secular arbiters of behaviour has given the law and its practitioners an increasing precedence over other areas of authority, so the pronouncement of the Chief Officer of Police is now sought before that of the Church leader on many occasions. Such a move further promotes the belief by these authorities, that the imposition of their categories of unacceptable behaviour will lead to a homogenous,
paradise on earth now, legislated for and policed accordingly. Such a premise fits in very well with the current economic materialistic philosophies of secular society, and suggests why the concept of 'crime' is now a major moral evil that is set up symbolically to be challenged and defeated.

The archetypal hero (Jung, op. cit. 1964) is created here in the detectives role, played out as a drama for the rest of society. By using the metaphors of warfare to save the nation, the hero takes on what Huxley (1956:250) has called a:

"... spiritual adventure making plain the function of the mind itself (as a drama of images)...."

The 'hero myth', as Huxley (ibid) contends is;

"...thus literally acted out and becomes a rite...."

However the rites, practices and procedures of the police and the statisticians in relation to 'crime' recording have, to echo John Alderson (op.cit.1979) 'trapped' the detective-hero, and even though 'crime' looms large in the mind of British Society as a symbol of reality, it is understood that this is an illusory construct. As Whitaker (op.cit.1979) suggests:

"... Criminality is now just a question of degree... the law has made criminals of us all... A number of offences have only recently come to be regarded as crimes, either by the law itself, or by members of the public whose educational and socio-cultural standards have risen. Violent behaviour formerly used both to be accepted in institutions and homes and publicly taken for granted much more than it is today. Similarly, assaults or cases of vandalism which used never to be reported in slum communities may now feature in the statistics...."

Constant changes in recording techniques have almost become a structural necessary to justify the changes in police systems I have outlined. A manufactured increase in crime helps justify the £2 billion plus, annual cost of the British
Police system and fluctuations in the detection rates over the past decade reflect how the police present their case to meet the social perceptions of the time. By the 1980's, when police practices were increasingly under scrutiny, a detection rate of about 40% became the norm for Chief Constables to pursue. This figure was much lower than had been usual only five or six years previous and helped sustain the implication that society was under threat from ever increasing criminal forces. The increasing number of 'crimes' recorded and this lower detection rate could also be used as a weapon to fend off those who criticised the police and negate the subversive or seditious who threatened the institution of control. The changing 'detection rate' therefore continues to reflect the pressures on the structures of police thought and belief, and indicates how the ideological basis for power is manoeuvred and maintained by a mythology.

Meanwhile, the archetypal heroes - the detectives - have to interpret meanings and manipulate 'crimes' and action to match the current mode. They constantly bemoan the madness of the system they have to operate, which they sometimes refer to as 'the statistical rat-race'.

(vii) MULTIPLYING CRIME: THE EFFECTS OF RE-CLASSIFICATION.

By exploring the way two 'offences have been upgraded and re-classified as 'crimes' in the recent past, it is possible to illustrate how this symbol of disorder gains semantic relevance. Because 'crime' is high status police activity, it is always likely to enhance operational action and thus generate statistical proof of its incidence. The two examples I wish to explore, to illustrate this basic point, are 'car theft' and 'vandalism' which have moved up the scale of infamy in the recent past, attaining greater significance and creating an image of burgeoning 'criminal' activity. For just as 'adultery' has moved out of the criminal code into a moral field, and 'attempted suicide' has more recently been de-classified as a 'criminal' act,
so other behaviour moves upwards and becomes classifiably 'criminal'.

'Car theft' and 'vandalism' were always actionable in police terms, but were not classified as 'crimes' until recently, when both moved up a semantic scale of importance. Their use in the recent police presentation of statistical disorder and criminality may well have influenced the meanings attributed to the alleged decline in society. I have discussed above.

It sometimes seems as if the activity of damaging property had never occurred until about 1970; however since then the use of the word 'vandalism' has probably become as significant as the activity. Yet both were almost statistically unknown until a change in classification occurred and the social reaction to 'vandalism' became a classic 'moral panic' (Cohen. op. cit. 1973). The panic then was presented in a way which implied such eruptions can only be contained or suppressed if we expand control and support the controllers. 1 I suspect this fear of 'vandalism' is yet another manifestation of reaction to social changes occurring over the last two decades and partially reflects the uncertainty of role which has developed across British Society.

In reality there is no classificatory 'crime' of 'vandalism'; the 'crime' is one of 'criminal damage'. The word 'vandalism' however has been subsumed by the public to incorporate a wide range of behaviour; as a Home Office Report (Clarke. 1978: 2) suggests:

"...Vandalism, taken here as approximately equivalent to the legal category of criminal damage, may as a result become..."

1. Always in these modes of thought there lurks the belief that 'crime' is a genetic trait which is not socially conditioned or generated. This surfaced again in the Handsworth riot of 1985 when the control agencies immediately classified the event as 'criminal' and not a social phenomena, with its roots in economic and social conditions of hopelessness.
"...mixed up in people's minds with general worries about hooliganism and breakdowns in public order..."

'Vandalism' is currently such an important public concept that it stretches well beyond what the police classify as 'crime', to incorporate the high spirits of young people and youthful noise; especially when defined by the elderly. As Bottomley and Coleman (op.cit.1980:83) have suggested:

"...part of the problem lies in the fact that the legal and statistical categories used for official purposes have a vagueness and ambiguity that renders them open to misunderstanding on the part of the general public and allows a measure of flexibility to the police in allocating a particular incident to an official category..."

The police have always recognised vagueness and ambiguity exists in human behaviour and the difficulties of fixing it in any official category; and they have used this both to hide 'crimes' or to promote them when the social climate suits. In the recent past they have reinforced their hegemonies by using the 'potential-threat-concept' which I suggest has widespread social acceptance and have used 'vandalism' and its statistical prevalence to inflame this ideology.

For 103 years, from 1861 to 1964, the law controlling 'vandalism' was the Malicious Damage Act, which classified a range of maliciously destructive acts. Certain kinds of damage of a treasonable classification, such as "setting fire to Her Majesty's ships of War (afloat or being built)"; or,"unlawfully and maliciously setting fire any mine of coal, cannel coal, anthracite or other mineral fuel" (Section 26) reflect the 'hooliganism' an earlier era. They are among a list of classifiable 'crimes' which were only triable on indictment at the High Court and were rare events by the

time my police career commenced. The general day-to-day acts of malicious damage however were lumped together under Section 51 of the Act, which created an 'offence':

"...If any person wilfully or maliciously commits any damage to any real or personal property whatsoever, either of a public or a private nature, and the amount of the damage does not, in the opinion of the court, exceed £100..."

This £100 qualification was provided for by the Criminal Justice Administration Act of 1914, and in effect meant 'crimes' over £100 were able to be tried only at the High Court, i.e., the Quarter Sessions or Assizes, while 'offences' of 'vandalism' under £100 were triable at the lower Magistrates Court. The classificatory difference between 'crimes' and 'offences' was therefore created by this £100 figure. Above that figure the police were instructed to record a 'crime' committed, and a 'crime' detected or undetected. Under £100 the act of 'damage' remained an 'offence' and had lower status. In my early career all undetected offences of damage were automatically assessed by the patrolling constable as being less than £100. Who could afford to have this type of undetected 'crime' on the books? Detectives would have looked askance on anyone foolish enough to 'crime-' such an 'offence', and even when arrests were made for acts of malicious damage where the value was over £100, efforts were always made to reduce this to £99.19s.6d. I have known offenders charged with three 'offences' of breaking plate glass windows, even though the total value should have made them into classifiable 'crimes'.

The 'crime' over £100 could only be tried on indictment and the cost was not something the small police forces of the time could easily incur. Usually the category was manipulated and the detected 'crime' of damage might be recorded as a 'Shopbreaking with intent to commit a felony'. This was still a classifiable 'crime' but could be tried summarily at Magistrates Court. Of course, by the same token, undetected 'offences' of malicious damage were never recorded as 'crimes' of shopbreaking, for this would have left a potentially
undetected crime on the books. Again the classification of 'offences' was used in other ways and many 'crimes' which should have been recorded as such, were written off as unsolved 'offences' of malicious damage. The term 'written off' describes a very loose system of recording, and many 'attempted burglaries' and 'attempted housebreakings' were written off as undetected 'offences' of malicious damage, rather than the 'crimes' they undoubtedly were. The 'writing off' in my early days of foot patrol consisted of merely writing up a resume in the 'beat book' referring my colleagues to the 'offence'; perhaps asking the early shift to call round and tell the owner of the premises that the matter was under attention. The statistical record of such 'offences' was therefore negligible and in 1965, for example, the Force Annual report lists the Indictable offences (crimes) of Malicious Damage, but has no statistics for offences of Damage under £100 other than a number of those offenders who appeared at court for the offence. In other words, the undetected damage 'offences' under £100 went unrecorded: The report shows:

- Malicious Damage: Crimes Recorded 5.
  (i.e. over £100) Crimes Detected 2.
- Wilful Damage: Persons dealt with at Court -89;
  (i.e. offence - Convicted - 77; Otherwise dealt
  under £100) with -2; Withdrawn/dismissed - 10.

These statistics clearly reflect the perceptions of the times and the logic of the practices I have described above, when 'crime' was kept artificially low.

1. Until the 1968 Theft Act, the various acts of breaking and entering were separately classified and categorised, e.g., shopbreaking, housebreaking, warehousebreaking, storebreaking, etc. After 1968 these were all consolidated into one category, 'burglary'. Under the 1916 Larceny Act all of these 'breakings' were hierarchically arranged with some triable on indictment and others triable summarily. But all were classifiable 'crimes', to be counted as such.
Then, in 1971, at a time when police forces sought to record more 'crimes' to justify their changing status and technology, so the law and classification in relation to 'damage' was amended. The 1861 Malicious Damage Act was replaced by the Criminal Damage Act of 1971. The act of damaging property changed from being 'malicious', to being 'Criminal' and an extra dimension was immediately added. The 'crime' occurred now if property valued in excess of £20 was damaged and the classificatory importance of 'crime' immediately enhanced the reactive behaviour of the police. The enlarged amalgamated forces had a further 'crime' on which to focus. The detectives had a new category on which to create meaningful practices and the previous neglect surrounding malicious damage was swept away.

This was also the era when Britain moved to decimalisation, inflation increased as oil and fuel prices soared; and charges for services and property escalated. Even minor incidences of damage now cost more than the £20 figure which differentiated between 'offences' and 'crimes'. The smallest broken window could cost more than £20, although if there was no chance of a 'body' this could easily drop to less than £20! In an 18 month period at one sub-division I noted many occurrences of such 'trivial damage' recorded on the incident log. The following is a typical example:

"...slight damage to rear of house, broken window in kitchen, value £13, isolated incident... no attempt to gain entry... attention of resident beat officer directed..."

(from fieldnotes)

Whenever I asked about the value there was the same rueful grin and the admission that it was a 'guesstimate'. One detective inspector said of his new sub-division:

"...there must be more isolated incidents of £15 broken windows here than anywhere else I know..."

(from fieldnotes)
Of course if a 'body' materialised the value could immediately be readjusted to slightly over £20 and a 'detected crime' would be claimed.

By 1974, the incidence of 'criminal damage' in my Force area had risen to 2,431 'crimes' recorded and 951 detected. In 1981 the Annual report shows 7,875 'crimes', while 1,378 persons were proceeded against for 'offences' of damage under £20. Of course the Force boundaries are not comparable with 1965, when the figures I have quoted above were a reflection of the invisibility of the category; but the semantic belief that 'vandalism' is now rampant has been taken up in the statistical return. This has become increasingly sophisticated, but still remains malleable. The average cost of each 'crime' in 1981 was reported at just over £300, although that figure is skewed because of one or two major fires at schools which accounted for almost half of the total £2.4 million cost of 'vandalism'. In the main the incidents of 'criminal damage' are for very small amounts and the Chief Constable, in his Annual Report (1981) points out:

"...Inflation accounts partly for this increase, bringing some of the less serious 'offences' into the recordable 'crime' category..."  

(1981: 32)

In the ten years from the implementation of the Criminal Damage Act to this report the police used the effects of the inflation to their statistical advantage and an 'offence' valued £2 or £3 in 1971, would undoubtedly have become a £20 plus 'crime' by the end of the decade. Thus new 'crime' had arrived and the police were not slow to use it to suggest they were under pressure and needed more men and equipment.

Official reports have helped to foster an illusion that this increase is real and faithfully record the impression that 'damage' is a new event:
"...Of the major indictable offences (crimes) recorded by the police in the United Kingdom in the decade 1969 to 1978, the category showing by far the fastest rate of increase, from 14,700 to 140,500 was criminal damage, which is almost certainly under-reported..."

This Home Office Research Bulletin (Rees.1981), reporting the major increase, only speculates on the 'under-reporting' and has little material to explain our 5 crimes in 1965, compared to the 2,431 in 1974 and the 7,875 in 1981. I contend it was structurally relevant to carefully record a 'crime' wave to support the logic of the large, expensive amalgamated forces, the increases in technology and man-power; and, having unleashed the tiger, the police could not reverse the process and once again claim 'damage' was not occurring. The social style of the times demanded a scenario of a society in decline, with the constructs of discipline and order under threat of being overwhelmed.

Much has been made of the economic factor which creates 'crimes' of criminal damage because of inflation beyond the £20 figure:

"...The trouble is that a 1971 directive from the Home Office suggests that only damage which costs more than £20 to repair should be recorded in the figures, and that sum hasn't changed for 10 years. Since inflation has rarely been out of double figures of late, it meant that a number of cases which 10 years ago would have been considered trivial were now logged in official records. The apparent increase was but an artefact of inflation..."

(The Guardian: 6.9.80)

"...in these inflatory days an arbitrary limit, such as £20 tends to confuse those figures that are compiled; an act of damage to the value of £19 one year would not be 'crimed' but the following year the same act would be included in the criminal statistics since the cost of making good would be well over £20. The effect is the artificial inflation of the crime returns in step with monetary inflation..."

(Protection against Vandalism: H.M.S.O 1975)
Economic determinism is, however, only one reason for a 'crime wave' of 'vandalism'. The semantic relevance it attained by being transformed from 'offence' into a 'crime' was crucial and particularly relevant to the police practitioner, yet invisible to the outsider. Every officer joining the service since 1971 knows only that this is a possible 'crime' and the idea 'vandalism' must be vigorously pursued to reap detections is now firmly inculcated into police 'habitus'.

By the early '70's, when 'criminal damage' achieved dramatic status, the police were beginning to present a 50% detection rate; or even slightly above this figure. This suggested the amalgamations had been successful, that increasing expenditure on technology was well spent and furthermore presented an image implying the police were only just stemming the rising tide of 'crime' and were containing social disorder. An examination of various Annual Reports of the large Forces in the 1970's reveals many were claiming this 50% success rate. The crime rate continued therefore to be the major structuring symbol of police ideology and the hard data the police now presented contrasted with the impossible high 80% figures I had seen in the late 50's, and which had then been superseded by the 30% - 40% claims made when 'crime' began to be more scrupulously recorded. Since the late 1970's an alleged social decline has continued and resulting disorder and 'crime' has further escalated. The police have again reduced their detection norms and most of the 43 Forces in the 1980's claim about 40% detections, which further influences the belief that society is disintegrating and that further control is required. The 5,000 recorded 'crimes' of criminal damage in my force are now some 6 - 7% of all 'crimes' recorded each year; yet did not exist in the police imagination when the 'crime' was merely an 'offence'. Of course current 'offences' under £20 are still given the same measure of insignificance, unless they need to be manipulated above £20 because a detection is possible. The Standing Committee Report on 'Protection against Vandalism' (ibid,) acknowledges this semantic relevance
placed on the event by the police wholly depends on whether it is classified as 'crime' or otherwise:

"...we do not attempt to attach great importance for our purposes to the statistics of recorded offences... Even in 1971, with about 30,000 offenders identified, this is insignificant when compared with the hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of offences which can be deduced from the returns...

...From our own knowledge we appreciated that detailed records of damage were unlikely to be forthcoming from police sources, except in respect of incidents that are 'crimed' as being over £20 in value...

...the returns we asked for, and were freely given, from the police forces... revealed fairly accurate information on the frequency of damage to the value of £20 or more, which is religiously recorded and afforded some degree of investigation, but that there were totally and admittedly inadequate records of minor damage (is not surprising)..."

(1975: 4 - 6)

The use of a 50% detection rate to judge efficiency has meant the 5,000 annual reports of criminal damage must realise a clear-up rate of 2,500 crimes detected. In consequence every crash of glass means police technology and manpower must be brought to bear. Personal radio calls to the patrolling men and vehicles brings immediate response, for every offender caught must be 'squeezed' to extract the maximum number of 'coughs'. The 'crime' recording and counting rules have greatly enhanced the drama.¹ Such a concentrated response was impossible before the technological revolution and it may not just be coincidence that this 'offence' was re-classified just at a time when society was expressing concern about social decline and disorder, and was equipping its police with the technical wherewithal to

¹. The way that the Counting Rules are used and manipulated is described below in the chapter on 'Bending and fiddling'.
impose more control and prevent the decline.

Just as the offence of 'damage' became a 'crime' at a very significant point in social history, so did the taking of motor vehicles. Many cars and other motor vehicles are taken, used and abandoned; only a small percentage are stolen and never recovered. Many are 'borrowed' by the 'dangerous classes' as an alternative to unavailable late night transport, and a considerable amount of 'car theft' is the activity of the teenager from the lower socio-economic classes, who will also take property from the vehicle and perhaps even strip the parts from the vehicle which can then be re-sold.

The Larceny Act of 1916 had nothing to say about the motor vehicle. Larceny, by definition, required the article appropriated be taken permanently and the owner deprived forever. The borrowed vehicle hardly fitted this criteria and of course in 1916 the proliferation of the motor car was never anticipated. By 1930 the taking of motor vehicles was acknowledged in the Road Traffic Act and an 'offence' was included of 'Taking a motor vehicle without the consent of the owner'. This became known in police circles by the acronym T.W.O.C., or taking without the owners consent. For 38 years, 'offences' of TWOC were committed and recorded with varying degrees of accuracy. No 'crime' of theft of the vehicle was ever considered until the taking was understood to be permanent and the instruction was that only after 72 hours would the taking of a vehicle be recorded as a 'crime'. A 'no crime' would be recorded later if the vehicle was found abandoned. In many forces the 72 hour rule was ignored and a 'crime' was only recorded after some considerable time, if at all.

As I have described above, until the late 1950's society was essentially immobile and cars were the privilege of the few. Many working class areas, where 'crime' was acknowledged to be prevalent and where the 'dangerous classes' lived and operated, had relatively few cars. The police opposition operated on foot and the police forces, as I
have shown, had few vehicles themselves with which to chase and catch offenders. Figures again taken from the 1965 Annual Report (op.cit. 72 - 73) for my Force, show how 'few 'crimes' of larceny of vehicles or 'offences' of TWOC were recorded. In the case of TWOC no record was kept unless there was an arrest, and so, whereas the 'crimes' of larceny are related to numbers of vehicles stolen, the 'offences' of TWOC are for 'Persons Proceeded Against':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Recorded</th>
<th>Detected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Larceny of motor cars</td>
<td>25 (1964: 20)</td>
<td>8 (1964: 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny of m/cycles</td>
<td>74 (1964: 46)</td>
<td>46 (1964: 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny of commercial vehicles</td>
<td>2 (1964: 2)</td>
<td>- (1964: 1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Arrested</th>
<th>Convicted</th>
<th>Otherwise dealt with</th>
<th>Withdrawn/ dismissed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taking motor vehicle without consent</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1964:)</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the late 1950's and early 1960's I worked a beat adjacent to the River separating our City Force Boundary from the adjacent Borough Force. If I saw a car crossing the river on one of the road bridges, perhaps driven erratically by a gang of youths, and I suspected the car was stolen (or TWOC), I then had to run to my police box and 'phone my local station. By the time I had relayed my story the car would have been two or three miles away and unless it had been taken from our force area it is likely there would be no record of its taking. Links with the adjacent Forces were somewhat tenuous and our own insularity coupled with the derision in which we held our neighbours meant we were often unwilling to give them any real assistance.
If the vehicle had been taken from some distant force, perhaps 100 miles away, it might be some time before it was circulated down to local level. Records were hand-writted, there was no telex transmission and manual entries into 'Stolen Car Books' were made up from the eventual publications; while in the 'control room' lists of stolen vehicles were kept in numerical and alphabetical order on cardboard strip indices. Even if the vehicle was recorded, the possibility of catching it was limited by the lack of police vehicles and lack of information as to its current whereabouts. There was no personal radio to link the patrolling men, and the force was so small that by the time the TWOC had travelled three miles it was out of our area again. My first arrest for TWOC was something of a rarity and quickly lost its value when it was discovered the motor cycle had been taken from a neighbouring force area and not from ours. In keeping with the style of the times, my arrest preceded any record that the motor cycle had been taken. This only arrived at our station some hours after the 'offence' had been cleared up.

Just as there was a tendency to change the arrest classification for the offence of malicious damage into a 'crime' when the circumstances allowed, so the occasional arrest for TWOC was manipulated if at all possible. Many forces, as well as changing the offence of TWOC under the Road Traffic Act, would also add a charge of larceny of the petrol used in the journey, because the logic fitted the classificatory requirement of 'permanently depriving the owner of the petrol'. In consequence this was a 'crime' committed and a 'crime' detected and was always placed along with any larceny of property from the vehicle into a higher status category than the actual offence of TWOC. Needless to say the hundreds of cars taken and abandoned were never recorded as undetected thefts of petrol. To have done this would have negated the logic of the system.

In 1968 the Theft Act replaced the 52 year old Larceny Act. In the new Act, a special classification was included to
take account of TWOC, and was categorised as 'Taking Motor Vehicles or other Conveyances without Authority'. All such reported incidents of 'Taking a Conveyance' were now classified as 'crimes' and were to be recorded at once. It is tempting again to suggest this upgrade of semantic position in a ranked order of disorder was structured by the changes occurring at this time within the new, larger forces. Prior to the late 1960's any re-classification of TWOC as a 'crime' would have only increased the statistics, without the means of successfully implying that such activity could be controlled. By 1968, the means of controlling this disorder was not only at hand, but furthermore had to be justified.

If we replay the same incident I have just described, where the car driven erratically by the youths crosses the River Bridge, it is possible to see the consequence of social and technological change on police practices. Today, the constable on foot patrol or in any one of the many patrol cars has only to radio his control for a 'vehicle check' to learn if a vehicle is suspect or stolen. If a vehicle is reported stolen from anywhere in the country it is put into the Police National Computer and this information is available to any local controller, via V.D.U. A constable, perhaps in an inconspicuous position, can be told that a vehicle he is observing has been reported stolen from a town perhaps 40 or 50 miles away, but still within his Force area. It is then a relatively simple operation to direct enough cars and men towards the offenders, set up the 'chase' and make the 'capture', which further enhances the belief that this is 'real police work'. It seems hardly surprising that a number of 16 and 17 year old youths have recently been killed in car chases. It is essential now for the police 'capture' all possible car thieves; for those who take vehicles must also be 'squeezed dry' and contribute to the 'detection rate' by admitting their involvement in other TWOC's and petty thefts from vehicles. The fact remains those 'captured' for this 'crime' are invariably still from the 'dangerous classes'. 
In 1978, 1979 and 1980 over 13,000 crimes of taking motor vehicles were recorded each year in my Force area. These were nearly 20% of recorded 'crime' in the Force and the detections claimed in this category ranged from 46% to 54% over the three years. Yet a decade earlier, only 100 vehicles, which were never recovered, were recorded 'crimes'. Again it would seem that only the manpower increases, the radio communications and the police national computer serving the amalgamated super-forces have made these re-classifications possible and given them the requisite status in the police hegemony. Again an implied social challenge is contained in these figures, with the changing socio-political climate within society presenting the police the opportunity to pursue a conflict model. This operates best when society faces what Turner (op.cit.1982: 108) has called its 'redressive' phase in the processual structure of a social drama. As Turner suggests:

"...redressive agents and the instruments they have at command, courts, parliaments, assemblies, councils, armies, police... (can) have lost or are losing their authority, legitimacy, or efficacy in the eyes of the group members. The response to crisis may now emerge... a clash between conserving and reforming parties... as the representatives of the 'ancien' and 'nouveau regime' confront one another... Much depends upon the size and scale of the group and the degree to which its social and economic division of labour has advanced. Such factors determine what modes of redress are applied or devised..."

The three or four young 'prigs' in a stolen car are now 'manna from heaven'; and using classic police interview techniques the detectives can split the occupants up, play one off against the other, so that a 'bagful' of detections might result. These can considerably ease the pressure on a divisional C.I.D., which may have a spate of undetected burglaries to set them against. After leaving the Bridewell, on my first day out and about as a Sub-Divisional Inspector and, 'being shown the parish' by a young Constable, we arrested three young men, with a large bunch of duplicate
keys who were in the act of taking a car. One other youth escaped but was captured within a day or two at home in the centre of the 'African Villages'. This arrest produced 57 detections related to the taking of vehicles, and the theft of gloves, torches, maps and other small items taken from the cars. Such a 'capture' greatly helps the local detection rate and a 'roll-up' like this can be kept back for the next statistical month, or even beyond if the figures are already up to an acceptable level. A successful Detective Inspector is one who can manage this detection rate and manipulate the figures so that his Sub-Divisional return fits within an understood norm.

The re-classification of the offences of 'damage' and 'car theft' into 'crimes' means that in my own Force we now have over 20,000 extra 'crimes' each year. So even though societies 'incidence of loss of authority and legitimacy or efficacy' (to requote Turner: ibid) may have had an effect on the amount of dissent and disorder occurring, as the social schism pursues its processual structure, the actual levels of 'crime' are illusory. These 20,000 plus 'crimes' made up almost 25% of all of our recorded 'crime' and form the basis for 'moral panic' and 'respectable fears'. In 1979 The Newcastle Evening Chronicle reported 'Vandalism' (printed in 3" capitals) had soared, and warned:

"...startling new figures (are) to be presented to the police authority..."

However in the same report, fear is assuaged, and an attempt is made to balance this with the reassuring note that:

"...the detection rates are reasonably static..."

The media message consistently contains images and metaphors of an embattled police force, holding out and stemming a soaring crime rate; but only just containing the menace. Among the 'real polises', it is accepted that 'warfare' and an expanding 'crime' rate is a manipulated and ritual-
ised symbolic mythology and although they rarely articulare this, they are constantly aware that it results from specific practices which create only one version of reality.

(viii) MORE RE-CLASSIFICATION: THE POTENTIAL FOR FURTHER 'CRIME' WAVES.

Changes in classification, such as those I have just described, reflect a structural schism in the social formation of society and illustrate attempts by the police to use the ensuing conflict as a means of expanding their hegemonic role. The institution of policing uses these redressive measures to fend off the forces of the 'nouveau regime' (to requote Turner: op.cit.1982), which tends to create schism whilst searching out new social formations.¹

Recent controversy concerning police accountability to their local population is specifically about the difficulties experienced when such a structural schism occurs. The possibility exists that in such a change the police could face a new social reality of being the controlled, rather than the controllers. I contend the call for greater public accountability is part of a social quest for a more caring society, and is in direct conflict with the progressive moves policing has taken towards a more technologically based format. In any accountable, community based police system there exists the possibility that 'crime' might by alternatively defined, for social harm might be differently perceived and a more equitable system of control and opportunity be pursued. The possibility of such a social formation contains the seed for a possible change in the direction of the flow of power.

¹ Turner's work quoted above is in direct continuity from his earlier works (1957, 1967, 1969, 1974), each of which illustrates aspects of the eternal social drama of social disjuncture, conflict, crisis, struggle, and eventual change in the social structure, which the drama encompasses. His work has had a seminal influence on my interpretive analysis.
A schism in the continuity of a social system, however, contains the possibility that power might be taken away from the existing controllers to be transported onto an even more biased elite, concerned with their own politically motivated and idiosyncratic definition of what defines a 'criminal' act. The oft quoted police assertion of their non-political stance, is to an extent, a re-iteration of the maxim; 'better the devil you know than the devil you don't'; inviting the public to retain their known controllers rather than tempt providence and take on an alternative.

It is also a plea for the status quo to be maintained and supported, for the contention of an a-political style is of course a nonsense! The police are consistently political and tend to fall well to the right of centre. During the whole of my police career the political views and statements of my colleagues have reflected a marked preference for right-wing politics and political characters, while liberal, reformist views are suspect, to say the least. Usually in private, the opinions of policemen are vehemently expressed, and support a strongly traditionalist, illiberal line.1

James Anderton, the Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, symbolises this conservative philosophy and epitomises the fear existing in relation to social change in the public debate on policing and power. He appears to see any call

1. At the 1984 Conservative Party Conference, the Police Federation sponsored M.P., Eldon Griffiths argued unconvincingly that the Police were not 'Conservative'. A few months later at the Bramshill Scholars dinner, several police graduates threatened to boycott the dinner if the leader of the Labour Party was to attend as guest speaker, and in 1985 Sir Kenneth Newman, warned the Labour Party on the need not to be seen as anti-police; ignoring to my mind, the fact that most law enforcement to date has political derivation or influence.
for greater police accountability only as a political move by elements hostile to the police, who are interested in gaining the control he currently maintains. Anderton argues:

"...A quiet revolution is taking place around us and the prize is political power to be wielded against the most cherished elements of the establishment, including the monarchy. It is as much the duty of the police to guard against this as it is to guard against crime. I sense and see in our midst an enemy more dangerous, insidious, and ruthless than any faced since the second world war..."

(Quoted in *The Guardian* 17.3.82).

The use of metaphorical enemies and the invocation of the mythological aspects of monarchy, as well as the value-laden appeal to re-fight another second world-war introduces possible new areas where the archetypal hero, (the policeman/detective) can fight off ruthless, dangerous and insidious antagonists. By implication, the concept of 'crime' can be now extended, for there is a perception presented here suggesting there are conceptual treasons abroad. Again these usually manifest themselves when society is suffering schism and social crisis. Such metaphors of warfare, 'guarding against insidious enemies within out midst', can also be found in such recently rediscovered 'crimes' as 'criminal blasphemy' and 'libel'. The evidence suggests that the police and politicians they serve - who have been increasingly of a conservative persuasion - are now generating the belief systems necessary to sustain the pursuit of 'new crimes'. Thus ideas generated in thought or deed may well become criminal ideas, and policing be extended to even control thoughts and beliefs. E.P. Thompson (op.cit.1980) saw this as a grave possibility, while Ian Will (1983) suggests the police are moving towards a system of national organisation and subsequent autonomy from their elected representatives. In such a world the style of policing has every possibility of becoming more repressive, and James Anderton's call (see Will.ibid) for a Commissioner's
Standing Committee, established as 'a cabal of police top-liners more likely to speak with one voice', could well become the reality. Would it then become seditious or perhaps a 'crime' of disaffection for supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, for example, to express their beliefs?

It is likely there would be a move towards more simple controls in the first instance. We might, for example, follow some American states in making 'Juvenile curfew breach' into a 'crime', for the American model of 'crime' is constantly used by politicians and criminologists to predict trends expected to occur in the United Kingdom. Yet the material in their statistical indices clearly illustrates the differences between the British and the American model. In Britain the Home Office count the 'crimes' known to have been committed which are reported to and recorded by the police; along with those that the police claim to detect. In America the 'crime' assessment is based on a count of 'arrests'. The 'Total Estimated Arrests' for 'Crime' in the U.S.A. are contained in the 'Uniform Crime Reports for the United States', published by the Department of Justice. In 1981 these were cited as 10,441,000 arrests for the year 1980. This figure is based on 'All reporting agencies and (includes) estimates of arrests for unreported areas'. As the 'Crime Trends 1971 - 80' are reported to be collected from 3,806 different agencies (ibid: 202), it is worth speculating on how many 'unreported areas' there are? If the recording techniques are as disparate as those I suggest occurs within the handful of British police forces, then what price statistics?

Then again the American concept of 'crime' has to be considered. Part 1 'offences' are 'serious crimes' and mirror those activities classified as 'crimes' in Britain, e.g. Homicide, rape, robbery. However some categories seem to have only limited comparison to the British model. 'Manslaughter by Negligence' is a Part 1 'Crime' but, the report (ibid) tells us, 'is not included in the statistical return.'

1. Is this the equivalent of an industrial death that in Britain would be the province of the factories Inspectorate?
Part 1 'crimes' in the report (ibid) list eight types of offence, and a further 21 categories are included as Part 11 'crimes'. Many are similar to the British Standing List of Crimes, e.g., Forgery, Fraud and Embezzlement, but others say more about the special structures and beliefs of American Society than anything about a universal code of infamy or 'criminal activity'. Category 17 of the Part 11 Crimes includes 'statutory rape and offences against chastity, common decency, morals and the like'. It is not possible to anticipate how the British police would define the 'crimes' of chastity, common decency, morals and the like' or whether Chief Constable Anderton's vision of a declining society might be checked by classifying such behaviour; suffice to say in 1980 the report (ibid) indicates there were 67,400 'estimated arrests' for this category of 'crime' in the U.S.A.

Category 19 in the American report (ibid) lists 'crime' arrests for 'Gambling - Promoting, permitting or engaging in illegal gambling', while Category 23 concerns 'crimes' of 'Disorderly conduct - Breach of the Peace'. These are not recordable 'crimes' in Britain (yet), although they are 'offences'; however there is no parallel with Category 28 or 29. The former is headed, 'Curfew and Loitering Laws - Offences relating to violation of local curfew or loitering ordinances where such laws exist', while the latter relates to 'Runaways - Limited to juveniles taken into protective custody under provisions of local statutes'. C.H. Rolph recently suggested (Police Review 9.4.82: 693) that a proposal in the new Criminal Justice Bill, which would allow the courts to order young offenders to stay home, fails to account for the reality of the home environment, which too often is the prime cause of the anti-social activities of the juvenile. 'Curfew breach' however seems set, at some time, to become another classifiable 'crime', and Magistrates in Britain increasingly use 'curfew' as a condition of bail. Rolph (ibid) recalls:

"...a New York Police lieutenant once told me that the city's curfew for its delinquent under-16's was just another way of swelling the crime figures..."
This could be a useful 'crime' to enact here to indicate growing lawlessness, for the American Uniform Crime Reports record some 66,703 arrests in 1980 for 'crimes' of curfew and loitering violations, while 143,598 were arrested for the 'crime' of being 'Runaways' (Category 29) in the U.S.A.¹

But of course there is always the possibility British society may be so seditious that it refuses to accept that such behaviour is 'criminal' or needs legal control. Manning & Butler (op.cit.1982: 342) suggest:

"...It is essential that the police are aware of their own limitations and also the limitations of law enforcement strategy to solve society's problems..."

They go on to describe how a survey held to determine the public needs in the West Midlands police area, suggested the problem of litter in the streets was of considerable concern, however, if the police had carried out a vigorous litter law enforcement campaign, it is likely it would have been a disaster for police public relations. Whilst they accept it is an 'offence', the public did not expect the police to prosecute these matters. In a similar rejection of a 'British curfew law', the Probation Service, who would have had to enforce a proposed curfew, objected to becoming 'soft cops'.²

The fallacy of relying on statistical 'crime waves' is

1. It is difficult to objectify the statistics contained in the 'American Uniform Crime Reports' (op.cit.). Page 191 contains 'Estimated arrests' and includes estimates for 'unreported areas'. However the 'Total Arrest Trends' listed on p.194 show different total arrests for categories listed earlier on p.191. Perhaps there is a logic somewhere in these figures, although some scepticism seems possible when we are told that, "because of rounding, items may not add to totals", and that the "estimated arrests in 1980 exceed the Total actual arrests by some 4,400,000".

2. This story, 'Probation Blow to Youth Curfew', (The Guardian: 16.10.82), supports my model of probation officers as controllers, albeit 'soft' ones.
illustrated in examples of 'vandalism' and 'car theft' described above, and says more about the police than it does about the 'crimes' themselves. The folly of using American models to predict how our 'crime' patterns will evolve is indicated by the 'curfew' and 'runaway' crimes. Again these say more about the specificities of American society and its idiosyncratic controls, where Thorpe (1981) tells us:

"...One outstanding example of the pervasiveness of the status offender in the US juvenile criminal justice system is that of Salt Lake City, a Mormon community where local laws reflect Mormon beliefs. In that city, approximately 1,000 juveniles are arrested each year for the possession of tobacco..."

Greenwood (1977: 84) declares these 'American Uniform Crime Reports' false! The validity of arrest rates and crime clearance rate statistics he tells us:

"...illustrates the futility of attempting to use either arrest rates or clearance rates as measures of performance for comparing police departments. Evidently it is impossible that departments in the South Central portion of the United States are at the same time, the best in the country and the worst in the country, but interpreting arrest and clearance rates as performance measures appears to lead to this conclusion..."

Yet the pursuit of just such an interpretive drama is exactly what the British Police have undertaken. They have symbolised, manipulated and used 'crime' statistics continually to support their activities and ideologies, so that 'outsiders' are excluded from the drama. This is illustrated by the example of a Research officer who came into the police from industry and was assessing 'crime' administration with me. He returned from a three day study of a divisional 'crime' system and shook his head, saying:

"...its all about figures and how to bend them; its got nothing to do with what is really happening, although I suppose it has a reality and logic all of its own..."

(from fieldnotes).
His realisation that the 'crime' system, employing hundreds of people and costing tens of thousands, was built on a self-generating formulae of hegemonic expansion, overwhelmingly determined in favour of the existing status quo, caused this 'outsider/civilian' to re-appraise his own position and accept that he would most likely fail to influence operational police changes. He began to realise that his concepts of efficiency, financial savings, management goals and objectives had not accounted for an over-riding police belief in their own concepts of 'crime' and its increasing relevance to their activities. He began to see how the 'bending and fiddling' of 'crimes' and 'crime figures' had a structural importance, making much of the policing he had witnessed to be what he described as 'a system defined by devices'.

(ix) **COUNTING 'CRIMES': BENDING AND FIDDLING.**

The criminal justice system has increasingly used the idea of 'crime' to support its practices. 'Crime' has become the ritual symbol and its use in the processual drama of the judicial system provides a basis for a whole superstructure of action administration and organisation. The statistical 'crime' return is consistently used as a presentation of threat and is reinforced by the suggestion that it has an objective reality, illustrated by annual detection figures and statistical 'crime' waves. 'Crime' has achieved the power Turner (1974: 55) attributes to ritual metaphors. These, he contends, are able to:

"...instigate social action... condensing many references uniting them into a single cognitive and affective field..."

Recent statistics, however, are as mythological as those of the 1950's which I have shown to be a manipulated construct. Yet they have assumed what Ditton (op.cit.1979: 23) describes as a religious significance, so that statistical hard data becomes almost sacrosanct, and tellingly, in my opinion, reveals a current obsession and overwhelming faith in a numerical
A consequence of this reverence afforded the statistical truth, is that philosophical enquiry into policing becomes even harder to pursue; for the need to formulate systems, hierarchies, management strategies and promotions is based on an understood falsehood, and philosophical research might easily penetrate this deception.

As a result 'Crime' measurement becomes a mythological symbol of one reality, promoted and pursued because of ideological necessity. An expanding criminal justice system cannot be expected to dismantle itself, and mythology becomes reality as the idea of 'crime' becomes hard fact. This has become self-evident to the extent that in 1980, when a Higher National Certificate in 'Police Studies' was introduced at Newcastle Polytechnic, the module called 'Crime and the Criminal' was predicated on the idea that knowable 'crime' is a statistical reality. The primacy of this construct was suggested by its place in the 'Introduction' to the module, where the sacred nature of statistics is suggested:

"...before embarking on the complexities of (theories to account for this elusive concept) crime, it is essential to place 'crime' in quantitative terms..."

The student, we are told, will set out initially to explore:

"...the continuing upsurge in recorded crime since the Second World War... which coincided with a chronic shortage of (police) manpower..."

A perceived threat to society is generated from the outset by this introduction, along with the pre-determined belief that 'crime' has exploded; while the 'chronic shortage' of manpower pre-empts any real exploration of expansion in policing or the effects of the newly amalgamated, technological police forces.

1. See Braudel (1981), who suggests the growth of a belief in the supremacy of statistical numeracy, is increasingly used as a basis for every day structures of activity and ideology.
In the 1970's, the amalgamated forces began to produce figures completely reversing trends I have described in the 1950's, when small Forces presented a homogenous front indicating calm and tranquility. The new classifications, such as 'car theft' and 'criminal damage', and the wholesale recording or what has previously been 'cuffed' took the establishment by surprise. The prime symbol defining how society was faring began to run amok, basically because by the mid-1970's the 43 Forces were all presenting a public image of mounting pressure by using soaring 'crime' figures as a prime indicator. Yet by returning a 50% detection rate, an inference was also presented which implied the forces of evil were only just being held back by the newly consolidated and well-funded police units.

1. Skolnick (1966), Lambert (1970), McCabe & Sutcliffe (1978), Bottomley & Coleman (1981), and Farrington and Dowds (1984), all show how variable recording practices by the police has affected the statistical return of 'crime'. Farrington and Dowds (ibid) recognise that the 'car theft' and 'criminal damage' statistics have had a marked affect. Theirs is one of the few studies that has specifically understood that these categories are crucially relevant: 
"...changes in the law have clearly contributed to past increases in recorded crimes. This was true for example of the Theft Act 1968, which converted taking and driving away a vehicle into an indictable offence (i.e. a crime), and the Criminal Damage Act, 1971, which converted a previously non-indictable malicious damage into indictable Criminal Damage..."

2. In the 1977 Annual Report for my Force, the Crimes were reported to have increased by 15.1% on the previous year, while the detections at 49.5% were 2% lower than 1976. The 1978 report indicated another 2.9% rise in crimes recorded and detections at 51.2%. Suffolk reported their 1979 detections at 56.4%, while in 1980 South Yorkshire Police had detections of 51.16%, and Hertfordshire claimed 54% detections in 1979. By the early 1980's it was significant that many Forces were claiming a detection rate of just below 50% and in doing so were reflecting the social pressures exhibited elsewhere in society, as unemployment and social angst increased. By 1981 Kent Police were regretting a drop to 47% detections, while my own Force reported another 9% increase and detections down to 49.6%
During the 1970's, as the recording techniques were polished and sharpened, some peculiarly specific practices were employed by detective departments to ensure detected 'crimes' remained at 50% of those recorded. The way detectives can claim 'crimes' to be detected include some very idiosyncratic means of preserving a statistical norm. The *Home Office Instructions for the Preparation of Statistics relating to Crime* (1971), allows 'crimes' to be detected not only when someone appears at Court and is convicted, but also:

a) when a person is charged, and acquitted.

b) when 'crimes' are 'taken into consideration', after conviction.

c) when there is some practical hindrance to prosecution, e.g. if the suspect dies or if the victim and/or key witnesses are unwilling to give evidence.

d) when a person admits a crime and is cautioned or is under the age of criminal responsibility, i.e., 10 years.

e) when a person who is already serving a custodial sentence admits a crime but it is decided that 'no useful purpose would be served by proceeding with the charge'.

It is necessary to say something about the practices surrounding each of these categories, for it is apparent that in (c) above it becomes possible for a dead man to provide a detection, while in (b) the minor theft from a shop which is taken into consideration (T.I.C.), can be set against an unsolved robbery and provide a 50% detection rate for the 2 reported 'crimes'. At (e) the prisoner can 'clear his slate' and perhaps give the Divisional 'clear-up team' "fifty for nowt" (i.e., fifty detections for little or no effort). As Skolnick (op.cit.1966) has suggested, these admissions to past offences can become a valued commodity for exchange, and although they are often denigrated by detectives they are now a substantial part of the police 'crime' administrative processes and are a major indicator of success.

a) 'Crimes' detected when a person is charged and subsequently acquitted.
At the time a person is charged with a crime, ranging from petty theft to murder, a normal police practice is to submit a 'supplementary' or an 'amendment' to the original Crime report, and be awarded a detection. A subsequent acquittal might follow some months later after remands, adjournments and trial, but the detection stands. For example the traditional party the detectives hold in any murder enquiry always takes place on the evening of the 'arrest and charge', not on the conviction or acquittal. For the case is 'wrapped up' on a charge, and only the protracted file preparation to the Director of Public Prosecutions follows. By the time the case is heard many months can have elapsed and the detectives returned to their divisional duties; but the case is detected even if the accused is acquitted.

b) After conviction, a person can ask for other crimes to be 'taken into consideration'.

The accused agrees he has committed a list of 'crimes', signs to that effect and these are considered before sentence is passed. In recent years, and especially since the early 1970's, T.I.C's are a vanishing commodity. It is often said now by Detectives, 'only the insane or first timers admit T.I.C's', (from fieldnotes). The acquiescence by the 'prig' to the idea admission was good for the soul ('... come on lad, get it off your chest, and you'll feel better with it out in the open...') seems to be vanishing, along with the social acceptance of the processes of law that went with it. It is now well understood:

"...only a fool admits T.I.C's... with a list of T.I.C's against you, you'll get more bird..."

(from fieldnotes).

Sometimes, of course, the recovery of a horde of stolen property from parked cars or shops makes one initial arrest into a statistical 'gold mine'. As one detective said to me:

1. T.I.C's = Offences Taken into Consideration.
"...Just give me one milk-token thief, or a car-badge-juvenile each month and everything will be all right..."

One juvenile 'crime' file that recently crossed my desk had 134 T.I.C's for the theft of trivia from shop counters in large stores. The injured persons were Woolworths, Boots and other multiples, and the times and dates of the offences were carefully arranged to allow each to stand as separate crimes, rather than as the 'series' of 'crimes' which would have reduced the numbers of detections dramatically, (and which I will discuss further when I outline the 'Counting Rules').

Mawby (1979) found that 40% of 'crimes' in Sheffield were cleared up by T.I.C's and other indirect means, while John Lambert (op.cit.1970: 43) rightly understood the widespread search for T.I.C's was a main part of the police structural reliance on 'crime' as a prime management tool and symbol, arguing:

"...This dependence on getting offenders to confess to maintain a success rate has, I believe, important consequences for police administration and organisation..."

These 'important consequences', linked totally to a belief in the masculine, power-based activity of chasing and capturing 'prigs', and solving the 'crimes' causes detectives to have few qualms about bending the rules. The quest for detections is as basic a task as it is to 'nail' or 'fix' the 'prig', or to maintain esteem in the Department or a place in the promotion race.

Detected 'crimes' all carry a potential for further detections. The stolen social security giro cheque, which all detectives are familiar with today, holds the possibility of producing at least two more detections. The first 'crime' is theft, the second might be a forgery when the thief signs the giro in a false name, purporting to be the person named on the cheque; the third could be deception when the cheque is presented at the post office - or 'Three for one'. The
stolen television or video is one crime of burglary or theft, then if sold to a second-hand dealer can become a second 'crime' of 'criminal deception' (i.e., the assertion by the thief that he had the authority as an owner to sell the goods). The ability to have these recorded as multiple detections will depend on the skill of the detective and on whether diligent Force Statistical Officers successfully search out these attempts to double and treble up 'detections', (which are contrary to the instructions issued under the Counting Rules, about which I will say more later). Of course, undetected thefts of giro cheques or television sets are never recorded as two or three crimes committed, until 'there is a body'.

Ditton (op. cit. 1979: 39) quotes the Newcastle Evening Chronicle for 5.2.77, when a 17 year old appeared before the Crown Court and asked for 31 T.I.C's:

"...Judge Roderick Smith rapped Northumbria police for abusing the system where an offender appears in court and has other offences considered. When a 17 year old youth appeared before him, the judge was asked to take 31 other offences into consideration, after the youth had been convicted of taking a car without consent. The youth's counsel said the other offences were nearly all for trying to take cars. Judge Smith said: A lad tries to get into 50 different cars, gets into the fifty-first, appears charged with taking it and 50 other offences to be taken into consideration. All it can be thought to be doing is to improve the detection rate of the Northumbria Constabulary. It is an abuse of the system whereby other offences are taken into consideration. I keep on saying it - no one takes the slightest notice of what I say. Except in this case these 31 offences will not be taken into consideration..."

Even when the accused renegues on his admissions in Court (which happens regularly) or the judiciary refuse to allow T.I.C's, it is still possible for the detective to submit them with the statement of admission taken during the investigation, and claim to his senior officers (many of whom have played out the same drama) that the 'crimes' were
almost certainly committed by the accused and then ask they be recorded as 'detections'. The accused's criminal record would not show the T.I.C's, yet the 'crimes' could be accepted by a senior officer, to be written off as 'detections' in H.O. returns.

Even more dubious means exist for fiddling T.I.C's and I have heard detectives discuss how to 'make one or two'. One such fiddle was described:

"...you get a young juvenile admitting, say, 5 crimes. You have the five typed up onto 5 separate T.I.C. forms (where there is space for 3 or 4 to be listed). Get the Juvenile to sign each and submit the necessary numbers to the Court. Wait until the case is over and all the papers are in and then add perhaps one or two crimes to each sheet from the lists of undetected. No one is hurt, the sheets go to H.Q's with the detected 'crime' reports and the Division gets another half-dozen rubbishy crimes solved, and even the kids records only shows the original five T.I.C's. The detection rate is better, everyone is happy..."

(from fieldnotes).

The incidence of getting 'two for one' in cases of theft and the subsequent deception, or 'theft' and 'going equipped for stealing', (which was widely used against 'car thieves'), became so prevalent that a Force Instruction was issued in an attempt to prevent its occurrence.

Other examples of making 'crime' occur. I was told of the theft of a tin of biscuits passed around the school yard, which became one theft and several crimes of handling stolen property; while the 10 cigarettes stolen from the corner shop became one theft and 9 schoolyard 'handlings' of 1 cigarette. These 'cautioned' 'crimes' (about which I say more at (d) below), like T.I.C's, then have to be submitted to the Headquarters Stats. Department at irregular intervals, to avoid the scrutiny which sets out to confound attempts by detectives to record 'series' crimes as individual detections.
It is not easy for the two or three civilian clerks in Stats. Departments to spot duplication when handling many thousands of 'crime' reports, (although the end totals are often computed by machine). It is tempting to suggest that some computerisation of the initial recording of culprit and 'crime' type, which is still often manually undertaken, might have revealed an almost criminal bending of the 'crime' recording rules, and that such a revelation would adversely affect the detection rate. Often the only way a centralised Stats. Department can spot duplication is by luck, if they see the same unusual injured persons or accused's name coming in on 'crime' reports; which may be separated by hundreds of others. It was only by chance that the Stats. Clerks spotted one theft of a bicycle had become three crimes of theft of a wheel, theft of a wheel and theft of a frame, committed by three different people; rather than the theft of one bicycle committed by three young men acting together. It was the same chance that revealed one theft of a table from a public house committed by five men had been recorded as five detected 'crimes'; two of theft of the table and three of 'handling stolen property'. As Crime Stats. have told me;

"...sometimes they blatantly duplicate and put the same crime through two or three times with separate numbers, hoping we'll not tie them together..."

(from fieldnotes).

c) Practical hindrance to Prosecution - death of witness or suspect or unwillingness of an essential witness

If the suspect to a murder commits suicide after committing the crime, then a detective is almost assured. However, even a burglar who dies while waiting trial can be a source of detections and the Counting Rules allow any admissions made to be classed as detections, provided a senior officer agrees. The reluctance of witnesses to appear in assault cases especially where there is a family involvement, can be a steady source of 'No-further-action-detections'. Across the country the incidence of 'N.F.A.-detections' recorded
against minor assault cases, which are never pursued to prosecution, must be considerable.

d) Admissions by those under the Age of Criminal Responsibility and those cautioned by the police.

When a child under the age of 10 years admits 'crimes' or a person agrees to be cautioned rather than be prosecuted (often used for juveniles between 10 years and 17 years), the 'crimes' are classed as detected. These can be a great source of detections, and fiddles to extend on these can be considerable. Most of these manipulations again concern the ways 'series' crimes can be counted separately (and are discussed below). Others relate to 'crimes' which might not even exist and offenders who were inventions caused by this demand for detections, which everyone deplores but accepts as necessary. One middle ranking detective I knew created crimes which had not occurred and which were then alleged to have been admitted by juveniles under the age of criminal responsibility or who were cautioned, but who, like the 'crimes', simply did not exist. Two or three such 'crime' reports per week (about 1 - 2% of his Sub-Divisional totals) gave his Sub-Division a satisfactory detection level and elevated him in the promotion stakes. Of course, on his 'detection' and fall from grace, his actions were not recorded as a 'crime' of deception, but his punishment by a return to uniform duties reinforces my point made about the status that 'crime' and 'detectives' have over uniformed patrol officers. Roger Anderson was not so lucky. He was jailed for six months for forgery and trying to pervert the course of justice for much the same activities. The Daily Mail of 25.3.80 reports:

"...he gave himself less work by reporting the arrest of imaginary people for crimes that never happened... ...In the files for..."

1. This phrase 'the promotion stakes' is used constantly in police circles and further indicates the way that policing and its administration is considered to be a game of chance, a drama that is enacted by the participants by use of such activities as 'fiddling and bending' crime figures.
"...which he was responsible fabrications are two a penny, and almost every document one turns over is false in one way or another...The worst thing he did was to invent defendants for real crimes, because the real criminal may have escaped being brought to justice...The court heard that Anderson invented a man called Mensell to admit a fictitious offence of indecency and then had him pleading guilty to real offences of stealing women's clothing. When Mensell was due to appear in Court, Anderson had him conveniently killed in a motorway accident...Nobody suffered as a result of these offences. Nobody could suffer because the people named in the offences were wholly fictitious..."

e) Those in custody who admit crimes and no useful purpose would be served in proceeding with a charge.

A man serving 'time' for a crime such as theft or burglary is, as I have suggested, socially dead. He will not usually be prosecuted for other minor crimes he admits. However, after a sentence of imprisonment has been imposed, he is still a source of detections and will almost certainly be visited in prison by a 'clear-up Squad', or 'prison visit squad', whose sole task is to follow up convicted 'prigs' and get them to 'cough' as many detections as they can. As the T.I.C. has disappeared, so the 'prison visit' has expanded as a source of detections, and today the 'prigs' will often ask for a 'visit'. Then, they willingly 'clear their slates' and 'cough' crimes they have committed before arrest and conviction. The convicted 'prig' uses potential detections as a commodity for exchange, as Skolnick (op.cit.1966) suggested, and gains information about his contemporaries, earns time out of his cell away from his fellow inmates, solidifies contacts with detectives who will be his adversaries in the future and from whom he gains knowledge. He has access to the detectives cigarettes and can ask for favours for his family outside; while the detectives 'clear-up' perhaps 50 or 60 burglaries which are then written off as detected.
The veracity of all of these 'coughs' is somewhat doubtful and there are indications that all such 'crimes' submitted as 'detections' might not always have been truly 'coughed'. Stories circulate of detectives who come from prisons with blank statements sheets signed by inmates and which then have admissions of fifty or sixty 'rubbish-crimes' written in. On other visits, the 'prig' has allegedly run his finger down the lists of outstanding 'crimes' and agreed to take 'some rubbish' as long as each one was less than £50 or £60 in value, and then gets on with the real business of talking to the detectives about 'jobs', friends and relatives!

Occasionally 'prison visit' or 'clear-up' squads have fallen from grace when their bending and fiddling has come to the surface and been detected, and the admissions by prisoners have been found to be less than accurate. In 1981, the Chief Constable of Northumbria denied that his officers had given prisoners money, tobacco and cigarettes to admit crimes they had never committed, but it was reported in the Newcastle Journal (10.9.81):

"...he did not deny that five officers had been returned to uniform duties... after a detective constable submitted false statements which led to the clearing up of several crimes...That officer together with a Sergeant and two other detective officers from the same Sub-Division were transferred to other duties..."

Following the disclosures in the national press that 'crimes were being falsely admitted', the rules about 'prison visits' were tightened up, and a list of 'reasons for interviewing persons serving custodial sentences' was issued. However at a subsequent Senior C.I.D. Conference I attended, it was agreed it was impossible to discontinue the practice, because of the numbers of detections the 'prison visit' system produced.

A detective Inspector (now retired) submitting 49 burglaries valued at £37,000 as 'prison visit write-offs' (detections), bemoaned the systems desperation for detections which subsequently hit the lowest ranks when this managerial and
political need forced the constables to 'fiddle'. He was submitting the list to Headquarters asking, 'that they be recorded as 'No further Action - detections - offender in custody and the Court is unlikely to vary the sentence'. He shook his head woefully, and said to me:

"...What are things coming to... I can't charge him with any of them; the first one we charge will be the last detection we get this way and they would plummet. This 'prison visit' system is a scourge on the system; it's a sickness and everyone plays the game until the bloody wheel comes off..." (from fieldnotes).

These admissions made by 'prigs' have played a major part in the 'detection' figures in the recent past. Since the system of 'prison visits' was developed, the resulting recorded detections obtained in my Force area has risen from 2,700 in 1974 to 20,500 in 1980. In one division in 1980, 40% of all the detections were cleared up by 'prison visits'. These 'subsequent' detections also have other idiosyncratic effects and it is always possible that records of recorded 'crimes' and the 'detections' may not correspond. For example 1984 'crimes' can be 'detected' by a 'prison visit' in 1985, and be set against the 1985 record of 'crimes committed', so that detections can exceed 'crimes' committed, especially in the early part of the year. A colleague in the C.I.D. described how his Divisional Commander had called him in to explain a fiddle that he, the Commander, had spotted. He had triumphantly told my friend:

"...I see we've had a dozen indecent assaults this year yet you've got 16 detected in this months figures (February)..."

The Detective told me he'd had to explain (to 'that fool of a Commander') that the 'subsequents' from prison visits had accounted for the majority of the sixteen detections and that out of the dozen reported this year we'd be lucky if we had one or two cleared up. He went on to describe how the Commander had not really understood, until the whole concept of 'subsequents' had been spelled out to him.
A similar denigration of the system (to that described in relation to the £37,000's worth of burglary) occurred when a good run of 'detections' from 'prison visits' at the beginning of a year gave one division a 170% detection rate for house-burglary in the first two months. Of course, it was necessary to then hold some back and submit them as the year progressed, to ensure that the figures matched the expectancies of the C.I.D. hierarchy. It is common for detectives at the end of a month to be asked to hold some back until next month if the detections are satisfactory; or alternatively to be asked by the Detective Inspector to 'pull any spare ones you've got tucked away this month, we're running a bit short'. The usual phrase for keeping crimes back is to refer to "keeping a few in the drawer for next month".

The Metropolitan Police appear to be finally following the Shire Forces in using the 'prison visit' clear-up system, some years after it has become regular practice in the County Forces. The Police Review (14.12.84: 2406) reported:

"...Clear-Up Rates: Frank Dobson, the Labour MP for Holburn and St. Pancras, asked the Home Secretary,... when he expected the clear-up rate for crime in the Metropolitan Police area to match that of the West Midlands (The West Midlands rate at the end of 1983 was 35.8 per cent; the Met figure was 17 per cent). Mr. Dobson also asked what steps were taken by the Metropolitan Police to study training methods in forces with higher clear-up rates.

Giles Shaw, for the Home Secretary, said that there were regular exchanges to study the... methods of other forces, and that the Met... has examined the investigative methods in other forces. He said that an experiment is now taking place in which convicted prisoners are interviewed about unsolved crimes..."

It is hardly surprising detectives have become cynical about what they refer to as 'the numbers game', and one 'clear-up Squad' detective I once worked with as a young C.I.D. officer, revealed the inherent irony generated by the system. I had
visited his Station and met him for the first time in some years, and he showed me into a 10' square office he shared with his partner.

"...What do you think of this?" He asked me. "1500 recorded detections from this room, this year, for this Division."

"And what percentage of those are genuine?", I retorted, "50%?"

He assumed a look of mock horror and outrage, then he laughed and said, "You're being generous, aren't you!..."

Both he and I understood that truth was a relative commodity in this situation, where manipulation and success is measured in terms of 'clear-ups'. The cynicism and irony created, I would argue, exists because of the obvious complicity that Chief Officers play in this scrabble for detections. Many have also manipulated the figures as they have struggled up the police hierarchy during the amalgamations and the expansion of the hegemonic empires that the statistical 'crime wave' has helped to generate and sustain. But when the 'wheel comes off' and bending and fiddling is revealed, usually only those at the lower end of the system are punished. I have heard it said on more than one occasion that when a figure fiddling exercise is exposed or goes wrong, the buck stops with the Detective Sergeant or the Detective Inspector, but beyond that rank you're safe!

This belief in the efficacy of figures, numbers and statistics is a prime reason that aspects of management studies are acceptable, while sociological and philosophical enquiry is antithetical and ideas concerning the morality of control are difficult, if not impossible, for the police to handle...
It requires the anthropological tool of participant observation to reveal that Bottomley and Coleman (op.cit. 1980: 84) are correct when they contend that the facts of crime statistics are a mythology. The myth of their objective reality, they argue, produces:

"...a measure of productivity in performance which feeds the belief that police work equates with 'crime' work..."

The manufacture, bending and fiddling of 'crime' figures has become totally institutionalised into what can only be described as a police management formulae. By the late 70's the use of 'crime waves' to indicate 'busyness' and a 'backs to the wall - siege mentality' forced the Home Office to introduce controls under the 'crime' 'Counting Rules', and in my Force we invented 'Manpower Provisions' in which we acknowledged the power of created statistics. I will say more about the 'Counting Rules' below, but need to explain briefly the naive simplicity of 'Manpower Provisions'. This concept was based on the belief that 'crime' statistics could determine manpower levels. It was proposed to allocate men to Divisions solely in relation to their statistics for 'crimes' reported. No other management measures such as population trends, political influence, road mileages, dispersal of communities, socio-economic factors, or any other aspect that might have weighted 'crime' was to be included. No other aspect of police work was to be added to the equation. Only 'crime' was to be used...and each geographical division was to receive its slice of the available manpower dependent upon how much 'crime' it recorded.

1. A police management system can easily cope with statistics and numbers as facts and use their results as 'hard data' to support systems. But, as a Home Office Research paper indicates (Racism Awareness Training: 1984), any hermeneutic exploration of attitudes is at odds with the accepted police training schedules and methodology. Most courses, the report suggests, presents the police with facts based on information, rather than with ideas. As the author, Peter Southgate points out, policemen are less than ready to acknowledge emotions, feelings and perceptions as facts, and cannot easily comprehend such abstractions as factual reality.
The result was obvious. Each Commander in each Division ordered his section and Sub-Divisional heads to record all 'crime' possible; but someone has to be bottom of the list of course, and when one Division had a 2% drop in crime, while its neighbour had risen by the same amount, it seemed the Commander might have to lose forty or fifty men from his establishment. Of course this loss would mean his reduced manpower would probably record even less 'crime' in the following year and his subsequent allocation would drop again. The accumulative effect was one Sub-Division, by 1980, was calculated to need so few men that it was jokingly said the Superintendent would eventually be driving the panda car, acting as foot patrol, serving as counter staff in the Station and logging in the prisoners he would have to arrest.

In one area a population drift into a new-town across the Divisional boundary caused 'crime' to be displaced as residential patterns changed. Detective Sergeants were therefore sent out to find the 'dark' crime that had gone unreported in an effort to keep the Divisional figures up. Many small shops have a policy of not reporting thefts for a variety of reasons, not the least because a Court appearance as a witness could severly deplete a small staff. It was in this area the two Sergeants concentrated their efforts and were able to come back with several dozens of 'detections' of theft from shops (usually by juveniles and children under the age of criminal responsibility). These had previously been resolved at the store counter by mediation and discretion, but as detected 'crimes' would help ensure the Division could claim its share of the manpower in the following year. It should be noted only 'detected' crimes were welcomed. The Divisional Commander might want more 'crime' recorded, but the C.I.D. in the Division could not afford to jeopardise the system or their careers by having more 'crimes' and fewer detections.

It is only a short step from this sort of exercise, which has official blessing, to the situation where someone decides to
record and detect 'crimes' which have not happened, then present these to the Statistics Department with 'offenders' who do not exist, but who allegedly have been 'cautioned' by a Senior officer. Only two or three such detections per week can make a considerable difference to the acceptability of Divisional statistics.

When the exercise had been running for some three years I was able to have some influence on the use of 'Manpower Provisions', which was once again going to take 40 men away from the quieter Divisions and redistribute them. At this time I was posted to 'Research and Development', and was able to convince the Senior Officers in the Force that such a measurement of manpower resource allocation was simplistic. We were able to suggest, (jokingly?) that one Sub-Division was likely to have no men allocated at all within a few years if our statistical projections were confirmed. As a result, 'Manpower Provisions' was discontinued. Three years later I had been posted to a statistically quiet Sub-Division and suddenly 'lost' twenty-one men when a 'new' Researcher re-instated the system on the directive of the Chief Officers.

(x) THE COUNTING RULES: A SEMANTIC REALITY.

Inevitably the continued 'crime wave' which the police found so useful as an indicator of productivity became politically untenable to other sections of society, and measures were introduced to curtail the expansion the control industry had enjoyed. By 1979, the Home Office was obliged to impose a

1. 'Research and Development' departments in the Police are almost always concerned with work study and management systems and only rarely have any consideration or work that involves them in academic research into the philosophies and moralities of policing, or into the wider ethics of social control.

2. This unpopular man, during my Bridewell days, had the nick-name of 'Nasal spray' - "...a little squirt that gets right up your nose..."
formulae for 'crime' management which had the effect of suggesting less 'crime' was occurring, and which, if properly instituted, could present a less dramatic appearance of disorder to the public. The 'moral panic' was becoming difficult to contain!

The 43 Police Forces in England and Wales by then were skilful at trawling up increasing 'crime' reports which implied a continual upsurge in public villainy. Walker (op.cit. 1971: 24-25) has indicated how multiple crimes are generated from one circumstance, and poses a similar question to the one the case studies from my fieldnotes can provoke:

"...an advertiser causes a fraudulent advertisement to appear in sixteen issues of The Times and defrauds 80 people; a father has sexual intercourse with his daughter ten times before his 'crime' comes to light... a cashier pockets small sums of money each week. A burglar breaks into a hotel and takes property from ten guests. How many crimes are involved in each case..."

The answer, as Ditton (op.cit. 1979: 21) has indicated, is:

"...as many as you want (to react to)..."

The police, by 1979, were increasingly successful in recording those 'crimes' they wished to react to, and especially those where there was 'a body' to help sustain the detection rate.

In 1979 the Home Office introduced measures to curtail the multiple recording of 'crimes', such as those described by Walker, and they set out an instruction to ensure such 'multiples' were recorded as only one continuous or 'series crime'. Detailed rules on the recording of 'crimes' were issued to the police in a document: "Crime Statistics - Counting Rules for Serious Offences - Home Office Requirements". These directives were not contained in any statutory parliamentary bill, but are made under Section 54 of the Police Act 1964 and were agreed by the Association of Chief Police Officers.

The main requirement of this Home Office directive concerns the way numbers of crimes are recorded and counted. Only the most
serious offence in any series of offences will be counted. In other words, in my hypothetical example, the prime villain (or 'prigt') should statistically have committed only one crime, i.e., the most serious - rape. This is because the severity is determined by the sentence, and the Counting Rules set out the penalties for each to determine the most serious:

"...At the beginning of each of the three categories (Violence against the person, Sexual offences, Other offences) is a section listing the offences in that part in order of maximum penalty. This is to assist in determining the most serious offence to be counted where several offences are committed in one incident..."

(Counting Rules: Para 2(2): 5)

It is unlikely if the Police had 'a body' for my hypothetical incident they would only count one 'crime'. It is almost certain they would count one in each of the three sections at least, and probably try to count many more by the use of manipulation of administrative faults in processes that surround the recording of 'crimes'.

Offences reported separately by the public can be counted separately and be allowed to stand as individually numbered 'crimes' when they are cleared up, even if it becomes apparent they form a part of a continuous series. The Home Office urge however:

"...that serious consideration must be given, at the time the offences are reported, to the possibility that they are part of a continuous offence..."

(Counting Rules: Para: 3(2); 6).

These 'continuous' offences have been a source of great dispute, argument and manipulation by some Forces to maintain their political presentation of social reality. Some statistical departments are less than scrupulous in allowing separately

1. See above, p. 250.
counted 'series', while others fight continuous battles with their detectives out on the divisions as the latter set out to bend the Counting Rules to their own favour. I recently heard a Superintendent (an ex-Detective) propose using a Force Statistical Officer for a management project, away from the assessment of the Crime Reports. He outlined the value such a move would have to management services, then grinned as he said, "and it'll do wonders for the crime figures"; for this stats. officer was adept at spotting attempts to get detected 'associated offences' (as the continuous series is known) separately recorded and to get 'three or four for one'.

Changes in the Counting Rules since 1979 have mirrored the political use of 'crime' and not surprisingly have been given only token acceptance by detectives. They understand the changes and amendments have a political basis which often lies outside of their influence as they continue dealing with 'prigs' at a 'street level'. The detectives have therefore had few qualms about bending them to suit the occasion, for they understand the police system of success and achievement is built upon statistics and numbers of 'crimes'. They know the police system rewards those who are successful at arresting 'prigs' and clearing up 'crimes'. It is therefore almost a given that their use and interpretation of the Rules will follow and support the semantics, hegemonies and structures upon which the police system is built.

In my hypothetical example, the youth who took milk tokens from 50 doorsteps might well have committed 50 crimes, or only one; depending on whether the 'crimes' were reported and recorded separately, or in a series. Initially the Rules directed such thefts were associated offences and would be recorded as one continuous 'crime'. If, (and this is unlikely), all of these thefts were reported and no immediate 'body' was anticipated, a detective had different options open, depending on how he understood the nuances of the system. Each of these could greatly influence his Divisional Crime rate. He could:

a) record 50 separate undetected crimes immediately, if he was foolish enough to try to convince his supervisors he never considered for one moment, that these
were a series of thefts committed by one person.

b) he could record 1 continuous undetected crime following the true spirit of the Rules.

or, c) he could hold them back for a few days to see if a 'body' was forth coming.

Option a) was going to earn him few favours especially if the 50 crimes remain undetected. The second option is more attractive, for if the crimes remain undetected, the police only need one detection from somewhere else to maintain a 50% detection rate. The third option has attraction, for if the detective finds a culprit he can record the 50 as separate 'crimes' and then have a 'nice little roll-up'. Of course he can only allow them to lie unrecorded for a short period, for if 'the wheel comes off' and shows he has not immediately recorded them, he can be disciplined. However a chance is often worth taking and the following incident illustrates the actions and the language that depicts the police modes of thought and actions in such a circumstance:

"...In the Bridewell...a youth has been brought in for shoplifting in the town centre and is searched. The jailer turns out his pockets and milk tokens tumble out everywhere... We 'phone the division from which they have been stolen and a detective from the 'clear-up squad' comes down. He arranges to see the youth and his father at his station in two days time to 'sort out this little business'. By then, he tells us, he will have recorded these as perhaps 70 separate undetected thefts, after he has knocked on a few doors. Then he will 'arrest' the kid (again), which will allow these 70 to stand as separate 'crimes' even though it 'suddenly' becomes apparent these form part of a continuous offence..."

(from fieldnotes)

Even if the Juvenile was cautioned in this instance, it matters not. The Counting system is irrelevant to Court proceedings or to cautions and is merely how 'crimes' are counted by Statistics. The whole transaction is best understood if we
note the detective describes this incident as a 'business', in which, it could be said, he is enhancing his capital, consisting of numbers or statistical returns.

Early in 1983 the Counting Rules were amended again. Milk and Milk tokens stolen from doorsteps taken from individual houses were now to be construed as 'having remained in the constructive possession of the house'. Such thefts were therefore to stand as separate 'crimes', having spent the previous four years as continuous offences.1. In February 1983, I recorded a conversation I had with a Statistics Clerk, who told me they (Stats) had just had words with a Detective who was a close friend of mine.

Stats: "...Your friend has just had words with us. He's not very pleased. He put two crimes through; one for theft of 80 pints of milk and one for 50. I told him that he now had to put 130 separate crimes in... he's not amused..."

M.Y. "...Why is that, aren't they a continuous offence..."

Stats: "...Not any longer..."

M.Y. "...Were they not detected?..."

Stats: "...Of course not, why do you think he was annoyed..."

(from fieldnotes)

I then went to a Detective Inspector in my Division, described the same event and asked him how he would resolve it?

"...That's easy", he told me; "...You have to argue that as the householders have not paid for the milk it is therefore still under the constructive possession and ownership of the milkman, so only one crime..."

1. From enquiries I have made, not all Forces have followed the Rules with the same diligence and it is apparent that 'continuous' or 'associated' offences are not so scrupulously pursued and rejected by some statistics departments in some Forces, when detectives set out to record 'series' crimes individually.
"...has been committed against him. Mind you are you sure that he hasn't got a 'body' tucked up his sleeve to produce in a couple of days?"

(from fieldnotes)

Cheques 'bounced' from a stolen cheque book, however, are still to be considered as 'associated' or 'continuous' offences and only one 'crime' of criminal deception should be recorded. This offends the sense of propriety and justice detectives operate by and 'deceptions' are one 'crime' the Stats. Departments recognise detectives may well attempt to fiddle to 'get extra clear-ups'. The practice is simple. The detective with a 'body' for 10 'bounced' cheques might try to put in 10 separate 'crime' reports to Stats, each separately numbered indicating 10 'deceptions committed - 10 deceptions 'cleared up'. To avoid the Stats. clerks spotting each is part of a 'continuous series' (which should be counted only as one crime), he will submit the individually numbered 'crime' reports over a period of days or even weeks, hoping they will be 'lost' amongst the huge numbers of reports submitted every day to the Stats. Department. If the 10 reports are submitted, say every three days, then it will take a month for the reports to arrive at Stats., and they will perhaps be hidden among ten or twelve thousand that have arrived during the month. As the injured persons will be different on each report (e.g. Fenwicks, Woolworths, Boots the Chemists, Marks & Spencer, Comet, Dixons, etc.), the only way the Stats. Department has of spotting the 10 are a series is to check the arrested person on each report and compare each one against the other. Some Stats. Departments have developed elaborate indices to spot attempts by the detectives to make 10 such detections when the Rules only allow one.

'Crimes' recorded are also defined by peculiar temporal measures which specify that an 'occasion' affects the way a 'crime' is to be counted. In burglary, robbery, theft, handling stolen property, fraud, forgery and criminal damage, the police are instructed by the Rules to:
"...record one offence for each victim on each 'occasion'. An 'occasion' is classed as a 24 hour period ..."

At a C.I.D. conference I attended in 1982, those present were reminded that when a series of thefts occurred against the same person with more than 24 hours between each, separate crimes should be recorded. The Counting Rules in the Stats. Departments are sprinkled with examples of 'continuous offences' and 'separate occasions'. These have been defined by the Home Office or subsequently added by Stats. officers when they have consulted the Home Office over some specific incident; leading to such bizarre instructions, for example, as on page 45 of the Rules:

Rape Classification 19/1

A Four males rape three girls twice each on the same occasion. Count three offences

B Two males assist a third to rape a woman. Count one offence

C A male rapes a girl, detains her against her will and rapes her again later. Count one offence

D A young person having temporary charge of young children on several occasions admits to having committed 2 rapes on one young child and 1 on another and several indecent assaults and gross indecencies. If the 2 rapes were on separate occasions count 3 offences. Count the indecent assaults separately if the children were unwilling. Gross indecency (offence 74) is not countable.

For the 'crime' of 'sending unworthy ships to sea', the instruction is to:

"...record 1 offence for each initial sending, irrespective of the number of intermediate ports the ship calls at..."

At the Rule on Assault Occasioning Actual Bodily Harm, Classification 8/6 (page 26 of the Counting Rules), the Stats. Officers have added:
"...A Husband Assaults his wife on a number of different occasions..."

Under Rule 8, 'Aggravated burglary in a dwelling', (Classification 29) there are a number of examples of how to count crimes and the Rules indicate:

"...These examples also cover classifications 28, 30 and 31..."

A number of official examples are given by the Home Office, such as:

F. A wounding (classification 5/1) occurs in the course of burglary. Count one offence of wounding and no burglary.

G. A wounding (classification 8/1) occurs in the course of a burglary. Count one offence of burglary and no wounding.

The classification of which crime is counted is dependant on the degree of injury in the wounding. When the wounding becomes more serious then it supercedes the burglary in the Counting Rules.

At example L, the Stats. Officers have added the following:

L. 4 huts on a building site are burgled; there is a perimeter fence. Count 1 offence

M. As example L, but with no perimeter fence. Count 4 offences.

In example L the perimeter fence affords what is known as 'protection' and creates only one 'crime'. When I have shown this to detectives and asked them how they would record the incident, they have all asked the predominant question which determines their world; "is there a body?" If there is not, then there is a perimeter fence. If there is a 'body' then any fence is conveniently ignored and the detectives claim 4 crimes detected. Thefts from cars on car parks are often statistically determined in a similar manner.

Under 'Other Criminal Damage - Classification 58)' page 92 of
the Rules'), where the heading instructs: "One offence for each occasion and offender/group of offenders", the Stats. clerks have added several examples, such as:

A. A group of offenders damage several different properties on their way home from a party. Count 1 (continuous) offence because the rule is 1 offence for each occasion and offender/group of offenders.

B. An offender damages garden sheds in several roads on several occasions. Count each date as 1 offence unless the incidents occur within 24 hours of each other.

Statistical officers acknowledge the system is played out as a game. When the Rules were amended in the early 1980's, a Force Statistical Officer (who had been on the Working Party considering the amendments) told me that as they came away from the meeting they were asking themselves how long it would take Detectives to find loopholes in the new instructions in order to maintain their own practices. At Page 80 of the Rules, under 'Classification 53/2; Obtaining Pecuniary Advantage by Deception', the Statistical Department staff have added examples indicating such attempts to obtain statistical advantage by the detectives:

C A person has obtained money by deceiving a number of people in a variety of ways; this is not discovered until he is interrogated for some other offence. Count 1 offence for each method of deception that is substantially different.

D A self-employed motor cycle dealer forged 140 insurance cover notes with intent to defraud 3 separate insurance companies. He also dishonestly obtained cash from 134 persons by falsely purporting to have arranged insurance cover. These offences were discovered when the offender asked for them to be taken into consideration in court. Count 1 offence of forgery (Rule 9) Do not count the dishonest obtaining of cash since forgery is the more serious element in the incident.
It is discovered that money was illegally drawn each week from 2 Pension books, one issued by the Department of Social Security and one by the local County Council, the true recipient having died 15 years earlier. A total of 1560 offences are presented at Court.

The 1560 offences 'presented in Court' in the example listed at 'F' and the 134 offences which were 'discovered when the offender asked for them to be taken into consideration in court' are obvious attempts by detectives to swell the detection rates and I know of many others when 'series' crimes became 'separate occasions'.

The examples given throughout the pages of the Counting Rules emphasize how 'crime' generally relates to minor offences, such as damage to sheds, or theft of trivial items. Rape and aggravated burglaries are rare events still and although my Police Force claims now to record well in excess of 100,000 'crimes' each year, we might wonder how many actually occurred or how many were mis-recorded? But does it really matter?
The way 'crime' recording is convoluted and idiosyncratic, means any 'true reality' is best understood as a reflection of the semantics of those who are recording and claiming the detections.

The Counting Rules are therefore part of a drama which is played out for limited public consumption, according to the numbers of 'crimes' which skilful detectives can record and 'clear up'.1 This drama in turn creates the status and

1. Again the language is interesting in its metaphorical content. The phrase 'clear-ups' meaning 'crimes detected, or cleared-up' is a direct statement about the re-constitution of order. We 'clear-up' a mess, or objects which have moved out of place into a situation of incongruency. In a system such as the police, where constructs of disorder and correct place are paramount, the idea of 'clear-ups' linked to 'crimes' indicates their potential for destroying structural clarity.
importance attached to an ability to maintain a satisfactory 'detection rate', and this version of reality sets standards for promotion and rank enhancement. Senior detective officers are totally cognisant of these dramatic practices which regulate the mythologies surrounding the use of 'crime' and realise, because 'crime' is mythological, that these myths require a closed system to be sustained. They therefore resist attempts to reveal the symbolic role 'crime' plays in police structural thinking and as a result may be ultimately rewarded by promotion to the A.C.P.O. ranks, or be decorated in the honours lists. Academic revelation of this mythology might break open the closed system, and show how the counting of 'crimes' is arbitrary and perhaps even morally unsupportable and philosophically indefensible.

Only rarely is the symbolic nature of the 'crime' figures ever officially admitted. In 1980, at a C.I.D. Conference I attended, an Inspector openly complained how, "the need to appear to be swamped with work meant all 'crimes' were now recorded and no longer cuffed". He went on to say:

"...in consequence between 1976 and 1979 there has been a rise of 15,000 minor crimes in our Force, and even in the first six months of 1980 we are 6,000 'crimes' up on last year, even though the Home Office Counting Rules have reduced some by introducing continuous offences and denying the practice of getting 2 detections for 1 incident as in the past..."

(from fieldnotes).

He went on to point out to the Conference we therefore had 21,000 extra crime reports which detectives were still required by Force Orders to mark up, showing times and dates of visits to the scene. He complained Detectives were having to make fictitious entries saying each scene had been visited, when it was patently obvious it was impossible for this to have occurred. The system, he complained, made

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1. Association of Chief Police Officers (i.e. Chief Constable, Deputy or Assistant Chief Constable in the provincial Forces).
liars of detectives and he asked when no visit had been made that this should be recorded as such.

This frank and open admission and honesty was difficult to handle. I watched as the senior C.I.D. officers, from A.C.P.O. rank down to Inspector, grappled with this statement that the system was built upon a foundation of inaccuracies and deceptions. Everyone present knew it was impossible for all the scenes of 'crimes' to be visited, just as we all knew the 21,000 crimes could be added to those for 'criminal damage' and 'car theft' which had not been 'crimes' only a decade previous. But could it be acknowledged?

The mythology has to be maintained, for the structure of the police social system and its interlocking ideology requires the foundation be left inviolate. A total institution relies heavily on acquiescence from the ranks, who are not required to subject it to scrutiny. The Inspector had transgressed. He improvidently reminded the Conference that the 'King's new suit of clothes' (to paraphrase Hans Christian Andersen) was a mythological symbol of the dramatic, which did not really exist until it was produced and directed.

The fabric of the police system is therefore woven around the idea of 'crime'. This mythological symbol of disorder is dramatised and continually presented and pursued in fashionable, yet archetypal settings. Its use as a metaphor of 'masculine activity as 'real' police-work' is directed along well tried and tested lines. Police ideology is sustained by the concept at every turn. The criminal-justice system is a theatre of make-believe, with more than a touch of the farce in its systems of production and presentation, and it is difficult for those who are sustained within its structures to admit this. They have carved out powerful roles for themselves within the organisation and these are taken very seriously. For participants within the criminal justice system to acknowledge the mythology would be to seriously interfere with the belief in the dignity of their office and the inculcated respect for the idea of law which they are con-
strained to pursue.

To openly reveal that 'bending' or 'fiddling' occurs, or show that arbitrary 'cuffing' and 'trade-puffing' of 'crime' reporting and recording is standard practice is, I would argue, a structural impossibility. It is little wonder then that academic research is unwelcome to a system which has an uncritical reverence for tradition and the doctrine of precedent. To admit that 'bending' and 'fiddling' is the norm is to admit to disorder; and inverts the metaphors of order by which the whole police system is maintained. A reversible world is not one which the Police 'habitus' is structured to acknowledge.
The police use of the concept of 'crime' as 'real work' for 'real polises' and their belief in the value and status of 'crime fighting' as a prime cultural signifier, holds a central place in their ideologies. The hegemonies created in the amalgamated forces with their technology, communication systems, computers and statistics has enhanced the primary use of the 'crime' returns as a means of determining police effectiveness and therefore determining police practice.

The belief that effectiveness can be enumerated and statistically recorded has led the police into a continued ritual of manipulation which relies on the ability of the detective to bend reality and create a system of logic which emphasises and relies on skewed statistical crime returns. Everyone within the system understands this to be a mythological presentation of only one reality, yet it is upon this framework that police hierarchies are built.

The status given to 'crime' in police circles bestows esteem upon detectives, and their 'crime fighting activities' are continually supported and reinforced within police structures, although this specific bias is often publicly denied. So even while the patrolling beat-officer in uniform is publicly proclaimed to be the foundation of all police-systems, he is privately denigrated if he remains in the role for any length of time, and detectives who offend police discipline suffer a metaphorical backward slide into uniform patrol duties.

The belief that 'real police work' is synonymous with 'crime' work is symbolically restated in a continual way to effectively determine the practices and modes of thought which structure police operations. These concepts have been sustained since the police were formed in the 19th Century and have generated a complete language and semantic belief in archetypes of good and evil and polarities of villain and 'good guy'. Because 'crime' creates 'real polises', it is also the determinant of the 'real prig' who commits 'crime'. 'Real prigs' are 'criminals' who are identified to the 'polises' by a range of semantic signifiers. The 'prigs', in turn, in their constant
conflict with the 'polises' use some of these signifiers to specify their own cultural milieux and display their own modes of thought. The tattoo of the 'prig', for example, is one specific marker that both they and the 'polises' use to symbolise their structural positions in the drama of the criminal justice system; while police uniform and the theatrical costumes of the lawyers play their own part in the spectacle of public control.

Non-crimes or 'offences' have specifically lower value to the police and are symbolically treated as having less import. Their lower classificatory status immediately puts them into an ambiguous category and places the 'offender' into the same marginal framework, somewhere between the 'real prig' and the 'real public'.

Just as the status of the marginal offender is determined by the classification of the offence so the status of the policeman who deals with ambiguous matters is similarly affected. There is a hierarchy of importance attached to criminals and offenders which all policemen know but rarely acknowledge, for police discipline and hierarchical decision making depends on accepted and inculcates acquiescence. This prevents enquiry and does nothing to encourage social research.

Because 'crime' is warfare, it is a tough, masculine battle ground, where metaphorical troops are deployed and enemies defeated. This male structuring principle ensures women will always be marginal and anomalous in police society. The police conservatism and preference for tradition still anticipates women will follow their accepted structural role in society and adopt a caring function. This, of course, is antithetical to the ideology of 'masculine force' by which the 'crime war' is played out. When a woman does enter the police world, she is expected to continue the 'caring' function. She will be directed to areas out of the public view or deal with women and children in marginal areas of policing, in domestic disputes, sexual offences and the like. If she does cross the boundary which usually precludes women from operating in the
masculine domain of 'crime' work, she may need to take on the role of a surrogate man. And when a woman does retain the expected femininity society demands of its young women, yet also exhibits professional competency in 'crime' work, she can expect to be attributed with special sexual power or other extra-ordinary attributes. In effect, women remain 'token blacks' in the masculine world of policing.

'Crime' is the reason most policewomen, 'civvies' and 'specials', or classificatory 'old women' or 'men with no bottle', can never become true insiders, or be considered to be 'real polises'. It is the reason these categories of ambiguous 'polises' are almost unconsciously directed into the Community Service Departments, into Training or into/schools liaison role, where the idea of 'police service' contrasts most visibly with the preferred militaristic conflict which a 'police force' exhibits. 'Crime' is about control and conflict as warfare, while the social role of a 'service' polarises police activities. This dichotomy between 'force' and 'service' increasingly bedevils the police, although away from public gaze the pursuit of 'crime' is still the prime activity, while 'community policing' fails to achieve status or be accepted as real work for 'real polises'.

The importance of 'crime' and its deeply imbedded practices are supported by the extremely rigorous and well-defined discipline which police systems operate under. Such closed systems are both self-sustaining and self-generating and cannot easily be challenged. The 'Counting Rules' and their definitions are hardly ever mentioned in police or criminological literature, probably because the police are careful to keep this aspect of their administration behind closed doors. In 1981, the Police Review (1.5.81: 856) in a section on 'Crime' and the Chief Constable's Annual Reports pointed out how:

"...Hertfordshire is one of the few forces to explain the new counting rules issued by the Home Office for compiling criminal statistics..."
Yet while this aspect of police administration is shrouded in secrecy and rarely written about, the Rules are played with and subverted on a daily basis by the working detectives. But because the Rules are part of a police system controlled by an all-encompassing discipline, no-one, to my knowledge, within the system has set out to explore why 'crime' and the Counting Rules have become the determinant of the structures, the beliefs and the modes of practice I have described.

The 'academic' policeman cannot expect to be supported in any such venture. His status is negated by the very ideology of attributing esteem to the 'thief catcher' who has graduated 'on the ground' in the 'University of Life', and who knows how to handle and play the system. The experienced 'jack'\(^1\) who can keep his quota of 'clear-ups' and who can 'wheel and deal' with the 'prigs' to 'get a bag-full' from a 'prison-visit' is worth more to the system than the 'academic', who might only question the validity of the modes of thought and actions that these generate and upon which the whole system of policing is built.

Any 'academic' policeman who continues to study therefore needs to continually be re-grounded to show he still is in touch with the metaphors and symbols of police reality. He needs to re-enter the world of 'captures', 'collar feeling' and 'getting two or three for nowt'. He must understand the structural importance of getting some inept thief to 'clear his slate' and how the system is dependent on some statistical windfall, sustained by the 'bagful' each division uses as an index of success, when they arrest someone who admits milk, or car badge thefts, or petrol syphonings.

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1. I recently heard a Detective Chief Superintendent described as still being 'Jack the Lad', i.e., still taking the role of Detective Sergeant involved totally with arrests and thieves.
The academic pursuit of management or business studies is therefore acceptable, because the practices of policing might be enhanced or streamlined by business techniques. These courses rarely seem to ever consider the morality of a business practice, but it follows the philosophical, moral or hermeneutic exploration of 'policing' can never be acceptable to a system which controls in rigid, hierarchical terms the beliefs and modes of thought and practice which determine action.

Even in the police Research Departments, the emphasis is on systems and their implementation, usually linked to cost-effectiveness. I recently heard a Chief Inspector in a police research department opine:

"...I would not expect Sergeants or the lower ranks to be allowed to express contentious ideas, or present controversial views..."

The abiding impression given in police reports is one of total support for the status quo and reflects a belief in this hierarchical ideology. This same Chief Inspector, like many of his contemporaries, used the phrase '...with respect...' whenever a senior officer was in his presence, almost to the point of obsequiousness. And many police reports still carry the phrase '...I respectfully submit this report for your consideration...'. These reports nearly all follow vertical paths as they travel up and down the hierarchical tree and management study attempts to reduce hierarchical decision making levels in the police have always had a difficult passage.

The 'anthropologist/policeman' will therefore always have a problem. Revelation of the true nature of police systems, or the disclosure of police structural values and status, will lay him open to the possibility of discipline charges, which his whole experience has taught him to avoid. The pursuit

1. Early in my career, in the 1960's, I had to complete all reports with the phrase... "I am, Sir, your humble servant..." and append my signature.
of his researches will inevitably lead him to reveal warts on the face of the organisation, and this breaks the cardinal rule of a hierarchical system which determines that power emanates from the apex and cannot be asserted by those who sit beneath. The police organisational apparatus is set up to maintain power over a certain section of society and its discourse is all about the way this power is maintained and concealed.

Anthropological research is therefore an anti-structural activity for a policeman to indulge in. He sets himself apart from the norms of social politics by pursuing such enquiry and enters into a prolonged period of liminality, fully understanding his actions will make him marginal and peripheral to the system. He experiences what I can only describe as a 'communitas of one', a realisation that except on rare occasions, when he meets a like spirit who can similarly tolerate the strangely schizophrenic experience of being at once within and without a social system, he generally will stand alone. The anthropological experience creates a strange situation of gnosis on the part of the person who explores his own society, and in the police creates tension because of the peculiar nature of the system and its rejection of critical analysis.

In consequence, although Sir Robert Mark and others have argued for a programme of social research to come from within the ranks of the police, it seems unlikely to occur. The ideology of control must preclude such self-generated social enquiry, for the ability to pursue a discourse on such a cultural system, as Foucault (1978 1) has suggested, cannot be separated from considerations of power and its continued maintenance. Because of this over-riding structural principle and because research is concerned to illuminate and to reveal, an explanatory discourse by the insider/anthropologist will always tend to be considered seditious and subversive. It is

1. See also Parkin (1982: x/v) & Sheridan (op.cit.1980: 113-134) who both support Foucault in his proposal.
antagonistic to the idea of power symbolised by the police system, for in the ethnographic account the anthropologist/policeman is particularly well placed to explain why power and control over 'prigs' creates the status of 'real polises', which in turn determines ambiguous categories of police work, policeman and policewomen.

This semantic reflexivity extends the ethnography to include not just the field data, but also incorporates an 'insiders' knowledge. This penetrates the internal consciousness of police collectivity and reveals the way a police social reality is created by dramatising programmatic concepts of 'order', 'disorder', 'crime' and 'offence', policeman and 'prig'; and which are then maintained through the application of extreme metaphors. The articulation of such metaphors provides a way of coping with the various conflicts and ambiguities encountered during the daily activities of 'street visible' law enforcement; and reinforces the implicit ideology which makes policemen into the controllers of the controlled, the powerful manipulators of the powerless, and the ordered negotiators of the 'dangerous classes', using the dramatic form of the criminal justice system.
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